





*London School of Economics*  
*1966-8*

**Alan Macfarlane**

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## Preface

From the start of my D.Phil. on the history of English witchcraft in 1963,<sup>1</sup> I had been advised to attend anthropology lectures in Oxford and to read relevant books. I came to know the Oxford anthropologists, in particular E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Godfrey Lienhardt, Peter Lienhardt and John Beattie, as well as some of the postgraduate students in the Department. I felt that, at last, I had found the subject I was really looking for, almost a substitute in its holistic approach and attention to all aspects of life, to the evangelical Christianity I was abandoning. It was the tool I needed to fulfil what I increasingly saw as my life's intellectual mission.

Part of my goal in life is described in part of one of my earliest letters to my future wife Gill, on June 10<sup>th</sup> 1966, a few weeks after I first met her.

*Thank you for Herbert's poem. I'm glad you enjoyed 'Time'. I suppose you use the word 'disassociated' intentionally of Herbert. Reading Eliot's essay on the Metaphysicals was another turning point in my intellectual life. Though it's no doubt laughed-at by professional academics it helped me enormously. I even tried to do a historical thesis entitled something like 'The Reasons for the Disassociation of Sensibility in the Seventeenth Century'. Luckily, I was gently dissuaded as it would have been an impossible subject – yet, perhaps not by accident, you have revived what used to be my great obsession. I wanted to write a great work of synthesis – incorporating the tools of psychology, literary criticism, history and sociology and based on a study of the change that occurs in a) history in about the C17 b) in the poetic imagination – esp. of Wordsworth and others who feel they have left a fuller, more organic land (Yeats later became a substitute for me) c) the splitting and reorientation in every child.*

*This was one of the reasons I loved children's stories and why I wanted to remain a child as long as possible. Though it may sound simple, I'm sure that as a child one did have a more united attitude. The cracks and inconsistencies, paradoxes and ambiguities, for some reason, had not appeared. Everything was held in a 'lunar synthesis'.<sup>2</sup> One felt involved in everything one did and everything around. In fact one led a purposeful, if selfish and blind, existence.*

*In a sense I've been fortunate enough to be able to go on doing this. My work gives my life some kind of coherence, prevents an utter sense of futility and chaos overcoming me. I live for an ideal, or rather several ideals, and though they may be rather crazy and I often seem to let them get blurred they come back when I meet someone as sweet as yourself who is prepared to listen.*

*In a sense, this is why I was so attracted to anthropology. As a boy I was, I suppose, religious, though I almost feel embarrassed (?) at admitting it. I was also guilt-ridden.*

So by 1965 I knew I needed to become more deeply involved in anthropology, and to undertake a formal training in the discipline. I nearly intermitted my doctorate in order to do so, but the two people who would later become my Examiners, Christopher Hill and Evans-Pritchard, both advised me to finish the thesis and then to add to my anthropological expertise, so I delayed for another fifteen months.

When I considered where to take the conversion course into anthropology, I made several soundings. I enquired of Evans-Pritchard, but he said there was no obvious source of money and they did not really have an appropriate course. I went to Cambridge and met two of the senior anthropologists there, Audrey Richards and Edmund Leach. They were encouraging

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<sup>1</sup> *Oxford Postgraduate 1963-1966* (2018)

<sup>2</sup> T.S. Eliot: 'Rhapsody on a Windy Night' – 'Along the reaches of the street/ Held in a lunar synthesis, / Whispering lunar incantations / Dissolve the floors of memory/ And all its clear relations/ Its divisions and precisions/

in general, but again there was no really sensible course (just a Diploma) and no funding. As described in the preceding volume, *Oxford Postgraduate*, one of my advisors at Oxford, Joan Thirsk, suggested I approach Raymond Firth at the London School of Economics. He was encouraging and I went to see him. I learnt that the L.S.E. did have a taught Master's (M.Sc.) for a year and I might be eligible, and for the newly-offered Social Science Research Council studentships, a few of which had been awarded for this course. I was finally offered a two-year studentship for the new and expanded M.Phil. conversion degree in anthropology.

The L.S.E. was an obvious choice for anthropology. The Department, inspired by its previous charismatic Professor, Bronislaw Malinowski, had become one of the most prestigious departments of anthropology in the world. It was given an added attraction in that there were neighbouring departments that interested me: sociology, philosophy, social psychology, developmental economics, demography and economic history (where Tawney, one of my heroes, had taught for many years). It also shared teaching and seminars with two other major departments of anthropology at University College and the School of Oriental and African Studies. The fact that Gill, who I would marry at the end of 1966, had been accepted for a further social work course at Bedford College in London, and would easily find work as a probation officer after her one-year course, added to the attraction of London.

I also felt that it would be good for me to broaden my learning experience. I had already spent over ten years in Oxford – five years at preparatory school and five years in residence as an undergraduate and post-graduate in history. It would be stimulating to experience a non-Collegiate, newer, type of University. It would also be exciting, for a while at least, to live in a great city after the long experience of rural schools and small-city life. The fact that my parents had retired at the end of 1965 to the Lake District, after twenty-five years in Assam, meant that there continued to be a place where I could retreat to become refreshed and re-inspired by my Wordsworthian memories. The deep bond with my mother, with an exchange of long letters about intellectual matters almost every week, was another enormously reassuring and formative element of the background.

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When I arrived at the L.S.E. in October 1966 to start my course, I had just completed fifteen months of the writing stage of my D.Phil. on witchcraft. I had tried really hard to have a completed version by the end of my three years, retreating to a garden shed for the last year months to engage in full-time writing. Yet very few students actually finish in three years and I was automatically allowed another year to do so before I needed to request an extension – which could then be for another three years (a total of seven). Many of my friends took five or more years to complete their doctorates.

The first draft of almost all of my 100,000 words of the thesis was finished by the time I went to London, but it would have to be re-written at least two times again. The highly important introduction and conclusion needed to be added, as well as tables, maps and a bibliography. At a guess, this was at least four more months of full-time work, which had to take place alongside the anthropology course over the next months before I submitted the thesis in June 1967. So, alongside a day a week teaching at Nottingham University in my first term, I was finishing my thesis. Without the lightness of the L.S.E. course, this would have been impossible.

The even greater freedom of the fifteen months that followed, the second half of 1967 until I went to SOAS in October 1968 was equally helpful. I had to write quite a lengthy master's thesis of over forty thousand words, based on original materials combined with anthropological theories. I had assumed, from memory, that such a thesis was quite common amongst those with whom I was studying at the time. Yet I see I was one of the first two

students to be awarded this degree in the Department that year, and in the next years, only an average of one or two M.Phils. a year were awarded. The fact that an External Examiner from another University (in my case Jack Goody from Cambridge) was appointed and the thesis was viva'd in the same way as a Ph.D., shows it was a serious degree – and indeed both the examiners in my case recommended that I should have it published. It was never published, and I only used one chapter in a collection of essays,<sup>3</sup> but it did form the basis for my work as a Research Fellow at Cambridge a few years later, and was expanded and finally published as a very small part of my book on *Marriage and Love in England 1300-1840* in 1986.

In those fifteen months I must have spent about four months on the M.Phil. This still left me a year for other things. A couple of months were spent on further anthropology reading and writing papers for seminars both in history and anthropology, including a paper (unusual for someone of that status) at the Annual meeting of the Association of Social Anthropologists in 1968 at Cambridge, which was subsequently published in a book on *Witchcraft* edited by Mary Douglas.<sup>4</sup>

This left about a year for other work over the course of the two years. Here there were three further activities which would shape my future life. One was turning the Witchcraft thesis into a book. This was not a large task, consisting of some re-writing, adding sections and dealing with publishers. Perhaps taking a month or six weeks, I completed this for submission to the publisher Routledge in the summer of 1968.

A second was writing a further book which I had not dreamt of when I went to the L.S.E. During the research for the witchcraft thesis I had come across the detailed diary of the seventeenth century clergyman Ralph Josselin of Earls Colne in Essex. There was a very partial publication of parts of this, but the fuller (though I later learnt, far from complete) transcript in the Essex Record Office showed that it was a marvellous source for the kind of anthropological topics – family, beliefs, dreams and much more – that I was interested in.

So, from the summer of 1967, I started to write what was originally going to be an article, but later became a book, published as *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin; An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (1970) by Cambridge University Press. This was a great deal of work, even though I was helped greatly by my mother, particularly when I left for Nepal at the end of 1969 and she dealt with the final cleaning up and nursing the book through the Press. I guess that this writing must have taken at least eight months, which is a short period to write a book from scratch, particularly one that combines two disciplines – questions from anthropology and sources from history – and done alongside a great deal else.

That leaves about four months to account for. Much of this was continuing and expanding the work I had started with the help of my mother, sister and father in the last months of my time in the Lake District in 1966. I had realized that there was a wonderful new set of materials for English social and intellectual history emerging in the newly-organized and funded local record offices, especially in the almost totally unexplored, if hugely difficult, records of the ecclesiastical and other courts of law.

To use this material, however, expanding on the work of W.G. Hoskins and Joan Thirsk, required not only a very great amount of hard work in locating and transcribing documents, but the development of a new method of analysing them. An expansion of the work of the Cambridge Group for Population on 'family reconstitution', joining together different pieces of information, was the essence of the approach. So, as the account below will show, I was developing the foundations for a method of information linkage and retrieval which would be

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<sup>3</sup> 'The informal Social Control of Marriage in Seventeenth century England' in Vivian C. Fox & Martin H. Quitt, *Loving, Parenting and Dying. The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present* (1980)

<sup>4</sup> Mary Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (1970).

the basis for much of our later work in social history, both by hand and later using a computer.

In the Lakes we had started to use the new sources and methods on three Essex villages, which I analysed as a background to witchcraft prosecutions for my D.Phil. thesis. Then in February 1967 my mother reported that new material had been found in Westmorland which might be interesting. My father was working as a volunteer at Rydal Hall and had there come across the papers of the Fleming family. These included listings or simple censuses of a number of parishes, including the large parish of Kirby Lonsdale. From then onwards we started what would develop into a major reconstruction of the records of that parish. This continued for another six years and the extensive archive was finally donated to Lancaster University Library, where it can now be found. It was exciting, but a great deal of work, and easily absorbed whatever time I had left over from the other work described above.

What this account shows is that I was both emotionally and intellectually moving in the interdisciplinary borderland between history and the social sciences. This is what I had intended. I did not lose either my intellectual roots in history, or my emotional attachment to the values I had learnt in my earlier education and particularly Oxford. Yet I was grafting onto this a much wider perspective, adding space to time. For while the earlier years had been a wonderful training in British history and civilization and a little of Europe – the rest of the world was unexplored. The people I met, and the lectures, seminars and books at the L.S.E. opened up the whole world spatially. It was hugely liberating in many ways.

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The new intellectual discoveries in those two years has to be set in the wider excitements and turbulences of that precise period and place, both the L.S.E. and London in 1966-8. For those who never knew, or have forgotten, this seemed to be one of the great fault-lines of the twentieth century in Britain. One seemed almost to be living through a Revolution, not the total revolutions which France, Russia or China had witnessed earlier, but a very British, evolutionary and relatively calm, revolution. It was a time of great change in popular and elite culture, in generational and gender relations, in communications and many other technologies. The turbulence and excitement I experienced in London were part of what was happening in America, France and elsewhere as the world seemed to alter swiftly around us.

At the L.S.E. a number of factors led to 'The Troubles' which were sparked by the appointment of a new Director, Walter Adams who started in his post in my second year. The confrontations mounted and I remember the picketing and, then, when I was in the field in February-March 1969, led to the closure of the School. By the time I returned the affair was over.

If I had not gone to London, I would have also missed the excitement of dipping my toes in the high culture that could be found concentrated in London at that time, in the theatres and concert halls. I have a number of the programmes for these performances from which I can reconstruct this high culture. Gill was particularly keen on opera so we went to at least a dozen performances. Most were at Sadler's Wells and Verdi predominated, though Mozart, Donizetti and others were represented. I have the programmes for fifteen plays, six performed at the Old Vic by the National Theatre company and the rest in half a dozen other theatres. They were mostly 'classics' by Chekhov, Strindberg, Moliere, Shakespeare, but also more recent ones by Anouilh, John Bowen, Brecht and others. We went to at least seven concerts, mainly on the South Bank, of the classics – Beethoven, Bach and Monteverdi and their contemporaries. We also visited a number of interesting buildings, including Hatfield House

in Hertfordshire and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton. There is little evidence of participation in the rock or pop or even jazz ferment of those times.

As Tocqueville observed, those living through a revolution are seldom aware of what is happening. Yet, through the detailed ethnography in the volumes of my autobiography, the subtle and multiple minor changes by which revolutions actually occur, and which are soon forgotten once the revolution is over, are revealed through one person's life and the contemporary documents I have accumulated.

# 1966

## In anticipation

To Lady Clay 17.9.1966      Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside

*...Still, the thesis goes very well and I should have nearly half of it written in final form, and the rest in a fairly advanced draft by the time I go to London.*

*I think you know my plans. I have got a Social Science Research Council grant for the next two years (they made a mistake at first and told me it was only for one) – £500 p.a. Not much to live in London and keep a wife on – but I can hardly grumble having resigned myself to working as a lift-boy to keep myself. I really am excited at the prospect of learning something about social anthropology and sociology. I'm sure it will be a great help to my seventeenth-century studies. I would, finally, like to (among other things) do a study like that of Le Roy Ladurie reviewed in last week's T.L.S. – did you find his introductory essay interesting? I enclose a draft chapter – it will have to be tightened up and cut down – on witchcraft in three Essex villages. This is my first attempt at village sociology. I would very much value any comments – suggested sources or problems – you would care to make on it.... Please don't bother to read it if you find it tiring – having rough chapters out of theses must be most irritating to read – but having been launched into local history by your enthusiasm for Hoskins over 4 years ago, I would value your comments.*

## Winter Term

The formal course at the London School of economics started in early October. I remember the feeling of irritation at the first meeting of the dozen or so graduate students taking the course when Anthony Forge strolled in and said that he had been away and busy all summer and had not thought what we were to do – and indeed could not remember much about anthropology. The contrast with the dedication and planning and individual attention at Oxford struck me forcibly.

In due course Forge marshalled us into order and the following weekly graduate class in politics and economics emerged. Each of us was given a topic and expected to do the research and present a one hour paper to the rest of the class and to respond to comments.

Class 1: Mr Leyton – Political anthropology

Class 2: Miss Austro – Segmentary Systems

Class 3: Mr Macfarlane – on Ruanda

Class 4: Mr Seddon – The Kula exchange

Class 5: Miss Levine – Comparison of Kapauku and Tikopian economies

Class 6: Mr Loizos – Kapauku and Mediterranean economies compared

Class 7: Miss Lipstadt – Peasants, their economic system

Class 8: Mr. Varney– Matrilineal Kinship, esp. the Ashanti

Class 9: Miss Chodro – Matrilineal Kinship – Minangkabau & Negri Sembilan

I have only been able to find something about some of the participants. Elliot Leyton was a more senior figure, some three years older and had already done fieldwork in Northern Ireland. He would later become a Professor of Anthropology in Canada. I gave a paper about the book by Maquet on *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda*, which told of the struggle between

the Hutus and the Tutsis and was the prelude to the terrible genocide in Ruanda. David Seddon had read Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge and then worked for a while in South Africa. He became one of my closest anthropological friends over the years and became a lecturer in anthropology first at S.O.A.S. and then at the University of East Anglia. Peter Loizos was my other close friend on the course. He had also been at Cambridge, reading English, and was a little older than us having worked for a while for the B.B.C. He was a Greek Cypriot and his later work was on Cyprus. He came back soon after our course had ended to become a Lecturer at the L.S.E. in the Department in which we had both studied. The rest are names, but not faces or memories.

We also had 25 basic introductory lectures, and five more specific ones on the relations between anthropology and ethology by Robin Fox and Dr. Napier as follows.

Winter Term 1966 - Audrey Hayley - Comparative Social Institutions (9 lectures)

11.10.66 for a term - De Ortiz – Government & Politics in Simple Societies (8 lectures)

Drs Fox and Napier – Man, Race & Culture – 5 lectures starting on 3.11.66

October-December 1966 - Dr Woodburn – Introduction to Family and Kinship – 8 lectures

I remember Audrey Hayley, who was the daughter of a colonial officer in Assam, who had done her Ph.D. on Assam at the L.S.E., and by the time she gave this course was a Lecturer at S.O.A.S. She was an excellent lecturer and introduced me to a number of new concepts, even if the courses were quite heavily slanted towards India and Assam. James Woodburn, who had also come from Cambridge, where he had done his doctorate, gave us an introductory course on kinship. Again this was heavily slanted towards his own special interest, the simplest hunters and gatherers, especially the Hadza whom he had studied intensively. Finally, Sutti Ortiz, who had got her Ph.D. at the L.S.E. in 1963 and was now a lecturer and specialist on South America (Colombia) gave us lectures on politics. Robin Fox I will describe in the second term, this term he just gave two or three lectures about his enthusiasm for combining animal and human studies.

I don't recall any real welcome to the course, any social events, or any strong inter-actions with the teachers at all. It was perhaps fortunate that work was relatively light in that term as I was trying to finish my witchcraft D.Phil. and also going to Nottingham one day a week to teach courses on European History. It was also an effort to establish ourselves in our new flat in north London, so different from anything I had experienced before, and living for the first time with someone else who was also very busy with her course.



44 Ridge Road in 2021 – the right hand house (with bins in front), with our study/bedroom on the second floor, where we lived for a year.

## October 1966

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 1/10/66

Dear M. & D.<sup>5</sup>,

*Well, have arrived safely and am sitting comfortably, well-fed, well-dressed and surrounded by acres of books and tables and files. Bliss! But I miss Field Head and the Lakes all the same, and especially both of you! Thanks would be too paltry to express my debt to you both: but I really am terribly grateful for everything you have both done for me - from waking me every morning at 7a.m. (or a bit later!) to cutting my hair; from providing delicious meals, to helping me so magnificently in my work. If my work ever comes to anything it*

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<sup>5</sup> M[ummy] and D[addy] – my parents



will be in a large measure due to you. I will always remember this last year as one of my happiest. Before I grow too lyrical,... but really, thank you - it was wonderful. With your permission G & I will be up often (as p.g's) to see you.

The journey down went OK and I ferried G's luggage over. The room is thick with work-impedimenta and G chirrups occasionally 'couldn't we put a screen over your files when you're not working on them' etc. I won the first battle over the electric fire, but allowed her to cook me a delicious fish supper last night. It's a most interesting area here and there has been no trouble with our landlady as yet.... My grant arrives at L.S.E. on Monday so will forward £20 when I go there. I have a Prof. Schapera<sup>6</sup> as supervisor & the course has been changed, thank goodness, to Dip. in Social Anthropology - no skulls. Will try to find out if there is a 'phone here.

Am thinking of you both (& animals) v. much - thank you again for being so wonderful. Will write properly soon.

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 2nd October from 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8, the flat to which we had just moved as I started my course at the London School of Economics.

Dear Mr. Thomas,

I wonder if I might see you to discuss the introductory and concluding chapters which I have sent? Also, I could bring down the appendices which are completed; in thesis condition, I hope. As you see, I am now established in London, and mail will reach me at the above address. I start at L.S.E. on Monday.

I intend coming up to Oxford on one of the next three week-ends... Will be interested to hear re. progress of the book etc and hope you've had a productive autumn and I look forward to seeing you,

Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane

The following was written to Paul Hyams at Jesus College, Oxford, , who had been reading history at Worcester with me as an undergraduate and had then gone on to get a Research Fellowship.

3rd October, from 44, Ridge Road, London.

Dear Paul,

I have been meaning to write for ages, but now that I know that you must be back from Israel (how was it? exhilarating I hope), and in Oxford, I really have no excuse. Meeting you briefly in the street at the end of last term reminded me how much we had to say to each other. I was especially delighted to hear of your enthusiasm for anthropology, but more of that in a moment. First, news. How are things with you? ... What is it like to be a 'baby' don? I envy you in many ways. How goes the thesis? Are you writing any learned articles? If you ever have time, drop a line to the above address where I am now resident. I'd love to hear. My main news is engagement to Gill - the girl you met me with. You'll be getting a formal invitation to the wedding soon...

As I may have said, I'm just embarking on a 2-yr. Diploma in Social Anthropology at L.S.E. I started there yesterday. I've been fortunate enough to get a 2-yr. Social Science Research Council grant and, with Gill's grant/salary as a Probation Officer we should just scrape through. I'm doing a term's tutoring, one day a week, at Nottingham University, helping them out on European History from 1400-1700 - god help them! In my spare time (of which I seem to get a fair amount on this course - exams aren't until next year (1968)) I'm finishing the thesis - which has been written once, but parts of which have to be re-drafted and the bibliography made. Also I've got a contract to write a book on witches - but that hasn't got to be completed for over a year.

About anthropology: I would be interested to hear your views on its utility to historians. Have you a lot of ideas beyond Keith's article?<sup>7</sup> Are you working on any particular lines. So far I've made a tentative study of suicide, of the religious/economic/kinship/social system in three Elizabethan villages - concentrating on crime and Puritanism; then there is witchcraft of course. I couldn't have started to study the subject if I hadn't had the

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<sup>6</sup> Isaac Schapera, a South African anthropologist who was an expert on law, politics and marriage.

<sup>7</sup> Keith Thomas, 'History and Anthropology', *Past and Present*, no.24 (1963)

works of anthropologists as a theoretical model. I'm now looking around for a subject for a short dissertation instead of 2 papers of my Diploma. My new supervisor, Prof. Schapera, suggested the historical study of incest regulations – with particular reference (of course!) to sixteenth-century Essex. As a starting-point for a general study of the relationships between religion and sex, e.g. of subjects such as the force of taboos, the sexual effects of the Reformation, the structure of kinships, and the methods of settling dispute in the church courts this might be worth investigation. Do you know of any studies for the middle ages? Do you think it would be possible to do such a study for your period? Beyond general remarks about the huge number of prohibited degrees in Holdsworth, Pollock & M et. al. I haven't come across much of use.

I think this brings up a subject of wider importance. Though I'm convinced that anthropology would provide a whole new range of subjects, as well as new ways of looking at old problems (e.g. millenarianism, the feud, feudalism etc.) I'm not sure that it is really possible in any period in English history before 1540, to do an ideal anthropological study. As I see it, the basic feature or contribution of modern anthropology is to show the relationships between normally separated fields of study – e.g. the economic significance of religious ritual, the emotional significance of legal proceedings, the social significance of each etc. Though broad studies are possible for medieval Europe – e.g. similar to Mauss, The Gift – I think Homans' attempt showed that the documents do not allow a detailed reconstruction of peasant/village life.

To interrelate, one must be able to study a group of people, e.g. a village, a manor or monastery, in more than one of its activities. One must be able to study the same people in, say, their religious activities, and their economic. Ideally a number of different sources should bear on the same person. Now, after 1540, or better still, after 1560, in ideal conditions, one can fill in at least 3 major portions of a villagers life – probably more. His religious from ecclesiastical court records, which (in Essex at any rate) show whether he attended church, his attitude to birth, death, marriage etc – and from wills: his social from the above and from the very extensive evidence to be found in parish registers, court records (partic. Assize and Quarter Sessions and Coroner's Inquisitions): his economic from various subsidy assessments and manorial records (the latter, contrary to popular fallacy, seem to me to be just as good for the C16 as they had been for earlier periods). Obviously there may be other good sources – churchwarden's accounts, Laslett-type listings etc. But the above are the main ones.

Now, I know that if I only had court records – and these diminished by the absence of quarter sessions rolls and, before the C14, ecclesiastical court records – and very occasionally instead of roughly decennial subsidy assessment; no wills; no parish registers; manorial records perhaps, I just couldn't have started to study, without huge distortion – or by using Homans' techniques of quoting C19 French evidence or evidence from other parts of the country – the total situation of my three villages. Even with all the evidence one has there are huge gaps – no real indication of attitudes except by using other things (e.g. suicide, illegitimacy, witchcraft) as indices. But at least it's possible. Do you think I'm being unfair on your period? I would like to be convinced, although, of course, I now have a vested interest in the Elizabethan period as the earliest period for which intensive rural sociology can be carried out. But perhaps I'm wrong.

I won't bore you with any more Paul. I will be in Oxford sometime this term and will try to look you up and perhaps we can discuss these further. Otherwise, perhaps I'll see you at that oldest of all anthropological get-togethers, the monogamous wedding where affines and agnates form a structurally significant gathering to cement their kinship obligations and to re-orientate their social relationships, i.e. my wedding! From the borders of the realm of jargon and mystery I leave you... Have a good term. Yours, Alan

My mother, father and sister had helped me to work on local Essex records for my witchcraft thesis in 1966 and continued to be interested in extending this. We were continuing on this work in a broader way alongside my course at the L.S.E.

Field Head, Wednesday [5th October 1966]

My dear Alan,

Thank you for your very nice letter, no thanks are necessary, can't imagine how we would have passed the year without the Tenderings and Co.<sup>8</sup> to enliven our days, we feel terribly bereft now. I have been wandering

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<sup>8</sup> A prominent family in one of the Essex villages we were studying.

round muttering "There is a wind where the rose was" and reaching for the intercom<sup>9</sup> and brushing away a tear when I realised there was nobody the other end - well almost. ....

The Archdeacons and their records are going well, no snags to date, I'm writing them all out at the moment but might start compressing if you think this would be better, we have a simpler system of putting the projector on the oak chest which saves all the furniture moving. I thought I would write in red beside each case what it was about, i.e. tythes, bigamy, breach of promise, so that it would be easy to flick through. We can talk about it when you come up which I hope won't be too long. I'm longing to hear what the course is like and also Nottingham, I'm sure the well-creased trousers will impress them anyway! I'm starting my comparative religion at the Vale View Hotel tomorrow, can't find anyone else who wants to know about it....

Much love to you both from both of us, Mummy

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 5th October from Ridge Road.

Dear Mr Thomas,

Thank you for your note. yes, Saturday 15th at 2 p.m. at St Johns would be fine - I will meet you then unless I hear to the contrary. Incidentally, my new supervisor, Prof. Schapera, suggested as the title for a dissertation (to be submitted as part of my diploma - a year this coming March) 'Incest in C16-C17' Essex - how does that strike you? Perhaps you could make some suggestions re. reading - if there is any - when we meet?

Yours, Alan Macfarlane

To Lady Clay 5.10.66 44 Ridge Road, London N.8

... Sorry not to have replied until now, but I have been moving to London which involved transporting literally hundreds of thousands of tiny bits of paper across 300 miles of England. But I've found a place now, and my address will, I hope, be the above for some time to come. You sounded bewildered why I should be at London. It's quite simple. I'm doing a Diploma in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics - the Nottingham teaching, which is for only one term, is merely to fill an economic gap. I start there on next Monday... I will be in Oxford on Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> October, and hope you will be free to have one of our too-long missed chats. ...

I'm still writing my thesis in the mornings and doing anthropology for the rest of the day. My supervisor is Professor Schapera who made his name studying the political systems of South African tribes. The first impression I have after his books and meeting him once is of an affable, German, rigid and slightly dry and conventional/academic figure - not great shakes but conscientious. As a dissertation for my Diploma (instead of 2 papers) he suggested that I do a short thesis on 'Incest in sixteenth century society' - a subject which had already interested me and on which I have been collecting material....

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8., Sunday 9/10/66

Dear Mummy & Daddy,

I was interested to hear that Ralph Johnson called in - I'll try to see him in Oxford where I'm going with Gill next week-end. I'm seeing Keith on Saturday and will try to fit in as many other friends as possible as well. David (Isaac) had agreed to be best man and I've written to the vicar re. the banns. Gill fixed up things at her end last week-end... oh the hypocrisies forced on a rising generation by social change! It's really wonderful of you both being so understanding. There are so many things I would be interested to hear about home - how is Daddy's new job, how is comparative religion, are you really going croft-hunting in late Oct.? Do keep me informed....

Well, about life in London and at L.S.E. Of course it's a huge change and I arrive back after tubes and crowds a little weary, but everything is as good as it could possibly be.... Now that Gill has ripped away the lace curtains and I'm established in a corner with piles of books and table-space the room looks very nice. We woke up this morning to the sound of nothing but birds. The only slight distractions are an electric guitar in the

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<sup>9</sup> A simple wired phone between the house and the shed where I worked in the Lake District.

room below - though this is for the afternoon only - and groups of boys who play football with huge, Robert-like,<sup>10</sup> enthusiasm in the street outside. ..The last two nights have been late ones and so I'm a little tired, but normally manage to keep the hours as at home.... Gill has now started at Bedford and it seems a very intensive affair; everyone is very keen and progressive. Surprisingly this is the complete opposite of L.S.E. - at least what I've seen of it. I've been appointed a supervisor, a Prof. Schapera (expert on African political systems) but neither he nor the other man whom I've met are particularly inspiring. I think Firth, who is away in Tikopia, is really the key man. I only have to go into L.S.E. once or twice a week - I have three lectures on Tuesdays and that is it; about once every three or four weeks I write an essay. Perhaps this is just as well at the moment as it gives me plenty of time for my thesis and to read broadly in anthropology. The actual anthropology I find fascinating. Also I start at Nottingham tomorrow; am rather apprehensive but expect I'll enjoy it. One interesting thing is that I'll be doing a dissertation as part of my Diploma - and it is likely to be on Incest. It's only a short thing compared to my thesis - but it should incorporate all the work we've been doing on the Pilboroughs et.al. So if, Mummy, you come across anything on incest in your Deposition books, could you let me know? I believe, from a note I have, that there should be something on the subject on f.83 and following that. Obviously anything to do with marriage regulations are also of interest. I do hope it's going O.K. Don't hesitate to ask me if there are any problems. I will definitely try to get up in mid Nov. for a week-end.... P.S. It would be lovely if you could visit us - perhaps combine it with a visit to Granny.

I started one of my lecture courses on this day - on political anthropology, by Sutti Ortiz. These are the typed-up notes on the first, and part of the second lecture.

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<sup>10</sup> My mother's younger brother, Robert Rhodes James, with whom I had grown up.



Lecture 1.

Most of the material used will be from Africa, since there is a shortage from other places, but conclusions, it is believed, will apply to Western pol. socs.

What is govt? - a commentary on Mair, Primitive Govt, ch.1.

she stresses the functional approach, look at the functions of gov't - who or what performs these functions?

- 1) do institutions have the same form as in western states - e.g. chief/courts assemblies, or is the form irrelevant?
- 2) does govt. have to consist of a full-time elite, performing full-time admin. judicial, legislative duties?
- 3) should 'govt' be limited to judicial, admin. etc. functions only - if a person is not aware of his function, is he a governmental official? If he merely conceives of himself as a mediator between two individuals, rather than as an administrator and part of a system.
- 4) should there be one individual at least who acknowledges himself and is acknowledged to be an officer of the community?

to discuss only formal policy is too narrow a definition of politics. Various definitions: for Morgan Government was the State, for Malinowski it was central authority able to coordinate the activities of individuals, for E-P it was centralised authority and judicial institutions.

Contributions of the functional approach.

- 1) by the construction of hypotheses re. the performance of certain functions it has ~~xxx~~ shown how different parts of pol. system are interrelated, focusing on the difference of effects when a given function is performed/not performed/varied.
- 2) showed the interrelation of institutions - showing how standards of performance are met, freedom, military needs etc.
- 3) the regularities between the surface have been shown - e.g. revolutions have shown to be much more regular - e.g. Gluckman, 'Ritual of Rebellion', but the problem of the measurement of authority remains.
- 4) Even by Mair's and Schapera's definition some societies have no government - are there other factors which influence governments, but which lie outside the structure of government - these are isolated and hence come out into the open in very simple societies, e.g. the Nuer have no gov't, yet have political organization.

Problems: what outside pressures are there on governmental structure? - e.g. structure of society; demography; the necessity to study political processes outside government.

Criticisms A.M.

A more careful definition/distinction between admin. judicial and legislative functions of gov't necessary; the personal and structural problems within a working government - psychological and other types - affecting decisions need to be analysed: do the general criticisms of the functional explan'n - e.g. that it does not explain why a particular soc. has a particular form of gov't, apply to this?

LECTURE IIA discussion of E-P, The Nuer.

There is political action, a behaviour which we may call 'political' in certain defined channels.

if we apply Easton's criteria, that the study of politics is the study of the 'authoritative allocation of values for a society', that policy/political action decision is the allocation of certain privileges to certain people rather than others, we find no examples of policy/admin. decisions as such among the Nuer, all the e.g.'s are of acts of social control; one of the central features of Nuer political life, the feud or rebellion, are not political action at all by Easton's definition.

There is no formal method of settling disputes - e.g. in a case of people siezing cattle soc. only intervenes informally - a political skeleton is thus available (i.e. some people are endowed with more respect than others) but this is not formalized; one cannot properly speak of a differential distribution of authority between individuals.

From Gill to parents from London, posted 12.10.66

*Alan seems also to have settled down somewhat ... He had his first day at Nottingham today, tutoring second year history people, and finds it a long and rather frustrating day, as Nottingham students are notoriously anti-intellectual, and resist any genuine thought-stimulation. ... however the result is quite lucrative (about £50 for the term, so in some part it is worth it). He finds he doesn't go into LSE much, but can mostly work in his flat.*

[Gill's parent had not been told that Gill and I were living together – so letters were sent via a friend . This lasted until we married on December 20<sup>th</sup>.-]

One of the sets of lectures which were beginning around this time were by James Woodburn. Here are my typed notes on the first two lectures, which I also indexed.



In some societies (e.g. Hadza of N. Tanzania where Woodburn did his field-work = H. from now on) there is little importance for consanguinity; goods and services do not flow along kinship lines, though, though it is possible to trace kinship patterns, what is important to discover is the content of kinship ties, not the categories of kinship terminology; kinship terms do not define behaviour, they are an aspect of... American Anth's terminology, which substitutes Crow/Omaha systems of kinship terminology for patrilineal/matrilineal - though they are not coincidental, is hardly useful.

The necessity for statistical approach, for counting, quantification, for counting berries, gifts etc.

Inheritance: elaborate rules concerning exist in most societies which tend to intensify or limit conflict; These differ depending on the value of the personal property to be inherited. Among the Hadza there is no very valuable personal property & no fixed rules of inheritance, thus, on a man's death, all those present will get something but brothers absent won't be reserved property, as the H. say on a death 'everybody cries, everybody gets something'. In all small-scale societies all imp. relationships are marked by a transmission of property (incl. services).

D. Forde has made a distinction between transitory groupings (hunters & gatherers) who do not have very systematic rules of inheritance and more stable & wealthier societies which have more ~~reg~~ regular & patterned, unilineal, descent systems.

(hunters & gatherers rapidly mobile not because forced on by their ecology, but because they want to - result of disputes, death, disease, dirt)

Role of kinship in middle-range societies: it provides for differentiated ascriptive roles, there is no room for competition for office etc.; it is difficult to have an ascriptive system without emphasis on kinship.

Attack on R-B's arg't re. 'extension of sentiment'.

- i) ? 2) R-B looks to much at sister's son; in fact it is the ault who sets the pattern 3) MB is only one of a number called by the same term.

## LECTURE 2. Division of labour, inheritance and father-son relationships.

Division of labour by sex is not merely related to child-bearing since sterile women in prim. socs performs the same tasks as fertile women; why, then, is there a division of labour? Levi-Strauss argues that economic interdependencies are artificially fostered to strengthen marriage.

Father-son relationship: this is usually underestimated by anthropologists, there is tremendous variation between socs.

Criticism of R-B.; more imp. than the formal instruction of the younger by the older is the nature of the transmission of property between father and son (cf. Goodie, Death, Property & the Ancestors). The property content of a relationship tells one a great deal about other aspects of the relationship.

Theory of Kathleen Gough (on 'Matrilineal Kinship')

- she relates variations to the productivity level in various socs. Thus where productivity is low and there is considerable uncertainty father-son ties receive greater emphasis than in socs. where there is certainty & high productivity; in uncertain systems it is necessary to rely on other ~~ates~~, thus an individual has a second source of supply through a father and his kin.

Among the Isanzu (a neighbour of the Hadza) father's have very important property obligations to their sons, they provide bride-wealth for weddings etc., ~~but there is little~~ great ~~authority~~ authority over the son.

Property - various informal types of, as well as material goods; include status, labour, knowledge/skill, everyday sustenance, access to land, bride-wealth, ties of assistance/co-operation with neighbours. Most of these are transmitted from father-son in any type of society, though they are often overlooked. When the dependence is great for the above, then authority is considerable, otherwise it is less.

Change: unilineal descent groups are likely to break down when grown men can provide for themselves, descent-group system is not possible in an elaborate market economy.

Patrilineal systems: there is usually great differentiation between the heir and the other sons (cf. Fortes on Tallensi); the roles of the father and inheriting son have to be kept quite distinct to prevent conflict, hence the



Another set of lectures were by Audrey Hayley of S.O.A.S. Here is the first page of the typed-up version of my notes on an extremely rich set of lectures, based on her work in Assam.

MRS. HAYLEY COMPARATIVE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS. (L.S.E. Winter 1966) [1510]  
Lecture 1. Caste; introductory. Hayley, Lectures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Definition of caste: caste is a social system, the units of which are closed status groups, hierarchically ranked and regulated by the concept of ritual pollution. It is a system unique to India. It is a ritual system, an economic system, a social stratification system and a means of social control, but not a political system, nor is kinship different from other endogamous systems. Knowing a person's caste one knows that they a) were born in that caste b) married within that caste c) eat within that caste (commensural) d) pursue the same occupation as other members of the caste; have a certain ritual status. (cf. Leach, Cambridge Paper on Caste)

Peculiarities of caste: it is the oldest and most stable of all systems, very resistant to change; despite the ethnic and political disunity of India, caste assimilates and diffuses; it is resistant to all internal reform movements & all reforming sects themselves become castes.

Effects of Hinduism on caste: H. recognizes four species of men called Varna's & warriors, prostitutes, thieves, priests & each has a different 'dharma', this concept of 'dharma', meaning religion/sacred law/rules of conduct is a system of ethical relativity to which Weber was greatly attracted.

H. went through a sacrificial phase, 9000-6000 B.C. during which the Brahmins/priests were supreme. Then emerged the ascetic theme (Weber's anti-capitalistic spirit) of 1) non-violence 2) renunciation of worldly things, abstinence, fasting, all of which would lead to 'power'. The results on caste were 1) in style of life - a respect for non-violence and renunciation, the higher the caste the more taboos 2) foods were hierarchically ranked and related to castes, the qualities of the foods were believed to pass to the eaters - at the top were rice, bananas etc. at the bottom, liquor, beef, pig etc. 3) Occupation were hierarchically ranked & according to the amount of violence in each of them, e.g. leather-work was a low caste occupation. A simple explanation in terms of economic/political power of caste, however, does not work - there is no economic reason why distillers should be at the bottom of the hierarchy.

Internal change in caste: methods of preventing change.

i) There is no persecution (religious) as such: when a sect arises it recruits its members from caste groups: the sect becomes a closed group (untouchable e.g.) - it, in turn becomes regarded as a caste. e.g. in Assam in 1948 - there was a dispute re. the required period of ritual mourning after a death. There was a complete split between the '1 month people', the '11 day people' and a very advanced group, under a Congress statesman called the '3 day people'. Castes are united by mechanical solidarity - both a strength and prevents any flexibility. Hence a change in customs/beliefs leads to caste fission and the founding of another caste.

Muslims/Christians observe caste distinctions.

contribution of Hinduism: it provides different styles of life - thus allows absorption. A belief in Samsara (belief in transmigration of souls c. C7 on) and in Karma (all deeds lead to the future life = balance sheet of a good/bad life) provides an explanation of suffering. Suffering is the result of sin in the last life. Also it justifies social divisions, assuages the guilt of the higher castes. It has also been argued that it justifies social immobility. Finally, Hinduism regulates the caste system through the idea of ritual pollution. Nothing is absolutely polluted; it is a matter of degree.



The graduate classes were also starting and here are my typed-up notes on the first and a little of the second.

GRADUATE CLASS: MICHAELMAS; 1966. Mr. Forge. *Indexed 20/6/67.* (154)

Class 1. Political anthropology. Mr. Leyton, paper on general typologies of political systems - based on African Pol. Systems, Introduction, and Schapera Govt & Politics, Smith article and Mair, Prim. Gov't.

Rivers was chiefly interested in the origin of chiefs as 'dominating strangers', then came African Pol. Systems which defined politics as the use of physical force (R-B. in preface). Then a summary of E-P & Fortes introd'n, illustrated from article on Zulus. The smallest type of soc. is ignored in this volume.

Grp. A. - state societies; criticisms along the lines of Easton, that it is necessary to study structures rather than structures and how decisions are made.

Grp. B. which are 'stateless societies', that is societies which lack forms of government, but have 'political structure'

M.G. Smith criticized the terms, e.g. 'territorial units', perhaps more useful would be the 'home-range' concept from the habits of animals. Smith/Southall also criticized the distinction between 'segmentary' and non-segmentary societies - thus the Aikuyu were a stateless society, yet were not based on the lineage system.

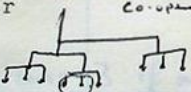
Summary of Schapera: he related systems of govt to means of subsistence and followed the idea of political role differentiation.

Mair - summary of: she has a respect for Maine's theory re. the kinship basis of stateless societies and implicitly rejects E-P; she follows the trend of stressing processes/developments rather than divisions and the gradual evolution of government, a new, dynamic, approach to, Thus a more developmental, 'continuum' of political types, approach is necessary.

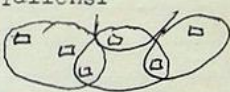
Comments: though the threefold definition of states made by E-P is overthrown it is still used as a useful analytic tool.

E-P and Fortes, from their field-work, had different ideas of 'territory' - this affected their general approach; the Nuer were much more mobile, the Tallensi much more densely populated/static - landholdings were not distinct units, the maximal lineage had no 'territorial unit', there were cross-cutting ties of ancestor/earth cults, the 3 levels of ritual organization provide cross-ties.

Nuer



Tallensi



force is absent in Tallensi system, the use of force is sinful and warfare absent, a very different situation to the Nuer who fought incessantly. Schapera's definition of politics as a united opposition to external forces does not work with Nuer.

It is important to make a distinction between minimum/maximum areas of political power - they may be different in different activities etc. There is a considerable distinction between feud/warfare - the latter is controlled and there is an agreed reference point.

One must also distinguish the political unit depending on who is looking at it - whether it is from inside or outside - a political division is, presumably, based on common behaviour/language etc. There is a considerable difference between interaction within a political system, and when it is dealing with an outside system

Class 2. Miss Austro, Segmentary Systems.

- a def'n of unilineal principle as in ~~1966/67~~ introd'n, African... Kinship explan'n of Nuer system.

one must make a distinction between actual historical genealogies - which probably do not extend beyond the minimal lineage, and the principles of genealogical structure, which are mythological - e.g. the unilineal system. Smith thinks that the principle of unilineal descent is a myth, and, anyhow, it is only one of the many principles of political segmentation.

From Iris: Field Head, Thursday [13th October 1966]

My dear Alan,

*This is really for you both but I find pronouns difficult to cope with when writing to two people at once... A pity the course isn't more invigorating but the Incest essay should be interesting, presumably this is prohibited relationships in different societies and involves all the rules of exogamy, endogamy, caste etc? Very enormous subject. I've only come across one example in the slides to date, a man marrying his first cousin. There are lots of marriage cases though, in fact the majority, which show clearly the ritual of courtship and betrothal, the form seems to have been that a young couple decide that they love each other (or "bear each other goode will") and then get the consent of both lots of parents. The young man sometimes takes a friend along to do the talking to the bride's father, asking if he may buy one of his daughters "if she be not too deare"! and if he agrees there is a ceremony on his "entrie" of clasping hands which is absolutely binding in law in fact they are then man and wife in the eyes of God (apparently the same as a hand fasting ritual still carried out in the Hebrides according to the Telly!) This is probably old hat, but it seems to show that among the lower classes there was a good deal of freedom of choice, and one also gets the impression that the law is always lurking as everyone is anxious to have witnesses for the simplest conversation. I am still copying the slides word for word but when you come up you can see if you think this really necessary, one get the flavour better but there is a great deal of repetition. If the typewriter situation hasn't improved you can lug this one back with you to do your thesis, maybe it's just as well to have a period of peace and reorganisation anyway....*

*....I have my second Comparative Religion lecture today, the first was very funny, all ancient ladies in hats and gloves, very intense except one who laid her head on the arm of her chair and slept loudly from start to finish. Our prof. summed up our I.Q. at a glance and we never got further than the late stone age, he told us all about (a) The Food Gatherers, (b) The Hunters, (c) The Cultivators etc. and we solemnly wrote it down in our little books, actually I drew faces. He kept saying things like how stable society was a couple of hundred years ago and people never moved from their villages and I was tempted to argue practically every point. He is an authority on Chinese Philosophy apparently so if we can ever get away from the food gatherers it might be interesting.*

*I see Levi Strauss had a new book out which you will probably see at coll. it looks interesting but I think beyond me.... We are hoping to go croft hunting for a few days at the end of the month, some of our money had come from India so there is a chance that the rest may follow. We are living on swede soup and home-made bread, v. cheap.*

To parents 18.10.66

Dear M & D,

*Thank you very much for your long and interesting letter. Sorry not to have replied earlier but thought I'd better wait until I'd been to Oxford before I wrote.... Look forward to hearing more of your comparative religion sessions, though it reminds me rather gruesomely of my W.E.A. classes. Talking of classes, my Nottingham sessions are going quite well. The first year are adoring and trusting and appear to like me bubbling away about Tawney; the second-year are slightly more cynical, yet intelligent and quite chatty.... So far, I think, I've managed to conceal my abysmal ignorance and next week we move onto safer ground with Gustavus Adolphus and the Revolt of the Netherlands. I find that I have some of your notes on the 30 Y.W. in my files Mummy, so you can reflect on the fact that your knowledge is being fed to the keen young minds of one of Britain's progressive universities! More daunting is the thought of my seminar at All Souls. I had assumed that it was a graduate class, but I gather from Keith that it is almost entirely composed of dons – including several Professors. Among the speakers this term is Le Roy Ladurie, who, you will remember, had his book reviewed in the Times Lit. Sup. on 'The Peasants of Languedoc'. Still, as I am not in the academic rat-race, it doesn't too much matter how I get on.*

*....It seems that we will have to be especially economical since I heard only today that the Social Science grant people won't give me any of the £190 dependants allowance if my wife has a grant. Still, we seem to be living fairly cheaply at the moment and more or less breaking even. At the end of the quarter our initial joint overdraft*

of some £70 will begin to tell, however. I'm glad to hear that some of your money has come through and that you really are going to get off to the land of crofts. I look forward to hearing how you fare....

Oxford was as wonderful as ever. Gill and I stayed at Bill's and did a Grand Tour of all my friends – Ralph Robinson. Dr. Ralph, Alec, Harry Pitt, Lady Clay, David etc. Most of them, unfortunately, won't be able to come to the wedding – but Gill was most sparkling and I sat back and watched her admiringly. I saw Keith for a little over 2 hours – as usual it left me with a mixture of awe and depression and elation. He only made trifling criticisms of the two chapters I had given him and seems to think that I should not submit the thesis before the summer, but I'll see about that. He says that his own book is at about the same stage as my thesis. Autumn in Oxford was most invigorating and it was reassuring to find so many people who remembered one. Incidentally I met Hilda Grieve, the head of the Essex Record Office, in London, and was sad to hear that she had retired from being supervisor. Luckily the new head is also a friend of mine so my connections will remain close. Anyhow I won't describe Oxford as it would take too long – but it was glorious.

L.S.E. is brightening up a bit also. Although there isn't much that I have to do as yet, except write a paper for next week's seminar and keep on reflecting on incest, the reading I am doing in my spare time is most exciting. I am just reading 'Sex and Repression in Savage Society', by the ex-professor at L.S.E., Malinowski. It is a fascinating attempt to apply psycho-analytical ideas to dreams, myths and marriage in primitive society. Yes, I will certainly try to read the newly-translated Levi-Strauss, though I doubt whether I will make much of it yet. People go around with the book tucked under their arms and looks of awe on their faces, so I presume it is good.

I was very interested in your remarks on marriage ceremonial etc. in the Archdeaconry records and am longing to see your transcript. As I work through all this theoretical stuff I keep longing for some actual case material and am longing to get down to applying it. I think what you are finding is absolutely fascinating and know nothing, apart from Homans for the medieval period, which deals with these problems. If I were you I would begin, if you are confident, to start cutting down repetitions if they are pure repetition – ie. word for word, though, as you know, often the exact wording is very revealing. What sort of speed have you got to with the reading, and how confident do you feel? You might, when you get to the end of the Act Book, though I imagine this will be some time yet, begin to work out how far marriages took place etc. No, perhaps we'd better work out analyses together. Please do send me any problems. I think I will probably be up on the first or second week-ends of Nov. – i.e. about 10th Nov. I presume you will be back by then? We can discuss the records properly then. What other types of case comes up in the depositions? Do you get libel, Puritanism etc.?

From Iris: Field Head, Monday [24th October 1966]

My dear Alan,

We can clear your overdraft and you can pay us back when Gill starts earning. A letter from Assam saying that everyone had been pushed out except four managers, which is rather dismal for the poor dears as they are all expendable and won't find England agog to employ them.... My comparative religion cheered up a little when we left the stone gatherers and got on to Ancient Egypt but it is still pretty elementary stuff, the Osiris legend in great detail with much coy skirting round the fertility stuff but as most of the old dears are nodding off it wouldn't ruffle them...

I have finished the first lot of depositions (30). I am pretty fluent now but wonder if you will find my writing any easier to read than theirs. They will be easy to analyse, as some cases run on and on, and they are a very large percentage breach of marriage contracts. An interesting thing is that the contract and the ceremony sealing seems to give the couple the right to live together, so this rather makes confusion of illegitimacy statistics. I am deep in Finland Station and find it fascinating, have sent for some Marx from the library. We are going croft hunting this weekend over Daddy's birthday, a rushed trip as Fiona can only spare three days but might find something.

It is a great honour being asked to talk to all those dons, would you like my tranquillisers?! Am also wondering about a suit although probably the Taxney brown will suit the occasion. You will have to have one for the wedding & we can get this on the never never for you if you make arrangements. I had another session at the typewriter shop, much hysteria & little progress so I think you'd better try & take the monster back. I am having another burst of Mughal-mania at the moment but it will pass!



My first presentation at a seminar was at the end of the month. Here is the first page of that paper.

POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE STUDY OF THE RUANDA BY MAQUET. (Graduate seminar, 30/10/66)

Introduction: summary of papers to date.

I would like to begin this ~~essay~~ by giving a brief summary of the two previous papers and discussions. Having reminded ourselves of some of the theoretical issues raised by Smith, Easton, Evans-Pritchard and ~~others~~, we will then look at Maquet's description of the Ruanda as an empirical testing ground for previous speculations. In the conclusion I would like to offer some suggestions and criticisms.

The principle problems discussed in previous papers were: what do we mean by a 'political organization', system, or behaviour and how can we differentiate different types of political unit. The starting point was the preface and introduction by R-B and Fortes/P to African Pol. Systems. It was agreed that R-B's definition of political organization as 'that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the control and regulation of the use of physical force' (African Systems... p.xiii) was inadequate to describe, for example, the Tallensi. Nor was the threefold classification of the editors into small bands, ~~and~~ state and 'stateless' societies thought to be satisfactory. The major criticism of this view was that the ~~segmentary~~ <sup>(stateless)</sup> principle which was meant to distinguish the two types in fact bridged them ~~two~~. Though useful as an analytic tool, it was felt that it would be better to seek differences in political process, rather than political structure. The inadequacy of the classification was best demonstrated by Smith, but, as Easton pointed out, having knocked down the previous criteria for differentiating states and having shown that they were really all alike in having political action and administrative hierarchies, he failed to produce a new typology. Nor was it easy to see how his most attractive speculations would work in actual cases, for example where did one find an administrative hierarchy in the Luer political unit? Easton's main aim was to suggest a new ~~method~~ method of classifying states, the degree of role differentiation in political life. He argued ~~for~~ a continuum approach, <sup>the</sup> placing various societies on a scale according to the degree to which political office was distinguished from other social roles. He argued that 'the critically important variable in the functioning of a political system is the degree of structural differentiation between political and other kinds of social ~~roles~~ roles in the fulfillment of various political functions' - this ~~is~~ variable he thought was 'mutually interdependent with other major

My concluding remarks to the essay show that, writing from my historical background, I had some serious criticisms already of the timeless, functional, anthropological approach.

- 1) Macquet's study shows effectively, however, that centralized government is possible even in adverse conditions, though he never discusses why there should have been centralized government as opposed to other forms.

- 2) That the functional approach, which is broadly that adopted by Macquet, though he makes it appear less naive by explaining the functions at the end, after describing the actual systems, is, in fact an unsatisfactory method of dealing with political systems. Thus Macquet explains with great skill a system once it is working, but it is impossible to test whether his theories are correct or not. He offers no possibility of measuring his hypotheses nor any theory, as we have suggested, of why this particular system rather than any other is to be found. This state of affair will perhaps continue until some attempt is made to study political change.
- 3) This is my third problems. Nowhere have I come across an account showing what actually happens during a rebellion or feud, or how changes in different areas of society affect politics. I think Lucy Mair is very aware of this difficulty since on 22 different pages in her book ('Primitive Government') she makes overt her regret at the absence of historical material with which to study changes in political systems, or how politics actually worked in practice. As long as discussion remains on the stationary and abstract level theories proliferate but it is impossible to measure their utility. ... Unfortunately this appears to be very difficult in Africa since there is little material for studying what actually happened in the political organization before the advent of Europeans. This leads to my last query.
- 4) It struck me as slightly limited that a book entitled *Primitive Government* should restrict itself entirely to African material, just as another book [Schapera] on *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies* does. Circumscribed as it has been geographically, the study of political life has also been limited temporally, and although there is not time to develop this point, it seems to me that the place where anthropologists will growingly have to test their hypotheses is in the rich archival field of pre-industrial Europe. Macquet's book is based on less evidence than the scholarly works of many historians, and the types of distortion he must get through memory are, as Professors Firth and Evans-Prichard have long pointed out, as bad as those produced by historical records. [Marginal note in pen: e.g. Namier, Hoskins, Goubert]

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8., 31/10/66

Dear M & D ,

*Thank you for your last letter & sorry to have been so long replying, but I imagine you will only just have got back from croft-hunting. Will be most interested to hear how you got on. Today is Daddy's birthday and thinking of you. To get arrangements sorted out first - could I come up for the week-end of Nov. 12th -13th? I'll arrive either Friday evening or Saturday morning and drop in to do my Nottingham teaching on the way down. I very much look forward to seeing you both if this is O.K.... The streets round here have been thick with kids holding one up for "a penny for a guy" - an interesting reversal of the age-group relations according to Levi-Strauss, the boys representing the spirits of the Dead etc. Last week we went to the AP's.<sup>11</sup> Grandpa seems tired, but Granny much better and they were their usual hospitable selves. Glad Granny may be able to get up to the wedding... Don't worry about the suit - at least for All Souls. My corduroy jacket and grey trousers is formal enough I think. The weekend in the Lakes will give me a chance to collect my thoughts for the talk - at the moment I don't know what I am going to talk about.*

*Things chug on in the normal way here and I've established lots of little rituals. Nottingham is tiring but I'm re-learning quite a bit about C16 - it was Gustavus Adolphus & the Revolt of the Netherlands today. I've just received two interesting French books. Goubert's massive study of the Beauvais with about 40 graphs like Daddy's, and Mandrou on the psychology of C17 France. The latter is very disappointing and superficial - but very much look forward to reading Goubert. Glad you're enjoying To the Finland Station Mummy. I thought it was a most exciting book. Also glad to hear that you've returned to the Mughals. I've been going to some fascinating lectures on 'Caste' at L.S.E. by a Mrs Hayley, a sociologist. I noticed that several of her examples were from Assam etc. and her last lecture, the gist of which - or rather the main articles and books was a most exciting attempt to piece together the history of caste etc. before the British penetrated to the North. Apparently, much of the evidence is fine temple inscriptions. After the lecture I went up & talked to her a bit. I then learnt*

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<sup>11</sup> Aged Parents.

*that she had lived in Assam for 10 years, learnt Assamese etc. She seems to know all about bark-written history etc. but said that her old Assamese was not very good. She was so interested to hear of your work and suggested that when you were next in London you should contact her. If you felt like doing this I'm sure you'd find it most interesting. Some of the theses that she referred to are at L.S.E. so I hope you'll come down and look at them. I'll bring notes on the lectures up & see if you want anything photographed. At the moment, actually, the xerox machine has broken down, but bureaucracy may re-assert itself soon and get the thing working.*

*I was also v. interested to hear about the depositions. How interesting about the marriage contract etc. I knew that this was, in theory, so in the C13 but hadn't realized that it was legally so as late as the C16. How officially accepted was this? - and how long a gap was there between marriage and contract? Have you come across any other country customs - e.g. meeting at any special places etc. I look forward v. much to seeing you too. Yesterday evening we had Arthur Searle of the Essex Record Office - he is soon to be the No. 2 when Miss Grieve leaves. ... He was most interested to hear of your findings.*

*My work at the L.S.E. is getting gradually more interesting. We've now turned from politics to economics. My paper, a fairly brutal attack on anthropological treatment of religion, met with surprisingly little opposition last week. Now we are on to Malinowski and the Kula ring - it's interesting to compare it to my Nottingham history, especially Tawney. I also managed to get another Chapter of the thesis polished off at the weekend. Have now reduced about 200 pages of 2nd draft to about 40 pages - I find it heartbreaking....*

*Hope you can read this scrawl - rather lifeless I'm afraid but have travelled 300 miles today!*

## **November 1966**

From Iris: Field Head [1st November 1966]

*My dear Alan,*

*Back by our fireside with Daddy cooking the cauliflower cheese and Poochie snarling at Ambrose and the memory of tumbled brown hills and sea gulls like a dream. As you will have gathered from the postcard, we got up into Sutherland, covered 940 miles actually driving furiously all day and ending up each evening as it got dark in a hotel for tea. We were very lucky with the weather, the first day we had sun all the way, took a detour to look at Dollar<sup>12</sup>, and ended up at Aberfeldy for the night. The hotel was terribly mock, imitation brick walls and mock tartan chair covers, but after dark I went out with Poochie and found myself by "the birks of Aberfeldy", very magical in the moonlight with the toilets and ice cream booths shrouded. Next morning there was a thick frost and the valleys sparkling and trees like cut glass, it seemed as if an ice queen had put them under a spell, quite unforgettable. The sun shone all the way up past Inverness but we stopped for lunch in the rain outside the inevitable disused mine cum rubbish dump - however things improved again as we headed west and Ullapool when we got there at about three was ravishing - the fishing boats just in, the men in their gleaming yellow macintoshes handling the orange barrels with white gulls screaming against a backcloth of dark blue hills. We found Fiona's hotel which was all strip lighting and plastic palms and a very snooty manageress so we pushed on into the rugged Sutherland countryside, all jagged and treeless and golden and we felt we were going to fall off it suddenly into the sea - actually ended up at this sweet little port called Lochinver where there was a huge hotel which was very welcome. More fishing smacks and gulls and bare blue hills but a very fishy river too which makes it a popular place in the summer, there were a couple of old dears in the hotel who had just bought a bit of land to build on and they put us onto the factor, the whole country side for about fifty square miles belongs to an estate and we went to see the factor in the morning. He said we could get land or very broken down buildings and also rent holiday cottages and this we plan to do so that we can have more time to look round. Next day we drove on round the coast past these lovely sandy coves and always the jumbled hills with little lochs reflecting them, we saw quite a few semi ruins and some islands, and a deer jumped down in front of the car and then sauntered off to pose in the bracken. It rained heavily but was still beautiful and heart lifting. Very inaccessible of course but I am convinced that is the only way to have peace, where there are roads there are people. Anyway we plan to look at islands first as it would be almost as quick to get to one as to the*

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<sup>12</sup> Dollar Academy, Clackmannanshire, was where my father was at school.

*far north. We were pretty tired after the twisty roads and so much scenery to admire so spent that night at Invergordon, tame and flat but with the charm that estuaries have, a sort of rotting smell that sets off the seagulls. This left us with a three hundred mile drive home. A very bare description but I am bad at describing places anyway but came back with my head full of lovely pictures.... I'm longing to hear how the talk went. I should start in on the Archdeacons again now that my headaches have gone but won't accomplish much before seeing you. I'll stick to the marriage cases and just file the tythes & wills for future reference, the one you sent was very detailed and interesting, I think bit by bit we will be able to piece together a fairly clear picture of Courting Customs which will also tell us a lot about relationships generally. V. scathing reviews of Rowse's & Bryant's latest books today, the latter described as an emetic...*

From Iris: Field Head, Wednesday [2nd November 1966]

*My dear Alan,*

*As you will have heard, no croft hunting for us again, that and having the Johnsons to dinner are projects which we will be abortively planning up to our death beds! ...I have a streaming cold and leaden head and am obviously in for Daddy's flu....I have just got your letter, you really shouldn't bother to write when you have got so much on your plate but I was very interested in the lady who knows Assamese and would love to meet her. Funny that I've never heard of her or seen her referred to in any of my reading. Caste has never been strong in Assam, untouchability unknown as far as I am aware, almost as soon as the Brahmins arrived they found themselves first competing with the Tantric cult and then being reformed. It is a subject about which I would like to know more for my book and I'd be very glad for the names of books. We would love to see you for the weekend of Nov 12th but only if you feel it would be a refreshing change and not just one more effort....I can easily make a sort of resumé of the depositions if you would like, or just plug on and have more ready for you. The marriage contract has only cropped up clearly in one case but is alluded to in several – as soon as the contract was made the couple were entitled to live together, she feeding him and he being referred to as her husband, whilst the banns were being read and invitations issued. but at the end of that time if the marriage wasn't solemnised people began to ask why. So the time elapsing would be only a month or so presumably. The thing that seems to haunt them is being run in for slander, anything said so that people (even walking past the house down the road) could hear was dangerous. The idea seems to have been that everyone was enjoined to spy and report, and if the churchwardens didn't do so enough they had a lot of explaining to do. Perhaps this comes out in an exaggerated form in the church courts and a lot of little troubles were eased away and people didn't really go round in fear of each other as they appear to have done. I have nearly finished Marx, very inspiring stuff, what amazes me is the way he could sit there with this poverty and carbuncles and enlarged liver and never get distracted, at least not to the point of giving up. And here am I with a cold and hardly the energy to write this letter....*

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8., 2/11/66

*Dear Mummy & Daddy,*

*Thank you for an ecstatic letter describing Scotland; it sounded gorgeous and I do hope we manage to get up there for our symbolic honeymoon. I do hope you are both still feeling rested and not too caught up in local tensions/problems or with preparations. Perhaps we could continue the search for a croft?*

*.... I don't seem to have done much else but work recently. I want to get the thesis as nearly completed as possible by Christmas and I am hammering away at it. It's a grisly business dissecting and surgically cutting away great chunks which were so lovingly nurtured. Still, I hope it will read better. I've got 2/3 of the way through which is better than I had hoped. This leaves little time for anthropology, unfortunately. We're 'doing' kinship now and I'm longing for the opportunity to study the matrilineal societies of Assam etc. I find all the terminology very confusing and only understand a very small portion of Leach et al., but I suppose it will come. Only two more sessions at Nottingham. As I think I said, I quite enjoy them now. Am full of ideas about how I would like to run a University... About after Christmas - if we could come over about 30th and stay for a week*

that would be wonderful. Thank you for booking the chalet. David (b.m.)<sup>13</sup> will be travelling up with me on the coach on Saturday (17th)... Am looking forward to then....

Don't worry about the depositions if you are busy/have headaches etc. If you do I'd just index the tithe/defamation cases and concentrate on marriages – tho' if you could note names/places in passing it would be useful. Perhaps it would be best to leave blank pages? Wonder how your finding the reading. If you do carry on, perhaps you could keep an eye open for dowries and bridewealth: I don't think I've ever come across mention of them in Archdeaconry records – but one imagines there must have been something equivalent in C16. I have a friend who wants references. Yes, I agree that we should be able to build up a fascinating picture of C16 courting customs. I came across a v. interesting reference the other day in a C14 document which condemned people because "they often abstain from knowing their wives lest children be born, fearing that they could not bring up so many" – Laslett would love this ref. to artificial control of population!....

I heard from Trevor Roper in a letter dated 5th November.

My dear Alan,

How is your work at Nottingham?... I don't suppose that you have time to visit Oxford. But if you do, I hope I shall see you...

You tell me that you have signed a contract with Routledge for a book on witches. I hope it was a good contract, and that you are not going to be mulcted by Michael Hurst, who has contrived to interpose himself between author and publisher in other cases.... I have completed and sent in my huge essay on that subject: 30,000 words I fear. I don't think we shall compete. You nibble at the Essex grass-roots: I float in the stratosphere, surveying, through iridescent, distorting mists, the slowly revolving globe from China to Peru, or at least from Constantinople to Glasgow. ... If you really want to see my essay – though I assure you that it will teach you nothing and you will probably dissent, pricking my iridescent, aerated soap-bubbles with your whetted witch-needle – of course you may. The trouble is that it is so chaotic: I doubt if I have a readable copy. But I suppose that in due course I shall have a proof.

Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper

Heard the banns read on Sunday, blushed scarlet with pride!

From Iris:: Field Head, Tuesday [8th November 1966]

My dear Alan,

Yours received this morning – I'm glad the work is going so well. When you mentioned Cantlie we placed your lady tutor straight away, her father was in the I.C.S. & retired in Shillong & had a "dark" family – she was probably educated in Assam hence her speaking the language so well – her mother may in fact have been Assamese. I have been doing some more reading of slides & am moving much faster, mostly tythes & wills & am noting down facts of special interest, the wills throw some oblique rays of light on living conditions. I've not come across any dowries as yet, only presents from bridegroom. Life has been quiet and by some extraordinary chance I've had nothing wrong with me – however I foresee shingles etc. breaking out next week. We'd love to have you from the 30th & could run you back as we expect Anne on Jan. 7th. I think Sutherland would be too far for the "honeymoon" but you might try lower down the coast nearer Mallaig though perhaps too touristy? I will book something for Harry Pitt & Keith, thought of Rydal Hall if available? Warm & cheap & Keith could look at the library. Any more about the fellowship? V. tempting. I see the School of African Studies are doing a one year course including a language – M.Sc. how I'd love to do it....

I wrote back to Trevor-Roper on 13th November, from Ridge Road

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

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<sup>13</sup> Best man



*The thesis progresses though I fear that it will not be completely finished and ready for submission until my final statutory term – next Summer. Doing anthropology and growing older has rather disturbing effects on my previous thoughts and I keep reshaping the whole structure of the thesis – which is rather fatal at this stage. Perhaps I can write it as I want it in the book. No, I'm not under Michael Hurst's aegis – I think he is editor of the Political History series and I was intending to join the social history series – but Routledge have suggested that I would get better treatments in America if I publish as a semi-general book outside a series. The whole publishing world is, of course, a strange jungle to me and the mysterious creatures that roam there, emitting weird prehistoric cries, are still to be identified. Any help you can give me in the way of advice from your own experience is gratefully received.*

*I'm glad the witchcraft essay is off to press. You must have done a lot of work up in Scotland. Yes, I don't think we'll overlap much, but when you do have a proof I'd like to see it if this would be alright. I will be in Oxford next Sunday and Monday (20th, 21st) and if you are free at all on either occasion would like to call in. I'm giving a talk to the Habakkuk/Thirsk seminar on at 5 p.m. on Monday...*

To Lady Clay 15.11.66

44, Ridge Road, London N.8

*I've just been home for the week-end and it seems that wedding preparations are in full steam. It all seems to be happening to somebody else. ... I was very interested to hear Prof. Habakkuk is going there [India]. Perhaps I shall have a chance to talk to him about it when I give my paper on witches to his seminar next week. I was most interested to hear of you tea-party with Habakkuk, Thomas & families. With Hill, Hoskins and Thirsk they are the historians I most admire at the moment. ... Nottingham goes well and your notes are a help. Ron. Fryer had somehow heard of my knowing you and came up and spoke of his friendship to Oliver (?). I'm enjoying teaching Tawney and go off on long harangues about his approach to history – but I don't know whether they absorb much of it. I'm taking Tawney as a special subject and after 3 weeks discussion of 'Religion and the Rise, we're discussing other people who have been influenced by him or by whom he was influenced, taking week by week Weber, Fromm, Riesman, Walzer, Hill and Thomas. Gives me plenty to think about anyhow. Titow, who wrote that interesting article on widows in the late middle ages is there (Notts) and I hope to see him. Anyhow, I won't prattle on too much as I will be down this coming Sunday and hope to see you then. ... It was nice hearing from you, as always; I do depend very heavily on you to keep me in touch with the Oxford I so much miss.*

From Iris: Field Head, Thursday [17th November 1966]

Dear Alan,

*I hope this will catch you before you set off on your Oxford weekend, we shall be thinking of you on Monday and hope it won't be too much of an ordeal. I felt very guilty about dozing off during the reading, nothing to do with the content and I'm sure it'll be a riveting experience for your audience – really. I do hope the journey back went smoothly, it was a miserable weekend for you but lovely to see you and you can tell Gill that she is obviously feeding you very well! I'm afraid I wasn't very bright and went to bed again on Monday with a temperature and general flueiness... I feel a bit better today though and hope I've finally beaten the beastly bug. Icy gales have been screaming round the house for days which hasn't helped, but they have abated today and the countryside is lit with ethereal lights. The trees are suddenly quite bare and beautiful in a new way....*

*Really no news, afraid I haven't even been able to read your records due to this grinding headache... and thinking of Pascal and Karl Marx and how they worked eighteen hours a day with all their illnesses....*

*Do let me know if you are short of cash won't you, it depends when Nottingham pays you I expect. We really mean to go croft hunting next week but no doubt blizzards or slipped discs or something will stop us.*

To Trevor-Roper, from 44, Ridge Road, 22nd November 1966

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

*Thank you so much for tea and sympathy on Sunday. I enjoyed, as always, hearing anecdotes of the great whom I have never met. I'm writing now to ask whether you really do think it would be worth my trying for the*

*Oriel fellowship? Considering that I have not published anything, being intent on hoarding intellectual capital, and that I will need another year to finish my course at L.S.E. – as far as I am concerned an essential condition – do you think I've still a chance? Of course you can't make predictions, but if you do consider it worthwhile I've decided to postpone Calcutta. I haven't seen the Oriel post advertized anywhere, so if you think it worth a try, perhaps you could let me know to whom I should make application?*

*My talk to Thirsk's seminar went without too many eruptions, though I could scarcely see some of the other students at the vast green baize table at All Souls.*

*I look forward to your advice on the above. Thanks again for hospitality, please thank Lady Alexandra for me,*

*Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

From Trevor-Roper, 25th November, 1966

*My dear Alan,*

*Thank you very much for your letter. I did not answer it till I had had an opportunity of making enquiries in Oriel, which I have now done. The answer is that certainly an application from you would be accepted, even though you might make it clear that, if elected, would could not take the post for a year. Other things being equal, they would certainly prefer someone who could come next year, but if you were thought to be the best candidate an arrangement could no doubt be made. So this proviso should not deter you from applying if you want to do so.*

*I do not think that you should be deterred by that fact that you have not published anything. Others will no doubt be in the same position. But you should of course have a testimonial from your supervisor who has seen what you have written for your thesis. I will certainly be pleased to help you in any way I can.*

*So in answer to your question. I do think that you have a chance. You should apply in writing to the Provost. Theoretically the closing date for the application is tomorrow, but this will not matter if you apply fairly soon. You should write to the Provost saying that you have heard that they have advertised the post and that you would like to be considered, and you should give an account of your career and the names of two referees, one of whom should be your supervisor. Perhaps the other one should be someone from Worcester College. I will be on the committee, so I can speak for you there without the necessity of a formal reference.*

*So I hope you will apply if you have decided that you will not blame yourself afterward for postponing Calcutta!*

*Yours ever,*

*P.S. I have followed your advice and written to Charles Phythian-Adams too.*

Letter to Erik Pearse, from 44, Ridge Road on 26th November 1966

*.... Half of me yearns to get buried in piles of old manuscripts and books with their distinctive smell, and to spend the rest of my life there. This is really what I do in London actually. The world of witches and the sixteenth century is much more real to me than the present; magic more important than moving staircases; tubes less noticed than the strange cavorts of my sixteenth century villagers. ... Last week-end I went to Oxford to give my long-dreaded talk to a history seminar at All Souls... I had tea with Trevor-Roper (Prof. of history) and he made some rather tempting suggestions job-wise which I'll say more about if they come to anything. Next day I met my other likely examiner, Prof. Evans-Pritchard. He's a real sweetie, just my idea of the absent-minded, dishevelled, shrewd and highly distinguished Professor. He's one of the few people I've met whom one could say definitely 'This is a great man – possibly a genius'. He's one of the two greatest social anthropologists produced by Britain this century – with Malinowski; almost on a par with Weber and Durkheim. ... I'm also writing about a chapter a week of my thesis. Today I finished a chapter which once excited me very much – showing that there was a widespread organization of witch-doctors in Elizabethan village, plotting where they lived, how far their clients came etc. Should throw a cat among the historical pigeons. ...*

From Trevor-Roper, 27th November 1966

*My dear Alan,*

*I wonder if you are applying to Oriel or not.*

*I now know a bit more about the field. As often happens, a flood of last-minute applications has strengthened it. There are (in a total field of 28, 9 of whom I regard as non-starters) 8 candidates in your position – i.e. who have not yet taken the degree of D.Phil or published anything; so you would not be at all exceptional. On the other hand there are some fairly formidable candidates too. So I think that your chances, though as good as any of the 8, are diminished by these last-minute heavyweights.*

*I have absolutely no idea what the Fellows of Oriel really want for the college. I know what I want – someone fairly young who will help to revitalise the place. But perhaps they don't want to be revitalised: perhaps they will prefer one of the applicants who is aged 60 and who, having spent a roving life in business and journalism, sees Oriel as a place of rest... They may dislike this excellent candidate's Left-wing views, that candidate's Methodism, another's field, another's age. So, as they are more numerous than I, they will – if they agree among themselves – prevail, and at present I regard the issue as entirely open. I do not suppose that the strongest candidate will necessarily win!*

*In these circumstances you must be guided entirely by your own view of your own interest. The one thing which makes me pause in urging you to apply is not any question of the result – that is the luck of the game – but the last remark that you made on leaving my house: that if you were to apply and succeed, you would – or might – blame yourself afterwards for having been diverted into an easy course. I don't want to be the cause of your self-reproach!*

*Yours ever,*

*Hugh Trevor-Roper*

To the Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from 44, Ridge Road, on 29th November 1966

*Dear Provost,*

*I have heard that Oriel College will be electing a new Fellow in Modern History shortly and I wonder if I could apply for this post? I am sorry to be late in applying, but I have only just discovered that the Fellowship is open.*

*I read History at Worcester College and took a 2nd (viva for a 1st.) in Trinity term 1963. Since then I have been working for a D.Phil. on the subject 'Witchcraft prosecutions in Essex, 1560-1690; a sociological analysis' under Mr. Keith Thomas of St. John's College, Oxford. I hope to submit the thesis in Trinity term 1967, the last term before an extension is needed. Meanwhile, I have started a two-year Postgraduate Academic Diploma in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics; I am being financed on this by the Social Science Research Council. My teaching experience is limited; I took some tutorials on sixteenth and seventeenth century English history for Hertford College in 1965; I gave a course of 24 lectures for the Oxford Delegacy of Extra-Mural Studies in 1964-1965 – on the same subject; at the moment, concurrent with anthropology, I am doing three essay classes a week at Nottingham University (on the same period in European history). As you can see, my special interest is in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; as an undergraduate I did the economic documents paper on this period and the 'Cromwell' special subject (under Dr. Gough of your college).*

*If I were elected I would only be able to take up the Fellowship at the end of my anthropology diploma, i.e. in October 1968. Naturally, if this occurred and there were teaching problems I would help in any way I could. I do feel, however, that it is important for me to complete my present course. I do hope this does not debar me.*

*I have asked Mr. Keith Thomas of St. John's College and Mr. Harry Pitt (of Worcester College, my tutor as an undergraduate) to act as my referees.*

*Yours sincerely,*

*Alan Macfarlane*

To Harry Pitt, from 44, Ridge Road, 29th November 1966

Dear Harry,

So sorry to miss you last but one week-end, but terribly pleased to hear you (and Keith) are coming to the wedding. I very much look forward to seeing you then. If you want directions (though you've been there before, of course) or possible accommodation etc. do let me know. Theoretically, however, it has been arranged so that one can get there and back in a day. (Gill and I will be wearing suits – so dress is optional).

I'm mainly writing this note to ask if I may, once again, quote you as a referee? It's been suggested to me that I try for the forthcoming fellowship in Modern History at Oriel College and though I think I'm an outsider with a very slender chance there is nothing to lose. They may debar me altogether since I've stipulated that I want to finish my anthropology – which only leaves me free in Oct. 1968. But, if they consider me I would be most grateful if I could use your name? Please say if for any reason you would prefer not to do this, however.

Anthropology/thesis/Nottingham etc. are going well. Gill is reading Middlemarch with vast enthusiasm. Hope term ends well.

Regards to Alec and James,

Yours ever,

To Trevor-Roper on 29th November, from 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

Thank you very much for your letter which I have just received on my return from Nottingham. I've taken the plunge and written to the Provost of Oriel. Thank you very much also for the offer of your far from inconsiderable support; without it I don't think it would have been worth my while applying. More than your support, however, I value your continued interest.

I will keep you informed as to developments at my end, though you'll no doubt be far better informed than I am.

Incidentally, I came across a reference to an E.C. Trevor-Roper in a family bible of my grandmother's – next to it was written 'Aug. 16' – she was apparently the daughter of Maria Hockin Stirling, and related to Admiral Hockin and the Earl of Glencairn. (My mother's mother is a Swinhoe.) Wonder if all this connects up on your side?

Thank you again for taking so much trouble.

P.S. I have just received your second letter; once again thank you for spending your very valuable time on writing. As you say/ imply, my chances are very slim. I think they were from the start, actually, as I can't see them wanting a budding social historian with a definite leaning towards such heretics as Weber and Durkheim. Still, I think I'll still apply; it'll be good practice seen at the lowest level and I always enjoy an excuse to visit Oxford. Also I may learn a few more details about that fascinating field for anthropological study, the tribal groves of academia. I must say I feel rather relieved that the conflict in which I found myself at first – between Oxford and Calcutta – is more or less resolved. I won't feel as I bind leper's sores that I missed a wonderful opportunity. It's very difficult. I love Oxford, and I love history; but I'm also young and idealistic and convinced that I'd be a better don and person after a few years among real peasants, instead of the romantic creations of Hoskins et. al.

Still I mustn't waste your time with rambling. Though defeated in theory, I look forward to the contest. I think the only possible line is to stress my apparent weakness – i.e. my intention to shake history up a little by applying other insights to it.

Thank you for your concern.

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 29th November from Ridge Road

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Thank you for your moral and verbal support at the seminar the other Monday. Hope I didn't expose too many flanks to the enemy. I'm delighted that you can come to the wedding; Harry Pitt has a deep suspicion of

*the North of England, so don't be dissuaded by mountain mist etc too easily. We're getting married in suits – so dress is optional. I'll alert all the second-hand book dealers in the district!*

*I'm really writing to ask if I can again make use of your kind offer to act as a referee. I'm trying a long shot and applying for a fellowship at Oriel College when Gough leaves. They may debar me before I start since I won't have ended my anthropology until 1968, but there doesn't seem to be anything to lose. As you know I have the backing of Miss Trollope.<sup>14</sup> I would be most grateful, if the application comes to anything, if you could write me a testimonial or whatever they need. I do hope this is alright by you.*

*I haven't been sending you chunks of the thesis since I think it will be best, as you suggested, if I give you the completed, checked, version; this should be ready in March. I'm doing about a chapter a week – but all my naive assumptions are being rather shaken up by anthropology.*

*Hope all your work goes well.*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

I also wrote to Ian Campbell, a friend from my days at Sedbergh School, now living in Vancouver. I had last written to him at the start of my doctorate, in January 1964, so this letter written just after I finished at Oxford, takes my story on from there. The letter is a carbon and not dated, but appears to be in late November 1966.

*Dear Ian,*

*Please excuse a typed letter – but you will probably be so surprised (guilty? – for no reason) to hear from me that you'll overlook attempted efficiency. It is literally years since I've written. What prompts me now, apart from the usual Christmas sentiments, is partly curiosity to hear how you are getting on, partly that this seems to be more or less a turning point in my life and I thought I'd let you know my news. Anyhow, Ian I hope everything goes well with you.... Are you married? How is Pat?....*

*As regards Sedbergh friends – to get the old school tie out of the way first. I met Charles Vignoles with his wife in Oxford the other day – they are both teaching. Geoffrey I think has gone into the Borstal service. David Porter I still see occasionally – he is a fully-fledged solicitor in his father's firm, has a red sports car, is pursuing a girl and is generally contented. Stuart Black was up here the other day – he wants to work on yachts and was looking very natty in polo-necked jersey etc. He is going out with Gill L. – one of my first flames if you remember. Alan Barnes is in Australia; David Badger was killed in a motor-bike accident; Weedy Savory was up – he is working in the armaments division of the Civil Service and still spends most of his time killing animals and birds. Well, I don't want this to sound like the Old Boys sections in the Luptonian, so will end. Incidentally, I expect you'll have heard that Marriot is leaving this year and Dave Alban becoming house master of Lupton. At least the cooking should be better if the story about him marrying the Hart House cook is true!*

*About myself. I haven't quite forsaken my dreams and ideals of my youth, though they become narrowed. I've just finished three years doing a doctorate at Oxford on the history of witchcraft – which I think I must have told you of. The thesis will need another couple of months to finish and I will submit it early next year. It has led me into weird crevices of the human soul and I have got interested in a host of sociological and psychological problems. I have signed a contract to turn the thesis into a book next year – and if this happens it is going to be printed in America, so keep your eyes open in the bookshops in about 18 months' time! I spent last year at home, working in the garden shed at the bottom of the garden which I fitted up with lights, heating, filing cabinets, my own invented form of a lateral suspended filing system, microfilm projector, tape recorder etc. I even got my sister (Anne) to work as my secretary/help for a small salary and my parents – who have retired from India – to help part-time analysing mortality rates etc. in the sixteenth century. It was most exciting and I think, if I have time to finish the work, I will have made quite a break-through both in history and sociology. Anyhow the year was well spent, but now my life has changed radically. With my yearning to go to India, I*

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<sup>14</sup> Hugh Trevor-Roper's pseudonym in a correspondence with Lawrence Stone in the *New York Review of Books*.

*decided that I should do some training in anthropology, so I am now at the London School of Economics doing a 2-year diploma in Soc. Anthropology.*

*This is, of course, only putting off the evil hour of decision. I'm still planning to go to India, if only for a couple of years, to see what there is to be done. I think population problems will be my final resting place, but in what capacity I don't know. But I'm also very attracted by the academic life and have a desire to become a Professor at some beautiful tree-shaded old city like Oxford. Anyhow, anthropology is fascinating – among the most fascinating peoples I study being the Kwakiutls (?) and other tribes around Vancouver Island!*

*I've saved my most important news until last – this being the reason above all, for this letter. I'm getting married on my birthday Dec. 20th. The wedding is at Hawkshead parish church – I'm not sending an invitation as there isn't much likelihood of your being able to attend and I don't want to cadge a present. But think of me! ....*

*This letter will also have to serve as a Christmas card, so VERY HAPPY CHRISTMAS and also HAPPY BIRTHDAY on 16th Dec. All happiness in what you are doing.*

*Yrs. ever, Alan*

## **December 1966**

St John's College, Oxford, 1 December 1966 Keith to Alan

*Dear Alan,*

*Many thanks for your letter. I thought your paper was admirably delivered, and I should like to discuss its implications with you some time. Keep the thesis until you have completely checked it all, if you like, but do leave time for any minor alterations if you want to make them after my comment! I take it that you now plan to submit it the end of Trinity term.*

*As for the Oriel Fellowship, I hadn't ever realised that you had the academic life in mind, as I had always thought you intended to go back to India....*

6th December 1966 44, Ridge Road, London, Alan to Keith

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you very much for your letter and for writing to Oriel. I do hope I haven't put you in an awkward position. Of course, Brian Harrison would be a much better bet for Oriel and I would be very happy to 'lose' to someone from whom I have learnt the rudiments of filing system techniques. I'm still set on India, actually, and am prowling round the School of Oriental Studies sniffing for grants, but the Oriel fellowship, at one time, looked a golden opportunity. T-R suggested that I tried for it when the field was light, but it has thickened and I am pretty well resigned. But I won't, I hope, be pestering you for too many references for a while.*

*Yes, I'll try to give you as much time as possible to correct the thesis. I will, I hope, be submitting it at the end of the Trinity term.*

*I've managed to persuade Schapera to broaden the 'incest' dissertation a bit – I may now cover kinship and marriage in my three Essex villages a bit.*

*I look forward very much to seeing you on 20<sup>th</sup>: my wedding speech is going to include detailed statistics and speculations on marriage past and present!*

7.12.1966 44, Ridge Road, London N.8.

*Dear Dr. Thirsk,*

*Just a short note to thank you very much for lunch, and, even more so, for a most stimulating discussion. The one thing I lack, so far, at L.S.E. are people who combine a sociological interest with a working knowledge of the sources for C16-C17. Consequently there are masses of fascinating problems flying about, but anthropologists tend to under-stress the difficulty of answering the questions from documentary sources.*

*I found the passage which seemed, though I may be wrong, to add support to your generalizations about the connection between 'industries in the countryside' and systems of inheritance.*

*'In contrast to situations governed by impartible inheritance – which favoured the growth of large industry, making use of large masses of surplus labor – such a situation of continued subdivision favoured the introduction of small industry....]' (from Eric Wolf, Peasants, 76-7; the whole section p.73ff might interest you....)*

*I'll keep my eyes open for anthropological literature on the subject: do let me know if you want any specific problems tested out on my 3 Essex villages.*

From Trevor-Roper, Oriel College, 12th December 1966

*My dear Alan,*

*Alas, I have to tell you that although you reached the semi-finals, you have not reached the finals, in the contest for the dubious honour of succession to Gough at Oriel. I am very sorry, and feel slightly guilty, having encouraged you to enter; but with necessity, as Simonides (I think) says, even the Gods cannot contend; and today, at our second meeting, when we reduced the list to the last five candidates, it was clearly impossible to go further in support of one who, for good reasons, could not have taken up the post for another year.*

*I should explain that, when I first made the suggestion to you, I had just had an agonised appeal from Christopher Seton-Watson who told me that the field was very poor and that the only possible candidate was one X (whom I knew and thought impossible); and he therefore begged me to encourage applications. But at the very last minute there was a rush of heavyweights which made the issue very different: hence my shamefaced second letter. On seeing the final list, I very much doubted whether you had any chance; but as no battle is lost till it has been fought, I didn't despair. However, as I say, today's vote put you out, and I hope you will forgive me for having persuaded you to expose yourself to this honourable defeat. Allow me to console you (if it is any consolation) by saying that it is a defeat which everyone has (I think I incurred it three times), and that you are in good company among your own contemporaries.*

*Who Oriel will choose, I do not know. If you saw the electors, you would realise that anything might happen. At times I have almost thought of entering Agnes Trollope. There might be difficulty about her sex, and when it came to an interview, but I would still give her even odds if she had good referees, such as could no doubt be found in Westmorland, or even in the B.M.*

*I hope you will take this, as you seem to take everything, in good spirit, and that I shall be a better adviser, and a more effective patron, in some later battle.*

*Thank you very much for your Xmas card.*

*Yours ever,*

*Hugh Trevor-Roper*

Letter to the Provost of Oriel, from 44, Ridge Road, 13th December 1966

*Dear Provost,*

*I wrote to you some two weeks ago asking if I might apply for election to a Fellowship in Modern History when Dr Gough retires. I gather that one of my referees, Mr. Thomas, has heard from you, but since I have not had a confirmation of my letter, or any correspondence from you, I wondered if a letter had gone astray. I will be leaving London for three weeks on the 17th December, after which date all mail will be delayed. I am writing all this in case you have written to me and are wondering why I have not replied. If this is not the case, please ignore this letter.*

*I look forward to hearing from you at some point. Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

From the Vice-Provost of Oriel College, 14th December 1966

*Dear Mr. Macfarlane,*

*I thought it best to let you know at once that, after giving your application the most careful consideration, in a very strong field, our committee has decided not to include your name in the short list for candidates for the history fellowship.*

*Thank you for letting us consider you for this appointment.*

*Yours sincerely,*

*C. Seton-Watson*

To Trevor Roper, from 44, Ridge Road, on 15th December 1966

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*Thank you for your most kind letter; it, alone, made my attempt at the Oriel Fellowship worthwhile. Thank you, also, for all your help and encouragement. At this stage in my career the important thing for me is not to succeed, or find some cosy nest, but rather to feel that someone is interested in what I am doing. It therefore not only brightened a few grey London weeks to feel that, however remote, I might one day return to the polished tables of Academia, but also gave me great pleasure to feel that you had some confidence in my abilities. This makes me sound very dejected and alone. Actually, if anything, I am over brimming with (sic) confidence and am conceited enough to think that one day Oriel will regret their decision. On the evidence before them, however, they were, of course, right. As I said in a previous letter, the present method has at least taken the decision off my shoulders. I do hope your pessimistic fears concerning the abilities of the electors prove false and a reasonable man is chosen. Actually, I have a friend, far more experienced and competent than myself, who has also entered. If he succeeds I shall rejoice, since he has helped me often; if he fails I will be in very good company indeed.*

*I am leaving London for the Lakes tomorrow. My mind is slightly distracted from witches for I marry in 5 days – on my 25th birthday. I think I must have told you already: the girl is the one who fell up your stairs on one occasion. I am not really in a fit state of spiritual preparation to get married – as you can judge from the fact that I suggested 'Luther's Hymn', 'Jerusalem' and 'Hark the Herald Angels...' as appropriate for the wedding service. The tone of gentle disapproval which the vicar's letter conveyed was superb! Miss Trollope, if not running her basset hounds with the Coniston foxhounds, will surely be among the confetti-sprinklers...*

*Thank you again for all the time and trouble you have taken, especially re. Oriel. I look forward to seeing you next term, when I will call in if I may.*

*Yours sincerely*

Wedding in Hawkshead Church on 20<sup>th</sup> December 1966, my 25<sup>th</sup> birthday





From left: Top row - Father, Gill's father, Lesley (Gill's best woman)  
middle row - mother, Gill's mother; front row - grandmother Violet, Gill, Alan

The choice of wedding guests gives me an insight into my network of friends and family at that time. Although I did not invite all of them in the end, my current notes show this.

(Gill also invited a few friends, like Lesley in the wedding photo, and a number of her relatives )

### *Family*

Parents and two sisters  
Mother's parents  
Uncles: Mother's brothers: Billy and family  
Richard and family  
Robert and family (including his wife Angela's family)  
Father's brother – Alan and Jean  
Godparents – Pat and Alan Cowan

### *Friends*

#### *From Sedbergh School*

David Porter  
Charles Vignoles  
Geoffrey Bromley  
Ian Campbell

#### *Oxford Undergraduate*

Peter Goodden  
David Isaac (Best Man)  
Euan Porter  
Erik Pearse (future brother in law)  
Alistair Small  
Paul Hyams  
John Munks  
Dick Smethurst

#### *Oxford post-graduate*

Bill Caldwell  
Roy Collins and wife  
Dr Ralph Johnson  
Jennifer Hurstfield  
Ralph Robinson

#### *From Oxford – teachers and dons*

Lady Rosalind Clay – history tutor  
Rev. Alex Graham – Chaplain at Worcester College  
H.G. Pitt – history tutor  
Keith Thomas – D.Phil. supervisor

#### *Others*

Zoe Allen – previous girlfriend  
Julie Simore – previous girlfriend  
Jack and Jim Carr – worked in Youth Hostel together in 1963  
Dorothy ter Horst – previous girlfriend  
Valerie Baume – ‘adopted’ by my parents, friend of my sister Fiona

Linda Spencer – previous girlfriend  
 Penny Marcus – previous girlfriend  
 Beryl Buckmaster and family – neighbours in other half of Lakes house  
 Anne Johnson – friend in the Lakes  
 Ralph Callender – neighbour in the Lakes  
 John Lampitt – Assamese friend of my parents  
 Brenda & John Finney – Assamese friends of my parents  
 Morag Ross – daughter of tea planter in Assam and partly ‘adopted’ by Iris  
 Friends of my sister Fiona – Jill Titley, Janet and others

What stands out here, especially when I compare it to weddings in Nepal and elsewhere I have studied, is how small is the family representation – no cousins for example. And how large is the representation of ‘friends’, accumulated from the age of thirteen onwards and particularly five of my early girl-friends. The presence of several of my teachers was also significant and all of those teachers mentioned, apart from the aged Lady Clay, made the long trip in the middle of winter to be there.

27. 12. 66 St John's College, Oxford Keith to Alan

*Dear Alan,*  
*Harry and I thoroughly enjoyed our trip to the Lake District. It was a very nice wedding, and I hope you had a good Christmas honeymoon. This is just to say that my wedding present turns out to be too big for the post (don't get excited; it's very dull), and I shall therefore hold on to it until you appear in Oxford. Let me know when you are coming, and bring Gill if possible. Valerie and I would like it very much if you could both have supper with us. Yours, Keith*

Trevor-Roper wrote on 30th December 1966 from Chiefswood, Melrose, Scotland

*My dear Alan,*  
*Many thanks for your letter: it is very kind of you to accept my bungling attempt at Oriel so charitably and I admire your equanimity. Your letter arrived on what I deduced to be your wedding-day, viz on 20 Dec; so I looked desperately around for a wedding present, but these rural solitudes are not the best place to look. I ended up by looking in my own shelves, only to decide that half my books here are too dear to me to give, and the other half too unworthy to be received. So you must accept this letter in lieu, at least as an interim contribution, and I shall hope, later, in a more favourable milieu, to find a more appropriate offering. Meanwhile, I send you my best wishes, or, as you would say, to judge from the Freudian lapse in your letter, my best wishes. As for the Fellows of Oriel, I hope that they will regret their decision more than you do. I think that perhaps it was anyway the wrong thing for you; whether it is wrong for them will depend, to some extent, on whom they do choose. I think I can identify your friend. Anyhow the great thing is that you don't seem too upset by the affair, and I hope that you will find the place that you want: to which if I can help you, I shall be very self-satisfied, having, as I do, great confidence in you. .... I greatly look forward to seeing the result of your work. Do take some trouble to write it in beautiful, lucid, lapidary English prose. No subject is so arcane or so rebarbative, so technical or so trivial, that it does not deserve that trouble, and if we take no trouble to write, why should anyone take the trouble to read us? ...*

# 1967

## Spring Term 1967

### Lectures

Lent 1967 Maurice Freedman – Religion and Magic – 9 lectures  
Lent 1967 - Isaac Schapera – Outlines of Ethnography – 3 lectures  
17.1.67 Cohen – Theories and Methods in Sociology – 2 lectures  
17.1.67 onwards - Keith Hopkins – Social Institutions in Rome and China  
Robin Fox, Advanced Study of Kinship - Lectures in Lent 1967 – 9 lectures

### Talks I went to

20.1.67 Gilbert Lewis – Levi-Strauss and Primitive Thought  
8.2.67 Gellner on Berbers, Seminar Room U.C.L.  
8.2.67 Max Gluckman – Equilibrium models in the study of Social Change  
9.2.67 ‘Folk Religion’ S.O.A.S.  
15.2.67 Lucy Mair – Extensions of Witchcraft Analysis (U.C.L.) Seminar Room)  
1.3.67 Talk, Mary Douglas – U.C.L.  
1.3.67 ‘Traders in Nepal’ – S.O.A.S.  
2.3.67 ‘Tribal Societies in Deccan’ – S.O.A.S.

If anything the course was even lighter in the second term, though I may have missed some seminars as there is one below, by Peter Loizos on law, which is not mentioned. There were a number of talks, most of them I went to in other parts of the University voluntarily, and no seminars. There were thirty lectures, though I did not go to all of them. They introduced me to some excellent lecturers, however.

Maurice Freedman was a senior figure, a Reader in the Department. He had done his work in the New Territories (Hong Kong) off China and was a specialist in lineage systems and ancestor worship. He was introducing Levi-Strauss to us and was an energetic, forceful and self-confident figure. He would soon become Professor and then later go to Oxford to become Professor and Head of Department there before a tragically early death. I learnt a good deal from him, as he also, later ran and participated in a number of seminars.

Cohen I vaguely remember, chiefly because he announced at the start of his first lecture that research had shown that lectures were a waste of time and it would be better to use the hour showing us visual or other things which we could not experience in books. I remembered this advice later.

Keith Hopkins was a very brilliant lecturer and thinker whom I got to know well later. He was an inspiration in combining both classics – he was a Research Fellow in Classics at King’s College, Cambridge and later returned to Cambridge to become Professor of Classics, but also a very able sociologist – a subject he taught in various universities including Brunel and Hong Kong. He was also interested in China and his lectures were a fascinating comparison between Roman and Chinese civilizations. He was also particularly interesting to me because he was very interested in demography. His lecturing style, whereby he came in and lectured for an hour without any notes, greatly impressed me. Only many years later, when we shared

a set of room in King's College for about ten years, did he explain that he had got up very early and more or less memorized the whole lecture from notes and then given it.

Finally there was Robin Fox. He only overlapped with me for my first year, for he then went to Rutgers in America and worked extensively with Lionel Tiger on the intersection of animal studies and anthropology. But he impressed me by his energy, brilliance and the fact that he combined fieldwork in very different areas, in Mexico on which he did his Ph.D. and on Tory Island off Ireland. He was also a brilliant lecturer and I drew heavily on the lecture notes I took from his kinship lectures, and his Penguin based on them, when I came to give the eight introductory kinship and marriage lectures in Cambridge.

In terms of the talks, Max Gluckman gave a lecture on a visit from Manchester where he was the dominating figure for some years. An expert on law and Africa, he nurtured a school of 'Manchester anthropology' which was not totally dissimilar to that at the L.S.E. I remember daring to disagree with him at this lecture and, as was characteristic, being dismissed forcibly for my temerity.

Lucy Mair was one of the three almost retired members of the Department. She had been a pupil of Malinowski and had more or less withdrawn from teaching. I came to know her somewhat because she was writing a textbook on Witchcraft, about which she lectured, and we talked and she asked me to read the typescript. I came up with a number of suggestions, and also corrections both to the content and the grammar, which somewhat dismayed her, but she took with a good grace. She seemed dry and somewhat waspish, but I found her interesting and less daunting behind the mask.

From the titles, the two talks I went to on traders and the Deccan at SOAS were given by my future supervisor, Professor Haimendorf, though I only came to know Christoph pretty well over subsequent years. Gilbert Lewis was a Ph.D. student who would later become my colleague at Cambridge for twenty-five years or so, a gentle, thoughtful, original and kind man.

Ernest Gellner would play a very large part in my later life. He was to become my head of Department, mentor and friend and I was deeply influenced by his conversations, lectures, books and articles. He was a very wide thinker – an expert on North Africa, Islam, the Soviet Union and also a trained philosopher. He was perhaps uniquely at times a Professor of Philosophy, of Sociology and of Social Anthropology. There will be much about him later. I am not sure who was talking about 'Folk Religion'.

## January 1967

To Lady Clay 2.1.67 Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland

*Dear Lady Clay,*

*Thank you very much for your letter; I was so glad to hear from you. Sorry not to write earlier but, as you can imagine, life has been fairly hectic. Still, I have been thinking of you and hope that you had a very happy Christmas. I wonder where you spent it? Perhaps all the Smiths flock together for the family festival and celebrate their clan rites? One day I would like to do an anthropological study of your tribe – it would make a fascinating introduction to modern society. ...*

*My main news, of course, is of the wedding. I wish you could have been present as, for me at any rate, it was most enjoyable. After a night of storm and wind the day was a beautiful, if cold, winter one, full of blue skies and red bracken. The service was very simple and went without hitch. Harry Pitt, Keith Thomas and Alec Graham all managed to make it, along with various other family and university friends. I put Harry, Keith and my All Souls uncle on a table together and they seemed to enjoy it.*

*My speech, in which I read some of Wordsworth's worst poetry, and excerpts from an awful book on how to conduct a wedding, seemed to cause some amusement. Harry said afterwards that I (and the best man – another Worcesterite) had not let down the high standards of the college. If you ever see him or Alec you could get an account of the wedding. Finally, we drove away in a horse and cart, specially borrowed from a local farmer for the occasion. We spent the few days before Christmas in a neighbouring converted railway carriage, since there were a number of my friends still around who I wanted to see. Naturally, we had little chance to talk to the guests, but it was great fun, all the same.*

*Then we went over for a quiet Christmas with Gill's parents at Co. Durham. The last few days of the holiday we are spending in the Lakes before returning to London next week-end. My witches are being put on one side at the moment and I'm writing something on marriage prohibitions. You don't know anything good on marriage in the seventeenth century do you? Do you know which days of the week they got married, and whose house they spent the honeymoon at – if they did have one at all? Do you think pre-marital intercourse was allowed if the marriage was definite? Very difficult to answer these problems.*

*Since I seem to have got onto the subject of history I will close what will be rather a short letter with one or two remarks on that. No, I don't know much about burial in woollen – which is presumably something to do with the shepherd who wound wool round his hands before his burial; I would be very interested indeed to hear if you find out anything about this. I have some information on people being buried with loaves of bread, pieces of pottery and money etc. in the nineteenth century but nothing earlier. You asked recently about literacy. I came across an interesting case in the court records my mother is transcribing in which a man wanted to write his will, but, the parson being absent, he couldn't find a single person in the village who could write it for him (date – about 1580) – I can send you the ref. if you ever want it.*

To Peter Gooden 2.1.67

*You ask for my news. The thesis is nearly finished – I am on the final rewriting stage of the last two chapters. Then I have to check footnotes, make maps, do bibliography etc. I hope to submit in the summer term of 1967. It's going quite well and I think it should set a few historians buzzing. I probably told you that I have signed a contract with Routledge for a book on witchcraft – it is meant to be completed by Dec. 1967 so I am going to have a busy year. I am in London doing social anthropology (a postgraduate diploma in) at the London School of Economics. It's one of the best departments in the country and I felt I'd been in Oxford long enough. The course is fascinating – magic, incest, primitive art etc. I've got a Social Science Council Research grant for this. Gill is doing her final training at Bedford College before she becomes a probation officer in August – when she will be earning twice as much as me! Last term was extremely busy since not only was I studying anthropology and finishing my thesis, but also doing one day a week's tutoring in European History at Nottingham University. I don't think the academic life is for me, although the thought of a fellowship at an Oxford college is very tempting.*

From Gill to parents 9.1.67 from Ridge Road

I have had my first day at work, and Alan has returned to his thesis – the penultimate chapter before submission – 'Religion and Witchcraft'.

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 9th January from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for your note. I'm so glad you enjoyed the wedding; I was delighted that you were able to come. May I take you up on your kind invitation to supper? Gill and I be coming down to Oxford for either 28-29 Jan or 4-5 Feb. and wondered if any of these four evenings suit? Otherwise, we will be coming down later in the term. Perhaps, also, you would have time to talk witchcraft on one of these days? I'm not sending you anything more until the thesis is quite finished, but there are a number of problems I would like your advice on.*

*You said that there were a few points in my talk which you'd like to discuss. I could also collect the appendices I left with you.*

*I think you mentioned that you would be holding seminars at Oxford this term, similar to those last year. I wonder if you could possibly send me the time & date &, if possible, subject/speaker, as, with your permission, I would very much like to attend one or two if I can get away from L.S.E. The historical seminars at London University, under Bindoff and Neale, are dreadful & there seems to be nothing stimulating here.*

*Hope the book progresses,*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

*P.S. You'll have heard my fate at Oriel: thanks for your trouble, anyhow.*

Keith Thomas wrote back on 10th January 1967

*Dear Alan, Many thanks for your letter. It would be very nice if you and Gill could come to supper with us on Saturday 28 January, at 7.30. I do hope you can come (we are not free the following weekend). We could even talk about witchcraft after dinner if that wasn't too barbarous: I only had one or two points, and they needn't take more than 5 minutes. Alternatively we could arrange something else when you come.*

*Here's the programme for the class this term. You'll see there's still one blank date, which I shall have to fill myself unless I get a bid from someone. Any offers?*

*I hadn't heard from Oriel, but I'm sorry, and I hope you won't be discouraged.*

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 13th January from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you very much for your letter and the programme. Yes, Gill and I would love to come to supper on Sat. 28 January at 7.30 p.m; I look forward to seeing you then and having a short chat about witchcraft afterwards.*

*I'd be delighted to read a paper if you still haven't got anyone for February 21st, though I imagine you have plenty up your sleeve. Actually what I really want to hear is your paper on 'Suicide' which we missed last year. If you would like me to do something – and I think witchcraft has been rather flogged at the seminar level – I could do something along the same lines as Ralph Houlbrooke, i.e. on marriage. As you know, I'm doing work for a dissertation on incest and marriage prohibitions in the period combined with a discussion on the anthropological approach to marriage and kinship and examples from the Essex records and my study of three villages if this is of interest. I'll quite understand, however, if you feel that one session on marriage is enough. If possible, I'd like to come to the sessions on Feb. 7 and Feb. 14. If you would like something on marriage, perhaps you could think of a title – something on the lines of 'Incest and marriage in Elizabethan society'.*

*Hope the term goes well.*

*Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

*P.S. I have a lot of material on sexual matters in the sixteenth century – illegitimacy, prostitution, buggery, rape, pre-marital intercourse, and obscenity etc. If you think this is not too frivolous I could do something on 'Incest and sexual offences in the C16' rather than marriage....*

Keith Thomas wrote on 14th January from St John's College, Oxford

*Dear Alan,*

*Many thanks for your letter. It was splendid of you to be so ready to help with the seminar and I should have jumped at your offer, which sounded most appetising. Unfortunately I was rung up only yesterday by Anne Whiteman with a quite unsolicited suggestion, which you'll see enclosed. It is an interesting subject on which she says she has some new material and I readily accepted, never dreaming that you would have time to help me as well as do your London work. Anyway I hope we can hear your paper on a future occasion. Meanwhile we both look forward very much to 28 Jan.*

*With many thanks, Yrs, Keith*



During this term, one of the most interesting sets of lectures, later to be turned into a text book, was by Robin Fox. Here is the first page of my typed-up notes on the series.

DR. FOX. THE ADVANCED STUDY OF KINSHIP. Lectures, Lent 1967. [162]

### LECTURE 1.

What does 'kinship' mean? Morgan in 1871 thought that kin were related through blood. It has later been argued that kinship is a set of social categories, not natural facts.

Among the Kwakiutl - property was passed on via the marriage of man to man. (cf. New York marriage of homosexuals).

Leach in 'alliance' theory stresses the ~~lateral links~~ lateral links between groups in marriages. Fortes and others in 'descent' theory stresses the vertical links between generations - continuity etc. Leach was studying a society where there was perpetual alliance, where marriage rather than descent was the structurally important fact.

Levi-Strauss, Elementary Forms....

He distinguishes between the elementary system and the complex. He spends most of his time on the former. In an elementary system the category of the spouse can be determined from the kinship terminology (i.e. first-cousin marriage); this helps us to understand our own and S.E. Asian society.

- the nature of the marriage-rule will enable us to put all societies on one continuum.

In complex societies - one can marry anyone outside the nuclear family; marriage patterns can only be determined by statistical means (e.g. class endogamy) - thus there are only statistical rules. But small groups of hunters and gatherers may have 'complex' systems, although it is almost (?) impossible for industrial societies to have elementary systems.

L.S. will soon move on to Crow-Omaha systems - which cut down choice, but don't absolutely prescribe marriages - half-way between.

Problems: cf. Maori - 'hapu' system = patrilineal or cognatic? likewise the Mae-Enga.

Leach argues that one should not look for categories, but for variables which can emerge in various combinations.

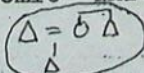
### LECTURE 2.

cf. Morgan- McLennan clash on kinship over Sparta and Athens.

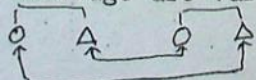
cf. Leach on Lakher re. incest as a form of categorization.

re. divorce: cf. Gluckman and Leach on: Leach shows that the most imp. fact is whether the patrilineage wants/does keep control over the out-going women; what happens on the death of the husband - does the wife go back to her natal lineage? This is a good index.

L-Strauss stresses that the 'atomic' unit, out of which all kinship is generated is as follows -



all systems of marriage are variations of the following.





I also went to a series of lectures by my supervisor, Isaac Schapera. Here are my typed-up notes on the first two and a bit lectures.

Another set of lectures I went to were by Maurice Freedman. Here is the first page of my notes; they were clearly meatier than those by Schapera.

SCHAPER. Outlines of Ethnography.

(Lent, 1967. Lectures. L.S.E.)

### LECTURE 1.

(166)

#### The relationship between ethnography and social anthropology.

Ethnography = a descriptive study of peoples; a very ancient approach. explorers, missionaries etc. From about 1859 there were gov't publications - reports on laws and customs.

Anthropology is the comparative study of human societies. It arose out of a dissatisfaction with ethnography. Systematic field-work by anthropologists begins at the end of the C19.

The earlier field-workers: Boas etc. were interested in  
a) primarily the 'native' cultures - ignored any symptoms of the contact with the west. = study of 'primitive' cultures, based on old men.  
b) whole of the cultures - including language and material culture.  
c) wrote books as comprehensive as possible - e.g. Rivers.

1920 on a new style. Not only descriptive but also explanation within the text. e.g. R-B. Andaman Islanders, Malinowski, Argonauts, though they were still primarily interested in traditional culture. Thus Mal. described the Trobrianders not as he saw them but as they had been.

post world war 1 : research institutes etc. university depts of anthropology: people became interested in particular problems; a growing neglect of material culture; a growing emphasis on changing societies; study of people as they are.

### LECTURE 2.

A book in historians who go out to Africa to study African history, musicians also go. Studies in urban areas; growing study of peasant societies; village studies growing; kinship studies in London; immigrant groups in England - eg. negroes in Cardiff.

role of field-work in modern studies. Originally anthropologist did theoretical studies first - cf. Malinowski the Family among the Australian Aborigines M. had never done any field-work; cf. also Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori - based on documents; Gluckman on Zulu Ritual; A. Richards on Hunger and Work - all on the work of others. Nadel/Fortes came into field-work as Ph.D.s in psychology. Recently field-work has been regarded as an essential part of the training of anthropologists. E-P was the only one who wrote a Ph.D. on his field-work in that generation.

Field-work: essentials - basic theoretical training so that he knows what theoretical problems interest anthropologists; ii) ample time - minimum of about 2 years with the people he is studying. iii) good knowledge of the language. iv) participant observation - hence prefaces about the conditions in the field.

- then note-taking; genealogies; censuses etc. problems of sampling. (cf. ethnography with the old school of topography attacked by Hoskins).

### LECTURE 3 Krige - Realm of a Rain Queen.

= 16½ months in all; both worked under Mal. at L.S.E. Worship of agnatic ancestors etc. Patrilineal, small villages of 5-15 huts; polygamous, patrilineages etc.



Lecture 1.Introduction.

Religion is a term which it is best not to define (cf. 'culture' which is a similar background term). Religion does not mean any specific modes of activity or organization, therefore there is no point to the question 'what is the meaning of religion or the function of religion'.

cf. Goodie in B.J.S. 1961; Nadel in Man and Culture (essays to R-B).

There are two ways of looking at religion, two frames, so to speak.  
 a) causal - how is the form of religion linked to other forms so that they interact, mutually cause each other?  
 b) cultural/ideological - are symbols in different cultures similar?

The first of these involves the study of social structure - e.g. witchcraft activities are seen as a form of social relationship. The second involves the study of meaning, - e.g. witchcraft beliefs rest on ideas which are also a system.

There is a growing interest in b) as well as a) by anthropologists.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

A-worship is often used by anthropologists to illustrate the social determination of religious ideas. The classic example is in R-B. Structure and Function in the essay on 'Religion and Society'. Here R-B. sets out to demonstrate the social functions of a religious cult. He shows how social solidarity is enforced by communal ancestor worship. Religion and the social structure are in a state of mutual interdependence - but R.B. thinks that social structure is primary. The job of religion is to promote solidarity in societies. Rites presuppose doctrines. He thinks that ancestor-worship, by definition, only occurs in ~~non~~ lineage societies - but E-P has shown that it occurs in non-lineage based socs. also. There is the definitional problem - what is an ancestor? Does ancestor w. only exist when ancestors are used to differentiate between groups of kinsmen? Do descent groups societies have ancestor worship? (the Naer do not). It is necessary to formulate a theory which will allow us to predict where ancesotr w. is likely to be found.

(\* cf. also Geddes on the Land Dyaks in Nine Dyak Knights, pp. 34 ff. In this N. Borneo society which does not rest on a unilinear descent system there is, he argues, an ancestor cult. Yet it is significant that anyone's ancestors may be called on, not just those of the person concerned. Thus it is not really ancestor worship, ancestors are not points of reference for particular groups, but rather a cult of the dead; cf. also Firth, New Zealand Maori (re-edn. pp. 100ff) and Goodie, Death, Property and the Ancestors, p. 381 and Fortes in African Systems of Thought.)

What important factors play a part in ancestor worship?

- a) the relations of parents-children; the mixture of love and hate and the methods of transferrring property. Here it is important to distinguish between ancestor que ancestor and the dead que dead; they may be seenx completely differently. Ancestors exercise control

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 15th January from 44, Ridge Road

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

How very nice to get your long and most entertaining letter. I regaled my family with it, as usual - good for my prestige, and a pleasure for them. I was very touched by the kind things you said; as I've said before, for a struggling graduate in the no-man's land between University and an academic trench, it is most comforting to

know that the generals are interested (o.k metaphors?). I will take to heart your advice re. style, though I'm afraid it's a little (late) for my thesis which is now completed. I shall have to check the footnotes, draw maps, and compile the bibliography, but the text, thank God, is finished. I feel very much in sympathy with Francis Hutchinson when he wrote about witchcraft:

*'As the very Nature of the Subject carries both Horror and Difficulty, polite Men, and great Lovers of Ease, will turn away their thought from it with Disdain' (Historical Essay, 1718, p.vii)*

perhaps it is just writing a thesis that is exhausting, but I think I chose a neurotic subject. Still, it was very fascinating, and I don't regret the choice at all. I'm looking forward very much to seeing your essay on the subject: did you find it a particularly difficult topic? Still, you seem to glide through amazingly intricate tangles with enormous ease; I couldn't begin to write books on either Hitler or Medieval Europe. After four years I still feel I know hardly anything about witchcraft in one county. This probably sounds timid to the extreme; an acute example of the academic fear of being contradicted. I expect it is, but what is the cure? Also, what is the cure for the jargon mania? I agree absolutely that it is intensely annoying to be faced with whole sentences which appear to mean nothing, as I constantly am as an anthropologist, but I see little hope of avoiding some technical terms. For instance, I couldn't, as an anthropologist, avoid using terms like 'agnatic', 'affinal', 'matrilineal', 'sibling', if I was discussing kinship in Elizabethan society, merely because it would take far longer to describe anything if I did. Where does one draw the line? When a word has already been coined? Is it jargonistic to talk of status, social mobility, projection etc.? I didn't want to get off onto this tack – but [if] you know of any good rule by which one can avoid jargon I would be eternally obliged. ...

I won't drivel on any longer since you must be very busy indeed. Talking of work – I wonder if you could tell me, since you may be intimately concerned, how long examiners like to have in which to read a thesis? Obviously, the longer the better, but what would be a reasonable time?

I do hope that we will be able to meet soon. May I wish you a very rewarding term, free from trouble from those you have etc. Thank you again for your generous letter.

Yours sincerely,

To Lady Clay 15.1.67 44 Ridge Road, London N.8.

Dear Lady Clay (may I call you Rosalind? – you were complaining about people being on surname terms all the time)

...I'm also very grateful for all the news/scandal which you manage to pile in, not to mention the ideas and references. I miss it all in London. It's a huge, and not very friendly place, L.S.E. and I haven't made many friends there yet. This will not be a very long screed as I hope to see you soon. It is mainly in fact to say that I will be down in less than two weeks. I'm coming, with Gill, to have supper with Keith (Thomas) on the evening of Sat. 28<sup>th</sup> January. We're both looking forward to it very much...

Incidentally, I will probably be down several times in the term since Keith is holding a class on 'Problems in English History, 1500-1700' which includes papers by David Palliser on 'Religious life and religious change in Tudor York', by Ralph Houlbrooke on 'Church and marriage in the mid-sixteenth century', by Keith himself on 'Political prophecies in sixteenth and seventeenth century England'. I might be giving one on either marriage or the regulation of sexual morality in the period – another dose of 'So what' history, I'm afraid. One day I want to astound and dismay the readers of the *E.H.R.* by writing an article on 'Prostitution in Sixteenth Century Society' in their august journal – but I'm afraid I'll have to be an esteemed professor before then. Anyhow, any references re. the family, marriage, or sex, as I have said, will be happily received.

Thank you for all the references: will pursue them during my afternoon at the British Museum. There are a surfeit of wonderful libraries here. I move from the library of the London School of Economics (supposedly the best collection on the Social Sciences in the World) to the P.R.O. to the Institute of Historical Research, to the British Museum, to the Victorian atmosphere of the Royal Anthropological Institute and so on. But the book-shops are very bad; nothing to match Blackwells.... I'm afraid embroiled as I am in essays varying from witchcraft and incest to the theories of the French anthropologist Levi-Strauss they [books on English history



just out/won't get my immediate attention. Please don't get bogged down in my essay on Familiars. There are many other, more important, subjects. My thesis is now one day off completion – that is the writing. Then there is the long process of correcting footnotes, drawing maps, compiling appendices and bibliographies... Another thing I'll be able to tell you about is a talk I hope to go to on Thursday on the Reformation by A.G. Dickens, a man I remember you much admired.

I started to attend a very interesting set of lectures by Keith Hopkins this term, and later typed out the lectures and indexed them onto cards in the summer. Here is the first page of the typed lecture notes.

Hopkins, Lectures. Indexed 20/6/67. [168]

KEITH HOPKINS. . Social institutions in Rome and China. Lectures 17/1/67 on.

Rome and China were vast empires; complex, non-industrial. How was it possible for them to conquer and maintain such a vast area with poor communications and primitive technologies? The Roman Empire was 2/3 the size of the U.S. and China was equally large. Their population was c. 50-70 million.

There was a balance of high fertility and high mortality. Cf. F. Lorimer (Culture and Human Fertility) who shows that there is an average of 6 to 6.6 in a pre-industrial population.

cf. the successive polygamy practiced in English society, among the aristocracy at least – as shown by Hollingsworth.

– the impact of mortality. It acts as a limitation on pre-industrial society. It must effect types of perception in primitive socs. and lead to a confusion of the rational/irrational and prevent technical improvement.

e.g. Greek medicine which was at a high stage of diagnostic skill, yet completely failed to cure diseases. Thus a person living to the age of 25 would have suffered 7-8 family deaths in his life time. The 'pre-industrial man is surrounded by death' and incurable diseases – how far does this breed fatalism? The frequency of mortality/pain is associated with pre-occupation with the supernatural argues Hopkins. Rome/China were peopled by supernatural forces. This must restrict/constrict societies and prevent them from changing.

~~Disease is particular to the individual who is suffering it – rather than a generalized sickness: treatment of disease is therefore a contextual/particularistic one. No general laws of illness etc. are worked out.~~

Disease is particular to the individual who is suffering it – rather than a generalized sickness: treatment of disease is therefore a contextual/particularistic one. No general laws of illness etc. are worked out.

Continual disruption of close-relationships limits perception.

e.g. a) naming: Edward Gibbon was one of 8 sons all called E.G. – the same happened in Rome.

b) marriage – as a union it is between families, not between persons. There is a lack of individuality.

Relationships are likely to be less emotionally deep – some difference at least there must have been. What other effects does it have on social behaviour – e.g. on cruelty to animals, passivity to fate; people can be bought to die etc.

What mechanism is there to support widows?

In transmitting wealth obligations rather than goods are stored and passed on before money is widespread; this limits mobility both physical and emotional; the frequency of death/mortality acts as an obstacle against the process of thought which can separate out particular aspects of behaviour.

Describing the symptoms of a disease is an act of universalization which is almost impossible in this context. There is also a lack of an economic calculus in kinship-based, multi-stranded societies.



I refer in the essay to my being 'an anthropologist of four months standing' – which suggests the paper was written in January 1967. This fits with a remark in a letter of 15.1.67 where I wrote:

.... I'm afraid embroiled as I am in essays varying from witchcraft and incest to the theories of the French anthropologist Levi-Strauss ...

Here is the first page.

FIRST DRAFT: LEVI-STRAUSS'S THEORY OF TOTEMISM.

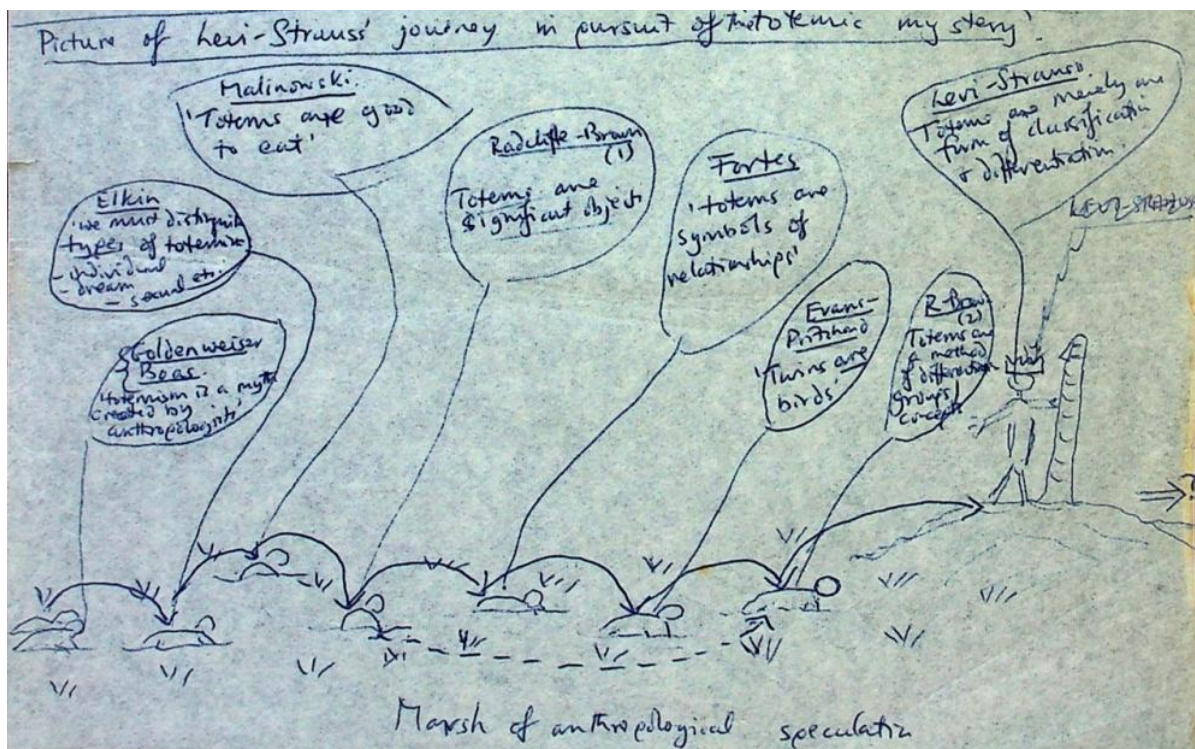
Based on  
Totemism (1967)  
Savage Mind (1966)  
American edn

Introduction.

Levi-Strauss has been hailed as the greatest ~~modern~~ anthropologist of our age. Leach has called La Pensée Sauvage 'the beginning of a new phase in social anthropology'. Certainly, if greatness is to be judged by grandness of theme or width of knowledge, there seems ~~too~~ strong evidence for this claim. L-S's concern is with the total structure of men's thoughts and perceptions. Like Marx, L-S is concerned with the way material and mental are interrelated as systems. ~~Leach~~ A remark made by Gellner about Durkheim, that his 'main problem... was not to explain religion but to explain conceptual thought and above all the necessity, the compulsive nature of certain of our categorical concepts' has been applied to L-S (by Leach - cf. review in MAN). In a review of L-S in the T.L.S. April 29, 1965 he was likened to Freud, Leibniz, Wittgenstein, Jung and Marx. As befits such an Olympian, his method is eclectic; his citing of examples varying from paintings by Clouet, clubs which happen to be standing on his book-shelves, anecdotes from European folklore and numerous long passages from early ethnologies, is reminiscent of Frazer. As a reviewer commented, his writings 'are exceedingly intricate, almost hermetic' and 'this difficulty may be part of the spell'. The really fundamental question is, of course, whether behind all the words and prolixity of thought, there are any significant, useful, or new ~~thoughts~~ or whether the story of the Emperor's new clothes is not being repeated again, with anthropologists playing the part of admiring courtiers. After a reading of two of L-S's shortest books in a time too short to digest them, it is hardly fair for an anthropologist of 4 months standing to pass any type of judgement on these grand questions. Instead what I propose to do is as follows. Firstly I would like to discuss why Levi-Strauss is so interested in totemism as a problem - having first defined, broadly, what 'totemism' is. Secondly I would like to outline the argument of his earlier book on the subject entitled 'Totemism'. This is a discussion of the thought of other anthropologists on the subject and in it L-S. clears the ground for his own theory and also gives hints and suggestions of what is to come. Thirdly, I would like to outline in a highly over-simplified way L-Strauss's theory of totemism and how far it answers the problems he sets himself. Finally, I would like to discuss briefly how far either his method, evidence or solutions seem to offer new avenues for anthropology, especially, how far they overcome they offer an escape from the impasse of functionalism and how far L-S. can be said to have offered a set of laws for the anthropologist. Behind all this, of course, ~~lies the~~ a whole series of other debates ~~of~~ anthropology art or science, anthropology, taxonomy or dynamic, the comparative method's use in social anthropology, the necessity for anthropologists to use new methods and theories from structural linguistics, communication and set theory and so on. To make my prejudices clear at the start: I am a historian, a disciple of Evans-Pritchard and though very stimulated by L-Strauss, innately hostile. Thinking about the application of anthropology to history, I find it almost impossible to conceive how, in detail, one could apply L-S. approach. But perhaps we could discuss that later.



I also drew a humorous picture to illustrate simply the various interpretations of totemism that I considered in the essay, from Goldenweiser to Levi-Strauss. Whether I used this in my presentation I do not recall.



Throughout the paper I made critical remarks about Levi-Strauss and then, in the concluding paragraphs, launched into a further critique.

This criticism could be widened out. For instance, it could be argued that not only has Levi-Strauss failed, in his stress on similarities, to explain differences between societies, but, in his static analysis, he has failed to even consider in detail how systems of classification change. Nor, in his concentration on classification, has he really touched on huge sectors of primitive thought, for instance the problem of causation, how one event or activity is connected to another over time and as cause and effect. This is a problem which Evans-Pritchard has illuminated in his studies of witchcraft; yet L-S. ignores it.

I think that behind this lies the real weakness of L-S: he is an arch-classifier. He looks forward to the ethnology of a future century when there will be a 'classification of classifications' (p.151), and his book is a preliminary attempt at such a classification. Perhaps it seems a little unfair to apply to Leach's hero Leach's astringent remarks about anthropological butterfly-collecting, but there is something in it. 'Were the task not so immense' says L-S 'a classification of these classifications could be undertaken. Systems would be distinguished according to the number of categories they employ – ranging from two to several dozen – and according to the number and choice of elements and dimensions. (p.150) What the purpose of this day-dream would be, L-S. does not say. In itself it seems of little value.

On the basis of very little reading I have said some hard things about L-S. These do not allow for the highly stimulating ideas he produces on a vast number of subjects – naming, taboo, animals etc. yet, despite the fact that reading him sends one rushing off with a million problems buzzing in one's ears, looking behind his immediate concerns I think it is important to say that, personally, I am not convinced that he has either a) explained much about how primitive people think – though we may have learnt quite a bit about the mind of a sophisticated French philosopher b) explained why certain animals or objects are chosen as totems and not others c) shown what the connections between the social, material, and ideological structures is.

This last point brings him back to Durkheim. Is the world of thought divorced from the social world? No, says L-S, but nor is it determined by it; 'although there is undoubtedly a dialectical relation between the social structure and systems of categories, the latter are not an effect or result of the former; each, at the cost of laborious mutual adjustments, translated certain historical and local modalities of the relations between man and the world, which form their common substratum'. In other words, society and ideas are interconnected and related to the environment. As we said at the beginning, Lévi-Strauss is in danger of losing any chance of explaining anything if he forgets this and proceeds to analyse idea as coherent, separate, logical systems. He needs to analyse much more carefully the relationship between the three strata; only thus will some sort of explanation emerge of why there are differences between societies and why certain societies are as they are.

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 15/1/67

Dear M. & D. & Annie,

*As you see, I enclose a reading list on Indian tribes which I thought might interest you both; could you return it at your convenience. Before I'm finished, I'd like to get hold of as many of them as possible. You might be interested to learn where I got the book list. On the advice of Mrs Hayley, I went to the School of Oriental and African (Studies (S.O.A.S.) near the University of London to ask whether I could attend any of their seminars. They were very kind, and when I said I was interested in Assam, I was ushered along to see the Professor of the Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, C. Von Furer-Haimendorf (some of whose books you will see on the list). As you can see, he has written quite extensively about Assam, and from the books on his shelves I could see that he was a) very interested in the Nagas and b) a great admirer of Verrier Elwin. I had a fascinating conversation with him for 20 minutes or so - about India, Verrier E. etc. He last saw the latter in 1962 and obviously liked and admired him enormously. He said that V.E. was enormously intelligent, and could have got a high post in any academic dept. in the world if he has so wanted. Von.F.H. seemed pretty pessimistic about the possibilities of getting into Nagaland etc. now, but thought he could help re. a study of the Garos or Khasis. He himself has now moved to Nepal, and is showing a series of films he took among the Sherpas of Nepal. I hope to go to them and will let you know what they are like. What a pity you are not nearer London - it is a wonderful place for studying India. As well as the above, and the regional course which they are running - and which C von F.H. is helping with - there is also, until Feb., an exhibition in the British Museum entitled 'Mughal India in the C16 and C17's' - I'll try to go anyhow and see if they have a programme.... I do hope your work on the subject is going well anyhow. Glad to hear that you manage to sneak away for a few hours in the morning M., but perhaps that is temporarily suspended. I haven't forgotten about Indian history periodicals and will send a list of them soon. I will also, if I may, send the carbon of my thesis by registered post. If you could possibly correct the worst errors of grammar and spelling, I would be terribly grateful. That will probably be in a couple of weeks or so. I shall send full instructions. Wonder how the slides go? Just do them in the flicking-through way we did together if you are still at it. I'm possibly giving a talk soon at Oxford on incest and other sexual offences in the C16 - i.e. marital disputes, slander etc. so, if I do, I may rush up to the Lakes and collect some more data. Could you also keep an eye open for interesting cases in slides....*

From Iris: Field Head, Thursday [19th January 1967]

My dear Alan,

*I was most impressed by your meeting the great Haimendorf and would love to attend a lecture of his if unqualified middle aged ladies are allowed in. He is a little heavy going but generally considered the best authority on the tribes, I am glad he has restored Verrier Elwin to a position more dignified than the one Evans Pritchard had relegated him to - slightly childish sex maniac. His simplicity was of the truly saint like variety I'm sure. I'll try to get some of the books on the list from the library, I've read Mills and there is also Hutton on the Angamis which is in our luggage.... A young man rolled up from the Westmorland Gazette yesterday to interview us! - had heard we'd been in India and must have been pretty desperate. It ended by me interviewing him of course, he had just come back from a bus trip to India including Katmandu which he says is full of Americans taking hemp and behaving very badly. I gave him all my books, articles etc. and he says he'll pump my new book....*

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 22nd January from 8 St Aldate's Oxford<sup>15</sup>

*My dear Alan,*

*Thank you very much for your letter. I am so glad that your thesis is finished. I agree with you and Francis Hutchinson about witchcraft – in fact I nearly used Francis Hutchinson's phrase as an epigraph to my essay, which is now in proof. It is a depressing subject; and yet if the 'horror' depresses, the 'difficulty' attracts. I am so glad to have tackled it. I hope I have said something new about it. I am sure you have, and I shall be interested to see whether your well-timed thesis has blown up my airy generalisations. I hope not. I assure you that it is no very admirable quality that takes me into these tangled thickets. As Dr Johnson retorted to Boswell, who credited him with 'courage' for going 'sliding in Christ Church meadow' when he should have been waiting on his tutor in Pembroke College, 'Courage? No sir: stark insensibility'.*

*You ask how long examiners like to read a thesis. I think that a month is a fair allowance. They are seldom free to read it when it first arrives – theses tend to be presented in term – and so they have to wait and find time. Then they generally need to do some checking. Then they have to find a date for viva convenient to them both. However, they are usually reasonable people and if you have a particular time-table problem, say so in our submission to the Registry. The Board is thoroughly accustomed to applications, especially by Indians, for 'late submission' (so that they can scribble to the last minute) and 'early viva' (so that they can catch an available dhow or catamaran back to Bombay or Madras). This can be very inconvenient – especially when they time it, as they sometimes do, so that the examiners would have to do everything between Christmas and the New Year. However, the Board tries to co-operate, only insisting that its approval of such courses is subject to the convenience of the examiners, whom we never commit to an unreasonable time-table. It is always convenient to the Board if a supervisor suggests examiners. We don't necessarily appoint the suggested examiners but we generally do, and suggestions are always a help; so you will probably discuss possible examiners with Keith Thomas.*

*As for 'jargon' the rules—it seems to me—are very simple. First, one must distinguish between 'terms of art' and 'jargon'. At least I make this artificial distinction. 'Terms of art' are agreed, exact definitions, necessary to the discussion of an esoteric subject. The terms you mention ('agnatic', 'affinal', 'matrilinear', 'sibling') are such terms and there is nothing wrong with them at all, or with any other such terms. I simply think (a) that the terms should be 'agreed' between writer and reader explicitly if they are unusual terms, and (b) that they should be respectable, properly constructed, euphonious terms, as simple as possible, not fanciful neologisms or grotesque hybrids. 'Jargon' is (to me) something quite different; the use of pompous clichés, or second-hand conglomerations of words stuck together in habitual postures, when it is perfectly possible to use a clean, simple word or phrase. Thus where you or I would naturally say 'enter' or 'go', your Jargonaut, when in full sail, would just as naturally say 'effect an entry' or 'proceed', as if it were better English, and raised his social or professional status to say so. I'm afraid that many writers really do seem to think that this kind of long-windedness is necessary to their status, just as rat catchers now, in our status-bound society, call themselves 'rodent operatives' and dentists 'dental surgeons', etc. etc.—and graduates 'postgraduates': a revolting word which I refuse even to use, but which I have tried in vain to exclude from the vocabulary of the university.*

*In 'jargon' I also include metaphors which are not sensed as metaphors: i.e. metaphors which are so dulled by use that they create no vivid comparable image but only elongate the phrase. I make it a rule never to use a metaphor unless, with my mind's eye, I see the action or object from which I draw the image. I have just seen the Jargonauts, sailing in the good ship Jargo, which however, for them, has a certain florid Hindu decor and tramples down the waves like its kindred vessel the Juggernaut, and uttering horrible, polysyllabical, prosy meaningless noises as they plough through the inky Black Sea towards the Gold Fleece of journalistic success. What is the point of a metaphor if it is not really a metaphor at all—if it creates no image in the mind of the reader (because there has been none in the mind of the writer), but is merely a means of taking longer to say*

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<sup>15</sup> Also published on pp. 135-139 of *One Hundred Letters from Hugh Trevor-Roper* (2014) edited by Richard Davenport-Hines and Adam Sisman



something? It is for this reason that I hate mixed metaphors. A mixed metaphor is proof that the writer has not seen the images; for if he had, the two images would have cancelled each other out in absurdity. For instance, if I were to say that some scholar of whom my opinion was low (I fear there are some) was a poor fish, not worth powder and shot, it would be self-evident that I had not seen him as a fish at all: the phrase would have been, to me, mere jargon.

Why do I feel so strongly, indeed passionately about this? Even as I write, I feel myself to be somewhat absurd. But I have my reasons. It is not merely that the English language – all language – is to me something beautiful which deserves to be treated well: it is also a moral question. Clear language is the expression of clear thought and muddy language is the slime which obscures thought, concealing the slovenliness, the crookedness slovenly, crooked minds and excusing the indolence of indolent minds. Indeed, it can be worse than that: it can excuse cruelty, vice, criminal things. All the great crimes of our time have been palliated, perhaps made possible by jargon. The use of phrases like liquidate' by the Bolsheviks 'pass on', or 'send to the East' by the Nazis, instead of 'kill', 'send to the gas chambers', made it possible for a whole bureaucracy to organise and carry out mass murder without even admitting to themselves what they were doing. Slipshod language, opaque meaningless metaphors, not only excuse the mind from the rigours of thought, they protect the conscience from the sense of responsibility. I feel morally revolted by totalitarian (or other) double-talk—that is what really maddened me in China – and since double-talk is impossible if language is used exactly and clearly, this is to me a compelling reason for insisting on exact, clear language.

And yet, I do not want language to be purely dry, neuter, antiseptic. It is too noble a thing for that. It is capable of warmth, light, subtlety, power. I want it to realise these capacities. But even in realising them, it must not slip into jargon. Fortunately, the safeguards are already there. Thanks to metaphors, images, language can move in more than one dimension and living metaphors, since they reinforce and vivify the intended meaning, cannot by definition obscure it. Only dead metaphors can do that. They are the unfailing resource of cant and hypocrisy.

Do you doubt my comforting equation? Then try reading some 17th century sermons, preferably Scotch. They never let one down. Try the letters of Samuel Rutherford. There is a metaphor in every sentence, and every one is stone-dead. He never draws his images from the peel-tower or the yew tree, the oatmeal or the salt beef, the gannet or the grouse: it is always from the fish-pools of Hebron, the cedar and the cypress, the gourd and the hyssop, the flamingo and the quail. And the whole work, of which edition after edition seemed edifying to generation after generation of your compatriots, is nothing but nauseating cant from beginning to end.

If, as an anthropologist, you are faced with whole sentences which appear to mean nothing, don't despair; they probably do mean nothing and can therefore be ignored. Life is short, and those who will not take the trouble to write clearly cannot properly expect to be read.

Do please call on me. Tuesday is a bad day for entertaining you, as it is our servantless day, and Xandra hates cooking; also it is the day when we have a 'business lunch' at Oriel and guests aren't allowed. But I would give you a very dull dinner in college to show you what you have escaped. Otherwise take a chance and telephone me: I am likely to be in Oxford on Tuesdays.

Yours ever Hugh Trevor-Roper

P.S. Have you ever read George Orwell's essay 'Politics and the English Language' which is published in his volume of essays Shooting an Elephant and Other Essays? It says everything that I believe on this subject.

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 26/1/67

Dear M. & D. & Annie,

I've just finished my critique of Levi-Strauss - most fascinating book, you'd enjoy it Mummy. I receive my Incest essay back next Tuesday, and am filling in the gaps by checking the thesis footnotes at the B.M.... Fiona told us about the 'Outgate Adventurer' - you will let us have a look at the cutting won't you! Hope the work of all kinds is going well. I'm popping up in a couple of weeks...to collect kinship diagrams etc. The talk in Oxford is off I'm afraid. Keith said how much he would have liked to have heard it etc. - but by the time I'd written the

head of St Hugh's, Dr Anne Wightman had volunteered something on church attendance so he could hardly refuse her....

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Ambleside [no date]

My dear Alan,

*I'm so glad the thesis is finished, I suppose you feel both relieved and disappointed, anyway it was a wonderful effort and I look forward to reading it. We went along to the Kendal Archives the other day, only one room but a strong room attached full of fascinating solicitors collections many of which haven't been looked at. The lady archivist was away so I plan to go back and talk with her, they have two censuses, one of 1685 which I envied them, but generally the records obviously aren't as good as Essex. I have been doing some reading, two long long cases, neither marriage, but interesting in showing how methodically things were done. One a mother in law left in her son in laws house after he died, and an immediate entry of neighbours to make inventories of their separate possessions, value them and sell his for the upkeep of orphans. The other a tythe case with the yearly perambulation of the village boundaries by the older members of the community during "gange week" (I think) and the confusion that resulted in the neglect of this - the walking of rights of way is the same sort of thing I suppose. Somehow one imagined them living rather a haphazard sort of existence but of course it couldn't have been if the place was to hold together.*

*I have had a funny time with a reporter from the Westmorland Gazette looking for news, a very young and pimply youth who came one day last week and produced an extraordinary paragraph headed "Outgate Authoress" which began "Adventurer and authoress Iris Macfarlane..." and who arrived again yesterday with a photographer to take the adventures at work - sitting bolt upright at my bureau with a cheesy smile all over my face. He spent two hours here talking about everything from tropical fish to Katmandu (where he has just been) but not interviewing me at all so I do wonder what he'll give birth to next time. He is quite interested in local history and characters but says the Gazette is run by old old men who can't bear anything new or interesting to appear....I have decided to write my Mughals as a series of essays on meetings (such as Thos Roe and Jehangir) weaving the history of the times round them, rather corny but I feel I could manage such a book - and if nobody wants to publish it could probably get History Today to take a few.... We have booked to go to Lochinver from 20th May for two weeks so you could come here...*

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 31st January from 44, Ridge Road

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

*Once again, thank you for a most amusing, and helpful, letter. I don't know how you find the time to write at such length, and the energy to write with such vitality. After a day at the L.S.E. I feel completely worn out. Today was particularly hectic - I gather there may be some repercussions in the Press since amidst the surging crowds opposing the new Director an aged Porter was killed - or rather, suffered a heart-attack from which I think he died. Anyhow, this is just going to be a short note to ask if I may really take up on your kind invitation for dinner at Oriel. I wonder if you are free on February 21st? ... I realise that you will probably be fully booked, but it would be nice to meet. I could then bring up the matters you discuss in your letter.*

*Yes, I've read 'Politics and the English Language' - wonderful.*

*I hope to see you soon. Thank you, again, for writing, ,*

Around this time, I guess, I went to a seminar, not noted elsewhere, by Peter Loizos. I do not know whether it was an occasional event, or part of a series. Here is the first page of my notes.

Lent 1967

SEMINAR. Peter Loyzos on Law.

Nuer/Tiv views of law and social control.

History of law: Marrett argued that there was no deviation in primitive societies; Malinowski realized that there was plenty of deviation, and that conformity arose out of reciprocity, rather than sanctions. R-B. concentrated on sanctions rather than laws - he distinguished between positive/negative and diffuse/organized.

law = institution, laws = rules.

need to distinguish public (criminal) delicts and private ones (civil).

Definition of law: Hoebel. 'a law is a social norm which is legal if its neglect or infraction is met regularly by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized right of so doing'.

cf. Howell on Nuer Laws; they have no law, but a good deal of fighting. there is a system of feuding and compensation - the closer the parties are related, the more likely there is to be fighting(?).

#### NUER.

negotiated compensation/ cleansing - breaking a rule against oneself/ non-negotiable fighting.

accidental/intentional death are differentiated.  
death can be compensated; homicide pollutes a man and his kin.

'wrong/right' are related to the social structure - to how near one is to the person who is injured; there are pollution effects.

Incest is mystically dangerous to you and your kin.

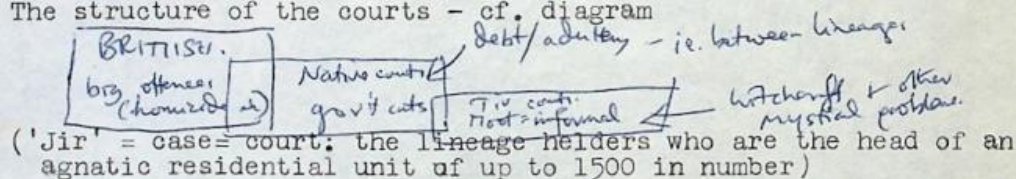
The religious system only lays down what one must do after breaking a sanction - not ways of preventing.

There is a cattle-scale of compensation for any wrong.  
(problem: do the sanctions relate to the size of the groups involved and contestants?)

#### TIV - Bohannan.

B. argues that we must not expect, a priori, to find law in primitive society. It is not a 'great reality'. We must distinguish between the 'folk-system', that is what the Tiv talk about themselves, and the analytic system - that is the way we look at it. We cannot take the assumptions and classifications of our society and impose them on other socs - each society is unique.

The structure of the courts - cf. diagram



**February 1967**

To Iris: 44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 1/2/67

*I hope you are both well; so glad you are going away for a holiday in May - will you be croft-hunting? I've a feeling that those two weeks will be in the middle of the Summer term, but I'll see. We are vaguely planning - money allowing - to go to some densely populated peasant area in the summer, either in the Mediterranean or Scotland, and I could do some preliminary field-work with tape-recorders, cameras etc. When it comes down to it, I feel very reluctant to prowl round people's houses asking them very personal questions. It's not the same as*

*working out the conception rate from a parish register!.... I've also got to pop down to Essex one or two Mondays since I'm following up the incest cases there, as well as checking thesis references. I had my sample introduction for my incest dissertation back from Schapera. He tried to be helpful, but his interests are rather limited, and his knowledge of history even more so. I think I'll just have to do the thing myself. The contrast with the enthusiasm of Keith Thomas is amazing. My talk on Levi-Strauss went off quite well and it may be being duplicated - the only one so far... Glad to hear that you have settled on a plan for the Moghul book Mummy. It sounds fine: I don't know why you are so self-deprecating.*

*Was very interested in the snippets from the slides. I think 'gauge' week comes from 'gange week' or ganging. You will probably find something of it in Dickens. The mother-in-law living in her fathers-in-law's house was fascinating: one of the problems I'm especially interested in is where widows lived. Was she living at her son-in-law's house before his death? It sounds like it. Also, very interested to hear about the Kendal census of 1685: could you find out more details for me? What area does it cover, how complete is it, what facts does it give? If only I could find one for Essex...*

*Incidentally, I have bought another book by Verrier Elwin while in India - Bondo Highlander. Have you seen it? It has some gorgeous illustrations. I will try to remember to bring it up... Hope I can get up this coming week-end.*

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 6th February from the History Faculty Library

*My dear Alan,*

*I am extremely sorry, but dinner on February 21st is now impossible. Since I wrote to you we have accepted an invitation to dine with the President of Trinity that night.*

*But I hope we shall nevertheless see you. At present I have no other engagements that day, so do come between 3 and 5, or, if you prefer, come to tea at my house at 5... Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 12/2/67

*Dear M & D,*

*It was lovely seeing you both, if only for a fleeting few hours, last week-end... I hope the car is fully recovered now and ready for its trip to Scotland.... I am now busily putting up some more of my patent file racks to house the materials I brought down. On Monday I went to Essex and spent the day at the Record Office looking up incest cases. I also looked at a village census, or rather two of them, taken in 1793 and 1806 for Bocking. I'm having them photographed and will send them up to you so that you can compare them to Kendal and other ones. I was very excited by your account of Westmorland material, and am dying to hear more about it. I enclose an article on plague and population in the North West which might give you a few ideas Mummy. I'll collect it next time I'm in the Lakes. At the moment, perhaps you could just send me a list of the parishes for which there are censuses - also what is included in the censuses, and whether a) there are any wills b) any parish registers c) any other parish material. Perhaps you'd be interested to hear what the Cambridge Group have written about Westmorland?*

*In a circular of 20th June 1966 they wrote '... it is interesting that in Westmorland we hope to be able to compare lists of inhabitants for the same or neighbouring places separated by one hundred years, in the 1690's and 1790's. (In the list of censuses, where places are not given, it is stated that there are 2 for the period 1699 and 8 others before 1799).*

*In a circular of Jan. 1967 they wrote that 'The county of Westmorland has in recent months provided a splendid haul of documents of this type (i.e. censuses) mostly relating to the year 1787, but some from the 1690's too. We shall be able to know this northern mountainous area exceptionally well.' I shall see what they have got when I next visit Cambridge. But it sounds as if there is quite a chance that there might be other, undiscovered, censuses at Kendal, and if you could find one it would be marvellous since, by so doing, you could legitimately claim the right to work on it (exclusively), without feeling the Cambridge Group panting behind you, their computers ticking furiously.*

*I also wondered if you could find out what, if any, state the Hearth Taxes of Kendal or other villages for the years 1671, 1681 or any other years about then, are in. The Chelmsford ones, for instance, are very useful and*

*Hilda Grieve has established that they follow the street order and list every head of a household. If they exist for Kendal (the Record Office people might know - probably the originals are in the Public Record Office - if so I can look at them) they would be most useful - likewise for other villages.*

*As for parish registers, the really excellent one is that of Greystoke, as I said. It has been published (at Kendal, 1911) and there should, therefore, be a copy in the Kendal Record Office if you ask. It seems to be very full - e.g. a page copied out of it under the year 1623 in The World We Have Lost (p.115) depicting various people dying of starvation. I wonder if there are others published, or as detailed and early as this?*

*Obviously, the first problem is to locate one or two parishes with good sources - similar to those for Essex - and then to start discovering what similarities/differences there are.*

*Sorry to have taken up so much of the letter with this, but I really think you might be onto something big. Wonder how the Moghuls progress; well, I hope. Do let me know if there is anything I can look up for you. P.S. .... Last Tuesday I went to Keith's seminar at Oxford; very good - on the function of political prophesies. Then on Wednesday I went to a seminar at University College where I met a very dynamic woman (who was running the seminar) called Mary Douglas who has just written a controversial book called Purity and Danger which I think you'd enjoy; it is bubbling with ideas. She persuaded me to give a talk on witchcraft at her seminar in a couple of weeks' time. I've also had coffee with Lucy Mair, one of the Profs at L.S.E. who is writing a textbook on witchcraft and wanted to know about historical witchcraft. She is very shy, but nice. Must stop as I seem to be blowing my trumpet rather a lot. The thesis chugs on. Tomorrow off to Essex again.*

From Iris: Field Head, Sunday [12th February 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

*Letters are bound to cross but Sunday evening seems the best time to write letters with all those nice restful hymns on the Telly and the Sunday papers knee deep...*

*Yesterday was a lovely day too, we went to Kirkby Lonsdale in the first round of my Investigations. I spent a morning at the archives on Friday & went through the Censuses which covered an area round Kendal on K.L. - the actual villages were Barbon, Burton, Holme, Dilicar, Firbank, Hutton Roof, Killington, Lupton, Mansergh and Middleton. I chose K. Lonsdale, Burton & Holme because they are close and comprise the Lonsdale Ward, also the archivist told me the K.L. Parish Registers were very good. The Church is delightful and set in a square of old houses which I imagine were the original village, cobbled streets, ancient Inn etc. but I could find this out. Luckily the Vicar was in the church & within 2 minutes we had discovered he had been born in India, was at university with Laslett & was hoping to get Alec Graham to help him over Easter! He showed me the Parish Registers, a beautiful bound book with entries from 1538 & he also has Churchwardens accounts & says I can copy them any time - he is a charming man who takes a great interest in church history & has the names of all the incumbents listed from early C16. So I plan to spend a couple of days there soon, but first will copy out the Census lists - these are interesting as they show how many widows and bachelors there were & how many poor receiving alms - a remarkably high percentage but were they quite honest with the assessors? As you know Archdeaconry records are at Chester, manor records & some Court books are at Carlisle & wills at Preston. Very little work has been done on any of them (Laslett has been poking around but only briefly) but I can't see myself hurtling about between Chester & Carlisle. Very frustrating. I've been reading an interesting case this week, suspected poisoning with quite a lot about oaths, one taken by dipping bread into salt.*

*I've been trying to work at my Mughals to a gentle letter from my agent asking me how I was getting on with my book, glad he can't see the two scribbled pages that comprise it - but it's nice to know he cares!*

*We had our first lecture on Metaphysical Poetry on Thursday, quite a lively meeting with three gentlemen present quite a young lecturer who treated us like school children & made us answer questions all through - the most ancient of the ladies present was Wordsworth's great-granddaughter, she was she was a bit upset because the lecturer's collar was rather soiled!...*



12/2/67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8.

Dear Mr [Keith] Hopkins,

*Thank you very much indeed for the various offprints. As I will not be able to come to your next Tuesday lecture (I will be in Oxford) I thought I'd a) return the off-print which you wanted back and b) save you the trouble of bringing the scraps I gave you to the lecture and c) send you the enclosed article by Wrigley which I think you'll find interesting. It has the same theme as your article on birth control that the statistics strongly suggest that there was birth control, while it is almost impossible to discover any widely practised means. As a minute contribution to the problem, you might be interested in one reference I've come across which helps to fill the gap between the 5th century A.D. and the C16th - when you suggested that contraceptive methods may have been forgotten. The extract comes from a fourteenth century author and is quoted in G.G. Coulton, Medieval Village, Manor, and Monastery:*

*'In the twelfth, they join themselves in lust with the beasts whom they feed and keep. In the thirteenth they often abstain from knowing their own wives lest children should be born, fearing that they could not bring up so many, under pretext of poverty; wherein they sin most grievously and live contrary to the law of matrimony, which was principally instituted by our Lord for the procreation of children.'*

*Wonder if other ecclesiastical castigations of contemporary vices might have something on birth-control?*

*Needless to say, I enjoyed your papers very much. I heartily agree with you castigation of historians who 'have mostly been content with assuming that Romans (or sixteenth century peasants) in all significant ways thought, perceived and attached meaning to their actions in a manner roughly comparable to their own': it is terribly difficult to make the imaginative leap, and one cannot do it unless one can have some other society as a model. Still, it's been essential in studying witchcraft.*

*Don't bother to reply to this rambling note. I look forward to hearing your lecture in 2 weeks....*

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 19/2/67

Dear M & D,

*Thank you very much for your long and cheerful letter. I do hope you are still feeling full of enthusiasm. .... On Friday a friend from L.S.E. came to supper. He is very intelligent and nice - interested in Eliot (T.S.) and Buddhism and archaeology (he spent 2 years as an archaeologist in S. Africa before he came to L.S.E.) as well as anthropology.<sup>16</sup> We discussed the possibility of setting up a small discussion group, consisting of four or five keen types, who would discuss problems of mutual interest, centring on comparative religion, and comparative thought/ideologies. I hope it will come to something. The seminars at L.S.E. are very unsatisfactory, and there is no-one very good there, at least I haven't met them if there is. We'd hope to get Mary Douglas (the woman I mentioned last week) to come, and perhaps occasionally to invite guest speakers etc. Still, we'll see what happens... I went to a seminar on Tuesday at Oxford, on marriage cases. It was based on exactly the same type of cases as you are studying, i.e. depositions in the church courts. I include a very brief summary of it, with a copy of my letter to Ralph Holbrook, the friend who gave the talk. Afterwards, instead of the usual gentlemanly murmuring I launched out about pre-marital intercourse statistics etc. and they all looked rather shattered. I even managed to get quite an argument going. Next week the talk is on church attendance, and again the work we've done will be very useful. I was very interested to hear about the poisoning case, and the oaths accompanied with dipping bread in salt - very 'anthropological' as you know. The day at Oxford was generally very enjoyable. I had lunch in the senior common room at Balliol and for the first and last time (probably) waived hullo across a crowded room at the Master (Christopher Hill); afterwards we had an amusing*

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<sup>16</sup> David Seddon

*discussion about why he persisted in believing Margaret Murray etc. In the evening I went out to dinner with Harry Pitt and we had a most invigorating argument...*

Village Studies: Westmorland.

*I was very interested indeed to hear about your visit to Kirkby Lonsdale and the censuses. Of course, our letters crossed, and some of the things I said in my previous letter no longer applied. That will happen again with this letter; still here goes.*

*Firstly, I've come across some references which might be worth following up. I think you'll find nearly all of them in either the Kendal Office or the Kendal Library (perhaps in the Armitt Library?) - if you can't find any, let me know, and I'll have a look at them down here. Obviously, most of them will be worth looking at only after you've finally chosen a certain area.*

*Some Westmorland Wills, 1686-1738, (ed) John Somervell, Kendal, 1928 - included index of persons and farms.*

*Surtees Society, no. 118, North Country Diaries - might be generally useful.*

*A Boke of Records or Register of Kirbie Kendall, ed. R.S. Ferguson (1892) - Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, extra series, VII (fascinating on Kendal - includes list of all (?) male inhabitants of Kendal in 1575 which might make it unique & would provide a fascinating cf. to later censuses) - cf. other numbers in the extra series and tract series (e.g. Daniel(?) Fleming's survey of Westmorland in 1671.*

*History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland (2 vols) by J. Nicholson, (1777), includes an interesting map of Westmorland in vol. 1.*

*(if you browsed round the second-hand book-shops in Kendal etc. you might be able to find some of these - as I found Annals of Kendal etc.)*

*'Westmorland Parish Registers', Rev. Henry Whitehead, Trans. Cumb'd and West'd Antiqu. and Arch. Society vol xiii, (Kendal, 1894). I could get you a xerox of this if it would be a help.*

*e.g. on p.128 it says Kirby Lonsdale*

*Bishop Ware (in vol.i, pp.200-2 of these Transactions) says they begin in 1538, but are blank from 1556-1560 and from 1566 to 1570. Apparently the Burton registers don't begin until 1653, according to this account. This might make one hesitate before digging too far into that village. Another problem is that Kirby Lonsdale had chapelries, that is to say, its parish registers might include people from nearby villages. I think that Hutton Roof, Mansergh and Middleton were among its chapelries. Before one started reconstruction it would obviously be necessary to find out about this. The rest of the Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiqu. and Arch. Soc. would be worth looking through, I should imagine. Also individual parish histories.*

*I enclose the paper by Wrigley on family reconstitution. If you want to see his later and fuller one, I'll send the 'Introduction to Historical Democracy' up. It also has suggestions re. the use of census material. I also include an article on a Warwickshire census of 1698 - which might give you some comparative figures. I'm longing to hear how you get on. The obvious point is not to rush into detailed work before one is clear that one has chosen the best possible parish from every point of view. If necessary, I'll do the dashing about from Carlisle to Preston to York in the summer. If you can deal with the census material and churchwardens/parish registers, that would be marvellous. Have you got a good map of Westmorland? Perhaps you could send me a rough sketch of the parishes which have censuses, with dates and whether they have registers/churchwardens account & when from. If you could also take carbon copies of the censuses when you copy them out, I would love to have a look*

*at them. I hope this doesn't sound too ambitious or enthusiastic, but I really think your onto something big. Meanwhile there are also the slides and the Mughals - poor M & D!*

From Iris: Field Head, Sunday [19th February 1967]

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*We've has a quiet week and I've been plugging away at my Mughals, badly handicapped by my rotten filing - when I've finished this chapter I shall have to stop and reorganize. My article to "History Today" came back, the pill sweetened by a nice letter saying they had done rather a lot of this sort of thing recently, but this didn't mean they wouldn't like future articles!?*

*I went to the Record Office on Friday & copied out half of the Kirkby Lonsdale Census - this one is very faint and frail but most of them can be photostated & I'll have this done. I took in the article you sent & Miss M. the archivist kept it to have it copied. She showed me the Correspondence with Laslett in which he gloats over the vast hoard of Westmorland material he is going to put through his computers - blast him. The K.L. census makers started off with good intentions by ruling out a page & putting headings like "Bachelors" "Widowers" but unfortunately didn't carry this through. However they did mention the mothers who were living in their sons households though various other identifiable people have to be accounted for. The archivist says there "should be" hearth tax returns but she hasn't found them - only one for 1694 written by the indefatigable Sir Daniel le Fleming which will be useful to corroborate the Census. I wish I could spend longer on all this, as usual I'm confused as to where my priorities lie, am equally interested in everything. The depositions chug on with interesting little sidelights emerging all the time. It is a coincidence that the many parishes (or rather villages) mentioned in Domesday book are the same ones as the census covers - but alas the second census doesn't. I was very interested in the amount of information that was gathered in the article you sent from a few parish registers though didn't agree with his conclusions about mobility....*

*Miss McCormack<sup>17</sup> gave me the name of a croft that is for sale on N. Uist and I've written off about it - 25 acres of land which sounds gorgeous but we're trying not to make plans of what we are going to do with it...*

*Do hope all the talks went off well, you are obviously THE AUTHORITY on witches, I have the record office here agog with your exploits....*

19/2/67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8.

*Dear Ralph [Houlbrooke]*

*I just wanted to write a note to say how very much I enjoyed your talk on marriage at Keith's seminar last week, and to apologise for what may have sounded like rather abrupt questioning and dogmatic assertions. Please blame the latter on enthusiasm, or the effects of anthropological-type seminars which are far less austere and controlled than historical ones. As you will have gathered, I am interested in most of the problems you discussed, and felt the journey to Oxford was well worthwhile. As you see from the enclosed, I took some rough notes on your paper which you will find to be very garbled. I wonder, assuming you have the time/inclination/energy whether you could whip through and correct any blatant mistakes. If you are very interested in any of the asides in red, perhaps you could write a brief note on them. As you know I've worked through the Essex archdeaconry material fairly thoroughly, as well as doing some village studies. I'm also interested in the subject as a budding anthropologist, and if I can ever provide comparative material or bibliographical help on the anthropological literature, please let me know. If you ever come to work for a period at the P.R.O or B.M. or elsewhere in London, let me know and perhaps we could have a longer meeting (lunch together or something) and thrash out various problems.*

*As you may know, I'm just starting a short dissertation on marriage relations in sixteenth century Essex, with special reference to incest and preferential marriage. So I was particularly interested in your lack of cases of*

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17 Error for Macpherson - the Archivist.



*incest; though I was interested to hear that you had one case of 'spiritual incest' – which I'd very much like to see sometime. Have you ever collected any material on kinship? I'm not sure how it would appear in ecclesiastical records, but you might know a way. I agree with you about Hare's article – is much too general and vague. But I definitely get the impression from Elizabethan depositions that pre-marital intercourse was not necessarily frowned on, after the contract....*

*Look forward to hearing from you; could you return the enclosed notes on your talk fairly soon? Thanks again for a most stimulating talk.*

To Lady Clay 25.2.67 44, Ridge Road, London N.8

*Dear Rosalind,*

*How kind of you to write – twice – and to send me the various extracts re. Longinus and twins. Also, how nice to see you the other day., Thank you for tea, and flowers (which survived very well and my wife was thrilled by they are still looking lovely), and sympathy... All that I can do for you in return is to send you notes on Anne Whiteman's talk – please keep them since this is just a carbon. As you can see it was very interesting, although it raised more problems than it solved. Extraordinary, to think that there were officially recognized 'heathens', and that 90% of the parishioners did not communicate at all in some villages.*

To Iris

*[First part missing]*

Lakeland History (25/2/67)

*Fascinated to hear how you are getting on, and looking forward very much to seeing the censuses. Do you know why they were made? Do you know if any other parishes, apart from Kirby Lonsdale, have churchwarden's accounts? (when do the Kirby accounts begin and end?) Looking at J.C. Cox Churchwarden's Accounts (1913) which lists all the accounts he knew of to 1700, there are no Westmorland ones listed (nor are there any Essex ones, yet we know that there were at least half a dozen) – except Kendal from 1658. There are two Cumberland ones (Torpenhoe, 1672 on: Waberthwaite, 1678 which might be worth looking at some point). It might also be worth looking at the Fleming-Senhouse Papers, ed. Edwards Hughes (Cumberland Record Series, II, 1961) at some point – though it is mainly concerned, it seems, with Cumberland.*

*Glad to head that the indefatigable Daniel made a transcript of the 1694-hearth tax. I had a look in the P.R.O and there appear to be other assessments there. There are some earlier (i.e. 1500-->) subsidy assessments for Westmorland, though they are extremely patchy; there are also various scraps of hearth taxes; there are returns of defaulters to the hearth tax in 1662-4 (23 MS.) and, prize item, (P.R.O., E.179, 195/73) 81 MS. of names for the hearth tax assessment of 1670 for the whole county. There is also an imperfect list of names (34 MS.) for some other date before 1688 (P.R.O., E.179, 259/14) as well as leather bags of fragments etc. which have not been catalogued. When you tell me definitely which parishes you have chosen I will send up extracts from all these (the Record Office might even pay me – or get them photographed – if you tell them about this). But the chief things to concentrate on at the moment are a) the censuses and b) which villages to choose. Good luck!*

From Iris: Field Head, Saturday [25th February 1967]

*My dear Alan & Gill,*

*A short letter with this, partly to break the pattern of our crossing ones.. I went into the archives yesterday afternoon and finished copying the K.B. census and asked the archivist to photostat the rest of the parish. All the chapelries of K.B. have censuses so it will be interesting I think to have the whole picture of the parish, but as you say it really depends on the registers whether one can study the area properly. I will go and look at them next week. The K.B. census I will type and send to you in a day or two with a map of the area, various interesting points emerge, including the breakdown of the family as you go lower in the class structure, all sorts of people huddle together under one roof, but of course they may be maiden aunts to unmarried daughters or other relations. Our Man in Carlisle was in the archives (he always seems to be, I like to think he is having an affair*

*with Miss Macpherson in the strong room, she gets rather pink and giggly when he is there) Anyway we were chatting and he said he had found Cumberland wills where special rooms were set aside for mothers and one where a son was instructed to build a barn for the unmarried daughter! The archives seem to have all the books you mention and I will look at them next time. The censuses were found amongst the papers of the inestimable Sir Daniel and I have a great urge to get going on that library, Daddy could help, I think I will ask Miss M. about this. There is a young man working on a PhD. who brings in a small trunk of filing cards, it is very cosy and we have some jolly talks, it is a real luxury to be amongst people who have the same interests, the thing I have missed most all these years.*

*The other event of the week was a letter from our company agents in Dacca saying that they had sent one of our boxes to Vancouver and they still had of our possessions one crate, one signboard, one weighing scale, two umbrellas, three empty biscuit tins and a sofa with two cousins! They would arrange to have these sent to us - we can hardly wait!! I do wonder what treasures have been unloaded in Vancouver. I laughed for half an hour after getting the letter, almost worth losing everything for. No news of the croft yet...*

To Anne Whiteman, Lady Margaret Hall, from London 25.2.67

*I had intended to write to you to say how much I enjoyed your talk on the Compton Census returns at Mr. Thomas' seminar.... May I ask two technical questions? Firstly I just wondered where I might find the returns to the Compton census? Is there a list of them anywhere, and where are they deposited... Also I was struck by your remarks about the importance of church-seating plans. I've been looking for these for some time, but although I know of eighteenth century ones and nineteenth century ones in Essex, I can't find anything earlier.... I enclose a very illegible xerox of a note I once made on church attendance in one of my Essex villages - based on churchwardens accounts, wills, and archdeaconry presentments. If anything in this interests you, I would be glad to let you have more details....*

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 28th February from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*This is a very tardy note to say that I very much enjoyed seeing you last week and only wish we could have had a longer talk. I wonder how the session with the gentleman from Prague went? Anyway, I very much appreciate even a few minutes in your very busy time-table. Perhaps you will be kind enough to let me come down to one or two of your graduate seminars, if you are still holding them, and we could then have a chance for a longer meeting. I was also sorry not to be able to see the proofs of your 'Encounter' article on witches. I look forward to reading the final version.*

*I hope you have a restful vacation; I presume you will be retiring to the Scottish house. You seem to be very over-worked at the moment, if the piles of letters on your huge table are anything to go by!*

*Thank you once again for listening to my problems.*

## **March 1967**

From Iris: Field Head, March 2nd [1967]

*My dear both,*

*We heard that our croft is still for sale though the house needs "reconditioning" - which might mean anything - so we are going up at the end of the month to look at it....*

*Spent one very wet afternoon in Rydal library, brought three notebooks home, all interesting but nothing startling. In one Sir Daniel had written funny stories, very prep-schoolish humour full of terrible puns, with Papists and Protestants taking the place of commercial travellers. Another was a handbook for J.P.'s which he had added lots of notes to, all the law books are fascinating, one whole volume on "Spousals" which shows the marriage contract was the most binding thing of the whole affair, more so than the church service in fact. Yesterday we went to Kirkby Lonsdale, there was a sale on and I hoped this would amuse Daddy as there were*

*tools but it was no good so after a walk he was tramping restlessly and I had to leave. However I spent a happy couple of hours in the vestry with the organist practising, and afterwards we had a beer and sandwich in the lovely old pub... The Vicar is so sweet, tousled and scholarly and losing all the vital keys, Alec isn't coming at Easter unfortunately... Just got the thesis & will do my best, though I'm sure Gill could out-style me. What a relief to have it finished.*

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 2nd March 1967

*My dear Alan,*

*I was delighted to see you the other day, even for so short a time. I have had to retire to bed, which is very inconvenient as I am just about to give a lecture in Paris and then go to Rumania. So please forgive a hasty, dictated letter in answer to yours.*

*Of course I would have given you the proofs of my Encounter article on Witches had I had them by me. Since you are so kind as to express this interest, here they are. The text is not quite the same as the text which will be published in the book, and of course 90% of the footnotes have been left out. But do read it in this form if you like. Would you be so kind as to return them to my secretary for me... Of course I would be delighted if you would speak to my summer seminar. What would you like to talk about? May I write to you again when I am up? Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

2.3.67

*Dear Mr MacFarlane,*

*I am afraid I have forgotten your initial again, but I write to thank you for your paper yesterday. I found it very illuminating & several references come to mind which lend themselves to your interpretation – Somali Tinkers, Masai Blacksmiths, modern Gipsies (as Tylor first pointed out) & Luvale old widows. I would love to see your thesis. I suppose there you develop what cld. only be sketched in a paper – the economic & political background to the changing view of the claims of neighbours. If the book is to convince the historian of the error of their ways, I hope that you don't let the chip on your shoulder appear so obviously. Also that you summarise the assumptions of anthropologists in this field of enquiry. Also, that you disengage you hypothesis from the distracting historical question of change. You could make it impervious to the darts of Prof. Hurstfield on that score & I expect you have done so. I look forward to discussion after 10th I hope you'll ring up.*

Yours sincerely,

Mary Douglas

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 8th March from the British Embassy, Paris

*My dear Alan,*

*Many thanks for your letter, which reached me just as I was leaving Oxford. I had a hasty recovery followed by, or even coinciding with, a precipitous preparation for travel. However, all is now well. I have delivered my Parisian lecture and am none the worse for either the scrimmage or the exertion; and tonight I begin the long train-journey to Belgrade, where I am spending two days before going on to Bucharest. Meanwhile, I hope that my essay on Witches will not drive you into paroxysms of disagreement. If it does, I shall ask you to come to my seminar and disagree publicly for the enjoyment of the audience.*

*Of course I would be delighted to see you there. But I must admit that I am a little frightened of your suggested subjects. The general title of the class is 'Intellectual Movements in 16th and 17th century Europe', and I propose to include Platonism, Socinianism, Scepticism, perhaps Cartesianism, Paracelsianism, (Allen Debus, of Chicago, I hope will do that), & no doubt witch-beliefs which, to keep up the polysyllables, we could describe as Demonianism. All these, I think, can be described as intellectual movements. But your proposed subjects, Sex and Death, interesting though they are, are hardly in the same category. They are rather social attitudes than intellectual movements, and would seem more suited – unless re-baptised with polysyllabic abstract names ending in -ism – for a different course in which other talks would be on attitudes to money, time, servants and such things.*

*So what do we do? Wait, I think, is the answer, and see what second thoughts occur to you, as you meditate on social anthropology in L.S.E., to me as I meditate on anti-Trinitarianism in its Transylvanian home of Cluj, formerly Clausenburg. I have always longed to visit it. I have a romantic image of it in my mind. No doubt contact with the reality will be a deception – as in Persia, where I arrived, across hot and dusty deserts, to look at the fabled city of Shiraz, the home of Hafiz and the Persian poets, and found that it was like Godalming.*

*Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

9th March 1967

Dear Macfarlane,

*Only very severe pressure of work has delayed my writing to you, although in fact I had wanted to do so soon after I came to your talk last Wednesday.*

*I need hardly say how much I enjoyed it and how stimulating it was to hear a completely different approach to the materials with which one is familiar in another context. I know that you will continue this work and hope that some time I shall be able to read your finished thesis, or any article which may arise. I am sure, of course, that we may differ on details, perhaps also in certain generalisations but that this is the sign of a healthy academic community – to be able to differ without dogmatism or intolerance. So I look forward to hearing more....*

*Yours sincerely, Joel Hurstfield*

14/3/67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8.

Dear Professor Hurstfield,

*I was very touched that you should bother to write and, especially, that you took time out of your busy timetable to come to my talk on witches. I'm sorry I haven't replied to your letter earlier, but I don't go into L.S.E. every day and I've only just picked it up. Now alas, you may have gone away to America – but I hope you get it sometime.*

*About the talk. I hope I didn't sound as if I had too much of a 'chip on my shoulder' (as Mary Douglas described it in a letter); it was just enthusiasm. It's just that I feel that there is so much for an anthropologically-inspired historian to explore and in my excitement I get carried away. I'd be most interested to hear your criticisms when you have a chance to see the written version. The thesis, I hope, will be in libraries by September, and I'm scheduled to submit a book on the subject by Christmas, but don't know how that will go.*



*I was surprised to hear that you hadn't found any witchcraft cases in the unpublished Wiltshire quarter sessions material. There are at least 23 cases in the printed Records....*

I wrote a paper on law, presumably for my supervisor Schapera, who was a specialist in the subject. Here is the first page and an accompanying diagram.

A. Macfarlane.  
9/3/67

LAW: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BAROTSE.

Reading: Malinowski, Crime and Custom; Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function (ch. 12); Gluckman, Judicial Process Among the Barotse and Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society (ch. 5); V.W. Turner, Schism and Continuity in an African Society.

Part 1: Approaches to law.  
(cf. ~~diagram 1~~)

'Law, morality, religion are...so many bourgeois prejudices, behind ~~which~~ which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests' (K. Marx, Communist Manifesto). It is sad that our great anthropological predecessor K. Marx is not alive to read Max Gluckman's study of the Judicial Process among the Barotse, since he would have been delighted by the way in which it reveals, and shows by implication for our society, that legal systems are full of ethical assumptions and closely allied to the status quo; ~~that~~ they are a bulwark of authority. ~~and~~ it is perhaps not purely fortuitous that Marx put them first in his list. In this paper I would like to do ~~three~~ things. Firstly, to outline three anthropological approaches to the study of law; here I partly retrace the footsteps of Mr. Loyos in his talk last week. Then I would like to briefly mention what seem to me to be among the most interesting suggestions of Gluckman's ~~study~~ first study of the Barotse. Thirdly I would like to just sketch in some of the possible very basic questions one might ask about any society and its legal system. In effect, I am trying to produce some indexes by which one could rank societies and, even more difficult, to see whether any of these are likely to be correlated. Finally, I would like to apply these indexes to the only society about which I know anything at all, just to see what happens. Unfortunately this whole paper, both reading and writing was done in under three days due to other commitments - perhaps this will partly explain obscurities and generalisations.

Approaches to law. (see diagram 1)

When Malinowski reacted against those who said primitive societies had no law, or at least no civil law, he did so by arguing that all societies must have law since they all needed to control and to decide things. 'The fundamental function of law is to curb certain natural propensities, to hem in and control human instincts and to impose a non-spontaneous, compulsory behaviour - in other words, to ensure a type of co-operation which is based on mutual concessions and sacrifices for a common end' (Crime & Custom, p. 64). Although R-B. argued that 'some simple societies have no law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions' (Structure & Function, p. 212) he basically agreed that the important thing was to see what the ends of law were - their function in the society. Thus one examined economic reciprocity, or religious ritual, and saw that one of its functions, or aspects, was to maintain social control. This line of attack was obviously necessary in acephalous societies and in situations where arbitrators or courts lacked the power of enforcement. It is obviously still a useful approach and brings within the scope of 'law' all sorts of provinces of life which are normally thought of as excluded - e.g. the Welsh football match etc. Two directions in which this approach might be extended seem to be a) to a further study of decision-making; the early stress had been perhaps laid too heavily on control and not decision



	Approach	Definitions	Concentration on	Future work
1	Malinowski. R-B. <u>Functional</u> : the ends of law.	law='an aspect' of all relations a form of soc- ial control.	the way economic, ritual, kinship and other activities act as informal social controls; law= a quality of relationship	decision- making. control of thought/emotion as well as action -e.g. at death.
2	Gluckman (Bohannan?) <u>Structural</u> the means of law.	distinction between adjudication and law; hence two different analyses.....	1) the structure of law; personnel, legal process, courts, types of dispute, adjudication generally. 2) structure of legal concepts - as shown in judgements etc.	informal structures of adjudication; e.g. ritual/ family groups. Social backgrou nd -effects of.
3	Turner (Marwick?) <u>Processual</u> content of legal/disputes	the settle- ment of dispute mechanisms of change.	actual process of disputes - both before courts and informally; whole range of social relationship and how they are manipulated by the individual.	incidence of types of dispute in various parts of social system. type of process (pattern of) (Rites of dispute)

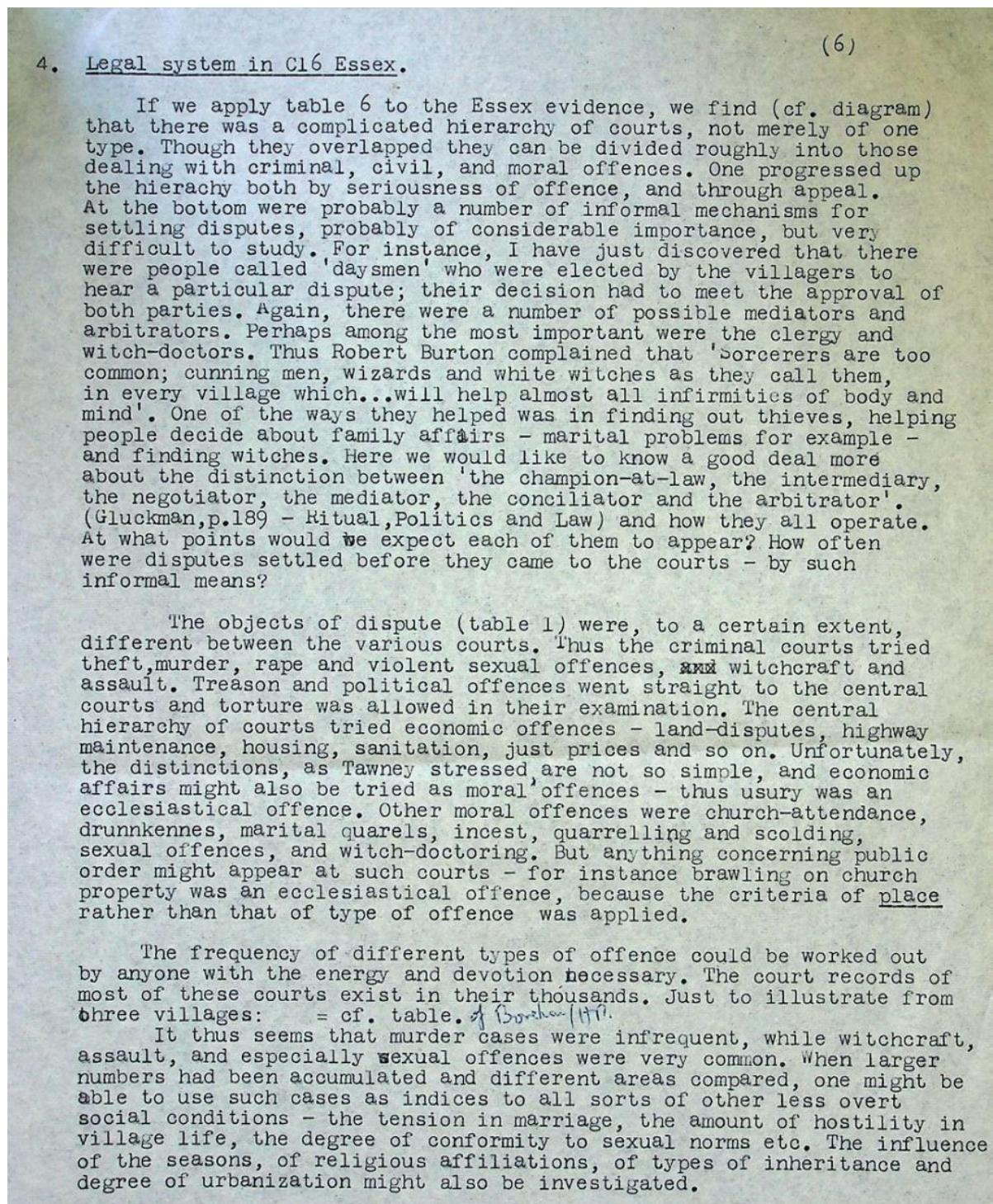
Objects of dispute	Levels of dispute	Range of dispute
<p>1</p> <p>Political power Economic benefit Sexual privileges Supernatural help Status generally</p> <p>Marriage Property Specific objects</p> <p>Latent or Manifest Direct/indirect Long-term/short- term etc.</p>	<p>2</p> <p>Between groups not sharing norms.</p> <p>conflicting norms but shared hier- archy of values.</p> <p>appeal by two parties to a common norm or rule</p>	<p>2</p> <p>2 nations</p> <p>2 states</p> <p>2 villages</p> <p>2 lineages</p> <p>2 families</p> <p>2 individuals</p> <p>1 individual vs. State</p> <p>occupational/age/sex and other cross-cutting groups.</p>

Frequency of:	Resolution of	Structure/institutions of Justice
<p>4</p> <p>per time period</p> <p>per amount of interaction</p> <p>over life-cycle</p> <p>changes in rate of.</p> <p>as index of stress</p>	<p>5</p> <p>(Punishment)</p> <p>Death/physical</p> <p>Banishment</p> <p>Fine: amount of</p> <p>Imprisonment</p> <p>Reconciliation</p> <p>Admonition.</p> <p>Informal - various.</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Personnel - training, status, role, fees &amp; rewards.</p> <p>Courts - hierarchy of, process in, enforcement by, types of offence tried at.</p> <p>Government   Native (other   hierarchies   of ) Village   Family /informal</p>

Other necessary tables: evidence/procedure; relationship to social



I used this essay also to make explicit links between my new anthropological knowledge and the work I had done and continued to do on English records, as follows.



44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 12/3/67

Dear M & D,

Since I wrote a few days ago this will only be a note. It is principally to thank you, Mummy, very much indeed for all the trouble you took over the thesis. I really am very grateful. From this you will gather that it arrived safely. I've not been through all your suggestions, but I agree with nearly all the amendments I've looked at so far. It really is a great comfort to have had someone else go through it. It must have taken you a great deal of time - I hope you didn't feel it was all wasted. Yes, I agree that the 'mother' was a group name for womb

diseases and that some of these were well known; it's just that I'm not sure that villagers knew much about their origins, and E. Jorden who wrote the classic work on the subject stated that a lot of his contemporaries were confused by it... if it were convenient we would like to come either Saturday or Sunday April 1st-2nd and stay until the following Sunday. While I am in Darlington I could go to York and have a look at the ecclesiastical records and on the way down perhaps have a day at Preston looking at wills. We've got to be back in London by the 10th. Do let us know if this is no good....

From Gill to parents 19.3.67 – from Ridge Road

On Saturday Alan went to Oxford to see Keith Thomas finally about his thesis – he has to re-write parts of chapters 1 and 2. He has been fretting a lot about this wretched thesis – but now seems happier, having learnt the worst. I don't think it will mean a lot of extra work & Keith said the rest of it was "splendid". Alan has also been offered some anthropological work in Northern Italy (!) as opposed to India, from his tutor at L.S.E. I think he was rather thrilled to be chosen. Apparently there is a village there which has been studied linguistically – as they speak Italian/German/French – automatically – or depending on mood/subject matter/ audience they alternate from one language to another. Apparently it is a relatively vague offer – which will be confirmed next term. A. is busy typing away on incest now – hence the lack of a typewriter!

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 29th March from the History Faculty Library

My dear Alan,

I have stopped for two days between Moldavia and Scotland. Thank you very much for sending back the essay on witches, and for your comments. While you chew on my theories I will chew on your criticisms, but I will give one or two immediate answers, as far as I can do in my enfeebled state: for both my mind and body are etiolated by whirligig rotation.

First, the word 'witch-craze'. This is a term of art which I use deliberately in order to evade those pernicky little arrows of yours which come whizzing out of your piddling little county of Essex. Throughout I distinguish between 'witch-beliefs', which I leave to you and your pig-bound peasants, and 'the witch-craze', which is the high, metaphysical, system, which subsumes and vitalises them; the majestic intellectual confections of a Bodin, a del Rio, a Voetius.

Secondly, the mountains. I did realise, of course, that there are no very high mountains, no moon-wracking Tenerife, in the outskirts of Chelmsford. My point is that it is in the mountain areas that the beliefs are invested for reasons of social fear with the name of heresy. That done, the craze, once defined, is applied elsewhere. I entirely agree that a map would be desirable, and I have long ruminated on one; but I am always defeated by the statistical difficulty. The available records would, as far as I can see, show a cluster of trials in the Alps and Pyrenees up to the end of the 14th century; then a movement outwards and northwards until, in the later 17th century, Bayle could write that the Northern countries were worse than Savoy and Switzerland. But while this general impression is very clear, I do not believe that statistical precision is available, and therefore in the end I decided that it was better not to construct a map which was bound to be somewhat impressionistic.

I plead guilty to the printing slips, but I rebut, with genial unconcern, your objection that 'the first English law was 1542 – the second 1563 (not 2)'. What I wrote was that the Scottish law was in 1563 and that 'the first general English law' was passed 'in the previous year' (i.e. 1562). I regard the law of 1542 as being particular, not general, in that it merely punished certain specific acts, not witchcraft generally – the interpretation of Notestein.

I am too tired to begin another sheet. I will write again when, in the repose of the Tweed valley, I have forgotten the exertions of the Danube. Yours ever, Hugh Trevor Roper.

## Summer Term 1967

My notes on seminars/classes

*Maurice Freedman – Ancestors*

Week 1 – Goody, Death, Property and the Ancestors

Week 2 – Miss Hogg - Manus Religion by Reo Fortune

Week 3 – Miss Levine – Fortes

Week 4 – Miss Hair? – Chinese Ancestors

Week 5 – Mr Read - Rome

Week 8 22.6.67 – Father Karbosky Ancestors in European Literature

*Classes Summer 1967 – On Social Organization*

May 1967 – Miss Austro – Social Structure & Social organization

23.6.67 Miss Chodro – Criticisms of Social Anthropology

?? Peter Loizos – Succession to High Office

Peter Loizos – Peasants

Mrs Adlington – On Marriage

Mr Elman – Sacrifice (based on Nuer/Dinka/Robertson Smith)

David Seddon – Religion and Morals ( based on Nupe and Manus religion)

Miss Austro – Durkheim & British Durkheim

Miss Chodro – E.R. Leach on Myth

Miss Lipstadt – on Mary Douglas, 'Purity and Danger'

Talks

14.4.67 Ernest Gellner – Turning the other cheek among the Berbers

April 1967 Rodney Needham – Right and Left in Nyoro Symbolism

There were no sets of lectures in this third term and only a couple of lectures, a second one by Ernest Gellner and one by Rodney Needham from Oxford which I remember as brilliant and challenging. The course was taught through two seminars or classes, though I am not sure who organized the classes on social organization. Nor do I have either memories, or have I found much about any of my contemporaries, apart from those I have already noticed, Peter Loizos and David Seddon. Nor can I see that gave a paper in either course. The classes seem to have been based on reviews of some of the key books which we were reading. I was starting to prepare for a departmental test which I would take at the end of term and would determine whether I needed to do final examinations after two years, or just submit my long dissertation.

## April 1967

From Iris: Field Head, Friday [14th April 1967]

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*....I haven't been back to the archives, I'm really waiting until such time as Mr Jones may have coughed up the surveys. I have quite a lot to keep me busy here, have put Kirkby Lonsdale on cards and made a master list*

*with all the household inhabitants & a column for "presumptions" as per Laslett. I hope to get to know the village so well that I shall be able to place everyone without looking them up. Your York discoveries were fascinating the combination of Quakers and Papists in a small village should prove extraordinarily interesting - for instance John Baines a Quaker, was married to Dorothy, a Papist. They were still in the village in 1695 & thriving so obviously it did them no harm. I do hope Mr Ledgard coughs up the Registers as they will clear up a lot of doubtful points. I have been reading slides as well, a case of a man who had his hand burnt as a punishment - was this usual? I will work on all sorts of statistics if there is a hold-up of registers & surveys - & will definitely visit the archives next week. It's all terribly exciting, hope you've warned the Cambridge Group off?!*

*Hope the thesis is finished....*

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 16th April from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*Thank you for writing, even if your remarks about me and my 'pig-bound peasants' seemed slightly more acid than I had expected. My comments were not 'criticisms', at least not meant to be, but just comments. Perhaps the distinction is too fine. Anyway, it was very kind of you to write when you were obviously so tired by your 'Grand Tour'. I hope I shall have a chance of hearing how it all went. I will only be in Oxford twice this term, I think, both in connection with my thesis. Perhaps, if you have time from your busy schedule, I could call on you. But perhaps I am banished to my pig-sty? I must say I find the witches of Hatfield Peverel preferable to those of Bodin's imagination.*

*If you do ever find (time) to drop me a line, perhaps you could state the dates when your Encounter articles will appear as I would like to include the references in my bibliography. I presume your seminar will be at 11 a.m. on Fridays as usual.*

*May I wish you a profitable term, meanwhile I sit here sharpening my 'pernickety little arrows'!*

I went to a lecture by Ernest Gellner on 14<sup>th</sup> April. Here are the rough notes.



8/2/67

Indexed 14/4/67. [161]  
Gelner, Barbers.

## E. Gelner: Turning the other cheek amongst the Barbers

high valuation of pacifism amongst some people in N. Africa - esp. the holy lineages: sanctity comes in lineages thus no necessity to recreate itself in each generation: also great amount of violence/masculinity.  
why? - conspicuous lack of ideological rationale.  
- certain divergence between preaching/practice but not too much.

ethos of turning the other cheek - give one's content

other places - only holy lineages? - not everyone - hereditary holy men

explanation: v. close to segmentary ideal (e.g. Nuer - everything by balancing)  
- no political separation  
- no hereditary wealth etc.: no distinct aristocracy/common  
- few distinct society.  
- also ecological independence - division of labour etc.  
- moral continuity over wide areas  
- how intensive interaction over wide areas  
- only main lineage lives up to it (in another N. African society)  
- thus restricted within a restricted group.

what about other - why not? the same in N. Africa.

no specialization of office.  
only specialization = hereditary lineages of saints.  
- they are located on boundaries of states (what sort of frontiers?)  
- negotiations of holy lineages.  
- no violence on boundaries.  
- place to carry out rituals/trade.  
- carry out elections.

- what are sanctions vs. attacks?

really an alliance with bigger segments - call in vengeance.

- only a certain amount can exist - only a certain amount will be recognized.  
- having one's claim recognized - one can succeed.

- role with in-built criterion with no explicit rationale.

- system couldn't work without them(?)

- a form of pacifism different from non-confrontant pacifism.

= 'living frontier stones' = size of segments correlated?

= mediators. (cf. leopard-skin chiefs)

- cf. E.P. in Libya. Sanusi.

feud & litigation are assimilated = merely different techniques.

possible = X is neutral in conflict of a and b.

∴ Barbers may not use saints at all.

uncalculating generosity another criterion.

- religiousizing of leopard-skin chiefs.

possibly solution lies in terms of sanctions.

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 17/4/67

Dear M & D,

*I only went on my computer course for a day since I found it was hardly relevant to my anthropology or anything else. It was fascinating seeing a computer but we were learning a very technical language with which we could programme the machines,, and, since new languages are introduced every few months, it seemed rather pointless to learn one now. I think that our punched card system will probably be complicated enough for Kirby L...*

*I am just setting off after this letter to visit a woman who is working on Wensleydale. She sounded a bit ancient and vague on the 'phone, however, and I doubt if it will be much help. I've written to Wrigley about Kirby Lonsdale, and hope to hear from Ledgard soon. I sent Wrigley the rather destructive figures we worked out for Boreham by comparing children in wills and parish registers and wonder what he will think. I was most interested in your remarks re Quaker and R.C. marriage - how curious. We are going to upset a whole lot of theories at this rate. Hope you've noted it down in the 'great thought' box! No, I didn't know ecclesiastical courts punished people physically as late as the end of the sixteenth century - or was the man branded by the secular court? At the moment I'm just doing a final tidy up of the thesis so please excuse absence of information re K.L. You might be interested, however, just to read through this will of Henry Wilson of Underley (don't bother to transcribe or index until we have all the wills which I found in the York archives.) I wonder what religious position this long prologue indicates?*

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 19th April from Chiefswood, Melrose

My dear Alan,

*I fear that my genial observations - I don't recollect their form, and I hope they weren't 'acid': they were genially intend - about your pig-bound Essex peasants have disconcerted you. But he who loves peasants must love their pigs, and she who hates her peasant neighbours must bewitch their pigs. Peasants and pigs are inseparable; and what God has joined together, let not man, by mere literary fastidiousness, dis sever. I do not doubt for a minute that the witches of Hatfield Peverel were more engaging than Bodin's succubi; but the essential thing is that they are different. Yours live in the world of witch-beliefs, his in the world of the witch-craze; and I don't understand why you object to the latter word, which is a distinctive term of art (in German, Hexenwahn as distinct from Hexenglaube). You, in Essex, deal with the one; I, in Bavaria, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Scotland and Lorraine, with the other. Of course I admit a connexion: without the witch-craze, as revived by the new Fathers of the Reformed Church, would the clergymen in all those Essex vicarages have been so sure of the diabolical influence at work in their pig-styes? I know you are going to contest this, but I am going to argue back; and perhaps you will prevail by producing some knock-out detail from a hitherto unknown document in a parish chest: in which case I shall have to yield gracefully. But it will be too late, even then, to alter my essay. What I have written I have written, as Pilate so insouciantly said. When it will be published, I can't say: all I know is that Macmillan give their provisional date of publication as mid-August, and that Macmillan have stipulated that Encounter publish their version near to that date: I suppose in the July or August number.*

*So enough, for the time being, of witches. The argument can continue when we meet. When will that be? My class is now on Wednesday at 11.0. (received an appeal from the Chairman of the Board, when I was in Rumania, to change from Friday to Wednesday; and argument being difficult across the intervening Carpathians, I yielded). I am coming down to Oxford on Friday 21 April & staying till after my first class, on 26 April; but immediately after that, I am returning, to Scotland to strike a blow for liberty here, and not returning to Oxford till 11.0 a.m. on the following Wednesday; after which I shall stay in Oxford till the end of term.*

*I am beginning to recover from Rumania. It takes time: time, solitude and the therapeutic noise of falling water. Why does one travel to these countries? So I ask myself each time on my return. Caelum non animus... But no; for I did enjoy Rumania - I suppose I even enjoyed China in a perversely, intellectual way - simply*

because I learned so much; and one can bear a lot if one is learning. On the other hand some of the things that one learns are so depressing.

The most dispiriting of my experiences was lecturing in Rumania. They insisted that we lecture at all three universities. It was a very macabre experience. The undergraduates who (we were told) would flock to any lecture by anyone from the West, were excluded. Only professors of mature age, anchored to orthodoxy by their salaries, were present. No questions – or even informal discussions of the subject – were allowed. At Cluj, where we positively asked for questions, the Chairman formally invited questions, but in a tone of voice that made it quite clear that instructions had already gone out that no questions were to be asked; and none were. If we attempted to discuss the subject in casual conversation afterwards, dead silence ensued, broken by some hasty observation about the weather. As I spoke, and looked at the closed faces before me, I felt that this was an episode from *Kafka*. Nobody in that room wanted to be there. We were all prisoners. Neither Dimitri Obolensky<sup>18</sup> (who was my companion) nor I wanted to lecture. None of our audience wanted to hear us. If any wanted to hear him, it was unlikely – given the difference of our subjects – that they wanted to hear me, or vice versa. Those who might have wanted to hear us, were excluded. We were all involved in an elaborate ritual, prisoners of a system of make-believe. For of course none of them believed in the system to which they so ceremoniously conformed. Almost all of them were sophisticated, Paris-educated scholars, who spoke perfect French (all conversation, lectures, etc. were in French). But equally none of them dared admit, by so much as a flickering eyebrow, that he had ever entertained a non-Marxist or deviationist idea.

Some carried their conformity better than others. Some were clearly broken before they were bribed; others rejoiced in the discovery that conformity brings power, perhaps even freedom – as in the concentration-camp, where *Arbeit macht frei*. (In fact, the most distinguished Rumanian historian was offered the alternative of the Chair of History at Bucharest or the concentration-camp: like Gyges in Herodotus, he preferred to survive). I now feel that I have seen the whole range of academic corruption, the extended spectrum or gamut of la trahison des clercs.

I must stop: midnight strikes: it is the hour of the Sabbath in those Essex pig-styes; I will not detain you as you strain your eyes (or at least your oculus imaginationis) from Ridge Road to Hatfield Peverel. Yours ever,  
Hugh Trevor-Roper

Trevor-Roper wrote a postcard on 20th April from Chiefswood, Melrose

I wrote last night saying I didn't know when *Encounter* was publishing my essay. This morning I have received a copy of *Encounter* for May: it contains the first half of the essay, and threatens its readers with the second half next month. HRT-R

From Iris: Field Head, Friday [21st April 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

Thank you for your letter, sorry the computers were a disappointment.... I went into the archives on Wednesday and spent most of the day milling through Antiquarian Society Journals and looking at Tythe maps, I did a very rough copy of an ordinance map but will have to take Daddy with me to trace the tythe map. Miss Macpherson says the stupid female can't possibly photostat it. The journals yielded lots of bits and pieces of information, and gave more sources (quite often didn't give them which was sickening) which I will try to follow up. I thought of putting a letter in the Gazette asking for any papers, deeds etc. that might be in private hands, do you think this a good idea? There were several references to a Grammar School Book which seems to have disappeared and a Manor Court Book of Mansergh and Rigmaden seems to be worth looking at as they were holding courts up to 1750. I found Henry Wilson's will fascinating, do you think Queens Coll. would have anything worth looking at?

Curious facts are emerging from the census returns. Killington seems to be full of bachelors widows widowers and spinsters and couples without children, old or young presumably, remembering the three cottages

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<sup>18</sup> A Russian born historian (1918-2001) who became a Professor of Russian and Balkan history at Oxford.

*crouching in a ditch perhaps this isn't surprising! I feel I shall have to get the land business sorted out through deeds and indentures as everything seemed to depend on it, particularly prestige, in depositions a "man of small worth" is considered untrustworthy and an "honest" man is simply one with money, i.e. land. Much the same situation as in a place like Assam today where the "landless man" is one without hope. I haven't really got the feoffees and quit rents sorted out yet but hope to do so soon.*

*A letter arrived from the History Prof. at Lancaster wanting to come and look at the library, but instead of being pleased Miss M. and the Rev. Batty were both disconcerted, say they don't want people to get to "know" about the library otherwise it will get whisked away, they reckon they will be able to buy back the books that Christies put up for sale and now they feel the secret of the collection is out and they will be competing with universities etc. Ridiculous outlook, they might as well shut all the books up in boxes if they don't want anyone to know about them. They are of course a completely unequipped pair to be in charge of such a place, but anyway perhaps a soothing letter to the Rev. Batty might be in order, I think he was a little hurt that you hadn't asked him before writing to Lancaster. He has put the Prof. off meanwhile and probably lost the best chance of keeping the collection together, but that's his affair. I shouldn't say anything much, just that you were trying to help and leave it at that. At least we have stirred up some interest in the place, this time last year the whole lot could have been removed without anyone lifting a finger.*

*....my mind is full of complicated schemes for the summer but I won't air them yet, they really depend on the croft. We are seriously thinking of fish farming if we do get it, the least energetic form of farming I feel and we could probably get a subsidy.*

To Lady Clay 21.4.67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8

*Dear Rosalind,*

*How nice to get your letter; thank you for writing. This will not be a long screed since a) I hope to see you within ten days or so and b) I have to catch a bus down to one of my aunt's in Sussex in half an hour or so. ... I think it will be the first week in May. I hope I won't be too late to see the Fritillaries. I am almost afraid to come to Oxford since there are so many wonderful sights in Spring and so many memories. It probably sounds silly and slushy, but even London on these sunny days with the frothing blossom in the parks makes me almost sick with the beauty of it. I remember Alec Graham once said that Oxford was sometimes so beautiful that it hurt, and I feel the same. ... incidentally there is a most fascinating article in the latest Victorian Studies by a friend (and former pupil of Keith's) Brian Harrison on pornography and sex in Victorian England. Still on reviews, there is a rave review of Keith's study of Hobbes by Oakshott in the latest E.H.R. Have tried Collinson's book on Puritanism, but it's definitely for the dedicated.... My review on land tenure finished and in. Just about to start a controversy with Trevor-Roper whose latest jeu d'esprit is in the current Encounter.*

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 25th April from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Keith,<sup>19</sup>*

*I enclose a re-written introduction (in which I've shelved the problem of definitions), a slightly renovated second chapter, a completely new chapter on 'Rise and Decline' of w. prosecutions, a new, short, appendix, and the 'Abstract'. I will be sending the bibliography in a couple of days. I wondered if you could possibly have a quick look at these before I send them to be typed; I am not altogether happy with the new chapter on 'Rise and Decline'. Would you be able to do this and see me as early as Sunday or Monday or Tuesday 29th April - 1st May? If this is too soon, perhaps you could suggest a day or time later that week. The sooner I can send the*

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<sup>19</sup> This was the first letter in which I wrote 'Dear Keith'. Even after he had attended my wedding in December of the previous year, I continued to write to 'Mr. Thomas' as I had for the previous three years since he started to supervise me. The change may be linked to the fact that Gill and I had been to a private supper with Keith and his wife Valerie at their house on 28th January, which further broke down the status gap between us.

*stuff off to the typist, obviously, the better. If you could suggest a time and place, I could manage anything between 11 a.m. and 8 p.m. on any of the above days.*

*I hope your Indian trip was a great success. I'm longing to hear about it. Looking forward to discussing witches,*

*Yours sincerely,*

*P.S. I suppose we had better discuss examiners etc.*

Alan to Trevor-Roper, 30.4.67 44, Ridge Road, London

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*Thank you very much for your long letter in which you succeeded in mollifying me and my pig-bound peasant friends. I must say, I continue to be amazed at the way at which you find the time/energy to write such long letters to unimportant people like myself. Most don't I know live in the world of snappy post-cards, unless they are directly discussing work and it is therefore a very pleasant surprise to find someone who can describe his travels with such gusto. I was both amused and horrified by your account of the 'Kafka-like' situation in Rumania. I look forward to seeing what the situation is like in India. Keith Thomas has just returned from some lectures there (with Richard Cobb) and I should get some amusing stories from him. Before he even went there was a typically Indian correspondence. He was asked to suggest some subject that would be appropriate to the problems of India today although located in the English seventeenth century. When he suggested 'Attitudes to famine and disease' the university authorities replied politely that this was rather irrelevant to India's current problems and couldn't he talk about 'The Gentry' instead! In a way one can see their point – too near the bone etc. But academics seem singularly blind in many ways.*

*All this talk of India will show you that I'm still thinking of going there. The choice is really between spending an idyllic two years in a remote hill-tribe at the foot of the Himalayas studying myths and social structure in an unchanged setting amidst the incredible beauty of that region, or becoming involved in politics, famine, and disease by studying problems of change and population in India itself. The former appeals to my senses and intellect, the latter to my heart and my wife. Perhaps I will end up doing neither – as assistant lecturer in Tudor history at a Red-brick university!*

*As you see I'm avoiding the subject of witches since I want to launch my main attack when I've read the chapter in your book – which may dissolve the onslaught into a hymn of praise (like detergents clearing the menacing oil-slicks). The point about my objection to 'witch-craze' incidentally was not to the use of a differentiating term for the intellectual system as opposed to village beliefs. It's just that it is one of the terms, along with 'epidemic', 'persecution' and so on which are highly emotional and pre-judge the issues. 'Witch-craze' suggests both that the believers were 'crazy' and that it was a temporary 'craze' or aberration, like marbles or mini-skirts, a sort of perverse fashion. It may, in fact, have been both these, but I just think that in a subject so engulfed in emotion, it is necessary to avoid emotional words and phrase as much as possible. you will see what I mean from the cold-blooded prose of my thesis!*

## May 1967

From Iris: "Field Head", Outgate, May 1st [1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

A rather belated letter to thank you both for all the lovely food and the general trouble you took over me.. I see Prince Charles is going to study Social Anthropology at Trinity - Laslett obviously trying to get royal support for his computers. I'll try to get back to work this week & get into the archives, I think I'll take some work up to Lochinver, roll on N. Uist....

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 3rd May from 44. Ridge Road

*Dear Keith,*



*Just a note about thesis regulations, but let me thank you first for tea and comments. I appreciated both very much, although the latter tend to make me a trifle depressed at this stage. Still, I'll dip in my tar-barrel for a final coat.<sup>20</sup> Anyhow, I fully realize how much trouble you have taken and am most grateful.*

*I've looked at the Examination Statutes and the forms sent me by the Registry and there doesn't appear to be any mention of how examiners are chosen. I imagine the Board will ask you informally for suggestions. All that you appear to have to do is send a certificate (which I will bring with me at the end of May) to say that I've spent six terms in Oxford 'pursuing my research'. Otherwise, all I have to do is have 3 copies of the thesis at the Faculty Office, and a cheque for £25 at the University Chest (and a note from my college). The Board meets on June 8. I will be up at the end of May to have my thesis bound.*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

From Iris: Field Head, Wednesday, May 10th 1967

*My dear Gill and Alan,*

*....We are spending a night at Wishaw on 16th, on to Uig in Skye for 17th, over to N. Uist on 18th, a day on Skye and then up to Lochinver on 20th where our address will be Old Police House, Lochinver...*

*I managed to get in to the Archives for a few hours on Friday and finished looking through the Archaeological Journals which have produced quite a few new sources which I'll follow up on my return. I shall start a file for each village too as the journals are a good source of Manor history which seems to have been important till quite late up here. No surveys from Mr Jones and I reminded Miss M. again and she said she'd follow it up, she was wandering vaguely round as usual saying how snowed under with work she was. I'm afraid the rest of the time I've just been plugging on with cards and typing out the censuses, it takes a long time but will make the analysis very easy, I'm longing to break off and start analysing but restraining myself. There are Hearth Taxes in the journals for 1750 which will be a good comparison, the one you sent is full of the same names as mine but one or two of the statuses have changed so dramatically in four years I shall have to check up on my figures again. Also mine has 123 households which seems wrong as in 1695 there were 107, I think the boundaries were hard to define and sometimes the outlying farmsteads were included. Nothing from Rev. Ledgard but I'll got over and see him on my return, I want to do another tour of the parish anyway. Have finished the slides.*

*Re your Field Study, either Nepal or Bhutan would be fascinating but I doubt if you could get into the latter as it's a buffer state with China and liable to be over-run (the Manas River was its boundary). I will be writing about the Assamese manuscripts and will ask what the chances of working in the Himalayas north of the Brahmaputra are, Nepal is a fascinating country though and incredibly beautiful and might be the best bet. I would think your own field of Witchcraft and Sorcery might be a rich one, or are you sick of the word? The peculiar Tantric form of Buddhism and Hinduism of Nepal is based on the much older Shamanism of the Mongols and very interesting, you could then apply it to attitudes to the old and young in some particular way perhaps? I thought the enclosed article very apt, I am veering more and more to a desire to write the history of either the cotton or the tea industry to show how catastrophic it was to the people who had to live with it. ....So sorry about the wretched thesis, you must be sick and tired of it and trust you won't have to do any more rewriting. Hope we'll be seeing you both soon, you can of course come and inhabit while we're away, I'll be leaving everything open....*

\*

I read and indexed a number of anthropology books during the course. The notes on some of them, as well as my notes on lectures and seminars, give some indication of what I was digesting. Here is what I covered according to my notes.

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<sup>20</sup> Keith has warned me not to 'spoil the ship for a ha'porth of tar', ie. to make sure everything was as sound as possible - a final effort in checking and grammar.



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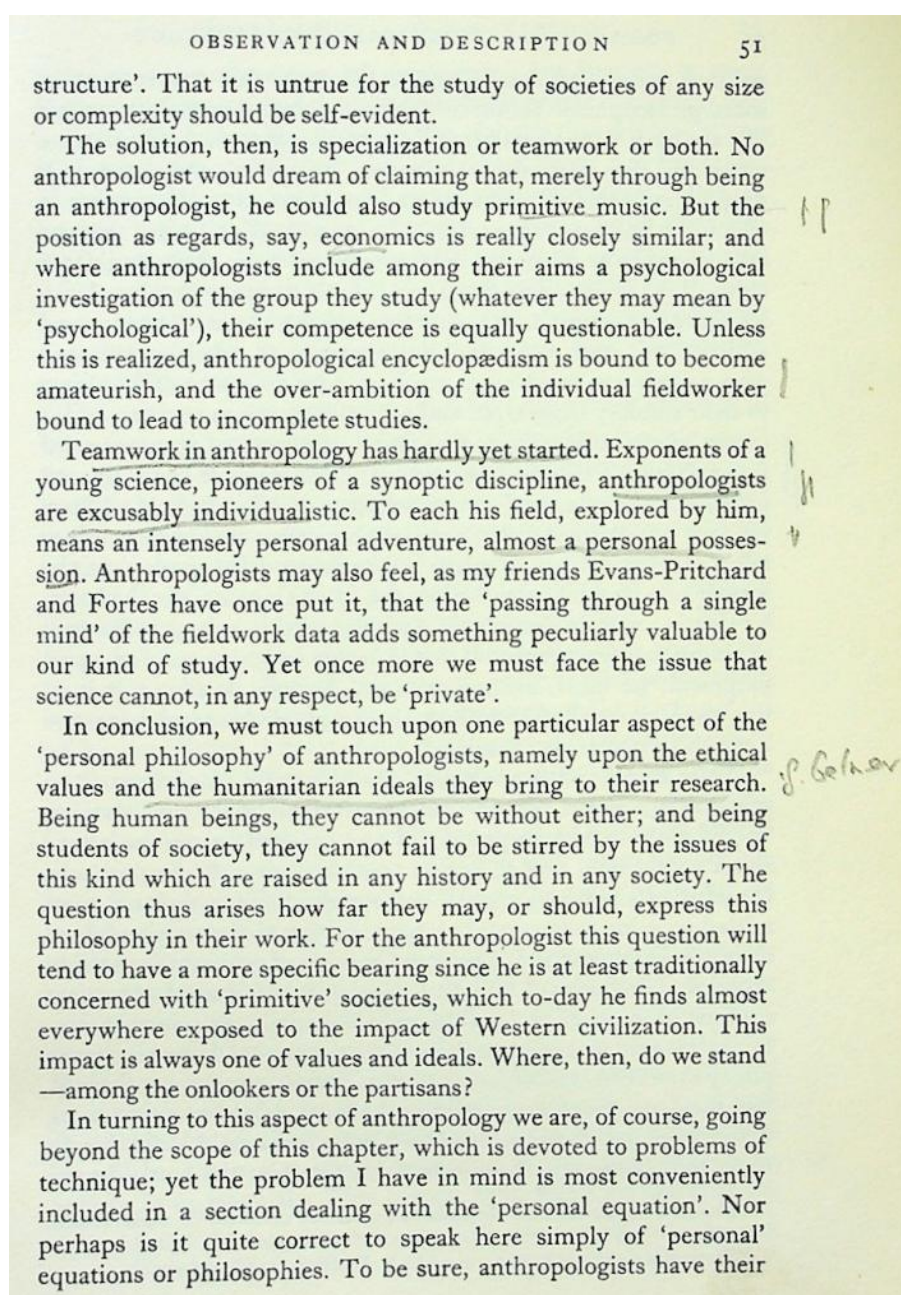
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When I put an 'I' against an item it indicates that I indexed this onto small cards. I had earlier discovered that in order to accumulate knowledge, it was not enough just to sideline books, but I needed to break up the information within them and develop a method where I could assemble the fragments into a new synthesis. What I would do is either, if I could afford it, buy the book and read it through, underlining or side-lining what I thought were important pieces. I would then put these onto small cards, as I had done in earlier research, and put them under subjects. I can take one book as an example of this progress which was to provide much of the material for later essays and books.

The book I will choose is S.F.Nadel's *The Foundations of Social Anthropology* (1951), a formidable, philosophical, if dry account by a leading African anthropologist discussing the essence of British anthropology in the middle of the century. Although it was 35 shillings at the time, quite a considerable sum (equivalent to several meals and hence £50 or more now) I bought a copy at Foyle's bookshop. I indexed it on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, 1967.

This is a typical page of my side-lining.



From this book I extracted 105 separate cards, which were later typed into a computer database. Eight of these will give an idea of the index I created.

Factors affecting nature of community.

Size of groups - factors effecting.

Nadel, Foundations, 155-6

Communication - importance of as 'community' boundaries widen.

Nadel, Foundations, 155

Groups - major problems concerned with:- recruitment, contacts, cohesion, internal order, external order, optimum size.

Nadel, Foundations, 150,165

Principles of membership and recruitment.

Distinctive communities and associations made by McIver on basis of recruitment to.

Former - spontaneously among people living in proximity, latter - where an aggregate of individuals acts in voluntary co-ordination for a specific common purpose.

Nadel, Foundations, 144

Sociology: laws, generalisation and predictions.

Postulate of science - that world is governed by repetitiveness and recurrence.

Nadel, Foundations, 191

Sociology: laws, generalisation and predictions.

Causality - two types mainly invariant relations; compulsion - cause and effect.

Nadel, Foundations, 208

Sociology: laws, generalisation and predictions.

An 'explanation' of scientific character - definition.

Nadel, Foundations, 191

Sociology: laws, generalisation and predictions.

Cardinal sin in science - "pronouncing upon invariant relations between facts which are not 'demonstrably separate'".

Nadel, Foundations, 407



This reading and indexing then provide the foundation for an essay I wrote shortly after this, the first page of which is as follows.

Commentary on: S.F. Nadel, The Foundations of Social Anthropology. (1951).

Introductory.

Nadel states that his task is to bring 'into the open what other anthropologists have left unexpressed'. (p.v). As a trained psychologist his other main aim is to show the relevance of psychology in anthropological research. Many of his arguments are extremely complex and I can only touch on a few points which interested me - for instance the last section dealing with the contribution of psychology to ~~psychological~~ anthropological understanding must, regrettably, be left on one side.

It is difficult in 1967 to see how novel Nadel's book must have seemed to anthropologists in 1951. In his discussion of action sets (p.77) and role theory, in which he based himself on Talcott Parsons he may have introduced many anthropologists to recent sociological theory. He constantly foreshadows concepts which have become of central importance since his book, though I don't know whether he was the only person discussing ~~such~~ concepts. For instance, he discusses the social drama, later developed by Turner, (p.93), he constantly talks about networks (p.78), anticipating Barnes, he realized that conflict could be a normal structural feature and that there was a crucial distinction between the 'person' or 'ideal-type', and the individual who filled it - both these were later developed by Gluckman, (pp.92-3). As you will see from the sheet, he attempted to define most of the basic concepts like ~~person~~ 'society' and 'culture', even if we do not always agree with his definitions. It is possible that he was the Leach of the 1950's with Talcott Parsons as his Levi-Strauss.

Practical suggestions.

Nadel makes a number of practical suggestions in his book. The first is for new techniques in research. 'Teamwork in anthropology has hardly yet started. Exponents of a young science, pioneers of a synoptic discipline, anthropologists are excusably individualistic. To each his field, explored by him, means an intensely personal adventure, almost a personal possession.' (p.51). The same need for greater co-operation is now felt in history - and the barriers are the same. The 'New Approach' in history '...involves cooperative scholarship and organized research, a world of seminars, workshops and graduate programmes, which is alien to the individualistic, prima donna tradition in which most English historians have been reared.' (K.V. Thomas in the T.L.S., 7/4/66)

It is not entirely obvious in what ways anthropologists have advanced in teamwork in the 16 years since he wrote! Another recommendation is that there should be 'a careful selection, based on thorough psychological examination, of the anthropologist before he is sent to the field'. This is based on the argument that, in some ways, ~~anthropology~~ <sup>anthropology</sup> depends more on the character and intuition of the anthropologist than any other subject. In many ways it is more 'subjective' than any other 'science' - involving imaginative leaps, and introducing biases of many kinds. One wonders what Nadel would have thought of the results of modern pressures which have meant that field-workers are sent to the field merely on the basis of moderate ability in the weekly essay or termly coffee-party! Even if we do not agree with him that 'some form of psychological testing' <sup>(p.50)</sup> seems imperative, it seems desirable that deficiencies and biases should be assessed before ~~the~~ field-work begins.

A point on which most anthropologists would agree with Nadel is the importance of learning the language - ~~not~~ because a society cannot be understood properly unless this is done. Perhaps less widely accepted would be his argument that all anthropologists bring a large

At the end of the essay, I made several suggestions and criticisms of the book. Here is the last of them.

If there is to be that 'teamwork' in anthropology of which Nadel speaks there appear to be several prerequisites. Terminology and definitions will have to be much more carefully studied. An



analysis of the way in which past anthropologists have used key terms such as culture and function and society and an adoption of a generally accepted standardized meaning is one necessity. Another would be the training of future anthropologists in the basic tenets of logical and scientific method so that when, for instance hypotheses were suggested in seminars, they would be all trained to apply simple logical tests to them instead of floundering around in irrelevant and partial argument. Another useful preliminary would be the creation of a series of indices – for instance indices of social starting, social change, cohesion etc. on the lines of Durkheim and suicide. For instance, is the existence of a very wide gap between the believed-in-norm and the statistical norm a sign of social change, as Nadel (*Foundations*, p.116) or Kluckhohn (*Mirror*, 31) argue. Is witchcraft an index of anything? Are divorce or crime or mental breakdown an index of anything else?

The same day that I indexed Nadel, I heard that I had been recommended for upgrading in my registration. The three paper examination was changed to one paper, which I will describe below.

# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



Houghton Street, Aldwych  
London, W.C.2  
Telephone HOLBORN 7686

AMB/GY.

10th May, 1967.

Dear Mr. MacFarlane,

Professor Schapera has recommended to the Graduate School Committee that you should be transferred retrospectively from the Diploma to the M.Phil in Anthropology. You will be required to sit a three paper departmental examination and continued registration will depend on your performance in it.

I am asking the University whether they are willing to sanction this transfer. You should complete the attached University application form, in duplicate, and return it to me as soon as possible. I will also ask the S.S.R.C. if they are prepared to allow you to switch from the Diploma to the M.Phil course.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Anne M. Bohm,  
Secretary of the  
Graduate School.

Mr. A.D.J. MacFarlane,  
44 Ridge Road,  
London, N.8.

I wrote to Keith on 20th May from 44, Ridge Road

Dear Keith,

*I wonder if you would be kind enough to sign the 'Supervisor's Certificate' part of this form? Thank you.*

*Everything is under control at this end and the thesis is back from the typist and I'm correcting a rather massive number of mistakes made by the typist and getting maps and diagrams ready. I hope to deliver the copies to the binders in about 10 days. Luckily I obliterated T-R. from the bibliography since my inclusion of his June article in Encounter may prove anticipatory!*

*Any success with the examiners?*

*I hope all goes well with you - I trust you are not too caught up in examining this year.*

Trevor-Roper wrote to me on 20th May from the History Faculty Library

*My dear Alan,*

*I agree and yet I don't agree about the use of language. I mean, dry, toneless, antiseptic language is no doubt best for mere intellectual analysis. The only book I have been able to read right through, with unfailing interest, about the extermination of the Jews under Hitler is R. Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews, which is also the longest; and I could read it precisely because it was written in that cold analytical style. On the other hand, on such a subject, the emotional content is merely disguised, not excluded, by stylistic austerity. And such austerity, it seems to me, is not always legitimate, or at least not the only legitimate form. At times, the mind must take the risk of judging or history becomes meaningless and human responsibility atomised into insignificance.  $2 + 2 = 5$ ; and the witch-craze of the 1620s was a craze, not a natural expression of the cosmology of the time. You don't agree, but I am going to stand on my own ground, blow you never so loud on your archaic anthropological blow-pipe.*

*Now that the experience is behind you, would you tell me what you feel about the excursions to Nottingham? I ask because the situation recurs. John Hale at Warwick wants such assistance (survey of European history 1400-1600). How did it work out? What in fact did they pay you (so that I may compare rates) was it satisfactory? Do you, in retrospect, think that you gained by the experience? I will treat you as a corpus vile, a guinea-pig, a patrol sent forward to report on the terrain. Is it a howling wilderness or does it flow with milk & honey?*

*I have been ill off & on with some disagreeable virus for some weeks and am now going to Scotland for a week, to picnic on anti-biotics at Chiefswood; but I shall eke the antibiotics out with champagne and return, I hope, cured next week-end. I hope you are well.*

*Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

To Lady Clay 20.5.67 44 Ridge Road, London N.8

*] But various things have occurred – among them the fact that I have changed my course from a Diploma to an M.Phil. and one of the consequences is that I have an exam on June 8<sup>th</sup>. Consequently, I don't think I ought to come down before then – except for about an hour to deliver my thesis to the binders on the Cowley Road. Gill and I do plan to come for a week-end on the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> June, however, and I do hope we shall see you then. ... I'm afraid Gill has to go on working until the middle of August and consequently I ought to stay in London. Then we are going to bolt off to the Lakes as quickly as possible – taking all our possessions with us since we can't afford to keep on our flat for the six weeks we will be away. .... Thanks for the Stone references. I really must read it – especially as Christopher Hill has asked me to give a talk at his seminar next term (and to have dinner with him) and I've chosen 'Sex and repression in Stuart and Tudor Essex' – a real 'So What' subject if you like! Still, it might be a change from the Court of Wards, Rise of the Gentry etc! Anyhow, C.H. didn't seem too dismayed when I suggested the subject! ... Not much news – I slog on with the thesis which is to be handed in in 10 days. We go to lots of concerts and operas. The room looks bare without your nice flowers – the London ones I bought wilted without even opening!*

Keith Thomas wrote to me on 26th May from 1967 St John's College, Oxford

*Yes, do alter it – though perhaps I ought to initial the alteration? (Call in when you bring it up, perhaps?) Did I ever ask whether the Hearth Tax returns were any use for social status of Essex witches & accusers? Forgive my memory: we probably talked about them. Keith*

I wrote to Keith Thomas on 28th May from 44, Ridge Road

*Dear Keith,*

*Thank you for your card. Sorry to keep plaguing you, but perhaps you could change the terms to 'six' and initial it, and send the form on in the enclosed envelope? Also, I wonder if you'd sign the application for early examination – I don't know how long they normally take, perhaps not more than two months anyhow. But I may be in the Outer Hebrides from mid-August and don't want to have to rush back to Oxford. Both forms are*

to go, like the thesis, to the 'Secretary of Faculties' – but I'm not sure whether this means the Secretary of the History Faculty in the Faculty Library, so perhaps you could address the envelope. (I've just noticed the early examination form has to be in by Wednesday, so I'd be grateful if you'd post it soon.)

About witches in *Hearth Taxes*. I did have a look for the 1645 suspects and accusers (a sample) in the 1662 hearth Tax, but didn't come up with anything interesting. As you know, there are only a handful of Essex cases after 1650 and it would be impossible to get any statistical evidence. In a county like Wilts. where the accusations came later, it might be more hopeful. Hope this answers your query.

Thanks, in advance, for signatures etc. Yours,

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 28th May from 44, Ridge Road

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

How nice to hear from you. I was so sorry to hear that you were ill (though I had heard dramatic stories of you delivering speeches in Congregation and then being carried out with a temperature of 104 from other sources!). I do hope that a well-balanced course of anti-biotics and champagne have indeed cured you. The thought of reading 400 pages of description of witchcraft among the peasants and their pigs will probably be enough to send you fleeing to Chiefswood again! When does the book appear? Masses of people at L.S.E. keep asking me 'what I think' of your *Encounter* article, but I'm reserving my opinions until the full version appears, as I said. I don't think, at the moment, we can pursue the matter about language much further. Like you, I agree yet disagree. I'll just be interested to hear whether you think my complete omission of words like 'persecution', 'epidemic', etc. and my horribly cold-blooded analysis of accusations makes my account 'meaningless'. I was amused, however, to hear that I was likely to blow on my 'archaic anthropological blow-pipe'. Having discovered the dictionary definition of archaic to be 'primitive, antiquated, no longer in ordinary use' I assumed that you meant the subjects of anthropological study, rather than the approach. In optimistic moments our tutors try to persuade us that anthropology is a 'science', a more systematic and rational way of looking at societies than the 'old-fashioned' common-sense approach of historians etc. Not that I necessarily agree... But I would tend to argue that anthropologists, in their analysis of witchcraft beliefs anyhow, are at least 50 years 'ahead' of historians, if one can speak like that. Already most historical writing is beginning to look incredibly naive and unambitious to me – but perhaps that is merely because I am getting older and wiser. But enough of that side-track.

You ask about Nottingham. I wrote Fryer a longish letter stating what I thought was wrong with the teaching system – or a few items at least. Probably very presumptuous of me, but it was done, I hope, in the earnest desire that it might help him. I've got a copy of the letter and his rather evasive reply in the Lakes and will gladly let you see them if you're interested. I'll be up there in a couple of weeks and will send them then. They do not bear on my own enjoyment of the situation. To tell the truth my feelings are mixed. I'm sure it was a very useful experience and I'm sure that anyone who has done a very little university teaching would benefit. My trouble was that I grudged the time from my anthropology. I think if the student was really interested in what he was tutoring – i.e. going to teach that subject later on, or doing a thesis on it at the moment – then it would be fine. Jumping from Essex Witchcraft to Pacific islands to Gustavus Adolphus was a bit confusing. What I really did enjoy was teaching *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* which overlapped with economic anthropology. As for the students – they left little to be desired. They were extremely intelligent and willing to learn. Given a better and more ambitious teaching system, they could have done very well instead of spending most of the time feeling a trifle frustrated. I expect Warwick is different. I saw hardly anything of the rest of the staff – probably my fault – but a pity. As for pay, they gave me £50 for ten sessions of 3 seminars a time. Then when they got your letter, Fryer took me aside and promised me another £20. Then (I like to think partly caused by my letter, but I doubt it) a cheque for another £50 mysteriously arrived. So, finally, I was handsomely paid – £100 for 30 seminars (admittedly I had to spend a day travelling to get to them). If there are any other details you want, do let me know.

Has Agnes Trollope's obituary appeared yet?

To Joan Thirsk, Sunday May 28 1967

44, Ridge Road, London, N.8



Dear Joan,

*I have now finished West's thesis and wondered if I might drop it in on you when I bring my thesis to the History Faculty Library. ... If you are free at any time near that I state, perhaps we could have a brief chat. There are a number of points which interested me very much in the Wrangle study – if I set them out briefly here perhaps we could talk about them sometime.*

*Firstly, in case my comments sound hostile, I enjoyed the thesis immensely and, having just completed my own, am not in the mood to underestimate the enormous amount of work that must have gone into it. On the general level, I think, however, that its chief deficiencies are two-fold.*

*Firstly, because the author's prime interest was in a village because it houses his ancestors the records are not all that good – for instance, land-holding is difficult to assess in the earlier period without manorial records. Also stemming from this interests an impression of narrowness – there are too few comparisons with other (admittedly few) studies on villages – e.g. Wigston Magna is hardly mentioned and presumably West was aware of the work on Clayworth Cogenhoe, Chippenham etc. Many of his figures, interesting in themselves, would have been doubly interesting with a foot-note comparing them to other statistics.*

*Roughly on the same point, the thesis, I felt, would have profited greatly from a reading of a few of the basic works on rural sociology – Williams on Ashworthy and Gosforth, Arensberg on the Iris Countryman – as well as some more exotic studies of other villages – e.g. Leach on Pul Eliya, Stirling on a Turkish Village, and the growing tide of Mediterranean peasant studies.*

*I know this was written some time ago and by a person who was getting on in years and that time is limited – but the secondary reading was hardly impressive for a Ph.D. and the thesis would have been much better. Instead of revolving round sources, as it seems to do, it would have centred on problems. Instead of dealing with things which emerge pretty obviously from the material – i.e. the physical and economic conditions – there would have been an attempt to deal with slightly less tangible things values and social systems. Thus there would have been chapters on neighbourliness and kinship, social stratification and social control, the value of the land and patterns of inheritance.*

*Perhaps this too ambitious at the moment. But I did get the feeling that the easy way out was usually taken – interesting points which could only arise from the mixing of sources were missed. For instance it would have been nice to know not only pre-marital intercourse rates but how these varied with harvest fluctuations, with religious groups, with age-groups, with social classes and so on.*

*It's not that I think the thesis was bad – far from it, but rather, that with that amount of energy and material some even more interesting conclusions might have emerged. Here I think, lies the importance of anthropology. It provides an analytic framework – a sort of ideal model of what one might expect to find in the way of social organization and values – which one can apply to the particular sources. The result would be very different from that achieved by merely digging out every interesting fact one can find and adding them together – as, for instance, in the last chapter of the thesis.*

*The latter approach gives the impression, as in this thesis, that everything is of equal importance. Absolutely fascinating stuff about the age-structure of poverty is given the same weight as accounts of whether people's names were similar to those of towns or counties.*

*As far as sources are concerned I wondered if West knew of the other subsidy assessments before the Hearth Taxes? Even if they are not full for the early C17 they might contain interesting comparisons for the C16 – especially 1524. Also – is there no Ship Money assessment? The passage on crime in the village, might have been written differently if the Assize records had been used (if they survive); obviously serious offences would go there, rather than to the Quarter Sessions (p.25).*

*Only two specific points caught my eye and puzzled me. On p.47 we are told that the total population over 15 was 110 persons. Yet on p.16 we are told that the population at this period was between 300-35. Admittedly there had just been severe outbreaks of plague, but one wonders whether it really was true that about 2/3 of the population were under 15. If this was so it makes a very interesting comparison with p.78 where the age structure in the C19 is shown and where half the population were over 20. I ask because I am impressed by the amount West managed to squeeze out of the Protestation return and wondered how accurate it was.*

*The other point concerned the effects of fen-drainage. Like you I was very impressed by its immediate effect on infant-mortality rates: I wondered whether this might account for changes in population trends in other parts of the country and even the whole massive change of the C18? The villages I have studied always seem to have had immense surpluses of births over deaths, but when other areas like Lincs. (as well as towns esp. London) were killing them off, this would have little effect. But once such regions had started producing a surplus, instead of a minus amount, general trends might be effected more than one might expect. But I was not convinced at the vague attempt to use the same fen drainage to explain the dramatic rise in the rate of pre-marital pregnancies in the 1750s (p.75) – I just can't see how it could have work, though it may well have done so indirectly.*

*Pity there was nothing useful on inheritance – I didn't even gather from a quick reading whether primogeniture was the custom. But I may well have overlooked this point.*

*I've been fitting the thesis in to odd moments when I was too tired to check and draw maps for my own, so hope this will excuse inaccuracies in the remarks above and the long delay in returning the Wrangle study. If you come across West could you tell him how much I enjoyed his work? Thank you also for the loan – I very much appreciated the trouble (and expense). I hope the term goes well. Hope to see you soon.*

## **June 1967**

I had noted that the Departmental test which I had been informed about would be done on June 8<sup>th</sup>. Here is the first page of each of the answers. I found on 20<sup>th</sup> June that I had come out top of those who were taking the test and had passed. I was fortunate in that we were told the questions a few days in advance so I worked frantically and wrote out mock answers to each – and could remember enough to do reasonably. I received the marks of alpha minus for 'Cursing and kinship' and beta plus for sorcery.

## Cursing and Kinship

The problem of the relationship between cursing patterns and kinship structures is part of the more general discussion, earlier prompted by Radcliffe-Brown, of the degree of correlation between values and social structure. It is also of interest as an instance of an important, informal, social sanction. Finally, cursing patterns may prove a valuable tool in analysing the tension and flow of authority in various kinship structures. 'Cursing' is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "the utterance of words which consign to spiritual or temporal evil, the vengeance of deities or the malign influence of fate". Examination of ethnographic accounts shows that this is too <sup>narrow</sup> ~~broad~~ a definition ~~as it is too narrow~~, for anthropologists often include informal, unspoken, 'curses' under this category.

African ethnography provides many instances of cursing. Among the Nuer <sup>(Sudan)</sup> the father, mother, father's sister, mother's brother, eldest child and leopard-skin-chief may curse. But the Nuer presents a classical instance of a phenomenon which was early stressed: this was the supreme fear of the curse of the mother's brother. Father's may curse the individual son, but they will not curse the cattle or wife - while mother's and, especially, MoBro will do this and are, hence, particularly feared. The opposite is found in matrilineal African societies - for instance the central Bantu fear the father's sister's curse most. This has led to considerable speculation. At no time the fear of the mother's brother (MoBro)



Sorcery: 'explanation of misfortune' or 'crime'?

There are two obvious definitional problems and one problem of logic which need to be cleared out of the way before this question can be attempted. ~~Clearly~~ The logical assumption implicit in the question, that sorcery must be 'either or' seems untenable. However we define sorcery, it may be seen both as an 'explanation of misfortune' - by the anthropologist who studies it, and as a 'crime' <sup>by the members of</sup> the society ~~where it~~ <sup>in which</sup> it occurs. In a sense it is one of the very few 'crimes' in primitive society. Radcliffe-Brown pointed out that we should not apply our distinction between criminal and civil law to all primitive societies, and suggested talking about public and private delicts instead. Using this terminology, he pointed out that almost the only universal 'public delicts' were witchcraft - or the 'the magical use of evil power' and incest. Only these two offences, almost invariably brought down communal punishment, whereas offences like homicide were often treated, via institutions such as the feud, as private delicts. In this sense sorcery is certainly a 'crime'. It can also be analysed by anthropologists as an 'explanation of misfortune'.

The other terminological problem concerns the word 'sorcery'. There have been extensive attempts to distinguish sorcery and witchcraft, initiated, though not necessarily encouraged, by Evans-Pritchard's work on Agende Witchcraft. His main distinction was between intended/acquired evil power and



I wrote to Trevor Roper on 13th June. The address incorporated the fictitious address of Agnes Trollope - Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Buttocks, Westmorland

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*I enclose the letters which I said I'd send. Sorry the carbon is on such a messy piece of paper. re-reading my remarks and Fryer's reply I think that perhaps I applied too high a standard – that of Oxford. It just seemed a pity that a new University should be a rather shoddy version of an old one rather than something new and exciting. I think his 'sensible' reply was all that my impertinence and idealism deserved.*

*Could you return these at your leisure? Thank you.*

*I do hope the end of term went smoothly. I'm having a rest in Agnes Trollop country for a week; cuckoos, buttercups and no witches to disturb my rest. I feel much recovered.*

*With best wishes,*

*Yours sincerely,*

*Alan Macfarlane*

Trevor-Roper wrote on 15th June from 8 St Aldate's, Oxford

*My dear Alan,*

*Thank you for sending me this correspondence. Whether you will have achieved anything will depend, I suppose, on Fryer, whom you have met and can judge, and I have not met and therefore cannot judge. Perhaps he did not much like the criticism but perhaps he will nevertheless do something to meet it. It is depressing that you should have found these predictable faults. I am afraid that English universities will go the way of American universities unless people are constantly vigilant at certain key points: the absolute necessity of books, the importance of personal contact and dialogue, the necessity of personal thought, independent judgment, clear writing. I think you were right to make these points, and I don't think that Fryer's reply necessarily indicates resistance, although we are all a bit resistant to criticism, especially when status-conscious, as most professors are.*

*I envy you being in the country. I feel as one who hath been long in city pent. But I shall escape soon.*

*I'm afraid I shall not read your thesis as an examiner. Your supervisor recommended other names, out of which we have chosen two.*

*Forgive a hurried letter. Come & see us again soon.*

From Gill to her parents 20 June 1967 from Ridge Road

*Iris and Mac in fine form after their Scottish holiday – and we saw photos of the croft, whose position is glorious – they got it for £500, and can get up to £800 grants... Alan did not really work hard, as he had killed himself to get the thesis finished, and then had the Anthropology exam at the LSE ... he went into college yesterday, to find that he had come top of his year, and he doesn't need to do any more qualifying exams – so he can get straight on with his M.Phil. ... He was thrilled, as he didn't think he'd have done very well, having spent more time on his thesis than on Anthropology.*

To Lady Clay 25.6.67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8

*Dear Rosalind,*

*How nice it was to see you the other day – or rather two weeks ago. This letter will be a faint effort to repay you for your two long letters received before I came to see you. But first, thank you for the loan of the enclosed article on K.B. Macfarlane. It was indeed very revealing – both of the character of K.B. and, even more so, of John Cooper. I'm afraid, however, that I didn't think much of it – except for its frankness. The style was atrocious – sentences without verbs, split infinitives, awful punctuation. I kept leaping up in horror on the train journey back to London. Also, probably because both writer and subject represent, for me, the most neurotic and bitter strain in Oxford life, I was repelled rather than attracted. No, perhaps, pity is the dominant emotion –*

*but that always sounds patronising. Anyhow, thanks for the loan. I must admit that K.B. was a very unusual man and a very formidable mind indeed – and possibly an excellent tutor. James Campbell, to name only one, is a product to be proud of anyway.*

*...I heard the other day that my examiners are the anthropologist Professor Evans-Pritchard and Christopher Hill – I'm thrilled at both choices. I had a nice letter from Trevor-Roper in which, among other things he said he was sorry not to be examining me. He can be very nice when not attacked. ... We had a lovely week in the Lakes. I fished for trout, dreamed of the day when I would own a castle off the West Coast of Scotland and pursue truth far from the bickerings of academic life, and Gill swum and walked. ...[Gill] is very cheerful at the moment as she has just got a job as a Probation Officer at Willesden in London. We will not be quite so poor when she starts working; she will be getting twice as much (or more) than I am on my grant! At the moment I'm negotiating to go abroad to Assam or Nepal for 18 months or so. One of the things that saddens me about such a plan is that I am bound to lose contact with my Oxford friends – but I hope your marvellous news-letters will continue to reach me in my jungle hut in the foothills of the Himalayas...!*

26.6.67      44, Ridge Road, London, N.8

*Dear Provost [Provost of King's College, Cambridge – Edmund Leach]*

*Thank you for your letter of 17 May concerning the Senior Research Fellowship offered by King's College. You ask for further information about my research plans and my academic history and so I am sending a very brief summary. If you feel it would be worth my while applying for the Fellowship I will send a more detailed account of both.*

*Academic history: I read history (modern) at Oxford University from 1960-63 and received a 2<sup>nd</sup> class (viva'd for a first – but failed). I then commenced research for a D.Phil in history under Mr. Keith Thomas of St. John's College. The subject of my thesis was 'Witchcraft prosecutions in Essex 1560-1680: a sociological analysis'. This was completed early this year and is at present before the examiners appointed at Oxford (Professor Evans-Pritchard and the Master of Balliol). I hope to receive my viva within a month.*

*You may remember that I corresponded with Audrey Richards some time ago and that we met for lunch in Cambridge and discussed, among other things, where it would be best for me to read for a postgraduate degree in anthropology. I finally decided on L.S.E. and have been there since October 1966. I am reading for an M.Phil. in social anthropology and my supervisor is Professor Schapera. My dissertation will be on a topic within the general field of 'The regulation of sex and marriage in England, 1560-1680'. On the strength of a departmental test I have been excused the departmental qualifying examination.*

*When my course ends in September 1968 I would very much like to do 18 months or two years of field work so that I will be a fully equipped social anthropologist. I then intend to return to historical material and apply anthropological questions to the vast resources available to the historian.*

*The area I would very much like to go to is the Himalayan region. I was born in Shillong Assam, and my parents (tea-planters) have just returned from there. Ideally I would have liked to have studied one of the Assamese tribes – Nagas, Abors, Apa Tanis perhaps. But I gather from Professor Furer-Haimendorf that this may be impossible. The alternative is Nepal. Perhaps on the problem of area, as well as choice of subject, you could help me as you obviously know the general area and the types of problem which would be of interest to anthropologists.*

*Basically I would like to do a fairly straight-forward village study – kinship and marriage, law and social control, religion, etc. This would give me a lot of material to compare with work I have been doing on three villages in the seventeenth century (two in Essex and one in Westmorland). But I imagine that a study which was specifically aimed at a particular problem would be more interesting. The subjects I am particularly interested in are the reaction to pain and misfortune (which ties up with my witchcraft studies) and problems surrounding population control – for instance the attitude to having children, the reaction to the introduction of contraceptive methods (which is now widespread in Assam, if not up in the hills), the effects of population growth. I'm sorry if these sound hazy. But I would be interested to hear your initial reactions to these suggestions.*

*It seems possible that I might be awarded a London-Cornell fellowship, but I would obviously prefer one of your Research Fellowships. I imagine the general programme would be for me to spend six months or so in Cambridge in preparation – then to go out to the Himalayas for 18 months or two years – and then to return for the final period. If it were possible, I would like to incorporate the results into a Cambridge Ph.D. under the supervision of a Cambridge anthropologist. My wife, who is a trained social worker (Probation Officer) would accompany me to India.*

*I'm sorry to have spread myself. The real questions are i) do you feel it worth my while applying for one of your Senior Research Fellowships and ii) could you make any suggestions either about area or subject of research? With regard to the second question, perhaps it would be better if I came to Cambridge to discuss the matter with you. I realize, however, that you may well be away during the summer or too busy to see me at the present.*

My interest in pain and misfortune led me to write a paper on the subject of 'Pain and Sin', a theme I would develop over the years and intended to write a book about, though this was never written. Here is the first page of the essay.



The aim of this paper is to mull over some of the variables affecting the reaction to pain in various societies. The assumption implicit is that there will be some correlation between the treatment of pain and other aspects of the society, and also between the types of pain and reactions to it. Most primitive societies undergo an enormous of physical pain, and yet there is very little systematic analysis of how this is classified or explained in such societies. The first part of the essay will be an attempt to raise problems. At the end I wish to suggest, tentatively, one hypothesis. Malinowski pointed out that one of the most important informal sanctions and controls on behaviour was reciprocity. It was woven into the system, was ~~never~~ challenged, and interlinked economic organization with the control of human relationships. The hypothesis suggested in this paper is somewhat similar in suggesting another important, unstressed, system of social control which derives from the society harnessing the physical environment. People are surrounded by physical pain, but in many societies instead of this being a disruptive force, making people question the system of morals, it is streamed off and generates power for the sustaining of the system. Instead of illness and death being an undermining force, they are woven by theories of explanation into a protective coat, making the society resistant to change. This is especially important in societies such as the Azande, or Ndembu or Hindu societies where every physical misfortune must have a 'cause', where nothing happens by chance. In a society where, in the seventeenth century doctor Sir Thomas Browne's phrase, 'there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and stragling way' (*Religio Medici*, pp.20-1). It may well turn out that the linking of failures in human relationships to failures in the physical environment is an even more important form of 'social cement' than reciprocity. Before we turn to illustration of this thesis perhaps I can suggest a few of the problems which medical anthropologists could investigate.

A pioneer in this field pointed out that 'most data on treatment, in general ethnographic monographs, consist of a list of drugs or other techniques used, of a list of the diseases in which they are applied, and of statements as to the possible objective effect that such measures have. It is obvious that such descriptions, valuable as the are, omit just the points needed for our special inquiry: what are the ideas underlying these therapeutic acts, and under what circumstances (with or without ritual) are they performed?' (1) Here we are led into the whole range of healing: who is present, what medicines are used and why, what rituals are performed? The type of question to be asked, and an excellent set of answers has recently been provided for the Lunda by Turner (2). Many answers could be fairly statistical - what is life expectation, infantile mortality, the frequency of various diseases by various group criteria (age/sex/occupation/mentality etc). These are problems investigated by doctors in the West but not by anthropologists. Once the rather crude statistics had been gathered, it should be possible to make various classifications of 'pain'. A few are suggested on 30998 the hand-out, diagram 1. These are very superficial and I am sure that combined thought could produce more useful ones. (The distinctions are: mental/physical, density of (possible to make a scale of - i.e. v. severe ~~xxxx~~ illnesses down to stubbing one's toe?), the frequency of the misfortune - either in the experience of the individual or of the society, the area of the misfortune - to the individual/small group(kin)/society (e.g. sickness/famine), the symptoms of the illness (for, as Turner has pointed out (3) Lunda medicine treats the symptoms and signs of an illness, not specific diseases - thus two vomiting symptoms might be classified together, while different symptoms caused by the same disease might be held apart). Other problems in this preliminary stage of analysis would be the effects of epidemics and of diseases introduced from other societies.

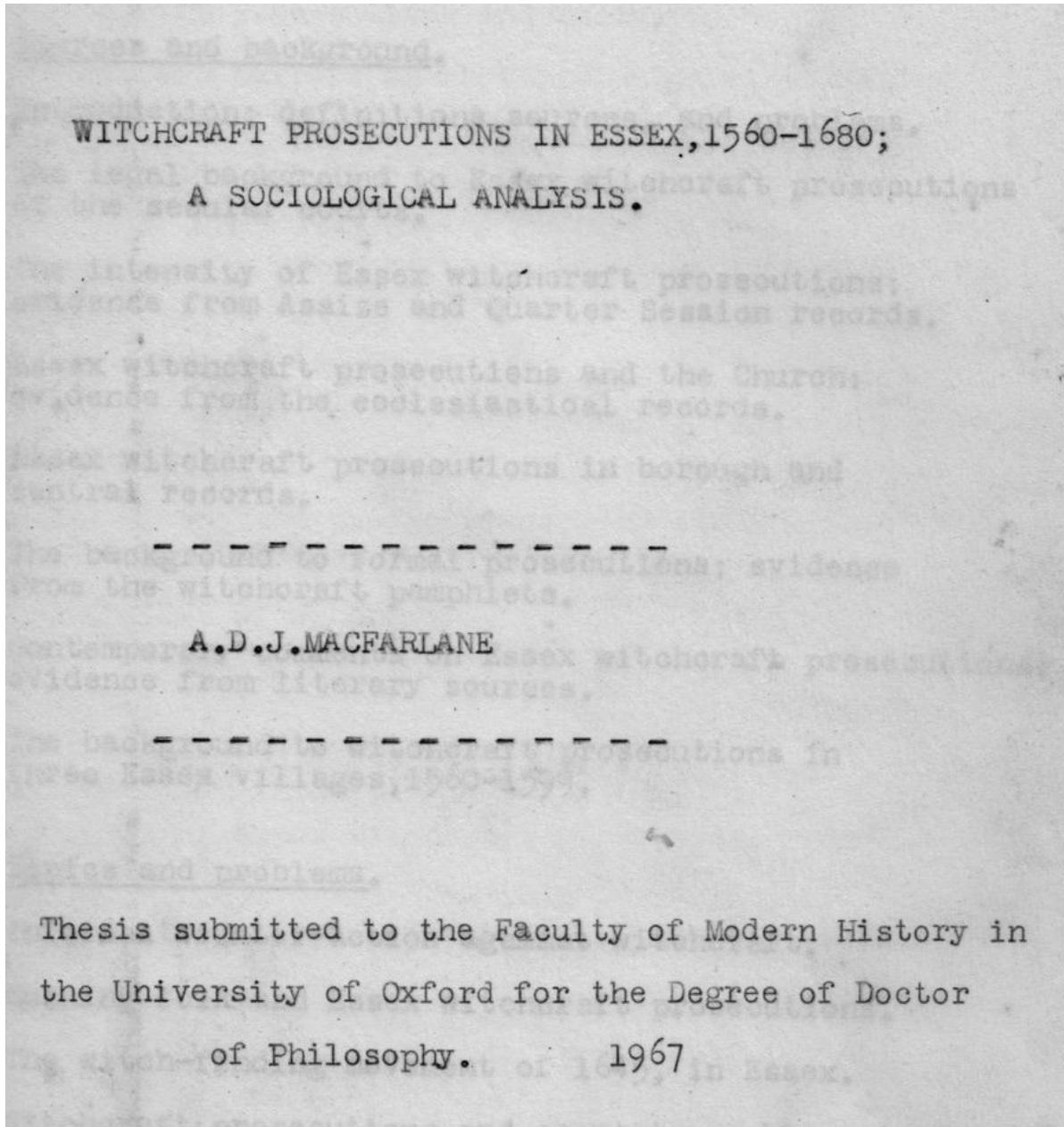


# Summer Vacation 1967

July 1967

The outline of the thesis I presented can be seen from the table of contents, and the help I received from the acknowledgements.

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### Acknowledgements.

Three acknowledgements cannot be omitted. The first is to my Supervisor, Mr. Keith Thomas of St. John's College, Oxford. Only a few of the many ideas and references he contributed have been specifically acknowledged and it is therefore necessary to state that this thesis owes an incalculable amount to Mr. Thomas's vigilance and insight.

Secondly, a considerable part of the research for this thesis would have been impossible without the superb facilities offered by the Essex Record Office. Indexes, transcripts, and, above all, the generous help of Miss Hilda Grieve and her charming assistants, made research at Chelmsford far more profitable and pleasurable than it would otherwise have been. I thank the County Archivist, F.G. Emmison, and all the staff.

Finally, my own nuclear family are to be thanked. They not only provided the background of a restful year in a garden shed in the Lake District, but also expert assistance in the analysis of the social background to witchcraft prosecutions in the three Essex villages used as a sample.

From Gill to parents on 3.7.1967 from Ridge Road

*We are very well, if tired at the moment – Alan has his viva at Oxford a week this Wednesday, and has got the two examiners he wanted – Christopher Hill, the Marxist historian and Master of Balliol and Evans-Pritchard, the very eminent professor of Anthropology at Oxford. He wrote the definitive work on witchcraft in primitive societies. Alan was frightened he would get Trevor-Roper, who holds diametrically opposite views as to cause etc., so the confrontation would have been awkward. The whole business is very formal – sub-fusc – and anything up to three hours of interrogation – also anyone can come if they wish. A said he'd be rather amused if a whole row of his friends turned up! He will get to know if the thesis is o.k. at the time – but I'm convinced there no doubt of that. Next year there is going to be a Cambridge teach-in on witchcraft, in honour of Evans-Pritchard, and all kinds of very eminent people are going to read papers – and there was some hint that Alan would be asked, as his is such a radically new approach ... however, at the moment just cross your fingers for a week on Wednesday! ... Alan is trotting round at the moment seeing people about studying in India – he thinks Nepal would be a lovely area to go, as the scenery is glorious and the Sherpas are a most attractive tribe, very gentle and kind, with great traditions about hospitality – some of their legends are beautiful – I have been doing a bit of reading. It looks as though next year I might be learning Nepalese as well as managing my first*

*job (I can't believe anyone actually wants to pay me!) ... He is thinking of trying to get a Cambridge fellowship from King's College, which he would hold for 4 years – so for two of those we would live in Cambridge, which would be very pleasant. I gather it's the best Anthropology Dept. in the country. All this is very dreamy at the moment, but I hope a little bit of it materializes.*

To Lady Clay 9.7.67 44, Ridge Road, London, N.8

*Dear Rosalind,*

*Very many thanks for your most welcome letter. I'm afraid this will not be a proper reply. It is really a note to say that my viva (before the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard and Christopher Hill – I'm delighted with the choice) is on July 12<sup>th</sup> – Wednesday, at 10 a.m. I wonder if I might call in sometime? I'm having lunch with Keith Thomas and wondered if you couldn't manage any of the following times... Went to Don Giovanni at Covent Garden last night with Tito Gobbi – still feeling slightly dazed!*

*I'll give you the rest of my news when I see you. Oxford, and especially your garden, will be a refreshing change from Tubeland.*

I heard back from Edmund Leach about my query about applying for a Research Fellowship at King's.

12 July 1967

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Many thanks for your letter of 26 June which was briefly acknowledged by my secretary in my absence abroad. Of course, I remember meeting you with Audrey Richards, and I am very interested to know that you are now deeply enmeshed in the toils of social anthropology ! I think I would definitely advise you to stick to your London/Cornell fellowship. The King's Senior Research Fellowship which has been advertised is an innovation, a brain child of my predecessor, Noel Annan. There is considerable internal dispute in the College as to just how selection should be made and although on this occasion we have advertised Social Anthropology as one of the possible fields it would, I think, be a rather unusual social anthropologist who fitted the bill. It would work alright for someone who had already completed his field work and had a large body of material to analyse and work into book form, but I don't think the Electors to Fellowships contemplate financing field research. Partly that is because the money would not run that far and partly it is because the Senior Research Fellows - whoever they are - are thought of as people who would be around the place and spreading sweetness and light throughout the College. So rather reluctantly my answers to your questions are:-

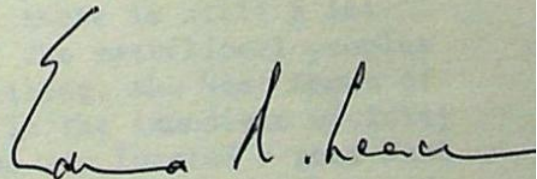
- (i) I really don't think it is worthwhile your applying for one of our Senior Research Fellowships if you are planning to do further field work abroad.
- (ii) As far as Assam field work is concerned I would suppose that Haimendorf must be right when he implies that research in the frontier region would be quite impossible at present, for political reasons. On the other hand, there is still a lot that is not understood about the matrilineal peoples located east and west of Shillong, the best known of whom are the Khasis who are in the immediate vicinity of Shillong and the Garos who are located a good deal further west. Burling's writings on the Garo are of the modern kind, and Chie Nakane had made some up-to-date contributions. But most of the very massive literature on the region is archaic both in its manner and assumptions. And even Burling's book lacks some



of the tightness it might have had if the author had had a British training. I myself have always been struck by the fact that the variety of political organisations that is to be found in this matrilineal region is strikingly similar to that found in the patrilineal Kachin area further east. Also, of course, in many other ways, Garo resemble Kachin very closely. The puzzle then is what really is the significance of the contrast between the matrilineal ideology and the patrilineal ideology. Is it just an accidental variation ?

However, in the present political circumstances in Assam it is probably exceedingly difficult to pick and choose between one location and another. All I would insist is that there are many interesting problems of a village study type which can still be conducted in areas which are not close to the frontier region.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'E. A. Heath'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'E' and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Provost

A. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
44 Ridge Road, N.8.

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, July 12th [1967]

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*We are thinking very hard about the poor old prospective doctor of phil. today, I'm afraid I didn't realize the viva was so important or I would have written in time to cheer you on. We are thinking of ringing up tonight to find out how it went and I do hope they'll soon put you out of your agony.*



*My own book is coming out on August 17th<sup>21</sup> which seems about the worst time of year when everyone is ruined after their holidays but you can amuse yourselves when up here (or wherever) rushing in and demanding it and exclaiming in amazement when it isn't available! My agent wrote suggesting I write some stories for supplementary readers for 8 year olds which is just about my standard I think, actually with a first printing of 20,000 it wouldn't be bad at that.*

*I have finished the surveys and am now going to make a large chart of the landholders over the three periods, chiefly for my own amusement but it will help to clear some muddles. I don't think another map will help really, the surveys are strictly Kirkby Lonsdale with the places mentioned that are already on this map, Earnside, Keastwicke etc. The only real hope is the key to that map we saw at Carlisle which might provide names of fields and tenements. Some interesting facts emerge, such as the movement away of so many of the big freeholders by 1671 - or perhaps daughters have inherited.*

*I thought the paper on Assamese death beliefs very interesting, I knew some of the facts but not all. Would it be difficult to photostat it as I would like to send a copy to a friend out there and hear his comments. The trouble is Assamese Hindu is such a loose term, the Ahoms are Vaishnavite Hindus, the purified form introduced by Sankara Deva whom I wrote an article about, and their beliefs are quite different to the Brahmin-ruled groups, and there is also a strong element of Tantric Hinduism about, different again. And then of course the vast influx of tea labourers has brought their brands of belief to add to the confusion so it seems the only way you can study belief is to take one community or gotra and make statements about that, the term "Assamese Hindu" is really meaningless. I have written to get Peter James's address, the Abor man, he was a political officer with them before the war and is home on leave so you might be able to go and see him. I have the Highams coming this weekend, and Pam Shaw at the beginning of August, shall enjoy seeing her again - but roll on North Uist, I almost dread picking up the phone and hearing a bright voice saying "Well guess who's here" - it's always a planter wanting to come and stay...*

I wrote to Keith on 13th July from 44 Ridge Road

*Dear Keith,*

*Just to thank you for a delicious lunch (raspberries and cream are a treat in garden-less N.8) and, more importantly, to say how very grateful I am for all your guidance over the last three years. I don't know what would have happened to my thesis without your encouragement and enthusiasm and the constant contact with someone interested in the same problems meant more than I can say. I also appreciate all the time and trouble you took correcting my appalling grammar and faulty logic.*

*I do hope that I will be able to repay, in part at least, all your help. I very much look forward to reading the draft of the book - it really sounded very exciting.*

*Thank you again - for everything.*

From Iris: Field Head, Friday [July 14th 1967]

*My dear Alan,*

*A line to add to the squeaks on the telephone - we were thrilled to bits of course - if anyone deserved it you did, in fact you should have a D.Phil. and Bar!... You will probably have a much delayed nervous breakdown now that the tension has suddenly relaxed. Let us know when we can collect Great Granny's moth-eaten mink and see you collect.*

*Fiona got off yesterday with a vast kit bag over one shoulder which I trust she doesn't have to tramp from S. to N. Uist with - the only convenient boat lands at Lochboisdale at midnight tonight.*

15.7. 1967 St John's College, Keith to Alan

*Dear Alan,*

---

21 *The Children of Bird God Hill*, published by Chatto & Windus.

*It was very nice of you to write. I feel faintly sad that your thesis is finished, as I enjoyed our sessions together so much. But I am delighted it made such a good impression and renew my warmest congratulations. I always thought it was very good and it is nice that other people think so too.*

*How lucky you are to have the Lake District to which to retire. We hope to be in York at the end of August/beginning of September and will have the car. I'll give you a ring if we ever get near Ambleside, but I expect you'll be in Scotland then.*

*Let me know at the end of the summer if you have any more thoughts about the Cambridge conference.<sup>22</sup> No hurry as I shan't be able to start on my piece till Christmas time anyway. Yours, Keith*

This is perhaps a good place to insert the final outcome of our relationship. In each of our books we acknowledged the help of each other. Here are the acknowledgements.

Alan Macfarlane *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (1970)

Acknowledgements: This work is a considerably modified version of my Oxford D.Phil. thesis (1967) entitled 'Witchcraft Prosecutions in Essex, 1560-1680; Sociological Analysis' (1967). To the supervisor of that thesis, Mr. Keith Thomas of St. John's College, Oxford both book and thesis owe an incalculable amount. Only a few of the many references and ideas contributed by Mr. Thomas have been explicitly acknowledged in the text; without his enthusiasm, criticism, and wisdom the book would never have been written at all. Many of the topics raised in the following pages will receive much fuller treatment in his forthcoming work on 'Primitive Beliefs in Pre-Industrial England'.

Keith Thomas, *Religion & the Decline of Magic* (1971)

Preface : As a result, there are many points in my argument at which the reader can be given no statistical evidence on which to accept or reject the impressions I have formed after my reading in contemporary sources. But I have been pleased to see that so far as the subject of witchcraft is concerned my impressions have been abundantly confirmed by the statistical findings of Dr Alan Macfarlane, whose systematic study of witchcraft prosecutions in Essex, one of the few counties for which the evidence permits such an operation, has now been published [footnote reference to the book]

Acknowledgements: Many stimulating conversations with Dr Alan Macfarlane have helped me to clarify my own ideas. [There are eleven footnote references to Alan Macfarlane].

*44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 16/7/67*

*Dear Mummy & Daddy,*

*Thank you very much for your two letters. Thank you, much more, for all your support and help without which, of course, I could not even have begun to think of doing the thesis. The enclosed abstract indicates a couple of ways in which you both helped – but I can't begin to say how grateful I am for everything you did. Anyhow, it is over now and I can't say I am sorry. Having carefully prepared myself for all sorts of questions the viva, finally, was only a formal one – as I said on the 'phone. We all dressed up and met in 'Room 13' – rather an inauspicious start. But they were both very sweet and immediately told me that I needn't worry about the questions they would ask me since they both thought the thesis was excellent and would recommend it to the Faculty Board as worthy to be accepted. E-P. then compared a few points in the thesis to the Azande and Christopher Hill made the point about 'what happened before 1560' and 'was society really so integrated and neighbourly before then? I think both of them had minor points to make – but felt that it would be better to*

---

<sup>22</sup> The Association of Social Anthropologists conference, organized by Mary Douglas, and held at King's College, Cambridge, in 1968, which both Keith and I presented papers, both of which were published.

*discuss these in a slightly less formal atmosphere. So both of them suggested that I went and see them later in the Summer if I ever visited Oxford. E-P. also bought me a drink at the Mitre later in the morning which was kind of him. The whole session only lasted 20 mins! I then had lunch with Keith who was delighted. I'm afraid there is still a considerable amount of ritual to go through. In mid-October, at the next meeting of the History Faculty Board they will receive the examiner's recommendation and (automatically I believe) give me permission to supplicate - i.e. to dress up and go through the ritual in the Sheldonian. So it will probably not be until October or November that you will have to don ancient furs etc. I will also be collecting my M.A....*

*We had a letter from Fiona - wonder how she is getting on and how the croft is. There seem to be a lot of things hanging in the air don't you? You must be feeling a little unsettled. I'm very much looking forward to the arrival of the Book on Aug. 17th and will do a grand tour of bookshops from Foyle's downwards to ask for it. Will also plug both your books to Mrs. Hayley. I'm glad you liked her talk. Yes, certainly I can get a photocopy of it: will send it to you when you send back the original. The only snag is that I haven't got Mrs. Hayley's permission to copy it - which you would have to explain to anyone you sent it to. I had a nice letter from her father, Keith Cantlie, saying that he had written to a number of people who had worked among the Abors - 'Betts' and others. Thank you also, for writing to Peter James. The real difficulty, of course, will be the political problem. I intend to see Furer-Haimendorf soon, if he is still in London and that should settle a few things. I had a letter from Leach yesterday in which he said that it might be worth doing some work on the Garos and Khasis - since Robbins Burling etc. had only covered a little of the ground. He ended by saying that*

*'I myself have always been struck by the fact that the variety of political organisations that is to be found in this matrilineal region is strikingly similar to that to be found in this matrilineal Kachin area further east. Also, of course, in many other ways, is the significance of the contrast between the matrilineal ideology and the patrilineal ideology. Is this just an accidental variation?'*

*I find all this quite interesting - though I'm really more interested in religion and social change than kinship. I'm also considering the possibility of going on an anthropological study of the effects/blocks to population control - as I may have told you - and am reading literature on this. I'm also reading about Nepal - the Sherpas really sound a delightful people. Their nearest equivalent in Assam seem to be the Buddhist Monpas - but I imagine it would be impossible to reach them right up on the Tibetan frontier. Still, I've got a few months yet in which to sort out things.... Have just been reading V. Elwin's North East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (of which I've managed to buy a copy - along with Maria Murder and Suicide) - it is really most fascinating, and there are a host of refs. Have you read it?*

*Meanwhile, historical sociology progresses. I'm starting in seriously on diaries, pamphlets etc. to show C19 attitudes - particularly on marriage and sex. Haven't done anything on K.L. I'm afraid... Wonder if wills or registers have turned up? Is it possible to make any preliminary analysis of social stratification from the surveys - i.e. are there classes/castes/groups of any kind? I imagine that this will not be possible until we've used the inventories and wills...*

*P.S. I enclose a short article on social stratification in a S. Italian village which might interest you.*

From Gill to parents on 16<sup>th</sup> July 1967 44, Ridge Road

*Alan has got his D.Phil - with flying colours it seems; the viva was just a formality - half an hour or so, and they said it was 'excellent', which must be an unusual comment for a D.Phil. - A. looks about ten years younger now it's over and done with - he looked nice in his white bow tie and wedding suit - he was wandering around like that at 6.30 a.m. on the day of the thesis! His family were thrilled, as you can imagine - they've really helped a lot with it ... A. wants me to put in what they call the 'abstract', which is a resume of the thesis, and put as a forward in the thesis itself - he thought you might want to know what he's been spending the last 4 years on! I think it's the combination of Anthropology and History his examiners liked...'*

My continued effort to go to Assam to do fieldwork is shown in a further letter to Sir Keith Cantlie.

16/7/67

44, Ridge Road,  
London, N.8

Dear Mr. Cantlie,

How very kind of you to go to such trouble on my behalf. I was very interested in the contents of your letter of 10th July and will certainly keep all your advice in mind as I try to get permission to do field-work. I look forward very much to hearing the opinion of 'Betts'.

My main problems at the moment are a) to decide the area and kind of study I want to do b) to get permission to do such a study and c) to get financial aid. I wrote to Edmund Leach the other day and he wrote back to say that he thought that the Garos or Khasis - well away from the troubled frontiers - would be my best bet. Professor Evans-Pritchard of Oxford with whom I discussed the matter last week also stressed that I should make sure that I was not in an area of too great political insecurity. I think that things will become a little clearer when I have discussed these problems with Professor Furer-Haimendorf who, of course, knows the area well. He may, in the end, put pressure on me to go to Nepal rather than Assam since he has shifted his field-work to that region now. Anyhow, I will let you know of any further developments.

I started Hamilton's book entitled In Abor Jungles. It is, in fact, one of the several accounts of the Abor-Mishmi-Miri expeditions of 1912. Hamilton was one of the officers serving with the expedition. There are some interesting early accounts of the Abors in Verrier Elwin's India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century. In the bibliography there are a number of articles by Sen Gupta, Furer-Haimendorf and others written between 1950-1953 and I therefore wonder (since the book was written in 1955) whether quite a lot more might not have come out since 1955 - even if only in the form of articles.

May I thank you again for all your kindness and advice.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

And I wrote soon after with further thoughts.



23/7/67

44, Ridge Road,  
London, N.8

Dear Sir Keith,

How kind of you to send Tim Betts' letter and to write again. Thank you. I gather that Ursula Graham Bower married a Betts - I imagine it is the same one? Actually the day before I received your letter I went to see Fuerer-Haimendorf. He was too busy to spare me any time, but I gathered from his secretary who told him my problems that, as things stand, it is absolutely impossible to get into N.E.F.A. I gather F-H. himself has been pulling all possible strings but has not succeeded there, or in Bhutan. However, it seems that political conditions might change over-night and when he gets back in October he will see me again and let me know how things stand. It is all very disappointing - but much as I expected. The choice now seems between Nepal, the Assam valley, or somewhere else in India.

Please don't bother to spend any more of your time on my problem at the moment - until things are a little clearer. Actually my father knows Charles Stonor quite well and I could contact him through him.

From Iris: Field Head, Thursday [July 20th 1967]

*Wills just arrived!*

Dear Gill & Alan,

*Thanks for yours, we were very touched by the acknowledgement - to the book that will come out of the thesis? I haven't yet read the Italian village carefully, but skimming through I can see the ideas it will give us for K.L. I'll return it in my next. As you say our lives are still in a state of suspense.... Fiona and Gill [a friend] are installed in the croft, we have had two phone calls and a letter, all ecstatic and insisting that we must buy it but alas Mrs C. won't budge an inch in the price. We have written to Rentokil to see if they could treat the worm, and Fiona is going round to other builders and also looking at other empty places and making hundreds of friends she says, cars are permanently at the door to drive them round and they are being fed and feted with the usual Hebridean hospitality. I'm sure we shall get it, worms standing on each other's shoulders*

*all round us and every winter gale threatening to remove the roof! Daddy has got as far as trading in the car for a Land Rover which we are collecting on August 1st, the seller a friend of Robert's from Sedbergh. Daddy went off on Monday to see it, he had his stitches taken out first while I nipped into the archives but had no sooner got Miss Macpherson to cart out all the maps than he arrived to collect me. However he dropped me at Kirkby Lonsdale and Poochie and I had a very peaceful and productive two hours there. It was warm and quiet and I wandered about making a little map for myself, got down to the river bank and started chatting to the owner of a house there and noticed that the house next to his was empty of all but chickens. He said it belonged to Underley Estate, I thought it might be just the job for you to camp in the summer for a few days, more important though he put me onto the blacksmith, the Character of the place and also something of a historian.*

*I found him sitting in his shed, up to his neck in horseshoes and full of both character and history, his father and grandfather lived till they were over 90 and his grandfather till 106 and he can remember hearing his father talking of the night Cromwell's men arrived and took Lady Curwen's horses - which he'd heard from his grandfather.... I said I would go and see him one evening. He is obviously a mine of information on customs and people, he has broadcast quite a lot. He said that when he arrived all the old blacksmiths books were there but the story got confused and I never heard what has happened to them.*

*After that I crossed the road and talked to the frightfully typical factor of Underley but in spite of his grand office and manner his vagueness about the house was almost Hebridean, he says he doesn't know if they own it or not but will find out. Jonty Wilson the blacksmith owns the island and says you can camp on it if the worst comes to the worst, the solicitors for Underley live in Darlington so you might chat them up sometime there. One of its owners was Constance Holme of "Crumpholt Folk" and after she died all the estate papers were sold in lots at the auction house!.. I did locate Abbots Brow, the home of William Applegarth, which is just by the church, an altar was dug up there according to Machell and placed at Widow Man's door so I was going to look for that but if you stay there for a few days you can do a lot of snooping....*

*My work on Kirkby consists of sorting out the Surveys and collecting on one piece of paper who owned what when, the parish registers have not arrived yet so I can't yet make any judgements about the property owners but it will help I think to get them sorted out. A walk or bicycle round the parish would probably elicit a lot of information about the names of fields and woods and so on which have probably stayed the same. You could have the Land Rover to take up to the Hebrides at the end of August, could sleep in the back if necessary and explore the coast of Sutherland for crofts and/or castles. I have been writing a story for the supplementary reader thing the last couple of days and realise that I enjoy writing for children best of all, that this is probably what I should concentrate on.*



"Leeview" Loch Eport, N. Uist 21. July. 67. (Fiona's sketch)

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 24/7/67

Dear Mummy & Daddy,

Thank you for a long letter – written in such haste that the paragraphs had disappeared! Keep me informed on the Battle of the Worms. I'm sorry Mrs. C. won't budge – will be surprised if Fiona cannot find anywhere else at all. If we go up as well for a week, surely one of us should be able to do something? Thrilled to hear about the land-rover Daddy. If we really could take it for a few days to Scotland while we're looking for the croft/castle that would be wonderful....

About the holiday, I wondered if you had any definite arrangements? If you remember the original plan was that we would go to Scotland from c.25th-31st August and shortly after that you would go up for a preparatory month in Sept. – coming back at the end to get the house ready for tenants & to collect stuff. I wondered if this plan still held?

No progress about India I'm afraid – except I had a nice lot of literature from the Family Planning people.... I gather that Tom Poole is introducing family planning in the gardens... I called on Furer Haimendorf the other day but he is just off for four months and was too busy to see me. I gathered from his secretary, however, who had asked him, that the Abors and the whole of N.E.F.A. are quite out of the question at the moment. Actually, looking through the bibliographies, I discovered that about six social psychologists – anthropologists from the government of India descended on the Abors in 1954 and did all sorts of attitude test on them – so they would probably be pretty mixed-up and not the best people to study. I'm going to see F-H. when he returns in October. Thanks for the 'Assamese Dead' article – I've now taken a copy of it and return it. You can send the enclosed copy to your Indian friend – I'll keep the other copy here.

Thanks also for the map of K.L. which I also enclose – you will need it more than I do. Very interested to hear of your discovery of the blacksmith etc. What a pity the Underley papers have been dispersed. I wonder what sort of person collects such things? I am now spending a day a week on the P.R.O. records. I went through some of the K.L. Assize depositions and they were better than I thought when last time I wrote to you. Outstanding is a very detailed account (some 40 pages writing in Daniel Flemming's small hand) of a feud



*between the Bainbridges and various other families around Middleton and Old Hutton. There are account of murders in K.L. and various odd marriages. Will send them up when I've got a bit further. I hope the parish registers arrive soon since I would very much like to be able to have something on pre-marital intercourse etc. from Kirby Lonsdale in my Balliol talk and, even more, in my M.Phil. thesis. I think that population growth and the influence of marriage patterns, inheritance, land ownership, and the seasons etc. on it will be a very central part of our work. It must be a relief for you to turn from these dusty figures to your children's writing!*

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate [July 1967]

*My dear Alan & Gill,*

*Herewith an advance copy,<sup>23</sup> which I hope you will like, I didn't write in it in case you want to give it away. It should really be dedicated to Alan as it would never have seen the light of day without him - all these Ritual Obligations are going to wear us out!*

*....I'm so glad the P.R.O is producing some Kirby Lonsdale material, I have just about finished sorting out the surveys and am going to take the names of the property along to the ancient blacksmith and see if he can identify them. We had a rather forced programme on Robin Hood on Telly, handsome professor striding down the P.R.O. and searching out for priceless manuscript, close up of old script etc. but the map it gave of Edward II's trip round England showed him making a stop at Kirby Lonsdale which pleased us. The wills are going to be a great help in placing people, when my next crowd of guests go I'm going over to stay with the Hendersons at Preston for a couple of days and will work on them. Fancy Sir Daniel turning up again, I shall miss him. Sorry about the Abors but I rather feared it, I'm sure I could help get you to the Garo hills or the Khasi and Jantias, or even the Lushais.... but they have all been heavily missionaried. Have you thought of further along above Delhi, the Kumaon hills, less strategically difficult and less easy to get bottled up in case of trouble? Lots of lovely people there as well.*

*Sun is coming out and must take Poochie out, Daddy is painting the larder and startling a million spiders out of the age old social patterns...*

\*

After the viva I went off for a drink with one of my examiner's, Evans-Pritchard, at the Mitre nearby hotel and talked about anthropology and the future. E-P invited me to come down to Oxford for a longer talk, and I arranged to do this.

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<sup>23</sup> *The Children of Bird God Hill* (1967)



25/7/67

44, Ridge Road,  
London, N.8

Dear Professor Evans-Pritchard,

You kindly suggested that I might call in on you on my next visit to Oxford and I wondered if you would be free at any time on Friday-Sunday, August 4th-6th? If you could suggest a time/place I will endeavour to be there.

Thank you, incidentally, for helping me so gently over my viva ordeal.

I do hope I will be able to see you.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

OXFORD UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Tel. 55971



51 BANBURY ROAD  
OXFORD

27/7/67

Dear Macfarlane

I shall be at the Institute on Friday morning  
Aug. 4 but not on the Saturday  
or Sunday. Can you try to be there  
by 11.0 o'clock.

We have a garden party at my  
home (see telephone book) - 4.30-6.30  
tomorrow, Sat, July 29. Come if  
you can.

J. E. P.  
S. E. E. P. u

I had written a long letter to Ian Green on 8th August 1965 in reply to his question about doing research. He was still wondering what to do in a long letter he wrote to me on 24th July, 1967. Although this is nearly a year after I finished my period at Oxford, it reflects on a number of issues of doing a doctorate and seems worth including here as part of a reflective postscript, particularly relating to the all-important question of the choice of a supervisor.

To Ian Green 30.7.1967

Dear Ian,

*How nice to get your letter – and thank you for your congratulations. I must say that I am heartily glad I'm through with witches – though now I have got to turn it into a book and I've embarked on another thesis – this time on kinship and marriage in the seventeenth century – at the L.S.E.*

*I have been thinking about your questions. As to the question of a supervisor, I think it is probably very much a matter of temperament. If you are at all like me, it will be important for you to have a good supervisor. The point is not really how often one sees him but the fact that for two or three years he is almost the only person who can provide a link with the outside world. He alone knows what one is doing; speaking for myself, one becomes very deeply involved with one's supervisor, he becomes an alter-father. His encouragement can tide one over barren stretches and his criticisms if misplaced could have a devastating effect. I think that it is important to be careful whom one has. I don't think that one need like a supervisor – but one must respect them.*

*Thus I was incredibly fortunate in having Keith Thomas – a man of incredible energy and intelligence who took a great interest in what I was doing and commented at all stages. The important thing is, I think, to have someone who is himself working on lines similar to one's own – so that he is facing similar problems and excited in one's answers. I don't know if Bennett fits – as I said it doesn't matter if you don't like his manner. The question is whether he a) he knows the sources b) is prepared to take a certain amount of time going over one's work c) is enthusiastic.*

*May I suggest a few other people who would supervise you on the sort of subject you are interested in? Christopher Hill is an obvious choice – he is a very nice person, and obviously very intelligent. I think however that possibly he is too relaxed as a supervisor – i.e. he is too gentle and nice and too involved in his own work. Perhaps this would suit you. On the Restoration period Anne Whiteman is very conscientious and knows the sources – but I don't know if you want one of Oxford's meticulous and very careful workers. Trevor-Roper himself would be I think your best bet. As you know, he started a thesis and wrote a book on Laud & is particularly interested in Church-State relationships. I've only spoken to one person who was supervised by him but he was full of praise. From my own experience, he is a person of boundless energy and enthusiasm and prepared to go to endless trouble over a person he likes and feels deserves it. Obviously he is a little awe-inspiring and can be bitter and nasty. But on a personal level he is usually charming. He also is obviously an unbeatable 'contact-man' – i.e. very useful if you want to go on as an academic. The main thing is that you would have to realize that he is very sensitive and needs to be approached with mild deference. It might be worth your while to write to him before you are summoned and ask for his advice about a choice of subject. Not only would he have some useful ideas but he likes being consulted.*

*Another person who I don't know is the newly appointed history fellow of Oriel college I gather that he is fairly dynamic and bright and wrote a thesis on some aspect of the Restoration Church. T-R is a bit suspicious of him, but he might be good. The main point against him is that it is not a very good idea to have someone who has just become a Fellow since he will be very busy working out his lectures, tutorials etc and may not have enough time/be experienced enough to supervise one.*

*As for subjects of research as you know our views on what is interesting and important tend to be rather different. People who you might write to and who are more in your line are Ralph Holbrooke (were you his year at Worcester?) he is working on ecclesiastical history and is good on the sources/problem. A friend of mine who is just completing a thesis (under Anne Whiteman – he could tell you what she is like as a supervisor) on the Arminian movement in England in the early C17 is Nicholas Tyacke formerly of Balliol College who is now an assistant lecturer at London University. He might have some ideas. If you are interested in the Elizabethan*

period the obvious person to contact is Dr Patrick Collinson, also of London University – you might read his new book ‘The Puritan Classical Movement’ first – and this would give you some ideas of his interests

You’ll get to know the various bibliographies etc. as you go along at this stage it might be worthwhile – if you can get to a library – to have a look at the ‘Theses in Progress’ section of the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research. But I wouldn’t worry if you are still vague by October – I changed my subject after 6 weeks of term.

As for subjects – I still think that if you read some of the classical accounts of the sociology of religion and then tried to answer the problems by taking a small region – say a county or a few villages even – you would find much more than if you took a whole movement or trend. Incidentally, if you are at all interested in Quakers the Quaker records, especially the Books of Sufferings possibly make the basis for a most interesting thesis. If you wrote to or went to the Society of Friends’ Library they would tell you more. These records really are excellent and they tell me unexplored

Do write again if further questions arise,

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 30/7/67

Dear Mummy & Daddy,

Thank you very much indeed for the letter, and, especially the book. We were thrilled by the latter and very much look forward to reading it... A friend of Gill's who dropped in yesterday and read some of it was delighted by it. We'll get your signature when we come north. Will order copies at all the possible book-shops. The abstract of my thesis which I send back again is for you to keep - as a tiny repayment for both your help and in all you did for me.

....You asked for my dates in September - these, of course, depend on your plans. What I thought was that we would arrive back from Scotland on about Saturday 2nd Sept. We would then stay at Field Head - it this is o.k. with you - until the end of the month. Gill's job begins at the beginning of October & I will have to come down to register at L.S.E. and find a flat about Sept. 27th - then I'll go north to collect stuff. I hope you follow this. Will the croft be inhabitable - i.e. are the girls living in it at the moment? I'm wondering whether to buy some tent material to make a slightly larger/stronger tent - the Irish one may not stand up to Scottish rain.

....Glad K.L. progresses. As you will see, I enclose some scrappy notes I took from the K.L. Assize depositions at the P.R.O. If you can read them & have time, it might be worthwhile typing them out. If you could take at least one carbon copy....Two pages of Edward Bainbridge's detailed confessions which are being xeroxed (they are referred to on the last page) I will send up at the end of the week. Don't worry if this is illegible or the referencing impossible - I'll do it later. Next week I hope to get the 1841 and 1851 censuses - they will make an interesting comparison. Will you really be able to get to Preston? I enclose a list of wills which I made when I was there in case you do. As you see, I got to the letter J (just listing the post 1660 ones) - you might finish off this list. I include the address of the Record Office & opening times (on the list) - they like one to drop a card to say when is coming and what one will be working on.

P.S. Am going to Oxford next week-end. Unfortunately C.Hill can't see me, but he very sweetly sent me a copy of his next book in which there is quotation by Peter Francys of Hatfield Peverel - and a footnote of gratitude to me. It should be to Annie really since I think she typed it out at the E.R.O....

From Gill to parents 30.7.1967 from Ridge Road

Alan thinks he will go to Oxford and do his usual round of visiting, as well as seeing his supervisors for his viva, who both wanted to see him separately, to bring up details with him, which they felt were inappropriate at the viva – the historian, Christopher Hill, has just sent A. one of his books which had a footnote acknowledging a reference to ‘Mr Alan Macfarlane of Worcester College’ – I think A. was rather tickled!

## August 1967

I went down and spent the day from about 11 am until 6pm with E-P in full flow. Whether he felt I was a visiting anthropologist to whom he was imparting the sacred oral history of the Oxford Anthropology Tribe, I do not know. But it certainly felt like that. I have edited it. But I felt enormously privileged to be eaves-dropping in this way. It is a mark of my interest that I clearly sat down straight away to write down some fieldnotes, even if abbreviated. As will be seen, there is wisdom and gossip, bitterness and humour in all of this, and it is important to remember that E-P was in considerable pain as we walked, lunched and talked.

I took notes on this seven hours of conversation with Evans-Pritchard. I will transcribe just a few selected items of a personal and advisory kind, omitting a good deal of very funny, but somewhat scurrilous, comment on leading anthropologists. Evans-Pritchard was, in many ways, the pinnacle of British social anthropology in the middle of the twentieth century and from his many encounters in a long and combative life was well placed to observe the quirks and qualities of his contemporaries.

My visit to Evans-Pritchard's home 4th August

Personal – fear of death – no – Catholicism

- illness – diabetes
- discussion – general – re. mad dogs etc.
- house = scruffy, lots of children, guitars, 17 tortoises (couldn't bear to see them in market) [I remember these – and asking E-P whether it had not occurred to him that by buying up the tortoises he was not just encouraging the trade...] – chickens, over-grown; German maid – problems of selling – driver – cautious [presumably we drove somewhere and I noted E-P as a cautious driver]

Personal

- committee/admin work = 2-3 hrs a day [I was shocked at this load, but later experienced it myself, on a larger scale, in Cambridge]
- v. shaky, slow, considerable pains
- ribald humour & infectious spluttering humour. "I've seen death close too often to be very afraid"
- fairly straight Catholic line on contraception
- gives non-lecture at Chicago = they ask him over – he wants money but won't give lecture: therefore they advertise & then cancel lecture

Fieldwork

Necessity of – yes.

Dangers of tape-recorder – get too much information

Importance of texts & of getting enough biographical information

2nd-class minds & their progress [this may have been a comment about the fact that both E-P and I had received seconds in our Oxford History finals – and this was no bar, since many who got firsts burnt themselves out]

- need to go back to Comte & Montesquieu & for intellectual breathing space [E-P gave lectures on the History of Anthropology, which have been published, and start with Montesquieu. For some years I did a similar course, also starting with Montesquieu, in Cambridge – and indeed found that the broad historical roots were important]

= holiday at Butlins last yr – [I asked E-P why he went for his holidays to an Irish Butlin's Camp, usually the abode of people other than Fellows of All Souls, Oxford, and he replied that "it is the



one place I can be certain I shall not meet any of my colleagues"; I guess the reference to the Irish bogs refers to the sale of some land he held in Ireland?]

- doesn't matter if my books are torn to pieces
- I'm not going to make any further intellectual contribution [a sad remark at the age of 62, but probably related to his illness and the pain which he was suffering even as we walked and talked; he had already written several immortal works, of course]

-

From Iris: Field Head, Sunday [6th August 1967]

*My dear Alan & Gill,*

*I haven't done anything about letting the house yet, as we haven't got the place in N. Uist settled. Have you any idea when the doctorate will be delivered and I don't want to leave till then?*

*We went to Levens and were conducted round by a nice young man from Cambridge who is hoping to go on to Lancaster to do work on the place (Levens). We had a chat afterwards about the papers, there are masses piled up in a room but mostly uncatalogued to date so not very rewarding I fear. I am going off to the archives for an hour or two today, while the others go and collect the Land Rover. Work has been scrappy as you can imagine, the surveys are finished and I'll try the assize stuff which is fascinating, I do hope you'll find more of it. I'll try to get over to Preston for a day or two this month to finish the wills which are also a marvellous source but there seem too many to cope with, I suppose soon we should decide which family to follow in detail. Fiona thinks you could both stay in the chalet the Titleys have for a few days in the time you're up, its only 6 miles from Kirkby L. and you could achieve quite a lot in the churchwardens books then...*

*Everything now is hanging on whether we can get anywhere to live in the Hebrides for the winter, once that is settled it will all fall into place. If you hear of anyone (Lancaster University might be a source?) who wants the house we will certainly be interested, the Finneys are toying with the idea of applying for the new job associated with the Morecambe Barrage which would be ideal of course.*

8/8/67 44, Ridge Road,  
London, N.8

Dear Professor Evans-Pritchard,

Please forgive my delay in writing to thank you for all your kindness and hospitality last Friday, but I've only just returned to London. I'm sure I don't need to tell you how much I appreciated all the time you spent on me, or how much I enjoyed our discussions. It was certainly the most delightful part of a delightful week-end at Oxford and I am most grateful. The day I was thrown out of the 'Ox and Cellar with E-P' will provide a memorable anecdote for the days when I become a teacher! It was most kind of you to offer to read the proof of my book and when it reaches that stage I will most certainly take advantage of your kindness. I hope that I will see you again before then. I do hope that you have recovered from the stomach-pain you were suffering and that you will have a very enjoyable holiday in the marshes.

Thank you again, for everything.  
Yours sincerely,

44, Ridge Rd, London N.8. 8/8/67

*Dear M. & D. (and Annie),*

*As you see I enclose a few things & I'd better get these dealt with. There's the xerox of K.L. Assizes - which will show you how compressed my abstracts of the Bainbridge affair are. I also enclose a snippet.. a coincidence after your visit to Levens and talk to the young man... I think there was some connection between*

*Levens and K.L. - perhaps through the Wilsons. Incidentally, Mummy, you haven't come across any evidence that there was a 'Friends' Meeting House in K.L. have you? It's just that I've been going through the Quaker parish registers and haven't been able to find any refs. in the Sedbergh or Preston Patrick records of K.L. Quakers. A lot of Middleton, Casterton etc. Quakers though. Yes, it would be nice if we could stay at Masongill and work on K.L. for a few days. It would also be very nice if Annie could give me a hand, if only for a short while, at the end of the year.*

*We both went away last week-end, Gill to her parents, and myself to Oxford. I had a very refreshing week-end, including many of my old rituals (lunch with Ralph and David at Timms; fish and chips in Walton Street etc.). The high-light was 7 hours of conversation with Evans-Pritchard on Friday. He took me out to lunch (we were first quietly ejected out of a snooty restaurant because we were both scruffy) and then back to his very shabby but delightful home just outside Oxford. He is a very sad old man - a bit like Grandpa with his dog and slippers - a diabetic, deaf, his wife recently committed suicide & 5 children to look after. But he was full of hilarious and extremely racy anecdotes about my supervisor, Malinowski, Frazer & others. Have jotted some of them down - but I'd better not send them in a letter as they are very libellous! Also met an anthropologist called Collinson who said that his uncle (I think) was a tea-planter in Assam. Do you know him?*

*.... Will keep my ears open for people wanting a house in the Lakes. If you were stuck you could write to the Bursar of Lancaster University who would probably know which of their staff were finding it difficult to get houses...*

*I'm afraid I can't say exactly when my D.Phil./M.A. ceremony will be. I think, probably, either at the end of Oct. or beginning of Nov. I've got to be passed by the History Board first - to whom the examiners' report back. I will find out as soon as possible...*

[Postcard from Iris Sollas to Field Head, with a picture of "The Pier, Lochmaddy, North Uist, Outer Hebrides" - date stamp illegible] Snug in a caravan half a mile from the most beautiful beach I've ever seen. Weather lovely, only mishap a cracked half shaft(?). Off to sign papers, will write. Love to all - M & D.

## 1967 – September

To Lady Clay 4.9.67 As from Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland

*Dear Rosalind,*

*I do hope you got my card on Elba. I'm sorry not to have written properly earlier but have been moving my stuff from London and then been on a week's holiday to Scotland. Only now can I sit down in my Lakeland shed and write again. ... Not much news from my end I'm afraid. We left London in a mountain-filled book-jumble of a land-rover, filing-cards spilling out all over the North Circular and washing-up liquid breaking and dripping all over many of my files and books. I dumped half my stuff with my grand-parents and brought the rest here. Then we rushed straight north in my parent's land-rover for a hectic week camping in Scotland: Lochinver-Ullapool-the Outer Hebrides etc. (Scotland was infested with Worcester men this year - I had a card from Harry Pitt on the Isle of Mull and I know Alec Graham is going walking on the Outer Hebrides). Anyhow, we achieved our main aim which was to see the croft which my parents have just bought on N. Uist. It is right down by the sea, has its own little loch, and is really glorious - peaceful and enchanted. It makes even the Lake District seem crowded and dull! It would be ideal for writing - one day I would like to retire to such a place to write my great masterpiece.*

*Now we have a month in the Lakes when I hope to get a little quiet reading and writing done. I am writing on the diary of Ralph Josselin, an Essex minister of the mid-seventeenth century. The unprinted part of his diary is really marvellous; full of stuff on all my 'so-what' subjects - the family, child-rearing, suicide, attitude to death and sickness, marriage customs and so on. Several friends are coming to stay so I should not be completely cut off from intellectual conversation. Also I think Keith Thomas (whose wife has been ill) is coming*

*up to stay at a farm-house a couple of miles away and he may stay here a couple of nights. It will be nice seeing him – though I can't imagine him relaxing and having a holiday.*

*Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland 11/9/67*

*Dear M. and D. and Annie,*

*Hope this finds you all well and full of life - for that matter, I hope this finds you! (And that the other letters I have forwarded to Sidinish P.O. have reached you). The main thing I'm writing about is your book; to say that I had finished it (with tears in my eyes the day after you left and that I thought it was wonderful. This is not flattery or anything; I really did enjoy it and thought it was one of the best children's books - or books for that matter - that I have read: worthy to stand beside C.S. Lewis, Tolkien, T.H. White and my other heroes. Thank you for writing it, Mummy. It makes me feel very guilty to think of all that talent being wasted on punched cards and family reconstitution (not that I expect you will have much time for that at the moment)....*

[Postcard from Iris to "Field Head", stamped 'Loch Maddy, Isle of North Uist 15 Sep'] As Anne will have told you we may be returning next Friday but will doss down at Knipe Fold (I hope) or stay with Cowans a night - haven't quite decided. Will try to warn you. Weather much improved, have just finished clothes-washing with lake water. Many thanks for your nice letters. M.

From Iris: Sidinish, N. Uist, Sat. [16th September 1967]

*My dear both -*

*I sent off a p.c. this morning to say we shall probably be leaving early Thursday morning as Angus Macdonald is returning on Wednesday he says - & we don't really fancy staying on with him here, specially as we're in his bed! Anne will have told you our story, we are living a very strange existence in this black house, the three children, Chris aged 15 & 2 twelve year old boys are monosyllabic & we can't make any contact with them. Chris is very capable and busies herself all day with the peats and the potatoes & it's certainly very interesting to see how people live at this level of simplicity. We live in a lovely warm kitchen, the stove the centre of life, warming kettles, cats & shoes & producing all the hot water that's used. Our bedroom is very dark & damp, rose-covered wallpaper absolutely sopping and geraniums in the tiny window blocking every scrap of light. We have breakfast of eggs & sausage, & tea at mid-day & "the potatoes" when the boys come back from school at 4.30 - a bowl of meat & potatoes in their jackets & tea again, & tea again before bed. They never eat veg. or fruit & seem to thrive!*

*But in spite of a seemingly care-free existence they are all dying to get away, the mother is having a nervous breakdown & they're all longing to go & live in Glasgow - in fact the whole place is sunk into a sort of indifference & depression that is quite unexpected. They all seem to have lost initiative & be just scratching along & not at all happy about it. I find it very sad and strange, the 12 year old boys don't know how to row, never go fishing or take any seeming interest in their surroundings which would be a paradise to our young. There is a great challenge here. I wish I could import lots of keen, knowledgeable people to bring it to life. Fiona would be horrified & say it's alright as it is, but I don't think they're happy at all. Our neighbour at the end also wants to sell out.*

*We went to the local pub last night & met some funny tipsy old men, all rabid nationalists, quoting Rabbie Burns - rather planterish actually! No luck with fishing, brown trout are over but next year we'll probably indulge in a sea trout licence. The clerk of works is arriving shortly to look at the Croft & say what he thinks about grants, we shan't have to sell out at Field Head as we can get a loan which we can repay out of the rent. I sometimes get feelings of terrible homesickness here & a longing for softness & green-ness & trees & don't want to cut my links.*

*Re our return, don't worry about us, we'll find somewhere to go if Lesley and Jim are with you still.... I don't know what you feel about going back to London, it seems to me that you could send a box of necessary books etc. to Granny & then go down yourselves for a few days to look for a flat & have your stuff taken from G's by van, it would be less tiring & no more expensive than the trips backwards & forwards in the L.R. And we could bring the bulk of your stuff when we come in a month's time. What do you feel? The L.R. will have*

to go in for an overhaul on our return anyway which may take a few days. Don't want to complicate things for you, but with petrol such a price it seems that you would be saving nothing by the double journey & then a trip back yourself. Anyway think about it.

*It was sweet of you to be so kind about the Book - if everyone is really lying awake at night reading it I might even make some money!*

*... the weather was fairly grim in the caravan but better now. It's incredibly quiet, only the ticking of the clock & the bubbling of "the potatoes". Hope Annie arrived in good shape. She was much better for her stay here...*

*Just seen Clerk, & a bit depressed as he isn't too hopeful about grants as the Croft doesn't "Specify" - but still have one more hope in the shape of the sanitary inspector. So shan't give up till we've had his news.*

*Love to Poochie, Ambrose & lots to yourselves,*

*Mummy*

To Lady Clay      24.9.67      Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland

*Dear Rosalind,*

*Yes, Oxford must have seemed incredibly beautiful when you returned. That is the shock I receive each time I come back – especially to your garden and to Worcester. The ideal life would be to spend half the time at Oxford, half in the Lakes or on the West Coast of Scotland. For, unless one changes one's surroundings fairly frequently one gets terribly oblivious...*

*I don't think Keith Thomas had been up here when I last wrote. He stayed a week at a nearby farm, partly because the Aylmer's house at York, where they were going to stay, was attacked by someone who piled all the furniture up in the hall and tried to set alight to it... Keith was full of enthusiasm and life and seemed to enjoy himself, though he was longing to go back to Oxford and his book which is in its final stages.... Incidentally, I don't know if I mentioned this, but Keith put me on to a very vicious review article by Christopher of Laslett's World We Have Lost in the latest History and Theory, which is worth reading, though it goes too far.*

*My own reading over the last few weeks has been mostly on population problems and I bore my family to tears by going round muttering the gloomy prophesies of population experts who show, to my mind, that the world is facing a fantastic and almost insuperable crisis. I read in the afternoons, and write in the mornings.*

*I've finished two out of three parts of my piece on Ralph Josselin – about 50 pages so far. I'm not sure how to publish or whether to publish it. It really is a wonderful diary, full of gems like 'I find Sathan, like a lapwing crying before mee'; or, on the return of Charles II 'oh Lord make him a nursing Father to thy people; or, speaking of his old temptations, 'sometimes the show their hornes, but Gods carpenters are ready to cutt them off'. Perhaps, when I've finished the whole piece you would be kind enough to read it for me – much of it is an analysis of the ways a puritan clergyman regarded God, pain, the weather, sex etc., and, since my first introduction and inspiration to Puritanism was through you I would be delighted if you wouldn't mind seeing if what I write is utter nonsense.*

*Gill and I return to London next week-end to look for a flat into which to move my mountains of files and books., I will let you know when I have one. Then I must start my piece on 'Sex and Repression' for Christopher's seminar. I look forward to seeing you in mid, or late, October when I come up to one of these seminars. My degree ceremony I think, will be on November 4<sup>th</sup>.*

*Please excuse a dull letter, but life is very quiet here and my mind is really in the seventeenth century.*

The work on Ralph Josselin to which I allude above turned out to be a considerable task, for it ended in my first published book, the *Family Life of Ralph Josselin*, published by Cambridge University Press in 1970. I used the method which I had developed earlier of separating bits of information from the diary, and then re-joining them in a new order. The procedures, and early drafts written from that period through the following year can be illustrated by a few examples.







R. JOSSELYN'S Accounts. (1)

Agreement for Earls Colne Living:-

Tithes they would make good at.....	£40.0s.	1641 March.
Mr Rich: Harlakenden: wood & money..	£20.0s.	1641 March
His tenants in contribucon:.....	£ 2.0s.	1641 March
Mr Tho: Harlakenden:.....	£3. 0s.	1641 March
And the towne contribucon:.....	£15.0s.	1641 March

This day rid to Bollinghath; all much uncles met, and gave mee free & peaceable possession of those parcels of land given to Joseph; I paid the executors of Joseph £20, given them bond for £80, received £7 16s. of the mony of my uncle Simon for rent due:.....now I have about £20 per annum in land, besides my wives land, and my stocke, but I owe in all about one hundred pounds. 30.4.47 (p.42).

This day I paid unto Thomas Cowell £10 that formerly I borrowed of him; now my debts amount to about £50.  
2.5.48 (p.49)

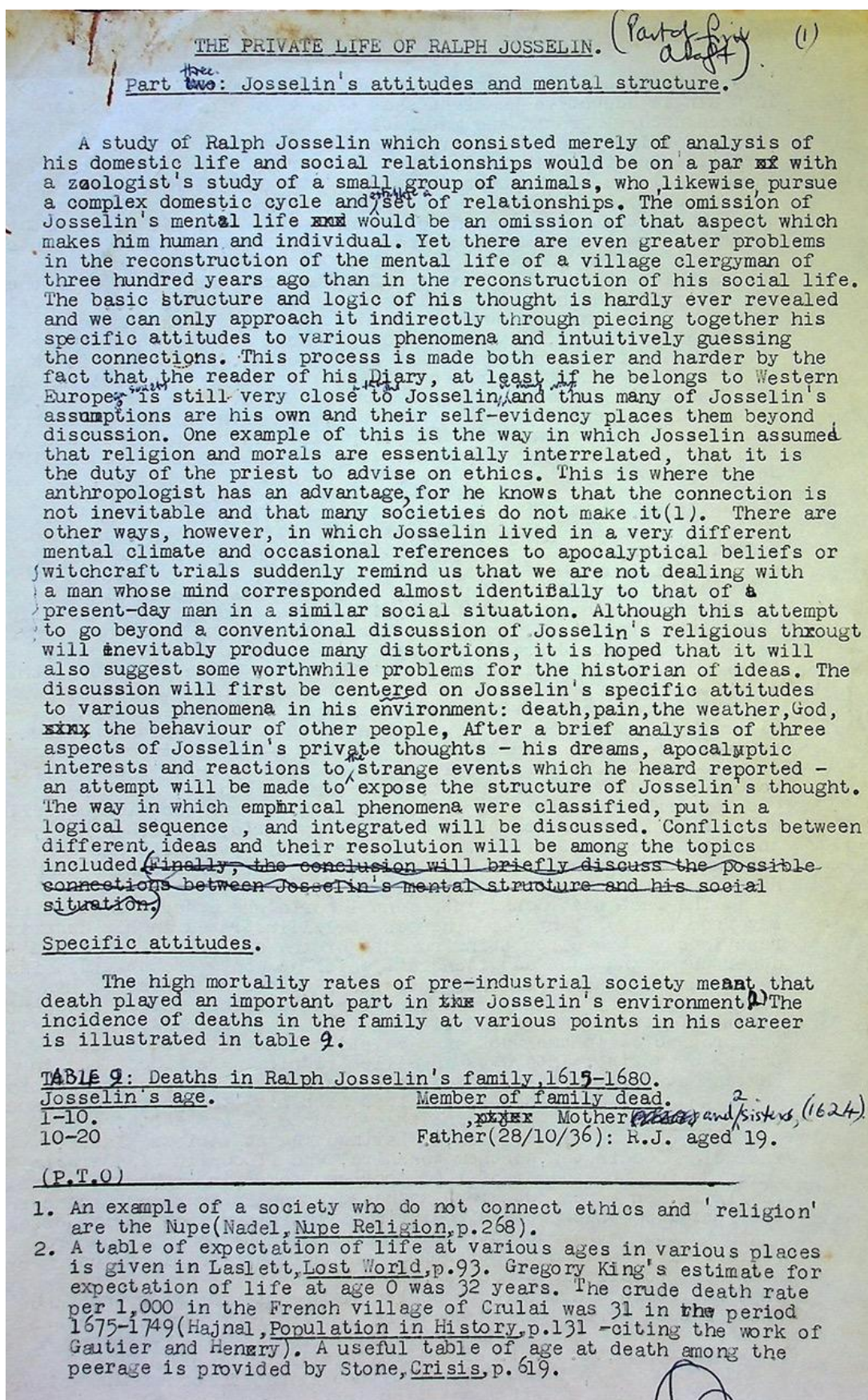
First my case in reference to maintenance is this:  
first for tithes, the general maintenance, the last year I received in from the Towne, at severall times, with much calling upon, £25 6s.9d. and perhaps this yeare may afford this much; 12.9.48  
then Mr Jacob is to pay £4 which perhaps he will continue to pay: 12.9.48  
Mr R. Harlakenden he its likely will performe his £20 per annum: 12.9.48  
so there is about £49., if the tithes bee gotten in: 12.9.48  
for the other 31 pound I have not received £4; but suppose their should 8 or 91. pound of it bee paid, 12.9.48  
ys amounts not unto £60 pa.  
out of which I am to pay taxes, which will amount to £3 p.a.: tenths to the Parliamt, and reparacons, which will bring it downe to a matter of £501. a yeare, 12.9.48  
and for this I have my selfe, wife, 3 children, mayde, my wife a childing woman, so that this summe cannot at the great price all things now beare mainteine us in a very lowe manner.

This day sett of to Mr Richard Harlakenden, his quarter £3 15s. and paid in money £4.15s. in all 1.1.51  
£8.10s. towards the bond of £25 due to him Jan: 27 or 28 next;  
now my roll of debts is £77 18s Od. 1.1.51

Cast up my debts this day and they are £45.0:1d. 27.3.50  
including £231. 12s. which I shall owe to Mr Haukesbee, and now my estate is as followeth.  
Land: Mallories part Bollinhatch } £27 per annum. 27.3.50  
2 closes in colne }  
Moneyes in Major hand to bee payd } £50 27.3.50  
to Mr John Littell. }  
My debts are much about £10 more than my moneyes that are owing unto mee; this increase is from Gods goodnes, and providence towards mee. 27.3.50

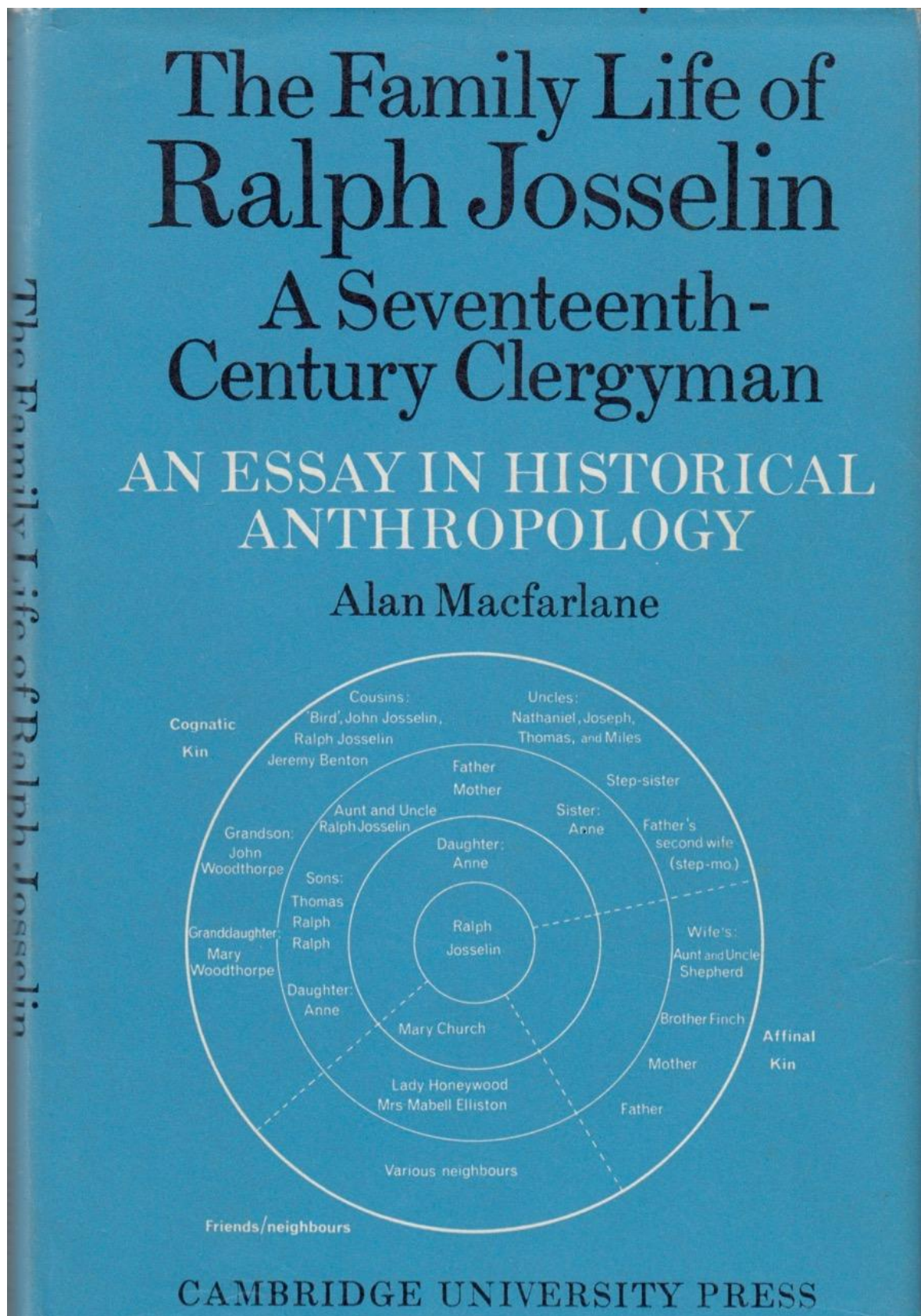
land as formerly Malleries Bollinhatch. } £27 p.a. 29.3.51  
2 closes Colne. }  
In Mr John Littles hand money as was } £50 p.a. 29.3.51  
formerly mentioud. }  
This yeare I have pd ye fines for my closes }  
at £4; built & layd out for ye schoole about } £26 29.3.51  
I have in money on Mrs Maries land and ye } £81 29.3.51  
improvement of it March 25 1651 past. }  
stocke, 5 cowes at £5. round, my nagge, } 32 29.3.51  
£3, my hogges and hay £4.  
I was then in debt £45; now I am about £70, which is £25 more than last yeare, which taken out of my stocke there remayneth £7. which added to 81, is 88. & so such estate is beterd blessed bee my God.... 29.3.51







The final book as it was published in 1970.





# Winter Term 1967

## Lectures

5.10.67 Burton Benedict, The Social Implications of Technological change (2 lectures)  
Chris Langford – The collection of Demographic Material [in Demography Dept.]  
October 1967. D.V. Glass - Eight lectures – Trends and Topics in Population Studies  
[Demography Dept.]

## Seminars/classes

### *Firth Seminars – Communities Michaelmas 1967*

20.10.67 Andrew Turton – A general approach to the problem of ‘Community’  
3.11.67 John Durston – Conceptual Problems in Studying Peasant Marketing (Mexico)  
27.10.67 Peter Loizos – Mediterranean Communities  
Valerie Hewitt – Operation of community in voluntary associations  
Miss Legerman – Haitian Material  
Mr Raybeck – Communities – framework for the study of values  
10.11.67 – Miss Legerman – Haitian Material  
17.11.67 – Peter Loizos -Marriage indices of the community  
24.11.67 Elliot Leighton – community in Ireland  
1.12.67 Alan Macfarlane  
8.12.67 David Seddon – labour migration

[Members of the seminar are listed at the start, with their interests]

Jean Lydall – Exchanges in New Guinea Highlands  
(Miss Blovitch) – Mediterranean area marriage – Yugoslavia  
Mr Raybeck – Psychological Anthropology – Malaya  
Miss Ledgerman – Family & kinship in Haiti  
Mr. Kemp – Thailand – social organization & bilateral kinship  
Gerald Mars – Dockers in Newfoundland – industrial sociology  
Miss Arnfed (Signe) (Norwegian) –sociology of development  
Gilbert Lewis – Sepik area; recognition and treatment of disease  
Ivo Streker – styles of field-work  
Judy Austro– concepts of pollution in India – modern medicine & belief  
Peter Loizos – Cyprus (mate selection & arranged marriage)  
David Seddon – rural-urban penetration  
??? South America – investment of capital in religion  
John Durston – Guatemala/Mexico – peasant marketing systems  
Mrs. Adlington – history of ideas – development of anthropology before 1900  
Alan Macfarlane – India, history, witchcraft, population

### *Isaac Schapera – Mixed Marriage 1967*

12.10.67 Andrew Turton – Roman Catholicism  
19.10.67 ??? – Jews  
26.10.67 David Seddon – South Africa

2.11.67 ??? Mixed Marriages  
?? Peter Loizos – Greeks and Turks  
?? Miss Austro – Caste in India  
23.11.67 Miss Hewitt – South America – Brazil  
30.11.67 Alan Macfarlane – on inter-class marriage  
7.12.67 Miss Hogg - Todas of India

## **Talks**

16.10.67 Carrier – Introduction to Demography  
16.10.67 Ronald Dore – Social Change

I was now primarily focused on writing my dissertation, and had moved to the status of a research student, rather than a conversion student. The main difference was that there were no more lectures, except those I chose to go to (two sets on demography), and the core of the interactions revolved around what was known as the 'Firth Seminar'. This was an important institution, being a successor to the famous 'Malinowski Seminar' about which there are many folk legends.

It was run in the same place as the Malinowski seminar, the Seligman library, and I think at the same time – 11 a.m. on a Friday. It ran through two terms and was a place where the more senior students, those who had returned from their fieldwork or were actively preparing to go out, would present papers, alongside occasional visiting speakers. I remember it quite vividly because of the manner in which Firth held it. He was an excellent chairman and very keen that everyone should contribute, so after the paper was finished he would go round the table and ask each person in turn to ask a question or make a comment. There were lively discussions and I remember Firth was a fair-minded, interested and thoughtful Chairman. There was also a seminar on marriage run by Isaac Schapera, in which I gave a paper on inter-class marriage.

There is more detail about those who attended the Firth seminar, showing the diversity of our interests, and I became friends with several of them. Jean Lydall went to Ethiopia and married Ivo Strecker, also present. Signe Arnfred became part of what we called the 'Kula Ring', in other words a small sub-group who corresponded during our fieldwork, and later became a teacher in anthropology at Roskilde University in Denmark. Andrew Turton became a closer friend and went on to SOAS with me and became a lecturer on Thailand at SOAS. Gerald Mars was more senior and later became a Professor of Anthropology. Jeremy Kemp also worked in Thailand and became a teaching anthropologist at the Universities of East Anglia and Kent. Douglas Raybeck became a Professor of Anthropology at Hamilton College.



6 Milverton Road, where we spent the second year of our time in London. Our flat was on the first floor at the back looking out onto the garden.

## 1967 – October

From Iris: Field Head, October 6 [1967]

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*So glad to hear that you have got settled, it must have been a dreadfully tiring time for you but I'm looking forward to hearing more about the flat & trust the boxes have arrived, they left on Monday [2nd]. Now another slight confusion, Anne is arriving on Monday next, I had a card from her yesterday. I had already given her your address so maybe you have heard too. If you can't cope with her at the moment she will go to Judy pro tem she says, she can come here if she likes of course but I think would prefer to get dug in. She and I both thought that if you let her have a room in return for working in the mornings that would be ample payment, she can get a part time job to pay for her little bit of food and cigs. and we will pay her fare to America. I will explain this to her later. ... I have heard that Foyles want to publish my book for their children's book club which will bring in another £100 we reckon and I will put half of this aside for her...*

*A quiet week for us, we have moved selves & Telly into the kitchen and its very cosy and time and fuel saving, haven't managed to rig up the projector yet but hope to do that this morning. I will send down the first set of registers in my next....*

*I went to my first Chinese Philosophy on Monday... Not a very inspiring lecture, lots of chat.*

From Gill to parents 8.10.67 from London

*I'm sorry this is the first piece of communication you've had from London, but you can imagine how hectic it has all been since we came down from the Lakes, a week last Thursday. We travelled overnight and were very lucky indeed to find a flat in London the first day we looked – Friday... It's very much an area in contrast to Ridge Road – large detached houses full of wealthy Jewish families. We even have a tennis club opposite – which I thought would amuse Daddy! The flat itself we are rather thrilled with – Alan in particular as he has set himself up with a very attractive study which is at the back of the house and overlooks gardens full of apple trees etc. The main asset is the quiet – a blessed relief after Ridge road. Alan has in fact taken over the dining room – but the kitchen is very large and airy, and we are intending to eat in there, except when we have guests.... The only snag to the whole flat was that it was 1 gn. More than we had anticipated – 8gns. In all, plus electricity. However, it was such an excellent place for Alan to work, and very handy for my office – about 10 mins away by bus, that we thought the extra money worth it. I also have the use of the garden for washing, and the owners are very kind – Mr Woolf is a picture restorer, and works in the big front room. ... We think Anne is coming back from Paris this week – so she shall start being A's secretary from then onwards; we are thinking of her occupying a room in the same house which is also free at the moment – I think she'd be a very soothing person to have around.*

To Lady Clay      8.10.1967      6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6      Tel: 01-459 3244

*Dear Rosalind,*

*Very many thanks for your two-letters-in-one which arrived just before I left the Lakes. Please excuse the gap in replying, but I have been in a whirl of filing cards and books as we searched for digs and then moved all our stuff from the Lakes and Berkshire. As you will see, we now have an address and (blissful luxury!) a telephone. I am now safely encased by books and tomato-boxes full of notes and filing cards and feel at home again.*

*The flat is a great advance on our last one – bedroom, drawing-room/study, and large kitchen, all looking out of the back of the house (1<sup>st</sup> floor) onto a large, quiet, garden. We are five minutes from a tube station and only 15 minutes from Gill's new job. Ideal in every way. We even have a small room for my sister who is coming to act as my secretary/research assistant for a few months. It's all very snug. I only wish you could get up to have a look at it and to sample Gill's excellent cooking. Do let me know if you are ever in London.*

*Thank you also for the refs. from Tindal-Hart. I must, obviously, comb through the book. I was interested in the cases of sorcery and cunning folk, although witchcraft is in abeyance for three months while I complete my L.S.E. M.Phil. the title of which, if you are interested, has ended up as 'The control of marriage and sexual relationship in seventeenth century England, with special reference to the county of Essex'. Actually, the evidence will start in c.1560. Like you, I find the C16 more intriguing than the C17 – there is more of the old magic and mystery surviving and less is known.*

*Yes, I do hope to publish the Josselin piece in some form which will earn me a little money. It has grown to such a length that I think it would suitably form the bulk of a book – I have rough ideas for the other chapters. I enclose a rough plan of the whole book – do you think it needs great modification? It will really be the Josselin pieces plus two chapters based on my M.Phil. and a chapter by my mother based on the detailed, Wigston-Magna-like work she is doing on a Westmorland village. I very much look forward to your comments on Josselin when he is completed. I've just got to the stage when he has weaned his children – so there is quite a bit of work to go!*

*I presume the article Rosalind meant was in Population in History ed. Glass & Eversley was it not? If you do get hold of it have a look at the article by Hajnal on European marriage Patterns – most exciting I thought,*



*and poses the problem of why people married so late in W. Europe, which I hope to discuss in the chapter in my book on that subject. ... My talk at Christopher's seminar is on Oct. 24<sup>th</sup> – would it be alright if I called in at some time before 5.30 to see you on that day? ... Oxford must be very lovely – describe it to me if you have time.*

*6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 8/10/67*

*Dear M. & D.*

*Very many thanks for your letter which cheered us both up immensely (not that we were depressed) with its list of good pieces of news. I'm afraid all the items in this first paragraph will probably reach your three times since I hope to be able to phone you in the next day (phone out of order) and have already sent off a card since I thought you'd like to know about arrangements for Annie. But I'll repeat them once again, just in case I don't make contact in other ways. First, CONGRATULATIONS on joining the circle of the blessed elect, i.e. Foyles children's book club. I will try to sniff round Foyles to find out what this means in practice – I look forward to hearing more about it from you. A well-deserved triumph and we're both delighted. Secondly, thank you very much Daddy, for mending my typewriter – it will be a great help having another one down here and Anne can use it. Thirdly, as you will have deduced from this typewritten letter, even if you haven't got my card, the trunks have arrived (Saturday) and nothing was damaged. The tin trunk withstood what much have been a very hefty bang, judging from the dent. Do let me know soon how much the trunks cost, and also John Wright's and other bills, and will re-reimburse you... Thank you for all you have done and, above all, as I said in my first card, for letting us have a lovely holiday in Scotland and at Field Head. Oh, before I forget (not that I could with 15 small cards in my 'in-tray' to remind me!) could you possibly bring down a) the intercom b) the yellow (& made of rushes waste-paper basket in the shed with you? Many thanks. I'm sending off two tiny parcels of ugly, but useful things for you. Hope they arrive.*

*The flat is lovely – as I hope you'll see when you come down (there is a double divan in the study/drawing room so we can put you up for as long as you can stay). A large kitchen, bedroom, shared bathroom and toilet, and study – all looking out onto a large and quiet garden. 15 mins. from Gill's job and 5 mins. from the tube. Ideal for work. And there is a spare bedroom which we will be renting for Anne – only £2 per week. I will arrange Annie's salary with her when she arrives (she can move in any time). I want to pay her enough so that she doesn't have to go out to work and do her G.C.E's and work for me. I had budgeted to pay her £10 per week (over 20 weeks = my £200 for the first book (witches)) – but if you and she think rent (£2), food/electricity etc. (£2), £2 for pocket-money and £1 per week towards her fare would be enough I'd be very happy. Will discuss it with her.*

*Gill is tired and a little confused by her first week – but will get acclimatised soon I expect. Will write about work shortly – look forward to anything you can do. Josselin going well.*

One of the only sets of lectures I went to in this term were at my own initiative, in the Department of Demography. The very distinguished demographer David Glass gave some excellent lectures which were exactly what I needed as my interest focused on this topic, which would be the core of my doctorate in Nepal. Here is the first page of my typed-up version of his lectures.

(e = expectation of life at...)  
BR = crude birth rate  
DR = " death rate.

## Lecture 2. Mortality (cont'd).

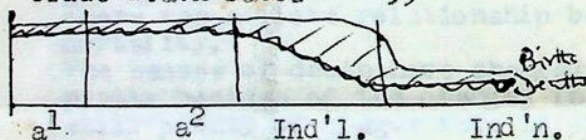
Transport diffics. lead to localized famines.

Infant mortality (Based on Hollingsworth, British Peerage data).

	M	F	
1600/24	32.9	35.3	(effects of plague)
1650/74	29.6	32.7	(effects of plague)
1750/74	44.5	45.6	(cohort method)
1775/99	46.8	49.1	

Major factor in decline in infant mortality was living conditions. The infant mortality rates of the peerage was about 50 years ahead of the rest of the population.

	pre-industrial (to c.1720)	change over	
Crude birth rates	35/40		
Crude death rates	35	20	per thousand.



The marriages of the high victorian period = c. 5.8 children.

### Changes in the Victorian period.

	e	BR	DR	N.I. (Natural Increase rate)
India 1920	20	42.8	49.1	-6.3
pre-industrial	30	40.6	33.2	+7.4
1840's	40	39.3	23.2	+16.1 (per 1,000)
1880	50	38.4	16.0	+22.4

(fertility constant at 2.5 girls per woman)

The above may be compared with Hollingsworth's peerage data to show how the peerage were ahead of the rest of the pop'n.

Males	Peerage	Total.
1825/49	52.2	39.9
1850/74	54.7	42.3

Various factors have been suggested to account for the changes in mortality in the 19th century: it is doubtful if medicine did anything significant except in relation to smallpox. (innoculation vs. smallpox had been used in traditional China and in Turkey before Europe). There was very high smallpox mortality in the 1780's, but the attempt

From Iris: Field Head, Tuesday [October 10th 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

The postman simply staggering under a load of postcards, letters and parcels from you this morning - the two presents are absolutely invaluable things as you've realised, you shouldn't have sent them, but they will be much

*appreciated, thank you very much. Daddy is blissfully happy with his tools and has done so many jobs, including mending the round clock with the chimes which is now in the kitchen and deafens us at the most critical part of every telly programme. Thank you again for those, if I'd realised how much he'd wanted them I would have got them myself ages ago but he revels more for the waiting.*

*I imagine you have heard from Anne, she is not now coming till next week. It would be very convenient if she can live in the same house, but you mustn't pay all that much for her, she wouldn't want it and nor would we. Her room will be plenty, and she will only need a part time job to pay for her food and fares, anyway you can thrash it out between you. So glad the boxes arrived, one always feels anxious at seeing such precious cargo trundled away....Let us know when the Robing is to be done and we'll start moving the counters on the board again.*

*....I have been tapping away at the Boreham registers fairly hard, a long business but I will send down the first instalment in my next for Anne. Also doing K.L. wills and inventories and reading about land, I have got the Westmorland Place Names from the library which is fascinating, lots about the fields of our parish, his chief source the Tithe Map which I must have obviously. I'm going to the archives tomorrow to see if it's possible to trace it. I hope that I will finally know enough for my chapter, but don't think I can attempt to trace the land through all the mediaeval sources, simply show it as it is in the surveys and how passed on. The great question seems to be this one of partible inheritance, Joan Thirsk bases her whole new theory on it and we will have to see how it works out for us, but is fairly certainly a fact of life up here. The W.E.A. is offering a prize on local history which I might go in for, thought I might do one on "A 17 century apothecary" based on John Baines but I don't want to use any material you want concealed! It only has to be 4000 words and not in till May. I would like to find the real significance of land holding but this means discovering every known fact about all my land holders and this would take a long time...*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 14/10/67

Dear M. & D.

*My 'Robing' ceremonies are on Nov. 4th (Tuesday) afternoon. I don't know that you would like to do about coming down but, as I have said, I hope you'll come and spend at least one night here as we have a double-divan in the sitting room (giving you a chance to see Annie). It's very easy to get here off the North Circular. Perhaps the best thing when you know where/when you are coming, would be for me to meet you at the turning off the North Circular and guide you in. As you will gather from Gill's note, Granny really isn't at all well and I'm not sure if it would be a good thing for her to come - esp. with Richard's wedding a month later. Perhaps also you would like to see a bit more of her - or, at the other extreme, not want to burden her by staying at 'Bryher' too long. Anyhow, you have the counters on the board so that is up to you! Gill and I will travel up to Oxford and back here on the 4th I think...*

*L.S.E. has now churned into action and I've been landed with two seminar papers to do - on 'Marriage range in pre-industrial England' and 'The indices by which to judge the boundaries of a community'! The second is for Firth's seminar - which looks quite promising. I've also got Hill's seminar to write in the next week. I enclose the hand-out I've asked him to circulate to the members of the seminar: that should startle them! I expect it will be circulating in Oxford Common Rooms before long!... Your archdeaconry depositions come in most handy for most of these subjects. Could you return the hand-out at your leisure?*

*Yes, I think an essay on the apothecary would be an excellent idea. Can you place him in his background - e.g. did he own land, what size was his family, how long had he lived there, who were his customers etc. and, especially interesting to me, who did he owe debts to & vice versa? If there is anything else you can find out about medicine/illness at the local level that would be fascinating. I enclose some notes I took on a C17 doctor of a slightly more elevated kind. I don't know if they will provide any hints. Hang onto them if you like. I also enclose three refs. and if you would like either of the articles xeroxed, do say. Obviously, before you finished the essay, I ought to have a look at the thesis. Perhaps you could come down for a few days near Xmas to look at this and other things (e.g. on India) which you must want to look at. Could you send the cards back soonish? Yes, the landholding problem is a stiff one. The two things one wants to get hold of is a) the custom of the area and the legal position b) what actually happened and how this was interrelated with other factors such as population changes and class structure. On the legal aspects you might have a look at the various volumes of*

*Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England* (I think vol. iv. is the relevant one, but not sure) which I've got in the shed but which, unfortunately, I packed away in that trunk of books (one volume, I have a feeling, is somewhere else - perhaps the landing book-case). Anyhow, if you look up the land law, you should find something useful. Also, of course, there is Swinburne on wills at the Rydal Library. I'll send a full bibliography anon & some problems that of esp. interest to me - but you might, in the meantime, order the enclosed two books from Lending Library - I've put them on a p.c. so that you can send it off (I think the address is Ulverston, and you put your name on it).

I've written to thank Ledgard for letting us microfilm ms. and to ask if we can see/tape record other records. Miss Macpherson says she will take the parish registers back to K.L.

Sorry this is so technical. It will be nice to have Annie here to give a hand. Furer-Haimendorf is still away so haven't any further news about India...

P.P.S. Had a card from Alec Graham saying 'have written to the Ordinance Survey concerning a river in N. Uist not marked on the map' - wonder if it was the one Daddy found!

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Monday [October 16<sup>th</sup> 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

I went into the archives and looked at the Tithe Map which will be a huge help as it names a lot of the fields, and with the place names I will have a much better actual structure of arable (very little) pasture and meadow and common grazing. I'm hoping Daddy will be able to trace the map. The pattern seems to be much as it is today, small farms, mostly pastoral, growing crops for cattle and subsistence, with sheep running on the moors. Land constantly changed hands, and this is going to be the interesting part. I will look up the legal bit and send for the books. My apothecary left debts to 81 people, and as he had the good taste to die a year after the census most of these can be found in the parish and I'm building up a picture of who they were. The whole question of debts interests me, he was a very wealthy man and didn't need them, so they presumably had some other function - to test out his relationships perhaps. He owed to big men in all the villages. The wills will provide lots more information on this I hope, perhaps it was simply that money was short. I would very much like to see that thesis on apothecaries, there has just been a book published on mediaeval medicine, can't remember who by though! They appear then to have used opium quite freely for an anaesthetic. Your forthcoming talk on sex will be crammed to capacity I'm sure...I wonder where you got all those fascinating facts from. I dipped into the French book which seems very interesting, where the desire to limit families can be shown the methods are there obviously. Mr Ledgard is coming to Rydal tomorrow and Daddy will chat him up about the tape recording if he gets a chance....

Could you let me have the last name on the Parish Register list sometime, as I've forgotten to mark it in my book, typically.

P.S. Interesting sex sidelight from registers - two cases of sisters producing bastards by the same man - what sort of situation does that imply?

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 18/10/67

Dear M. & D.

...V. many thanks for registers - Annie is now at work on them. The last entry you got to was 1620 C. Thos BETTS s/Gabriel & Mary, 31/12. So glad you'll be able to stay here - you realize my degree ceremony is on Sat. Nov 4th? - from your plans you make it sound as if it will be a Tues....

P.S. Mary Douglas is trying to persuade me to do my fieldwork in S. Uist!

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 21/10/67

Dear M. & D.

...I wonder if you could add a couple of things to the pile in the shed for bringing down? a) my D.Phil. thesis final draft carbon copy. This is in the middle tier of the hanging filing system in the shed at the right-hand end, as you look at it. Also the tape-recorder microphone if you can see it - I think it may already be in the pile.



... Off to Oxford on Tuesday for the first of my talks. I now am booked for talks on 21st (Worcester College), 22nd (Mary Douglas's seminar), 24th (Prof. Firth's seminar) and 30th (Prof. Schapera's seminar) so November so will be quite busy!

Kirkby Lonsdale.

Very many thanks for your remarks about K.L. which interested me a great deal. The apothecary and his debts is fascinating and it will make a marvellous chapter in the final book. You'll remember that Arensberg in his study of The Irish Countryman shows the social function of debts in linking people, and that if one pays off one's debts one breaks off the relationship, but in the cases he studies the debts are to local tradesmen, not vice-versa. Didn't Baines have a lot of people owing money to him? I think debts between different people will be one of our prime indices of social relationships, a way of testing whether kin/occupational or other groups were the important ones. When you come down we can discuss this, since I have a lot of refs. on debts collected in my filing cabinet. You might even have a chance to see the apothecary thesis which will be at London University. Yes, opium was used to deaden the pain (and, according to David Glass, the great historical demographer whose lecture I went to one Monday last and who I met for a brief chat, for stopping babies crying in the mid nineteenth-century) for a long time. I don't know what to make of the two bastards by sisters from the same man! Serial polygamy?! The whole question of bastardy will be an interesting one.

I enclose a few odds and ends related to landholding. Firstly there are some references. You could order any of the books through the local library. If any of the articles strike you as esp. important please let me know and I'll get them xeroxed. Don't be depressed by the quantity of the stuff - this is taken from a fairly comprehensive bibliography and is about all there is. Obviously one can only read a bit. You will notice references to work by Mrs Grant in the footnotes of Joan Thirsk's article. If there are any particular problems you have you could write to her (you remember meeting her in the B.M., no doubt). Her address is Mrs. B.F. Grant, 78 Twyford Avenue, London W.3. Another person who may be worth writing to if you have the energy, or you could go to see him (her?) is R.T. Fieldhouse, 3 Mulgrave Drive, Romanby, Northallerton, Yorks. who, according to the Agricultural Hist. Rev. 'Work in Progress' is working on the 'Farming and social structure in Walburn and Wensleydale during the C16 and C17s'. I don't know how far he's got, or who he is.

I enclose five xeroxes. That by Howson you have already read, but before you became specifically interested in Kirkby Lonsdale & I thought you might like to have another look at it - e.g. it has a useful list of the major plague outbreaks. I haven't read that by Ault, but it might be interesting. Hallam's study I may have shown you. I include it mainly because it is referred to on several occasions by Joan Thirsk and deals with the question of partible inheritance. So does that of Habakkuk which I found very stimulating even is tantalisingly general. Finally there is J. Thirsk's own introduction to the massive Agrarian History of England which is a 500 page monster and will be the 'definitive' work for a few years to come. You have already absorbed all her ideas in the other articles you have been reading. It does give one a model picture of inheritance systems and farming practices and show you what the accepted orthodoxy is - then you can see how far this is exemplified in K.L. If I may draw your attention to the things that esp. interested me. The statistics of the size of holdings in Wensleydale would make an interesting comparison (p.30); the density of population, which was v. high in Westmorland (p.25) according to J.T. could do with more precise analysis as could the importance of clan (p.9,23) which, as you found, seems to have been important in certain areas. Was this so in Lunesdale parishes? Finally there is the whole question of inheritance patterns which is the key to her argument. She argues that partible inheritance leads to faster population growth (p.9,10) & less movement about (p.10) since the younger children were not excluded from the land, the growth of country industries etc.

All these theories (already made suspect by anthropological work which has shown that there is no necessary correlation between certain inheritance systems and population density or increase) could be tested. E.g. were younger children, born 1660-1670 still in K.L. in 1696: who did, in fact, inherit? A major weakness, it seems to me, is that J.T. takes no account of female inheritance through dowries. If, as was the case in Josselin's family, one son received the land, another was given a training and set up as a tradesman and the daughters were given dowries to match their husband's estate, but in money, what would look like impartible inheritance if one studied testamentary rules and actual wills, would, in practice, mean that all the children were getting a share. But I'll explain this theory at greater length later. You'll see from everything I enclose that

you are already at the front of one of the most controversial and interesting historical battles. Good luck! Wonder if Daddy managed to see Ledgard?

P.S. Showed Schapera my chapter on Josselin's childhood (weaning etc) and he suggested I publish it in the British Jnl. of Sociology. Nice to be able to say 'no' thank you, I already have plans for it! You see, the petty mind coming out in us all.

P.P.S. Don't be surprised if you get stray letters from people - your name & address appeared in 'Work in Progress' in Agricultural Hist. Rev. this month!

I gave a talk at a seminar which Christopher Hill ran, on 24<sup>th</sup> October.

SEMINAR on 17th C. History.		
October 17th.		Introduction
"	24	A. Macfarlane, "Some Problems in the study of Tudor and Stuart sexual mores".
"	31	Paul Slack, Balliol, "Some Attitudes to Disease in the 16th and 17th century".
November 7		N. Tyacke, <del>King's</del> College, London, "James I and the Puritans".
"	14	C. Thompson, Hertford College, Subject to be announced.
"	21	R. Clifton, University of Warwick, Subject to be announced.
"	28	Mr. Searle, Cambridge, Subject to be announced.
December 5		Conclusion.
16.x.67.		J.E.C.H.

From Iris: Field Head, Wednesday [October 25th 1967]

My dear All,

....I spent three hours in the archives yesterday filling in the Tithe Map, hope it will be helpful after all this, bending over it in that boiling hot room always makes me feel quite ill, Daddy

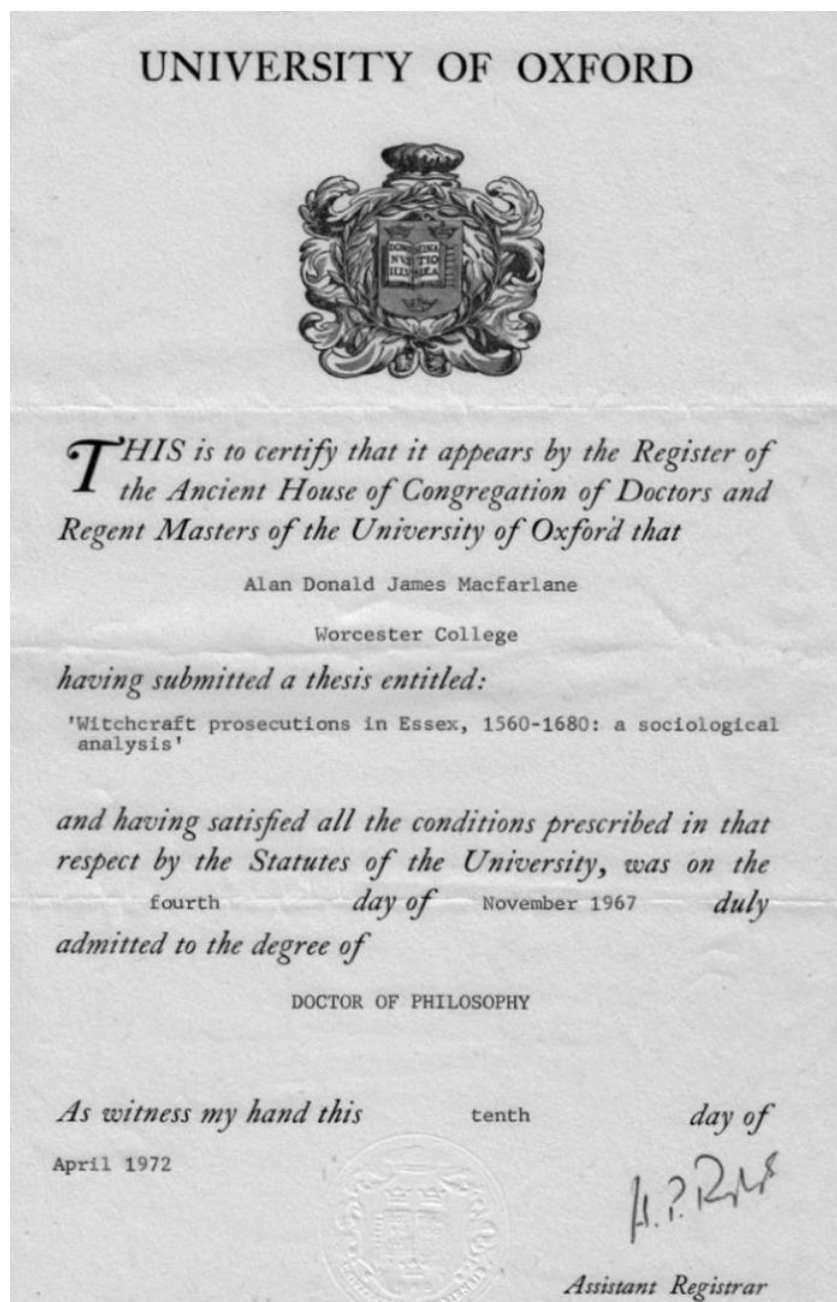
too. I'm sorry I'm not quicker with the Registers, they seem to take a long time. I'm longing to get on with K.L. which will solve many problems. I see now what the problems are but am constantly overcome by the feeling that I will never be able to get through a quarter of the work needed to solve them...

Looking forward to seeing you all on Tuesday and will bring all the stuff I hope...

I received notice that I could supplicate, that is receive, my doctoral degree in a formal notice dated 26 October 1967.

## 1967 – November

I received my degree on 4th November.



Trevor-Roper wrote on 8th November 1967 from Oxford

*My dear Alan,*

*... I'm glad that the scientifically chosen examiners approved your thesis; as I am sure that any right-minded examiners would have done. Naturally, since Christopher Hill has repeatedly declared his faith in the True Word of Margaret Murray, I am a bit sceptical of his qualifications, which I cannot get him to exhibit in discussion of this delicate question; but I don't really hold even this against him. I hope I shall see your thesis when it appears from the press of Messrs Routledge (I hope it is Routledge and not Weidenfeld & Nicolson).*

*What are you doing now? Have you finished your work at LSE? Are you going to Calcutta? Or has matrimony adjusted the Benthamite springs of action?*

*I am sorry to report – but you may already have heard the sad news locally, that Miss Agnes Trollope passed away in the autumn. I was with her at the end. Her last words were, 'don't let the poor bassets starve'. I am doing my best, but the cost of hound-meat is disagreeably high. I have been asked to edit her Nachlass – also to write a brief memoir of her in the press. I would like to do so, but am terribly pressed for time: too many committees, too many lectures, can't even read; and what is the point of life if one can't read? On this – as on all else (except for one thing, which you won't guess, so don't try) – I agree with Gibbon.*

*I hope you have made proper practical – i.e. economic – arrangements with Routledge. They are good publishers. I have only once failed with them, and that was because I didn't realise the extremely complex religious situation in the firm. But that won't (I think) trouble you.*

*I am escaping from committees on 25 Nov, by the drastic expedient of flying ( I detest flying: it is pure torture to me, every minute) to China.*

*Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

From Keith Thomas 11 November 1967

*Dear Alan,*

*I was so sorry not to be able to get to your paper; and it wasn't from lack of enthusiasm that I failed to make it I can assure you. I am having the most wearing term for ages, what with teaching, trying to get my book through the typists and innumerable committees about I can't think what. Anyway I am now getting the programme ready for next term's seminar and am delighted that you feel able to do something on Josselin. If you were to suggest a title that would be very helpful.*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 11/11/67

*Dear M. & D.*

*First, very many thanks for bringing all our stuff down last week. I don't know what we would have done without your help....It was lovely seeing you both and I very much appreciate the effort you made to get them. I'm sorry it was such a dismal day – I'll try to make my next degree ceremony more lively!*





My mother and I at my graduation

*Good luck at K.L. I think it would be worth tape-recording the churchwarden's accounts up to about 1720 at first. I imagine there will be a plug in the church - it might be worth finding out what type of plug, and whether the Rev. Ledgard is happy with the idea when you ring. I'm very much looking forward to hearing about the Preston jaunt. I hope you managed the journey to the Edyes without too much difficulty... I enclose a couple of xeroxes and off-prints which I thought might have something of interest in them. I had a letter from Joan Thirsk the other day saying that she would contact me when she was next in London, so if there is anything you would like me to ask her, do let me know... My London-Cornell interview is next week and I am at present trying to find out about birth-control clinics in the Khasi hills...*

*Thank you, lastly, for the offer of a loan for a few months. We are rapidly filling in income-tax forms and hope to be able to reclaim some of the money soon, but, for the moment, have assumed that you have transferred the £100 to my account - otherwise I will be getting a stern letter from Mr. Cooper!*

From Iris: Field Head, Monday [November 11th 1967]

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*....I should have written before but was so tired after my days in Preston that I could only slump into one of the velvet chairs and nod my head at my hostess. It was lovely seeing you both and a very proud day for us... please try and get a photo of yourself in your robe Alan. We will pay for it.*

*I loved Preston, and got through 93 wills and inventories - not all in detail but with a lot of the facts down. It was marvellous working with the original documents, I found it impractical to ask the young man for the*

*particular ones I wanted as he then disappeared for ten minutes and it all took a long time - so finally rifled through the boxes myself. I haven't yet sorted out the information properly but the evidence is very clear that property was divided, though there was one piece "given to me by my father" which was passed to the eldest son if there was one, with the heir looms. Property was handed out when the sons came of age (often as marriage settlements I think) and then when the father died there was a general reshuffle so that the heir came into his house and all the others moved round too, showing that people tended to move round land in a clan like way.. Lots of interesting little sidelights (unmarried sons provided with rooms etc.) and a vast network of relationships which will be valuable when worked out. Of course there are lots of deeds and things which would clarify things, the more I go on the further I seem to be getting to the end of it all. The enclosures you sent were very interesting, there was obviously a strong hint of ancestor worship amongst our lot - but I will have to do a lot of sorting out and would like another spell in Preston and another 100 wills before getting a clear picture - or clearer. I will hie off to Kirby Lonsdale when the tape recorder is in action and spend of couple of days droning out the churchwardens accounts, the moment of truth when all this has got to be sorted out fills me with horror and apprehension!*

*Do hope the interview will go off well, if that falls through I see the Planned Parenthood Federation are sending people to India to work on various areas and find out the best ways of coping, might that be an alternative? I don't think there is anything Joan Thirsk could tell me that I can't find in her books, but if she has any ideas about where to look for my area it would be useful, i.e. other sources than surveys if there are any.*

*All shop I'm afraid, but my mind is full of it at the moment.*

Letter to Gill's parents (John and Mary) from 6, Milverton Road on 12th November

*Please excuse a short scribble but I just wanted to say how sorry I was you weren't able to come to the ceremony. Also to assure you that you didn't miss much! Although I enjoyed wearing my scarlet and blue gown and it was nice seeing old friends etc. the weather made it a rather dismal day. It drizzled steadily and a cold wind blew through the medieval quadrangles. My father was upset because he had forgotten his camera and there were long waits between events. A pity - since Oxford can look really lovely at this time of year.*

13.11.67

6 Milverton Road

*Dear Keith,*

*Thanks for your letter. Yes, I was so sorry you couldn't come, but fully realize your commitments. Had a nice letter from Gerald Aylmer this morning about it - I would have been less assured if I'd known he was in the audience!*

*About Joselin: I don't know whether your seminar has a particular theme - e.g. religion or whatever. So I've suggested three titles & perhaps you could tick that which seems most appropriate/interesting. The first is vague enough to let me talk on anything. The other two cover the matter (almost) of two lengthy chapters I've already done on Josselin. The childhood one has some very interesting (to me) stuff about weaning and child-rearing: the other an analysis of the content of about 30 dreams and of Josselin's reactions to the death of various members of his family & his own & wife's illness. I hope one of these will be o.k.*

*I look forward to hearing from you & hope that the term is becoming less exhausting. Regards to Valerie.*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 17/11/67

*Dear Mummy & Daddy,*

*....I have written hopefully to my publishers asking for a loan, but they are very tardy in replying and will probably tell me to hawk my wares elsewhere...*

*Will briefly deal with my news first as there isn't much of it. The London-Cornell interview was a bit gruelling - some 35 mins - and I haven't any idea of whether I've got it. If not, I'll still try elsewhere for funds. The Profs. were quite nice, but (apart from dozy old F-Haimendorf who was clearly on my side) asked very penetrating questions. Will let you know when I hear something. Next week will be a very busy one with my*

talk at Worcester (to which Lady Clay, among others has threatened to come), at Mary Douglas's seminar and at L.S.E....

*Was delighted to hear how much work you'd done at Preston, Mummy, and at your obvious enjoyment. It somehow brings the whole thing alive working with actual documents. Even the general remarks you make about inheritance and land tenure are really fascinating and I think the final study will be fantastic. Won't go into detailed comments as everything you found out interested me e.g. how have you seen that 'there was obviously a strong hint of ancestor worship amongst our lot'? I was fascinated in the description of the double process of land-distribution - at marriage/age of adulthood and death. What was the age at which people tended to get land if they didn't marry? i.e. was it necessary to marry to get land or, vice versa, did people tend to marry at a certain age because they had just come to an age when they could inherit? Is there any suggestion that the father maintained control after the property was shared out - or did he completely surrender it? All this fits in with ideas I am trying to develop to explain why people married so late (compared to most pre-industrial socs - some 10 yrs. or so later) in England at this time. This is the theme of my talk on 'marriage' in C17 England. You must have also found out all sorts of things from Inventories.*

*I enclose another chapter from the Agrarian History of England (which I haven't read myself yet) which may give you some interesting comparisons). The important thing at this stage is not to get carried away but to keep indexing by name, landholding and by source and, if necessary, to start a subject index of other things that interest one. If there is anything you specially want to look up, you know to ask me. I've managed to get a young demographer interested in both this work and the Indian project (he came to supper last night) so we may be able to get some expert assistance.<sup>24</sup>*

From Keith Thomas 17 November 1967

*Dear Alan,*

*Forgive me for taking so long to reply. I wish I had known you were coming up the other weekend to take your degree. We could have had a proper talk, as there are all sorts of things I would love to talk about. I don't know which of your Josselin titles to go for: I hadn't realised you had so much material. I would like it most if you could do something which brings out just how many different types of questions can be answered from this kind of source, i.e. I would like something on child-rearing and dreams and death and pain and adolescence! But I don't want to have to make extra work for you. Is there some blanket title which would fit the bill? The *Private Life of J.* sounds a bit too near the *Secret Life*. What about "Ralph Josselin's Diary as a source for social history". No, that's too cumbersome. Can you improve on it? But don't go to extra trouble: if you could clip together some sections from each piece and put them under some general title that would be marvellous. And would the second week (Tuesday 30 Jan) be possible? Tea before/dinner afterwards/ bed for the night are all available.*

I took notes on each of the Firth seminars I was attending, but only typed up some of them. Here is the first of two pages on the third seminar, by Peter Loizos, on 17<sup>th</sup> November. The original notes I took at the time give some hint of what happened – the participant observation, and then the reducing to better order later.

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<sup>24</sup> This was Dr Chris Langford, a demographer at the L.S.E.



27/10/67

(3)

P. Loggins

Community

Moral community

Silverman on stratification

Pattern of many choices Spain

Community of what shd. happen  
- thought to happen  
- does happen

Moral Unity

Actual

Beliefs

Moral Community  
(community) = 2 times  
in space?

Campbell: problem: what is relation betw. values & actual practice

- what happens when choice fails to ~~study~~ get passage

statistical/narrative

belief  
sets

- Lewis attacks Redfield for glossing over conflict/passion/practice

- Action - Lewis: Redfield - expressed values

Pitt - River Atkala: Andalusian village

- community: geographically related: 'pueblo christiano' 'entender'

- local patriotism - 'community based on locality'

- 'a completeness of human relations'

- unity + homogeneity in moral 'judgement' (excludes upper, intellectual)

- egalitarianism

- but occupational structure prob. too diverse to support - P. R.'s stress on homogeneity

- wide-spread of economic power

To what extent do differences of status imply differences of action/morals?

'into', people

- where is data for showing action/attitudes = homogenous

actions:  
values

underlying  
morals:  
Thomson

Silverman on Italian town

- of my notes

cf. Am. Anthropol. 68, 1966

respect	esteem	consideration
ought	does	actual difference
ought -	says to	does - practice

Social mobility rates & the "community" - the community over time



Talk 3: Peter Loyzos - Mediterranean Communities.

Campbell's work poses the problem of the relationship between values and what actually happens. (There are therefore communities of what shd. happen; are thought to happen; and what does happen). This is the gap between the statistical and normative. What happens, e.g. in Campbell's Greek shepherd community when a client fails to get patronage?

The altercation between Lewis and Redfield over Chan Kom illustrates this gap between action and expressed values: Lewis studied actions and found conflict/pain/frustration; Redfield studied expressed values and found integration & happiness.

In Pitt-Rivers study of Alkala, an Andalusian village, the community was geographically isolated: the pueblo itself distinguished 'outsiders'. There was local patriotism and the community was 'based on locality'. There was, he thought, a 'completeness of human relations', a 'unity and homogeneity in moral judgements' (excluding the upper intelligentsia), a basic egalitarianism. But, in fact, the occupational structure, from P-R's own evidence, seems too diverse to support P-R's stress on homogeneity. It seems likely that the wide spread of economic power would find a correspondence on the 'moral' (intellectual - A.M.?) level. To what extent, one wonders, do differences of status imply differences of action/morals? There is very little data in P-R's study for showing actions/attitudes are homogeneous - just an account of the 'vito', or general commotion making when a person breaks the norm.

Then an analysis of Silverman's article on stratification in an Italian town (cf. my notes). This is basically an attempt to get inside the people's own ideas, to let them formulate what for them are the imp. classifications and criteria. One wonders, however, what is the relationship betw. prestige-ranking and actual patterns of inter-action.

Marriage choice as an index of community bounds: (cf. Sally & R. Price in Man, 1966). What are the principles of selection of marriage partners how much social differentiation is there in marriage choice? It is probably in marriage that friction between groups is most obvious. It is marriage that breaks boundaries permanently. It is a challenge to social definitions. Marriages are a form of social drama, and hence a very good index of real power relations. (cf. Merton, Intermarriage and the Social Structure, 1941). They may be a guide to social change - i.e. the direction of marriages (e.g. flow into towns, Friedl). An analysis of marriage choice over time is a very good index.

Discussion/problems.

All communities are situational - they only have identity in relation either to other communities, or in relation to a specific issue.

The moral community may be subdivided into that a) where moral sanctions apply and b) where they are, in fact, effective.

Moral sanctions cost something (cf. Rhodesia) - both in personal and community terms. Such moral sanctions may also be delegated - e.g. to the village priest.

Dissension does not mean that the community ends - dissension at one level may be unification at another level.

3 levels of analysis of community - ought/does - thought to/statistical

I wrote to Trevor-Roper on 19th November 1967 from 6, Milverton Road, London

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

How very nice to hear from you and how kind of you to send me an offprint of the essay on the Witch Craze. The only fact which marred my pleasure was to hear of the recent death of the much-esteemed Agnes Trollope. If I had any black-edged writing paper I would have written on it. Please send my sincerest condolences to her family and any of her basset-hounds still surviving on the scraps from the Regius Professor's table. The only consolation is that she was briefly mentioned as one of the angels of light in a recent review in The Sunday Times. I should have realized then, of course, from "The late Miss Agnes Trollope" but I was so

*distracted to find myself described elsewhere in the article ("they dogmatise about unverifiable sexual practices, and invoke the analogy of Congolese tribes... ") – I was just off to give a talk at Balliol two days later on 'Problems in the sexual life of the Tudor and Stuart period!') that I missed the implications. But since her arch enemy had discovered her real identity, perhaps there was nothing else for it.*

*Thank you very much for your advice about Routledge's. The only trouble I anticipate is not religious – but nepotism: all the directors appear to be called Franklin. I hope to have the typescript to them by March.*

*I am still at the L.S.E., – just finishing an M.Phil. on "Marriage & sexual attitudes in Tudor and Stuart England" and preparing to go out to India. Not Calcutta, I fear, but probably the Assam hills where I was born. I feel sad that the moving stair will pass me by and realize that I may never be able to return to Oxford. But feel that I would feel I had betrayed myself if I didn't at least try to get away at some point. Fortunately my wife feels the same. London is miserable in many ways and I miss my Oxford friends & autumnal trees etc very much – not least my awed visits to the Regius Professor's lodgings – but find anthropology continuously exciting.*

*I'm sorry you are weighed down by committees, lectures etc. You shouldn't write such long letters to 'unimportant persons' like myself – then you would have more time to read. Even I find little time to read and I've got no teaching! I hope, anyhow, that once the dreaded flight is over, China revives you. I wonder why you've been drawn back to a place that frustrated you so much? If you ever have time to drop me a post-card (or, even better, a letter) I'd love to hear how you get on (also my father collects stamps). Hope you are equipped with your 'Sayings of Mao'!*

*Again, thank you for writing and sending Witches.*

*With best wishes,*

*Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

*P.S. Enclose a dingy/dirty xerox of my thesis abstract – which I hope you'll keep with best wishes.*

On the 21<sup>st</sup> I went back to Oxford and gave a paper to the Worcester Historical Society (the Walsingham Society). The first page of that talk is as follows.



Problems in the study of marriage in Tudor and Stuart England.

(Thank)

Marriage has been described as the "turning point round which rural life hinges. It is a structural centre. Every tie between human beings is modified."<sup>1</sup> Yet historians have, <sup>until recently,</sup> tended to pay little attention to the subject ~~until recently~~. The references ~~at~~ <sup>secondary</sup> the bottom of your hand-outs contain ~~almost all~~ <sup>of</sup> the useful material on ~~the~~ marriage in Tudor and Stuart England that I have been able to locate. That this is not the result of either a supposed unimportance of the subject, or of a shortage of sources, I hope to convince you. A few moments thought will make one aware of the intimate ways in which marriage is interblended with all the other problems studied by historians. <sup>historian</sup> If ~~the~~ is interested in religion he may find ~~useful~~ a useful index of the different attitude of various religious groups, for instance Catholic and Protestant, in their attitude to marriage. He may even find that religious beliefs are influenced by marital practices. A political historian will immediately realize, from a study of Tudor or Stuart politics, the immense importance of the web of kinship relations which held factions and groups together. The economic historian, with his current interest in inheritance systems, may yet find that marriage patterns are one of the most important factors in the industrial revolution. The historical demographer<sup>\*</sup>, of course, is well aware that marital customs will influence all his figures, for example population growth rates will be directly affected by the age at marriage. Finally, the historian who is, above all, interested in finding out what no-one has discovered before, and the historian who wants to really understand how people felt and thought in past ages can hardly fail to be aware that the study of marriage will take ~~them~~ right into untrodden lands, luxuriant with the intimate

To Lady Clay      22.11.67      6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Lady Clay,

*Just a note to say how nice it was to see you yesterday and to thank you very much indeed for making the effort to come to my paper. It made it much easier to talk knowing that there was at least one person in the audience who know something about the subject...*

From Iris: Field Head, Friday [November 24th 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

*Thank you for the letter and the interesting enclosure which I'm still reading. I'm so glad about the publishers kindness and faith, you can pay us back when you feel your sorted out properly, no hurry. I do hope the result of the interview is favourable, but of course there are other things....*

*We're having lovely but icy weather with thick fogs at night, makes the countryside a fairyland but is hard on the birds, I'm thinking of doing a sociological study of the bird table, I'm sure it would throw all sorts of light on Kirby Lonsdale! My two days spent there were fascinating though partly wasted on the blacksmith and the tape-recorder as in my letter; however Daddy and I managed to unravel about two miles of tape yesterday and by some miracle it still plays so I feel a bit better about it. I shall now have to get down to a solid session of indexing and filing, which I've been dodging.*

*I loved being in K.L. it is delicious now with nobody around and sitting in the church reading about all the Nich Atkinsons mending the clock and bells and gravelling the paths and being provided with ale the while, took me right back into their world - not right unfortunately but as near as one could get. It's obvious (which I suppose you know) that Easter was the big celebration of the year, quarts more wine consumed then, Xmas was on a par with Palm Sunday and Michaelmas, then Good Friday. I didn't do all the details, it would take forever, and if one wanted to do an economic study of the increase in costs of lime and peat and workmen's wages one would have to go back and concentrate on these. There seems to have been a dozen or so members of the parish who organised everything (churchwardens amongst them) chosen at a vestry meeting every year. Who they actually were will emerge. The blacksmith as I told Anne was a bit of a disappointment, he isn't too happy to be presented with facts and doesn't like to think that anyone knows more than he does, though I still think he would be useful about old customs and landholding and told him we would like to drive round the parish with him one day, map in hand. He says there are still open fields with "run rig" remains to be seen at Austwick. Daddy smuggled Swinburne on Wills out for me which threw a lot of light about widows rights etc. Copyhold was not supposed to be devisable but up here this kind was obviously considered as gavelkind and was bought and sold and passed on as if it was freehold. I haven't yet worked out properly how, or rather at what precise stage, land was passed on. The surveys show a lot of cases of father and son sharing land but who was in charge I don't know, in one will a son leaves property to his father so he has obviously taken over, but mostly the pattern seems to be that the sons (or at any rate the eldest two) are given some of the land, the father remaining in the ancestral bit until he dies. Then everyone shuffles round, the eldest son moving into his father's land, second into the eldest etc... It doesn't appear that they have to wait to be married before inheriting, usually it happens at 21 with the condition that the mother is to be looked after and the daughters legacies paid, though there is a case where the father says "if he married Eliz. Gibbenson" he will get land in settlement - but this is additional to land already given him.*

*The reason one gets the feeling they were ancestor worshippers is the superstitious belief in the actual burial place as being important, "as near the cross as maybe", as if the surroundings can affect the next life, and the amount of times they say "as near my ancestors as maybe" - also a case of two brothers leaving money for prayers for their mother and father. This was a survival of masses for the dead I suppose, could be one reads more into things than one should. I have got to the stage of seeing significance in saven logs!*

*I had to stop writing down all the debtors, I think it was the absence of money that made them owe so much, every little chore had its value and was cancelled out by someone else's return chore instead of being paid off - or rather paid for by bonds. Usury was very common though and it's surprising that "manifest usurers" were not supposed to be allowed to make wills....*

*Let me know as soon as you hear about the grant, hope all the talks went well...*

*I wrote a paper for Schapera's seminar, which I gave the following day. Here is the first page, which is interesting also because it shows how I was trying to digest the whole course of seminars, which I also discussed with some criticism at the end of the talk.*



### Introduction.

This paper is in two parts. In the first half there is a description of inter-class marriage in a few pre-industrial historical societies. This follows the previous papers in laying primary stress on facts to the exclusion of hypotheses. In the second half of the paper I have taken the liberty of discussing the problem of "mixed marriage" more generally in an attempt to see whether any useful ideas have emerged from the previous seminars. Hypotheses put forward by individual speakers on their special subjects will be tested against all the evidence. A few more suggestions will be made as to other fruitful approaches. But first, another dose of ethnography.

### Inter-class and inter-district marriage.

In discussing "mixed marriage" we have moved a considerable way from the early seminars where we were dealing with proscriptions laid down either in legal codes or religious directories. It might well be argued that inter-class marriage is not "mixed marriage" and, even more strongly, that statistical tendencies - for example the tendency to marry someone living ~~nearby~~ physically nearby and its contravention - are not marriage "rules". Two points are worth making here. The first is that marriage across socioeconomic boundaries may well be "mixed marriage" if we accept Merton's definition of mixed marriage as "marriage of persons deriving from those different in-groups and out-groups other than the family which are culturally conceived as relevant to the choice of a spouse." There must, therefore, be a consciousness of boundaries being crossed. This seems to apply, generally, to inter-class marriages. But it also seems justifiable to talk about statistical rules when we are discussing mixed marriages. As Levi-Strauss has stressed, in the 'complex' societies ~~which~~ which have been the subject of these seminars, the marriage rules are 'complex' not 'simple'. We may not be able to deduce them from the laws, from generalized statements and so on, yet they may exist. The only way to discover them may be through statistical analysis. Even if we wish to understand those phenomena we have been discussing we have to be aware of such 'rules'. For example negroes may not marry white people in parts of the United States not because of any dislike of 'mixed marriage' but because of a statistical rule - for example that people only marry those living nearby, or in the same occupations, and coloured and white live in different areas and do different jobs. This point will be pursued later. All that needs to be stressed here is that even though a statistical tendency is not formally recognized in a body of law or explicitly stated when people explain marriage choices, it may be relevant to us.

The problem of marriage across socioeconomic borders has come up in various forms in most of the previous papers. For example, it was suggested by David Seddon that racial barriers were partly caused by an attempt to prevent a change in the class structure of South Africa. In Merton's words

(problem of defining 'class' - incommensurable & not)

"Endogamy is a device which serves to maintain social prerogatives and immunities within a social group. It helps prevent the diffusion of power, authority and preferred status to persons who are not affiliated with a dominant group" (2)

Last week Miss Hewitt showed us that there was some overlap between endogamous units and economic groupings - especially at the top of the scale. Two forms of inter-class marriage may be distinguished,

Possibly as part of the background to this discussion, I prepared a table to show the different ways social stratification had been approached in the social sciences. In this, for my own use, I tentatively noted which of the various indices could be used by historians.



## Social Stratification

Types: Estates - e.g. feudal = legal differentiation.  
 Caste - e.g. India = ritual differentiation (pollution).  
 Class - e.g. Europe = control of means of production.  
 Status groups - e.g. America = patterns of consumption.  
 Elites

### Models of class structure -

Marxist = two-fold = exploiters and exploited.  
 Sociological = normally a three-tier model.  
 Warner - for U.S. = a six-fold structure (cf. Kluckhohn).  
 Silverman - for Italian village = 4-fold (with subdivisions)  
 Williams - for Gosforth = 7-fold.

### General theories of class-structure.

Marxist - the relationship of groups to the means of production.  
 Functional - preserves the best men at the top.

### Indices of class.

<u>Index.</u>	<u>Applicability/manifestation in</u>		<u>History.</u>
	<u>Anthropology</u>	<u>value</u>	
Income	✓	✓	subsidies/survey.
Capital	✓	✓	"
Education (Warner)	✓	✓	mills/ancus.
Occupation	✓	✓	investments
Size of house	✓	✓	
Land tenure	✓	✓	investments survey
Household possessions	✓	✓	investments
Ascribed status through birth/ancestry/ residence (length of)	✓	✓	? parish registers
Personal names/address	✓	✓	- mls.
Inter-personal behaviour	✓	✓	univ. etc. marriage?
Groups/distribution at rites de passage & religious ritual.	✓	✓	?
Visit one another's house-(friendship patterns)?	✓	✓	withers to mls/manor
Belong to same social clubs	✓	✓	? - religion groups (Quaker)
Exchange gifts	✓	✓	? - mls.
Show awareness of themselves as group.	✓	✓	? - pamphlets/lecturing.
Intermarriage.	✓	✓	✓
Residential segregation.	✓	✓	✓

**1967 - December**

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 1/12/67

Dear Mummy & Daddy,

Sorry about the long gap since my last letter but... I have had rather a hectic ten days. Thank you very much for you letter, anyhow. As I champed through vast fields of sociological jargon it was most cheering to think of you unravelling the past of K.L. as you unravelled the miles of tangled tape. Before I turn to work, however, just a few bits of news...

Most of my time and energy has been directed at the talks I gave. The day in Oxford last Tuesday went off very well and I saw the usual crowd: the talk was on C16 marriage arrangements and the audience were relaxed and receptive. Then on Wednesday a more formal talk - witches again - which seemed to go down reasonably well at Mary Douglas' seminar. The other two talks - at L.S.E. seminars - I really had to think for and were a bit of a sweat. I'm very relieved they are over. In both I attacked anthropology and anthropologists - but the audience, rather disappointingly, agreed with me!

I had a note from the chairman of the London-Cornell Foundation saying that he thought I would get a grant but that it would be a couple of weeks before they knew definitely. I will keep you informed. One interesting excursion amidst the rather grim round of seminars was a visit to the owner of Ralph Josselin's diary on Wednesday. He was a retired colonel who lived on the Suffolk border. An incredible house - huge Tudor red-brick/half-timber built by one of the nobles who was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The house was nearly as big as Levens and stuffed with fantastic furniture, pictures, suits of armour, pottery etc. A note inside the cover of the Dairy - which the editor had omitted in the published version - which showed that the long birth-intervals of Josselin's last five children were due to 5 miscarriages not to other forms of birth control (as I had guessed) made the journey extra worthwhile. Historical research is an interesting sport - as you have found - even if one does not find so much (though you did)...

One point about Christmas plans. I wondered if it would be o.k. if Annie came up a bit before us? I hope to have finished my M.Phil. 1st draft by Dec. 10th & so will not need her for typing. I thought that, if she and you are willing, she could a) get a bit of rest for her jaundice and b) help you with the indexing. Two people working on the wills/churchwardens accounts/register would cut down the labour considerably & I can give a hand when I come up. I would pay for her - as would be doing if she were here - as she would still be working for me, and she could pay for b&b out of this.

Haven't much space to comment on all the interesting facts you have discovered for K.L. - but, generally, was fascinated by almost everything you found. One point. I presume that when you leave out a type of information - e.g. building expenses in the churchwarden's accounts - that you have made a note of the type of information omitted (so that one can go back to the original if necessary). I'm not surprised about the blacksmith - I suppose he's too well-known: also, by showing that one knows more of the facts than the informant, I suppose he feels his knowledge is devalued a bit.

Re. ancestors, it will be very interesting to see the relative frequency in which cases of testators specifying where they should be buried is mentioned in K.L. and Boreham. I imagine there will be quite a difference. You speak of daughter's legacies. Were these ever specified to be marriage portions (dowries) and, if so, how do they compare to the amounts left to the son? I just wondered whether one could make an estimate of the amount of wealth exchanged at a wedding. Have you discovered yet (it will probably have to wait for the analysis of the Register) whether any children married promptly a) after inheriting at 21 or b) the father's death? I won't plague you with more questions - but very much look forward to seeing all your material.

P.S. The Josselin man I mentioned was i/c Delhi fort at one time - and lived in Shar Jahan's royal chambers (or something to that effect).

From Iris: Field Head, Tuesday [December 5th 1967]

My dear Gill & Alan,

...I have been working at rather less pressure (which wasn't much anyway) as I was getting splitting headaches, I think through reading slides in this very hot kitchen. I have been thinking over the question of late marriage and it seems to me more connected with the death of the mother, here at any rate, where sons were always enjoined to look after their mothers till they died or remarried, and very often had to share their inherited property with them. As inheritance was closely interlinked, each legacy dependent in some way on another, this would affect the whole family and I did notice that widows, deaths often seemed to be followed by marriages -

*not as often as I'd hoped when I came to analyse it, only 7 out of 28 over a period of about 18 months and even these one can't be sure of - but I think it's worth watching. One would need to know what the attitude of the younger generation was towards the mother, I see a woman in court complaining that her poverty was due to the ingratitude of her son, so it seems that was the accepted thing for the old to be cared for by their children, and it would also explain all the widows heading households in K.L.. Late marriage would curb the birthrate in a place like this where partible inheritance was the rule, as the whole family would be "held up" so to speak, and as the care of daughters was also enjoined they would have to be settled before the son could consider his own marriage.*

*It must have been fascinating seeing the original Josselyn diaries, how are you getting on with the book, and have you found an interested publisher? I had half an hour to spend in Kendal library and they have all sorts of fascinating things there, if only it was a little closer. Miss Macpherson still isn't well, I rang her up as she hasn't yet returned the Parish Register to Mr L. but she promised to do it. I'm so glad the Cornell project sounds hopeful, you could pick up our boxes and take them back with you to Shillong as it doesn't seem that we shall ever get them here....*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6 10/12/67

*Dear Mummy & Daddy (and Annie),*

*....We are both delighted at the other bits of good news which were scribbled on a p.c. to Annie - that Mummy's book was going into German and that the luggage is on its way. Look forward to hearing more details about both these things in your next letter - but meanwhile, congratulations on the former. ...No news yet, at my end, about London-Cornell. As Annie will have told you, the first draft of my M.Phil. is finished. I'm going to fill in the time before Christmas finishing off 'Josselin'. I want to put off writing-up the witchcraft book as long as possible since Keith will have the first draft of his book ready soon and I want to see how far we overlap....*

*Still no solid news about Xmas from this end. This heavy snow - which will presumably block up the Pennines if it continues... I'm afraid we'll have to leave vague till the last moment. I hope this won't put you out. But we will certainly be up for a few days at some point.*

*I'm afraid I've left this letter rather late and am a bit tired to launch on demographic history - but found your discussion of the age of marriage and inheritance most interesting. Two things immediately occur to me: a) was it the death of the second parent (more often the longer-lived mother than father) which was the significant fact in allowing the sons to inherit & hence marry? b) did the wills specify that son's should maintain their mother - or that she was still in charge of the farm? There is a long and interesting discussion of this whole problem in a book I'm reading at the moment - and will bring up (Williams, *Ashworthy*, p. 84ff) in which, for instance, he says "In Montgomeryshire, farmers rarely retire, so that a son cannot inherit the farm until his father dies and cannot marry while his mother is alive or while there are brothers at home". This sounds similar to the situation you describe. I don't know if you feel interested enough - but I noted from the latest 'Work in Progress' in the *Ag. Hist. Rev.*, that A. Molesley, The University, Reading was doing work on 'Field Systems & Settlement forms in the Outer Hebrides & ,. Ireland' - it might be worth getting in touch with him at some point. One final thought - you said Easter was the great religious focus. Was it also the time for courting/marriage? On Easter-day, a C16 man said, "the lover's eyes to roll like tennis balls" (Wilson, *Shakespeare*, 5). Perhaps Annie will be able to help you work this one out....*

To Lady Clay 17.12.67 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

*Dear Rosalind,*

*How sweet (and generous!) of you to send me the book token which, as you know, is very much appreciated and will come in most handy. I'm toying with the idea of buying Creighton's *Epidemics* and perhaps this will go towards that. Thank you. I hope you got my card: this is the letter which you asked for and it adds our very best Xmas wishes to those on the card.*

*In reply to your question about when I will be next in Oxford, I think it should be early next term. I'm speaking on Ralph Josselin at Keith Thomas' seminar on Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> January so will be up then, if not*



before. If his seminars are as good as they were last year, I hope to come down to several of them and so will, I hope, see more of you than last term. Now to your various bits of news.

.... I quite understand your sentiments about the Worcs. S.C.R.<sup>25</sup> – one always feels most worried where one has most invested (emotionally). Nothing I can say will make any difference to your attitude I'm sure, but when I was dining there last term I remember several people asking after you and saying they wished you made use of your dining rights more often.... Please give my regards to any of my friends. I had a nice note from James Campbell after my talk – suggesting I read “The Horse in the Furrow” or whatever the title of the book is. Please thank him for his letter and say that I agree with him – with reservations.

Was interested to hear of your conversation with E-P (Evans-Pritchard). Yes he's a bit deaf and pretends, sometimes, to be more dogmatic and senile than he really is. But he's a cunning old dog. In fact I have no doubt in my mind that you were sitting next to one of the most brilliant and complex minds that Oxford has produced this century – well on the same level as Tawney, Ryle or any of the philosophers, etc. Though of course his greatness is past, he is an intellectual giant – the founder of a whole new discipline. It probably didn't sound like it when he spoke – but giants often sound like pigmies. Hoskins, for example (who I hear is going to resign from Leicester) is not, face-to-face, anything special. I'm sorry you didn't meet my uncle at All Souls. He may have set off for America where he is going to be a visiting Professor for a few months before getting a new job with Asa Briggs [at Sussex University].

... S.O.A.S. (School of Oriental and African Studies) is where I will be attached next year. The teachers are perhaps less prestigious than at L.S.E. (although the best ones at L.S.E. – e.g. Raymond Firth – are soon leaving) but the atmosphere in the department seems to be much better. ...

I'm reading *Life Against Death* by Norman Brown – a psychoanalytic study working out the implications of Freud. C. Hill recommended it a couple of years ago as the most penetrating study of the 'Puritan' character he had read. Perhaps it will throw some light on Josselin. Am half way through a study of Josselin's family life – masses on his relations with his wife, children, step-mother, uncles etc. Do hope you will have the time to read it when it's completed.

At the end of the term I typed out my notes on various seminars and some of the lectures I had been to. For example, here is the first page of my notes on the Raymond Firth seminar on 'communities', which I also indexed onto little cards on the 18<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Lady Clay had been made an Associate of the Senior common Room at Worcester College, but felt shy about using this right to dine occasionally in College.

Introductory: the problem forced on anthropologists is that of removing the idea of a community from a geographical to a social locus. Here Tikopia was the ideal type, with Malaya half way and North London at the other pole. One of the main problems is that there are different levels of community - the religious, economic, kin, family, emotional and other communities, depending on what indices we take: other communities are those of politics, law, beliefs etc. One interesting problem is how community bounds are preserved (cf. M. Douglas through taboos & classification and rituals; and how communities show their unity in community symbols. How, one wonders, are communities expressed? Can one devise any test of the strength of community feeling? How, indeed, does one measure a community at all? Some of the possible measures are visits/inter-actions; gifts and messages; inter-marriage; hostility and friendship; co-operation in labour; degree of emotional involvement with other members of; similarity of ideas to other members of.

(each speaker talked about his/her interests - only vaguely linked to community)  
Talk 1. Andrew Turton, A general approach to the problem of Community.

Discusses Redfield's definition of the 'little community'; as Barnes has stressed, it is also important to study ties leading out of the village and one wonders how far a highly mobile village is a community.

One way of finding repetitiveness in a period of social change is to study decision taking; how decisions are made. One aspect in social change is that there is an expansion of the field of choice. It is also important to study the mediation of choices, messages, through physical forms; such media are always present. It is also important to study how peasants conceive change.

Also needing study are the ways in which communities are integrated - is this done horizontally or vertically?

Possible ways of approaching communities:

- 1) by study of varieties of conscious models (cf. Barbara Ward and Elizabeth Bott) - each person carries round several models of his own and other organizations and these help to place people. (One wonders whether communities have shared conscious models? A.M). These may be located, for example, by studies of reference groups - cf. Bott.
- 2) contexts of inter-action - for instance the Ndembu village is a ritual, political, marital unit: the Norwegian village studied by Barnes is the centre of agricultural, administrative and voluntary associations while other activities (e.g. industrial) cover wider areas.
- 3) sets/fields/planes - what are the forms of interaction/the content of interaction. "Intensive studies of limited areas of life" are still necessary, although there is no longer a coincidence of geographical/social space. The actual network of relations = social space. The concept of the action-set is useful here. It is a

Letter to Keith Thomas on 19.12.67 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Keith,

Sorry to trouble you but I remember that you said that the section of your book dealing with witchcraft would be back from the typist before the rest and asked whether I would like to see that first. I wonder, if the situation is the same, whether I could take you up on your offer. I'm hoping to start turning the thesis into a book soon - early in the New Year - and it would be a great help if I could have an idea of what you cover before I begin. There is so much to be done that it would be a pity to duplicate work.

*I hope the end of term went well and that you are getting time to work on the book. It really sounded most exciting. Josselin goes well though there is really too much, even for a book! It's taken 10,000 words merely to describe relations within his nuclear family – even excluding the first fifteen years of his childrens' lives.*

From Trevor-Roper wrote on 29th December 1967 from Chiefswood, Melrose, Scotland

*My dear Alan,*

*Thank you very much for your letter of 19 Nov. I hardly had time to read it, or its enclosure – the abstract of your thesis – before leaving for the Far East on 25 Nov. But we are now back: in fact we got back just in time for Christmas, having spent a fortnight not in Red China (I will never be allowed back there) but in the Republic of China – i.e. Kuomintang Formosa [Taiwan] – and a week, on the way back, in Bangkok and Angkor. I greatly enjoyed Formosa, which was quite different from my expectation, and almost reconciles me to the new American Co-Prosperity Sphere (as the Japanese used to call it) which is being defended in Vietnam. Certainly it is, in every way, preferable to the grim, monotonous, terrorised conformism of Red China. As we skirted the hills of Assam, I cast a loose thought towards you. I hope you enjoy returning thither: they looked tempting to me, from the air (but almost any terra firm is tempting when seen from the air), after that infinite, dreary, dusty brown plain of India. We flew out by the new SAS Trans-Asian Express which goes from Copenhagen to Bangkok, stopping only at Tashkent. Anyway, while you are there if you will keep in touch (a) with books, (b) with me, I will keep my eye fixed on the moving stair for you.*

*Your abstract makes me want to read your thesis, but I suppose it will appear in your book, to which I look forward. Routledge will produce it well and Colin Franklin will take trouble with it. Do the index yourself – or use domestic labour – and in detail, so that the index reads as another chapter and the reader discovers in it gems he has missed in a too perfunctory reading of the text. At least that is the ideal!*

*My essay on Witches is to appear separately as a Penguin. I have added a brief, brisk foreword sharply re-defining the territory between us in view of the incapacity of your supervisor to read what is clearly stated on the first page of the text!*

*Miss Trollope's death was a sad blow to many. I have had several letters deploring it, including one from Professor Stone of Princeton.*

*I have no objection to studies of sexual practices so long as they are based on verifiable evidence, not on the ipse dixit of some Gadarene sciolist<sup>26</sup>; but I want to know how the facts are known, and trace the argument by the known processes of scholarship, from which there is no escape, no appeal. It is because Christopher Hill sometimes (e.g. in his Intellectual Origins of the Puritan Revolution), Stone generally, and Laslett always, skips these processes, and flouts these canons, that Miss Trollope and I occasionally demur! Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, YORK

*Professor G.E. Aylmer* 31 Dec 1967

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

I must just write to say how much I enjoyed reading your D.Phil. thesis. I hope that you will publish it; unlike most theses, it would seem to me to need very little indeed to make an excellent monograph.

Meanwhile I hope that it will be in order for me to refer to it when I lecture on this topic at York....

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<sup>26</sup> Sciolist - a person who pretends to be well informed.

# 1968

## Spring Term 1968

### Seminars/classes

*Raymond Firth – Seminars*

30.3.68 – Judy Lydall – Use of economic theory by anthropologists  
no date, Gerald Mars – Corruption among dockers in Newfoundland  
no date, Mr Alfala – Economic system of Bedouins  
2.2.68 Alan Macfarlane Firth seminar – my talk  
15.2.68 David Seddon, Peasant/market economies of the Berbers  
22.2.68 Jeremy Kemp – Some aspects of land and labour in Thailand  
1.3.68 Anne Sharma – Distribution of resources within the household  
8.3.68 Mr Beaucamp – Circulation of goods and services in a Carib community (South America)

*Maurice Freedman – Rites of Marriage*

8.2.68 Miss Blovitch – Yugoslav marriage rites  
15.2.68 ? Thomas – Marriage in Contemporary Britain  
29.2.68 Miss Michaud – Do the Eskimo have marriage rites?  
7.3.68 Mr Poole – Aboriginal Brazil  
20.3.68 Professor Freedman – The Rites of Marriage  
no date, Miss Selgin – Marriage in Japan  
no date, David Seddon, Marriage in Morocco  
no date, Father Karbosky – Marriage rites among Polish peasants

There were no lectures, or even talks, to attend this term, so the Firth seminar continued as the main focus of the teaching, alongside one run by Freedman on marriage.

## 1968 – January

From Iris: Field Head, Monday (1st January 1968)

Dearest both,

Hope Anne will arrive in good shape.... Do hope you got home without any crises and felt refreshed for the change, it was a noble effort and we did appreciate your making it. Also the mass of lovely things you brought for us, we were quite overwhelmed by your generosity and have been dipping into luxurious little tins with great pleasure - and relief as my catering broke down two days ago!... It has been snowing today, though only lightly so far, and have been in all day and feeling a bit buzzy as a result. Shall get working again properly tomorrow, now that I'm all tidied up I feel like it....



Letter from Keith Thomas New Year's Day 1968

Of course, you are welcome to see my labours in progress. The only difficulty is that I don't have any carbon copies as I am making the (slight) economy of having extra copies xeroxed. But I can't do the xeroxing until I have put in the figures for footnotes and I haven't yet done the footnotes though should have done so in a few weeks. This means that you can read as much as you like in Oxford, but that I can't send you anything to London as I'm still working on it all. [Indeed the whole thing is horribly embryonic still.] You would be welcome to have the day with the typescript when you come up to read your paper on 30 January; otherwise I suppose you will have to make a special journey if you want to see it sooner than that. (I suppose there's a chance I might get to London before term, though I doubt it; I'll bring it up, if so. I'm sorry to be so tiresome.) Do let me know which you would prefer.

4/1/68 To Gerald Aylmer

*....You said not to bother to write, but I wanted to thank you for your encouraging letter about my Witchcraft thesis and to say that I would be delighted if you could use this when lecturing at York..*

*I enclose a copy of the thesis abstract which may remind you of the general outline. Please keep this if it of any use.*

*Yours sincerely,*

Dr. Alan Macfarlane

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6 6.1.1968

Dear M. and D.,

*Many thanks for your letter sent with Anne. She arrived safely and seems well... Will try to keep her from working too hard. It was really lovely being in the Lakes and even after a week in London we both feel refreshed.... Still haven't heard anything about India, though I've had several nice letters from various people, e.g. Professors Trevor-Roper (back from Formosa; his article on witches going into Penguin), Aylmer (of York - saying, to my relief, that he didn't think that my book would need to be very different from my witchcraft thesis), Lucy Mair - about her publishing problems. It was nice to be able to turn down an offer to publish the D.Phil. from Weidenfeld & Nicholson. Sorry, this sounds very conceited, but since any success I have is largely based on your work and that of Anne, I thought you'd like to know....*

*I haven't done much this week. L.S.E. starts next week; I'll have to start turning my mind to anthropology again. Most of my week has been spent on topping and tailing Josselin - who should arrive, a soggy parcel, with you shortly. Full instructions inside. As I have said in the assembly instructions - though I'd love your help, don't feel you've got to do it. It's just for the money really. Your work on K.L. is ten times as important - I really was most excited by everything you told me over Christmas. But you might like some light amusement and I think Josselin raises quite a few general problems which might bear on your work - e.g. re. stages of inheritance, importance of kin, age rituals etc. Will carry on with K.L. sources in London. When you have any parish registers to cut up and clip, let me have one carbon for Annie. I enclose some of which she has already done; the cards are in the Josselin parcel. I enclose a few oddments also. A couple of books - no three - which you probably know of re. K.L. Also a reference from the English Yeoman which I expect is dealt with in Bouch and Jones. Finally, there are a couple of reviews. The Kerridge book might be worth getting from the library I think; he is quite good usually. One other enclosure - a cheque for £50 for Daddy. Half of what I owe you. Our grants have come through so are relatively affluent. Let me know if you need the other £50 before end of March. Very many thanks for helping to tide us over a financial crisis....*

From Iris: Field Head, Sunday (7th January 1968)

*Daddy says thank you v. much for stamps etc.*

*Dearest All,*

*Thank you for sending the book Xerox so quickly, so glad that Anne arrived safely and hope the improvement in health continues (this writing to three people at once is going to prove tricky)! I will send the Mediterranean book next week, will read a little of it if poss. The one chapter on "Time" was fascinating. I have just finished watching Ed. Leach on the Telly, arguing with various reverend gents and others, he didn't really get the chance to let himself go but made the point that in the 16th century "the family" included servants – doubtful?... The big news of the week really is a contract from America at last for my book, with the usual huge amount of 1000 dollars which I suppose will be less devalued but very welcome nevertheless. They want some small alterations apparently which I will cringingly do. So I shall be able to give Anne the "wherewithal" for Canada quite easily now, no need for you to save....*

*I have been into Kendal twice? Miss Macpherson is back but doesn't seem to be any better poor thing and spends most of the time on the phone telling people how busy she is and the rest thumbing slowly through "The Common Waste". I've been finishing the Tythe Map and looking at the Underley Estate papers which are full of goodies but in a muddle. I have followed two properties through from sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and learnt quite a lot but reading old deeds is the exhausting occupation of all time, archive wise, or should I say ville?! I know there are endless riches in the estate papers but shan't be able to tap them as they're mostly uncatalogued, a lot of wills amongst other things.*

*I also went to the library and got out two rev's diaries in the hopes that they would be Josselin's, one was Thos Crosfield whose father Robert wrote Henry Wilsons will and is scrappy though with some interesting bits about how much he spend on a funeral and who came, the other the Rev Will Bagshaw Stevens, headmaster of Repton, who spent his whole life chasing Cordial Widows and trying to get rich livings. Some funny descriptions though, of one lady "it was her Passion to stroke Jackasses ears, for this amusement when she met on the road one of the long eared race...she would descend from her Carriage and gratify her itching hand. She fancies that she spends her life too much in the world for tranquillity and longs to pass the remainder of her days in what she calls a Dead Calm". I must say I rather agree with her in both these respects. A dinner party "Dish followed dish and our Entertainment like a wounded snake dragged its slow length along"! Daddy and I are reading registers hard, he is brightening up Kirby Lonsdale by finding sick generals and other unlikely characters....*

From Iris: Field Head, Tuesday (9th January 1968)

*My dear Alan,*

*Daddy sent off the news of Josselin's arrival this morning, but I must write a line to say I have read it through and am very excited by it - it's marvellous what you have managed to extract from it and as you say the facts are so interesting that they need little dressing up. I shall love working on it, but you must be quite honest and extract any wilder flights of historical fancy, my imagination is not so solidly based as Tawney's alas. The notes with it are quiet clear, the arrangement seems all right too, three main chapter divisions with breaks at appropriate intervals in them, the way you have sorted out the subject matter will make this easy. In fact the whole thing will be a real pleasure.*

*My own two diaries will be much more interesting after reading it, I haven't read Stout through but dipping in there is obviously a lot of sociological interest, e.g. "the principle motive of trade was for the preferment of my brother Leonard Stout's children, two of them constantly with me when they were between two and five years of age under the nurture of my dear sister Elin, their aunt. Their eldest daughter was not nineteen years of age and not healthy but contrary to my advice and without my consent married Thomas Hall about her age... they being both so young I had not hopes they would do well so resolved not to contribute to them. But my brother Leonard her father at sundry times gave them as good as two hundred pounds which was more than double he had..." etc.... The other diary, Crossfield's, was from 1626 to 1638 and is a great deal concerned with his debts, he has a tiresome habit of breaking into Latin, e.g. "Motion made per uxorem to take all inter her hands pro administratione familiae cui non plene sed junctis consiliis & viribus rato consensi" - not too difficult to translate actually. I don't think I can cope with any more diaries at the moment though I would like to get them*

*all eventually but I am getting frustrated at so many jobs half done and books half read. I do hope the talk to Keith goes off well...*

*Today there is a light blanket of snow under brilliant sun and its lovely. I sometimes get the feeling it would be better not to let this house but you come here for the summer to finish off K.L. but perhaps this wouldn't appeal to Gill very much? I know I'm going to leave it with many wild backward glances...*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6 13.1.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Sorry, another bundle of stuff for you. Will explain it shortly. To repeat things written on scribbled postcards and bits of paper: we were all delighted to hear more about the book and send our congratulations. I was even more delighted, perhaps, to hear that you were prepared to work over Josselin. I was most interested and amused by the bits from other diaries. the passage from Stout had about ten facts of great sociological interest: perhaps it would be possible to do a short comparison with him at the end of the book?*

*I enclose a couple of things more about Josselin. Firstly the will of his uncle Ralph which I warned you of. Perhaps you could add this in where relevant - e.g. in the bit where I discuss relations between cousins & where I discuss legacies to kin (& on the genealogy) you could note that Josselin, as far as I remember, does not mention cousins Grace, Dorothy and Elizabeth. The chancery case has already been referred to on occasions in the text and I've made a footnote to the effect that it will be discussed in a special appendix. Hope this is not too troublesome. Will send any more wills etc. (there should be one or two at most) in the next week...*

*We would have loved to have stayed at Field Head in the summer and finish off K.L. but I think it will be impossible. Gill, of course, will be working right up to the end of September I think, and I will have to be near oriental libraries and people who can teach me the language. Still haven't heard, though I gather I will next week. They've had trouble with devaluation, apparently.*

*Final bit of work - I enclose a list of chancery cases at the P.R.O which Anne (and I) discovered last week. I wonder if you could go through these and mark them with ticks or asterisks. Perhaps you could put two ticks against those of great interest, one against those you'd like to have some time. It's just that each case is usually very long. If you then send back the sheets we'll get to work. The witchcraft book goes quite well I think - can't be bothered to change hardly anything...*

To Ian Campbell 14.1.68 from London

*... I still dream of founding a research institute on the Outer Hebrides. ... I may have told you, I want to start a salmon-farm, among other things: and generally to make enough money to run a small university... At present am attempting to earn some money by writing. I have two books on the stocks - one on witchcraft in seventeenth century England. This is nearly completed & is, of course, based on my D.Phil. (which was passed last October). Another book is an attempt to apply anthropology to family and domestic life in the same period. I doubt if they'll be best sellers, but they might raise enough to start off something. ... My M.Phil. in anthropology has been written & I hope to finish my two-year degree at the London School of Economics in June. Then, money permitting, Gill and I go to a little explored region in the depths of Assam - a very beautiful and exciting tribe called the Khasis. Hope to make a parallel study of those historical ones I've done. Also hope to study further the population explosion which is my greatest intellectual problem - and something which would be high among the studies in the Hebridean project.*

Letter to Keith Thomas 13.1.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*If I could look at the witchcraft chapters on Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup> that would be marvellous... It's just that my typescript will be handed in to the publishers about the end of March and I would like to know what I can leave out (and refer the interested reader to you). I've decided to alter the thesis hardly at all - just adding a little more explicit comparison with anthropological studies. My piece for the Mary Douglas conference is also merely a repeat - of the talk at Joan Thirsk's seminar.*

*I enclose a few hand-outs for my talk on Josselin. I wonder if you'd be kind enough to give them out at the first seminar? Do you know how many you expect to attend? If you have a list of the other talks I would be most interested to see it. I have tried to cover quite a wide range of subjects in Josselin, as you see. I'm afraid it may be rather rushed as a result.*

I wrote to Trevor-Roper from 6, Milverton Road on 14th January

*Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,*

*Very many thanks for your interesting letter of 29th December. I very much enjoyed hearing of your journey to and from Formosa and envied your few days in Angkor. Oxford must always seem very small and sheltered after these excursions, although it has its own powerful currents. I was touched by your offer to keep an eye on the 'moving stair' for me. I've a suspicion that when you have read my two forthcoming books this offer will be withdrawn, however. I will be caged among other snarling beasts like Laslett and Stone, classed as one of the 'Gadarene sciolists'. I try to justify this in my mind by arguing that you and I use 'scholarship' in different ways.*

*For me 'scholarship' is something more than precision of footnotes, logical consistency in the text, and style. There must be a breadth of vision, and imaginative understanding of the period and what is significant in it, which many 'scholars' in the narrow sense of the word do not have. Perhaps this is an idiosyncratic usage. But for me K.B. MacFarlane, for instance, or even, perhaps – though I don't know his work well – Maitland, are not scholars, whereas Tawney (who often made mistakes and made fairly wild guesses on occasions) is a scholar. Some people, like you, I find difficult to classify – e.g. C.H[ill]. Often one is convinced and there is such an immense abyss of lack of sympathy and understanding shown – e.g. in his bits on the 'Witch Cult' which is, I see, repeated in his latest book – that one has doubts. Actually it is difficult to think of many historians of this century whom one can whole-heartedly admire. The self-importance of those whom I come across at the I.H.R.<sup>27</sup> is amazing and the dreariness of their seminars beyond belief. I mustn't go on as this will sound very arrogant. But I felt I had better warn you that, poised between disciplines, I find most present historical debates very arid. If nothing else, the growing battle between self-styled 'New' and 'Old' schools of history should prove lively. I hope that our friendship will not end if we find ourselves temporarily ranged on opposite sides. In the fight against pomposity and academic small-mindedness I like to think we are each using different weapons in the same cause.*

*I look forward to the Penguin on witches although, as we have both made clear, our work hardly overlaps. My book should be ready for the publishers at the end of April or before.*

*I will be in Oxford to give a talk on Tuesday January 30th & the following day. I don't suppose you'll be free, but if you are on either morning or afternoon, perhaps we could meet for a few minutes. If I don't get a card in the next few days I'll assume you are fully booked up.*

*Again, thank you for writing. Hope all goes well with your work.*

*Yours sincerely,*

Trevor-Roper wrote back on 16th January from the Savile Club 69 Brook Street W1

*My dear Alan,*

*You really must use language more exactly! Scholarship is something quite definite. Of course it is 'more than precision of footnotes, logical consistency in the text, and style'. (It is also a good deal less: it has nothing to do with style). But it does not include 'breadth of vision', imagination etc. Scholarship is technical accuracy and understanding of the rules of evidence within a discipline: nothing more. Historical scholarship consists of knowing and understanding the sources and problems, handling the evidence aright, perceiving its value, reasoning correctly. It is not the sum of a historian's equipment, but it is necessary to him. Firth was a fine scholar and a good historian; so was Namier; but there are fine scholars who are not good historians, because they lack breadth or penetration (like Firth's pupils Godfrey Davies and E.S. de Beer), and there are historians*

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<sup>27</sup> Institute of Historical Research, London University.



*who are not good scholars, but have other gifts, like Tawney and Hill, both of whom have insight and intellectual power but not scholarship. Laslett and Stone are, in my opinion, neither good historians (for they lack understanding and sympathy) nor scholars – they get their facts wrong, misquote their sources, use slipshod methods. Elton is a scholar; Plumb, I think, not. Gibbon was a scholar and historian, Macaulay a historian but not a scholar.*

*Who are the self-important historians of the I.H.R?*

*I don't know on which side I am on in the alleged battle between Old and New Historians. I don't really know what it is all about and can't get very interested. My complaint against the avant-garde sociological anthropological historians is not their aims, which I approve, but their methods: their refusal to correct their history by means of exact scholarship. They are like Margaret Murray (mutatis mutandis). They need the scholarship of a Ewen (who was a scholar but not a historian).*

*I would be delighted to see you on 30 or 31 Jan. I am theoretically on leave, but should be in Oxford, I think. Will you ring me on arrival if we haven't fixed a meeting before? At present I am a little uncertain having just arrived from Scotland and not yet being sorted out.*

*Yours ever, Hugh Trevor-Roper*

From Iris: Field Head, Friday (19th January 1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*.... Worcester College has been at Rydal for ten days with Alec Graham and Harry Pitt in charge, I asked Daddy to ask them over but they didn't, probably they wouldn't have been very interested anyway....*

*....My own news nil apart from work, we heard from Mrs Morrison of Sidinish P.O. saying they were re-roofing their house at Carinish and we could have the P.O. for the summer which is a lovely idea but goodness knows how long the roofing will take. We went to see Mr Porter about this place and a long notice has appeared in the paper about a delightful compact house, as he has never clapped eyes on it I don't know how he knows its compact...*

*I have been getting on with Josselin, not as fast as I would like as I have been getting headaches again, overheated rooms I think. I hope to finish the first section in about a fortnight and will send it off for you to look at and add footnotes and we could then try it out on my agent. I think an appendix discussion of inheritance using K.L. and Stout would be a good idea, the latter is very good on this as was made trustee of dozens of wills and gives in detail the arrangements he made. Do I have to get the editors permission to quote from him? As I told Anne I discovered (or rather you did) this marvellous Lupton Manor Court Book which showed exactly how the land was managed from 1538 on, and last week tried to go further back and looked through the Cartularies of Cockersand Abbey (6 vols. published by the Chetham Society) which was fascinating though only gives hints. Miss M. is bringing back lots of stuff from Carlisle I hope which will fill in the gaps, I'm afraid I have got rather too absorbed in the land question, I never thought I would but it now fascinates me. Have decided to concentrate on Lupton (as well as K.L.) and the Burrow family of whom I know the most (one of them even turned up as a pal of the Stouts in Lancaster) so have chosen them out of the enclosed list. Also the Applegarths of K.L. and some marriage contracts, but do whatever you can. Really I would like to spend a month looking through this source, perhaps will be able to some time. I think I can get the Rev. Henry Newcome here, also published by the Chetham Society. The editors of Stout mention a vast unpublished diary at Preston which might be worth looking at when I get back. Miss Macpherson says she'll send stuff up to me when I leave, needless to say her dream had always been to have a croft in the Outer Hebrides!*

To Lady Clay 20.1.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*Dear Rosalind,*

*.... I will be up in Oxford on Tuesday and Wednesday Jan 30<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> to give my talk at Keith's seminar and very much hope you will be free at some time to see me then. ... Will be interested to hear more about your meeting with Penry Williams. I'm certain he can't have rivalled your wide reading. You always make me feel almost illiterate! (In the nicest possible way). Have just bought The Horse in the Furrow in paperback but not read it yet. Am giving a talk on 'Demography and Anthropology' in a few days – so must read up on two*

*subjects about which I know little. I enclose a list of Keith Thomas' talks in case you haven't seen it – will collect it from you...*

From Gill to parents 21.1.68

*Alan has at last heard about his grant for India – and he has got the scholarship – so that means we shall probably be preparing to go in about November of this year. I don't want to go, of course, being the stick in the mud I am – and am preparing for it in the spirit that it will be good for me! However Alan is quite confident I shall love it, and his enthusiasm is infectious. At least I can tell him I don't really want to go, and don't have to forge any pseudo enthusiasm! I think I shall be very useful in interviewing the people there – as of course this is the main technique of my job – plus the analysis of the material. The money is from the London-Cornell foundation, which means a joint English-American venture and practically speaking – a few months spent in New York, giving seminars to Cornell university. Well, it looks as if I shall see America at least – but rather differently from what I had first anticipated!*

*We went to a party of anthropologists last night – one of Alan's friends is setting off for his field work in Cyprus on Tuesday – so he was saying farewell before getting gobbled up by the Turks! – and I met quite a few girls going off quite alone to the midst of steaming African jungles; really they leave me quite in awe – give me Harlesden psychopaths any day!*

*Alan is in the midst of turning his thesis into a book – and because of Annie he is apparently a month ahead of his programme. He also has seminars to give at Oxford, so is busy preparing those – and was quite thrilled about the scholarship, of course. He looks very well – and has escaped all flus etc. up til now.*

From Iris: Field Head, Tuesday (23rd January 1968)

*Dearest All,*

*News from a dogbound household... Means I haven't been able to get to Kendal this week and find what loot Miss Macpherson brought back from Carlisle.*

*.... Am in a real rut now, for a change! Josselin in the morning, a walk after lunch and parish registers after tea, we have done twenty years of latter but the thought of having to check them all is a bit awful. Was it my mistakes that upset all your graphs? I got the Xerox of my book from American publishers today, the alterations are many but trivial e.g. "Doggy! Pet!" instead of "Candy, Candy" – can you imagine a child calling Doggy! Fancy someone going solemnly through it with such bright ideas too. I shall leave it till I have finished section one of Josselin which I hope to get away at the end of next week, I will do the footnotes if you like when you return it, have added a few of my own. I am getting quite attached to J. but keeping objective, the first section needs little dressing up as the facts are so interesting... I am looking forward to hearing the result of the interview with Fuhrer Haemendorff (?) If he thinks you really should learn Assamese I will send my notes, but you will have to have lessons as well, I wonder where? ....*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6 24.1.1968

*Dear M. and D.,*

*Many thanks for your two letters.... Yes, we're both excited about Shillong, though we're also apprehensive. I went to see about the details of the grant yesterday and they asked me questions like 'How much will it cost for local travel? (we finally decided that I'd probably spend about £60 – on hiring a horse!) The grant seems quite generous – they'll give us between 15-18 months there: pay our air fares both ways, lend us a camera and tape-recorder and give us money for 'subsistence'. Two things they asked me to find out and I wondered if you had any ideas on these*

*a) how much (since devaluation) roughly the air-fare from Calcutta to (Gauhati/Shillong or wherever would be best for Shillong) would cost.*

*b) what it would cost to 'subsist' in the Khasi hills. They will pay fully for me, but only partly for Gill who may have to get a part-time job. They reckoned £1,000 p.a. but thought this might be a bit low. Have you any idea?*

*Then when it is all over Cornell university will probably pay for me to return via New York where they will entertain me for a couple of weeks and hear me talk about India (unfortunately they only pay for a direct trip*

home for Gill). I haven't started reading up on the area or working out detailed research problems. Will have to wait till I've seen F-Haimendorf and you before I do this. It should be a marvellous experience.

To move to the other extreme: ... As I keep saying, for heaven's sake don't let yourself be landed with dogs at the croft. Any biters for the house? I'm sure you'll have no difficulty letting it. We will be leaving about November I think and then be away for c. 18 months – which takes it through to about June 1970. If the house was empty then we would love to look after it – but quite realize that you may have to make a longer lease. I think it would be fatal to leave it empty for any period of time.... But I'm sure Daddy will have said this. Glad to hear the P.O. at Sidinish will be free: just what you wanted.

....Went to Keith's seminar at Oxford yesterday – he gave a talk on the survival of magic in C16 & C17 religion. Very interesting. I'll get a fuller version next week when he's letting me borrow the typescript of his book (before I give the talk on Josselin). Talking of Josselin, yes I think your idea of using the K.L. and Stout evidence for a discussion of inheritance would be excellent. I've already got Anne to do a preliminary analysis of 30 Boreham wills to see to whom they bequeathed property: hardly ever was it to people beyond the fringes of the nuclear family. It should be possible to make a diagrammatic comparison with K.L. (Annie better do the analysis of K.L. wills – so that the principles of analysis are similar). Are there any other subjects which are specially well dealt with in Stout? When you feel like writing the bit on inheritance I'd very much like to see it. Although I don't suppose, strictly, one needs to get the editor's permission, it might be as well to let them know what you are doing (they may have students doing the same thing, e.g!) I enclose a letter from J.D. Marshall which will give you his address if you feel like writing. I very much look forward to reading the revised part. Do hope it is not too much of a bore. So sorry to hear that you're getting head-aches & hope it really is too-hot rooms. If it's work – for heaven's sake cut down. Wonder if the slides still churn on? If they do, don't cut them up and index them yet. They should be checked against the original in the church (the transcriber may have made mistakes/omissions etc.). Annie is just sorting out the Boreham corrections – it takes three times as long if they are cut up. I hope you can wait a couple of weeks before I start to work on the Chancery depositions. At the moment I'm writing a devastating essay on the population explosion, and its relevance to anthropologists for Firth's seminar! If you've finished with the Mediterranean Countrymen book (which has an essay on this subject) perhaps you could send it off? Enclosed another reference for your bibliography...

From Iris: Field Head (undated)

My dear Alan,

We're all delighted with the news – not that we ever expect any of our family to fail in anything they undertake, but still it was quite something convincing those hard-headed Yanks to let you go where you wanted. It'll be a marvellous experience, the Khasi hills must be one of the most beautiful and exiting places in the world. Let me know if you'd like me to write to anyone.... Am writing properly in a few days but this is to bring our love & congratulations to you personally...

From Iris: Field Head, Sunday (28th January 1968)

I have taken 2 carbons of Josselin.

My dear Alan,

I got to the end of Josselin earlier than I thought so I'm sending him off for you to look at. I'm afraid the typing is far from perfect, but good enough for a publisher I think, my agent is always polite about my efforts which are usually worse than this! However if you would like to have some of the pages re-typed please say so, it will take very little time now. As you see the first lot of footnotes are wrong, but I've let them stand as you may want to alter the introduction. I only left out one quotation, the one about the marriage anniversary which didn't seem relevant at this stage i.e. the fact that he remembered his wedding day didn't seem to say anything positive about his feelings for his ancestors – however I may be wrong. I will do the footnotes for you if you like, and put in mine, but if you would rather do them let me know and I'll send my contributions along. I indulged in a slight flight of fancy at the end which may not suit you, but otherwise the facts were all that was needed and I don't think I have altered the meaning, I hope not.

The question of whether weaning has a bearing on conception is one you may not understand, it is the actual suckling of the child which contracts the uterus, thus causing it to rid itself of anything in it – so the case of the

*fifteen month gap didn't seem to me to have much to do with weaning which occurred at ten days. I started to check the dates but gave up, I think it would be better to leave this till your notes on the back have been typed out and put in the right places, presumably they are not going to be printed? One thing I insist on and that is that this is your work and my name not to enter in anywhere, if there is a snag about the advance you could put it straight into our account until such time as you can take it, and we can give it back to you in the form of a loan or something, after all in a sense you have already taken more than your grant by borrowing from us and this would be the same! I am sure it will be snapped up, I would love to do the same with some other diaries in long Hebridean evenings...*

*The air fare from Gauhati cost Rs. 3,369 which I think devalued is about £167 (Daddy thinks). Wouldn't they let you have the money and you could go by boat, easier for luggage, more restful and you could spend the surplus on seeing a bit of India, i.e. Mughal Delhi on your way through. The only advantage about learning Assamese is that you could do a "tour" of Family Planning lectures through Assam at some stage which would be very valuable, also there is a lot of fascinating stuff untranslated, marriage songs, lullabies etc. Perhaps you will find all Khasis do speak it too, I really don't know about this.*

*This is a working letter, a proper one about the progress of the snowdrops will follow.... Tomorrow I will go to Kendal. Thank you for the enclosures, I have joined the Armitt library<sup>28</sup> so hope to find some of the books there. I will stop cutting up registers, a pity, stapling away to the Telly is one of my favourite occupations. My researches here have shown that Joan Thirsk was right, at least as far as this part of the world was concerned, in thinking that the Open Field System was something that evolved and was not brought over and dumped by the Saxons.*

*Much love to all, Mummy*

The first page of the talk I gave in Oxford to Keith Thomas' seminar on 30<sup>th</sup> January..



(Mark a response for each behavior)

It may seem not only arrogant but mistaken to claim that ~~this~~ ~~xx~~ diaries are a 'lost land'. Have not social and economic historians, at least in the ~~last~~ years since the last war, made considerable use of such sources? Surprisingly the answer appears to be no. ~~Probably~~ The best use of diaries appears to have been made by Mildred Campbell in her book on English Yeomen, published some 26 years ago. (1) She used some fifteen diaries to good effect. But little has been extracted since. A few illustrious writers will have to serve as instances of such neglect. Tawney made very scant use of diaries in his Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, only referring to one diary apart from the lives of the Duke of Newcastle, Clarendon and Colonel Hutchinson (2), and his successors in the same field have used this source less than they might. Taking six diaries at random from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, those of ~~New~~ John Manningham, Adam Eyre, ~~Henry~~ Ralph Josselin, Roger Lowe, Henry Newcome and Oliver Heywood, we find only one reference to Josselin and two to Newcome in Christopher Hill's three books: Economic Problems, Puritanism and Revolution, Society and Puritanism. (3) None of these six diaries are referred to by either Haller or Michael Walzer - though both might plead that those selected came too late to be of use. (4) It may seem surprising that historians of religion should have ignored sources which allow them inside the spirit of those they study. Perhaps even more surprising is the neglect by ~~social~~ social historians. Wallace Notestein made a little use of the diaries of Adam Eyre and Josselin in his English People on the Eve of Colonization (5), but others have not followed his example. Diaries are conspicuous by their absence in the work of Professor Hoskins. Even when he is forced into discussing them in his Local History in England he only stresses their importance for the nineteenth century. (6) His lack of interest is revealed by the fact that he does not even bother to include W. Matthews, Annotated bibliography of British diaries, the standard, if incomplete, bibliography, in his 'suggested reading'. The other standard reference bibliographies which the historian might use, Conyers Read and Ed. M. Nicke and Emmison's English Local History Hand List, are equally reticent about this source. (7) We might expect the new social historians of the

## 1968 – February

To Keith Thomas 1.2.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Keith,

*It was extremely nice seeing you and Valerie on Tuesday and I am grateful to you for at least three things. Firstly, for letting me talk to such an illustrious audience – I found several of the questions and comments most helpful. Secondly for a delicious dinner and most enjoyable conversation: the latter was especially appreciated as there is little interest in 'our' sort of subject at L.S.E. But above all, very many thanks for letting me glance through some of your chapters. Naturally I only read about half of them and didn't have time to investigate what looked like even more fascinating footnotes, but I still received a strong enough impression to know that you have written a masterpiece. As I told Valerie, I'm sure it's of the same stature as the work of Tawney and Namier (at least!). Definitely the most exciting history I've ever read. You may say I'm prejudiced – I am. But all I can say is that I thought the whole book absolutely marvellous. What will the title be – so that I can refer to it in my book? If there is anything I can do at all to speed it on its way – e.g. check London references – I would be more than delighted to do this.*

*Thank you again for a most invigorating visit. Please thank Valerie for numerous cups of coffee.*

To Iris in Hebrides

2/2/68

Josselin. Part 1 & Introduction.

*Very many thanks. It reads much better & I am very happy with all your modifications. There are just one or two minor changes which I've indicated on the text in pencil: this is so you can accept or reject them as you see fit. If you do make changes perhaps you could also correct the carbons. Only one page - p.21 - might need re-typing. I'm afraid, as you will see, I made the weaning/deaths reference too ambiguous. Otherwise I don't think any of it will need re-typing.*

*I think at a later stage the introduction will have to be altered a little. Some discussion is needed of why people wrote diaries (any ideas?) - beyond the Riesman reference - and also some comparison of Josselin's Diary to that of some of his contemporaries. What really needs discussion is how many other Diaries are susceptible to the same treatment. As there is no chance that Josselin will be published for about a year at the least, we will have plenty of time to start working on the best ones before people are given the message! A reference I will later add to the introduction is to a book by W. Notestein, English Folk, which has portraits of, among others, Oliver Heywood. Talking of additions, I will also expand the note on miscarriages on p.16. (sorry I kept putting 'stillbirths' instead of miscarriages).*

*Two questions. I wondered what Part 5 The Diary would be? I doubt whether it will be possible to republish the whole, unedited Diary, and there seems little point in doing the Hockliffe version over again. Secondly, I wondered why you had omitted the piece on p.13 (of first draft) on the portions of the last two daughters? Is it because this point needs to be saved for fuller discussion in the appendix on inheritance? I think it would be as well in that case to leave out the comments on the significance for the study of wills - until the appendix. But include the actual amounts paid in marriage portions as the previous passage is not really complete without it. You could include a footnote with 'see Appendix.. ' for a further discussion of this problem'.*

*I haven't checked the tables - this can be done when the footnotes have been completed and when everything is being checked, e.g. the references to the Diary and my transcripts from the original Diary.*

*About footnotes. This is a little difficult. We really, need footnotes before the text is sent to the publishers, but I haven't really time to do them for a couple of months. Nor can you really do them at your end because you*



haven't got the full references to books and articles mentioned. If you had the time/energy you could perhaps type the footnotes for each page and then pin them on (on separate pieces of paper) following my conventions & adding you own notes. This would be alright for the publisher, I think, and then we could expand the contractions at a later stage. But don't bother if this is too much of a sweat.

Are you going to wait for a bit before you carry on with parts 2 & 3? If it isn't too much of a bother I think it would be best to carry on (that is, when you have finished your correcting of the American edition of your book). If your agent can't interest anyone, I think I should be able to flog it to someone down here. As you know, officially I should offer Routledge's my next three books. This is one of the reasons why it is essential that your name should appear somewhere in the title (A.M. in collaboration with I.M. perhaps?). Other reasons are a) the money one - easier to put money into your account b) I can reasonably expect you to do all this work on it if you are there - e.g. possibly an index. I really do insist on this - unless you feel that it will be such a flop that you don't want your name attached! If necessary we can have a prefatory note explaining the division of labour in the matter.

#### Addenda.

Attached are a few notes from the Cranham parish register. I visited Cranham last week. These are the burials and Baptisms of uncle Ralph Josselin's children and wife. I don't think this should affect part 2 much - except genealogical tree (I don't know if cousins Elizabeth and Anne are mentioned by R.J. or not).

I've finished looking through Josselin references at Somerset House and there doesn't appear to be anything more useful.

Many thanks for two letters and the draft of Josselin. Josselin is enclosed with a few comments. I very much appreciate your help with this, as I say there. To get rid of the other enclosures, Annie sends some stamps for Daddy. There are also some carboned lectures on population - by Professor Glass. I thought you might be interested in these. Hang onto them as long as you like as I have another copy. To get rid of work straight away: how goes K.L.? I gather that you (or rather Miss M.) have discovered another court book for K.L. I look forward to hearing about this: how much does it help? I was also interested to hear (as will Joan Thirsk be) that the Open Field System was something that evolved and was not 'brought over and dumped by the Saxons'. I'm longing to start studying the correlation between population/marriage/land-tenure/epidemics/kinship etc.

Thank you for advice about the Khasis. I will start asking numerous questions soon, no doubt. I am just about to start reading about them. F-H (my abbreviation for Fuhrer-Haimendorf from now on) has lent me a new book by Hamlet Bareh on 'The History of the Khasi People', which is based on a research degree at Gauhati University. There are some useful passages in it, and others - the gems from local literature and quoted or descriptions of 'Khasi Ladies' are given - which are hilarious. Fortunately, there are plenty of gaps for me to fill in.

The main event of the week as far as I was concerned was a visit to Oxford to read the paper on R.J. I think it went down quite well - their main interest was in servants/weaning and Josselin's motives for writing the diary. Keith, anyhow was enthusiastic. I saw all my Worcester and other friends - e.g. Lady C. and Ralph Robinson. Incidentally I talked to Harry Pitt and Alec....a point that came up in the conversation was a visit that all the Worcester party made to the home of Roger Fulford. Apparently he lives in a magnificent house (with magnificent furniture), Barbon Hall. You ought to contact him next time you go over as he is very friendly and would be happy to see you I'm sure. The highlight of the visit to Oxford, however, was being able to spend an evening with Keith and being allowed to read the typescript of his book. It is absolutely marvellous: on the same level as Religion and the Rise of Capitalism I am sure. The footnotes are quite fantastic. Makes our little efforts seem rather humble!

London on 3rd February 1968

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

Many thanks for your chastening letter of 16th January. I think I really agree with you about scholarship - except that I don't think the division between historian and scholar is as absolute as you make it. To be able to 'handle the evidence aright' or 'know and understand the sources and problems' is not something that can be

*mechanically learnt. It requires imaginative sympathy. But I don't want to embark on that discussion at the moment. The point of this letter is to apologise for not contacting you on 30th or 31st. In the event my visit to Oxford was shorter and more rushed than I had expected and I felt it would be rude to suggest specific limited times. I did in fact ring on Wednesday morning, but you had already left home. Next time I visit Oxford perhaps we can fix something definite in advance – then I can plan my other engagements round it. I was very sorry not to see you as I always enjoy our meetings very much.*

*I do hope your numerous projects go well and that your room is not too thick in piles of papers.*  
*Yours ever,*

From Keith Thomas 7.2.68

*Dear Alan,*

*It was very nice of you to write and very good of you to raise my morale. Your paper was a great success, you'll be glad to hear; I have had a number of very favourable comments, and that doesn't often happen. I hope you'll be coming this way again soon. You know you are always welcome.*

From Iris: Field Head, Wednesday (14th February 1968)

*Dearest All,*

*I can't remember what I have to thank who for, but please take it as read that I enjoyed your letters...I wonder if Eric has turned up, please thank him again about the luggage, it seems to have ground to a halt again on its way from the shed to the quay side, and we can get no answer about what has happened, periodically I snatch up my pen to dash off a furious letter to Sir Owain Jenkins and the Hon. Peter Remnant and all the other titled directors I know, but I know it wouldn't do any good. Eric's efforts are the only ones that anyone has made over the past two and a half years.*

*Talking about titles, we are having the Lord Chief Justice of Kenya here for the summer, no less, from May 18th for three months and possibly longer. I wasn't really thinking along these lines and am wondering how he will react to the spikes in the mattress and all the other oddities round the place, still they have promised to look after the garden... This means you could come up in mid-August for a week or so if you could spare the time, might then try to get another let. We can now see our way clearer, but it really depends on when Sidinish P.O. is ready for us....we are going to start on the spring clean I think, my enthusiasm for this comes and goes, mostly goes, but Daddy is giving up Rydal at the end of the month so will probably do most of it. His successor is being paid 6/- an hour, rotten swiz I call it! We shall be starting to pack things away, so may we secrete the love letters etc. in some sacred spot in the shed? Am going to leave our stuff here and come back for it in the autumn. I have stopped clipping the registers as it will be much easier to cope with them flat so to speak, I found thousands of name cards in the shed, have these been earmarked for anything?*

*Work from now on. I got Josselin off a couple of days ago and asked my agent to get in touch with you. I did most of the alterations you suggested and re-typed some of it, I can't think why I left out the inheritance bit, I think I meant to go back to it and forgot. Typical slapdash approach. I am really not good at this type of work at all. Anyway I put this back and sent a covering letter saying that the footnotes were incomplete and that we intended to expand the introduction along the lines you suggested. Of course I would be very honoured to have my name included as an author, but it seems unfair when you have done all the work, my own contribution some rotten typing and arranging in paragraphs. Anyway this can be thrashed out later. It never occurred to me that you didn't intend to include at least some of the diary, surely a bit irritating to be constantly referred to something you can't see? I thought you would be printing the new stuff you had found, setting it in some of the diary already printed. If you don't do this, then the introduction will have to be considerably expanded don't you think, much more about Josselin's background and life. Probably Keith will be able to advise you best about this, I'm sorry his book is going to take some of the wind out of the sails of yours, but perhaps you are being too modest. I'm sure you'll find a publisher for Josselin, I will take more time over the second two sections, rather rushed through this one as I wanted to get it off...*

*As I told Anne I've found some marvellous books in the Armitt Library, one called "Annals of a Quiet Valley" which is a mine of information about old customs and very funny too. His grandfather was vicar of the church (probably Eskdale, he is coy about it) in 1719 and used to spend 8 hours a day behind the communion*



*rails teaching the children and spinning - he left £2000! He seems to have been a real character, he refused the Bishop's orders to pray for rain during a drought, when the Bishop asked why he said he'd seen which way the wind was blowing over Hardknott and there couldn't possibly be rain, so why fly in the face of providence? I also read a book about Troutbeck based on the Brown manuscripts, which are in Kendal (uncatalogued needless to say) also full of fascinating stuff about funerals and superstitions, wish I could find something like that for our area.*

*Actually while I was there the other day a handsome and distinguished gent came in with lots of maps and boxes, turned out to be a Wilson from Rigmaden, one of the books was the Manor Court Book which I hope to be able to go through before I leave. The Kirby Lonsdale one is keeping me busy at the moment, absolutely fascinating but a lot of the land transactions embedded in illegible Latin, however I'm getting the hang of it. It has lists of freeholders, Copyholders and The Poor at intervals and is very good on the general running of the village, they even regulated as to where in the beck they could wash their clothes and dishes, and a curious state of affairs emerges whereby they own "closes" in the common field, Lupton still has two common fields at this time but Kirby seems to have enclosed the area though it is still full of these scattered closes, hope to find soon how exactly they were cultivated. In Lupton the common fields were divided by a ditch, half for hay and half for corn it seems, presumably switched over, but I have yet to find a map of who owned them. Miss M. brought some maps back from Carlisle but nothing very old.*

*The population statistics were very interesting, I would think factors like the introduction of potatoes and the switch from ale drinking to tea would have a big effect on health, the Quiet Valley man says that a lot of people succumbed to "ague" in the spring after a winter spent eating salt meat and onions, probably this covers a lot of diseases, particularly bronchial ones and rheumatic fever which William Stout had. I know in India the catholics who didn't drink suffered very much from their health, the women especially from anaemia in childbirth. We find that the K.L. schoolmaster had left out sixty years so our population graph is incomplete but we may be able to fill in most of it before we leave, we are plugging on with the registers and going backwards now to try to meet where I left off. I am longing to start analysing, but still have more that I can cope with in the way of scribbling down.... Will send down the wills and return the population notes. I have my Assamese dictionary if you decide to learn it...*

*....Have just been reading Llewellyn Powys "Life" & "Letters" which are very moving - am about to embark on the 3rd classic on the subject "The Open Fields" by the Orwins - they aren't historians but land agents....*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6 15.2.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Many thanks for you long and very long interesting letter. Sorry to have sent anxious post cards, but we missed your weekly record. A spring-like day today and I've just noticed my first crocuses as I look out of the window. I don't seem to have written for some time, so this will be rather a bitty and concentrated letter.... Perhaps I should answer some of your questions first, then give you our news, then finish with work.*

*Yes, of course stow away my love-letters, diaries, essays etc. in the shed. There are also a box of photographs: perhaps you could keep a special eye on these if the shed is going to be damp. Also, please don't throw away the tennis box which you'll find there - it contains various precious documents including passport. The name-cards which you found in the shed are to be used up - please use them and any other cards there....*

*About your visit south... I am going to the anthropological conference in Cambridge on Wednesday 3rd April, so any week before that would be fine. A final answer to a question: we'd be delighted to go up to the Lakes for a few days in August, or whenever the Lorde High Executioner leaves, to clear up and prepare the place for another let. If you want me to go up at any other time to do anything, do let us know. So glad you've managed to get someone and that the N. Uist end is clearing up...*

*Talking of money, do let me know when you need the £50. I am hoping to get the witchcraft book to the publisher within the next couple of weeks and, if that is alright with you, could pay you back when my grant comes in early April.*

*...A high spot of last week was the opportunity to see F-Haimendorf's films/slides of Nepal. Wish you could see them. Very lovely - hope I can do the same with the Khasis. I went to see Mrs. Hayley's father yesterday*

and he gave me some tips about learning Khasi. He agreed that Jowai would be a good place to go - or Cherrapunji! We'd have to take good rain-coats. I'm intrigued by the Thlen (cannibal serpent) beliefs and the divination by egg-shells. Nearest thing to witchcraft it seems. Will outline my plans for research on another occasion, however. A postcard from Erik who says he hopes to arrive about 20th. Talking of field-work, however. You never heard any more about the fish-farming book did you?... It might be a good thing to investigate. Also, before I forget, could you send me the exact details (or you can give them to me when you come down) about the connection between K.L. and Cambridge. Then I can arrange to call in on the college archives during my stay there. We are all being bedded and boarded chez Leach at King's - with a reception to start with etc. Quite an occasion I should imagine.

About work. Many thanks for all the fascinating references. Yes, I agree, it may be necessary to include more background about Josselin: also it might be worth giving a few pages of the Diary as a sample, but I think an actual edition, even abstracts, would take up too much space and be worthless unless it was complete. Thank you for dealing with it, anyhow, and I look forward to seeing the next passages, though I hope you don't find the kinship bit too tedious. As I explained, I think it is important, even if a bit detailed. I enclose a very short note from Keith (could you please return it?) which I thought was encouraging. As you know, all I did was to give a garbled set of extracts from the R.7. first draft. I also enclose my talk on demography and anthropology (with hand-outs). Most of it will be familiar to you - but the last part complements Glass' lectures to a certain extent and does raise problems which I hope we may be able to analyse further from K.L. I wondered if you'd a) read the Redfield book - and what it was like (any problems we might investigate at the village level?) and b) whether you had had a chance to see the famous Farming Account Books of Best for Yorkshire in 1641 (out of which I think I sent you the bit about country weddings. It is edited for the Surtees Society for 1857 (vol. xxxiii). Is it in Kendal R.O. or the Armitt Library? It might give you invaluable material on farming methods. Must get it xeroxed at some point.

I must read 'Annals of a Quiet Vale', it sounds glorious. I loved your quote about praying for rain - so would Keith: I must send it to him when I see the original. Perhaps you could just jot down the passage and a full reference to the book & I could send it on - or, I can do it. More and more sources seem to be flowing in. Sorry I'm not able to start on the Chancery records for a bit - will get going next month. You don't say what the dates of the K.L. Court Book are? Do the lists of Poor, Freeholders etc. overlap with the surveys/P.R. etc.? If so, they will be marvellous. It all really sounds most exciting: I very much liked the picture of them all having small portions of the beck to wash clothes/dishes in. Think of the social tensions during a drought - and what about cholera etc. What about latrines - any information?...

To Keith Thomas 16.2.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Keith,

Thank you very much for your kind note. Sorry to bother you further, but I wonder if you'd mind just having a quick look at this one page before I send it to the publisher? Obviously there is nothing to be gained from antagonizing T-R and prejudicing him against anthropological history but one also has to take into account that a lot of people will read his work - especially as it is now coming out as a Penguin - and accept it as accurate unless someone objects. Obviously it would better to be more specific in the criticism, but I don't think he deserves the space. If you could possibly let me borrow your review of his book of essays, I could then see what he meant when he wrote that you hadn't carefully read his opening pages etc.

I don't know whether you have a title for your book or, if you have, whether you want advanced publicity if I publish first: I will be bound to say, of course that most of my limited findings will have to be placed in your more complete framework.

From Gill to parents on 18.2.68 from Milverton Road

Alan is working hard on his book which he is submitting finally to the publisher this coming Friday - so it will be at last be out of the way. The next big occasion is a three day conference at Cambridge, in honour of the most eminent anthropologist living - Evans-Pritchard. One of his main works was on witchcraft in a primitive tribe - and he was one of the examiners on A's D.Phil. It is a great honour to be asked to contribute to the

conference, and A is by far the youngest talker – it is being held at King's College, and Leach, of the Reith lectures, will be the host – so it will also be three days high living, as I gather he is an extravagant host – or rather King's College is. I think he is quite thrilled about the invitation. He is very well at the moment – after a shocking cold last week – which actually prevented him from working – so you can imagine what a mammoth cold it was!

From Keith Thomas 19 February 1968

Dear Alan,

I think what you say about H.T-R is very fair. He doesn't just imply we know all about the facts; he actually says so on pp.100-1 of the book ("this whole episode, whose basic facts thanks to the work of our predecessors, are not in dispute"), and I think, though haven't checked that in Encounter he was even more sweeping. My own comments in the Guardian were rather feeble as I had to write about the whole book, not just witchcraft in 400 words or so. He probably thought me unfair because he says on p.91 that the village beliefs were as old as the hills and therefore not his concern; he was interested only in the systematic demonology of the persecutors. What I would have said if I had had room, was that the separation between social context and ideology can't be so easily made, since the actual prosecutions, in England anyway, were because of village maleficia not because of continental demonology. Where does he say I was unfair though? I must have missed it. Here's the review for what it's worth; let me have it back. It sounds as if it may be needed in a libel action.

I haven't a title for my book yet. Primitive Beliefs in early modern/16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century/ pre-industrial/ Tudor and Stuart/ England or some such I suppose it will have to be. Suggestions are welcome. So is advance publicity. Do you have a likely publication date (and indeed title) for yours? If, as now seems likely yours will be out first I shall have to alter the tense in my various references to you. For that matter, parts of my present text might be rather superfluous. Do let me know.

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Wednesday (21st February 1968)

Dearest All,

A line to show I'm not having another black-out.... Very nice letter of Keith's, & comforting that he needs his morale boosting! Good post this morning, our luggage is arriving on March 14<sup>th</sup> - well done Eric! I will choose out some choice Assamese fishing basket to give him as a thank offering. Also a letter approving our plan for the croft & the maximum grant of £850, so everything seems to be suddenly clicking. While I was cleaning the cat's mess off the drawing room carpet a friend of Lady Ainley arrived (wife of Lord Chief Whatnot) and she turned out to be the botanist lady, friend of your friend David - tiny world - She says she can't imagine Sir John<sup>29</sup> carting coal but I can't imagine who he'll find to do it for him.... The botanist was very nice, a pity I didn't go & see her as before as you suggested....

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6 24.2.1968

Dear Mummy and Daddy,

Thank you for your letter. Delighted to hear about the luggage - though, of course, we will have to go on keeping our finger's crossed until we see the ant-eaten remains themselves. If there is anything to do in London - at the customs or whatever - do let me know and I'll do what I can. No sign of Erik. Perhaps he's stowed away inside one of the chests? Also, good news about the approval of croft plans. Do you need any of them duplicated Daddy? When will the sale be finally ratified? It is all most exciting....

Tonight I go to an anthropology party... There was a party on Tuesday too - of anthropologists - after the Malinowski memorial lecture, but I didn't go in the end and was cheered to find it was pretty unpleasant. All the big shots (Leach, F-Haimendorf etc.) were there. The actual lecture, which sounded as if it might be interesting 'On the Magic Power of Words', by a Cambridge anthropologist, in fact Sinhalese, was disappointing.<sup>30</sup> Anthropology really is in a bit of a rut at the moment - at least British-type anthropology. It is up to us to wake it up!

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29 Sir John Ainley was Kenya's Chief Justice at independence and served in that role until 1968.

<sup>30</sup> This was by Stanley J. Tambiah, later to be a colleague at Cambridge.

*Most of my thought and energy, of course, has been devoted to finishing the book. I think one more day will see it through and I am going to see the publishers on Wednesday. I am not entirely happy with the revised version of the final three chapters (on anthropological approaches to Witchcraft), but will see what they think. Annie has been a marvellous help - and proved very good at checking for mistakes. No news of R. Josselin yet. Wonder how the latter parts are going with you - and how K.L. goes? Dying to see how you are getting on. Am wondering whether to tack on my M.Phil. to the R.J. study - which would make a reasonable length book. But perhaps it would not be a good idea. If we could have some information on sex and marriage from the K.L. register, that would help....*

24.2.68

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*Dear Keith,*

*Many thanks for your letter, and for sending the review which I enjoyed and return. T-R. hasn't said that you misunderstood him - yet. He just mentioned in a letter to me that he is writing a preface to the third repeat of his witchcraft essay which is coming out as a Penguin. His words were 'I have added a brief, brisk forward sharply re-defining the territory between us in view of the incapacity of your supervisor to read what is clearly stated on the first page of the text.' Obviously it is in T-R's interest to make the gap as wide as possible - otherwise he would really have to get down to the detailed research on actual 'epidemics' which would quickly destroy his black-and-white view.*

*I suppose that Witchcraft Astrology and Magic in Pre-Industrial England or some such combination would be no good for your title? I suppose your material is too wide for this. I still can't make up my mind about a title. Its scheduled as 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England' - but this will have to be qualified since a) its mostly about Essex and b) there are three final chapters (probably) comparing Essex to Africa (a digest of those chapters on 'anthropological approaches' which I compiled about three years ago.) Otherwise the book is almost exactly the same in contents as the thesis - with the order changed a little. So it is safe to assume that if a piece is in the thesis it will be in the book etc. I hope to have it published at about Christmas, though have not fixed this up with Routledge.*

*How does your work progress? Pretty hampered by your enormous teaching burden I imagine. I enclose most of my references to you from the text and preface (except for a few refs. To specific obligations for bits of information as in the thesis). The preface is still pretty fluid, so please say if you object to anything. Likewise in the text. If you would prefer me to refer to the title of your book, perhaps you could send that later in the year? I do hope that you feel I have done you justice. I'm afraid it is going to be difficult untangling our two works.*

*I wonder how the Tuesday seminars have gone? I wish it wasn't so expensive/time-consuming going to Oxford. I hope to be up towards the end of March if you are free at all. I hope you've decided to go to the A.S.A. conference; I very much look forward to your contribution to it*

To Lady Clay 24.2.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

*Dear Rosalind,*

*It doesn't look as if I will be coming to Oxford for another two or three weeks so I thought I'd just write a shortish letter to reply to your nice long one. No news really, but, like you, I believe a long gap looks unfriendly. As I say, I hope to be up in Oxford in the second half of March - I will let you know more certainly nearer the time. Evans-Prichard has kindly agreed to read through the typescript of my book (which is going to the publisher very shortly) and I'll come up to discuss it with him then.*

*I imagine your garden will be beginning to look lovely; there are even crocuses coming up next-door to our flat and I can see them from where I sit and type. I long to see Balliol lawn etc. I wish Oxford was not so far off; I would very much like to attend some of the other Keith Thomas seminars. Have you heard any reports of them from Ian - for instance, have you heard how Ralph Holbrooke's went?*

*Speaking of talks, I've been asked to give a talk to a group of historical demographers at L.S.E. in a week or so (the talk on sex I gave at Balliol). I think I must have told you about the conference I am going to at the beginning of April at Cambridge - an anthropological one on witchcraft. We are the guests of Edmund Leach*



at King's College where all our expenses are payed etc. Keith Thomas and Norman Cohn are among the other speakers – so if they come it should be great fun.

I enclose the letter from Trevor-Roper which I mentioned when I saw you – about what 'scholarship' consists of. Perhaps you could return it when I see you. Characteristically forthright. Of course one half agrees – though his division between scholars and historians is too rigid for me. As far as I am concerned one can be a historian without being a scholar, but not vice versa. As this is a private letter perhaps you could not mention it to too many people? I also have had a few nice notes from Christopher Hill – references to witchcraft etc. I wonder how you are getting on with potting Collinson – if you see the chain of thought ...

Ralph Josselin is being re-typed by my mother at the moment, but I hope that he will soon be ready for you to comment on – if you can face that. As I said above, my main energies are being devoted to a final spurt of witchcraft at the moment I don't seem to have read any good (really good) books for a long time now. In odd moments I am beginning to think about the Assamese tribe to whom I will be going.

From Keith Thomas 27.2.1968

Many thanks for your letter and the enclosed. You are too kind about my book; so much so that I think it would be anti-climax if I ever published it after such a puff. I have put a ring around the bits which I fear overstate the case. If you could tone it down a bit I would be very grateful. I wonder also whether it might not be better to omit the sentences which have put brackets round; and I have also suggested a few verbal alterations, all of which are intended to confirm that we are writing in collaboration rather than competition.

Isn't the obvious title for yours Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart Essex: a historical and anthropological study or some such?

Yes, I'll be at the ASA conference, I haven't yet written my paper and have very little time in which to do so as I have to go to Canada to give some lectures for ten days after term. But I'm doing something on the problems of applying anthropological approaches to English evidence. It will be pretty old hat to you.

P.S. You'll see my preface in due course, which will reiterate the line taken in yours.

## 1968 – March

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Sunday (3rd March 1968)

Dearest All,

The most blissful day here, and I do hope you have managed to get out into it, we went for a picnic up Black Crag, walked up through the pine woods in sugary snow and lay on a sun-drenched hillside – at least I lay, Daddy paced! We have had a spell of cold but sunny weather, one of the best Februarys I remember which we will no doubt pay for later. Eight crocuses are out, lots of catkins, and a million hikers already. I was lying in the sun under the papers when we got back, when Lady Ainley's cousin arrived, and her daughter is appearing any moment – she seems to be sending a lot of people to look us over, but they all seem nice and unpretentious and it's much better for them to get a clear idea of what the place is like....

My plans to date are as follows – leave here on March 11th... and spend from Monday to Friday in Preston. Take the bus down on Friday evening and go to Granny's for about three days....After that it is up to you, it seems to me a very exhausting and expensive plan to drive up for such a short time, but it depends how much the car would cost I suppose. The thing is there will be so little time here, as far as moving your stuff this we can easily do, have packed all papers away in the oak chest and we are going to screw this down, I can bring down the clothes you left and can also bring my Kirby Lonsdale stuff – but if you feel the change would do you all good, even though most of the time would be spent in the car – then we could all come up together.... I'll leave you to mull this all over... I hope Eric turned up and has found something worthwhile to do with himself, he will have given you a good idea of the frustration of any Indian enterprise. I also hope the witchcraft book got off safely and will be approved of, what a relief, you seem to have been much fussier than me about the full stops, I leave all that to the publisher's editor. I was very impressed with the talk on demography, and we will certainly be able to apply a lot of it to K.L. – as you know a study that I had wanted to do was of a community (i.e. Assamese) subjected suddenly to a process that normally takes hundreds of years by the

snatching of their land so that they are forced to readjust to overcrowding without any preparation - the odd thing is that they don't, they continue with all their old customs of early marriage, partible inheritance etc. even those these are quite inadequate to deal with the new situation. Custom is much stronger than common sense but I'm sure the pressures must fundamentally alter the character. I suppose really that custom is all people have to support them in such a situation, it's like those birds that build gigantic and useless nests which are never going to be used because there is no other function left for them.

I managed to get into the Armitt library for a short while yesterday and got out a lovely Glossary of North Country words which is full of sidelights on old customs, e.g. Groaning Cake, provided at the "expectation of the accouchement. I understand a slice of the first cut laid under the pillow enables young damsels to dream of their lovers particularly if previously tossed in a certain nameless part of the midwives apparel. "!! He describes the screaming of the women at the carrying in of the last reaping, which is just like Assam, and the obscene songs at the other big festival the sheep clipping - also an Eastern and in fact general custom.

The bit from Annals of a Quiet Valley was that when the Bishop asked why he had not prayed for rain "my grandfather replied that the Hard Knott winds were not rain bringing ones, and that it was no use offering up the prayer "for rain" as long as the winds blew from that quarter and that he had no belief in flying in the face of Providence." The descriptions of Parish clerks are very funny, and one gets a glimpse of the humour that one suspected lay behind the harshness - as when a neighbouring clergyman complained of the soiled appearance of the gown he was given and was told by the clerk to take it off as it was "old Anna's penance sheet" - the sheet was kept hanging behind the vestry door and Anna had been the last person to wear it! His grandfather spun, laboured for farmers, knitted, made wills, wrote letters and sold ale to people who came to church, 4d if drunk in the vestry, 3d on the road. He lived to be ninety three though it was because he was the delicate one of the family that he was "bred a scholar"!

I haven't yet come across any references to sanitation but I should think running water did play a big part. William Stout mentioned the great increase in disease during "droughty" summers - water was of great significance up here, sacred and medicinal wells everywhere though no river worship to date. The Lupton Court Book starts in 1598, the K.L. in 1671 and overlaps both registers, survey and Hearth Tax and I think we shall be able to do a lot of correlating. I have never come across any references elsewhere to "common closes" as referred to in K.L. it seems a contradiction in terms but I hope will explain itself, probably the "close" was a temporary affair of hurdles which were taken down so that the land could be thrown open for grazing. It would be very nice if you could pop in on Trinity Coll. when you're in Cambridge, I was going to write to them, will be seeing you before then. I have started on the second section of Josselin.

Those poor, cold, unwanted Asians<sup>31</sup> - wish we could take a couple up to build the croft.

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6, 4.3.1968

Dear M. and D.,

Very many thanks for a lovely long letter, full of exciting snippets. Thank you, also, for sending on the Past and Present. In case you didn't get my postcard (which I only sent yesterday, actually), our main news is that we may be going to France with Erik for a few days next week. I wonder, therefore, whether you could send my passport (in the tennis box with my papers I think). I'm afraid our plans are still fluid, however, as I will explain. Our visit to France depends on whether I can get a cheque from Routledge and Kegan Paul for £100 in time. I took them the typescript on Thursday last week and he seemed very enthusiastic, saying it was worth £1,000 etc. etc. He also promised to send the cheque the next day, but perhaps he overlooked the scribbled note he made for no cheque has yet arrived. Still, I am going to see them again on Wednesday and will find out the best/worst then. Anyway, whatever we do it will not affect our plans for the following week-end. We will be back on Sunday 17th at the latest and you will be coming the following week. I'm sure it will be alright for you to stay here a couple of nights. We'll decide as soon as possible whether Gill and I can come up - but I think it very probable that we will. So don't bother to bring down any of the K.L. stuff or any of my oddments. You don't want to have to trail heavy cases around and we will definitely be up before you leave. Anyhow, will

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31 Refers to an exodus of Indians and Pakistanis fleeing discrimination in Kenya in late February 1968.

*probably ring you up on Saturday or Sunday to confirm plans. You will gather from the above that Erik has arrived. He is job-hunting at the moment - he hopes to get a job in I.C.I. or some such in England.*

*I enclose a couple of chancery depositions, the first I have been able to do. I will start getting down to them seriously now. My M.Phil. went in for a final check today to my supervisor and I should be freer. I think the passage about 'beast gates' etc. confirms your hypothesis that there were moveable hurdles put into the closes. If there are any queries about these, please let me know. Sorry about the typing. We are also beginning to do some family reconstitution for Boreham, or rather Annie it. We hope to learn the best way to do it for K.L. Also it should make a good comparison. A very high rate of bridal pregnancy it seems in Boreham after, but not before, 1600; also the average length of marriage before death broke it appears to be under 10 years. Your problems about the pressure on land, and the effects of sudden changes in land-ownership on villager's attitudes I hope to be able to study among the Khasis, though the situation will, obviously, be very different from that in the Assam Valley itself. I very much like your snippets from folklore etc. The women screaming when the harvest was brought in and the bit about the midwife and the wedding cake esp. fascinating. Hope the wills prove fruitful: you should get a good chunk done. But don't hurry it and leave out bits: I will be able to spend some time in Preston soon and between us we should get them finished before I leave and you go North...*

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Friday (8th March 1968)

*Dearest All,*

*Delighted to hear cheque arrived & presumably you will get to Erik's chateau - don't know if you're going but have a lovely restful time with not too many filing cabinets in the boot? Please ring me at Granny's on Sunday evening to let me know your plans - Couldn't dear kind Erik be persuaded to come up here - for Easter say?! Anyway will leave that to you.*

*Was so glad about the publisher liking the Witchcraft book - could hardly help it - I certainly hope it will make £1000. I was sorry to hear from Granpa though that there might be a snag about India, wonder whether this is the Assam Govt. itself, & whether I could help through Dr Hughes for instance who has saved the lives of most of the ministers. But we can talk about all this when I see you. ...*

*Feeling frightfully fuzzy after a day at the K.L. Manor Court so forgive this scrawl much letter writing about our luggage. So let's hope it won't be too much of an anti-climax when it comes. Many complicated instructions from Inverness too about siting of wash basins in the croft, you'd think we were trying to convert Buckingham Palace! Daddy plans to do lots of work here while I'm away if he can shake off Rydal lady who was getting 6/- an hour and found his job too difficult & left them very smartly.*

*Have a lovely time, have visions of you quaffing vintage wines in fairy tale setting but perhaps it won't be quite like that....*

I gave a talk to the L.S.E. historical demography seminar on the 8<sup>th</sup>. Here is the first page of the talk.

(E.S.E. historical demog. seminar, 8/3/68)

(1)

Some problems in the study of Tudor and Stuart sexual mores.

May I explain first my choice of subject and my viewpoint. Some of you may know that I am ~~an~~ historian turned social anthropologist. I therefore approach Tudor and Stuart England with sets of problems derived from sociological studies of contemporary pre-industrial societies. The sexual mores described by anthropologists vary from the extremes of the Muria of India or the Samoans, with their very lax sexual ethics, to the harsh, one might say 'Puritan', attitude of Dobuans or Turkish villagers. The study of English society can be placed on this continuum and compared to other studies. Though the actual facts may be very different, the questions asked in anthropological studies provide an indispensable framework for analysis.

\* a sketch which was intended for a group of general historians at Balliol College, Oxford, & when this failed was originally written.

It will be only too obvious to you that the following account is only a superficial introduction, a sketch of some of the many subjects which need study.\* I hope that you will suggest further problems, sources, and statistics at the end of the paper: my aim is merely to open up discussion. It will also be apparent that I am not a trained 'historical demographer', but I ~~hope that~~ trust that some of my questions will not appear too naive. As will <sup>he can</sup> ~~appear~~, I have done some family reconstitution work and analysis of other parish records, and am at present engaged in the study of groups of Essex and <sup>in 1617</sup> Westmorland villages. A recent disagreement between Christopher Hill and Peter Laslett over whether there was a high degree of sexual permissiveness in pre-industrial England <sup>1</sup> ~~indicates~~ may be taken as a cue for the following description.

(explain re. hand-out = on board).

To Lady Clay 18.3.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Rosalind,

... life has been rather hectic, culminating, in the last week, with a flying visit to France - I will explain. But firstly, many thanks for writing; as always it was very nice to hear from you, though I was sorry you sounded depressed about death etc. There is no doubt in my mind that you will be as fit and mentally agile as



ever when I return from India – and of course I will write from there. What would my return visits be to Oxford without a stroll round your garden and talk of history and historians?

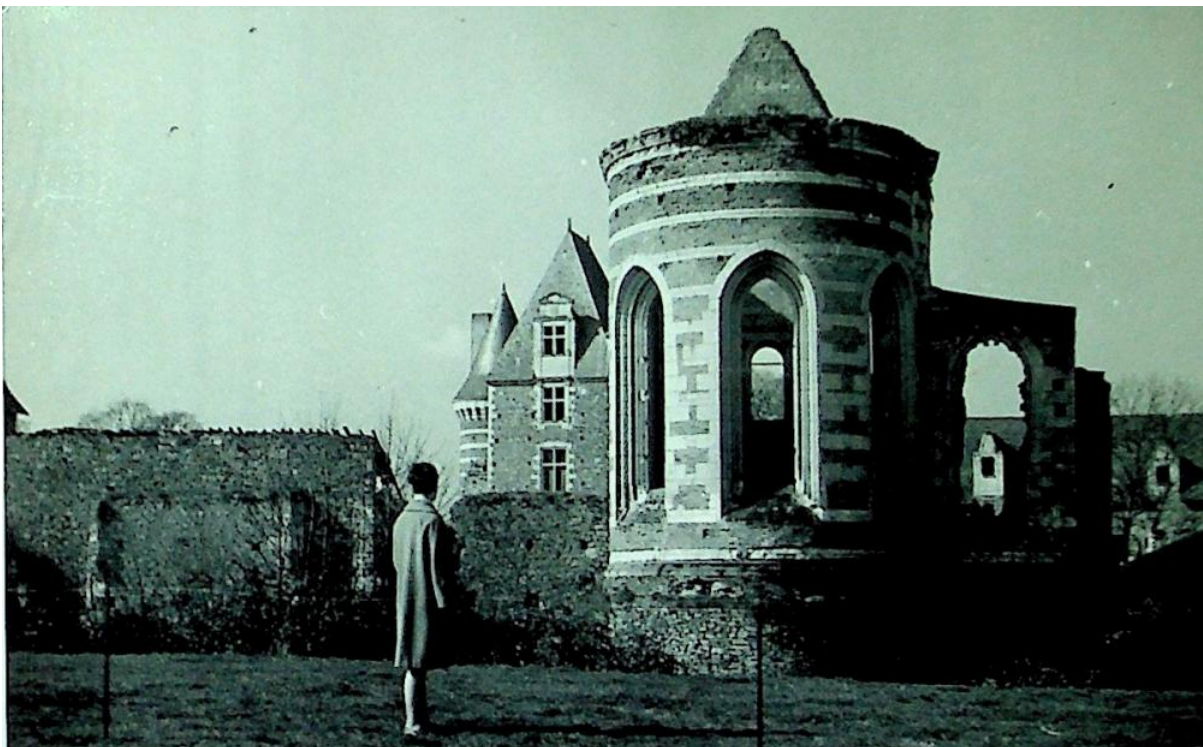
Incidentally, your garden must be beginning to look very nice; the crocuses are out in the London parks and daffodils just breaking forth. I hope to be up in Oxford on 28<sup>th</sup> March (a Thursday) to see Evans-Pritchard about my book and wonder if you would be free at any time? I am having lunch with him, and discussing the book then – would it be alright for me to drop in for our ritual cup of tea sometime between 4 & 5 pm? I should be finished by then.

... As I said, the main event for us in the last few weeks has been a visit to a friend's chateau at Craon – a village about 30 miles north of the Loire. We only went for about 4 days, but had a wonderful time in luxurious surroundings. Incredibly feudal and some of the castles – e.g. at Angers – made one feel that one had stepped back into the C15 or earlier. Many of the scenes were straight out of Froissart etc. We slept in a gorgeous C18 bedroom and wined and dined on traditional French cooking. We spent a day visiting chateau and Romano-gallic remains along the banks of the Loire, eating our picnic lunch among the snowdrops on the bank of the river. Nevertheless it is quite nice to be back in shabby old London!

Yes, there were some interesting articles in this *Past and Present*. It was nice to see the article dominated by friends and contemporaries – I know both Wilf. Prest and Brian Harrison quite well. The E.P. Thompson article interested me most – though I have heard the main argument before in a paper by Keith Thomas on 'Time'. E.P.T's article was curiously emotional and committed at the end, wasn't it? Unusual for such a journal.

My own writing chugs on. The typescript is now with the publishers, and my M.Phil. going into the final reach. I will soon be reaching for Josselin again. I have the latest *Agricultural History Review* and will try to bring it down as it has a long review of Stone's book, and an interesting article on harvests by Hoskins.

### The visit to Craon











From Alan to Tony Wrigley 23.3.68 from London

*Dear Dr. Wrigley,*

*You may remember that I am working on incest prohibitions in seventeenth century Essex, and also on the demography of Kirby Lonsdale in Westmorland. You suggested that I might call in at Silver Street if I was in Cambridge. I will be up for an anthropological conference between April 3<sup>rd</sup> and April 6<sup>th</sup> and wondered if I might call in sometime then?... I would be particularly interested to see Mrs. Burrows work on the 1695 K.L. listing and perhaps I might even be able to meet her?*

*Incidentally, I hope, at some point, to publish a biography of a seventeenth-century Essex clergyman, Ralph Josselin, and in comparing the birth intervals of his wife to those you have established for Colyton, would like to include some of your figures from Family Limitation, p.93 table 8. Would this be permissible?*

From Iris: Field Head, Outgate, Sunday (24th March 1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*It was lovely to see you and thank you very much for giving me a lovely dinner and risking the wrath of the Wolves in giving me a bed! We [with Anne] had a good trip back with no crises, very hot and soporific in the bus but yesterday was a real Lake District beauty - non-stop rain and a fair gale too. Daddy well & the house gleaming white...*

*We're off to Kirby Lonsdale in the morning & I'll write again when we return, for some reason it is almost midnight and we are all dazed by the Telly...*

*I wonder if you could get (but don't scour London - only if it's easily available ) a 6" to the mile Ordnance Survey map of our part of the island - the wretched Council are complaining about the plan we produced.*

27.3.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*Dear Signe,* <sup>32</sup>

*I would, like you, like to do something that might conceivably be of some use to someone— particularly I am interested in demographic and medical factors and their effects on mentality and social structure. I'm fascinated in the effects of age-structures, high mortality rates and endless sickness and physical pain on the way people perceive each other and God. Unfortunately my supervisor, Furer-Haimendorf, wants me to do a fairly conventional study of religion etc. Perhaps I will have time to do both.*

*Like you, I also like the Manchester school: have you seen one of their latest products, A.L. Epstein (ed.), The Craft of Social Anthropology (Social Science Paperback, 1967) which contains interesting articles by Barnes, Mitchell, Turner, Epstein et. al. Would be useful for your E.Africa work I imagine.*

*I'm also increasingly impressed by American (cultural) anthropologists: the series of works by Wolfe, Goode, Moore, and now Sahlins (on Tribesmen) in that Prentice-Hall paperback series, with their accompanying reading are most stimulating I find after the rather dull English contemporary scene.*

*I have a chance of observing the 'scene' at close quarters next week since it is the 3-day ASA conference at Cambridge, at which we all give papers, under the direction of Mary Douglas, on witchcraft. The ones I've read so far, in circulation, don't appear vastly exciting. Another encounter I am looking forward to is lunch with Evans-P[Pritchard] at Oxford tomorrow, who has been reading through my book on witchcraft for me.*

*I wish I had the strength of mind to take your advice — to sit in Lincoln's Inn fields and just watch people: but, as you know, I am obsessional about time and work and can't stop myself — that's why it was so good for me to have a real enjoyer of life like yourself to slow me down and make me see. Actually I did pause for about four days a couple of weeks ago when Gill and I went to stay in a chateau of a friend near the Loire: vast place with riding stables, boats etc. Brought back the C18 very much. We spent a lovely day inspecting various castles on the Loire where I could start my university. But I think it will still be Scotland! My parents go to the Hebrides in about a month.*

*Spring is here at last, and the protest marches are blossoming forth like crocuses — quite rightly so with this awful war still dragging on. Went on a minor protest last Sunday.*

From Tony Wrigley (written by Roger Schofield) 29.3.68

*I am most interested to hear that you will be in Cambridge from April 3 to 6. I should very much like to see you and to talk about your work. May I suggest that you come to Silver Street at 3. p.m. on Thursday, April 4. Mrs. Burrows will be there then and I shall be back from a meeting by then or very shortly after this time... We can then discuss the points you raise in your letter.*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6, 30.3.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*... I wonder if you've had any news about the luggage: do hope it isn't a pile of umbrellas and biscuit tins! Erik says that he would like to come up for Easter, if that is alright with you (we'll come to an agreement about expenses as you can't afford to feed a mob of us). We might hire a car for a week... Anyway, will send on a more exact itinerary when we come nearer the date. Next week, as you know, I go to Cambridge; we hope, if someone can put us up, to go on to Oxford for Sunday since David Isaac will be driving there from Cambridge.*

*I hope my message about Josselin didn't become too distorted. Routledge have not actually seen any of the text, but want me to send it to them and say that it sounds "quite fascinating and I feel sure we shall want to publish it" - which is encouraging. Of course your name won't be withdrawn; as originally, and with your*

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<sup>32</sup> She was at the L.S.E. and was one of the original members of the 'kula ring' of corresponding anthropologists in the field which I set up.



*permission, I would like it to be Alan Macfarlane, in collaboration with Iris Macfarlane (like The Lonely Crowd is by David Riesman in collaboration with Nathan Glazer) - o.k. with you? After all, you are putting a lot of work into it. At the moment my chief problem is whether it will be long enough - or whether I ought to add a revised version of my M.Phil. to it (together they would make about 80,000 words - a title like 'Ralph Josselin, Sex and Marriage' would cover the two - but, as you will realize there are arguments against this also). How long will it take you, do you think, to finish parts 2 & 3 once you are back in the Lakes? If they are too much of a nuisance & you want to get on with K.L. - do say, and I'll finish them off here.*

*Evans Pritchard [rest of the page missing]*

From Iris: Field Head.

*Dear Alan -*

*A quick scrawl, a letter will follow - in case you want this quickly. So glad you had a good day with Evans Pritchard, and also that Routledge is interested in Josselin - So you will be able to publish under your name.*

*Many thanks for the map, fascinating and let's hope they will now be satisfied.*

*Anne and I had a good session in K.L. and found lots of little mistakes to my surprise, whether ours or Rev. Brown I don't know. V. exciting about Trinity Coll. Do hope there'll be a map.*

*Luggage due any day!*

30.3.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

*Dear Jack, (and Jim),<sup>33</sup>*

*You sounded more relaxed and happier in your letter: I've never been particularly introspective so I reckon you are lucky if the urge to examine yourself is going. ... You will always be nagged by a feeling that life holds something better, whatever you do. But, personally, I think there are a thousand things you could do very well indeed - but then I reckon there are a host of people whose often very considerable potential is not developed because of the organization of things. If Jim, for example, had benefited from the expensive education I've had he'd be at least a Professor by now. ...*

*My various schemes and plans go quite well. I spend most of my time writing theses or books. I've discovered a brilliant ruse whereby one writes a thesis - thereby getting a prestigious degree - and then turns it into a book, thereby getting money. This is what I did with my 'Witchcraft' thing - which should be out about this time next year (the publishers now have it, but it will take about a year). I'm afraid it will be hellish expensive - about 70/- but, if you are interested, I'll try to smuggle you a copy either free, or considerably reduced. So don't buy it - but certainly borrow it from your local library (thereby forcing them to buy it, one hopes! It will be published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968). I've just finished another, shorter, thesis on 'Sexual and Marital relations in Seventeenth Century England' which I also hope to publish, but it hasn't been accepted yet. As I have my sister and mother acting as my assistants it is not very difficult to turn out books in quick succession.*

*My parents are just off to a croft which they have bought in the Outer Hebrides - so if you ever want a holiday up there (cutting peats!) let me or them know. It is on North Uist.*

*I think I must have told you that Gill and I are off to India or Nepal (depending on political conditions) in November of this year - to spend 18 months studying some tribe or other. I think it should be fascinating. Above all it should help us to understand ourselves and our society better - those unexamined assumptions which are too ingrained for us to notice. I hope we will see you before I go, however. We should be in the Lakes at some point in the summer and perhaps you could both come over for a few days. Then I can explain to you in detail my plans for saving the world from the chaos towards which it seems to be heading.*

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<sup>33</sup> I had worked with Jack at the Patterdale Youth Hostel in the summer of 1963. He was a working class man from Newcastle who I had kept in touch with. His more intellectual brother was Jim.

# Summer Term 1968

## Lectures

24.4.68 Dr Cullen (Oxford) – Animal communication

20.6.68 – Antony Forge – Art as a system of communication (in a new Guinea tribe)

## Seminars/classes

*Ronald Dore – Co-operative Movements*

25.4.68 Dore – Communalization & individualization

[30<sup>th</sup> – no seminar]

?? S. Ghana – How far can lineage structures be used for co-operative units?

?? Miss Seligin – Economic co-operation in Melanesia (Java)

Adrian Mayer – Local Politics

*Raymond Firth – Economics and Ritual*

25.3.68 David Turton – Occupational pollution (in N.E.Africa)

26.4.68 Professor Weisplatt – Economics – role of institutions in agricultural development

5.5.68 Miss Michaud – Fiesta in Latin America (esp. Peru)

16.5.68 Ian Hogbin – Pollution in Wegeo

31.5.68 Mrs Elizabeth Adlington – Spirit-mediumship

7.6.68 Miss Blovitch – Conflict and change in value systems (Yugoslavia)

14.6.68 Symbolic behaviour and study of social order – discussion

## Undated talks

David Turton - Concept of community

G. Cohen – Tribalism

Beaucage – Economy of Black Caribs

Sutti Ortiz – Peasants in S. America

Audrey Hayley, 'The Culture of the Dead among Assamese Hindus'

Keith Hopkins – The status of women

The teaching was even thinner this term. The Dore seminar, as I point out in a letter, only lasted a few weeks and the Firth seminar for seven weeks. It was the last seminar he would hold in this series and at the end, as I describe below, we had a small celebration of all he had done. There were also a few talks, but these may have occurred in previous terms since they are undated in my notes.

## 1968 – April

*Postcard: King's College, Cambridge 4/4/1968*

*Dear Mummy,*

*I don't know if this will reach you - but if it does, in time, it is to wish you well in hospital. Do hope everything goes o.k.: we are thinking of you.*

*The conference is just beginning: quite fun so far, though I haven't given my paper yet. The K.L. docts. were quite good - included a fairly detailed survey in 1607 & a map in 1772 - but the latter disappointingly vague. Not the detailed map we need I'm afraid, but some useful bits. See you in less than a week...*

From Iris: Field Head. (actually Law Hosp.<sup>34</sup>), Friday (5th April 1968)

*Dearest All -*

*....I shall have time to finish part 2 of Josselin before I go north, and part 3 as soon as I settle - unless you would rather do it yourself. Do hope Routledge are interested enough to give you an advance. It was interesting that you found gavelkind inheritance in Boreham - not usual but not unknown in Essex, has been found in 3 parishes & Borough English in one. The old, neat theories Anglo-Saxon - Open Field - Primogeniture - are being daily upset by detailed studies, K.L. seems a mixture of everything.*

*I was hoping the doctor would have been in to tell me when I could go but no luck, but it won't be before next weekend. So can I leave it to you to work things out... So sorry to add this to your many Problems, hope the*



*blizzards have stopped, sun shining here but bitter...*

Unpacking the "lost luggage"

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<sup>34</sup> Lanarkshire, where my uncle, my father's younger brother, Alan Macfarlane, was a surgeon.



From Iris: Field Head, Wednesday (13th April 1968)

*Dearest All -*

*A very dejected old couple here, Daddy wandered round saying "It's the end of an era" for the rest of Monday and we still feel awfully sad. Still it was lovely to have you all and thank you for all the effort - also all the food which you apparently bought... I hope you had a reasonable trip back and have got over all the exertion.... We went to Kendal this morning and I rattled through the Mansergh Court Book (v. little in it) ...*

*Our tenants are now arriving on May 14th so probably this is too soon for you to come up again - do just what you want - don't feel you've got to come & help as there isn't much to do. Have been working on Josselin the past two evenings, much easier with my lovely big table...*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6, 17.4.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Just a very short note to say how very much we enjoyed our few days in the Lakes and to thank you both very much indeed for everything. All of us wish that it could have been longer, but perhaps we'll be able to have a little longer in about a month's time (could you let us know your exact dates of a) departure to Scotland b) Daddy leaving from the house etc.? so that we can fix things up).*

*We had a pleasant couple of days in Darlington and went to Danby in Cleveland (the scene of that delightful book Forty Years in a Moorland Parish) on Sunday afternoon; even managed to get some fishing in. As Annie will have told you, we had a pretty awful journey down - but arrived safely. No news of Josselin yet, but the M.Phil. almost finished. Term starts next week.*

*Won't go on about your marvellous work on K.L., but I really was most impressed. Hope the luggage is sorted out; very many thanks for the loan of the cutlery. Will write properly at the end of the week.*



6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6, 20.4.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Many thanks for your letter; do hope the slight anti-climaxish feeling has gone and you are feeling cheerful again. You must be quite relieved to return to your quiet rituals again after all the chaos we cause.... If we may, we would still like to see you in mid-May before you go, even though it is a bit earlier than anticipated. Let us know your precise dates (i.e. whether you are both leaving at the same time: whether you leave the same day as they arrive etc.) Ideally what I would like to do would be to come up with Annie on Wednesday - spend Wed. and Thursday in Preston & then come on Thursday. evening. Gill would also come up on Thursday. Then we could return on Monday or Tuesday. This depends on a) your plans b) whether Preston will let me dictate wills to Annie c) whether Fuhrer-Haimendorf can change a seminar which I am meant to be speaking at on Monday 13th... Meanwhile, I'll try to get copies of Erik's film when it is developed - of us all trying to lever open the luggage.*

*Talking of photographs, I've been trying to investigate how to get hold of aerial photographs of K.L. According to Hoskins, "one may find a good collection in the Planning Dept. of the County Council offices... In some cases the local museum has a comprehensive collection, covering all the known sites of archaeological or historical interest". He suggests one or two other places which I could try - but perhaps, first, if you are in Kendal again you could try these two? A letter first might prevent delays. At the same time you could enquire about town plans. A modern town plan of K.L. (of which you could get a copy) would be a great help when we start work on the census. At least the planning dept. should know where one can get hold of one. If it is London, let me know.*

*....Term starts for me tomorrow, or rather, Monday. Was therefore especially glad to get the M.Phil. off to the binders yesterday. Of course, every book I now pick up has more ideas and facts I should have put in! Glad Josselin progresses. If you feel there are any points I should make in the introductory chapter 'On Diaries', do jot them down: we can discuss it when I come up....*

*P.S. Could you do a key to the tithe map - I forgot to do it while I was up (i.e. key to your colouring).*

To Keith Thomas      20.4.68

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

*It was lovely seeing you and Valerie at Cambridge; I hope the short holiday went well and you have both had a bit of a rest. I presume you will be accepting Mary D's request for us to turn our A.S.A. contributions into book form? I'm leaving mine more or less as it is - since it will be only a brief summary of an already-published books when it appears (as I've explained to her). Do you think we clash about the poor? I more or less repeat what I say in the book - about witches being poor but not those, necessarily, on poor relief, so I don't see how I can change it.*

*I hesitate to ask you the following since I know that you must be incredibly busy with the book/Schools etc., but would you ever have time within the next couple of months to have a look at a draft of Ralph Josselin (c. 40,000 words) and my M.Phil. (now bound and completed - though not to be submitted until June) on the regulation of sex and marriage in the C16 (c.50,000 words). I'm thinking of turning it into a book - being desperately short of money - and would very much value any criticisms you care to make. If you did have the time, perhaps I could send them to you and then come down and have a chat about them. Please do say if you can't manage this at the moment - I'd quite understand.*

From Keith Thomas      22 April 1968

St. John's College, Oxford

*Nice to hear from you. I haven't got down to the ASA paper yet, but won't do much to it, I shouldn't think. I haven't checked the text yet, but doubt if we clash on the poor. My point about the poor is that someone in clear receipt of poor relief was less likely to be in a socially ambiguous position than someone equally indigent, but not on the overseers' list. Also he/she was probably better off too, i.e. those in receipt of relief were not necessarily the poorest in the village. Does this fit what you say? Do let me know if not, and we can confer before sending*

in our MSS. By the way, what is the likely date of publication for your book. The ASA volume is supposed to be out in July 1969. Will yours be out before that?

*I am in pretty desperate straits at present – vac gone and not a line written in my book, as I've been getting up to date on Aristotle, Hobbes and Rousseau for this term. But things would be desperate indeed if I did not have time to read what you write, so do send it along. I can't promise any very rapid results but will do my best. Let me know at the same time when you need them back and when it would best suit you to come up and talk.*

From Iris: Field Head, Thursday (25th April 1968)

*Dearest All -*

*I hope you have settled back into the old routine and can break it enough to get out into the gorgeous spring sunshine... We are certainly having a lovely last spring here and enjoying it more now that I don't have to keep my nose glued to the ground growing things. The Ainleys are arriving on the 14th about 3 p.m and we hope to leave by about 4.30... Do hope you will be able to get up but am not banking on it, I rather have my doubts about Preston, unless they have a special room set aside for this sort of thing....*

*I have been into Kendal once and hope to finish the Court Book tomorrow and will then tie up loose ends - will ask Miss M. about the aerial map which would be marvellous if it exists. I got out "The Memoirs of Thos. Bewick" from the library, he was the famous bird painter and it is a delightful book, about a hundred years later than Josselin but his mother came from Cumberland and there are lots of interesting sidelights on a country boys childhood in the 1750s. Like Stout's family he was "farmed out" to be brought up by a grandmother and maiden aunt, this scattering of children round the extended family was possibly more common in the north and it almost seems as if one or two girls were kept unmarried for the purpose. He also confirms that he was sent to school not so much to learn as to be kept out of "harm's way".*

*Yesterday I spent the morning in the Armitt making notes on "Folk-lore of the Northern Counties" which is also marvellous - all the rites and superstitions connected with baptism, death etc. and lots of rhymes throwing light in all directions as "Soon teeth, soon toes" - i.e. if a baby cuts its teeth early there will soon be another, one presumes because it will be weaned early though I don't suppose they saw the connection. Baptism is obviously regarded as more than a religious rite, the week or so before it is full of danger for the child as it can be kidnapped and a changeling substituted, and in spells against witchcraft you come across things like "fat from the little sucking child that has not been christened", or "elder on the eyes of any baptised person". They even though it helped the child physically, as late as 1880 when the book was written an old woman said of a sickly child "Ah there will be a change when he has been taken to church." In fact one realises how totally they misunderstood religion and how mixed up it was with superstition, one lady kept coming to be confirmed and when asked why said she had heard it was good for the rheumatism!*

*One gets the feeling that the devil was a much more important person than God, who was used more as a spell against him than anything. It was certainly a strange and savage world with every bird, tree, wind, cloud, stream etc. read as a portent, they would even carry the corpse a long way round rather than go "against the sun." One of the great sources was a young man called Wilkie who gave most of his material to Sir Walter Scott and starts his passage on Witchcraft quite seriously "there is some difficulty in knowing how to act when a witch offers to shake hands with us..." - the great thing was not to let her have the last word apparently - how complicated etiquette must have been.. One day when we have lots of money we must try to buy up some of these gorgeous old folk lore books.... I see Whittington Hall<sup>35</sup> is for sale... know of anyone with £200,000 to spare? Ideal for the university....*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 27.4.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Many thanks for a long and most interesting letter: your account of the Lakes was succulent. If we had been wavering about coming up, we couldn't resist such a description. Actually, even smoky old London is rather delightful - especially in this sweltering weather. Cherry blossom all around us, and apple blossom just starting.*

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35 2 miles south of Kirkby Lonsdale.

*The gardens have suddenly awoken and some of the regency squares with trees in the centre are glorious. But we will still be coming up... I'm afraid we can't be precise about arrangements yet, but I think that the general pattern will be - we'll all be arriving about Tuesday or Wednesday evening, and leaving early on Monday (13th) morning. If this is o.k. with you, I think Erik may come up again & we may, if it is cheaper, hire a car for the four days. I'm glad to say that Preston agreed (as far as I can interpret their cryptic letter) to let me dictate to Annie, so we will a day on the way up, and a day on the way down.*

*Will let you have detailed itinerary when I know it. The trouble is that no-one replies to letters - e.g. S.O.A.S. haven't replied about whether I'll have to give my paper on Monday 13th. and Routledge still haven't written about Josselin. I'll ring them on Monday. Since we hope to go to Preston, I wonder if you could send us precise details as to where you have reached with the wills - plus any other queries/tips/directions. I presume it is best to get longer inventories xeroxed; I imagine they are quite happy to do this. If it is possible, do you have a list of the hamlets within the parish. I seem to remember that some of the wills were 'John Atkinson of Deans biggin' etc. - and though I probably know all such hamlets in K.L. I'm not sure of all of them in Firbank, Casterton etc....*

*I've been in London most of the week working on diaries. Some fascinating finds - esp. re weaning and nursing, which I will tell you about more fully. Have been through about 20 diaries, and have about another 20 to do. As yet have come across nothing to equal Josselin in detail or length. Incidentally, if you finish the 2nd part of Josselin before we are due up, perhaps you could send it down as Keith has agreed to look at R.J. and my M.Phil. and I would like to send it to him. If it is going to take some time, perhaps you could tell me & I'll send him my copy of the first draft.*

*I don't know where to begin on all the fascinating things you sent in your letter; absolutely marvellous &, of course, many of them confirm my hypotheses in the Josselin pt. 1. re. the mobility of age-groups etc. Also the bits on attitudes and rituals surrounding birth & death should help us considerably when we come to write our chapters on 'religion' in the village study. The more evidence you can get on this the better - and obviously a few select snippets would add to the quality of Josselin pt. 3, though we mustn't overload it with footnotes. Yes, when we start getting some money, will have a grand hunt in 2nd-hand shops for folklore & other sources. At the moment it seems rather fruitless & frustrating to look.*

*I enclose a few bits and pieces. Firstly a carbon extract from a leech-book, giving two (different) lists of lucky/unlucky days. Keep this as I have a copy. I wonder if one could find any evidence in local records bearing on this? Also an extract re. the A.S.A. conference - obviously written by Mary Douglas. Perhaps the book on the Highlands might be useful for Daddy when he's trying to get things done. I don't know if you'll have time to look at the books by Wm. Marshall & the Shuttleworth accounts - but they would be worth a glance later. I imagine the book on Whittington is the one Jonty lent you. Again, it would be worth xeroxing when we have some money....*

From Gill to parents 28 April 1968 from Milverton Road

*We have not really had a break since we returned, Alan has been busy finishing his M.Phil for LSE and looking up other C17 diaries other than the one he is working on, and indexing them all, and I have just used the weekends to recover.*

## **1968 – May**

I was clearly still hoping to go to the Khasi Hills in Assam as late as May, when I wrote to the Japanese anthropologist, Nakane Chie, who had done fieldwork and published on that area, as follows.

1/5/68

6, Milverton Road,  
London, N.W. 6  
England.

Dear Madam,

I apologise for troubling you, but Dr. Edmund Leach of Cambridge University recommended your work on the Khasi hills as among the best there is and I therefore wondered if I could seek your advice on this area. My wife and I hope to go to a village near Shillong in November of this year (for a year's anthropological field-work, sponsored by the London-Cornell foundation and supervised by Professor ~~Fuhrer-Haimendorf~~ Fuhrer-Haimendorf). I have only just started to read about the area - though I have a little personal knowledge of it since I was born in Shillong and brought up on a tea estate - and greatly look forward to reading your work. I wondered if you could possibly give me advice on the following points.

- a) what would be the best language to learn before I go - Assamese or Khasi. Most of those I have consulted maintain that Khasi would be far more useful - especially if I wanted to study domestic life, folklore, religion etc. But Professor Haimendorf argues that Assamese would be more useful.
- b) perhaps you could suggest one or two people who it would be useful to contact when we arrive in Shillong, or libraries/institutes which you found helpful out there.
- c) will you, yourself, be out doing fieldwork at any time during the year after November?

Finally, if you know of any special difficulties against which I should be warned - political or otherwise - or any unpublished research, by yourself or others, which you feel I ought to know of, I would be most grateful for a reference. Basically I will be doing a fairly conventional village study - with an emphasis on religion and on demography.

The most important question above, for the moment, is a). If you only have time to answer this one, please don't bother with the rest.

I hope we shall have a chance to meet at some point.

Yours sincerely,

Chie Nakane,  
Institute of Oriental Culture,  
University of Tokyo,  
56 Otsuka,  
Bunkyo-ku,  
Tokyo,  
Japan.

(Dr.) Alan Macfarlane

To Keith Thomas 4.5.1968 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Keith,



*Enclosed in this parcel and another are the pieces you very kindly said you'd have a look at. Please don't waste too much of your time on them; it is a great impudence of me to send them to you when you are so busy. The M.Phil. is rather unsatisfactory in a number of obvious ways – but if it interests you at all perhaps you would like a copy at a later date? I think I should have a spare one. It's going to be examined on 14<sup>th</sup> June – and as I need this copy to take with me to the viva perhaps we could meet before then? I had thought of coming up for the weekend of either 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> June or 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> June & perhaps staying on for the Monday to work in the Bod. Would either of these dates suit you at all? Perhaps you could suggest another date before 14<sup>th</sup> if these are no good?*

*In the other parcel is a first draft (carbon) of Josselin. I had wanted to send you a better typescript, but I'm afraid my slaving family hasn't produced it yet. Apologies for sending such a rough draft – but it will mean that any comments, even of the structure/lay-out, will be easily incorporated into the re-write. I'll probably revise the introduction/foot-notes extensively since I've now been through a good many other diaries. Masses on childbirth weaning etc.*

Sidinish P.O., Locheport, Isle of North Uist (c. 17th May 1968)

*My dear G. & A.*

*Unlikely as it seemed at one stage we have arrived, Josselin & Kirkby Lonsdale and Poochie & the stove & even my little pink pot-plant & have somehow got ourselves into this tiny room in a fairly orderly manner & have our peat fire burning & Tilly lamp hissing & feel very happy. Was pretty exhausted by the time we left, what with all that shelf-paper to lay & Daddy saying we positively could not fit in another thing before we'd even started but somehow most of it did get in, only the parsley & marmalade & Ambrose had to be abandoned (he with Mrs Archbold). Lady Ainley was tall & imposing but natural & easy, he a little nut-brown man with bright blue eyes, more like a Sea-Captain - both said they thought the place charming so I hope the Aga hasn't antagonized them too much....*

*The drive up was beautiful, we spent a night in a little broken-down cottage in Arisaig which was spotless inside and table groaning with food but alas Daddy left his glasses there, so has been a bit hampered since. Drove up to Mallaig past all the sacred spots of his youth and had an easy trip up. Skye with the sun shining away though the hills snow-capped, was looking incredibly postcardish, and we sunbathed on a hillside for a lot of the five hours - millions of primroses and cuckoos, & arrived at our island over a mother-of-pearl sea with ink-blue hills against a flaming sky - & all the tourists in the lounge watching the Telly! Were a little chilly and apprehensive when we got here at 11 p.m. but found a peat-fire in our room and tea and kindness from Mr Morrison - she is way having a check-up and returns to-morrow. Can't get over the sort of warmth that gives almost total strangers one room out of the three you have which you share with 4 children, dogs, cats & a budgie. They are gorgeous kids, never cry or whine, and are very intelligent and responsive.*

*We don't know our future as yet, will be able to decide within a week. I hope whether we stay here or go to Macdonalds (if they get a Council house). Alas the P.O. is to move to the horrid bungalow next door & this has been bought. Ours looks delicious, we prowl round it making plans and Poochie bounces after bunnies - and we feel very contented, I know that this peaceful life with children & animals is what I like best and I think Daddy will be happier too. We are going builder-hunting tomorrow and if we can rustle one up it shouldn't take too long to get things done. We have seen the Macdonalds & Mrs Campbell, our neighbour Niall Macphail is getting married to an ex-deaconess who is a Domestic Science teacher - sounds an unlikely combination somehow!*

*I will get settled in front of the typewriter this week & hope it won't be too long before I finish Josselin - wonderful work on the wills. Anne seems to have decided not to go to Canada, at least yet, which is a relief....*

*Will write in more detail in a few days - have so many letters to get off - we are really very happy and sure we have made the right decision.*

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 18.5.1968

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Not much news here yet - e.g. nothing of Josselin. How are things with you? Hope you got my p.c. and that everything is fine. Longing to hear all about it. Don't know whether you'll have room to put these things*

anywhere - let along work on them - but thought I'd send them along for "the long summer evenings" all the same. There are just one or two points needing explaining.

1) the xeroxes are coming in two numbered bundles - I hope you'll be able to sort them out. I'd suggest you cut up Annie's notes into individual persons - then clip them onto relevant xeroxes. Every xerox should be referred to in her notes.

2) 'specialty' = "debts secured by writing under seal".

3) All my dates are either old style or thus 1700/1. Therefore they will need changing up to March 26th each year.

4) If you need any of the abbreviations explained - write. 'Puritan' merely means that he mentioned being saved "by the precious merits and death of Christ" or some such phrase.

5) Finally, I would suggest, file them under Inventories/Wills/Bonds - and within these, alphabetical. The xeroxed wills could go straight onto the triplicate, small squared, sheets ready for cutting up - (as Annie's before) - there seems no need to copy them out.

Hope this is all comprehensible!

Sorry this is just work. Will send more news and views next week. Lots of love to you both..

P.S. Any corrections/suggestions would be most welcome - it is not too late to alter the text before publication.

Postcard to Keith Thomas, 18.5.1968 6, Milverton Road, N.W.6

Dear Keith,

Thanks for your card. Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June would be fine - any time except 5.p.m. (I hope to go to Joan Thirsk's seminar then). Please don't waste too much time on my trivia - or allocate too much time on that Monday. I am already feeling very guilty at bothering you.

To David Seddon 18.5.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Another reason for writing at this point is that I've been made editor of the next anthropological Magazine (L.S.E.). If you have a short snappy piece you could send which you think would be suitable for it, please do. The general theme is meant to be 'New Approaches in Anthropology' - the relationship of anthropology to cybernetics, ethnology, history, game-theory, medicine, demography etc. Needless to say, when I tried to interest people in this, they said how exciting it would be etc. but they would prefer to write something on their particular field-work etc. There will be plenty, actually. But it would be nice to have a section: 'communications from the field' - perhaps suggesting gaps in the L.S.E. preparations.

I absolutely agree that the 'kula'<sup>36</sup> has immense possibilities & should be given finances & institutionalized. In fact there should be someone on the staff at L.S.E. in full-time charge. But L.S.E. is deadlier than ever - even the seminar-takers don't bother to turn up to all their seminars. The final straw is that, so rumour (completely unconfirmed as yet) has it - in a choice between Mary Douglas & an administrator for Firth's professorship they couldn't even decide - so Freedman was asked in & has the chair. It makes one sick. I had all sorts of plans for improving the place - but it obviously intends to remain a rather inefficient shadow of Oxbridge/the good old Malinowskian days.

I'm not aware of anything really exciting going on in the anthropology world. The A.S.A. conference on witchcraft/sorcery was fun - much gamesmanship and raucous debate - but contributed very little intellectually. Most of the papers very weak & no-one bothered to read them before-hand. Mary Douglas did

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<sup>36</sup> The 'kula' was an economic exchange system documented by Malinowski. It was the name we gave to an informal association of four or five of those who had attended the anthropology courses at the L.S.E. and were going to do fieldwork in various parts of the world. They would send back field reports and letters, which would then be sent round the 'ring'. It partially worked, but most were too busy to send more than one report at the most.

her best to raise the tone, but it all made one realize how far anthropology is still mired in structural-functionalism. L-Strauss 'Elementary Structure' is out in English.

Myself, I'm thriving – off to S.O.A.S. soon; my M.Phil. exam/viva in June. Political troubles make Assam uncertain.

To Lady Clay 18.5.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Rosalind,

Very nice to get your long and interesting letter – I don't know why you always say they are boring; I love hearing all your news & about Oxford. Sorry for the delay in reply but a) your letter arrived just as I was off to the Lakes and b) I thought I'd reply when I knew for certain when I will be up in Oxford. On this latter point – to clear it out of the way first – it looks as if it will definitely be either Sunday June 9<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup>. I do hope you will be in Oxford then & we can arrange to meet. Is any special time good for you? I know M. Toynbee comes in before lunch, so presume either 10 ish or the afternoon/early evening would be best. I will drop you a card in a few days as to which one it is & perhaps you could then let me know what time would suit you best. I'm longing to chat over things and to see your lovely garden. Such chats/visit are one of the things I miss most in London. I now move, principally, in anthropological circles & occasionally long for a chance to talk to historians. Although I work in B.M. and I.H.R. most days I don't seem to meet them very often.

Now, about your news. What a gorgeous trip you had in April. I was especially envious of your visit to Kilvert's grave. By a coincidence I am just reading his (abridged) Diary – a really fantastic man. Some of the most lovely descriptions of nature I've ever read – though his painful and anguished predilection for beautiful nymphets make sad reading. ....

Everything was very green and incredibly beautiful in the Lakes; it had an especial poignancy since my parents were just leaving to rebuild their croft in the Outer Hebrides (N. Uist) and the house is being let for some months. So perhaps I will not stay there again till we return from India. My parents want to spend their time watching wild-life, writing, growing things: sounds a blissful existence doesn't it!

My work progresses. My M.Phil. on sex and marriage to be examined in June: I give a talk on the subject at the School of Oriental and African Studies tomorrow. I am spending most of my time reading C16 & C17 diaries. None have been nearly as good as Josselin so far – but I'm still hoping (have read & noted about 40 so far). Whizzed through the new edition/reprinting of Pastons and their England. It has dated considerably since 1921. Must get down to the Verneys soon. I gather Joan Thirsk's seminar included a paper by a man who has been cataloguing them (and found most of Flo' Nightingale's letters among them – lucky man!) – may try to go.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> I gave a seminar at the School of African and Anthropological Studies, the first page of which is as follows.

(S.O.A.S. seminar 20/5/68)

Some problems in the study of Tudor and Stuart (English) marital and sexual relations.

(apologies/explanation - Balliol (historians) to L.S.E. (historical demographers) - to anthropologists; the virtue of keeping it more or less the same = show overlap of disciplines)

(field-work carried out in P.R.O, B.M. and E.R.O. 1966-7.)

The general aim of the following analysis is to examine the value of an exchange of ideas between the disciplines of history and social anthropology. The benefits for historical studies, I believe, would be enormous; but what will interest us more here are some of the advantages for anthropologists. When I speak of 'history' in this context I mean primarily the ~~use~~ use of <sup>the</sup> detailed sources left by <sup>that</sup> a <sup>a society</sup> society such as England has been for the last 400 years ~~(at least)~~. The first, and obvious, utility of historical material is that it allows us to test hypotheses ~~xxxxxxx~~ over time as well as space. Some of the arguments against comparing particular features of very different societies fall away when we can watch a particular trend - for example a suicide rate or political system - over a period of several hundred years in one society. The often-criticized static analysis ~~is~~ <sup>which forms the basis</sup> most of the <sup>recent</sup> best anthropology and sociology - where hypotheses are untestable since the actual dynamic interactions are suspended - may be circumvented. Another use for historical material is that it 'stores' better. An anthropologist can never return to the same society with a new set of problems. Soon, it seems likely, it will be impossible to study certain problems in a completely pre-industrial setting. But the historian's material - thousands of tons of it - is fossilized in the great archival collections throughout the world. He need not worry that he has missed something~~s~~; he can always go back. ~~and~~ Each generation can look at fresh evidence or

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 26.5.1968

Dear Mummy and Daddy,

*Lovely to get your first Hebridean letter - almost smelt the salt and the kerosene and the peat. You couldn't enclose a small piece of peat in your next - or stain the paper in sea-water first? Help us to make the vast imaginative leap it needs to jump from here to Lochport. Amazing that we can pick up the 'phone and speak to*



*you in a couple of minutes; the last call didn't even cost us the scheduled 2/6! Your letter was a great relief since, although we knew you'd love it once you were off, you seemed very apprehensive about the move. Glad the Ainleys were nice - hope, as you say, that they don't discover any snags. Probably, actually, they'll fall in love with the place and be very reluctant to budge. Anyhow, let us have a full description of everything you see and hear and smell - and of how schemes for the croft go. You will let us know if there is anything you find it difficult for you to get so that I can send it up - won't you?*

*....Here life chugs on fairly peaceably - esp. compared to France. When I went to give my talk at S.O.A.S. at F-Haimendorf's seminar we had to pick our way through boycotting students to the cafeteria - but the strike (over increase in prices of tea -how typically British!) is now over. F-H. was very anxious about it - and I spent lunch criticizing L.S.E. and saying that I thought professorial seminars were a waste of time - too large, chaotic, etc. Then, after lunch, I gave my talk (on my M.Phil.) - and realized, suddenly, that this was exactly the kind of seminar I had been criticizing! Still, the paper went down quite well & several people came up and said how much they had enjoyed it. Just as well to have a bit of morale boosting since on Wednesday I heard from Routledge that they were not entirely convinced by R.J. part 1 and want to see more - esp. part 3 - before they make up their mind. A really fatuous note from their referee - some tin-pot political historian at East Cheam University I expect! - saying that discussion of the 'brute facts of birth, marriage and death' was more or less bound to be dull & he would like to see something on the 'more profound' aspects of C17 life (i.e. the political and ecclesiastical trivia in which he excels no doubt!) Anyhow I wrote a dignified note back saying that I'd contemplate sending them the last bit (& meanwhile I'll send R.J. part 1 to Cambridge University Press & one or two other publishers who've shown interest). Don't let this dishearten you, will you? Will be seeing Keith in a couple of weeks and see what his reaction to it all is....*

*P.S. When you send R.J. part 2 - could you send down your suggestions for additional changes in footnotes - along with my original footnotes (don't bother to re-type mine again - I'll pin them onto appropriate pages).*

*Thanks.*

My anxious search for a fieldwork site continued through May. For example I wrote to Sir Keith Cantlie at the end of the month.

28/5/68

6, Milverton Road,  
London, N.W. 6

Dear Sir Keith,

How very kind of you to bother to write to me again about Kidwai's letter. I'm sorry not to have replied sooner, but I've been away from London from a week. Of course I understand his position and can only hope for the best. As you say, if things don't get much worse, then I should be able to go. Otherwise I will have to put an emergency plan into action - i.e. probably go to Nepal. It does make things rather insecure & difficult - it is hardly worth investing too much time in learning the language and about the people if I suddenly find I cannot go. Also there is the question of luggage, finding accommodation, making contacts etc. I've discovered that my sister knew Kidwai's daughter (and wife) very well when she was in Assam and also that Kidwai's brother is at ~~the~~ India House in London. Perhaps it would be worth my while seeing his brother? Do you think anything could be done at this end?

I would very much like to see the writing of David Roy and wonder if it would be possible for me to come round and collect this at some point - also we could discuss further strategies. I have an examination on June 14th; would any time later in the month suit you? I can manage most afternoons. I really would appreciate your advice.

Thank you, again, for writing and helping to re-assure me.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Our Croft, Friday (31st May 1968)

My Dear Girls & Alan,

*I'm afraid this is a bit late, the trouble about the Simple Life is that there is never a moment in which to do anything but live it. Thank you for a letter and also for two bundles of wills and inventories, do hope you didn't spend too much on these, but it will held a lot to have so many of them done and I will get onto them. So sorry about the slight discouragement over Josselin, I suppose bound to happen when one attempts something new, I have at last got down to work on him again and will send off the second part next week. I think the third part*

*will be easier for me, less fiddly to type and will be able to let myself go a bit. I will do it quickly, I feel guilty at having taken so long over this but so many complications in the last few months.*

*I just couldn't work in the little dark room at the P.O. either, with one rickety table which we ate on, so turned to and helped Daddy cleaning up here so that we could move in. Quite a job as we had to hump water up in buckets from the loch, our well being slimy and full of unidentified objects, and heat it on our paraffin stove so as to scrub the floor. However we slapped paint over the woodworm and put the rush matting down and installed the chipped green stove and here we are, as cosy as can be.*

*We sleep upstairs in a boiling hot bedroom, what with the stove underneath and the sun on the tin roof above it is quite suffocating at times, no problem about keeping warm but the weather has been very good, we have only had one shower since we've been here. We were quite sad about leaving the P.O. in a way, it was nice having lambs in one's bedroom and the children were charming, they have been down to see us several times but they and the Macdonalds will soon be moving and then there'll only be one child left, not two.*

*We are using all the moth-eaten tables, well one to eat off and one to type off, and Daddy has rigged me up a classy draining board by the side of the tin basin where we wash dishes, selves and clothes, our chief problem is water which we have to collect in the plastic dustbin from the dirty old Precentor's tap up the road, we have made an application for a tap of our own but this will take months I expect.*

*Lots of frustrations from the authorities of course, all trace of our visits in September have been lost and we have to start again at the beginning in applying for loan and grant and it may take up to three months to get this organised and then the builder will have vanished I expect - of course we knew this sort of thing would happen but chafe nevertheless.*

*I visited the clerk of works this morning who was just going on leave and couldn't do anything till he returned but kindly pressed documents on how to apply for artificial insemination on me which will be useful when we have a cow when we have a byre...*

*One must obviously think in years here, not weeks or months, the snag is that nobody on the island can make the simplest decision, it all has to go in triplicate to Inverness. Anyway our main worry at the moment is cutting the peats, we started yesterday, a glorious day and I tripped across the heather with a thermos and some cold trout sandwiches (Daddy caught two fat ones the evening before) and it was all quite idyllic until I started to try and cut the stuff, kept falling off the spade and landing calf deep in wet black mud, in the end Daddy had to cut and throw and I lay in the heather feeling useless but very contented.*

*Next year we will lay on some help with the cutting, which can be done in two days by a couple of professionals but poor Daddy will be at it for a couple of weeks at this rate. He did another four hours this afternoon while I did busy housewifely things at home like scrubbing out Poochie's saucepan so that we could have our stew in it, the peat stove is heaven for warmth and smell but I am having the greatest difficulty in cooking on it, I am rapidly discovering why they all live on Co-op bread and tinned jam, and my visions of trays full of bannocks eaten with my own crowdie rapidly dimming.*

*In fact I shall never say again "I wonder why crofters don't.." - have gardens, grow vegetables etc. It is with the greatest difficulty that I shall find time and energy to throw some grain at a handful of hens.*

*When we have water it will help a lot as so much time is spent tottering about with saucepans. I have had odd spells of homesickness and depression in the last few days, which I was expecting, not at the hardness of the life but more at the thought of having nobody but Mrs Ferguson and Mrs Morrison to talk to ever - however Daddy is terribly happy and in between so am I, and as long as I can get away occasionally and keep well I shall have no regrets.*

*It is gorgeous in so many ways, sometimes I can't believe I am living in such a wonderful place, the evenings are particularly beautiful with the birds drifting to rest across the pink water, and it is lovely to wake at two in the morning and hear the wind moaning and a cuckoo calling.*

*I have had second thoughts by the way about bringing the Land Rover down and getting a trailer, I don't honestly think you could drag a trailer full of books up some of those narrow steep roads and if you had to stop half way would never be able to start, also it would be v. expensive on the ferry as they go by length and it cost Mrs Ferguson £14 to cross her caravan from Uig. I really think it would be better if you took your stuff to Granny for the present, perhaps just sending one box up by goods train and cargo boat via Glasgow which is the cheapest route....I shall have to come down and collect Ambrose and if we divided the expense three or four*

*ways if shouldn't be too bad. I don't quite know what to do about bringing up furniture, but will probably settle for the goods train route and perhaps come down in the spring with the Land Rover for the settle and some chairs and perhaps beds.*

*I had my copy of "History Studies" yesterday, it is specially for young!!! scholars who are working on projects it says, so I might try them out on something on K.L. I have been pumping Niall Macphail on old land systems, it isn't so long that they were holding land in common and cast for it by lots each year, their strips were scattered but why he couldn't say.*

*We have such funny ritualised conversations, I say "It's a lovely day" and they say the same thing and then add a bit "It's a lovely day, right enough. But it looks like clouding up" and so on, each person making one small step forward to a new idea. I sometimes wonder if I said it was a lovely day when it was teeming with rain whether they would politely agree.*

*I wonder if you have made any progress about India...I must go to church on Sunday if I can find a hat and if I have time, perhaps we will get down to the beach, it was looking beautiful today as we drove past to see the clerk of works, great sweeps of surf on a white beach. The old Precentor says I must collect sheep droppings for my vegetable garden, is there no end to it!*

## 1968 – June

*6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 2.6.1968*

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*Many thanks for your nice letter. Lovely to hear about the Croft, though sorry it is such an effort collecting water. Who is the Precentor and why is he 'dirty' and 'old'? - if you see what I mean. Anyhow, apart from the heat, it sounds idyllic and we all wish we could be up there. Is Daddy fishing much? My mouth watered at the mention of the fat trout he caught? What is the fishing like at the moment? What is it like in early September - not the fishing necessarily - just the weather etc. We are beginning to wonder if that wouldn't be the best time. I think we will have to move the luggage separately. It all depends on whether we can get any money for Josselin; otherwise we will both be living off Gill's salary during October and November & may have to move into a less expensive flat for those months. Anyhow it seems a bit away yet.*

*Talking of Josselin. Had a nice letter from Cambridge University Press saying they were interested & would I send along anything I could - so will send them whatever there is ready by the end of June. I'm going to start checking through the footnotes etc. now perhaps writing a bit more about Josselin & Earls Colne. My M.Phil. is now in, and I will be examined on 14th June: keep your fingers crossed for me. Finally before I finish about work. Wrigley's new article on 'Mortality in Colyton' has now come out in Daedalus an American magazine whose whole Spring issue is devoted to population. When I've finished it I will send it up. Wrigley's is probably the best article - his main conclusions are that a) infant mortality was fairly low about 108 per thousand to the age of one; that expectation of life at birth veered between about 45 in the late sixteenth century to about 30 years in the late C17 - i.e. the late C17 was a very unhealthy time & infant mortality and adult mortality was quite low - about half that in modern Asia. We should be able to compare all his figures and do calculations - on various sex, age, religious and other groups which he has not been able to do. Do say if you need any articles xeroxed, or want me to get hold of a book or something for K.L. won't you (also - as I said - for the Croft). Are you finding your interest in K.L. wanes up there? I do hope not as I think you had unearthed some really marvellous stuff.*

*Sorry to hear about the snags re. grants/builders etc. and the croft. It's quite unbelievable - sounds just like Assam again. Have you heard anything more about the Ainleys. If you want us at any time to pop into Field Head to do anything, do say, won't you? We can always hire a car for a few days as before. That's what Erik & Annie did this week-end, as you may have gathered & we had a lovely couple of days...visited a wooden Anglo-Saxon church at Greensted, and then visited Little Baddow and Boreham churches. We couldn't find any really old grave-stones & Anglican hymns were drifting out into the evening so that we couldn't go into the churches, but it was very strange and lovely to think of all those Thos. Tendrings and others lying a few feet away in the earth. Then, today, we went punting for five hours - eating our meal under the willows & listening*



*to the rippling amidst the strumming of my guitar (sorry - amidst historical anthropology I've forgotten how to describe nature etc.!)...Next week-end we go to Oxford to see Keith etc. & go to one of Joan Thirsk's seminars...*

*From Iris      Monday (3rd June 1968)*

*Dear Alan,*

*At last this pathetic little bundle, can't think why it has taken so long and I do apologise for the many mistakes but hope it will do. I have sent the lot as you can cope with the footnotes, I will get the next lot done much more quickly I promise. Do hope someone will come up with a definite offer, it seems so interesting to me you'd think they'd leap at it.*

*I'm feeling quite happy again and am getting the better of my peat stove, with the help of a few lumps of coal. Have been digging peat all afternoon quite successfully, so morale is up all round. Beautiful weather and Whit has passed with three cars coming up our lane while I basked in the sun and listened to descriptions of traffic jams and thunderstorms Down There... We are off to pay for the croft in the morning, Mrs Campbell wants to keep the money under her mattress but we are taking her into the bank, and on the way back collecting a zinc bath for Mrs Morrison to wash her blankets, this is one of the great spring rituals it seems and she is worried that everyone else's blankets are Done. I am always wanting to practise sociology on them, Niall Macphail said he used to keep a cow but after his mother died he sold it and had just bought one again after three years - what obscure funeral rite involved here do you think or was it simply that Mum drank a gallon of milk a day.*

*P.S. If you have a spare Roget's Thesaurus would be grateful for it, seem to have lost mine but don't buy one.*

*To Keith Thomas    11.6.1968      6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6*

*Dear Keith,*

*I will send along Daedulus in a day or two, when I have had a chance to go into London, but I just wanted to write a note straight away before you went to America to thank you immensely for a nice lunch and tea and, above all, for sparing so much of your very precious time to read and go through my M.Phil. and Josselin. I really do appreciate how much trouble you went to - your comments on the M.Phil. alone were far more helpful than those of 2 years from my L.S.E. supervisor. Please let me know if I can ever repay any of this by doing anything for the book.*

*About our discrepancy on Marwick. We are both right. My total of 107 cases includes those where one sorcerer attacked another; yours are attacks of sorcerers on non-sorcerers.*

*I will send along a copy of the M.Phil when I can. Hope the trip to America is enjoyable/profitable. Again very many thanks.*

*From Keith Thomas on 12 June 1968*

*Dear Alan,*

*It was very nice of you to write. I can't confidently identify the author of this facetious piece, but I think that your original guess of Perkin is as likely as any. I would have thought that the witness convicted himself out of his own mouth, and I wouldn't take it very seriously if I were you. When you want a publisher with a sympathetic reader just let me know.*

*I'm just off to America now, though everything is in chaos, owing to the threatened BOAC strike, and am scared of having to come back by one of those horrible Boeings.*

*6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 12.6.1968*

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*How are you both? We're longing to have more descriptions of your simple life - but I imagine it is so eventless - or rather the events are so small, if important, that it is difficult to find much to say in a letter. I often feel the same after I have been sitting thinking and writing for a week. One can hardly fill one's letters*

with descriptions of the neighbouring garden - which is about all that I often see for days on end. Anyhow, it was nice to get your amusing letter with the R.J. part 2 (I hope you got my postcard thanking you for that, by the way, though I will add my renewed thanks here). I enclose the Roget's Thesaurus which you asked for. I never seem to use it - perhaps that explains the deadness of my prose. I also enclose a Westmorland reference. Presume you've read this? If not you could have a look when you come down again. How go the attempts to bludgeon the local authorities into action?

The main event of the last few days - in our lives rather than the sad events in America - was a visit last week-end to Oxford. We stayed with Ralph who took us out to dinner at Timms and lunch at Linton Lodge. As usual he was immensely kind and one had to refrain from getting irritated by the endless chatter about all his illustrious friends and relations. But my small talk began to run thin after about three meals. We also did a tour of some of my old friends - had tea with Alec (who reminisced about their tour of the Hebrides - he remembered the croft and the river running out of Loch Obisary very well). Alec seems very cheerful; he goes to Sutherland this summer and then on to a conference at Rydal. Harry Pitt, who I hope to have lunch with next week, is still ill after his Indian trip - with dysentery among other things. Didn't cheer Gill up to hear about it! I saw Lady Clay - as talkative as ever - and, of course Keith. Spent over four hours with him discussing my M.Phil. and R.J. He made many helpful additions to both and some minor criticisms which should be easy to incorporate but he seemed to enjoy them both and assumed that they would be published without any difficulty. Was indignant when I told him of my treatment by Routledge. He seemed frantically busy - marking exam papers, off for a week-end conference to America etc. He is a good warning that even incredible energy and intelligence can be practically crushed by being embroiled in the teaching world. He hasn't even time to check his paper for the book on witchcraft (Cambridge Conference). Still, it was very nice to see him.

Am just beginning to go through R.J. over again - but have also got to start thinking about demography again as - I don't know whether I have already told you this - but I've agreed to write an article on 'Demography & Anthropology' for New Society; it's got to be ready by the end of the month. How is K.L. at the moment - or are you concentrating on other things?

Sidinish, Wednesday, (12th June 1968)

Dear Gill & Alan,

I'm really waiting for a letter I think - but am just sending this off to day I will have Josselin finished by the end of next week I hope. This section is much easier - though you may not approve of my slight flights of fancy, but you can impress on the C.U.P. that this is a first draft only. Do hope they like it. Also I've (we've) decided we shall have to bring up a lorry of stuff, so you could hire a van & bring your belongings up to Field Head at end of August. Could take them on with ours. You could then clock out of your flat & save the rent. September will be nice here I think - lovely heather anyway & the house might be done?? Wish you were here now, beautiful weather, beautiful everything. Daddy catches lots of small trout,  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb, v. good eating but there are obviously bigger ones. He found two herons nests with babies yesterday, & there is a mother teal with eight chicks on the lochan below me, Poochie is chasing bunnies, a cuckoo is calling & it is 7.30 p.m. & still warm. We have dug some more peat but otherwise no progress with the Realities, but expect the water pipe any day.

Had a letter from Jean today too, saying my X ray showed amoebic dysentery & they would like me to go into hospital for 2 weeks in August to try to clear it - a relief to find it's something and only that! though 2 weeks in Law Hosp. is a bit daunting, however it would be marvellous if they could cure it. I'll do it on my way through to clear up after Ainleys & collect luggage. Fiona says she's spending the whole summer up here so will keep Daddy company. He is brick red & v. happy & we shall also be able to live on our pension here so it'll solve all our problems, though news of Biafra & other horrors filters through & one feels guilty at leading such an idyllic existence....

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 15.6.1968

Dear Mummy and Daddy,

Many thanks for your 'Wednesday' letter. It was nice to hear you so cheerful; it really does sound idyllic. Where is Daddy catching the trout? In our little lochans - or loch Obisary? Or has he tried the sea? Is there

likely to be any sea-trout fishin'. And what does he think about the possibilities of fish-farming now? Longing to see you and talk to you about all these things. Any advance with the 'Realities' as you call them. If you think the house might be ready by September, there must be some advance.

The most important bit of news in your letter, of course, was re. the results of your X-ray. I don't know whether to feel cheered or depressed by the news of amoebic dysentery I suppose, at least it holds out the prospect of a complete cure. Poor you. And Law hospital over again! Will send lots of reading up - if you can tear your eyes off the other extraordinary patients. Do you feel in any pain at the moment?

About plans for coming up north. If you really do intend to hire a lorry at the end of August, that would be marvellous. We could travel up on the lorry ourselves as well as any luggage. You don't think it would be worthwhile driving it up ourselves? For the amount of luggage you'll have I don't suppose you need anything larger than a very large dormobile do you - or are you taking some big things? Our plans are slightly in flux. I think we'll only know for certain about giving up this flat in Sept. a bit later. It depends on the money position. It may be rather difficult to find another flat for just two months near Gill's job - and the waste of several days finding it & moving stuff is rather pointless. It rather depends on whether Josselin sells & whether my article for New Society is accepted. Anyhow, even if we stay here, will bring up a couple of trunks of books & notes to take up to the Hebrides so that you will be well-stocked for the winter. You will let us know in good time whether there is anything you want up from London - e.g. water-pumps, fertilizer etc....

Delighted to hear Josselin is progressing well. I've now gone through the first and second sections and broken them down into chapters etc. so will send it off to C.U.P. when I get the next part. For the next two weeks, however, as I said, I'll be studying anthropology and demography once again. L.S.E. has more or less packed up now. We had a good-bye drink for Firth yesterday - gave him some records etc. & I gave a little speech. It was all very jolly - though I was a bit sad to find that I was 35/- down on the proceedings (having been organized into being organizer). The new appointments at L.S.E. make it an even drearier anthropology dept. than it was & I'm glad to shake the dust from my shoes etc.

....Have the Ainleys given you a definite date when they will be leaving?

16.6.68 6, Milverton Road, London. N.W.6

To Peter Loizos,

....Finally, I enclose a hand-out I gave out at a 'demography and anthropology' talk I gave at Firth's seminar. I can't remember if you'd left for Cyprus by then ... It just seems to me that you're obviously interested in demography & this might give you an idea or two & on the second sheet are a list of the U.N. suggestions of collecting demographic information. If there are any queries let me know.

Finally, one bit of gossip - as yet unconfirmed. The **POWERS THAT BE** could not choose between Mary Douglas and a Peter Lloyd for successor to Firth - so Freedman stepped in instead. Jean Sackur (born La Fontaine) from Birkbeck is the new Reader. Firth was toasted in champagne and given three records on his retiral and I made a little speech etc. You will be amused to hear that the Thursday seminar (led by Dore this term) grew so feeble both in content and membership that it packed up.

I am editor of the L.S.E. Magazine - which will bring forth your sympathies - and am desperately searching for contributions. So if you have time to write something from the field ... It would be nice to have something on the problems you are meeting or on ways in which the L.S.E. course might have been brightened up to fit you better for the job - if you have the courage! Or it would be nice to have your piece attacking the 'Honour and Shame' school - or 'Anthropologists as Myth Makers'. Anyhow, let me have a piece by the end of August by the latest if you can. [There follows a detailed page of comments on Peter Loizos field report, for example:]

7. I liked your methodological note (p.6) on where you got the information from. I think all future (worthwhile) anthropological monographs will have running footnotes (like history books) stating exactly what type of source was used. The day of Stirling/Evans-Pritchard type impressionism are numbered & a work will not be proof against the criticism of being merely an idealized creation of the anthropologist's mind unless its sources are handled far more rigorously than to the present.

Sidinish, Locheport (c. 19th June 1968)

My dear Gill & Alan,

Thank you for letters and for sending dear Roget - my reliance on him is probably as unhealthy as Alan's non-reliance! .... To start with business and chores - do you think you could get this film developed for us? There seems some difficulty in getting it done here and we want something for Granny's Golden Memories book, also for the flap cover of my American edition if any of them are reasonable, have been posing in various windy spots in the last couple of days but I'm sure they're awful. Re. the G.W.<sup>37</sup> our Kinship Group is supposed to be combining on this book, but I also thought of sending a few yellow Iris bulbs and I wondered if you could arrange this too?...

The other business, moves, vans etc. we will have to leave I think till we all know our financial situation. Complications today as Lady Ainley has asked if they can stay on a month-to-month basis, so my plan to descend with a van and remove beds, chairs, washing machine etc. have to be reconsidered.... But let's leave it all for the moment.

I am going to write another children's book and try to flog it to Chatto's, it would be very nice to have a small generator for the winter so that we could read slides and have the Telly, also some decent light. At the moment it doesn't matter as the sun doesn't set till nearly 11 p.m. and then only for about half an hour, but I think Daddy will be fretful in the winter without some evening's entertainment. Anyway it's too early to make these plans as yet.

I do hope the article for New Society is accepted, how much to they pay? I hope to get Josselin off on Saturday, am thumping him out at the moment, re-wrote most of this section roughly so it's just a question of re-typing. I have so enjoyed this bit, much more my type of work, hope your pen won't slash through it. I am doing a bit of K.L. at odd moments, wills and registers, but all my boxes are dumped at the top of the stairs and it's no good trying to organise them till we know if the builder is going to appear this year. I haven't lost interest at all, in fact have a much closer understanding of their way of life living here, as it must have been similar in many ways. The holdings of the crofters are about the same size as K.L. - two or three cows, 30 or 40 sheep and 5 acres or so of arable to grow barley and oats, and the Vikings were here first before drifting on in that direction so I should imagine the open fields were cultivated in much the same way too, the old plough marks are very clear here, and in the most unlikely places, now covered with heather. I thought of taking all the gen on land into hospital and trying to work up a "piece" on it....

P.S. The film is colour prints -

6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6, 22.6.1968

Dear M. and D.,

Many thanks for a lovely long letter. It is almost unbearably nice to have descriptions of your life: I now see what it must have been like to hear about an English Spring when you were out in Assam! Your accounts of wild irises, bluebells, seals, huge trout, tame seagulls etc. make both our mouths water & we can hardly wait to come up. Annie tells me that she has arranged her holiday for the last week in August & first week of September, so perhaps we should do the same. How would this fit in with you?

Yes, I agree. We ought to hire a largish car (depending on how many of us there are going to be). I'm sure that with two drivers we should be able to get from here - via Crowthorne - to your croft in a day - if we started early enough. And we could take up your essential stuff from Field-Head. At least the Ainleys staying on will give you some spare cash. £10 a week will be a help I expect. How much would a small generator cost? Remember that I still owe you £50 &, of course, we'll have to divide up the profits from Josselin if he is ever sold. I suppose the Ainleys are finding it difficult to find a house?

About Granny's G.W. Have deposited the film & will send the prints up at the end of next week - unless I hear to the contrary that you want me to send them to anyone else. Will arrange about the flowers & about our present. I think we will try to go down to see G. and G. that week-end (i.e. 14<sup>th</sup>) & then go on up to Gill's

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37 Golden Wedding. Iris's parents were married 10th July 1918



parents for a few days holiday. Gill is working very hard & will need a break soon. By then Josselin – 1<sup>st</sup> draft – should be sent off to Cambridge.

Glad to hear that enthusiasm for K.L. is not wearing off – I only wish, as you must, that builders etc. would rally round so that you could get organized. Would you like us to bring up some baby trout/baby chicks or anything when we come up? You'll have to make a list of things. You seem to face the problems one expects in any underdeveloped country – that each project takes an enormous amount of time & everything depends on everything else. One has to build the factory to make the tarmac to build the roads to carry the children to the school where they will learn to work in the factories to make the tarmac.... Etc.

Talking of underdeveloped countries, I've been continuing my studies of population for this New Society article and & everything makes the situation seem grimmer. Worst of all is a book called Famine-1975 which predicts that places like India, Egypt etc. will be witnessing vast epidemics & famines in the next ten years – and that America should stop supplying them with aid since they are bound to collapse pretty soon anyway. Harry Pitt, who has just come back from India with dysentery, was equally gloomy & is convinced that the whole place is going to fall to pieces. He told some horrifying stories... But you won't need reminding of the situation. It must all seem rather strange and remote up there: difficult to imagine vast overpopulation when living in an area of depopulation.

Against the background of gloom and mounting world calamity we live out our funny social life. We have bought a cheap recording of Bach's B minor Mass & therefore it was nice to be able to hear the thing live at Westminster Abbey on Wednesday. It really is quite magnificent – almost the only thing that can take my mind off population at the moment....

As far as India & field-work goes; had a short chat to F-Haimendorf on Thursday. He is just off to Nepal for six months & he gave me a brief idea of where he thought it would be best to go if I couldn't go to Assam. It sounds a lovely country & very little explored. They even have an active family planning campaign! We would probably go to a 'middle-range' area of 4,000-6,000 feet mountains – rather like Shillong I imagine.

I think I told you that I went to hear Joan Thirsk's talk at Oxford last week-end. It was stimulating – her thesis was that the agricultural revolution occurred in the corn-growing areas, and the industrial revolution in the pastoral areas. But the examples & logic were a bit shaky. She gave me some sherry afterwards and a book to review & a lift to the station. She is still working on open fields & commons – so do write to her if you have time.

Sorry this is such a bitty letter. Have been rushing from library to library in the last few days & my mind is still in a turmoil. Oh for a little Hebridean calm...'

From Iris: June 22nd 1968

Dear Alan,

Am sending this off with the references omitted as they take so long & will surely not matter in the first draft?

Also wrongly numbered as I remembered too late but perhaps not important at this stage either? You will need to draw some lines etc. but trust it is all right otherwise...

From Gill to parents from 6 Milverton Road, 23 June 1968

I must say the idea of a holiday for us at the moment is heaven. I feel very tired and Alan has his M.Phil. viva on Friday so is working hard. He is also writing an article for New Society on the world population explosion; this is his great concern at the moment.

For Whit, as I think I told you on the p/c, Eric hired a car and the four of us went to Oxford punting, and the day before all round Essex looking at Alan's witchcraft villages. ... Alan stayed over until the Monday to see Keith about his work, and to get some intellectual sustenance; he feels a bit starved at LSE as no one is particularly interested in his subjects, or approach to things.

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 29.6.68

Dear Mummy and Daddy,

*This is mainly to thank you again for the completed Josselin: I very much enjoyed your rewriting of the last part, a great improvement, especially the piece on the weather. I've typed in footnotes & references & am cutting the whole thing into chapters and then will try it on another publisher. I am now getting to the stage where I have read it so many times that I wonder whether it is of any interest at all. The same with my M.Phil. Yesterday was the viva for the M.Phil. which, I am glad to say, went off quite well. It was more or less the same as the D.Phil. They told me straight away that they liked it & that I had passed and then we proceeded to have a chat for about 40 mins.<sup>38</sup> At the end they both insisted it should be published – so I am now playing with the idea of incorporating it with Josselin.; What do you think? A pity in some ways since R.J. stands on his own & is superior to the M.Phil., but maybe I'll see what C.U.P. think. I can't estimate how long R.J. is. Sometimes I think it's only about 45,000 words – sometimes it seems more like double that length. Of course there are still the trimmings to add.*

*How goes your writing? I enclose a reference to a book which might amuse you if you can get hold of it. Do they have any sort of library service on the island? I also enclose a couple of articles on the fringes of land tenure. You may have seen the one from Past and Present if you had a look at that magazine on the way down. I found the xerox quite interesting – though, of course, we will be able to do much more intensive stuff. I must really get down to the K.L. central records now that the thesis is over.*

*We are leading quite a gay social life. Last night we went to a wine/goulash & records party, given by an old ex-Oxford girlfriend. There were a number of my Oxford friends whom it was nice to meet & Gill seemed to enjoy it. ... What with the M.Phil. viva that means that I've worn my suit twice in one week! Oh, for the Hebrides. As you see I also enclose the photographs of the Hebrides which make us long for them even more. I think, & so does Gill, that they are absolutely splendid. The ones of Daddy sitting in the heather are particularly good! I wonder if it would be possible for us to borrow the negatives of four of them (I've put asterisks on the backs of these) so that we can have a copy. If you'd like to send down any negatives you'd like copies of, I'll get them all done. Its lucky they're so marvellous for they are certainly expensive – some 2/- each.*

To Lady Clay 29.6.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

*Dear Rosalind,*

*The worst of the crisis is now over so that I can now turn to thoughts of Oxford and your beautiful garden. With the roses out it must be very lovely – and those long, almost agonizingly lovely Oxford evenings full of lilac. I do miss them.*

*Meanwhile, amidst crowded and infrequent tubes, we continue to exist – even if one cannot entirely call it living. So it is especially nice to get your letters. Very amused to hear your account of conversation with Mr. Campbell – him edging nervously back across the sofa as you edged closer to him & asked penetrating questions! I had lunch with Harry Pitt a week or so ago & he didn't seem too bad; lost a lot of weight etc. but still full of that aggressive, argumentative, bubble, mixed with sensitive concern which makes him such delightful company.*

*The Joan Thirsk seminar which I attended was quite stimulating. She argued that the industrial revolution started in pastoral areas of England where there was a surplus of labour & rural industries, while the agricultural revolution grew out of the intensification and experimentation in the corn-growing regions. Some of it was rather weakly argued & John Cooper, of course, leapt on her. But at least it was thinking on a large scale. I wonder how Keith got on for his week in America.*

*My main news at the moment is that I've passed my M.Phil. degree (anthropology). I had my viva yesterday – much like my D.Phil. one. They told me straight away that I had passed and that they thought it was good and then we proceeded to chat – not such a distinguished couple as Evans-Pritchard & Christopher H., though.<sup>39</sup> They suggested I turned it into a book – but I am not very happy with it & am not sure it is worth publication until I have a lot more material.*

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<sup>38</sup> The examiners were Isaac Schapera of the L.S.E. (internal) and Jack Goody of Cambridge (external).

*Talking of publication – I wonder if you would have the time in the next couple of weeks to have a look at a bit of my Ralph Josselin work? We will be away for the second week in July & I wondered if you could have a look at it during that period. I will then need to start rewriting it, but I would very much value your comments. The third part is on his ‘mental world’ – i.e. his reactions to pain/death, dreams etc. & since it was from you that I first learnt to understand ‘puritanism’, it would be very appropriate (& helpful) to have your comments on this most ‘puritan’ of people. As you will see, I don’t discuss (in this part – I have done elsewhere a bit) the formal theological structure – more his emotions & reactions. If you can face this (this part is only about 10,000 words), perhaps you could drop me a p.c. next week. But, if you’re busy, let’s leave it till a later stage. Please don’t feel obliged to read it.*

*I met a number of ex-Oxford friends at a party yesterday & learnt from them, among other things, that Paul Hyams is getting married in Worcester Chapel (to Judith) – the first Jewish wedding to be solemnized in an Anglican church or something.*

*What did you think of the Past and Present – last one? I thought the articles – first two especially – were pretty disappointing & I see that they aren’t bothering to have a proper Conference this year. The zest seems to be declining.*

## Summer Vacation

### 1968 – July

To Lady Clay 3.7.68 Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*Dear Rosalind,*

*Many thanks for your always welcome letter. I will be replying properly shortly; this note is just to explain the enclosed part of Josselin which you have so kindly offered to read. As you know, this is only part of a more general study – the previous sections were a) introduction on diaries & diary-keeping and on Josselin’s political, economic & ecclesiastical activities b) birth, marriage and death and their rituals c) his relationships with his family, kin, and neighbours. Hope this section will be intelligible on its own: luckily you know more about Josselin than most readers would. The dates in the margin are refs. to the original diary. The numbers (page) in pencil are the correct ones. The present notes are, of course, abbreviated & will be pruned. If you could possibly let me have this back towards the end of the month, i.e. by about 27<sup>th</sup> July, that would be fine. Sorry it is a carbon & hope this won’t be a strain for your eyes. If it bores you, don’t bother too much about it.*

From Iris Thursday (4th July 1968)

*Dear Alan*

*Delighted to hear you are safely a Master and that your examiners were so hopeful and enthusiastic. This is the last thesis you can write? How sad. Thank you very much for sending the snaps, which I have buzzed on to Granny, we thought most of them were very good... Was very interested in the enclosed papers, will discuss these in my letter. I’m thinking of re-joining the London Library as there is nothing on the island and Daddy could do with something other than the Daily Express too. The builders came out the other evening, (we collared them on the road) and said they could do all the work in three weeks which is encouraging, so now it just depends on the Clerk of Works and his chums in Edinburgh...*

From Iris Sidinish, Sunday (7th July 1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*....I’m glad Josselin arrived, I wasn’t at all relieved to finish him, rather sad, but wished I hadn’t had to rush over him (though five months isn’t exactly a rush come to think of it) and I do hope he will find a publisher. If you have any money to spare you must spend it on a Cine camera and film to take to India or Nepal, you can let us have this when you come back and this will be any repayment for help, which has been precious little. I*

*feel really that Nepal, might be a better bet after all, the combination of apathy and positive restrictions in Assam will be very daunting, and the tribes much the same I expect.*

*I don't blame Harry Pitt for feeling horrified, but somehow however hopeless things look there is always the feeling of the vast potential waiting to be organised and directed, if only.... I don't believe the whole thing is going to collapse in 1975 (though I probably would if presented with that book to read) because of the tremendous wealth, in gold, in land and natural resources which are simply lying about wasted, and even with the population increasing I feel (am I totally wrong? statistically?) that there is enough. I hope you will send me a copy of your article for New Society, I will send down all the Josselania this week. I have written a first chapter of a children's book and after another one will send it off and hope to get an advance on it... How sad and deserted I shall feel, all my strong inner resources seem to desert me sometimes when I think of you all so far away in those germmy places. We are making map of Kirkby Lonsdale with little pins for people stuck into it, the first step to our reconstitution*

As from 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 8.7.68

*Dear Mummy and Daddy,*

*You will gather from the post-mark and from the absence of typewriter that we've managed to get away for a week to Darlington – hence delay in this letter – apologies. Many thanks for your last letter, describing your first gale. Hope the weather has calmed down again. So sorry to hear about Poochie's foot: trust you found a vet & that she is o.k.. Yes, it must be very lonely at times. I wish we weren't going to leave you for one and a half years now – but when we come back we'll be on your doorstep most of the time I expect. I intend to buy a helicopter so that I can commute between Oxford, the Lakes & N. Uist. Isn't the lady of the Manor approachable? Perhaps it would be worth coming down to Field Head just over the worst of the first winter? Or would that be defeatist? Incidentally about coming down. If you aren't going for your operation until after we've been – does that mean that you won't come down to Granny's at the end of August?*

*Glad to hear the water has arrived at last – wonder if there has been any other progress since then. Glad, also, that the children's book is going well. Intrigued to hear about the map – K.L. Is it the same one as you showed me – with pins in for people? Finally we will have to make a really – 20 feet relief map of the valley (& also of H.P./Boreham etc) – but that can wait.*

*My own work is suffering a lull at the moment – have sent off R.J. & am waiting to hear about that: nor have I heard from New Society. I enclose one of the articles I used for the New Soc. Article – you can see why I got depressed! Could you return it at your leisure. While on holiday I'm writing a review of the book J. Thirsk gave me: it's quite interesting – on the mobility (both geographical and occupational) of farm families in a region rather similar to K.L. I'll bring it up as it has a number of ideas we might incorporate into the study.*

*It is delightful to be away from London for a bit & we're both having a good rest. Gill is very tired & the doctor says she has rheumatism in her knees – hope that won't be affected in India/Nepal. Yesterday we went fishing up on the moors & caught about 5 trout – 2 of ¼lb. We intend to do several more days fishing and in the lovely Yorkshire Dales type scenery it is most relaxing and restful. Very like the Rawthey at Sedbergh.*

*It strikes me that the one crop that you could grow that would not be affected by the climate are fish. On rough land they are up to 20 times as efficient as other animals and they fit in well with keeping other animals & crops. I enclose a small booklet which might interest you. I've bought a much more detailed account – from which this booklet is an extract – and can send it up/bring it up as you like. I wondered if you had any idea how deep the lochan in our croft was, Daddy? Have you taken any soundings? And have you an accurate detailed map of the croft showing gradients/soils etc.? Might be useful. Incidentally, have you visited that hatchery on the way to Lochmaddy? I ask because I thought we might bring up a few young rainbow trout – but this would be a waste of effort if they have them there. Do you know if there is any trout farming on the island – apart from that designed merely to re-stock the lochs? (i.e. any intensive raising of fish as in this booklet?). A final question. You said there was a stream which might do for the fish-farm. Presumably it is a goodish distance away & on common land? Would it be possible to get a stream running through our land or would we have to pump it up from the loch? Wish we could buy your next-door neighbours croft & land!*

From Iris Sidinish, Tuesday (9th July 1968)



*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*I don't know whether it's the day to write but will be going up to the P.O. tomorrow to send a wire to Granny.*

*.... I have finished my first two chapters and will get them off this week, have been wasting the last couple of evenings trying to piece together where everyone lived in Kirkby Lonsdale, triggered off by the arrival of the Xerox from Carlisle of the town plan. I have quite a few clues, obviously the Hearth Tax was done in some sort of rotation but can't quite decide how. It is obvious that there was a "snob" area where all the gents lived, near Underley, and the poor were to a great extent huddled in Michelgate (that steep road) but I hope eventually to have a lot of them placed. I was interested in those articles you sent about America, the question of Frontiers interests me particularly, why when they become overcrowded they didn't fan out when land was plentiful, one gets the same feeling here of invisible frontiers that have nothing to do with geography. Also the gradual handing over of land to the younger generation, thus keeping them to hand, seems to have been much the same, so many of the wills speak of a "final portion" as if death rounds off this gradual process. This bears on another point that has struck me, that poverty was not so much a question of class as of age, the words "old and poor" being more or less synonymous. Society, and people individually, didn't seem to plan for or know what to do with old age, and you come across so many people who seem relatively prosperous, until they get old and then you find them huddled together and described as "poor". One feels they arranged this gradual passing on of their property with the time limit of a fairly short life in mind, and if they lived longer nobody was prepared. I will have to find out more about the background of the poor before coming to any conclusions, have finished the parish registers so can start all sorts of interesting chores....*

*6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 14.7.68*

*Dear M. & D.,*

*You will have got my last packet only a few days ago so this is really only to thank you for sending down the Josselin which arrived safely while we were away. There was a nice batch of post awaiting me, including a note from New Society saying that they had accepted my article. C.U.P. have sent Josselin & M.Phil. off to some referees. You asked whether this was my last thesis: no such luck - I'm just embarking on a Ph.D. (i.e. the Indian field-work will be written up as that) - then I will be finished.*

*We had a very happy & restful time in Darlington as you will have gathered from my last note. We spent almost every day in the Yorkshire dales & had a lot of fishing; I caught something like 40 trout in the end, including a day on a beautiful little beck where I caught 10 plump little  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. ones. I know that this will be small stuff compared to your fishing, Daddy, but it was such lovely scenery & so entirely relaxing and absorbing that it didn't really matter whether we caught anything or not....*

*As always, your lush description of flowers, birds, lochan etc. made us - arriving back to the thick dust of London - yearn after Lochport. Glad to hear that the builders won't take long to do the job once they have the word. I expect their arrival will coincide with ours and we'll all be sleeping in the byre. Did the radishes grow well - did you have to plant them in special soil etc.? It might well be an idea to roof in one or two smaller valleys: there are now so many strong synthetic plastics etc. on the market that it should be possible to make a substitute for glass which would stand the wind. Then one could in that mild climate grow sub-tropical crops. Make millions etc. Wonder what Daddy thought of that fish book,*

*Our plans about coming up will remain fluid & we'll come up whenever it suits you best. I gather the later in the year that one hires a car the cheaper it is - that is the only factor. Do let me know if you are going to Preston in advance if you do. I am thinking of getting a pocket tape recorder for India & if you go I could get this early & you could use it (it would be easier than the other one - I assure you!) & this, combined with getting all the inventories xeroxed should mean that you can get through a good many wills. I must try to get to Chester before I leave as I want to have a rough idea what the sources are like.*

*I was fascinated, as always, by your findings on K.L. It will be marvellous if we can find the 'key' to the Hearth Tax (& perhaps to the census - have you any idea if that is in any order - if not for K.L. for any of the villages?). I was most interested in your theory about the poor being an occupational/situational group - the old - rather than a permanent class. Of course this upsets much of the Marxian analysis of the last 30 years - with its permanent class of underdogs - & I'm sure it's absolutely right. I think we already discussed how it may*

*also be those who have been sick - or suffered from fire etc. - who may become destitute. The loss of one or both parents on the children's subsequent devt. will be worth study. I've found an interesting analysis of C18 Bayeux along these lines - showing that something like 80% (I think) of the poor were old and were women. It really will be worth writing a solid chapter on poverty. Your idea of a fixed age at which people were expected to die fits in very well with some literary quotes I have to the same effect. I hope it will also fit in with our attempts to relate parental death & age at marriage - on this point there is some interesting material in the book reviewed in the enclosed. I will bring up the book, but thought you might like to see my review which I mentioned.*

*Hope the children's book is accepted - it must be a pleasant change from K.L.!*

To Keith Thomas 14.7.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

*Dear Keith,*

*Thanks for your card. I enclose a copy of my M.Phil. thesis which I hope you will keep - with my best wishes. I'm glad to say that my examiners liked it & awarded me my degree. Am just wondering what to do with it at the moment; have sent it + Josselin to Mrs. Skinner to see what she thinks.<sup>40</sup>*

*Wonder how your work goes? Do hope you get a break to finish the mammoth task. Don't suppose I'll be in Oxford until Sept., but if you are ever in London & have time for a coffee/chat before then, do let me know.*

From Keith Thomas 16 July 1968

*Dear Alan,*

*It is very nice indeed of you to give me a copy of your M.Phil. thesis and I am delighted to have it. Let me also offer my congratulations on your degree. What a lot of letters you now have after your name!*

*I have just had a letter from Mrs. Skinner asking me to report on Josselin's suitability for publication! She says she has glanced through it and thinks the material "extremely interesting" but wonders whether it is substantial enough for a book. I shall write to reassure her on the latter point, but will have to urge her to consult someone else if she really needs another opinion since I am solidly behind you already. She wants me to suggest any ways in which you ought to be asked to revise the MS, but I've already done what little I can there anyway. But I'll put the whole thing as strongly as I can. Let me know what happens.*

*I'm laid low with what was first thought to be German measles and now is said to be glandular fever. But if I get to London I'll let you know.*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 16.7.68

*Dear Mummy,*

*This isn't a proper letter. I just wondered if you had any ideas on the enclosed paper - an appendix for R.J. I don't want you to type it out - or even to worry about grammar/sense which are both pretty tangled. I just wondered if the K.L. material is now at a stage where you think it might be possible to add a few figures on mobility of children (roughly comparable to those worked out on Ealing) by the end of Sept.? Perhaps I could give a hand at this when I come up, but I thought you might like to be thinking about - e.g. it would be a great help if you could have filled in the ages of any of the children or servants in the 1696 listing.*

*A couple of approaches struck me & I wondered if you could estimate whether a) these would take a long time b) it would be worth doing this work before we finish the P.R. and the wills?*

*1. Make a sample of the age at which people stop being buried in the parish within which they were born. E.g. take, at random, some 20 or so deaths of children (if it is possible to separate these out) & see how old they are. This was the method followed by West (see my enclosed quote from his material) & he discovered that it was normal to bury people in the parish of birth until they were about 12 - then they start disappearing, for good. Of course, with K.L. the size it is & if they don't say that a) they are children b) which part of K.L. parish - i.e. township - they are from - this method may not be (at the moment) feasible.*

*2. Make a comparison of census & parish register.*

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<sup>40</sup> Patricia Skinner, an editor at the Cambridge University Press, later a friend and later married to the philosopher Bernard Williams.

a) work backwards from the census: take half a dozen sample families and find out the ages of their sons and daughters & take those of some other sample families & find out the ages of the servants: from this one would be able to make a direct comparison with the enclosed Ealing listing.

b) work from the parish register to the census: here one would be able to do something new. For example one could take 10 children who should have been aged 1-4, 10 who should have been 5-9, etc. for all the age groups to 29 (& who are not recorded as dying) & who should have been present in the K.L. (or other villages) listing in 1696 - and then find where they actually were. Again this may be made more trouble than it is at present worth by the very large area of the P.R. coverage.

Don't worry about this - but perhaps you can keep it in mind. Could you send back the enclosed when you've had a look?

Lots of love to you both, will be writing shortly.

From Iris Sidinish, Friday (19th July 1968)

Dear Gill & Alan,

Two letters to thank you for I think, was so glad you managed to have that break in Darlington and hope the effects of the moors haven't worn off too quickly. Was delighted to hear your article had been accepted by New Society, a really classy paper... Do hope Josselin will meet with the same success, Alan.

Our lives shaken up by the arrival of Fiona on Monday, cheerful and broke, she has been digging peat furiously and got through more than we did in a month.

Daddy is teaching her to drive which is nerve wracking for all concerned, but no real tragedies yet, she hurtled round a corner at Lochmaddy at forty miles an hour yesterday but not even a cow in sight luckily, she hopes to take her test here though it seems a rather poor preparation for Sheffield. A vague scheme we have in mind at the moment is that instead of you paying large sums for a hired car, that we buy a small van for about £40 or so which you bring up, and she will take you down in it.\* We shall have to advance her the money so it depends on my new book really, but it might be worth keeping your ears open....

I was interested in all the enclosures and am sure we could (I could) do the necessary work on servants and children by the end of September. I will be able to do some in hospital as well, it will be fascinating to find out where in the parish the children are, though we may not be able to work out all relationships by then, so that if we find a Baines living with a Clarke we won't be able to pronounce firmly that they aren't related. With all these people it'll be a job to sort them all out, but fascinating. I am leaving the village plan for the moment, until I've put the Manor Court Book on cards, I have almost "got" it. The census was done by class, starting with gents and working down to the poor but this corresponded a great deal to where they lived.

I don't think I will be getting to Preston for a bit now, my plans change hourly, but as far as I can see them I don't visualize going away till you do, might fit in a few days then. Meanwhile I'll have lots to do along the lines you suggest, it'll be interesting to see if they married younger in K.L. with their system of "hamlet farms" where there would obviously be room for two generations, there are quite a few examples of the old making over the property to the young on conditional surrenders, i.e. the old can go on living there, but presumably the young will run the place, but as I mentioned last time the old were not expected to go on getting too old. I am hoping to be able to chat up some of the old people here and get some light thrown on this business of later marriage and boundaries which seemed typical here too. It is perplexing trying to get answers, when you ask a simple question such as "Why don't people fish" or "Why do people dig up their arable land for peat?" you get something like "Well, that's the way of it."!

V. sleepy, the room is very hot and smoky, so will end. I will send all the enclosures in my next....

\* Don't mention this, D. isn't in on it!

To Lady Clay 20.7.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Rosalind,

.....Will be interested to hear how your reading of Joan Thirsk's mammoth work goes - I've only dipped into it. It seems a splendid preliminary work - esp. the bits by J.T. herself & Alan Everitt. But it is clearly only a

beginning – e.g. my mother is finding most of the generalizations break down when applied to the Westmorland villages she is studying.

My main news is of our holiday in Darlington: a lovely break of a week spent almost entirely in the Yorkshire dales (mainly Swaledale) fishing. I caught over 40 trout – of which we eat 10. Also devoured the fantastic serenity. Unfortunately it only takes a couple of days of tubes & traffic to obliterate all but the toughest of memories. Our culture in the last week has consisted of an evening of harpsichord music (George Malcolm) in the gracious C18 atmosphere of Kenwood House &, last night, the Charge of the Light Brigade – some marvellous filming, a superb performance by Gielgud & others, and a thoroughly depressing insight into the bestialities of Victorian England. Definitely worth seeing.

Now to Josselin. I return your notes on his Diary which you will want back & which I have absorbed. I have also been through your (far from scrappy or illegible) notes, to my great profit. Yes, I agree that his unquestioning, non-analyzing reaction to illness is one of the great separators. Also that he seems to have got little joy from his religion. Yes, Haller is good on diaries. I've used him in an introductory chapter on 'Diaries and Diary Writing' which you might like to see: an attempt to sketch in some of the reasons for keeping diaries. As for the passage of time, yes it was too contracted & I intend to make it more comprehensible. The contrast is the old one between cyclical and progressive time – outlined by Evans-Pritchard, Keith Thomas, & (in part) by E.P. Thompson. We can perhaps sort it out when we meet next.

The article by Michael Walzer is in a recent History & Theory – I can send it to you if you would like (or my rather sketchy notes on it, I should say: the general argument is that both puritanism & capitalism were symptoms/products of something else – anxiety. But he fails to say what caused this anxiety). [part missing]

... and his economic affairs. This is all fairly straight description along conventional historical lines – a type of work which I left some time ago & I consequently find rather strange. I would therefore especially appreciate it if you felt you could have a look at these two chapters (and the chapter on 'diary-writing') if you felt you could face it. You would probably be able to save me from some awful blunders – or at least be able to put my mind to rest. It's not exciting & I will quite understand if you'd rather leave it. I certainly don't want you to bother to the extent that you obviously did with the other two chapters. But if you have the energy. They should be ready in a readable draft in about 3 weeks.

An odd coincidence re. Josselin. I sent off some chapters to the Cambridge University Press & they sent them off to referees – among whom was Keith Thomas (who has only just finished reading an earlier draft!) Fortunately he is "solidly behind me" but had to point out to them that he was prejudiced. Poor Keith – he is stricken with glandular fever: every summer, just when he is about to polish off the great work, he becomes ill. He will be massively frustrated.

Again, Rosalind, I really am grateful for all the trouble you took & hope that the final book will make you feel it was justified.

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 24.7.68

Dear M. and D., (& Fiona),

Many thanks for your long letter which we both enjoyed very much. Enclosed a booklet which you might find useful – "What's Where in London". Hang onto this if it is of any use.. Also enclosed are some stamps.... As usual, my mouth watered at accounts of Daddy's fishing. Has he tried sea fishing yet? Glad to hear you were interested in fish farming book – any reply from the Highlands & Islands Devt. people about this? I'll certainly try to get hold of practical books on this & will scout round tomorrow. Unfortunately most of the best pamphlets appear to be published by people like the Nigerian Govt. in about 1929 – but will see if the B.M. has them. Would you like a copy of Hickling's proper book on Fish Culture? I could send you up my copy & we could then get another if you liked it. Yes, capital and labour are the initial problems. Perhaps we can do the planning & some of the preparatory work now – e.g. getting permission from bureaucracy etc. & perhaps just digging a very small pond as an experiment. When we come back from India I'm hoping that some capital will have accumulated from Witchcraft and R.J. & this will go towards the work. As for labour, would it be a good idea if I brought up some students in the summer – when you will be harvesting the fish – who would then combine the 'New University' with paying their way by working on the fish farm.



*I'm now working almost exclusively on Ralph Josselin. I decided to write a short introductory chapter on his youth, political, ecclesiastical and economic career - expanding the original page on this subject. Now I've found that I will, within a week, have written two longish chapters of about 20 pages each! His economic position is especially interesting & there is masses of information. I'll send up a second draft (which you could perhaps go through for grammar but won't have to re-type) in a week or so. Delighted that you think you will be able to add something on children from K.L. Also interested re. the idea of hamlets lowering age of retiral and hence marriage. I'm having lunch with Joan Thirsk at the B.M. tomorrow so will bring up some of the points you have made in recent letters. Haven't heard definitely from C.U.P. yet, but they seem interested. Curiously enough they sent the typescript to Keith - to act as referee! He dropped me a note saying that he was "solidly behind me" etc. - though he would have to point out that he was prejudiced. Poor man, he has glandular fever....*

*Poor Gill, working very hard indeed for her forthcoming inspection next week: comes home late and then starts tape-recording. This evening, however, we're going out to dinner with Erik and Annie at Erik's new flat.*

*Have been so involved in your letter & my work that I haven't even asked about your birthday! Do hope it was a very happy day & that you got our present(s). We're thinking of you....*

From Iris Sidinish, Thursday (25.7.1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*A very big thank you first to you both for the lovely and carefully chosen books for my birthday, both absolutely right for my rising interest in ecology and the structure of life - and as you say the Indian one will be useful for K.L. too. We know E.P. Gee who seems to have been the chief advisor to the author. It is a beautiful book and Daddy will be equally interested... I had a funny birthday, seemed to spend most of the day in the car, had to go to the bank and doctor for Daddy's ear in the morning, and after a brief rest set off to South Uist to collect Robin off the boat. We had a "birthday" tea in the hotel there of bread and butter and drop scones, but still it was quite memorable, Granny rang me in the evening but by that time I had quite forgotten it was my birthday and got into a panic thinking there was something wrong! ...*

*This is just a rushed letter to catch the post with the enclosed, so sorry about them, they got into my copy of Josselin and I missed them. Do hope you hear something definite soon.... Will write again in a day or two, don't seem to have a lot of time now....*

To Katherine Whitehorn (journalist) 30.7.68 from London

*Dear Mrs. Whitehorn,*

*Please forgive this letter out of the blue, but it occurred to me that you might soon be writing about the tragic folly of the Pope in banning contraception (in your Observer column). If you had contemplated this the enclosed article from New Scientist would give some ammunition. I have no interest to declare - I am not a friend of Paul Ehrlich, member of I.P.P.F. etc. I just happen to be reading Famine - 1975 - and to hear of the Pope's decision on top of that is depressing to the extreme. Short of shooting the Pope I see little that we, in this country can do: but your influential column would help. (I would like to see the reaction if the Pope decided to ban 'death control' - i.e. all Western medicine & aid - instead of birth control! Just as logical & arguably in the present state of affairs, a less harmful move.)*

## 1968 – August

From Iris Sidinish, Sunday (4.8.1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*I have been waiting for a letter, but have a feeling you have been waiting even longer - life has suddenly become frantically hectic with all Fiona's friends streaming in. Thank you first for the book on London and where to get things, it will be very helpful indeed and as you say is most amusing reading....*

*We are also making faint progress with the house in that the Clerk of Works is coming out tomorrow and says he might be able to get us permission to start work before all the final bonds etc are signed. I hope it will start after I leave for hospital, the Ainleys have bought a house and will be leaving at the end of September and the latest plan is for Daddy to pick me up from hospital and we will go on to Field Head to sort and collect and re-let. I'm afraid the idea of buying Fiona a van is off, I haven't heard definitely about my book, but in any case have changed my mind, the latest thing to arrive is a summons for rates and we will obviously have to cough up for these, so if she wants a car she will just have to save up for one. She is driving all over the island and hopes to take her test in a week or two... I'm afraid my work has suffered from all this, I try to get down to it whenever I have a minute and am starting to build up the age-structure of the Census, which is great fun. Will hope to have this done by the time you arrive. I don't quite know when this will be, but Fiona returns about Sept. 8th and if you hire a car I (and perhaps she?) will go shares if you can squeeze us in on the way back, but if this adds to the expense too much don't bother. Your chief task when here will be to dig the septic tank I fear, fish farms will have to wait till the house is done, Daddy gets quite hysterical at the thought of doing both at once but I still think it worth considering for next year.*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 5.8.68

*Dear M. and D., (and others..),*

*Many thanks for your thank-you letter. Sorry this is a bit behind schedule but I've been trying to get back into my Sunday routine. Also, I expect, you won't have much time to read letters at the moment. I enclose a few bits and pieces - some rather gorgeous stamps from one of my anthropological friends; a cartoon (which perhaps you could hang onto) which will explain itself; and come catalogues of various publications. If you want me to get hold of any of these, let me know - or you can order them with the enclosed form. Incidentally, where I got these catalogues, the Stationary Office, they have masses of little booklets - from about 3/- upwards, on all sorts of things like bee-keeping, mushroom-growing, soft-fruit growing etc. ... I hope to get something about dam-building (for fish farms) this week. Also, would you like one or two chickens? Can you get them on the island? If not, let us know & we'll try to get hold of a few and bring them up. Finally, Granny said she had two spare mattresses: if by some miracle we had room for these, would you like us to bring them up? As originally planned I think we will be coming for the first two weeks in September...*

*Now for our few snippets of news. Gill's Home Office inspection is over - thank goodness - and she is now beginning to recover.... No news about Josselin yet. I have been lent the microfilm of his diary by the E.R.O. so can check references at home. I wondered whether the projector was at Field Head, or up with you? Perhaps I could bring it down here, otherwise I can work off one of the library microfilm readers. The chapter on his economic life is growing longer and longer, but I'm finding some fascinating stuff on the expense of having children etc. Will bring it up with me when I come so that you can have a look at it. Wonder if you've heard anything about the children's book? I imagine your time must be pretty full at the moment with various guests and visitors: hope you have got them all digging peat, fish-ponds etc.!.. If you had the times of the Ferry, perhaps you could send them down...*

From Gill to parents 6 Milverton Road, 7.8.68

*Eric has just got a car, and we are going to Essex tomorrow, to the village where Alan's latest book is based - where his C17 clergyman lived. Alan has got contemporary maps, so it should be fun sorting out all the old houses, and seeing what the ravaging of the industrial age has done to a village.*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 12.8.68

*Dear M. and D., (etc..),*

*Many thanks for your letter of last Sunday, & for the phone call - very nice to hear, if faintly; hope it wasn't too much of an effort. Perhaps, a little later we could arrange a time when we could ring you - a couple of days before we come up - so that we can check on last minute details. Will suggest a time next week, if I haven't heard anything about this from you by then. The latest plan at this end is that Erik lend us his car when he returns from France; this would save us about £20, but it would mean that we couldn't start until late on*

*Sunday night so would cross over to you on Monday evening instead of Saturday evening. But the Bank Holiday traffic would be streaming the other way & the ferries etc. should be far less jammed than if we had to come up on the Friday. If you could possibly let us have the sailing times of the Uig ferries it would be a help - though we could get these from Cook's if it is a drag. Then we could bring you down on Sat./Sunday Sept. 14th-15th - depending on the ferries again. If you really plan to come down to Field Head to sort things out at the end of Sept. that might be a good time for me to ferry all my stuff up to the Lakes and store it away. We could spend a long week-end with you then. Dates of leaving for India fluctuate depending on the state of finances/Josselin/the Nagas etc. Somewhere between 1st & 30th of November I suppose.*

*Delighted to hear on the 'phone about your book. You did not sound too thrilled, or perhaps it was modesty. I would consider it a triumph if they accepted Josselin at all, let alone offered me a forward! Still no news about him, by the way. Let us know more about the new book - though of course, we can talk about it when we are up with you. Reverting to Josselin: we spent a very nice day yesterday (having borrowed Erik's car; poor Erik, on the point of departure for France, was in bed with 'flu) at Earls Colne, where Josselin lived. We walked across his fields, gazed into the stream he must have gazed into, had a drink at the pub once owned by a friend of his, and found the initials, R.H., of his patron and friend Richard Harlackenden in the Priory Wall where it was rebuilt after a terrific wind in 1662, a wind described in his Diary. There were some lovely C17 cottages & it was generally much nicer and more hilly than Boreham. The writing is going well, if taking a long time. The two chapters on his economic life now take some 50 pages! Looking forward to discussing them with you.*

*Wonder how everything goes on the busy croft? Terribly envious to hear of your weather although today, after weeks of rain and lowering cloud, the sun has at last come out here. Trust Daddy's tea-party with the clerk of works etc. was a success & that some progress has been made;... hope the thought of three more of us arriving is not too daunting. We will bring boxes of food up with us. Let us know if there are a) any foods that you would especially like or b) anything that would be useless. Thought of things like small sacks of rice, large Nescafé's, fruit etc. We will bring enough to feed three of us for two weeks, so don't worry about us. We will just need a lift at the other end at Lochmaddy since we will be leaving the car at Uig.*

*Incidentally, re. K.L., I wrote to the planning dept. about town plans & it appears that they have one - showing where the older remaining houses are - at Kendal. Will bring up their letter. Look forward very much to hearing about the age structure.*

*Annie seems relaxed and well - apart from an awful cold and cough and things seem to be going well with Erik. The dinner party was nice; Gill's usual superb cooking and my usual lack of appreciation of anything except the most strident flavours: candlelight, coffee out of our Worcester china - all the old rituals in fact.*

To Lady Clay 13.8.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Rosalind,

*Your heart will probably sink when you discover this packet on your door-step, but if you have the energy I would be most grateful for your comments on the enclosed. There is one more chapter - the second part of the economic one on farming, weather, etc. - to come, but this will take a few days longer so I thought I'd send these now. I hope to send the other one by the week-end. Perhaps you can return all of them together when convenient (also - if you have room, the Ag. Hist. Rev., which I think you still have, unless I lent it to my mother).*

*Like you, we go north in Sept. - to the Outer Hebrides on September 1<sup>st</sup>, so if you could let me have them back by then at the latest. Please don't bother to spend all the time you did on the other chapters. It's just that the enclosed deal with subjects rather alien to my central interests & I am therefore likely to make some crass errors. If Ian Green is around perhaps you could show him the passage of pp. 15-16 of the ecclesiastical chapter: he said he was interested in the subject of how people escaped deprivation at the Restoration & I would value his comments. I expect he's on holiday, however; if so, don't worry. Don't bother about registered post; I have a carbon in case of emergencies...*

*Hope to be based on the Lakes for a few years & do some part-time teaching at a University or, ideally, get a research fellowship somewhere. ... Spent a pleasant day yesterday, abandoning our pens for our boots, Tawney-style, and walking round Earls Colne to discover what Josselin's village was like. Fascinating; found the place where the wall was blown down in 1662 (as described by R.J.) and some lovely C16-C17 cottages;*

*even had a drink at the George, which was there in Josselin's time. The only thing nicer would have been to go on one of your conducted tours of Oxfordshire churches.*

From Iris Sidinish, August 15th (1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*.... The big excitement was the visit of a BBC man with a tape recorder to take down a talk, when I first arrived I sent off this little chatty bit about coming to live in the Hebrides and had forgotten all about it. It was somewhat daunting having to sit at the kitchen table and read it all out in front of him and another lady, the result was very my-husband-and-I-ish with lots of loud panting noises and sucking in of teeth, but perhaps Granny will enjoy listening.*

*He was an island man, a crofter's son, who has done very well and now runs the Gaelic dept, in Glasgow, but says he has never managed to save any money since leaving Uist where he taught in the local school for several years.*

*.... The island is beginning to turn purple with the heather coming out, so has one more beautiful face to show us (and you) before the winter. I'm so glad you will be getting a free car, though sorry Erik can't come – though in the present very primitive conditions perhaps it's just as well, it is really very crude and I hope you can stand it.*

*It is sweet of you to suggest bringing lots of food, but with nowhere to store anything and no kitchen, meals have to be very simple, just one meal in the evening of a stew or fried trout so really all we want if you could manage it is a few fresh veg. and perhaps (if cheap) some cooking apples. I will send you a list in my next of a few little things we would like, I have asked Granny to send one mattress by Road and it might have arrived, haven't quite worked out sleeping arrangements but at the moment it seems as if Anne will be between the filing boxes at the top of the stairs.*

*I have been doing a little work in the few moments I've had, working out the age structure of the census, the pattern seems much as we expected with no children at home over twelve years old and the servants the young children of other people, I suspect that most of the servants are also relatives but this will take a long time to prove though it is clear in some cases. So glad that Josselin is providing such a lot for the appendix (or is it an introductory chapter?) and shall be very interested to see it.*

*Earls Colne must have been fascinating, did you take any photos?.... The ferry leaves Uig every Monday, Wed. & Friday at 8 p.m. & the other 3 days at 9.30 a.m. – the best way to come is via Mallaig though leave time as it's a very narrow road but I suppose you'll be driving flat out day & night anyway, you can always stay at Jean's if stuck.*

*Will write again in a day or two with instructions!*

From Iris Sidinish, Wednesday, (21st August 1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*A short list of things for you to bring, but don't worry about them if at all difficult, as I'm returning with you (as far as hospital) can easily manage without. Would you also manage sleeping bags, one large and one small plate and two lots of spoons, knives and forks. And if you have any paper back novels, classics, these would be welcome too, have a desire to get immersed in long Russian epics.*

*The weather has broken at last with lots of wind and quite a bit of rain but perhaps it will clear again for you, it brought in a large trout yesterday (nearly two pounds) but my sprouts are taking a bit of a battering.*

*The builder has produced another estimate which has gone off to Edinburgh, Stornoway, Inverness etc and we hope to get permission to start work within a month which will work in quite well really. I shall stay down in Field Head till the roof is on, hope this won't unsettle me again but I don't think so. ....*

*I went and called on the Macphails yesterday evening which was a bit of a strain, his brother the Minister and wife were staying and they all sat round in a mournful silence while I prattled manfully, the Minister remarked at one point that television was going to spoil conversation but I could have done with it then! It would make an interesting sociological study to see what the effect of electricity on the island is – going to be, quite dramatic I think, people are going round saying "They've Turned It On in Carinish" in reverent voices,*



*and it will completely upset the visiting rituals and break down the old customs of peat cutting before too long I fear - and yet one can't blame them for wanting it.*

*I expect another letter will follow, of last minute things I think of but ignore anything that's difficult. We will expect you on Mondays ferry but if you miss it don't worry, will meet the following morning. Hope the wild winds die down for you.*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 22.8.68

*Dear Mummy and Daddy, (& Fiona),*

*Many thanks for your letter of the 15th. Hope the rain has stopped lapping around your feet. Please don't fret about us: heavens above, we're not expecting you to be like the Lochmaddy Hotel. In fact we're going to come armed as if we were on a camping holiday - except that there will be a roof (of sorts) over our head. We will be bringing two sleeping bags; some rugs; two foam rubber mattresses (like the ones Granny bought - yellow); a large case of veg/fruit; some basic provisions like coffee/rice/cheese/chocolate etc; some cutlery; pillows; some thick polythene to act as groundsheets; guitar; books & clothes. If you think any of these are unnecessary, please say so. We hope to leave here, if the car is ok., at about midnight on Sunday & drive up, taking turns, to catch the 8 p.m. ferry on Monday at Uig. If, for some reason, we are going to miss the Uig ferry & will have to stay on the mainland & catch the one the next morning, we'll ring the Lochport Post Office. So you could call in there on your way to meet us to see if we have been delayed. Otherwise we should arrive at about 10 p.m.*

*Will there be a septic/fish tank for us to dig? Has anything emerged from the Sanitary Inspector's visit? And any advance with the Clerk of Works/builder. It sounds more & more like India. I hope there will be something useful we can do... I have been trying to locate a book on dam/fish-pond construction but, to cut three weeks hectic activity at the B.M. short, can't get hold of it. Still, there are some quite detailed instructions in the book I already have.*

*Now, onto your news. Delighted to hear about the B.B.C. man. When will the world hear you - and how much do they pay? Congratulations. Is it going to be 'authoress and adventuress' over again? I suppose it will be on the Scottish Home Service? You seem to have far more success than I do. Not a squeak out of Routledge - or out of C.U.P. Not even New Society have written. I'll write them all a sharp postcard in a month or so, saying I'm off to India shortly. That might wake them up. I'm just checking Josselin at the moment. No, the new stuff I wrote was not for the appendix. It was three new chapters at the beginning - altogether about 20,000 words; I hope you'll like it. It's a bit nearer the stuff you've been doing on K.L. Most interested to hear about the K.L. age-structure; it sounds as if it will fit most neatly into that age structure. From what I can see from Josselin, the reason why people sent out their children to others was that they (the poorer) could not afford to keep them any longer. As far as I can see, the average income of poorer husbandmen down was too small to keep more than one or two children.*

*Met Mrs. Grant in the B.M. She's still trying to write her book on C17 radicals - but hopes to return to Wensleydale next Spring.*

*Excuse a short letter - but will soon be able to bring out news in person. Will send card with final details*

From Iris Sidinish, Monday (26th August 1968)

My dear G & A,

*A last scrawl to say please don't load yourselves down too much, can really get everything here if one looks! I'm going to write to one of those places Anne sent re. the generator, and failing that get a very small "caravan" model new - its only £42 but will run lights, Telly & Projector for a few hours which will make all the difference.*

*Keeping my fingers crossed for that third reluctant referee but it does look v. promising - how cautious they all are - I miss all this having an agent.*

*Wonderful weather again, do hope it holds.*

*See you Monday, drive v. Carefully -*

6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 29.8.68

Dear Mummy,

*Am sending you these two chapters in advance as you may find it easier to have a look at them before we arrive. I want to send them off to Joan Thirsk for comments by about 7th Sept., so perhaps you could skip through them. Will bring the rest when we come.*

*It now seems that Erik will arrive later than planned, so we may not arrive until Tuesday morning. We may take it more leisurely - and call in for the film projector on Monday (at Field Head). Perhaps, if you felt like it, you could give us a ring on Sunday evening - as late as possible (i.e. about 10 p.m.) & we should have sorted things out by then. Otherwise, call in at Sidinish P.O. on Monday before coming to fetch us as I suggested & we'll phone if we are not going to make it....*

## 1968 – September

It was not until later September, a couple of months before we planned to depart for fieldwork, that I finally received a definite refusal for my request to work in Assam, having made one further effort in late August.

GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM  
PASSPORT DEPARTMENT ::::::::::: PASSPORT BRANCH.  
NC. PI. 1/66/269, dated Shillong, the 17<sup>th</sup> September, 1968.

From: Shri H. Hazarika,  
Under Secretary to the Government of Assam,

To: Mr. Alan Macfarlane, M.A., D.Phil., M.Phil.,  
6, Milverton Road,  
London, N.W. 6, U.K.

Subject :- RESTRICTED AREAS PERMIT TO VISIT ASSAM.  
-----

Reference :- Your letter dated 22.8.68 addressed to the Chief Secretary  
to the Govt. of Assam, Shillong.

Sir,

I am directed to say that it is not considered an appropriate time  
for the visit and you may please think of dropping the matter at the present  
time.

Yours faithfully,

*Handwritten signature*  
Under Secretary to the Government of Assam.  
m 17/9  
--- ... ---

From Iris, Ward 22, Law Hospital, Thursday (19th September 1968)

My dear Gill & Alan,

Thank you for a kind letter. Sorry the journey was so endless but you'll have forgotten about it by now. I was hoping to be able to give you some definite news but everything takes so *long* - am going up for a test this morning which should determine what they're going to do. The previous X-ray only showed what amoeba had done to my bowel so they've got to find out if they're still active. If not they'll presumably turn me loose which is what I'm hoping for. Everyone remarks on how well I'm looking and I feel slightly ludicrous lying here being brought meals on trays & wheeled everywhere in an invalid's chair! Lovely weather too, and I lie and watch the gulls on the roof opposite & feel terribly homesick - however Jean has brought me a copy of Martin's "Description of the Western Isles" written in 1695 which is cheering me - fascinating & full of useful hints on how to make hops out of wild carrots - the drinking habits haven't changed much - "there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on such occasions. They stood at the door until some became drunk & they carried them upon the barrow to bed, & returned again to their post as long as any continued fresh, & so carried off the whole company one by one...! So much of it is unchanged, but one gets the impression of a bustling active life, with all the little islands rustling with crops. Lots of the old superstitions we met in K.L. and quite a lot about my stone bumps, & underground houses.

I have a room to myself which is less amusing but more restful & I have finished Gogol, knitted quite a lot of a complicated Arran sweater, learnt some more Gaelic & done some work on the census which I enclose. The total of children includes those not found in the Parish Registers, this will all need to be checked but might do for your preliminary chapter. Very marked that the fairly prosperous "farmers" didn't keep their children at home, but would need to do more work on the age structure of the families to determine whether this was because there *were* no children over that age i.e. the farmers were active, youngish married couples when they weren't elderly with their children all grown up - if you follow. Lots of interesting questions are raised, but my theory that to be old was to be poor rather demolished, "old" being over 55. The F's & M's without brackets are children whose ages I could fairly accurately presume.

Daddy seems cheerful but John Macfarlane<sup>41</sup> & friends have all landed on him for a week so hope it won't be too much wrestling with the Modern Mistress<sup>42</sup>. It'll all depend on the weather which he says has been lovely since you left! He explored the country under the Lee at last & saw a herd of deer & some lovely ruins. I have decided to buy a trailer with some of my advance & as I'm sure D. will be very loath to send the L.R. south wondered if you could hire one or a van & bring all your stuff up in this & the trailer? If you came up one day & returned the next it shouldn't be too expensive? I'm afraid it'll mean you're getting the trailer & coming up before 15th October, but perhaps a nucleus of stuff could be dumped on Granny at the end? Think it would be best if you just arrived + trailer! Not too big a one because of the ferries but will have to leave this to you. Enclose a cheque for this but it may cost more of course - forgot to pay my share of the journey but will remember when I see you....

---

<sup>41</sup> His nephew, son of Alan and Jean.

<sup>42</sup> Make of the peat-fired stove they cooked on.



I had a belated reply from Nakane Chie in Japan.

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL CULTURE  
UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO  
Hongo, Bunkyo-ku  
Tokyo, Japan.

September 21, 1968

Dear Dr. Macfarlane,

I am terribly sorry having not replied to your letter of May 1, 1968. Your letter came during my absence for U.S., and since my return to Tokyo, I have been so much occupied by the preparation of the International Congress, which, thanks God, just over.

As regards to your questions, my opinions are as follows:

- a) Khasi language is essential when you deal with folklore, religion etc. Assamese would be useful when you travel around Khasi Hills.
- b) I must confess my knowledge of Khasi Hills is out of date. There seems considerable change in research organizations up there. The best way for you is to contact with Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India, Chowringhee Rd. Calcutta. The Vice Director is a friend of mine, Dr. Srijit Sinha, Chicago trained social anthropologist, I am sure he would give you up-to-date ~~infor~~ information. The Director is Dr. D.K. Sen, whom I met during the Congress. He is more involved in administration, and may offer you suggestions in this line.
- c) At moment, I have no definite plan for field work in India, but I am sure I will have ~~again~~ it in near future.
- d) Khasi Hills is one of the least troubled areas in Assam -- political or otherwise. I am sure you would enjoy field work. So far as I know Mrs. Anna McKormack (American anthropologist) had a field work after I had, but I am not sure whether she has published it or not.

I apologise indeed for not being able to give you better information and having not ~~an~~ been able to reply to you earlier.

Yours sincerely,

*Chie Nakane*  
Chie Nakane

Associate Professor.



From Iris, Ward 22, Sunday (23rd September 1968)

My dear Gill & Alan,

....The delicious edition of 'Cranford' arrived yesterday & was very welcome. The illustrations are really lovely and I think this was the edition I first read as I remember the picture of the ladies in their patterns, & it all seems familiar. Have been giggling happily through Mrs Jameson's tea-party, quite a relief after Gogol! Thank you very much, will keep it for you.

They found no amoeba in my test so it seems that I'm stuck with this shrivelled bowel (ugh!) & nothing they can do about it. I'm having another X ray on Monday and then they will presumably let me out, have asked Daddy to come down that day & I think he probably will just to get away from the stove and feeding all those huge boys!

....Am keeping my fingers crossed for Josselin next week, & also that you'll hear something definite from Assam. Am going to browse through Sir Daniel Fleming today and write down some of his dreadful jokes. It's hard to believe he's the stern prosecutor of George Fox & Co.

Kind regards to John & Mary<sup>43</sup>, hope you're having good weather, thundery here..

From Iris Coach House, Wishaw, Friday (27<sup>th</sup> September 1968)

My dear Gill & Alan,

Released! With nothing new to show in the second X-ray and only some pills for my bowel which apparently has these "spasms" - it sounds a bit revolting so I'll leave the subject for ever let's hope!

Many thanks for letter & Card, have decided (as you point out) that a trailer would be an extravagance so will just take up what we can in the L.R. & send the rest by Road Services. I don't think it's worth your bringing the stuff right up (ours) & am a little worried about leaving it at Field Head in the care of tenants - so wondered if you would think of dumping it here? Jean is quite willing, & you could perhaps off load some at Darlington? This would be a convenient place as we could collect it & take it up (or some) on north when things were more organised - if ever! Also you could bring it whenever it suited you best & without regard to the letting of Field Head. Mull it over & we can discuss it when we meet, which I hope will be next week-end. We're staying here till Monday as J & A are going away. Daddy came down yesterday after several frenetic phone calls, no letters have been getting through for some reason. ..The boys came down ahead (due to all the non-arrival of letters & non-cohesion of plans) & the minute they got in here at 10 p.m. the lights fused - they weren't at all amused having planned long hot baths etc! I feel very peculiar, disorientated and restless, can't work, no gullies to watch - but it's very kind of everyone to have gone to all this trouble.... I'll write again in a day or two with definite dates about Crowthorne. Daddy panting to get back north!

## Winter Term 1968 (S.O.A.S)

I had now transferred to another part of London University, namely the School of Oriental and African studies, where I was to be supervised by Professor Haimendorf. There was very little formal teaching and my supervisor was away in Nepal, so I was largely left to myself. The only teaching I attended was a set of seminars.

### Adrian Mayer – Politics (SOAS)

11.10.68 G.A. Cohen - Marx

14.10.68 – Andrew Turton – Thailand Politics

21.10.68 – Pat Caplan – Leadership in East African courts

28.10.68 Lionel Caplan – Problems of studying multiple-role societies

4.11.68 Miss Shulkraut – Ashanti

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43 Gill's parents, so in Darlington.

10.11.68 Adrian Mayer – New Guinea Elections

Adrian Mayer, whom I had encountered earlier, was a distinguished anthropologist of India. Cohen was a noted Marx scholar, and Andrew Turton had transferred with me from the L.S.E. course. Lionel Caplan was a lecturer in anthropology and an expert on Nepal, and Pat Caplan was a postdoctoral student at S.O.A.S. who had done her earlier work in East Africa. Both of them became friends and I met them in Nepal during the course of my fieldwork there. I do not recall any close contacts with any members of the Department at that stage.

## 1968 – October

To Keith Thomas 1.10.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Keith,

*I think you will have heard from C.U.P. to the effect that they are prepared to accept Josselin, if I'll revise my material in line with the referees suggestions. This is mainly to thank you immensely for your very kind and supportive report, which undoubtedly helped immensely. I really am most grateful.*

*Knowing how busy you must be I hardly dare take up Mrs. Skinner's suggestion that I discuss the 'Mental World' section further with you – I know how you hate acting as a publisher's nark! If, however, you had a few spare minutes at any time – perhaps we could have a chat about referee A's points? I hope to come up to Oxford for a week-end sometime in October – Friday to Sunday – and wondered if you'd be free at all? Any time any week-end would do I think. We could either just talk – or, if you had the time – I could send the retyped draft of 'The Mental World' a week or more in advance & you could skim through it. You will have gathered that I have written a new section on Josselin's economic life (income/expenditure, investment in children, agricultural methods etc. – Joan Thirsk could tell you about it). If you were at all interested I could send this too.*

*Please don't feel obliged, but it would be nice to see you before we go off to India (mid-November), even if we didn't discuss R.J.*

*Hope you're all well & had a successful summer book-wise.*

To Lady Clay 1.10.68 6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6

Dear Rosalind,

*Very many thanks for your Bamborough post-card; I'm itching to hear how it all went. I presume you will all be back in Oxford now – if James survived your peculiar diet and you survived Alec's tendency to open every available window. I should think it was great fun.*

*Our time in the Hebrides was indescribably happy; everything one did seemed fresher and more real, from eating to sleeping to just sitting or playing the guitar. Naturally, it makes London seem even more oppressive than usual. Still, we will only be here for another month or so. Our plans change from moment to moment, but at present we seem likely to leave London during the first week of November, then go to visit our respective parents & friends for about 3 weeks & leave for India at the end of November. I hope to visit Oxford one week-end in October &, as soon as I know which, will let you know. I presume you will not be roving again this month? Oh, I forgot to say; it now looks as if we will be going to Nepal, rather than Assam, since the Indian Govt. have more or less refused to let us in to the latter. I imagine Nepal will be a wonderfully beautiful place & am looking forward to that.*

*You will be relieved to hear that all your hard work on Josselin has not been wasted; I heard from Cambridge today that they are prepared to publish my study. They suggest a few revisions, but nothing very substantial. The referees approved of the stylistic suggestions in the margins – some of which were yours! I can now go ahead and finish the thing off.*

*I managed to buy a copy of Alice Thornton's Autobiography for 5/- the other day as well as one or two other very good purchases (e.g. Notestein's English Folk which has an essay on Alice Thornton among others – is that the essay to which you referred?) – a very good local history bookshop near the B.M. I've been in correspondence with a Mrs. Bourcier in France who is writing a book on C17 English Diaries. Fascinating though they are, I've decided Thornton & Newcome's works are not detailed enough for a similar study to that on Josselin to be made (sorry for this tangled sentence!). That leaves me with Pepys & Heywood as last hopes. Can you think of any others which might be very good? Yes, I've read the Rector's Book of Clayworth (which, of course, contains the famous two censuses used by Laslett). It has some very interesting bits in it – but is not of the same quality as Josselin. As you say, Ponsonby is extremely disappointing, though I suppose he wrote some time ago.*

*I had lunch with Joan Thirsk last week – she had kindly read part of the Josselin typescript – and discussed Oxford life etc. I gather the Oxford tutors are bringing out a 2 vol. collection of economic and social documents to supersede Bland, Brown and Tawney etc. She suggested a page from Josselin might be included.*

From Keith Thomas    3 October 1968

Dear Alan,

*I'm delighted to hear from Mrs Skinner that the way is now clear for Josselin. When are you coming this way next? You musn't fail to do so before you go to India.*

*P.S.. Have just re-opened this to say many thanks for yr letter which has arrived this a.m. Just say which weekend suits you – I'm sure I can fit it in; and send the draft in advance if you like, tho' I can't guarantee to get it done in advance. Bring Gill.*

I have included all my letters to Lady Clay, but none of hers to me, partly because they are scarcely legible, partly because they mainly concern her own life in Oxford. I loved getting them, but they are only marginally relevant to this account. But just to show their nature, I will include a scan of the first page of one of the most legible of them (as she comments at the end of her letter), and the letter itself, full of her delight in hosting James Campbell and the Rev. Alec Graham and others at Bamborough Castle, where lady Clay had family connections.

Oct 3 <sup>Lady C.</sup> - see below. 121<sup>A</sup> Woodstock Rd  
1968 Oxford

Dear Alan

It was a great delight to me to see your handwriting this morning, though life has been spoiling me lately & I have come to one of those periods Christ warned people about — when everyone seems to speak well of me., & I have felt that I really must be putting up the appearance of being much nicer than I know myself to be.

Far far too much to tell you. Let I will begin with your information, I am very glad to hear about Tosselin & I hope there is not much left to do with it, so that all will be in hand before you go off. How wonderful to get Alice Thaxter at all; especially at 5/- The brief study of her that I knew was written (in portured English) by Mary Thaine

Letter from Lady Clay on Oct 3 1968 121A Woodstock Road, Oxford

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I can’t think my emendations were really much help – just an expression of some of my fads (especially ONLY & sentences Sybil calls ‘leading one up the garden path’. Where some brief but all important word comes lagging along behind the rest of the sentence.)

Mr Campbell allowed me to look over K.B McFarlane’s Ford & other lectures for misprints only – he did not allow corrections of the English, though I think in all that I read there was no single instance of ‘only’ being in the right place, i.e. next to the word it qualified. My brother in law Reader Bullard and I seem to be the only people who have views about this. The lectures were (of course) extremely interesting & also valuable for early Tudors – what a comfort it is to think they will be published fairly soon Mr Campbell is working with Mr Cooper and finds him an easy collaborator (but I realise how very kind & tolerant Mr Campbell is.)

My younger son Oliver overlapped with him for a few hours at Bamborough & expressed surprise that he was ever picked for a tutor – said however brilliant a man is, one important thing, in medicine too, is to be good at handling people – talking to them & making them talk & he refused to believe, after taking J. C. to his train of miles away without any real exchange of words, that Mr Campbell could talk, even on his own subject – said no one had a right to be so shy – O. himself is not much of a talker.

My strange venture (on which all my relatives except my younger brother threw buckets of the coldest water) was apparently a superb success. What I arrived at was sharing a place I find inexpressibly beautiful & interesting with some people I am interested in (including my Nurse Amy Dorrell & her husband), and also trying to make some easier contacts with people at College so as to overcome this tiresome gaucherie of mine. I really do believe everyone enjoyed it as much as I did – I had a rapturous letters from Richard Fletcher & Mr Graham & Mr Campbell really looked happy.

We saw a lot of marvellous places (thought the sea was too rough for the Faroes) – Northam, Berwick, Holy Island, Ladykirk, Etal Chillingham, Flodden Ford, Old Berwick (perhaps the best of all – small Norman Church), Kirk Newton, Yeavering (Mr Graham climbed Yeavering Bell in 23 mins. the other 2 strung along behind him), Warkworth & Dunstanborough & Alnwick – and 2 of them did Seaton Delavel. Mr Campbell & Richard were extremely thorough, exploring tombs minutely, often with the aid of a match & reading nearly every inscription – and also were thrilled by the Chillingham wild cattle which they saw from about 20 yards away (I have neve been so near).

At Etal we went to look for a salmon leap: the clear brown river was in terrific spate so none were jumping but a speechless little fair haired girl of about 5 years was playing with a tame Tawney owl in the farmyard-cum-castle & I noticed Mr Campbell is deeply intersted in animals & birds (also in guns – at Berwick & Bamborough) – I did not see guns at Berwick but he said the gun-emplacements were in such good condition that the place could have been used in the last war.

I usually went with them but not always & in the evenings or when it rained they much appreciated the large ‘dripdown’ (which has never yet been proof against rain) – 2 large steady tables & v. good light from part of the roof being glass.

They all got a lot of reading one. It was lovely to have them so friendly & appreciative & easy to feed. My dear nurse (who has a passion for the place & was always indulging in gush which sounds too good to be true but is not) not only cooked but did the catering too & brought up 2 vast cakes. My dictatorial younger sister maintained that they did not get enough to eat, but I don’t believe it. Without my Nurse the whole thing would have been impossible & she became devoted to them (& Mr Campbell opened out to her, anyway). I could not have expected any time to be so happy & there was one absolutely extra blessing – my beautiful sister Maggie, living 2 doors away & in constant pain, kept telling peple that my short visits to her (often twice a day) were a

real joy because I was one of the few people who did not treat her like a blithering idiot – I have never been so close to her in my life (our interests & habits are totally different)!

You seem to have had the same patch of unalloyed happiness in the Hebrides – I am so glad. We spoke often about you. My long silence was no sign of forgetting you.

Looking forward to your farewell visit to Oxford – work seems to be going to be very scanty with me (tho' this time last year it was excessive) – but I have masses of sewing (odious job) & work in neglected garden to get thro', & of course quantities of reading. My darling nun (whom I shall miss terribly) walked in at Bamborough one day: also I have another (even more promising) from Sacred Heart.

I have just received a letter from one of my American R.C. pupils who is hoping to come to do a job in London, from next June – graduated as a history Major at Trinity College, Washington & would be willing to 'scrub floors' if only she could be in England, but what would be wonderful would be to be a research assistant to a professor in the University of London. You are absolutely the only person I know connected to London & I think I can't give her any help at all nor suggest how to set about it. As far as I remember she was pretty bright – name is Elizabeth Gome. Any ideas for helping her?

What my visitors said seemed to come really from the heart and made me idiotically happy and able to withstand unpleasant news – e.g. Jill's departure looms up on 9<sup>th</sup> & I have scarcely seen her & her son James on arrival at Univ. of W Indies Jamaica had the car, on Univ. premises, broken into & every blessed thing stolen – clothes, passport & and all the forms issued by the University for him & for his sister to enter Birmingham Univ for her clinical work – as he is slightly disgruntled with life anyhow, it is horrible to think of this happening.

I hope this is more legible than usual – written on kitchen table – will need hours to read Ian & his girl have decided never to get married & she is moving out soon – they don't seem to have quarrelled & neither seem heartbroken. Rosalind

From Iris Field Head, Tuesday (8th October 1968)

My dear Gill & Alan,

An easy drunk-free journey back & I was very glad of the rug as it got nippy at the end - thank you for the kind thought in bringing it - & for the nice supper. I seem to have got away before another of the South-east monsoon hit London, here it is soft & sunny & we've picked lots of blackberries, wish I had my jelly-bag. We went into Kendal to-day & found a tin tub & El San and some rabbit wire so are all set to spend the winter. I haven't broached the subject of the van yet but will do so in the next day or two. I got the Xeroxes from Miss Macpherson, am interested to see that Jervis Tallant (the tiresome Daily Labourer) appears on the list of the poor receiving aid in 1695! I will spend a day in the archives shortly. No sign of a tenant yet but shan't hang about too long waiting, am getting spoilt and dependant again. ...

It was lovely seeing you, do hope Gill's cold is better. It must be awful leaving all her poor troubled people. I can understand it better after my traumatic bus trips. Still think sadly of my poor smelly couple on their bench in Preston Bus Shelter and I suppose they were better off than some. Awful floods near where you're going, hope it won't affect your plans. Wonder how the Nepalese lessons are going?

.... We're writing about a little American generator going for £11, feel there must be some snag though. Sorry for a scrawl, Kendal has sapped my energy, a million road drills ripping it to bits....

My first published article appeared on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, as follows:

# NEWsociety

10 October 1968 No 315 1s 6d weekly

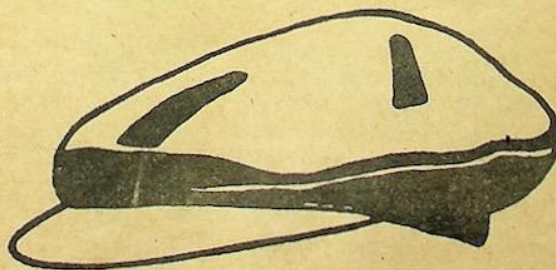
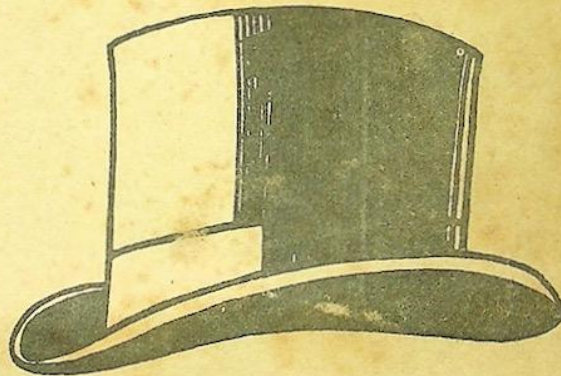
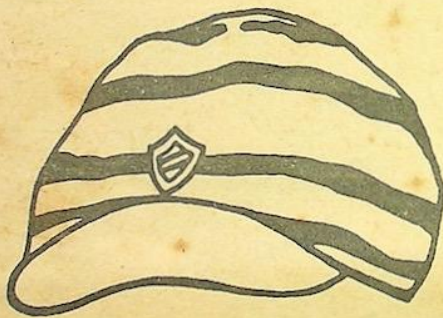
Jane Morton SCOT NATS IN OFFICE

Alasdair MacIntyre U.S. DRAFT RESISTERS

~~X~~ Alan Macfarlane THE POPULATION EXPLOSION

Brian Glanville OLYMPICS AND TEAM SPIRIT

Julienne Ford CLASS-RIDDEN COMPREHENSIVES



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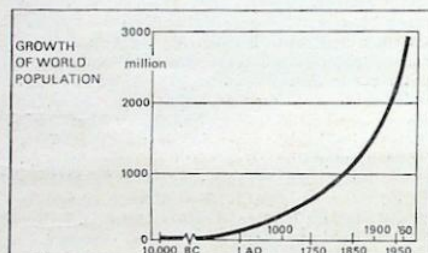


# POPULATION CRISIS: ANTHROPOLOGY'S FAILURE

Population growth is much more than a question of contraception. A whole set of social attitudes are involved, which need investigation.

We are rapidly moving towards a population catastrophe which will make past plagues and two world wars seem insignificant by comparison. There will not be enough food to go round. By 1900, world population had reached about 1½ billion; by the year 2000 it will be at least six billion, unless it is halted by thermonuclear war or massive epidemics.

In 1953 the United Nations warned people that it was "easily possible that the means of producing the necessities of life will not be increased as rapidly as population grows, and that the level of living of the world's peoples will be depressed as their numbers increase." Today, with the general failure of most family planning campaigns and a growth



of population that in the 1960s outstrips even the highest United Nations projections of the early 1950s, the situation looks much grimmer. Probably islands—Mauritius and Java, for instance—will suffer first. Then America will no longer be able to feed India. When the "third world" collapses, our markets and supplies of raw materials will be closed. The western economy will topple.

What contribution may social anthropologists make to the urgent research needed to mitigate this disaster (it is already too late to completely avoid it)?

To live for a while in a pre-industrial society is a necessary part of a social anthropologist's training. This soon brought home the importance of birth, marriage and death to the early field-workers. These "vital statistics" and the social framework of reproduction (kinship and marriage), might have made ardent demographers of anthropologists. Surprisingly, this did not happen.

Demography is basically concerned with changes over time in the structure of population. Most anthropological studies have tended to be static cross-sections of a particular society at the point at which it was visited by the field-worker. Perhaps because of this, investigators have showed only a slight interest in demography. The normal field-situation means that the evidence gathered from informants is impressionistic and non-statistical. The description is either of what *ought* to happen or what was *thought* to happen. There has been the fatal tendency, inherent in every discipline, to let the nature of the evidence dictate the problems, rather than to start with the problems and range through the evidence for answers.

Anthropologists are urged by their handbook,

*Notes and Queries in Anthropology*, to collect "urgently needed" material "for the study of the relation between demographic conditions and social institutions." But they have seldom gone beyond broad classifications of the population by overall number, age and sex. Any latent enthusiasm for demographic information waned when it became clear that most native informants were hazy about their age and even hazier about past trends in population figures. Without written records, all attempts to assess population changes seemed doomed.

There are some exceptions to this picture; and from social surveys some extremely useful statistical data were extracted, particularly on Africa. But the continued absence of a general interest in the subject is shown by the various mouthpieces of the anthropological profession. *The Biennial Review of Anthropology* for 1959 to 1965, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *Man*, the various monographs of the Association of Social Anthropologists and even the *British Journal of Sociology* scarcely contain any references or articles on population by British anthropologists. Practically the only worthwhile contribution is an article by Mary Douglas in the *British Journal of Sociology* for September 1966, which shows the vital importance of prestige, rather than direct economic factors, in determining population control.

Nor, to judge from the *American Anthropologist*, are American colleagues more interested. The textbooks offered to anthropology students scarcely mention demographic features. Neither "population" nor "demography" will be found in the indexes of the recent general textbooks by Beattie and Lienhardt.

If we compare the situation in anthropology to that in allied disciplines, the gaps seem even worse. In the last ten years the forceful application of demographic methods to historical material has not only revolutionised demography; it has cleared the space for a whole new discipline—historical sociology.

Already important works have appeared and special institutes have been set up to study "population and social structure"—for instance, that at Cambridge under Peter Laslett and E. A. Wrigley. Collections of essays such as *Population in History* edited by Glass and Eversley, and the very stimulating spring 1968 issue of the American magazine *Daedalus*, which is entirely devoted to "historical population studies," show the sophisticated state that analyses have already reached. The detailed examinations of particular regions in France and England by Goubert, Wrigley and others have destroyed many of the accepted theories and suggested others.

We are discovering that there was birth control in Stuart England; that Europe had a "unique marriage pattern," combining high age at marriage with a large proportion of never married persons; that the small "nuclear" family predominated in most of the pre-industrial west; that one of the major factors permitting the accumulation of capital and hence industrial expansion in the late 18th century was late marriage and the consequent slow population growth—roughly one quarter of 1 per cent per

Alan Macfarlane



## Population crisis: anthropology's failure

"Historical Population Studies" (Daedalus, Spring, 1968)

Mary Douglas, "Population control in primitive groups" (British Journal of Sociology, xvii No. 3, 1966)

R. Freedman, "The Sociology of human fertility" (Current Sociology x/xi No. 2, 1961-62)

D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (eds), Population in History (Arnold, 1965)

P. Hauser and O. Duncan (eds), The Study of Population (Chicago, 1959)

David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Yale, 1961)

Richard Titmuss, Social Policies and Population Growth in Mauritius (reprinted, Cass, 1968)

United Nations, The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends (Population Studies, 17, 1953)

In addition to the publications mentioned in the text the following provide a basic introduction to some of the problems raised:

Kingsley Davis, "Social structure and fertility" (Economic Development and Cultural Change, 4, No. 3, 1956)

Philip M. Hauser (ed), The Population Dilemma (Prentice-Hall, 1963)

L. Krzywicki, Primitive Society and Its Vital Statistics (Macmillan, 1934)

F. Lorimer et al, Culture and Human Fertility (UNESCO, 1954) On Population (three essays by Malthus, Huxley, Osborn) (Mentor, 1960)

W. and P. Paddock, Famine—1975 (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968)

The author would like to thank Professor D. V. Glass and Mr. Keith Hopkins of the London School of Economics, whose stimulating lectures clarified a number of the issues raised in this article. The International Planned Parenthood Federation provided help in a number of ways and their library at 18-20 Lower Regent Street, London, SW1, contains all the publications referred to.

annum in the 200 years before industrialisation.

As usual, as many problems have been created as solved. Why were there such differences in pre-industrial fertility decline between different groups and different areas? Why did the fertility of the British peerage fall steadily between about 1620 and 1740? Why did so many people remain unmarried? Why was marriage age so high—between 20 and 30 for both men and women—and what consequences did such a marital structure have on sexual norms? Why was birth control introduced in parts of 18th century France and what methods were used to limit families in 17th century England? Why did plague die out in England in the 17th century when mortality from other diseases was rising and when there had been no significant advances in medical techniques for dealing with epidemics?

The impetus from French demographers is paralleled by the enormous energy of American sociologists. In the construction of "analytic frameworks for the study of variables affecting fertility," in many detailed analyses of areas of South America, the United States and the Far East, Kingsley Davis, Judith Blake, J. Mayone Stycos, Frank Lorimer and others have—like the historical demographers—suggested a mass of hypotheses which it will take the skill of all the social sciences working in collaboration to test. Much of this stimulating work was summed up some time ago by Ronald Freedman in a report in *Current Sociology* for 1961-62, and there are proliferating studies in the periodical *Demography*.

Where could the anthropologists begin to contribute?

There is now a considerable literature on the social factors which influence fertility rates. Until recently it was argued that fertility would be high in non-industrialised societies. Children were desired and cheap to raise; the extended family spread the cost of increasing population; the system of inheritance encouraged the subdivision of holdings. People wanted children both for emotional and "religious" reasons—to continue the line, pray for them when dead, or satisfy the gods—and as an insurance against sickness and old age. They realised that, with very high infant and child mortality, many heirs would be lost before adulthood and therefore "spares" were needed (see graph below).

Then, according to the older hypotheses, comes the demographic and economic revolution. Prolonged education makes children more expensive, and factories mean that the labour of a new generation goes to employers rather than into the family holding. The nuclear family emerges, freed from its wider ties, and there is not such a wide group to share the cost of producing many children. Other institutions take over insurance against sickness and old age.

Increasing mobility, both geographical and social, emphasises the value of having a small family. The death rate has dropped and people see that it is no longer necessary to have many children to ensure the survival of some. There are new consumer goods to invest in—cars, houses, leisure—and children as sources of prestige, insurance and spiritual welfare seem less attractive. Contraceptive techniques improve and become easily available.

Unfortunately this automatic transition, which, if swift enough, might have saved the world from the disastrous consequences of introducing death con-

trol without corresponding birth control, is clearly not occurring. The rapid rise in American population in recent years, the fact that urbanised Africans show no sign of having smaller families than those living in rural areas, the fact that Indians who live in nuclear families have as large families as those living in extended groups: all these and other evidence show that what happened in 19th century Europe was not a necessary result of economic and social change, bound to happen wherever industrialisation occurred. It was the result of these changes in a society which already had a particular system of kinship and marriage, and considerable capital reserves.

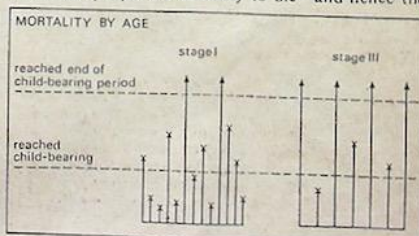
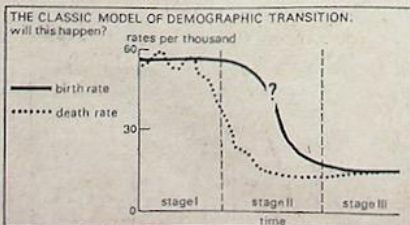
We urgently need further research on the effects of various factors on fertility. Why, we may ask, did fertility decline in Spain, a deeply Catholic, strongly rural society with low social mobility and late, limited industrialisation from the late 18th century onwards? The whole hypothesis of the "demographic transition" is now in question and hence all optimism based on it is suspect.

Research is also needed on the methods and effects of fertility changes. What happens to the status of women, family life and the labour market when birth control is introduced? How does information flow on family planning; along what lines of communication, by what pressures? How do reactions vary with different techniques, different social structures?

The cost of very high fertility to the individual mother in terms of time, pain and insecurity, is becoming steadily more obvious. The wider economic effects of very rapid population growth on the economy is also becoming clearer. The United Nations *Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends* some time ago made it clear that the growth rates in many parts of the underdeveloped world make capital accumulation impossible and increase unemployment. The growing school of "economic anthropology" could well explore these issues.

Less studied have been the non-demographic effects of various mortality rates. Until recently the average society studied by anthropologists would have an expectation of life at birth of between 20 and 35 years. Roughly a quarter of the children born alive would be dead at the end of their first year of life. Approximately a quarter of the marriages would last the full child bearing period without one of the partners dying. More than half a dozen of a person's close relatives would have died by the time he was 25 (brothers and sisters, parents, uncles and aunts). That is assuming that he reached the age of 25, for there was only a small chance of doing so. (See chart below.)

If one reads anthropological accounts of primitive societies, one seldom gains an insight into this world of continual disease and frequent death. As an article in the *Biennial Review of Anthropology* for 1963 made clear, "medical anthropology" is still at a very rudimentary stage. The difficulties of transmitting "culture" when a third of the total population dies off every ten years; the huge waste of resources (calculated to be 22.5 per cent of the national income in many underdeveloped countries by the United Nations) through the loss of children before they become producers; the effects of constantly broken homes on emotional relationships within the family; the disincentive to spend much on specialised education when people are so likely to die—and hence the





training of replaceable "role-performers" rather than individualists: these are some of the possible consequences of high mortality. The constant assertion that ties, especially with children and between husband and wife, are never deep because they are likely to be terminated at any moment by death, is only one of the hypotheses open to anthropological and comparative study.

To probe further into the traditional hunting grounds of anthropologists: it is becoming clear, as V. W. Turner has pointed out, that endless discussions of witchcraft and other beliefs about the causation of illness must contain discussions of medical and demographic factors. How true is it, for example, that medical improvements in modern Africa will rescue the "disease-logged" societies from what many western observers consider to be "irrational" fears? The whole realm of the interrelation between demographic features and "cosmologies" has scarcely been scratched: beliefs about ancestors, the causation of misfortune, the after-life, space and time, all are likely to be affected by the current demographic movements which are radically changing life-expectations and experiences.

Many other aspects of demography would greatly contribute to anthropological discussions. A comparative analysis of the effects of various age-structures on attitudes and institutions would be rewarding. Pre-industrial England, with fairly high adult mortality rates, and also high age at marriage, probably had a structure which we might call two-generational. Two generations would, normally, be alive simultaneously (see diagram below).

When expectation of life remains roughly the same, but age at marriage is much lower (as in many traditional "primitive" societies), there would be a three-generation overlap. But when, as in present-day America, and, to a lesser degree, parts of Europe, fairly low marriage age is combined with a tremendous increase in expectation of life, then we have the unprecedented "four-generation family."

The dramatic effects of these structures on inter-generational relationships, and the transmission of power and wealth, is obvious but unstudied.

The different shapes of the age-pyramids in the typical pre- and post-"demographic transition" situations is equally important (see diagram, below right). The society where over 50 per cent of the population is under 20 years of age has given way, in our own century and in England, to a structure more weighted towards middle and old age. There is growing debate about the consequences of this for the old. But the many other repercussions, and the situations where it is happening ten times faster than in Britain, have been little analysed. Anthropologists were, at one time, fond of discussing "joking relationships" between grandparents and grandchildren. They seldom seem to have stopped to consider whether the demographic situation would leave any grandparents alive to joke with.

Likewise, population density and the speed of population growth will not only affect the economic structure, they may well shape personality and perception. There have been few advances in this field since David Riesman bravely attempted to relate personality-types to curves in population trends in *The Lonely Crowd*. Here, as elsewhere in the relations between population and society, the fundamental problem is one of the most exciting in the social sciences—and one raised by, among others, Dur-

heim and Lévi-Strauss—namely, what are the relations between statistical tendencies and social attitudes?

Anthropologists often speak of the world as their "laboratory," with various societies as their "experiments." At present the "laboratory" for the anthropologist interested in demography is in a particularly curious state.

At one extreme, there are some western societies like our own, with patterns of longevity, large numbers of old people, few marriages broken by death, death mainly caused by degenerative rather than epidemic diseases. These societies present unprecedented features which have only emerged during the last fifty years. At the other extreme, there are still societies which exhibit those classic characteristics associated with high fertility and mortality. In between there are many societies moving from "primitive" to modern European patterns. I have suggested some of the social and mental repercussions of all these different situations. What appears likely to happen, however—and to provide the final terrible dimension to the overall picture—is that some societies will start sliding downhill again.

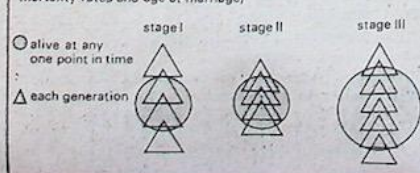
Signs of this on an economic level are beginning to appear. In 1967, we are told, each person on earth had 2 per cent less to eat—although, obviously, the loss was unequally divided. In the 1970s this process will accelerate. Some of the consequences in the field of social administration and maintenance of order have been outlined in Professor Titmuss's recently reissued work on Mauritius. But the effects of growing ill-health, increasing epidemics, deterioration of housing, widespread malnutrition, leading into absolute starvation, have scarcely been explored by social anthropologists. Fieldworkers are going to find their investigations increasingly impinged on by such factors. Unequipped intellectually for such a situation, they are likely either to continue to ignore the evidence of misery or to be completely baffled.

When Professor Titmuss investigated the Mauritian population he was forced to "try to break out of western specialisations and combine the insights of the economist, historian, anthropologist, demographer, political scientist and doctor." Future work to mitigate the population crisis will need to follow such cross-disciplinary teamwork. The "anthropologist," who seems to be growing increasingly interested in statistics and urban sociology and hence likely to be receptive to demography, will both benefit from and advance such research. He will provide a constant reminder of the importance of studying values and attitudes, as well as the more strictly material aspects of the problem. He will find that demographic analysis, which is, above all, an attempt to describe social process, will help him to make the long-announced transition from static analysis to a framework which can deal with social change.

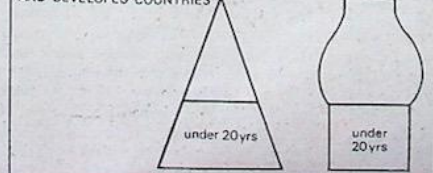
Not only will he analyse new topics, but his discussions of conventional topics such as kinship, land tenure, witchcraft, will be improved considerably. Equipped with the United Nations manuals on methods and the training in basic demography, which so few university departments of anthropology now provide, he will be well placed, in his small-scale way, to collect the detailed statistics and attitude surveys which are urgently needed. It is hoped that he will also not shrink from the larger task of making heroic speculations.

## Population crisis: anthropology's failure

THE TWO THREE AND FOUR GENERATION TYPE SOCIETIES (the degree of overlap is dictated by a combination of mortality rates and age at marriage)



AGE-STRUCTURES OF TYPICAL UNDERDEVELOPED AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES



6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6., 12.10.68

Dear M. & D.,

Many thanks for your Tuesday letter. I hope this will catch you before you migrate north to your winter fastness. I enclose the cover of Martin's book. I went to the 2nd-hand shop but couldn't get you a copy - but they are keeping a look out for it so you may get a note about it in the next couple of years. If so, buy it (if not too expensive.) & put it down on my account (will explain). I did manage to buy some short articles on burial mounds in Lewis etc. & two books of Hebridean folk stories/poems by Fiona McLeod. Gill says they are very good. Will bring them up with us. Oh, before I forget. I've ordered two small storage shelves to be sent, one to Field Head and one c/o McBrayne's, Lochmaddy (for keeping tomato boxes on). They should be marked 'to await arrival' (Field Head) and 'to be collected' (Lochmaddy). But could you keep an eye open for them. They were very cheap. Talking of buying things; wonder what happened about the American generator. Glad you managed to buy El-san etc. Do remember to leave us a pile of stuff (essential/less-essential) in the shed to bring up, and let us know if there is anything you still need from London. I am wondering whether to buy a cheap fibre-glass spinning rod & cheap reel - rather than taking good things out. I can't see why the fishing shouldn't be super. One other thing I wanted to ask you was about medicine. Is it possible to buy things like penicillin etc. out there do you think? It seems that one immediately is made into the local doctor in a village & it would be most useful - but, anyhow, we couldn't bring it with us from England.

Continuing with the subject of medicine. We had our injections for T.T.A.B., cholera & smallpox on Monday. Felt a bit seedy, but not too bad. My pronunciation is gradually improving with the language lab. but I haven't any clue of what the words mean. There appears to be hardly anything written about Nepal.

My New Soc. article came out on Thursday, but the fan mail has not started to pour in! I will send you a copy when I've done some duplicating. No cheque for it yet, nor anything about advances from C.U.P. But I have heard from the grant people who wanted me to refund some of my grant and am very relieved to say that they had 'reconsidered' the position & decided that I am an exceptional case! I expect now they will ask for money back from the profits of my witchcraft book! Still the financial position is not at all bad - though I am not suffering from manic euphoria, Mummy!

Interesting to hear about Jervis Talent. I'm longing to do a chapter on poverty in K.L. Those lists you have should provide the material for a fascinating correlation with the other material...

To David Seddon      12.10.68    6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

... I imagine one must get into some pretty awful moral dilemmas as a fieldworker - as I will soon find out. Wonder how the survey information came out. Are the punched cards any use, or too refined? Am just beginning to fret about all these things as we will be setting off for Nepal soon (Assam having refused us entry). We've had preliminary injections & I've started on language lab. course in Nepali.

There seems to be hardly any written material on Nepal - a week's reading at the most. Don't know if this is a good thing or not. Am filling in leisure hours reading trendy books - Marcuse, McLuhan etc. Just about finished Understanding Media. You're right, it's a splendid book - far superior to the drivel produced by most anthropologists. It will be fascinating to study the effects of rapid changes in media in Nepal with the introduction of printing, electricity etc. Make a fascinating thesis in itself.

Actually, the scope of my interests - or the demographic side of them - is indicated by the enclosed article which has at last appeared in New Society. Am also interested in beliefs re. causation (witchcraft etc.), but it all ties in. Incidentally you might be interested to contact New Society about an article; they seem fairly keen to have pieces from the field. I've mentioned your name to Paul Barker, the editor and said you might contact him.... Talking of articles - your piece should be coming out at some point in the L.S.E. magazine - but I've lost contact with the other editor (who is trying to scrape together undergraduate contributions) so I don't know when this will be, but will keep you in touch.

To return to Nepal: we leave London on Nov. 11<sup>th</sup> and England at the end of November, so letters to this address will reach us until then. S.O.A.S. where I am now attached, seems a friendlier place (tho' many of the faces are the same - Anne Sharma, Mrs Hayley, Dore etc), though the library is chaotic. Nothing of great intellectual interest, however, I think. Am going to M. Douglas' postgraduate seminars which may be better.

Glad to say that my second book (did I mention it – a biography) has just been accepted by Cambridge U.P.

12.10.68      6, Milverton Road, London, N.W.6.

*Dear Katherine [Levine],....You do write nicely & your descriptions were most evocative. I think your letters will turn out to be historical documents! They will certainly be filed away very carefully...*

*We have been refused permission for Assam so are hoping to go to Nepal. If all goes o.k. we leave London on Nov. 11th & England at the end of the month. We hope to live in a tribal society, at about 4,000 feet (climate/scenery/vegetation like Switzerland) not too far from Kathmandu. The sort of things we will be studying are partly outlined in the enclosed piece from New Society which has at last come out. Probably too ambitious, but we'll see. Have had preliminary injections, started language lab. Nepali and poked my nose into S.O.A.S. which seems a friendly place. (There haven't been any seminars yet...). The Library seems chaotic, but the general atmosphere far superior to L.S.E., though, perhaps, even lower powered. Adrian Mayer is acting head in F-H's absence.*

*We're just at the stage of wondering whether we need to take toilet paper, toothbrushes, beads for the natives etc. Perhaps Caplan will help. (I see your ex-tutor David Parkin has an article on witch-hunting cults in the latest Man). Gill will be finishing her job in about three weeks & is going through the painful process of saying good-bye to all her 'clients'. I am spending much of my time trying to get a book finished – on the C17 clergyman & his Diary. It has been accepted for publication by the Cambridge U.P. & I know that it will slip out of my mind if I leave it (also need the money when we come back to start our Research Centre). In the brief intervals from this rush round London trying to find pedometers, tape-recorders, insurance companies etc. All this interspersed with reading McLuhan, Marcuse etc. It all keeps me with the happy illusion that I am busy! I don't know how you managed to keep so placid and calm just before you left!*

From Keith Thomas    13 October 1968

*Forgive my delay in answering. Maddeningly, we are already booked up on the Saturday evening 26 Oct. which would have been the obvious time to meet. So perhaps you and Gill could come and have supper on the Sunday 27<sup>th</sup> – in time to get a train back that night if that is what you have to do? ... So come soon after six if you'd like to talk about Josselin beforehand. And we could eat at 7.30. Do send the draft in advance if you would like to, but I can't alas guarantee to have done anything about it before you arrive as term is now on me with all its chores.*

*Do you have a bed for the night by the way? We may still be in chaos here as we have workmen in the house putting central heating in, but there would certainly be somewhere for you both to sleep, and you'd be very welcome.*

From Iris    Field Head, Sunday (13th October 1968)

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*The house full of the smell of boiling blackberry & apple, always a sad smell reminding me of returns to school & to India. Am determined to try to use some of my apples though. The weather has been generally wet & windy, very windy in fact & all the leaves being blown off the trees even before they've turned. We have been sorting and packing and cutting grass, we're sending off three boxes and two bedsteads by goods train on Tuesday & Daddy having near-apoplexy at all the rest which I plan to put into the Land Rover. He is agreeable to your idea of the van, the only thing he says is to see that it has had an MOT test about 6 months ago, one wouldn't expect a £60 van to last longer than a year but wouldn't want a big outlay straight off. I'm going to write to Roy Henderson about selling the L.R. as Preston would be quite a good place for you to dump*



it? The other thing, Daddy took the middle-sized camera to sell & they said they would part-exchange it for a pair of binoculars. The difference was £6 & this seems the best idea unless you have already got him some? If you & Anne would like to contribute £1 or so each (actually I still owe you 10/- so take that off!) that would make him a lovely present. He has seen & likes the glasses.

.... I have been doing some name cards in the evenings but am fretful to get down to some more work, life is undermining comfortable here.... We've sent for the generator on appro.

... Hope Josselin is going well & the typing not too boring, have just seen a film about Nepal, the Tibetan refugee camp there, sad but charming. Hope the injections didn't upset you...

P.S. Could you send a p.c. to c/o Hawkshead P.O. re binoculars?

From Iris Field Head, Outgate, Thursday (24th October 1968)

Dear Gill & Alan,

Have just done a completely dotty thing, let the house for the winter to 3 young people wandering up with a horse & cart to start a community on the west coast of Scotland! Shiver to think was Beryl will say when she sees them, the girl is dressed in a long brown woollen cloak to her ankles but they are absolutely delightful, idealistic, musical, vegetarian etc. and I can't think of anyone who I'd rather have here. They are friends of Donovan's & just finished at Art School, but very gentle and civilised - can't pay much rent but we might not have got a winter rent anyway & my fussy elderly gent backed out yesterday. Fiona will be well in her element with them & be able to come here when she likes, feel very happy about it.

Spent the day in Kendal, but only a brief visit to the archives. I'm afraid. Miss M. away. The only reference for the census is Rydal Hall Collection, D/Ry. no numbering done yet! I went to a sale & bought knives & forks & we went in search of El San etc. (to collect them) but shops shut all day now on Thursdays. Our generator came yesterday but it turned out to be D.C. (might have guessed being American) so it went back to-day! Will see if they have anything else. I've done none of my social chores, feel so totally out of touch & unwilling to pick up useless threads & anyway too tired one way & another. Our heavy boxes have gone off by goods, we're spending Tuesday night with the Cowans<sup>44</sup> and Wednesday on Skye as we feel we must arrive in the morning to warm the croft up. It is still patchy weather-wise here, but the trees beautiful, no regrets at all about leaving, traffic still appalling & all the best of Kendal being hammered to bits. Daddy enjoying his Olympics<sup>45</sup> very much though & we couldn't have timed it better that way....

I'll leave a little pile of stuff in the shed which you can bring up if you can, your stuff will be there (slides in the tin filing box) & letters in brown suitcase. Was going to lock the shed but won't bother now, hope they don't put the horse in it. She is the chief reason they are "wintering" here as she is in foal, & they dote on her. They plan to live in the kitchen for economy's sake so I don't think will harm anything, anyway you'll be able to report when you come through! Better not tell Granny!

Hope some reaction has arrived re. the article, it always takes time to filter through (I only got two letters, one critical & one trying to sell me books!) I'm looking forward to seeing it but won't expect a private copy.

To Keith Thomas 16.10.1968 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Keith,

Thank you for your letter and kind invitation for us both to come to supper on Sunday 7<sup>th</sup>. That would be lovely, and we look forward to seeing you soon after six to discuss Josselin. I think we'll be returning to London by car. I think we won't have to put you to the trouble of providing us with beds - thank you all the same.

I enclose some bits & pieces. Two of the chapters you've already seen, two are new. The economic ones obviously need re-arrangement. Land-sales & debts need separate treatment apart from annual income. It's all rather clumsy stuff, meant merely to provide a background to the later sections. Don't worry if you don't have a chance to look at it until we meet. I also enclose a short piece of exhortation which might amuse you just published;<sup>46</sup> please keep it if it is of any interest.

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<sup>44</sup> Friends in Edinburgh; Pat was Alan's godmother.

<sup>45</sup> Olympic Games held in Mexico City, 12th - 27th October 1968

<sup>46</sup> An article on 'Anthropology and Population' in *New Society*.

To Keith Thomas 29.10.68 6, Milverton Road, London N.W.6

Dear Keith and Valerie,

Thank you for a wonderful finale to a most happy last visit to Oxford; it was an evening we will look back to wistfully as we chew our rice and sip our dysentery-filled water! I do hope that when we return/retire to Field Head we will be able to reciprocate some of your hospitality & that you will both come and stay (if you haven't changed your mind about America....!). Thank you also, Keith, for once again sacrificing your very valuable time to read my stuff. I shudder to think where I would now be if I had been without all your help—you know that if I can help in any way in return with the 'great work' I would willingly do so (tho' I suppose there is little I can do on the slopes of Annapurna!). After all your kindnesses I feel awful asking for two further favours but I wondered a) if I had left any of Josselin behind with you &, if so, you could possibly post it on to me at the above address... b) I hope you don't mind, but I've given your name as a referee to S.O.A.S. on an application for a school grant for when we return from Nepal (to help when we are writing up the material). Please say if this is too much trouble;

Again thank you both for a wonderful evening. I hope you enjoy America — but not too much! — and that everything goes well with you.

From Iris Sidinish, Sunday (30th October 1968)

My dear G. & A.,

Thank you for your letter and for the information re. trees and blueberries which sounds intriguing - what do you do with them I wonder except grow them on hills and write songs about them? Presumably eat them but of course nobody here will, ooh noo! As usual when I return here I am filled with wild plans and dreams, but find no time to do anything but trail backwards and forwards from the tap. We had very heavy rain last night and went out to find the veg. patch under a foot of water so Daddy had to dig drains quickly, drainage is in fact going to be an important part of any growing obviously. The rowan trees seem to be all right by the way, though without their leaves.

I am very sorry, but I left the K.L. map in the shed for you to bring up, carried out a tray of maps and papers and Daddy let out such groans of horror that I took them away. So I don't know what the map was exactly, but if you are going up to Field Head you will find the papers (original census Xeroxes) on one of the book shelves. The map here is O.S. 2 1/2" to mile SD68 (Lancashire). If you will be returning to London with the van, perhaps you would take the cardboard box marked "Anne" which has some bits and pieces for her - fragile glasses chiefly. Otherwise she can pick them up on her way through, or we can. Don't bother with the jug and basin, don't want them at the moment.

Daddy went to Lochmaddy to seek out the builder yesterday and returned with our luggage, two coffins, a book box and two bed-springs which got here in ten days for £3.13.0 so if you are thinking of any books for here I should try and put them in a box and send them goods train and save lugging them in a van. We couldn't fit in any rush bottomed chairs, but what we would really like if you could manage is the tin tub we ordered from Middleton's in Kendal - this could have things in it, so not take up too much room. I don't want to complicate things for you as you'll have more than enough to think about and it won't be too long before we are down again ourselves. I hope you will have some luck with the van, but don't worry, you can only choose the best you can and can't be responsible if it doesn't turn out well. As long as it gets you to your various destinations and here. Feel so sorry that you have such a disturbed month ahead, with so many wrenching good-byes but this seems the pattern of living for our family.

We have been busy organising our funny little hovel, went through the work piles today and only found a few wet inventories which I dried out and will be legible, shall never leave things uncovered again. I'm afraid the shelves you ordered haven't yet arrived, nor at Field Head, but they will be most useful. As soon as I've got things straight we shall have to pack the whole lot up and move into the byre or somewhere, we saw the Clerk of Works on Monday and he is ordering materials and the builder admitted that he wasn't so busy nowadays - but hope you will fit in your visit first. It is very warm at the moment, but Daddy, has been fitting draught proofing and plastic sheets over the windows ready for this terrible Winter. ...

*Thank you for your article which I would like to send to Brenda, but will ask her to return - it reads very well. I'm impressed that you have two publishers interested already, but I imagine the thought of preparing another book is too much to contemplate at the moment. I should think it made a lot of people uncomfortable but they quickly thought of something else.... I'm very glad Josselin is being approved of, and hope you will be able to leave feeling easy about it with the main revisions done as you will be bombarded with new impressions so quickly once you arrive in the east.*

*Have noted your dates and imagine Friday 22 would be a good day to cross, and return the following Thursday, longing to see you and hope the highlands won't be snowed up by then. ... Don't bother to write till after the move -*

*Re medicines: THALAZOLE tablets for general tummies, FURAMIDE for amoebic dysentery, painkillers, antiseptic & a fungicide (for athlete's foot) would probably be all you could manage. I'm sure you'll find everything in Katmandu.*

## 1968 - November

Darlington, 13.11.78

*Dear M & D.,*

*This is just to say that the first stage of our trip went off successfully & we arrived here c. 2.30 a.m. on Tuesday morning - the poor van groaning and bulging. But it goes v. well. Gill bought this card for you & sends his love. She is in bed with sickness (a bug Annie & I have had). Will write and let you know our plans when we hear ferry times. Can you hang onto mail for us from the time you get this? Many thanks.*

From Iris Sidinish, Nov 14th (1968)

*Dear G. & A.,*

*I hope this will catch you before the next stage of your journey, I'll write one more letter to Fiona's. The Kyles ferry crossing goes on all day during daylight which should be simple, the last bit of road from Portree to Uig is under repair so leave a good hour for this (only 16 miles but v. bad in bits). The ferry leaves Uig at 5.30 p.m., you have probably discovered this in the book by now, they make it as muddled as possible.*

*The Hendersons' address in Preston is 327 Chapel Lane, New Longton. I'm sure they would give you a bed, but perhaps you would prefer to be independent? In any case it might be an idea to ring them up & ask Roy if you can leave the L.R. there on the way back, & he will give you directions. He has agreed to sell it for us.*

*Hope you're feeling a bit rested after your packings. I'm glad Field Head was still intact, though sorry the boys hadn't got jobs, I was afraid they might find hostility, or at least distrust. Or perhaps they weren't trying too hard!*

*Gales still keeping us on the hop, we feel when they stop we shall be permanently bent into a defensive position, we go round like gully - head down to the wind, taking little steps sideways. We had a visit from Agriculture man who brought a forestry man with him, he was most depressing about the chance of growing anything at all but hope to confound him. Showed him the tree Hilliers had advised & he said these were about 15/- each and wasn't very hopeful about their chances. So we felt a bit gloomy on his departure but shall battle on. Have foxed the bunnies by covering my bulbs with seaweed which is a little tiny triumph.*

*Longing to see you, hope Gill will help me make my Xmas cake. I'm making reasonable bread now but Daddy leaves the house for several hours on baking day! My light is going out so must get up....  
P.S. Bring your sleeping bags.*

From Iris Locheport, Monday (18th November 1968)

*FERRY. FRIDAY AT 5 P.M. ARR Lochmaddy 7.30 pm*

*My dear Gill & Alan,*

*Further to our phone conversation - a bit early as I had a Thing in my eye & was feeling weak & watery, it got very swollen & painful in the night but has recovered today thank goodness - the list of things is 6 GAZ cartridges & 2 mantles (Blenet 200)*

*Rabbit wire & posts from back garden.*

*Woollen gloves & my gentian plant & if possible a box of Daddy's beer bottles. (& sprigs of holly in larder!)*

*Don't bother about Telly as we want to get the aerial as well & will do all this on our next visit. The poles are coming down the road & it shouldn't take very long to wire us all up but it won't be before the end of Feb. obviously. It occurs to me that Fiona might spare an oil stove as she has two, so perhaps you could bring that? Am absolutely certain the Friday ferry is 5 p.m. or thereabout as we came in it but will ring up Macbraynes in the morning & confirm this. Do hope the gales will stop for you, they have blown more or less non-stop for the past 2 weeks, this is a bad month I imagine or perhaps they never stop? Tried to plant out our larches yesterday but could hardly stand up, so have just put them in a trench temporarily. Daddy is busy filling in holes still, & it's much better & rain no longer laps round our ankles while we wash up.*

*Got a letter and "report" from Borneo, from Louise Hogg, enclosing another from Cyprus - v. interesting, latter reminds me of here in many ways. You must tell me what to do with them. Life very quiet, routine & happy, can't believe everyone else is counting shopping days till Xmas, shall do all mine at the Co-Op next Monday. Simon was amazed at my enquiries about a turkey, frozen chicken joints being good enough for all of them, apparently.*

*Do hope life isn't too wearing for you. If you could find 6 little calendars in Woolies, I'm thinking of making some pictures of the house if I get them in time. Am writing this in bed & hope its legible & makes sense - will probably send next to Fiona.*

*Love to Mary & John, enjoy the luxuries while you can, life is somewhat of an endurance test here...*

London 'kula' c/o Mrs D.K. Macfarlane, c/o Sidinish Post Office, 27.11.68 Lochport,  
North Uist, Outer Hebrides, Scotland

*Dear Signe,*

*How very nice to get your letter & report. Sorry to have been so long in replying, but we've just been gathering 'beads for the natives' etc. for our journey & moving all our stuff from London. Now, with four days to go before we leave, I'm grabbing a moment to write what will be, I fear, a rather rushed letter. First, about the various enclosures.*

*Could you send to Cyprus report on to Peter when you have read it as he wants it back (you should have his address - Peter Loizos, Argachi Village, Nr. Morphou, Cyprus). I also enclose a short piece which was a re-hashed version of a talk I gave to Firth's seminar. I think it will give you some idea of what research we hope to do & of my obsession with population problems. Please keep it with my best wishes. One new member of the 'kula' - Miss Katherine Levine, Dept. of Political Science, B.P.O. Box 35042, University College, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Perhaps she'd be useful to contact when you go back to Africa; she's a terribly nice person & would love hearing from you.*

*The address at the top of the letter will be my forwarding address to Nepal (until I write to you direct), also it will be the headquarters of the kula (my mother, Mrs D.K. Macfarlane will be in charge). I've forwarded your piece on sociology and social anthropology to Peter, who will then circulate it to the others. If they've comments, they'll write to you direct. I agreed with everything you said, so there is little for me to say! I feel the real problem you were struggling with, both in your letter & the kula message, was how to reconcile academic and practical work - in fact, what to do for the rest of your life. Personally, I think you are the best possible combination - interested in ideas & academic problems, but also in helping people & improving the world.*



*"Philosophers have only tried to understand the world; the point is to change it" - or some such! What are you finally going to do? Come & help at my non-institute I hope, finally!*

*Shall I whisk through our news first, before dealing with yours? We leave for Nepal on Dec. 3rd - via Athens, Teheran & New Delhi (sorry we couldn't include Copenhagen). We stay at each place for about 3 days & hope to see the sights. When in Nepal, we want to find a fairly traditional anthropological setting, a rural village, & do at least nine months traditional 'community' study, with an emphasis on demography & religion (thought structures etc - will send details when we start work). Then we might move for six months to a town, to try to do something more complex & social changish.*

*The real moral problem which I think will face me will be, should one introduce western medicine, education, communications, industry etc. which will have the prime effect of causing massive over-population & mental disorientation? Given the fact that these things will be introduced, anyhow, I suppose one can only try to smooth the way with understanding. Gill particularly wants to study mental health & the prison system; I would like to study a hospital & the effects of changes in the communication systems. I've just (at this late date) read McLuhan, Understanding Media, and am completely sold on him. Much the most exciting anthropologist I have read for some time. I would like to study the effects of literacy, electricity etc. on the social and mental structure - but how?*

*I never loved London as you did, but was rather sad to leave all the same. I hated LSE, but there were many happy times, not least our animated walks round Lincoln's Inn Fields. SOAS is much more relaxed & friendly - but still pretty trivial. I hope your university reforms continue & are successful. It strikes me that the whole university framework is highly unsatisfactory & the sooner I am out of it the better. The horizons & goals are so low, the compromises so many, the conflicts so damaging. I can't go into this now, but will do when we meet. Hence my desire to start afresh. Some progress has been made in this direction. The Hebrides, from where I am writing this letter, are ideal as a centre. My two books have been accepted by publishers & should bring in some money by the time we get back from Nepal. But if, as I fear, the whole world is going to be plunged into a huge economic/social etc. crisis by the late 1970's because of vast population growth, it all seems rather a waste of time....*

Postcard from Athens, 4.12.68 to D.K. Macfarlane, Esq. c/o Sidinish Post Office.

*Dear Daddy,*

*All goes smoothly so far! We had an easy flight & are now enjoying Greek food, wandering around the deserted Acropolis by full moon-light & preparing ourselves for massive sight-seeing today. Hope all is well with you, gulls etc. etc.*

Postcard from A 'Pension' in Athens, 4.12.68 to All at "Bryher", Crowthorne [grandparents]

*Dear All,*

*So far an easy trip. Athens almost too good to be true. One wonders if it isn't all a stage-set for a Verdi opera put up specially by the American Tourist Board - the Acropolis by moonlight, little greek "Tabernas" with men drinking 'ouzo' & strumming guitars; cypruses, olives & vines; little cobbled streets & overhanging balconies; shops full of false icons & gorgeous sickly sweets, rows of taxis & , at this time of year, only the occasional American tourist. Hope all is well with you. We are thinking of you all especially at this time. Must off to swallow our entero-vioform....*

## Epilogue: Brief reflections on the London years

After institutional living in ‘total’ institutions since the age of eight – a preparatory and then public boarding school for ten years and then Oxford University for five years – going to the L.S.E. was a considerable shock. I gained a number of things there, not only the wider stimulus and culture of London and the benefits of the inter-disciplinary contacts I have mentioned, but encountering some excellent teachers and particularly good graduate students. Here I will briefly recount some of the differences which partly explains a tone of nostalgic sadness in my account, with frequent visits back to Oxford. This was compounded of many things, but a few can be mentioned.

Over the years, I had loved the fact that I had lived in oases of integration within a basically atomistic and individualistic society. I have written a good deal about this later in my life, for example in my description of fifty years at Cambridge in a series of books including *Reflections on Cambridge* (2009), so I will not expand on the point. Boarding schools with their ‘asylum’ like structure were very similar, even down to the primacy of the ‘House’, to Oxbridge life. You became a member of a tribe. You ate together, studied together, played together, slept on the premises. It was a ‘total’ life, with all the advantages and disadvantages of a sense of community that this produces. For me, as described in four previous volumes, it was mainly a positive experience. Going to London and the L.S.E. was a shock and a losing of something I valued.

It was increased in its impact by the fact that from the time I went to London I was, in effect, married, though the wedding only took place at the end of the first term. This inevitably alters one’s life. It is usually a concomitant of this that the nature of one’s social inter-actions change. At schools and Oxford I was single and more gregarious. In London my social circle narrowed, or at least was less active. I spent more time at home, or went out to entertainments with Gill. So even if I had stayed at Oxford or gone to Cambridge, I would have found a big change as a married man. The dispersed nature of London, where the University and one’s friends were often more than an hour’s wearying travel away, not ten minutes’ walk as in Oxford, added to this effect. In many ways, the contrast is between a boarding institution, such as I had been used to, where social life can go on into the evenings and week-ends, and a day school, where you came home in the afternoon to another pattern of life; where school and home life were strongly separated.

I was to live quite a long underground journey away from my place of study. I went in once or twice a week for some formal teaching and came home in the late afternoon through the rush-hour crowds. There were few facilities within the University for the students, or clubs, and little intermingling with the staff and little communal life. The teaching was more formal and impersonal – mainly lectures and seminars consisting of a dozen or more students who presented weekly papers. The quintessence of the medieval ‘apprenticeship’, ‘master’ and student system that had survived at Oxbridge, and I had experienced from my sixth form at school, was absent. I saw my particular supervisor perhaps twice a term, not for teaching but to discuss vaguely my master’s dissertation, about which, being historical, he could give me little informed guidance.

So I went in for a few hours, perhaps borrowed a book or did a little reading in the library of the Department, the Seligman Library (now re-named as the ‘The Old Library’) and went to one or two lectures, or a seminar at the L.S.E. or one of the other universities. I might also visit some of the other excellent libraries, including at the British Museum or the Royal Anthropological Society. Then I went home. I did become friends with several of the other

graduate students and I very occasionally went out with them or invited them to dinner at our house. Yet the inter-actions were limited.

The advantage of this relatively light regime after what I was used to at school and Oxford, was that, given my ambition and energy, I was able to combine the formal course – which in its taught form (I was excused the second-year exams after taking a Departmental test after the first year) only lasted for one year, with other things. Even during that taught course year I only attended 60 lectures in the 30 weeks of the three terms – an average of two a week. I also attended, on average, one seminar a week in my first term, none in my second, and two a week in the summer term – an average of one seminar a week.

There were no lectures laid on in my second year in the Department (though I did go to some voluntarily in the Demography department) and only an average of two seminars a week. Compared to the weekly supervisions at Oxford as an undergraduate, where you had to present a substantial essay which you either read out, or handed in, to your tutor plus an average of a couple of lectures and a seminar a week through my undergraduate years, I was under much less pressure. I wrote half a dozen essays to present at seminars for my tutor through the two years and the rest was reading and listening.

Again, compared to the three postgraduate years at Oxford, the pressure of research supervision was trivial. The contrast was particularly strong for me because both my undergraduate and particularly my postgraduate supervision was very intense. I had Keith Thomas as my research supervisor. He was writing a parallel work to my D.Phil, his magisterial *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, and was interested, knowledgeable and supportive. I would see him roughly every six weeks or so, but he would read all that I wrote with immense attention and make dozens of suggestions and corrections. He set an immensely high standard. Going to see my L.S.E. supervisor, Isaac Schapera, who sat formally behind his desk in his ‘office’, rather than on a sofa besides me in a beautiful room in St. John’s, as with Keith, was a totally different experience. Keith was exploring alongside me, Schap was vaguely interested but out of his depth, only suggesting repeatedly that I looked at Jane Austen and Pepys’s Diary, being personally interested in comparative incest taboos.

At Oxford there were also a number of others who were interested in my work and with whom I could discuss it, not only in seminars around similar themes, but in conversations and letters. They included the Regius Professor, Hugh Trevor-Roper, who was also working on witchcraft and I came to know well and had a long correspondence with, both in those years and the L.S.E. And there were others, such as Joan Thirsk, Brian Harrison and Lady Clay, who had taught me as an undergraduate. There were also some very good students who were doing quite similar work, opening up new paths in social and intellectual history alongside me, including Paul Slack, Robin Briggs, Nick Tyacke and Charles Phythian-Adams.

The absence of intense teaching and collaborative research was the disappointing side of the move – not even mentioning the beauty of Oxford compared to the dirt, noise and hustle of London. Yet the absence of pressure had its advantages, for the course at the L.S.E. was only one strand, perhaps a quarter, of my intellectual life in these two years and I was able to pursue new paths which I would have found impossible if I had been fully stretched in anthropological course work.

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In my years of studying history at Oxford, the task of teaching me had been undertaken in a way which was very different to anthropology. Over three-quarters of my attention was devoted to the history of England, from the Anglo-Saxons to the late nineteenth century. Another quarter was spent on political theory, from Aristotle to Marx, and to a two-hundred-year period of west European history, as well as a general paper on methods in history. There

must have been at least a hundred historians in Oxford teaching English history, if we include not just University and College teachers, but others like my tutor Lady Rosalind Clay who supplemented the formal teachers, as well as some research Fellows and even some doctoral students (as I did, a little).

The course at Oxford hardly mentioned the rest of the world – a couple of essays on Turkey and the British Empire and a little on Scotland, but that was all. This meant that each teacher I went to was a specialist on a delimited place, time and subject, say the economic history of England in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, or the political history of England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was both narrow and intense.

Anthropology has no chance of specialisation like this. Although at that time it was almost exclusively confined to the present and the very recent past, a very thin slice caused by the absence of written records in most of the societies anthropologists studied, and reflected in the Malinowskian functionalist paradigm, in terms of space it was an immense canvass. Although it was only just moving to the study of western industrial societies, though usually in their rural and peripheral parts, the interest in peasantries – the vast expanses of China, India, Europe and Latin America – was already well developed.

Put starkly, at Oxford I had perhaps a hundred potential teachers on the history of an island with an average population during the last thousand years of less than six million people – a fairly homogenous civilization which I still lived in. With Anthropology, my teachers at the L.S.E. numbered less than ten, of whom three were within two or three years of retirement. Basically, looking at the lectures and seminars, I had about six active teachers, who included Ronald Dore the sociologist and Audrey Hailey from S.O.A.S. and Mary Douglas at U.C.L. They had to cover the whole of the world – an impossible task.

Looking at their first-hand experience, they covered two small parts of Africa, the New Territories in China (Hong Kong), Mauritius, a little of Latin America, two or three parts of the Pacific and Japan. There was no-one on mainland China and South East Asia, on India, on Europe (apart from Tory Island off Ireland). Thus they only covered a tiny fraction of the societies and peoples of the world.

The limitation was partly made up for by the cosmopolitan nature of the research students who were with me for one or both of the years of my degree. Looking at where they had either already done some research, or come from, or were starting to study, they included Malaysia, Thailand, Newfoundland. Ethiopia, Mexico, New Guinea, South Africa, Cyprus, Uganda, Honduras and Ireland. I learnt, as one tends to do, more from them, both in their presentations in the seminars and in informal conversations, especially with Peter Loizos (Cyprus) and David Seddon (South Africa) than from the lecturers in the Department.

There was no close contact or conversations with the teachers; we were never invited to any of their houses or even, as I recall, went out for a drink or walk with the lecturers. There was a big and formal gap between teacher and students, despite the supposed left-wing nature of the L.S.E. In the seminars we always addressed each other as Mr or Miss or whatever, and our teachers respectfully as Professor or Doctor. Once I became a postgraduate at Oxford, even before getting my doctorate, my former undergraduate teachers and my new graduate advisors would treat me more or less as an equal. They invited me to lunches and dinners in their Colleges and sometimes for tea and dinner at their homes. It was an entirely different feeling.

I remember feeling a sense of 'status-dissonance'. My life had been one of repeated climbing up status ladders – at both my boarding schools and then at Oxford, from the humble newcomer to the power of the senior boy. Somehow, I did not expect to have to do this climbing again when I reached the L.S.E., but I was again down at the bottom and needed to prove myself and to go through the rituals which would allow me to rise. Only when I went to Cambridge in 1971 and became a Fellow of King's College did I enjoy the



exhilaration of moving from one lowly ladder to a much higher one and feel a sudden increase in my status without particular further effort.

One index of this difference is that I continued to visit my Oxford teachers frequently for ten years after I left and to write to many of them through the future decades. After I left the L.S.E. in 1968, I hardly ever went back, except to give the Malinowski Lecture in 1978 and to give another couple of seminars in later years – though I did remain friends with three or four of my fellow graduates for many years.

Because of the world canvas covered by a few teachers, I became used to something which I experienced over my decades of being a teacher of anthropology at Cambridge from 1975, namely that one has to be able to lecture and to supervise bright students (one-to-one or one-to-two), and to supervise dozens of taught M.Phil. students and Ph.D. students, covering all parts of the world, most of which one has no first-hand knowledge.

Likewise there was no division of labour with different parts of life. In Oxford you not only specialized in place and period, but also in theme. Basically it was divided into economic, political, religious and intellectual history, with a little social history also. Thus, for example, there were at least half a dozen experts on seventeenth century English religious history to teach me.

At the L.S.E., it was different. The core of anthropology is that it joins together the human experience so that it is the inter-connections of, say, religion and politics, or politics and economics, or of all aspects of human life together in a community study. So it was impossible to become just an economic anthropologist, for example.

Yet the ten teachers were still fairly confined in their specialities. My supervisor Schapera wrote books on law, politics and marriage. Lucy Mair wrote on development, colonialism and witchcraft. Raymond Firth wrote mainly on kinship and economics, but also on ritual and the theory of anthropology. Anthony Forge specialized in art, James Woodburn on kinship and hunter-gatherers, Burton Benedict on development and small territories. Maurice Freedman specialised in kinship and ancestor worship and was developing an interest in Levi-Strauss, Mary Douglas on cosmologies and Robin Fox on ethology and kinship.

Again the inevitable absence of teaching expertise, just two or three members of staff for any speciality, was partly made up for by the interests of my fellow graduates. From looking at their presentations in the seminars and what they would later study, they covered most of the major fields from economics to religion and ritual.

The final source of knowledge came from the books and articles I was advised to read, or were summarized or alluded to in lectures or in the seminars. Looking broadly at the written account and my notes, one or two things stand out.

One is that anthropology was still particularly concentrated on the study of Tribal and Hunter-Gatherer societies, mainly in Africa and the Pacific, with touches of Amazonia as well. The great peasantries of the world, ninety percent of the non-industrial population, were covered much less in the notes I took during the course.

In terms of the anthropological paradigms, there was no teaching on the founders of the discipline – Tylor, Frazer, Morgan, Lang and Haddon. There was hardly any teaching on the earlier great American figures, Boas and Kroeber, for example, though there were some references to the work of Ralph Linton and Robert Lowie, and some contemporary Americans including Robert Redfield, David Schneider, Eric Wolf, Clifford Geertz and Marshall Sahlins.

A particular absence was any reference to Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict. I had encountered them at Oxford in my own private reading, as I had a similar writer, Geoffrey Gorer, but both at Oxford and particularly at the L.S.E. it was as if their work was taboo. Recently I came across an amusing explanation for this avoidance taboo in Robin Fox's account in *Participant Observer*. Of his time teaching at the L.S.E, Fox writes (p.339) that Derek

Freeman, who engaged in a famous controversy attacking Margaret Mead, and visited the L.S.E. for a term

‘seemed to have a special place in hell reserved for Margaret Mead, for reasons not all that clear at the time. The rest of the British school seemed to see her fault as a case of whoring after cheap fame instead of doing a professional job of fieldwork. When he was invited to join the ASA, Meyer Fortes had explained that one point of having this organization was “to stop people like Geoffrey Gorer and Margaret Mead from calling themselves social anthropologists.” But for [Freeman] it was more a matter of her being an ideological lackey of Franz Boas. The crime of Boas was the enthronement of Culture and the rejection of Nature. Mead had dutifully gone out and “proved” this with her “Samoan fantasies” as Derek called them.’

It was basically the anthropology done by British anthropologists which we were taught. It is true that there were quite frequent references to the work of Levi-Strauss which was just coming in to influence the British tradition, as well as that of earlier French anthropologists, Van Gennep and Marcel Mauss and one or two contemporary French writers, Godelier, Maquet, Dumont. Yet we read no German or others European scholars apart from Lison-Tolasana in Spain. Even with the British, it was the Malinowski and post-Malinowski generation, in other words the 1920s onwards, that we were taught (though Westermarck was mentioned). The main figures were from various schools.

From Oxford there were Radcliff-Brown, Evans-Prichard, Godfrey Lienhardt, Rodney Needham and John Beattie. But even these figures, or some of them, were treated with some suspicion. Again I did not fully understand this until reading Robin Fox. I had come from Oxford and been closely associated with Evans-Pritchard, particularly because he was my mentor and the examiner of my D.Phil. The fact that Raymond Firth refused to acknowledge that I was ‘Dr Macfarlane’ when he addressed or talked about me in his seminars in my second year, the cause of some merriment among my contemporaries, I put down to some insecurity about having to treat me both as a lowly student, but also with some higher qualification. Yet coming across the following passage in Robin Fox’s account (p.353), there may be another thread.

‘The Malinowski lecture. The previous year it had been given by Godfrey Lienhardt from Oxford, and no one was very happy with it. They respected the ethnographic skills of Evans-Pritchard and his people, (including Mary Douglas) but were deeply suspicious of their anti-scientific bias and their quite conscious attempt to treat Anthropology as another of the humanities. Firth, a Rationalist to the core, saw it as a faintly disguised attempt to smuggle their Catholicism into the discipline. Gluckman referred to the Institute at Oxford as “the Oratory”.’

The antagonism was mutual and I had encountered it when I had a long conversation with Evans-Pritchard in the summer of 1967, after he had examined my thesis. I noted:

Raymond = rationalist – bullied for Methodism by Malinowski: always one step behind on theoretical level: wife against him returning to Tikopia – unaware that his time has run out. It was probably on this occasion that E-P told me that Raymond being a rationalist believer used to go down to a Rationalist Church on Sundays and read selected portions of Malinowski’s works to the assembled believers.

The second set of writers we read were from Cambridge – Meyer Fortes, Edmund Leach, Jack Goody, John Barnes, Stanley Tambiah, and the earlier Reo Fortune. One or two of the ‘Manchester school’, principally Max Gluckman but also Clyde Mitchell and others, were on the reading lists. One or two from other London schools were also there – Daryll Forde, Mary Douglas, Adrian Mayer, and John Middleton. There were, as I recall, no

anthropologists from India, except passing references to Srinivas and Beteille, and none from China, Japan or the Pacific.

There is no implied reproach or particular regret in pointing out these limitations. The same had been true even with the much larger and well-staffed course in Oxford, where I hardly encountered scholars from outside Britain – only a few like Marc Bloch or Johann Huizinga or Burkhardt. Few of the earlier great historians, in particular Maitland and Acton, were mentioned. This shows a basic feature of academic life, namely that the teachers concentrate on what seems alive and most stimulating. I remember later in my career at Cambridge feeling uneasy when I recommended a book, except for a few of the classics, which dated from more than twenty or so years earlier. Likewise, at the L.S.E. if we had been encouraged to read Morgan, Frazer and Tylor, we would have rebelled. We were excited by the new wave of structuralist and Marxist anthropology which was just creeping in.



What had impelled me into studying anthropology, among other things, was a feeling that historical approaches, while strong on the time dimension, paid insufficient attention to the spatial or comparative. How could one understand England or even western Europe if one knew practically nothing about the ninety percent of human who lived outside that area – ‘he little of England knows who only England knows’, a saying repeated by R.H. Tawney of the L.S.E., who had broadened his knowledge by visiting and writing a book about China.

A second reason was that, as Keith Thomas had shown in his article on ‘History and Anthropology’ in 1963, the sort of history I had learnt was almost totally pre-occupied with the upper classes, and with politics and some economics. The ninety percent below were ignored and the ninety percent of life that is cultural, social and intellectual was largely overlooked.

This was partly justified by the claim that, interesting though some of these questions were, there were very few, if any, sources for the study of ordinary people and of the social and cultural questions which an anthropologist living in a society could investigate.

Both these aims, studying ordinary lives and matters other than the political and economic, were satisfactorily achieved by my two years at the L.S.E. Although still thin, I did learn a little about all the major continents, from Australia and China to Africa and South America. And I did learn about the four major types of civilization into which, in a rough way, peoples were divided – hunter-gatherer, tribal, peasant and industrial (‘modern’). I could begin to see myself and my own civilization in comparison to something wider than just France or Spain.

I also spent at least half of my time, not only in exploring the potentials for a new social history in hitherto little used sources – especially diaries, autobiographies and letters – but also in the newly emerging legal and local archives of England. In *Witchcraft* I had shown how one could probe into mentality. Then, through these two years, in my M.Phil dissertation, my book based on Josselin’s diary, and in the project to assemble all the records of the Westmorland parish of Kirby Lonsdale, compared to three Essex villages I had partially reconstituted for my D.Phil., I discovered how the kind of local history being pioneered by W.G. Hoskins and others, and in its demographic aspects by Peter Laslett and Tony Wrigley, could be greatly extended and enriched.

Searching, as I was, for some sort of replacement for my abandoned Christian framework, unsatisfactory both because of its intolerance and philosophical inadequacy, I found what I was searching for in anthropology. The central tenet of anthropology was the attempt to understand the ‘other’, combined with a relativist approach which did not dismiss other cultures as irrational or inferior. It was one of the great achievements of the functionalists,

from Malinowski and before, to show that the West was not superior, except in technology, and that each society had its own logic and morality. It was not up to us to judge ourselves superior; we could not place societies on a scale, with the West at the top. We needed to take even the simplest hunter-gatherers seriously and when it came to the great civilizations of China or India, who were we to assert that they were heathens and backward?

Furthermore, there was something about the way in which most of the societies which anthropologists wrote about had not disconnected parts of their life, had not atomized and rationalized in the direction of Weber's 'iron cage', that deeply attracted me. In terms of understanding the cause of things, I found it far more attractive to see a functional reason, or to link some aspect of behaviour or belief to some other part of an integrated whole, than to have to have recourse to God. Anthropology, as I had guessed in various musings from my Oxford undergraduate days onwards, and reflected in the letter to Gill in the Preface, was an approach which took me back to my memories of my undivided childhood, to my love of Romantic poetry, and to a belief that life was not just a cold and meaningless set of accidents and atoms, colliding in a ruthless pursuit of power and dominance.

In other words, I had found not just a subject or approach, an academic discipline like history or archaeology, chemistry or physics but a vocation, a 'calling', a set of ideas and behaviours which absorbed not just the mind, but also the spirit, imagination and even the body. I was realizing that the methodology of anthropology was a matter of being, not just studying, involving the whole personality.

Although my letters express quite frequently some dissatisfaction with the course, and a great nostalgia for Oxford, I now see that it was both a necessary brake and that my new experience of married life, of living in London and not the cosy surroundings of Collegiate Oxford or Cambridge, and moving out into the whole world rather than just the history of Britain and parts of western Europe, was salutary and invigorating. Fortunately, it was given added richness and a certain anchoring by continuing my interest in history and in the excitement of finding new worlds in social history which I could use as a laboratory in which to apply the new insights I was gaining from my course. The fusion of history and anthropology, consummated by fieldwork, could not, probably, have been better achieved than by this move.

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With all other disciplines, even to a large extent psychology, and certainly history, English, languages or the sciences, one was an outside observer – assembling 'facts' through a process of research which did not absorb anything but the mind. You went to the library, to the excavation site, the laboratory, and collected materials and then tried to make sense of what you had found by a purely mental effort.

The 'participant-observation' method of anthropology, often associated with Malinowski, but in fact practiced before him by many, including Boas, Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown and countless missionaries and explorers, meant that the observations were primarily made through the senses rather than just the brain. Experience and feelings were primary. Later I realized that this is how all of us learn from childhood, and it is how great philosophers like David Hume believe we know the world. Yet, at the time I just began to see that one became an anthropologist. As one of my teachers, Maurice Freedman, remarked to me before I left for field work, I would soon be going through the 'rite of passage', the initiation, a period of liminality and separation which, like becoming a shaman, would make me a new person, capable of a new and deeper understanding of the world.

This emphasis on experience as a supplement to mental study was another major reason for wanting to re-train as an anthropologist. I had, as a historian, often wondered how it was



possible by just reading books and studying archives to really understand what it was like to live in a pre-industrial world. I felt that sitting in a comfortable Oxbridge study or visiting the Bodleian library was unlikely to make one aware of the deeper and perennial things that had affected the lives of most of our ancestors – the illness, hunger, fear of the state, terror of invisible spirits. If I was going to really understand myself in time and space, to understand what had happened to me from my birth in India, through boarding schools and adolescence, and to understand the mystery of modernity, I needed to stretch not just my mind but the whole of my personality and body.

In a sense, much of the teaching and reading on the L.S.E. course was based on the ‘I was there’ assertion behind anthropology. The returned students writing up their Ph.D. theses alongside me, the members of staff drawing on their experiences in lectures and seminars, and the narratives in the characteristic books I read, ‘fieldwork monographs’ about living and studying the X and the Y, were preparing me for the plunge into another culture. It was a cold bath which would wake me from my dogmatic slumber.

The course did not prepare me more directly for that further experience. At first sight it might seem strange that, knowing that most of those on the L.S.E. course were going out to spend one to two years doing ‘fieldwork’ there was not a single class, let alone seminar or course, on fieldwork methods. There was nothing on interviewing, ethics, carrying out a census, survey methods, language learning, photography, health and well-being. Later, when I came to run classes on some of these topics from time to time in Cambridge, or write a small book on the subject to help other students<sup>47</sup> or a detailed account of how I actually did my fieldwork in Nepal, based on contemporary letters, diaries, fieldnotes and other materials,<sup>48</sup> I came to realize the reasons for this absence of preparation. Two of these are central to the special nature of anthropology.

One was its universality. If you are training a chemist, archaeologist or historian, you will probably have a good idea of the shape of the material the student will be encountering. A medieval English historian, an archaeologist of early Greece, or a chemist studying the structure of certain proteins, will use methods which are specific, well-tried, and can be passed on to a certain extent by teachers.

In anthropology, and particularly after the Second World War when anthropology moved from tribes to peasants and even to modern industrial societies, and covered every aspect of human life, it was really impossible to train those going out to do anthropology in generic methods. How you studied demography in the Himalayas, politics in Morocco, marriage in Cyprus or religion in an Amazonian tribe would vary hugely. Furthermore, the ‘total’ personality involvement, the ‘participant’ part, could not be formally taught in classes or in lectures or books. You would have to work it out for yourself.

This having been said, I still think it would have been useful, as we often did at Cambridge, partly under the inspiration of Jack Goody, to have a few classes in basic methodologies. I acquired part of this at the L.S.E. for myself by going to the demography department and learning about how to collect materials for the study of population. Yet something on interviewing, as well as some relaxed meetings where those who had done fieldwork discussed ethical and practical problems, would have been both helpful and helped alleviate the natural anxiety one felt about this large step. I tried to do this at Cambridge and ran a series of ‘virtual fieldwork’ days with the graduate students – using food, drink, music, films and other sensory devices to stimulate the students into feeling as if they were in the field. They worked well.

As it was, we were meant to learn by a form of loose apprenticeship, by hearing the stories told in lectures, seminars or books. By absorbing these, we would gain an indirect guide to

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<sup>47</sup> *How to Study the World* (2018)

<sup>48</sup> *Becoming an Anthropologist* (2020)

what we would do when we ‘got to the field’. This indirect approach was meant to give us a set of comparative questions and a framework of definitions which would help us elicit information. Most of my contemporaries no longer took out the detailed set of questions and definitions continued in the compendium *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*, which had reached its sixth edition by then – though I did do so, and found it useful.

The real ritual of transition was the fieldwork. The description above shows some of the work of finding an appropriate topic and place to study and my apprenticeship to Professor Haimendorf. I went to the School of Oriental Studies from the start of October 1968, but was only there physically for about six weeks, as I then spent a couple of weeks storing my possessions, seeing friends and family, and then departing for Nepal at the start of December. What Gill and I experienced in Nepal is described in the next volume, *Becoming an Anthropologist* (2020) We returned to England in February 1970 and I wrote up my thesis and then turned it into my book *Resources and Population; a study of the Gurungs of Nepal* (1976). I went to King’s College Cambridge in September 1971 as a Senior Research Fellow in History, and have been in Cambridge since. The years after 1971 are covered in a series of volumes of analytical autobiography with the general title of ‘Enchantment and Modernity’, which will be published from 2022 onwards.

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