

A DIARY OF THE WRITING, SEPTEMBER 1994 TO JUNE 1995

Late autumn and Nepal 1994 (19.9.94-7.12.94)

During the end of September we began to focus on Nepal. I also wrote a shortened version of the review of the **Cambridge History of Japan** as a conference paper which I gave to an Anglo-Japanese conference at the Institute of Historical Research at London. The diary records on 1st September. *'I gave the final, hour's lecture which was an honour. Gerry Martin was there and he, anyhow, seemed to find it exciting and accurate - and met a number of nice and good Japanese scholars who knew Hayami and Watanabe and thought highly of them.'* I had tried out my general framework, within which the medical and demographic was set. I think I would have had negative feed-back from some top scholars if it had been very wrong, so an enthusiastic and excited reaction was good news.

The confirmation of the reputation of Watanabe, whom I'd met in Tokyo and whom I had been corresponding with and had written a long and helpful critique of my paper on the **Cambridge History of Japan** was comforting. I already knew of Hayami's reputation as the leading demographer of the post-war years and through Peter Laslett he has heard of me and arranged to visit us. This was again an important checking device, since I had depended considerably on his work - he had sent me copies of all his English articles - and I knew that he would sense if I was making a large set of errors.

He visited us on 25th September and my diary entry runs.

'Sunday 25th September.

*I did some reading and preparation for the visit of the Japanese historical demographer, Akira Hayami. Picked him up at Robinson College, after dropping some books off, about 12.30 and returned him some six hours later - after much talk. He explained many things about his work and Japan and said that my **Culture of Capitalism** felt very familiar in relation to Japan. A nice man and clearly very knowledgeable and thoughtful. I learnt a lot and hope he did too. We sat and talked in the Morse house.'*

My enthusiastic feelings seem to have been shared, for I received a letter from Hayami written on November 8th from Kyoto, where he said *'I was really excited to cross conversations with you and to look your at research preparation in your home. And I am much obliged to your hospitality...It is my greatest moment of 1994.'* He invited me to his new research institute in Kyoto - to which I replied saying we would like to visit in 1996.

The other thing that emerged out of the London meeting was the vast **Cambridge World History of Diseases** edited by Kiple, over one thousand pages of medical history, including useful articles on Japan. This was given to me at the Conference by Gerry - a very expensive book which, like the two volume **Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine** edited by Bynum and Porter, which Gerry also gave me, would have been very expensive, really, for me to buy - and hence I would have continued merely to read them in the U.L. and xerox short bits. Since, between them, they gave for the first time a splendid overview of the history of diseases and medicine, it was excellent to have them and over the next six months I absorbed quite a lot of ideas from them, and in particular, with their help and other medical text books, improved my previously shaky knowledge of medical matters and the causes and classification of diseases.

Someone whose work was particularly exciting and emerged as one of the dominant figures in the

history of medicine was the doctor and anthropologist Steve Kunitz. I had known Steve when he was a visitor working with Gilbert Lewis in our Department in the 1980s, and had commented on a paper of his. It was clear that he was now at the forefront of research. Having read many of his articles and a recent book I later decided to write to him in August 1995 and am now in correspondence, which may be fruitful.

So, with a copy of the chapters as they were, we set off for two months fieldwork in Nepal on Friday October 7th.

*

The time in Nepal was basically devoted to anthropological fieldwork, filming and thinking. But it was also an occasion for Sarah to read through the writing so far. She made many constructive suggestions for cutting out pieces here and there, as well as numerous improvements in presentations. I also read it all through for the first time since it had been typed and found a lot of minor blemishes. But over-all it still seemed exciting and focusing on an important problem. I went through each chapter working out paragraph by paragraph the argument and making charts of this, which helped to show redundancies and missing pieces. A map of the argument of the book showed what re-ordering was needed, in particular a number of sections needed to be moved from one chapter to another. For example 'flies' needed to move from 'Dung' to 'Hygiene' etc. A number of topics which needed further working-up were also noted.

Perhaps the most important developments, apart from the editing and re-ordering, was the general context of living in Nepal. The backdrop of perennial disease and grinding work against which the English and Japanese situations could be compared was re-emphasized and we both found reading the chapters in Nepal particularly meaningful. This experience, and the control of what we were hearing on the radio about the miraculous developments of East Asia, with the increasing poverty and difficulties in Nepal, led to me write a piece which I hoped might act as a wider introduction to the book, and also for the Marrett lecture which I would be giving in April 1995. It was called 'Illth and Wealth' and gave in a short compass a history of the 'normal tendencies' towards growing misery at many levels, out of which only one or two societies had escaped. It was largely written around the time of my 'adopted' Nepali mother's death in Pokhara - an extremely moving and emotional occasion which became twined up with the writing of my piece.

Although I have now abandoned this piece as too 'global' for the book, it was a very useful piece of over-arching?? writing which placed the book in a very much wider temporal and spatial context. It traced the development of human beings in terms of ten major indices (war, famine, disease, plague and pestilence, work, status inequality, economic inequality, power inequality, cognitive and spiritual inequality, gender inequality, relative deprivation and contentment) and showed how most of human history had shown that the majority of the population did worse and worse on most of them. If one had looked at the world at the time of Thomas Hobbes, it looked as if the human race had hit a threshold and was slipping backwards into increasing 'misery'. This made the totally unpredictable and unexpected 'escape' of England, and to a certain extent Japan, from this situation all the more surprising.

Christmas 1994 (8.12.94-15.1.95)

We returned from Nepal on Thursday 8th of December, with a few weeks of my sabbatical leave left. Though feeling rather disorientated, partly because of waking early, I spent a week or so typing out the new introduction and conclusion, including the chapter on 'Illth and Wealth'. On the Saturday I typed in the first part of a new chapter on magic which was later put on one side. I also added in a new section written in Nepal on chains of causation, a new type of analysis. On Saturday 17th December the Diary records:

*'...typing in some of my notes written in Nepal on 'Illth' book. Have now almost got a first draft of it all - some 270,000 words so far. Still excited, though flagging a little as it becomes more and more complex. Perhaps overdoing the typing - have typed in over 25,000 words in the 8 days since we returned from Nepal!' I noted that I had 'Finished reading Maraini, **Encounter with Japan** and now reading **The Book of Tea** by Okakura.'*

The following day, Sunday 18th, *'Sorted out extra slips of bits to add to the book. Less daunting once I'd sorted these, though quite a bit of extra work.'* I also started re-ordering the bits within the chapters and working on the revisions arising from the reading in Nepal.

The following few weeks were a matter of going through the chapters one by one. Penny had cleaned up the various corrections made on the draft in Nepal and I now took the print-outs of each chapter and read it through, re-ordering, adding further sections, adding further information. This was not such a drastic and innovative activity as that in the summer of 1994, but it was nevertheless a very substantial revision and re-write and spread into the Lent term. The drafts of the chapters show what was done. New bits were added by hand and the original cut out. Penny was able to use the original file and edit it very substantially. Alongside this revision I was also reading quite a bit of new material and indexing it, for instance Scheper-Hughes on Brazil and various medical texts. The timetable of revision of chapters is shown in the working log, part of which I reproduce here to show the sort of speed of the activity and also the **slog**. In many ways this is one of the most difficult times. The first whirling excitement of ideas and connections is over. One is working over half-familiar things seeking to improve them, test arguments, find chinks, ward off doubts. There is still a good deal of creativity in play as the drafts show, but it is now bounded by what one has already found. It is a matter of deepening the trench, and finding new things. But the first amazing discoveries are over.

*Tue 20 December. Birthday. Started revision 4: Famine 1, 2; Wed 21st Finished revision of Famine 1, 2. Started revision of War; Thursday 22 Drove from Cambridge to Dent: re-arranged some sections; Fri 23rd Revision of aillth. Revision of Malthusian Trap and other chapters. Review of **Two Islands**; Sat 24th Malthusian Trap revised; Sun 25th Christmas day - rest; Mon 26th Revise Two Escapes (Ch.3). Reading; Tue 27th Revise Tuberculosis/Classification of disease; Wed 28th Revise Respiratory Classification/Mortality pattern; Thu 29th Revise Insect bite diseases; Fri 30th Revise Insect bites/malaria; Sat 31st Revise Insects: re-shape Work (Animals); Sun 1st revise bits and pieces: Reading Sheper-Hughes; Mon 2nd Revision: Reading cSheper-Hughes; Tue 3rd To Cambridge - a little review; Wed 4th Revision Other Illness: To Department; Thu 5th Department sorting: a little on Other Diseases; Fri 6th British Academy - London/Japanese exhibition; Sat 7th Revision Possible causes; Sun 8th Revision of Tea; Mon 9th Revision of Drink; Tue 10th Revision of Food in Japan/Streets; Wed 11th Revision of Streets/Clothing; Thu 12th Revision of Hygiene; Fri 13th Revision of Dung 1 (dung 2).*

This takes the revision process to the end of the winter holidays. I commented on the process from time to time in the diary. On 24th December I wrote:

'Worked on a Chapter on Malthus. Now almost a year to the day when I started to think about Japanese and English demography and have come full circle as the Malthusian trap was what I started with. Have proceeded quite a long way from there and found some interesting material - and have a goodish draft of c.260,000 words on 'Illth and Wealth'. The present destruction of Chechnya by the Russians a good example of the former...' Am reading E. Boserup - has certainly not improved with deeper study.' On Wednesday 28th I noted 'Did another chapter of my book revision - on mortality.' The end of year reflections showed personal happiness alongside some awareness of public misery.

SEE VERSION ON 20TH DECEMBER: 34 PARTS

*

We returned to Cambridge on January 3rd. On 7th January I noted, 'I revised a chapter on 'Causes of Mortality'. I have now revised (5th re-write) 14 chapters since my birthday. Much more than I had expected to do and though still very rough, feel the whole thing getting deeper and better grounded.' On the 8th I wrote, 'Revising my favourite chapter - on *tea*. This **may** be my most startling discovery and one which should have large repercussions. Now one more week of semi-vacation to finish off as much of re-draft as possible.'

On Saturday 14th January, with term starting on the Monday, I summed up in the Diary the long period since the summer of 1994, 'The end of what feels like the last week of a very long and pleasant sabbatical - since last July really. Have revised quite a bit more this week. Have incorporated/revised some 24/32 of the chapters of my book since my birthday - about a chapter a day, which is **much** more than I expected. So the book is now about 300,000 words in the **6th draft**. The next day I was 'reading the Japanese novel by Ikku Jippensha translated as *Shank's Mare* - quite revealing.'

Lent term 1995 (16.1.95-14.3.95)

The following term was, as usual, busy - especially as often being away on sabbatical one tends to have to do one's lectures in a somewhat concentrated form. I noted in the working log that in the period between Jan 17th - Sat. 24th February, I was 'Teaching/further reading in library etc.' The first part of the term was especially busy with a HEFCE visitation, which went well thanks to immense hard work of many, especially Marilyn. I started to read Rochefoucauld's **Visit to England** on 21st January, an extremely revealing book. On Saturday 22nd January I was re-arranging my books - starting new sections on the history of sociology, medicine and technology/science, and 'Am also transferring more books to my room in King's/Department as running out of space.'

The following week was the HEFCE visitation, punctuated in the middle by the sad death of G.I. Jones, an old friend, for whom I had to write an obituary and later give a memorial address. Despite the HEFCE visitation and lectures, on Saturday 28th January I noted, 'I did actually manage to do some reading on history of disease etc. as well as a couple of visits to the History Faculty Library.' This last comment illustrates another feature. I had started with my own thoughts and database. Then I moved outwards to the excellent Cambridge Group collection in the summer of 1994. I now felt it was time to move more widely to other libraries in Cambridge, and the Wellcome Library in London. Thus I was to scour the Haddon and King's College Library. I visited the last specifically to find Creighton's **History of Epidemics**, of which more later. I also visited the Wellcome Library and hunted down several dozen references in the University Library.

The really odd feature of these library searches was the lack of overlap between the collections. Each library had a practically unique set of books on health, disease and demography with very little overlap with the others. This brought home forcefully how narrow and blinkered the view of the subject would be if one confined oneself to one discipline and, for instance, just used the History Faculty and University Library or just used the Wellcome Library or whatever. And even using all of the Libraries (the U.L. collection is so vast that, of course, one could only dip) one would still miss a very great deal - parts of which only were to be found, it seemed, on my shelves in the barn. The concentration of information which one can build up with a good private library, which has absorbed, thanks to Bracton Books, the libraries of a number of other academics and visits to book-shops over a period of more than twenty years, cannot be over-estimated. And having many of the key texts on one's shelves not

only saves enormous time, but allows one to go back over them. Thanks to Gerry's xerox machine and my work with xerox machine in Hokkaido Library, I had built up a really good collection of the more ephemeral articles, as well.

On Saturday 4th February we went to G.I.'s memorial service and I noted in the Diary, '*sorted out debris from a very busy week. Seems to have been non-stop, with little chance to get on with my work - but always enjoyable as the students very sweet.*' *Spring was showing signs of arriving and I Even sat reading in the Morse house for a while...*' The following day we went to London, and I also continued reading Emerson's **English Traits**. An excellent book - on a par with Taine's **Notes Upon England**.

SEE VERSION ON 7TH FEBRUARY: 22 PARTS

*

The following Saturday 11th February we went to Dent to celebrate Sarah's mother's birthday. I noted that during the previous week we had been very busy, but I had managed 'to get a little of my own work done.' I was asked whether I'd be prepared to be considered as Vice-Provost of King's, but noted that I declined this honour, for 'Just as I re-discover the joys of reading and research, it would be a pity to be way-laid.' Obviously I had by now borrowed from the King's Library Creighton's monumental two-volume **History of Epidemics** published in 1894. I decided to read this now. Probably if I had read it too early, I would have been swamped by his massive erudition and enormous compilation of facts. This was just the time to read it and other huge histories of medicine because I already had a fairly firm framework in my mind. Anyway, in the Diary on 12th February I wrote, after arriving back in Lode, '*Finished reading Creighton's **History of Epidemics** - a superb work filled with amazing facts and extraordinary theories.*' *What particularly struck one, as it had with the editions of Chambers's **Encyclopedias** which I had chanced on in Monica's books in Dent (published about the same date), was the amazing lack of knowledge of the cause of almost **all** diseases by the 1890s.*' This is something I elaborate on in the book, and reinforces the McKeown and other arguments which undermine the importance of medical reforms.

The following weekend, February 17th, showed little further progress due to heavy lecturing and preparing for further lectures - '*Another busy week, but pleasant and my teaching and lectures all going well.*' I was reading 'a moving Japanese novel called **Soil** by Takashi', which brought home, as the accounts in Hane's books had, how poverty-stricken and hard-working the Japanese peasantry were at the end of the nineteenth century.

The following Saturday, 25th February, I started work on the revision of the last few chapters again. On 25th and 26th, the week-end, I managed to revise the chapters on birth control, biology of fertility and marriage. The diary entry for Saturday 25th February also indicates that despite everything, I had managed to get a good deal of background reading done during the term.

Saturday 25th February.

*'A busy but pleasant week; particularly good to have had some time in libraries and more or less finished secondary reading for the Illth book. Have got to stage where I know most of what I read. Just need time to clear it all up and get it read. Today did some reading, backing up of computer discs etc. As usual started day feeling very tired, but relaxed, read in Morse house and gardened and felt refreshed by end of day. Still reading **Soil**. Feeling reasonably relaxed given how busy I have been. Feel more efficient at pacing myself.'*

The following day, I wrote,

'A lovely day, cool but mostly sunny which warmed the Morse house, so spent most of the day

there. For the first time this term felt the energy to revise some of my book - adding pieces to chapters on fertility. Also managed to do some useful reading.'

Term was obviously winding down. On Saturday 4th March I wrote in the Diary, *'Snow still on the ground, but a lovely day which I mainly spent working in the Morse house - lovely. Sarah doing books in the barn. Another busy week, but managed to finish most of the background reading I had set out to do for the book and now can concentrate on revision. Spent morning revising the chapter on 'Strategies of heirship'. Lectures and teaching going well and am actually enjoying the term - a sense of light-heartedness as I don't have the Department to worry about.'*

The following day I noted:

'Wrote my paper on 'Property in England and Japan' for Kent on Tuesday. Went quite well - partly because I was in the peace of the Morse house - a lovely place to write. Also finished re-writing a chapter on strategies of heirship.'

The following week -end was the end of term, with a trip to Bangalore for a conference on the Tuesday. My reflections on Saturday 11th March noted the end of term feeling and where I was in work.

Saturday 11th March

'A warm day - cleaning up debris from the week mainly...I wrote a little more on food in England. Most of the chapters now have supplementary material added - just childbirth and dirt to do. Then another draft finished. Been a lively and good term and less stressful than most and much of it very enjoyable.'

Lent vacation 1995 (15.3.95-15.4.95)

This is another watershed, with a two-week's break travelling round South India, including visiting my great-grandfather's birth-place at Conoor and some fascinating sights and discussions, with older anthropologists such as Srinivas and Beteille, and young scholars like Guha and Karanth. Again extremely stimulating as a back-drop, though to us it lacked the emotional depth (and beauty) of Nepal. An account of that time is contained in other diaries. Intellectually the most exciting things were the **witnessing** of the escape from illth into wealth for the top 20% of the Indian population, and some fruitful comments on my 'comparative methods' papers, which were incorporated into the draft revised for publication in August 1995.(ref.) We left for India on 14th March and returned on 29th March.

I then sat down and worked out a time plan of what I hoped to do in the rest of the year, which I did not exactly stick by, but is interesting as a reflection of what I **thought** I would do. It is as follows:-

BOOK: ILLTH AND WEALTH 1995

Time Plan.

April - Synopsis and writing to likely readers/illustrations.

May }

June} 2nd half May and June - further reading (see below).

July} Shortening/adding further material/cutting down

Aug } quotations/bridging sections - 12 weeks @ 3 chapters a

Sept} week.

Oct - Dec - Sarah check of footnotes/bibliography/diagrams

Further reading: *mid May and June.*

SPS - 1 day

Haddon - 2 days

Campop - 1 day

U.L. - Rare books x 2 days; other (Arnold etc. 2 days)

Other - 4 days (including Hebrides).

Total 10 days.

The first diary entry I wrote on our return on Saturday 1st April records: - 'a lovely warm day...*Re-drafted another chapter - infant feeding in England. Have done three in last three days and now **nearly** done the last major re-write of whole book. Some 36 or so chapters, I think with 300,000 words or so. So it will need some pruning. But has been great fun to write.*' The shape of the book at this time is shown in the following plan, done that day.

ILLTH AND WEALTH

Preface

ILLTH AND WEALTH

1 Illth

2 The Malthusian Trap

3 Two Escapes

4 Two Islands

WAR AND FAMINE

5 War

6 The Nature of Famine

7 The Causes of Famine

DISEASE

8 Mortality

9 Air

10 Insects

11 Water

12 Sickness

13 Causes

ENVIRONMENT

14 Affluence

15 Work

16 Environs

17 Housing

18 Clothing

19 Humans, animals and insects

NOURISHMENT

20 Food in England

21 Food in Japan

22 Water and drink

23 Tea

24 Infants in Japan

25 Infants in England

CLEANLINESS

26 *Hygiene*

27 *Excrement in Japan*

28 *Excrement in England*

INTERCONNECTIONS

29 *Dirt and Development*

30 *Magic and Control*

BIRTH

31 *Fertility*

32 *Marriage*

33 *Birth Control*

34 *Heirship*

CONCLUSION

35 *Wealth*

It was now moving towards its final shape, though a number of the chapters would shift, disappear, or otherwise change.

The following day I noted *'The usual amazing contrast. At the personal level, wonderful calm and an exquisite spring day when we could feel the buds and blossoms unfolding... Worked on the book and am about to start on a draft of the last chapter to be written - on magic, K. Thomas etc. So, at personal level, could not be happier. But papers and news full of further grim news...'* On the Monday and Tuesday I wrote the first 'serious' draft of my chapter on magic, including some fundamental re-thinking of Keith Thomas' and my ideas of the early 1970s. Strange how different it all looked after the intervening 20 years. I felt I could not get much further towards a solution, as the question posed by Keith and myself had been wrong, and hence a solution was not possible! Ask the question differently, and an answer was possible - all tied up with the new picture of relative escape from misery in England, which threw the whole of the first chapter of Thomas' book into doubt. (This was a chapter which later was shelved, and then published elsewhere - REF).

On the next couple of days I started to look at the re-typed version, which Penny had produced from my revisions since Christmas. This was a mini version of what I had done in Nepal. While I read it through, I also provided a very long synopsis, written by hand, which summarized the argument as at that point. It may be worth including parts of that (for it is all in the computer) at this point to show where I had reached by the end of the Lent vacation. On Friday 7th April I recorded in the Diary

*'Spent the day starting to read through 'Illth'. Reads better than I had dared to hope. Still a good deal to clear up, but coming on. Sarah working on Thak cards and books. Penny brought back the last chapter - **Magic**, typed. So now **have typescript of whole book**. Finished the final, 6th draft. An important week!'*

The following day I wrote,

Saturday 8th April.

'Spent part of day reading further chapters... Read 5 more chapters of my book. Am really enjoying it - always strange to read what one wrote - half familiar and half unexpected -

probably partly because of the way I've put together with Penny's help.'

The following day, Sunday 9th April turned a very happy and productive time into one of great sadness. I include the account of hearing of the death of my 'adopted' Gurung sister Dilmaya at the age of 43, without any premonitions or warning, because it shows some of the deeper influences on one's work. Much of the very important backdrop of our work, as I have constantly pointed out, was the emotional and intellectual experience of Nepal. The depth of the involvement there, however, has its dangers, as the following entry shows. I decided to dedicate my book to her memory and we shall be going early to Thak in November 1995 to attend her three day memorial service.

Sunday 9th April.

*'The second half of day suddenly turned very grey when Judy Pettigrew rang from Nepal to say that **Dilmaya** died two days ago. We were both **devastated**. Realized she **was** Nepal - the heart of warmth, grace and kindness. Not just a sister, friend, adviser, tower of strength, loving mother, dancing partner, cook, companion, but so much more. Words cannot convey how close we had come, both of us, to her. Our grief, though, nothing to that of Suje, Prenkumari's and others suffering. Numb. Unable to weep - though Sarah did so. Many memories, films, experiences of sadness and gladness flashed past our eyes - and all gone. With all the people in the world to choose from - why **Dilmaya**!?' Suddenly the world drained of part of its meaning. And our little family in Nepal suddenly much more vulnerable with no epicentre. Everything here suddenly an effort and pointless. Found it hard to concentrate and even my book, which I've been reading through, no consolation. Oh, Dilmaya, we miss you - dreadfully.'*

The Diary, and memories, show that for weeks afterwards we were both deeply upset and found it very difficult to concentrate or think much of Thak. I did decide, however, to continue with the planned Gurung 'virtual reality' day for the M.Phil students at the end of the month, as I felt it would be in honour of Dilmaya and might help to act as a sort of catharsis - which I think it did. Fortunately I had the fairly mechanical reading through and writing of the long synopsis of my book to take my mind off the dull ache, an activity which did not require than creative energy which I don't think I could have achieved at that time.

On Saturday 15th April we went up to Dent. I noted in the diary, that this was at the '*End of a week in which on Thursday I handed the **6th draft of my book** over to Penny, 38 chapters, 304,000 words and, I hope, of some interest. Now recovering from the effort and turning my mind to smaller writing tasks that need to be done before them.*' These tasks included a preface for a student's book,(REF) trimming the Marrett lecture, a review of the **Cultural History of England** by Pounds etc. We drove down to Lode again on Tuesday 18th. On Saturday 22nd April I wrote in the Diary, '*Rather tired and still very depressed about Dilmaya. Overshadows everything and makes many things seen pointless.*' I shuffled through my lectures and read Wolf's **Europe and the People Without History**, for which I could not summon up much enthusiasm. The following day was disjointed and term started again on 24th April. The book as it stood on 15th April consisted of 38 chapters, as follows:-

ILLTH AND WEALTH.

Preface.

ILLTH AND WEALTH

- 1 Illth
- 2 The Malthusian Trap
- 3 *Two Escapes*

TWO ISLANDS

Copyright: Alan Macfarlane 2002

- 4 *Ecology and Economy*
- 5 *Society and Thought* 6 *Technology*

WAR AND FAMINE

- 7 *War*
- 8 *The Nature of Famine*
- 9 *The Causes of Famine*

DISEASE

- 10 *Mortality*
- 11 *Air*
- 12 *Insects*
- 13 *Water*
- 14 *Sickness*
- 15 *Causes*

ENVIRONMENT

- 16 *Environs*
- 17 *Housing in England*
- 18 *Japanese Homes and their Surroundings*
- 19 *Clothing*
- 20 *Humans, animals and insects*

NOURISHMENT

- 21 *Food in England*
- 22 *Food in Japan*
- 23 *Water and drink*
- 24 *Tea*
- 25 *Infants in Japan*
- 26 *Infants in England*

CLEANLINESS

- 27 *Bodily hygiene in England*
- 28 *Bodily hygiene in Japan*
- 29 *Excrement in Japan*
- 30 *Excrement in England*

BIRTH

- 31 *Fertility*
- 32 *Marriage and Sex*
- 33 *Abortion*
- 34 *Infanticide*
- 35 *Heirship*

INTERCONNECTIONS

- 36 *Dirt and Development*
- 37 *Magic and Control*
- 38 *Consequences and Causes*

There were thus various shifts in order over the previous version, and the general account of Japan had increased to two chapters, bodily hygiene had split into two chapters, abortion and infanticide had been split.

SEE VERSION OF 20TH MAY: 43 PARTS [also version of 1.6 divided into 3 books]

Summer term 1995 (16.4.95-22.6.95)

I seem at this point to have given up keeping a working log, presumably because I was not writing during term. I had intended to do some further reading in various libraries, as indicated in the plan, and this is what I did.

The following week-end (28.4.) we went to Oxford and I gave the Marrett lecture and then on to Hay with Gerry and Hilda. We stayed with John Davey my publisher at Blackwells. Up to this point I had only hinted darkly that I was not writing any of the six or so books he had shown an earlier interest in, but something else. I handed over to him the **very** long synopsis, of a very long book and explained that at present it was about 300,000 words, rather than the 120,000 as by my last contract with him. We went for a walk and he tried to be flexible, but I could see the length would be a problem. In any case, I was aware that it was inflated - all books improve by being cut by about 1/3rd, though that would still make it monstrously long at 200,000 words and John obviously thought in terms of 160,000.

It is worth fitting John into the jigsaw of this **Autobiography**. Since he encouraged me and published **Origins of English Individualism**, and later **Justice, Marriage and Culture**, he has become a friend as well as publisher. Although one loses some flexibility through such a tie, it is more than made up for by having a sympathetic critic and avoiding a lot of the **anxiety** of placing books. It adds to the **pleasure** of the whole process and decreases the loneliness, somehow. He has been, Gerry and Sarah, a great support.

The week-end at Hay was most stimulating, mainly for the rest and seeing Hilda and Gerry, but also found a few more books. We returned to Cambridge on 1st May. On Wednesday 3rd Astrid suggested very sweetly that we should go to Dilmaya's **pae** [memorial ritual]. A marvellous suggestion - and she would come with us. The following week-end was the Gurung film day, centring on Dilmaya, and hence very traumatic. Pat and Lionel Caplan, a strong link to Nepal, came on the Sunday.

The following Friday was my last ESRC meeting. I had been on numerous committees for the last twenty years and noticed with relief 'A good thing to finish my stint on the ESRC...', though being on national research committees is useful in certain ways as it gives one privileged insights into other people's work. I was feeling increasingly marginal to an organization which seemed to have become largely concerned with management studies and short-term profit maximization. But too lazy and busy to fight the pressures myself.

The week was not lost to research, despite this and heavy teaching, as I noted that *I 'managed to get to libraries for one day and some useful reading for my book.'* This was also despite the fact that I had taken over as Secretary of the Department which, particularly with organization of the following year's lecture list, is quite a time-consuming business in May. The following week (20.5) I noted the end of a successful set of lectures on 'Visual Anthropology', but *'Can't think what I was doing all week, though did get a **little** of my own reading done.'* I spent the week-end mainly drafting out talks for Norwich and the Jowett Society in Oxford - the following week would be one of the busiest of the year - the events of which, including the appointment of a new lecturer in the Department (James Laidlaw) are recorded on 27th May. That day I gave a 20-minute memorial address for G.I. Jones in Jesus College chapel. The following day I got back to some reading and indexing of books.

The following week-end, 3rd June, I noted, *'A slightly quieter week. Managed to finish noting secondary books for **Illth** at home, so only some to do at U. Library etc. In discussion with Sarah thought of title of **Against Infection and the Hand of War?** This Shakespeare quote was a*

temporary title, later abandoned. I referred to my **Thoughts** book in which on 2nd June I noted 'Almost **nine** months since I wrote in this book - awful. A great deal seems to have happened - see other diary.' I then sketched out a multi-media project, which I played with.

On Sunday 4th June I noted in the Diary that I was 'taking up **Sherlock Holmes** stories again - for clues and detective methods,' but the following week (10/6) the exam started, and was particularly intensive as there was very little time between sitting exams and the final meeting. I had a large number of scripts and I was also doing Part 1. We had gone up to Dent and I was still reading Sherlock Holmes. On Sunday 11th June we came down to Dent and I wrote that I was 'ready for last week of marking'. That week two older friends, who had influenced my life quite deeply, died, namely Mary Wraith, who had typed **Individualism** and Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, without whom I would never have gone to Nepal. I wrote his obituary - a very great ethnographer and film maker. The following week was filled with exam marking and end of term parties and on Sunday 18th June I noted that 'exam marking is finished....Can begin to think about getting down to some work of my own.'

Summer vacation 1995 (1) (23.6.95-31.7.95)

After the final examiner's meeting we flew up to the Hebrides on Friday 23rd June. It was a very beautiful and restful week and we went for long walks along the sea and discussed ideas in my book, which Sarah was again beginning to read. I began to think again about how the book might be shortened and re-structured and Sarah had various helpful ideas on the subject. Sitting in the peaty atmosphere, relaxing and meditating, I scribbled down a number of revised plans in quick succession. On 24th, the day after we arrived, the structure was much as it had been before, but a number of chapters had been amalgamated. The plan the next day made an important step forward. Instead of treating all of the diseases at the start and then giving a list of possible causes, I realized that I should deal with the major diseases and their causes in blocks. The difference can be seen if we compare the plans of 24th and 26th June.

June 24th

6. Famine
7. Disease (1) including water-borne
- 8. Disease (2) - Vector-borne**
9. Disease (3) - Air-borne
10. Causes

Book II

11. Environs
12. Housing
- 13. Clothing and Animals**
14. Food
15. Drink and tea
16. Infants Feeding
17. Bodily hygiene
18. Excrement

June 26th

4. Famine
5. Food

The Control of water and food borne disease

6. Water and Food borne disease
7. Drink
8. Excrement
9. Infant feeding

The Control of Insect-borne diseases.

10. Insect-borne diseases
11. Environment
12. Housing
13. Clothing
14. Hygiene

Air-Borne diseases

15. Viral diseases

This re-shaping brought the description of the diseases and their possible causes into a much closer association. It had long been obvious that the proximate causes for each set of diseases depended on

the nature of the host, vector and mode of transmission. I had for many months been aware that it was essential to isolate sets of diseases and sets of causes, and had even drawn up a 'table of diseases and factors which effect up to 1850', which placed the diseases down one side, and the factors which might affect them, diet, drink, agriculture, population density and other things, down the other. This made it clear that sets of diseases and sets of causes were roughly correlated.

The re-shaping in mind, plus a glorious couple of days of walking and rest on the Saturday and Sunday (24-25th) had filled me with energy. Away from all the books and facts, I decided to crystalize the argument in a simple resume. On Monday 26th June, Sarah noted in the Diary, '*Another glorious day - Alan worked much of the morning on his book.*' I think this must be when I wrote the following resume of the argument. It is worth including since it knits many things together in a new way, for instance being the first full statement of a possible solution to the most mysterious of problems, the decline of viral diseases in England and Japan. The argument and solution as it now appeared to me was as follows.

Possible plan /argument.

AGAINST INFECTION AND THE HAND OF WAR.

THE PUZZLE.

1.(TRAP) *The Malthusian **trap** was one into which every country fell. This trap is outlined - the tendency towards 'misery' and how this affected people.*

2.(ESCAPES) *The two **escapes** from this normal tendency are NW Europe (England) and Japan. This is documented, both in relation to the **pattern** of population over time (sensitivity to economy) and also the general **mortality** and **fertility** rates, which were characteristic of a low-level regime. This is the **puzzle** - how did it happen? The usual assumption is **technology**. But one can show that in both cases it happened **before** modern technology - medical science - doctoring **not** the explanation before C20. Nor was there contraceptive technology. How explain the puzzle/mystery?*

THE CONTROL OF WAR AND FAMINE

3.(WAR) *Two of the major 'positive checks' on population which cause high mortality are war and famine/death. How/when did these **two islands** control these? A general description of the geography/ecology/climate etc. of the two islands is needed as a background. Of particular importance is their geographical position and its effects on **war**. The absence of war, effectively, over hundreds of years, is an essential background feature - both in itself and as a background to disease and famine.*

4.(FAMINE) *The second major check, particularly as populations grows, is famine - again important in itself, but also as a background factor in disease. A survey of **famine** in the two countries shows that it was early eliminated in England and quite early in Japan. How did this occur? A consideration of the various theories. Even if people did not **starve** how well were they fed? The synergy of nutrition and disease make this an important background.*

5.(FOOD) *Food supplies in England and Japan show a very contrasted situation - basically being a corn and meat culture, with ample food, and a rice and vegetable culture, with **just** enough. But both, in their way, supplied their population with reasonable amounts. The evidence suggests, however, that there was little correlation between disease and food patterns - food **improved** in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as health deteriorated, but in the one*

*period in England when food deteriorated in England was the period of dramatic health improvement. Thus food is a necessary **platform** for 'odd demography. (Chapter on Nutrition, work and disease - height/weight?)*

THE CONTROL OF WATER-BORNE DISEASE

6.(WATER DISEASE) *The set of diseases most directly affected by growing population pressure are the bacterial diseases of the stomach, transmitted through contaminated food and particularly water. Dysentery, and typhoid are the diseases, par excellence, of crowding. Dysentery is particularly interesting because (a) it is such a huge killer in many pre-industrial and industrializing societies (b) Malthus and others saw the control/decline of dysentery as (with plague control) **the** major transformation in the C18. What then do we know of the presence of these in England and Japan? What is **odd** is the **control** of dysentery in England and the almost total **absence** of dysentery and typhoid in Japan. How do we explain this? Since they are transmitted through **water**, the first place to look is in **water supplies**. These were definitely improving rapidly in England and Japan from the C16 and especially in cities. But the effects of this will depend on...*

7.(DRINK) *The precise nature of what **drank** in the past. It is usually assumed that people drank **water** normally (or the equally dangerous **milk**), but was this so? An examination of English evidence shows that water (and raw milk) were **avoided** and people drank beer from C15 to C18. Made with antiseptic **hops** this probably had immensely important health effects. In Japan the nearest counterpart to beer was **saki**. But this was too expensive/alcoholic to be the equivalent. In fact it was **tea** that was the Japanese drink. This is the key to Japanese health and indeed when we turn to the English case we also see its importance there. An analysis of constituents of tea shows why. The most important cause of lowering of levels of dysentery in the C18 and hence mortality revolution was probably **tea**.*

8.(EXCREMENT) *The other key link in the chain in relation to enteric disease is the disposal of excrement. It is assumed that nothing significant was achieved in this respect until the later C19. How far is this true? An example of disposal of excrement in Japan shows how **every** bit was used and carefully stored. The immense care led to demand for night soil was one solution with enormous effects. The other solution was the English one - the start of a W.C. type system - flinging away the 'useless' stuff to prevent it contaminating humans. The **result** of all this - the drink and toilet system were as we saw - the elimination of dysentery in Japan and its early control in England. The threat of typhoid and cholera was a new C19 challenge which again was rapidly overcome. There were thus **two** public health conquests - the conquest of dysentery before industrialization, and the conquest of typhoid and cholera after industrialization. The drink and toilet patterns provide the key to all this.*

9.(INFANT FEEDING) *Probably the most important single determinant of mortality in most societies is **infant mortality** and the single most important determinants of this are enteric/stomach upset of the dysentery kind. The remarkable drop in the C18 was in infant mortality from **dysentery** - what could have caused this? The suggestions are 1) changes in infant clothing (cotton/boiling to keep nappies clean), cleaner houses, changes in breast feeding. Another alternative is healthier **mothers** - nipples, contaminated hands etc. - result of all above plus **tea**. Thus infants infected less. Another theory is in breast feeding. There are three parts here - the question of first feeding and the treatment of **colostrum**, which may have changed. Secondly breast-feeding by mothers as opposed to wet nursing or artificial feeding and **length** of. Finally the process of weaning diarrhoea etc. In such aspects both Japan and England favoured and in many aspects the English solution was **improving**. This is of central importance.*

10.(INSECT-BORNE DISEASE) *The other major types of disease which are deeply affected by human behaviour are those bacterial diseases carried by insect vectors. A description of their broad dimensions and the main theories to account for their fluctuations suggest the following:-*

England	Japan
Plague: disappears in 1666	never
Typhus: C18 and half of C19	never
Malaria: C17 and early C18 - (Schistosomiasis: never then fades away	disappears by C12 regional)

(probably leave out schistosomiasis? - to simplify.

Thus Japan hardly affected by vector-borne disease (except schistosomiasis - omitted). In England, plague the one significant disease. Typhus **sporadic**, but only in particular years and not **too** bad and malaria the less severe **vivax** form and only for about a century. Thus both countries **relatively** well off in this respect. Why? The major reasons/areas to investigate are...

11.(ENVIRONMENT AND ANIMALS) The **outstanding** factor is the relation between men and animals. In the case of both rats (bubonic plague) and mosquitoes (malaria) the crucial factor is the proximity and nature of livestock. Here lies part of secret of Japanese success - the **elimination of animals**. Document. In the English case a milder form - the **separation** of animals from humans through habitations etc. - distancing. This is the **basic** feature. Beyond that are the further refinements - starting with the public environment (streets, parks and public places). In both cases, much more attention paid to public cleanliness than in **most** societies - document. This kept insects down. Of **particular** importance is the public space of **agriculture** - the neat agriculture of both countries helps to explain the absence, or eradication of **malaria**. Thus environmental discipline plus animal relations helps to explain.

12.(HOUSING) Many of the diseases which affect people are influenced by housing. This was a central theme of early writers who argued that **ventilation** and **lighting** and household hygiene were particularly important. It would affect the insect population, the contact with animals, rodents, as well as the killing of harmful bacteria by light and the decreasing of viral infections through good ventilation. If we examine the English and Japanese cases we notice the evolution of two entirely opposite housing systems - but each in its own way conducive to good health, what one might call the solid and the airy/light. The Japanese in particular.

13.(CLOTHING) What people **wear** or do not wear on the surface of their bodies also has a considerable effect - whether heads, body covering or shoes. The disease which it might particularly effect is **typhus** and here the development of **cotton** might have been extremely important in both England and Japan. But earlier improvements in English clothing and the very light and adaptable clothing of the Japanese may have been important. Again the effect was similar, but the means totally opposite, in one case strong, good quality, substantial, including shoes (English), in the other light, well designed and minimal (Japanese). Both maximally conducive to health.

14.(HYGIENE) The degree to which humans wash themselves has received much attention from historians as a determinant of health. This may have been overdone, but is worth covering. The use of soap, the frequency and nature of bathing, the washing of hands before eating etc. are all important. In England there may have been improvements in the C18 with better supplies of water and a new and revived interest in bathing/washing. In Japan there had for long been an

obsession with bathing and hot baths. The fact that such bathing may be an unmitigated good is shown in the fact that the one area where the Japanese were far **worse** in their disease profile was in diseases of the surface of the skin - eye and skin infections, those very diseases which washing might have been thought to cure were exacerbated by bathing - both the touching of people, the attempts to massage eyes etc. and scrubbing off surface oils on body.

15.(AIR-BORNE DISEASE) The three major air-borne diseases causing high mortality up to the C19 were smallpox, measles, tuberculosis. Smallpox became a less lethal disease in early Japan and C18 England, measles went up and down in England, but declined in Japan. TB seems to have **risen** with industrialization. At first sight it would appear that none of the things humans can do will effect these - but this is not true. TB is heavily influenced by food and general standards of living and hence the slumps and probably reasons for improvement. Also low levels of other diseases would help. It is **sympiosis** of living standards and TB. In relation to the other two, health/feeding etc. were also important in case **fatality**, but probably the most important thing was population densities/communications which seems to have altered the virus and its incidence - changing the disease to a **childhood** one and in the case of measles, to something much less serious. Thus these two countries, because their **other** conditions were 'good enough', managed to move through a critical ceiling with air-borne disease and got **over the hump**, so that things began to improve.

16.(FERTILITY AND MARRIAGE) The lowering of mortality would have been disastrous if fertility had not been controlled, hence an equal need to deal with the other half of the Malthusian trap - fertility control. This can be dealt with somewhat more succinctly since most of the facts are well known and there is no real puzzle - except why it happened at all. Part of the reason may be the very controlling of mortality etc. which made it obvious to people that fertility should be controlled. The first thing is to discover **how much** it needed to be controlled, i.e. what natal controls on fertility there were, especially through postpartum infertility/breast feeding etc. This was clearly important but not enough, so the English solution was to add the marriage strategy - delayed and selective marriage which Hajnal described. This was not used much in Japan where there was consequently a much greater problem.

17.(ABORTION AND INFANTICIDE) Without effective contraception and very low mortality, the Japanese were in a very difficult situation. This was partly dealt with through the devices of abortion and infanticide, both of which were conscious family planning strategies in Japan in a way which they were not in England. Thus the pressure was on women's bodies.

18.(STRATEGIES OR HEIRSHIP) The main puzzle is the desire to limit fertility at all. Normal fertility is pushed to maximum. The key to this seems to lie in two areas - firstly the lowered mortality itself, which made it unnecessary to maximize fertility either to deal with perennial high mortality or crises (war, famine etc.) Secondly, the strategies of heirship - that is the delicate nexus between social and physical reproduction - a continuation of my arguments in modes of reproduction.

19.(CONCLUSIONS) **The general shape** and pattern of mortality and fertility is thus established and puzzle of how achieved is solved. There were several demographic revolutions, not just one, and the earlier ones were as important as the later (see start of chapter). The causal chains were **complex** and **indirect** and unforeseen. Hence **why** eluded detection.

What were the **consequences** of the low-pressure regions and the peculiarly sensitive relations between economy and demography. Here I could point to Vol.II by just sketching in some economic implications - namely that it was **one** crucial background factor in allowing industrialization and hence under escape from 'illth. It was also a circular process since in

Copyright: Alan Macfarlane 2002

*creating industrialization/scientific advance it later became possible to make a second break-through of a more **explicit** kind using medical knowledge in the C20.*

This was the state of the argument when we returned from the Hebrides to Cambridge to start the last phase of the writing and thinking.