

A DIARY OF THE WRITING, JULY 1995 TO MARCH 1996

July

We returned to Cambridge on 29th June and I was itching to shorten the book as quickly as possible - particularly pruning out stuff. At first I had the idea that as well as putting all the economic and general stuff at the start in a later volume, I would put all of the technical materials into an appendix. My hoped for revisions along these lines are described in entries for 1st and 2nd July as follows.

Saturday 1st July.

'During the week at Uist, with inspiration from Sarah, thought of various ways of paring my book down from about 300,000 to 200,000 words and clearing out much of the nitty-gritty into appendices. So now have a book of 22 instead of 38 chapters, and most of them shorter and about 24 appendices on various subjects. Feeling in the mood to prune even more. If I could get down to about 300 pp of text and 100 pp of appendices, that would be excellent!

The following day I noted: *'Printed out rest of third draft of book. Have managed to reduce from c300,000 to text of 173,000 and appendices of c.51,000. So a good deal of way still to go, but a good start.'*

The new plan when I returned, with its new title (taken from Kipling's poem **The White Man's Burden** was:

Part 1. The Puzzle

1. *The Malthusian Trap*
2. *Two Escapes*

Part 2. Background: War and Famine

3. *Two islands and the control of war*
4. *Famine*
5. *Food*
6. *Nutrition, work and disease*

Part 3. Control of food and water-borne disease

7. *Enteric disease, food hygiene and water supplies*
8. *Excremental chain*
9. *Drink*
10. *Infant feeding*

Part 4. Control of insect-borne disease

11. *Levels and type of insect-borne disease*
12. *Housing*
13. *Clothing*

14. *Hygiene*

15. *Environment and animals*

Part 5. Control of air-borne disease

16. *Air-borne diseases and their control*

Part 6. Control of fertility

17. *Fertility - including breast-feeding*

18. *Marriage and Sex*

19. *Abortion and infanticide*

20. *Heirship*

Part 7. Conclusion

21. *Conclusions*

As well as the above there were to be some 26 'technical appendices' on such matters as beri beri, water closets, Japanese bathing, history and properties of tea etc.

The difficulties of shortening the book, which I had tried to solve by putting much of it in technical appendices which people could read if they wished seemed attractive at first. At the maximum point there were some 35 or so appendices, on topics from fertility and mortality statistics, through theories of famine, toilets in Japan and England, effects of housing, contraceptive effects of lactation and so on. It began to dawn on me almost soon as I had painfully separated out the main text from all these appendices that this was not satisfactory. People would probably not read the appendices and they needed to be better integrated in the text. I thus spent several days later in July re-integrating into the text all but six of the appendices I had cut out! Even these may need to go back in later, as I found that when Sarah read the chapters, she did not follow them up and felt there was something missing.

Another way of dealing with the problem is discussed in my **Thoughts** book on 5th July. I noted that 'talking to John Davey' made it '*clear that I can use only about half (at the most) of what I have written in a **published** book for Blackwells. I am **loath** to jettison the other 150,000 but he is right that in a **written** form it would be impossibly long. But the **compact disc** format would not only allow all that in, but also allow people to do their own explorations...So Perhaps try to get text down to about 40,000 words (350 pages - like **Marriage**) and use the rest on a CD Rom? At other times, I thought of housing a 'flyer' in the book which suggested that people who wanted the full, pre-cut version could purchase it on floppy disk from Bracton Books. Even when I sent a copy to Cherry, I had this double version in mind. But again, as time passes, it looks as if Sarah is right (as usual) that it would be better to use the material elsewhere rather than produce it in this way.*'

Through most of July, however, I was engaged on another activity, similar, but on a smaller scale, to that which I had done between December and March. At that time I had revised the first full version by adding in the mass of material I had collected in the later summer of 1994. Now I had the fruits of reading during the summer of 1995 on a large set of slips and cards, and that needed to be added in. Although it looked a lot when in a box by my desk, when I came to amend the text, it was quite modest, as can be seen by 'Version 7' where the printed pages have additions and changes attached to them.

This activity is alluded to on Saturday 8th July in the Diary. '*Yesterday the 18th anniversary of the day on which I started **English Individualism**. Let's hope that it will be as auspicious again and*

*that my present book, which I **greatly** enjoying revising, will interest people. A very pleasant day...Mainly worked on incorporating further examples/thoughts into my book. Have now done over half of that so **another** 10 days or so and the full version should be finished. Then to cut down.'* The revision moved even faster than I expected, for instance on the following day I managed to add in the materials to chapters on fertility, marriage, war, famine, food and Malthus. I noted in the Diary, '*Gone through a lot and am **nearly** done with this revision - perhaps will finish tomorrow.'* The same day we had a Japanese academic visitor to our department, Ryogo Matsui, out for dinner. I noted that he '*confirmed many of our views of Japan. Had tea in the Morse house, which he said was the nicest tea house he had ever seen - here or in Japan...*'

The following week was also tidying up. John Davey came on Tuesday 11th and over a tea ceremony we discussed the book. We agreed that it should be called **The Savage Wars of Peace**, that it should aim at about 140 - 160,000 (about 448 pages) and be delivered by the end of March 1996. He amended the previous contract for 'The Contradictions of Capitalism' to this format. It was a very pleasant and productive meeting and gives Sarah and I a useful framework within which to work.

We then went north to Dent when I added in a section on the recent height and weight evidence in the English Industrial revolution which is quite complex and I re-organized some unsatisfactory chapters. I re-read Morse's **Day by Day** for the third time and squeezed a little more juice out of it. At this point, on 15th July I noted in my dairy that '*Mostly working on my book. Have yet **another** structure worked out - some 23 chapters but suspect that it will change again!*' I decided to write a resume of the whole argument, which was now crystallizing, while on a brief trip to Dent, which is as follows, showing the 23 chapters

INSERT RESUME OF 15.7.95 XXX

We returned from Dent on Sunday 16th July. The following week I merely note in my work log that I was 'revising book and re-ordering chapters.' On 22nd July I explained what was happening. '*Reading through my book. During the week it **expanded** again from 22 chapters up to 33, but hope that is the limit. Feels more or less right in structure, though still some loose ends to tie up...Am **still** reading Sherlock Holmes, but very nearly finished.*'

This re-expansion, a curious mental process whereby something which has been artificially and unsatisfactorily tied back springs back, is well shown by a series of flow diagrams which I drew on 15, 18th and 19th July, which show the process at work. Put in tabular form the three dates saw the following developments.

(TO CHECK THIS TABLE XXX: 2 chaps missing for 19th July)

15th July	18th July	19th July
<i>Malthusian Trap</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Two Escapes</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Puzzle</i>	<i>Consequences on method</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of nature</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of war</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of famine 1</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of famine 2</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of food</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Control of food 1 Control of food 2</i>
<i>Control of water-borne</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>

<i>disease</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Contamination</i>
<i>Excrement</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Excrement 1</i>
		<i>Excrement 2</i>
<i>Drink</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Drink</i>
		<i>Tea</i>
<i>Infant food</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Control of vector-borne disease</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Hygiene</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Hygiene 1</i>
		<i>Hygiene 2</i>
<i>Clothing</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Housing</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>Housing 1</i>
		<i>Housing 2</i>
<i>Environs</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Air-borne disease</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
	<i>Dirt</i>	<i>same</i>
		<i>Chains of causation</i>
<i>Fertility</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Marriage</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Abortion</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>
<i>Heirship</i>	<i>same</i>	<i>same</i>

<i>22 chapters</i>	<i>25 chapters</i>	<i>32 chapters</i>
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Thus over the three days, the book had gained another 10 chapters!

The following week, from Monday 24th onwards was a time for further revisions and checking various minor points - dates, quotations, themes which I had marked as doubtful and left out. Also one or two technical pieces on the laws of abortion, crude death rates in England, which I had never sorted out. I finished checking on Friday 28th July and noted in my work log that on Saturday 29th *'Finished checking and printing out of Version 7 for Sarah.'*

The state of things at the end of July is well indicated in my diary and **Thoughts** book. The diary records on Sat. 29th July, *'A very useful day for both of us, finishing off large tasks...I did the final print-outs and corrections to the 7th version of my book. It is now being sent to Cherry/Pat Bidinger and Sarah to cut and change, so I will try not to think about it for a month of so. It is a text of some 250,000 words and 10,000 words of appendices. Have greatly enjoyed writing it and hope others enjoy it to read. Also finished reading Sherlock Holmes.'* The next day I noted in my diary, *'Wrote account of writing my book (see Thoughts Book).'* That account is given below. It is how, without checking the diaries as I have now done, I **remembered** the process. It is of interest to see how the mind is already re-writing the creative process into a new, simplified, form, ironing out and dramatizing. Dated 30.7.1995 in my **Thoughts** book is the following entry.

At the end of the 7th draft of 'Savage Wars of Peace'.

*'Attached is a table of what the 7th draft, completed yesterday looks like. The title 'The Savage Wars of Peace', is from Kipling's 'White Man's Burden' and people (Sarah, John Davey) seem to like it. The current draft of 250,000 words, plus 10,000 appendices (and c.20,000 and which has been shunted off for later publication - e.g. recovered from our diaries, the **numerous** changing plans and the copies of the various drafts which I have kept. It was, like **Individualism** and conforming to S. Butler's advice, a book that **forced** itself on me. I had not **planned** it and as it*

*unfolded it constantly surprised (and occasionally **delighted**) me. In skeleton the history of its growth was as follows.*

*1. **December 20th 1993**, sat down to write an article to compare the curious similarity of Japanese and English demography. By the time we returned to Cambridge from Dent, this had expanded to 3 chapters on demography/fertility/mortality.*

*2. **January 1994**, worked on it further into the early part of the term and by end of month had 8 short chapters.*

*3. **March 1994**, worked on it further in the vacation so that it increased to 14 chapters. Began to see the need to look at environmental factors - see p.356 above c.100,000 words. 4. **May 1994**, worked on reading and some further writing, so that it reached c.18 chapters.*

*5. **September 1994**, did a lot of reading and complete re-write, with the fundamental bits on tea/dung/bathing etc. so that by the time we went to Nepal at end of Sept/early Oct. took with me for myself/Sarah to read, a draft of c.29 chapters. Gerry also read this. Must have been about 180,000 words?*

6. Corrected this draft and added in all the reading I had done from c.August 1994 onwards so that by May 1995 had a draft of some 38 chapters, amounting to some 300,000 words. Took to the Hebrides, where Sarah suggested some cutting etc. and I worked on.

*7. **July 1995**, after radical cutting and putting in (into 30 + appendices), achieved a book of 22 chapters - c.180,000 words and 45,000 words appendices.*

*8. **End July 1995**, added in some further results of reading since May, pruned and re-ordered whole thing, so that it has ended up with the version on attached table of contents - some 33 chapters and 6 appendices - 250,000 words text and 10,000 of appendices. Visited by John Davey a couple of weeks back who amended my contract to the new title and length 140,000 - 160,000 words and delivery date March 1996. So, now have handed over to Sarah to shorten/Pat Bichinger to read for medical side/Cherry to work on the longer version and written to two Japanese (Saito/Namihira) to see if they would read parts.*

*This book is the result of various innovations. Firstly, it relied heavily (as can be seen from drafts) on using a combination of pen, scissors and paste and getting Penny to do the typing - which she did excellently. Without her help, something which took 18 months would have taken at least **twice as long**, given the other calls on my time. Indeed, I doubt whether it would have been possible. Secondly, it is the first book to use my 'Topics' database, which now has c.60,000 quotes in it accessible through CDS[Cambridge Database System]. Thirdly, it was the first written with my full library, xerox machine and the Morse house. If it is no good, I can only blame myself!*

The version completed by the end of July had a set of contents as follows:-

INSERT CROSS-LINK TO VERSION OF 30 JULY 1995

Second half of summer vacation: 1st August to 10th October.

This is another watershed. August was set aside as a month for Sarah to read through the text and for me to let the book sink down and settle while I busied myself with several smaller writing jobs. The last ten days of the month, in any case, we thought would be largely pre-occupied with a family wedding - though this was not to be.

In the first half of the month, up to about 11th I re-wrote a paper on 'The Comparative Method' for Bangalore and a paper on the 'mystery of property' for a collection by Chris Hann. Gerry and Hilda visited us on 14th and 15th and I began to think about my essays on heuristic methods. The combined influence of Gerry's visit, thoughts on creativity, writing a piece on Sherlock Holmes' 'backwards' form

of reasoning, reading Edgar Allen Poe's masterly account of detective methods, and reading various pieces on anthropological/historical methods - including Geertz on **Works and Lives**, Jack Goody on his work and various other pieces, led me to wonder whether I shouldn't get down my thoughts on method in a **concrete** form. This combined with the extra **time** created by the collapse of Inge's wedding, a desire to get back to finishing off **Savage Wars of Peace** which I could not do as Sarah was still doing it, and conversations with Sarah who was trying to work out **exactly** what the book was trying to say, lead me to feel that something autobiographical would be worthwhile.

During August, a very important shortening of the book was taking place, and some re-ordering. We had taken seriously the various remarks of Samuel Butler (Note-Books, pp.100ff) that "it took more time and trouble to get a thing short than long", that "the difficulty lies in the nice appreciation of relative importances and in the giving each detail neither more nor less than its due", that, in general, the briefer the better.

The main burden of this fell on Sarah whose comments in the Diary as she read through it are worth noting. Tuesday 25th July, '*Alan hopes to hand over his book to me on Sunday...*'. Monday 31st July, '*Started reading Alan's book to see whether I can cut out one third of it and still leave it with a sustained argument. Won't be easy as its a complex book, but I hope I shall enjoy doing it and won't offend Alan.*' Reading continued through the week and on Thursday 3rd August, '*Read two more chapters of Alan's book.*' Tuesday 8th August, '*Read the chapter on Japanese food which is good. Took most of the morning...*' Wednesday 9th August, '*Read three chapters of Alan's book - enjoying this part particularly.*' Friday 11th August. Read another one and a half chapters. The one on tea particularly good and convincing.' Saturday 12th August. '*Bogged down in 'infant feeding.'*' Wednesday 16th August, '*Read two more chapters of Alan's book - dung.*'

There was then an interruption while Sarah read and re-read an M.Phil. thesis by a student, practising in miniature the kind of discipline she had applied to my book as a whole. Then Tuesday 22nd August, '*Managed a couple more chapters of Alan's book this morning.*' Wednesday 23rd August, '*I read the chapter on "Clothing" today. Will try to do those on houses tomorrow, which then brings us to more diseases.*' Thursday 24th August, '*Read two more chapters this morning, on houses. Thinking hard on how this part can be condensed.*' Tuesday 29th August, '*Back to Alan's book - Finished the disease section. Now I have fertility and the conclusion.*' Wednesday 30th August, '*Read two fecundity chapters. Much less problem here than with the disease section...*' Thursday 31st August. '*Reaching the end of Alan's book. We walked this afternoon by the river towards Quy and discussed the next stage.*'

On Saturday 2nd September 1995, I wrote '*Sarah and I discussed **Savage Wars**, which she has now finished reading through, with a view to cutting out 100,000 words. Ideas of cutting out about seven of the 33 chapters floating round. We then took a break to Lampeter and Hay (to take and buy books). Having read through and marked pieces for cutting or re-arranging, Sarah then had the long task of editing the chapters. She started on 6th September: 'Sarah started working on revising **Savage Wars** and did two and half chapters'. On Friday 8th September she noted, 'Editing Alan's book. Have now cut quite a bit out but am putting all the cut-outs in another file so we can get an idea of bulk that has been reduced.' On Saturday 9th September I '*Started working on revision of the introduction and the conclusion, based on the idea of links and chains*' (an idea which Sarah had been particularly enthusiastic about). On Sunday 10th September '*I wrote an expanded version of the conclusion, 'Chains of Causation', which I hope is an improvement.*' The following day I worked further on this chapter, '*incorporating two other chapters ('Puzzle' and 'Consequences') and seems to flow better.*' This incorporation was due to the fact that these chapters had seemed too long and delayed the reader getting into the book. The chapter on 'Consequences' had bobbed back and forth over the months from the end to near the start and back again several times!*

On Tuesday 12th September Sarah wrote, 'A good day. Did quite a chunk of book shortening while Alan revised other parts. We feel it was moving on nicely, but the chapters to come will be more difficult.' Thursday 14th September, 'Another three chapters of Alan's book shortened. We have managed to get rid of 60,000 words but still need to remove about 30,000. Alan is doing some chapters and I think he feels happy about it.' Friday 15th September, 'Did more chapters. Have only one to do before the conclusion, and that is read anyway.'

On Saturday 16th September I wrote: 'Sarah finished her shortening read through. (and editing A.M.) She has done **excellently** and managed to reduce from some 260,000 to c. 180,000 words. I read through four chapters of the new version and it looks much better. Some 23 chapters, rather than 33, and several in a new order. I spent much of the week shortening chapters - infant feeding, the conclusion, dirt and others. Feel a little bleary at reading and re-reading, but getting there.' The following day 'Another very wet day, mainly spent reading through my book and Sarah partly editing the book..' This read through by myself was to delete repetitions and poor grammar and unnecessary examples. I mainly did it in the peaceful surroundings of the Morse house. Sarah's first set of about 80,000 words of edited out materials went into an 'Out' file. The results of the small amounts of edits by myself in this reading went into 'Out2'. **[INSERT CROSS LINKS TO THESE]**

Sarah then started to edit on the computer my further edits, as above. Thus on Tuesday 19th September she wrote 'Editing chapters of the revised draft.' The following day she did another two chapters, and on the Thursday another chapter. We had no summer holiday up to this point (apart from the week in the Hebrides), so decided to take a break - a few days in Cumbria and a few days in Cornwall with Gerry and Hilda. This was an excellent and restful time. The state of all the changes which we had made, principally through Sarah's excellent reading of the book, was summarized in my Thoughts book.

20 September to 10th October.

During August, Sarah had read through the 33 chapters and six appendices, totalling some 260,000 words, with a view to attempting to shorten it to some 160,000 words. Through her work, and the way it inspired me to cut down three chapters, we ended up on about 15th September with an edited version of 180,000 words. Not only was it much smaller, but the order was much better. The main changes, apart from leaving out a number of examples, cutting out sections which were not **absolutely** necessary such as teeth, hair etc., were as follows. The chapters on 'Puzzles' and 'Methods' were omitted entirely. The chapters which deal with subjects such as food or housing separately for Japan and England were amalgamated. The section on vector-borne diseases was re-ordered, working from the outside to the inside, instead of working outwards. The chapter (3) on 'Some Consequences' and a little of the material on McKeown from 'Puzzles' was put into the conclusion, now principally about chains of causation and expanded. The chapter on infant feeding and abortion were particularly deeply cut. the appendices were absorbed into the text. Then, after this was done, I read it through again and have probably deleted another 10-15,000 words. So it is probably some 165,000 words. So there should be no problem in further reduction. the one major area still needing attention concerns the effects of over-obsession with hygiene - which is where the old chapter on contagious diseases might fit in...

(INSERT ? The new structure, as of the present, compared to the old, is represented on p.373 of my Thoughts book).

After a delightful break and celebration of 25 years since our first meeting, we returned from Cornwall on Sunday 1st October. During that week I was mainly distracted by the start of term. Sarah continued to edit in final corrections. I did some minor adjustments, for instance expanding and re-incorporating pieces on bilharzia, hair care and skin contagion, venereal disease. Under Sarah's

advice, I was starting to shift the emphasis somewhat so that some of the costs, as well as the benefits, of a number of the Japanese (and *English*) *practices was emphasized a little more. By the end of the week I noted (Saturday 7th October), 'Today managed to re-write chapter on famine and clean up rest and started to print out. Final straightening of the order of chapters, with infant feeding at the end of the section on water-borne disease, and viral diseases after all other diseases. Feels better.'* On Sunday 8th October, an exquisite day, *'Spent morning printing out and tidying up more of my book. Sarah read the conclusion and now the whole thing is finished in this version. Now some 22 chapters, some 167,000 words and hopefully the final, right order.'* On Monday 9th October we started to assemble a tentative bibliography to accompany the copies we would send to Osamu Saito, Gerry and others for their comments. Printed out a full copy.

So - here we are - Tuesday 10th October; will potter along with it over the next few weeks, but on the whole concentrate on other things until we return from Nepal... Still to do are a longer preface, similar to Individualism etc; checking of all notes etc. Some further shortening and re-thinking about the conclusion. Also reading through all of 'Out' and 'Out2' to see if there is any gold there - to be swapped with dross in the present chapters. But feel we are nearly there.

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The material above was all written during the writing of the book, a self-assessment in late 1995. The following is an account written from diaries and other materials soon after the book was finished, in other words early 1996. It is in more staccato fashion and really chronicles the final stages of tidying up.

The final six months were filled with the final cleaning and honing of the book. At the basic level there was the chasing up of some last references and sources, particularly in the Cambridge University Library. This can be a dangerous matter because it is at this point that one is tempted to start re-writing the whole book. One can realize that there are many books and articles one could, perhaps should, have read, which would **perhaps** modify one's argument. A particular example of this in my case was when I discovered in about November or January that the Cambridge Group were going to publish a very large sequel to Wrigley and Schofield's **Population History of England**. If I had waited for this/borrowed the proofs, it might well have added considerably to my book's length and **perhaps** made one modify some of the arguments. For various reasons, including the dangers of **too** much reliance on the Cambridge Group, time and delay etc. I talked to Tony Wrigley and decided that we would proceed and publish independently.

There were a **few** topics however that required a little extra research and reading/writing at this stage - particularly the early history of mosquito netting in Japan and the history of clothes washing in England. More generally, the two key bits of a book are the **start** and the **end**. If people get bogged down too soon, then they will not read on. So I spent a good deal of time refining the autobiographical **introduction** and shortening/simplifying the first two chapters on the Malthusian Trap. (See drafts of Introduction). As for the conclusion, particularly in a long and complex book, this is very important. If people do not feel that the loose ends have been tied together and that there has been a **point** to all their reading, they feel aggrieved. So I wrote and re-wrote and simplified the conclusion. I also shifted the emphasis and under Gerry's influence slightly strengthened the tendency towards and 'Blind Variation and Random Selection' approach.

Another task was footnote checking. With some 3000+ footnotes gathered over 2 years, this was no small task. With so many quotations, it was essential that every one be accurate. The advantages of having the original texts - either the book or a xerox in one place (the barn) was now felt. But even with them all at hand, and with the help of Penny, it was an extremely long and tedious business - taking well over 100 hours I suppose. It required concentration and yet was **boring**, or at least not exciting. Occasionally there are small triumphs, when a minor error changes - a quotation, but more often there

are those thirty-minute searches for a reference in a book or article which has mysteriously gone. Dogged application of a failing memory is stressful, but it was done. Then the amendments have to be typed (and the notes moved into footnotes and amalgamated in some cases). Errors creep in again and once again all has to be checked by hand. I remember Keith Thomas groaning about this stage with **Religion and the Decline of Magic**. I see what he means.

At the same time, the bibliography has to be constructed. Sarah drew out a first version from my database, but additions/changes had to be made and one has to check that every work referred to in the text is there.

I decided to have the book read through by various people. For the Japanese history etc. Osamu Saito kindly read it. His comments and corrections though very welcome, did not take long to incorporate. It was what he did **not** say/criticize that was most important. The same was even **more** true of Pat Bidinger, who read the medical chapters and made only one or two small amendments; of my mother, Iris, who read through for style, and made only a few suggestions, of my student Mark Turin, who read through for logic and who likewise only had a few suggestions; and for Gerry Martin, who read through for the logic and medical/scientific side and whose comments mainly related to epidemiology and the last chapter.

More substantial were the changes suggested by Cherry. She had read the much longer version and had been at a loss as to how to prune. But with the 180,000 word version she went through very thoroughly. She cut out, usefully, many of the linking phrases of the nature 'Morse then said...' and tightened up the punctuation/grammar. I have kept her annotated copy to show how much improvement she made. She also suggested that a number of chapters needed conclusions, which I wrote. The brunt of the work of incorporating her changes fell on Penny.

Finally, and much the most substantially, Sarah re-read the book twice. The first time was her first encounter with the version after it had been drastically slimmed in the autumn. So she proceeded to make numerous amendments/re-phrasings/the occasional re-ordering etc. In particular she helped shorten the introductory chapters and suggested 'infant feeding' should go. Her numerous improvements can be seen in her version which I have kept. This involved a lot of editing/re-thinking which I did in January-February alongside footnote checking. All this helped to lop off another ten thousand or so words off the book - though others on mosquito nets etc. were added in. So by the end of February the book was ready for a final read through. We did this in March and were now down to the final corrections at the word and sentence level - which I edited. So, the book went off to Blackwells.

What emerged from this period, and that of August-September, is how much a book is shaped in the revisions. By the end of July I thought I had a more or less finished, if over-long, work. But the drastic cutting and re-shaping after then did not merely **shorten** the book, it turned it into a **different** book, with a different argument, emphasis, contents, logic. In many ways, the first 18 months or so were equivalent to film-makers **mise-en-scene**, while the last 9 months were equivalent to the editing or **montage** stage. This is not merely a negative process of cutting out, cleaning up. It is a **positive** stage which alters the final product. It is often skimmed by academics, and their works are thus left at a stage of satisfactory, but not outstanding. It requires a great deal of effort - and I don't think I could have done it without Sarah. But it is essential if, with a long and complex work, one is going to attempt to make something **really** good.

What is surprising is that up to the very last moment one can make changes that substantially change the book. The logic for making these changes only occurs at the very end. This is perhaps partly because each improvement lays bare other inadequacies which were concealed before. For instance, only near the end did Sarah spot that the two first chapters in the fertility section were the wrong way around. The danger of keeping everything open until the very end is that one may find it very difficult to

drop the book/let go of the baby. There always seem to be further things to tinker with. In this respect, the deadline and break of a visit to China was excellent and helped cut the umbilical chord.

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The following extracts from our diary will flesh out the above account and show our view of some of the work in the last six months.

Extracts from diaries.

Sat. 14th Oct.

'A relaxed week on the whole...even time to spend in the Library and on my book as well as other reading. Have now cleaned up all the books etc. I should have read in the U.L. and today nearly finished the bibliography of the book and looked through the 'Out' files and found there was only about 2,500 words which might go back in.'

Sun. 15th Oct.

'Worked on checking notes/bibliography of the book in the morning.'

Sun. 22nd October.

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Sat. 28th October.

Drove up to Dent...managed to get some more footnotes checked on the way up and when arriving. During the week have managed to do quite a lot. Takes me a couple of minutes per note, which means that the average page takes 10-15 mins, and with 400 pages, that is a lot of time. But now must be three quarters of way through those I shall check.

Sun. 29 Oct.

A lovely autumn day. Spent much of it on further footnote checking - humdrum but necessary.

Sun. 5th Nov.

Only managed to do a tiny bit of checking of my footnotes over the week-end, though did get quite a bit done in the week. I suppose I must have done about 80% of the checking now.

Sat. 11th Nov.

*Another very pleasant week. Managed to **finish checking** my part of the footnotes (about 3/5ths of all of them - have left the straightforward ones for Penny)...*

I printed out a shrunk version of book on 21st November to take to Nepal; went to Nepal with this on 25th November for my 'sister' Dilmaya's pae [remembrance service] and returned on 18th December.

20th December 1995

'...particularly helpful letter from Saito, said he was 'very impressed' by the book and made lots of useful comments.'

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22nd December 1995

A very wet day, mostly working on my book in the barn, final tidying up of bits and pieces....

Saturday 30th December 1995

(in Dent) Also have managed to add final pieces to my book on England and Japan. So, apart from tidying up, it is finished - more or less two years to a day from when it was started. Been great fun. Now ready for new ideas and experiments.

Sunday 31st December.

Went over to see Cherry and Michael. Cherry had done some excellent work on cleaning up my book and seemed, basically, to enjoy it and find it convincing.

1st January 1996 (Sarah writing)

Alan has had a really good idea for the title of his book taken from a line in the Mikado 'By a set of Curious chances...'

6th January 1996

A week in which I put some finishing touches to the book - incorporating Cherry's comments etc. Heard from Iris, Gerry, Pat Bidinger that they had all liked it very much, so felt encouraged. Now only some small tidying up to do - and some more thought perhaps to expanding the introduction somewhat.

Wed. 10th January (Sarah)

Gerry came to discuss Alan's book - they did about half the chapters by 7 p.m.

Friday 12th January.

Had some comments on medical chapters of my book from Pat Bidinger - only very tiny little corrections and she seems to have enjoyed it. So the book now almost finished and won't take too long to incorporate Gerry's comments. Penny is doing final edits.

Sunday 14th January.

Frustrating (day) but did manage to finish a draft of the end of the introduction for my book, which is good. Now do not have more than some clearing up to do.

Sat. 27th Jan.

Continued to discuss revision to my book with Gerry and then went for a walk through snowy landscape (in Henfield).

Sat. 3rd Feb.

Today printed out the penultimate version of the book - for Sarah to read. So it is now into the final state.

Sun 4th Feb.

Spent what time I could checking footnotes and then read about half of the book. Penny has done it very well and it flows, on the whole, quite nicely. Just the first couple of chapters a little stodgy. Shall see if I can brighten them up a bit.

Friday. 9th Feb. (Sarah)

'...came into the house at 3-30 p.m. then started to read through 'Curious Chances''

Sat. 10th Feb.

Did some work on my book and it is now in Sarah's hands to read and a little bit of bibliography etc to do and then note-checking/final bits and pieces and then done.'

Sun. 11th Feb.

I continued to check footnotes/bibliography etc. Getting near to the end I hope, with Penny coming in tomorrow to check footnotes.

Wed. Feb. 14th (Sarah)

Otherwise at home. I worked on Alan's book.

Thursday Feb. 15th.

I worked on his book most of the day...

Sat. 24th Feb.

*I saw my publisher, John Davey, who very much liked the preface, but wanted title to go back to **Savage Wars of Peace**.*

Sun. 25th Feb.

Rather tired all day...Sarah critical of my chapter on Infant Feeding and I felt despondent at first and like scrapping it all. But she is right and it obviously needs to be broken into at least three bits and put in the relevant places.

Mon. 26th Feb. (Sarah)

Read three chapters of Alan's book...

Friday 1st March (Sarah)

Have read two more chapters of Alans book. Now on Fertility, so not too much more to do.

Sat. 2nd March.

Another very exhausting week - though I don't quit know why. Perhaps never really recovered from last week-end...Trying to combine final bits of book editing with usual things to do with last

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week of term not v. satisfactory.

Sun. 3rd March.

Felt somewhat recovered today so managed to edit three chapters of my book after Sarah's corrections. She sensibly suggested swapping marriage and fertility/contraception chapters and it now flows better. I've also got rid of chapter on infant feeding and absorbed the two main bits elsewhere. So only a few more chapters to do. The text is down to 160,000 words again.

Wed. 6th March. (Sarah)

At home - I read the two last chapters of Alans book. I only have the conclusion to do tomorrow.

Thurs. 7th March. (Sarah)

At home. Read the concluding chapter of Alan's book. Now finished and fine.

Sat. 9th March.

Felt very tired most of the time as it was a very tiring week. Fighting to get a little of my book checked between meetings, final teaching and other pressures. the book almost finished, with Sarah's reading of it over. May still get it done by China.

Sunday 10th March.

Woke early, as I have been doing for some days - but not as I used to because of anxiety, but more out of excitement and wanting to get on with things. We worked in the barn in the morning - Sarah on books and I on my book - checking final chapters, Mark Turin's revisions etc. Nearly finished.

Sat. 16th March.

*(To Dent...) Brought final print-out of my book as I'm doing positively **last** read. Still find it quite intriguing. TERM ENDED. A good term, but exhaustion compounded by trying to finish my book...etc.*

Sun. 17th March.

Drove up to my mother after a morning of reading my book through - for the last time. Went for a short walk as Sarah had a head-ache...Sarah read through for her last set of comments on the way up to Iris. She read a couple of chapters and seemed happy with them (Nature and War).

Tues 19th March.

(Drove back to Lode from St. Andrews) Sarah read two more chapters and I finished my read-through of the book.

Thursday 21st March. (Sarah)

Read two chapters of Alan's book during the day. He was here editing others this morning...

Friday 22nd March.

Worked on revision of my book in the morning...Sarah at home all day reading further chapters of my book - for the last time. Now down to changing words and sentences, rather than whole chapters.

Sat. 23rd March.

We worked on the book. Sarah now three quarters of the way through and I am keeping pace with the editing.

Sun. 24th March.

Sarah almost finished reading the book and I edit what she had done.... so now the book is almost finished - just a couple of hours of final checking/ re-writing the acknowledgements, adding a little about washing AND THEN IT IS FINISHED! It has been the most complex work I have ever attempted, but enormous fun. In the 2 and a quarter years I've learnt an enormous amount - and written some 12 drafts. Hopefully the breadth and freshness will make it attractive. I can honestly say that I can't see how I could have managed it better.

Monday 25th March. (Sarah)

Alan finished his book today - at last. Now we can both turn our attention to [our visit to] China.

Wed. 27th March. (Sarah)

Alan sent off his book to Blackwells so wish it good speed.

*(Alan) THE BOOK IS OFF! As planned, got a copy off to Blackwells today - the day before we go to China. Started some 2 years and 3 months ago, so not **that** long, considering how complex it is. A relief and sadness no longer to have it in my hands.*

*

Here I will omit a detailed account of the final stages. The proofs arrived on 23.9.96 and I read through the text. I found it quite exciting. It took about an hour per chapter, i.e. about half a week's work. There were few mistakes, but I noticed that the referenced at the end of one chapter were missing. I had failed to put them in, and they were inserted. I also got Penny to help with the proof reading. A Japanese translation commenced quite soon and took some time to check. The indexing was sent to Cherry for indexing electronically, but proved too complicated, so was professionally indexed.

The book was finally born on XXX or, more accurately, in David Hume's delightful phrase, it fell somewhat 'stillborn from the press'. It received no national media attention and not a great deal of scholarly attention (partly because it was published at £55 which in 1997 was a considerable sum). Such as there was at the time is indicated elsewhere. This lack of interest is one of the reasons why this account of how it was written has not been released until now.