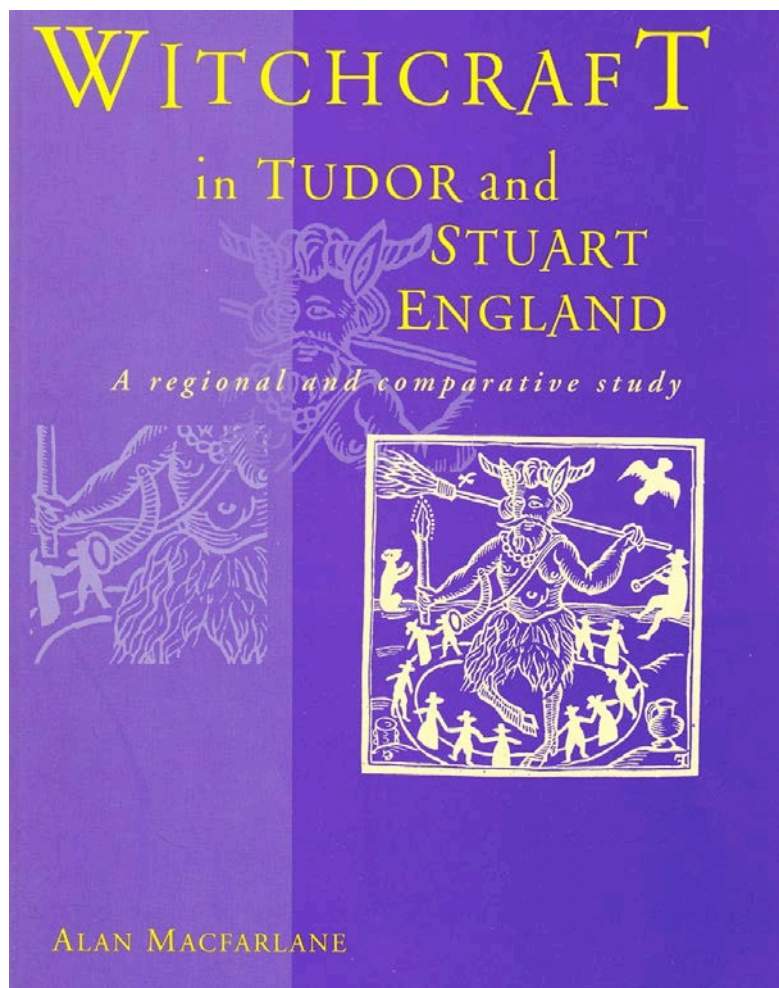


# OXFORD POSTGRADUATE

YEAR THREE: OCTOBER 1965- SEPTEMBER 1966



Alan Macfarlane

# Contents

October - December 1965  
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## *Addenda*

Borstal camp - 1965  
Financing my DPhil  
Search for money for LSE course  
Making a time machine

## 1965 OCTOBER - DECEMBER

### Grandpa diary

Monday 4 October Alan arrives Visited RMA Indian Army Museum with Iris & V  
Tuesday 5 October Alan leaves  
Saturday 9 October Alan arrives Watched rugger match with iris at Well Coll  
Monday 11 Oct Alan & Iris leave for London  
Wednesday 20 October Iris arrives  
Sat 23 October Mac arrives in England & comes here with Anne.  
Alan arrives  
Sunday 24 Alan leaves  
Monday 25 October 'Mac & Iris leave for Field Head' (GP diary)  
Friday 29 October Letter from Iris from Field Head  
Thursday 25 November Mac & Anne arrive  
Friday 26 November Mac & Anne leave

\*

Field Head Dec. 2nd [handwritten]

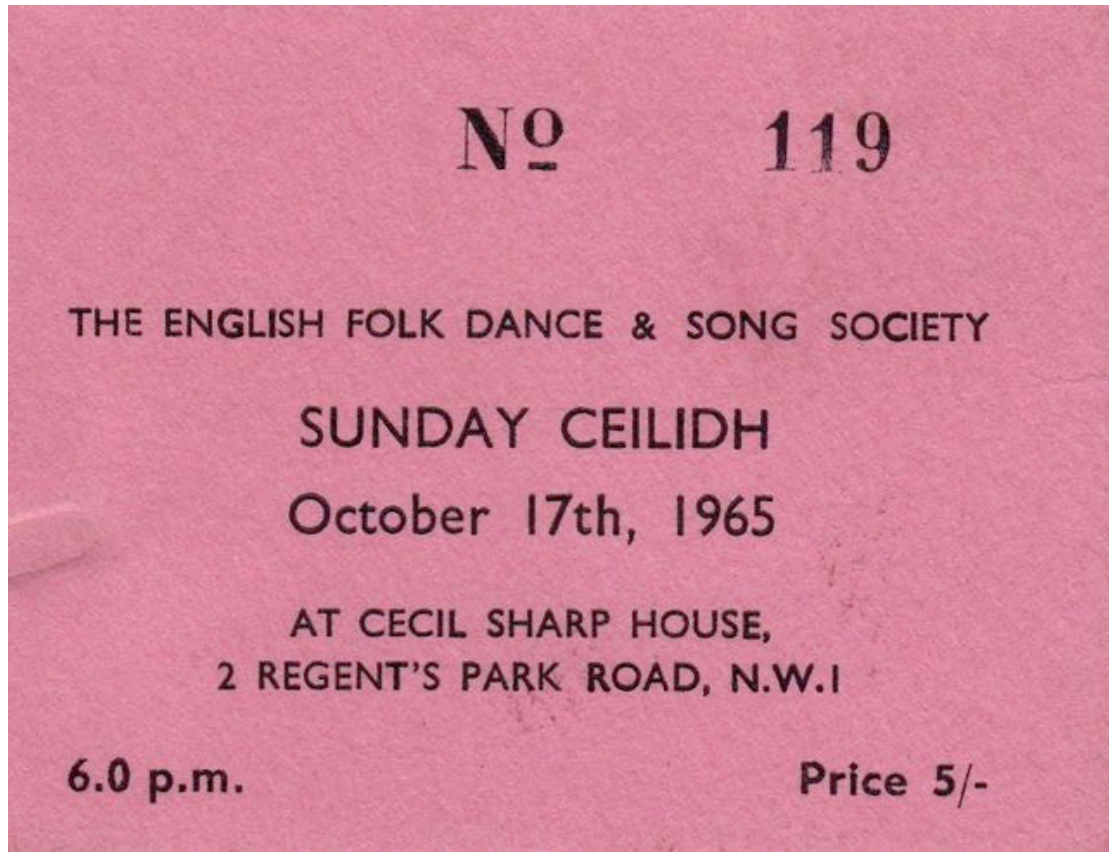
My dear Alan,

OPF! [Our Provident Fund]. Couldn't send you a wire - it arrived on Monday in the middle of a blizzard when the telephone had just been connected. All I could do was squeak at the Bank Manager but we were panting on the doorstep of the bank next morning & have since bought a Telly, Transistor, ordered a carpet & are off to get a canopied 4-poster bed! So if you want any assistance let us know, we'll pay off the projector. It all seems quite unreal & I think I shall soon tire of being able to go into a shop without wild calculations & tremblings at the knees - but temporarily its heady... Anne and I have been will-reading & needless to say she has learnt in 2 days what it took me 2 weeks to master! Will try to get the shed finished but T. Edmondson hasn't reappeared as yet. Will ring him up. Am beginning to feel the pressure of Christmas weighing on my subconscious & must tackle some lists. I'm forwarding your mail to Worcester & hope that's all right.

Do hope the work goes well & you are keeping the fleas at bay - longing to have you back to Ribena & chocolate biccys!

Must rush - Much love - Mummy

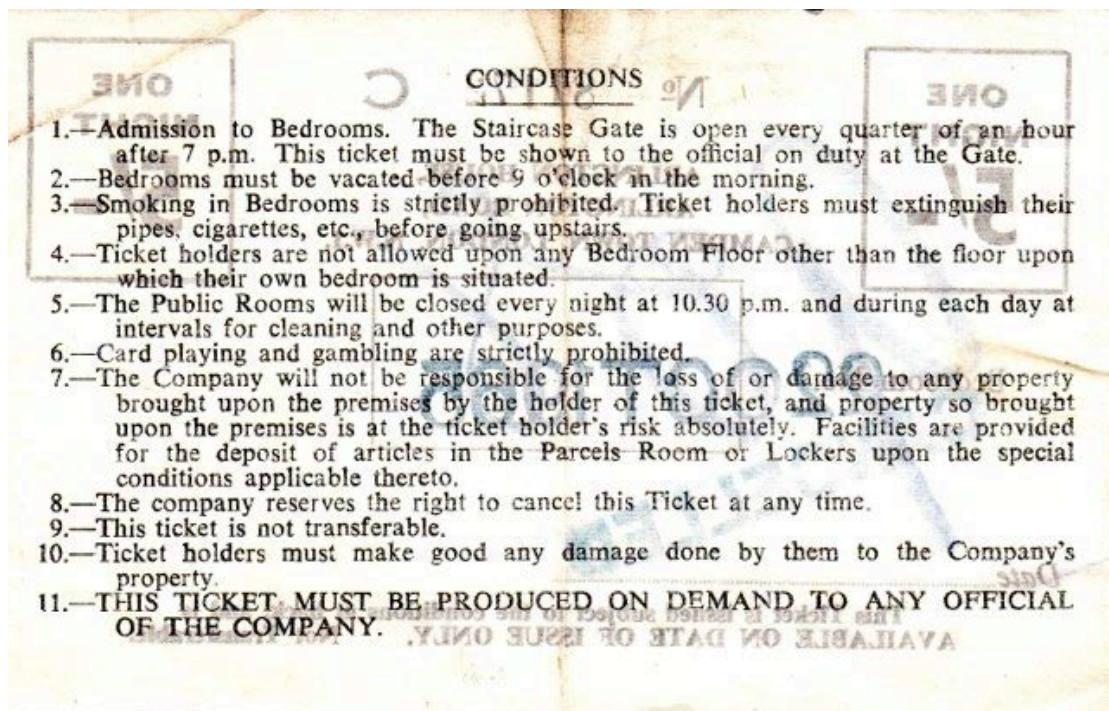
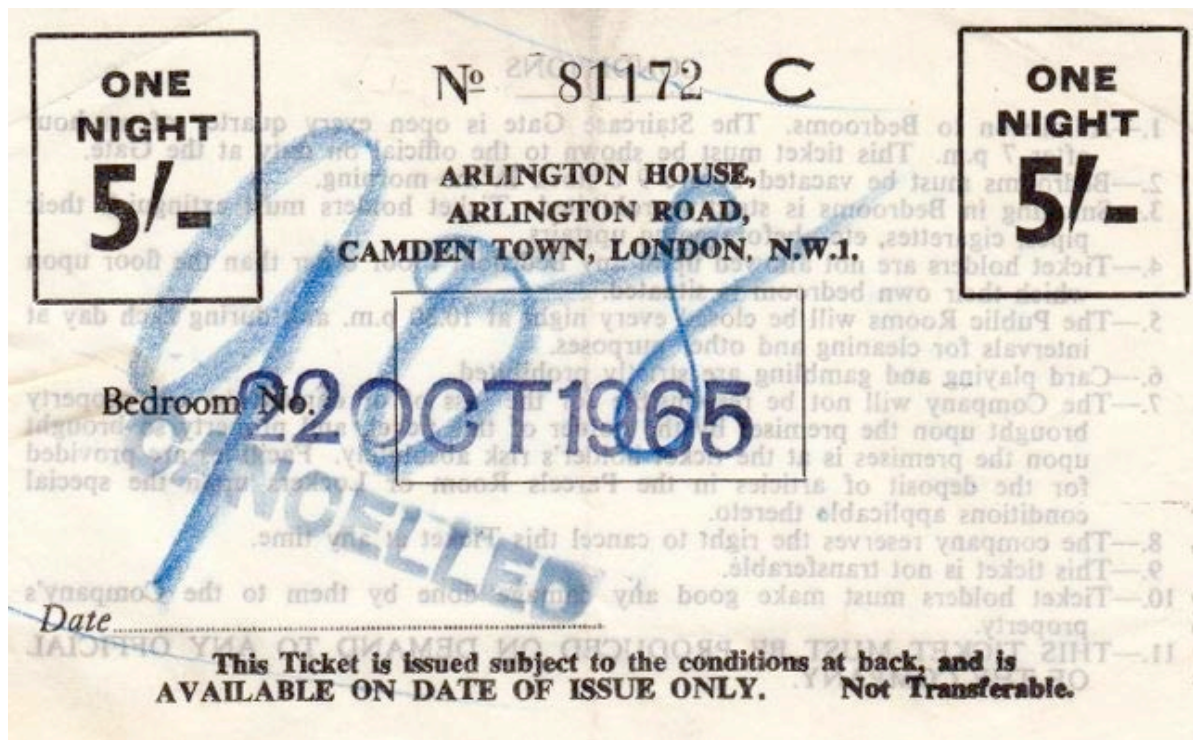
\*



### **Sleeping rough**

There is a good deal in the correspondence about my attempt to learn what poverty was like. I was very influenced by George Orwell's 'Down and Out in Paris and London', and it may have been the fact that Orwell (according to Wikipedia - see article on Arlington House, with photo) spent time in the Rowton Houses for homeless people that led me to spend at least one night in one of the Rowton Houses. I remember it as a sobering experience - dirt, poverty, crowding. Here is the evidence for at least one night. Room 908 - what a huge place it was, as the photograph shows.





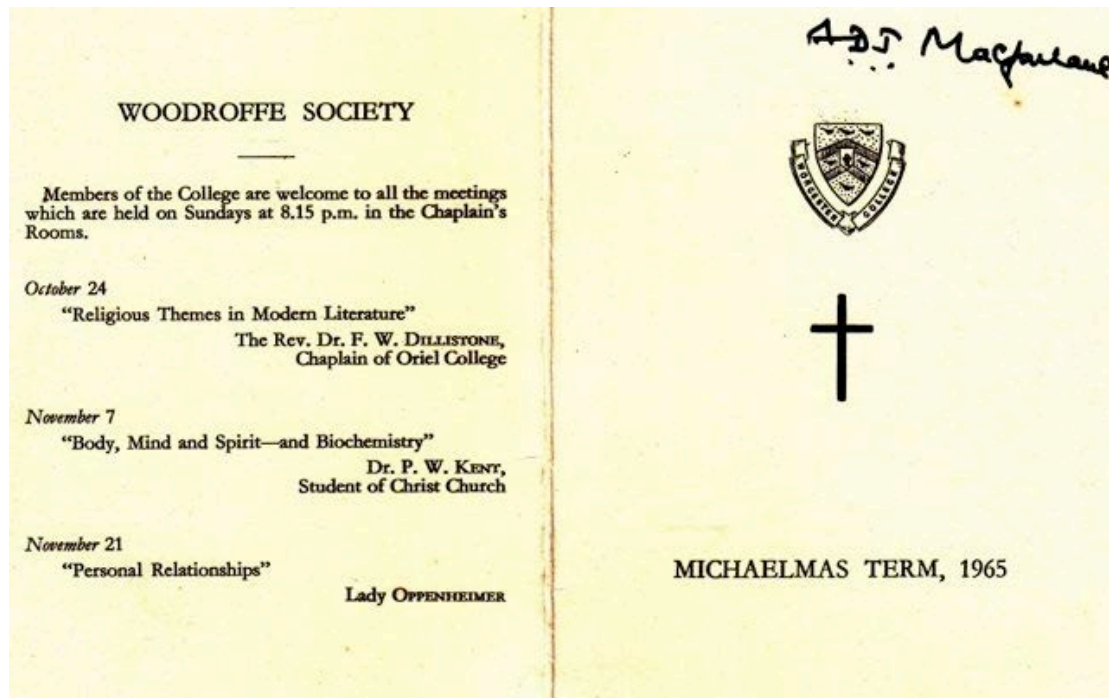
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## Religion

Before I started to write the account, I had a vision that my religious faith was dribbling away fast from the first year of my postgraduate studies. Evidence from letters, poems and other sources show that this was not so and the battle continued, though as I think I wrote, towards the end, I began to lose interest in the restricted Anglican or

Protestant church of my youth. The following small indications will be placed in a wider context.

I imagine that I received the term cards for the college Chapel every term – but only one has survived (inscribed by Alec Graham, the chaplain).



## COLLEGE CHAPEL SERVICES

SUNDAYS:	Holy Communion	8.15 a.m.
	Evensong	6.0 p.m.
WEEKDAYS:	Morning Prayers	8.0 a.m.
	Evening Service	10.0 p.m.

The latter takes the form of Intercessions on Tuesdays, Evensong on Thursdays, Preparation for Holy Communion on Saturdays, Compline on other days.

Holy Communion at 8 a.m. on

Mon. Oct. 18. St. Luke.

Thurs. Oct. 28. St. Simon and St. Jude.

Mon. Nov. 1. All Saints' Day.

Tues. Nov. 30. St. Andrew.

and also on Wednesdays, October 13, November 10, 17 and 24.

Evensong will be sung at 6.30 p.m. on All Saints' Day, Monday, November 1st.

A carol service will be held on Sunday, December 5th, at 6 p.m.

A University Sermon is preached at 10.15 a.m. on each Sunday in term, generally at St. Mary's. A list of preachers is to be found in the Lodge.

## SERMONS

Oct. 17. THE CHAPLAIN.

Oct. 31. The Rev. V. K. LIPPIETT  
Canon of Chichester

Nov. 14. The Rev. J. H. LANG  
Assistant Head of Religious Broadcasting

Nov. 28. The DEAN OF WORCESTER.

## COLLECTIONS

A collection is taken at Holy Communion each Sunday. On Sunday, October 24, a collection will be taken at both services for Catholic work of rehabilitation in Korea.

The Chaplain expects to be in his rooms (4, 4) between 6.0 and 7.0 p.m. on most weekdays.

P.T.O.

The following has no date and no explanation - was I involved with this?



# ANGLICAN STUDENT FEDERATION CONSTITUTION

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## I. Name

The name shall be the Anglican Student Federation.

## II. Aim.

The aim of the Anglican Student Federation shall be to assist the work of the Churches of the Anglican Communion within the British Isles amongst students and to act as a channel of communication between those who have finished their training.

## III. Trustees.

1. There shall be three trustees appointed by the Executive Committee.

2. *Functions:* (a) To advise the Executive Committee.  
(b) To provide stability and continuity to the Federation.  
(c) To hold the monies of the Federation.

3. *Term of Office*

The term of office shall be three years, one trustee retiring annually. No trustee may serve more than six consecutive years.

## IV. Executive Committee:

1. *Composition:* There shall be a Chairman and eight ordinary members, of whom at least one shall be from each of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

2. *Election:* By vote as the final business of the Delegate Conference.

3. *Term of Office:* From one Delegate Conference to the next.

4. *Officers:* The Executive Committee shall appoint from its members a Secretary and a Treasurer.

5. *Functions:*

(a) To arrange an annual Delegate Conference and any other conferences as deemed necessary.  
(b) To act on recommendations made at the Delegate Conference.  
(c) To receive and consider advice from the trustees.  
(d) To receive and consider recommendations from plenary and other conferences.

6. *Working:*

(a) The Executive Committee shall meet not less than three times a year.  
(b) *Quorum.* At least one half of the ordinary members and the Chairman or his deputy (see (e) below).  
(c) If the occasion should arise that a vote is necessary it shall be decided by simple majority. Each member present shall have one vote except the Chairman who only has a casting vote where necessary.  
(d) *Co-option:* The Executive Committee and trustees, being unanimous, shall have power to co-opt additional members to the Executive Committee where deemed necessary.  
(e) In the event of an emergency where the Chairman is prevented from fulfilling his duties, a deputy Chairman shall be elected unanimously by the Executive Committee.

And the following (in my hand) is more light-hearted. I was a fan of Ronald Knox.

Berkeley: (Ronald Knox)

"There was a young man who said, 'God  
Must think it exceedingly odd  
If he finds that this tree  
Continues to be  
When there's no one about in the Quad."

REPLY.

Dear Sir:

Your astonishment's odd:  
I am always about in the Quad.  
And that's why the tree  
Will continue to be,  
Since observed by  
Yours faithfully,  
God.

\*

## Bill Caldwell

Bill does not fit into any particular category – perhaps best under other contemporaries doing postgraduate degrees. He was doing an M.Litt. I think at Worcester, and we met there. He was an American, a serious haemophiliac with lots of health problems, lonely, but quite well-off. I started, I think, spending time and visiting him out of fellow-feeling (and I think Alec the Chaplain encouraged me). But like much casting of bread on the waters, it came back to me four-fold for he encouraged me to use his nice flat in north Oxford when he was away – as indicated in the one letter I shall include (of four cards and letters I have). When I was sick with food-poisoning with Gill, it was to Bill's flat that we retired – as described elsewhere. I wonder what became of him.



Worcester College  
Oxford

Sunday 28 Nov. '65

Dear Alan,

Thanks a lot for your postcard.  
I hope your work is progressing  
well. I have remained in good  
health and am making excellent  
progress on the thesis. The two

2

go more or less hand in hand I'm  
afraid. Dr. Sayce is a lot more  
help than my former supervisor.

You know you're always welcome  
to a free 'pad' here so long as I've  
got one. If I'm not here the care-  
taker can always lend you his key.

I am off to Málaga on the  
Costa del Sol on 20 December, and



Worcester College  
Oxford

3

I plan to stay a month, returning on 17 January. You're welcome to make use of my flat if you come to Oxford while I'm away. I hope to do some work while I'm away, but the trip is mainly a vacation break. I think the change will be good for my health, and, if I

can keep well, I should have my<sup>4</sup> thesis ready in the spring. I've long since given up making predictions, though.

I hear you've been having a bit of snow up there in the Far North.

Sincerely,  
Bill

In February 1966 I was in touch with Harry about Lady Clay's worries about her lodger, Ian Green. I reported to her that he saw Ian and that he seemed alright. Here is the evidence - and also indication that Harry was looking out for possible funding for me. (The reference, attached, was to the Covenanter's Educational Trust, to whom I wrote - as explained elsewhere)

TEL. 47251  
WORCESTER COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

13/2/66

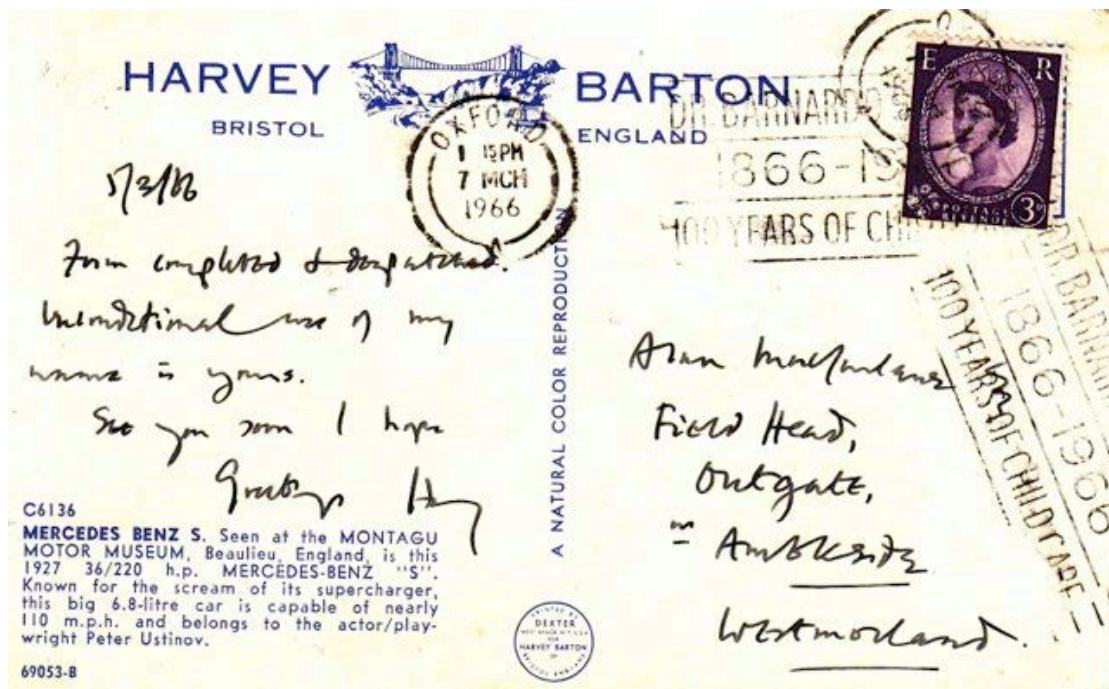
Alan -

in haste. Many thanks for  
your note about Ian Green. I had  
a chance of a chat with him last  
week: I think he's all right. The  
trouble is he's not too many brains & he  
isn't clever enough to see that a diversity  
of views is in the nature of things (especially

in the a university) & that it doesn't  
necessarily mean that the book is going  
to go it because some people aren't frightened  
by it! And the young have to unlearn  
the admiration they have for their mentors,  
however painfully. Enough reasoning -  
I'll keep an eye on him.

Is the enclosed a possibility? And  
Baron Price says to tell you that the  
1551 awards are for pure Science only!  
So no good to you. Warm greetings, H

A typical Harry post-card.



\*



Finally, a strange one-off. I was in London in October 1965 and feeling romantic, and also perhaps with nowhere to stay. So I chatted up a girl on the northern line. I persuaded her to let me see her home and give me a bed on her kitchen floor (she had a boyfriend with her). I noticed that she did not have proper curtains in her flat, so persuaded my grandmother to give me some curtain material, which I sent to her. This is the first page of a two-page letter which she wrote to me in reply. (I did not meet her again I believe).

(Girl I met at Tube 1965 - Ann)

65a Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.

Wednesday 10th November, 1965.

Dear Alan.

Thank you for your letter and the curtains which arrived the other day. It was very kind of you to bother so much. This is the only place I can find a bit of peace, in the library at C.S.H. Lots of things have happened, I'm sure, since you went home, but I've got a terrible memory, so excuse me.

I expect you're deep in the middle of your thesis with your Mother and sister staring for you. I hope you're enjoying having these women peering round you, while you solving your witchcraft plots.

Nothing's happening back here, so don't think you are missing anything. Last Saturday there was a National Anthem at C.S.H. so I worked all day, saw lots of people that I write to, but have never seen before a peculiar lot, but other wise it was really uninteresting. Went to Festival Hall with Ces and saw some Indian musician (I've forgotten his name), it was ~~was~~ very interesting, it's amazing how many people interested in folk are also interested in Indian music, I saw people from round here, there and even Bert Jansch who sings more contemporary songs ~~than~~. Ces has just moved into a flat just round the corner from us, we went to see his place last night after guitar class, he has a newly decorated, white extremely tidy place makes ours look a shamble, he's been there 3 days.

Very boring news, know doubt, something that might interest you, we have claimed Roger's old room, the room on the same floor, and I think it's ~~as~~ definite now that we have it, though of course we'll have to pay quite a bit more. But we are still looking for a unfurnished house to move into, but that will probably not be for some time now. I have advertised around but no replies.

10 October 1965 8, Ladbroke Square

Dear Alan,

*.... I'm glad you & Alec had a good walk, though all the slogging through the rain must have been a bit dismal. Parents seemed to think Alec very nice & were glad to meet him. ....P.S. I'm afraid you'll never speak to me again. I hardly dare admit it, but I've had my hair cut.... I'm sorry! At least it puts me out of the running as an emotional problem!*

13 November 1965

*I was amused by your account of the picking-up episode ending in the beautiful climax of neurosis-discussion & sleeping on flea-infested kitchen floors. How awful that you had to resort to a doss house - but interesting - you should write it up for the Guardian or something - or whatever they're called - you should have come & claimed some floor space or at least picked up your sleeping-bag. Mrs. W. continues to be the paragon of generous land-ladies... I'm very glad your mother is really better. That must be a relief for everyone. How nice for you to have both of them at home now - it must be quite strange. And it must be very strange for them to be back in England permanently. ...I'm sorry I wasn't back that Sunday evening. It happened to be my birthday too, so it would have been nice to see you, .... It was marvellous to have your sleeping bag, by the way, & v. nice of you to have produced it. ...*

*It must be strange to be in the Lakes for so long. It really is extremely kind of you to invite me over Xmas. I do feel this would be an imposition on your poor parents 1st Xmas at home for ages. But I'd love to come & see you some time during the vac if this would really be alright.*

[Notes by Alan: Mrs W - good landlady; M & D at house - rituals et (power cuts: snow); Grant (OG)/OPF; Z's parents; London/ first claustrophobia - 'poor Zoë'; sociology course; my problem; statistics; Rhodes; Stats. Method; Firth; card to Marg & Gill. ]

3.12.65 LSE Wednesday

[at top in red biro " Sorry about out-of-date-ness of this now. "]

Dear Alan,

*I intended to write a longish letter, having felt disturbed all day about this morning, but now I don't think there's much point.*

*There are just a few things to say. First I am sorry. You are such a strange mixture. When you first said that you felt largely self-sufficient & unable ever to be vulnerably involved, I suppose I didn't really know what to make of it, since I find it hard to accept that any one can be so, whether they want to be or not. But I certainly chose to take you at your word.*

*And of course I still don't know what you're thinking now, since maybe your thesis about absence making the heart or the hurt or whatever grow easier, really does work. Anyway, I hope it is so.*

*I do think it's unfair, or just plain wrong, of you, to assume that I manage to be the master of relationships, & not on the suffering end. But that's another matter.*

*I hope anyway that the friendship's not impaired. Whatever you say, you must have intended to make me feel guilty. And in that you succeeded, though I'm still not quite sure over what.*

*Have a good week. Than-you for the stockings - they're lovely. See you next week, if not at the week-end. Love, Zoë*

*P.S. Thursday.*

*Thank you for your letter this morning. I'm glad things did look brighter. No, don't apologise - there's no need. I had been thoughtless, & rather selfish.*

*What were you doing in the Graduate C.R.? I was in there from 5 to 5.30 writing this letter before going to my music class. How odd.*

*I'm glad about the wanting to stay friends bit, & it would be lovely to come for Christmas, if it's really alright with your parents. - no, on 2nd thoughts, I'll decide next week about when & how to go home.*

*By the way, I'm mystified about how you knew to get 9 and half - very clever. Mrs. Wetherall, by the way also, has joined the band of your admirers.*

*Till next week, Love, Zoë  
Whatever it is you feel for me, thank you.*

As described above, Zoë came to spend Christmas with our family.

Christmas Eve: 1965

To Zoë

The night ticks towards Christ's coming  
And deep in the shadows beasts slouch,  
A stillness is here, amidst the cackling women.  
But both Christ and you seem far away  
And only this bare room I feel.  
The oaken floors and walls, the yellow cover  
And the weight of supper.  
With tired hands I push away the curtains,  
The laughter and the protections  
And feel again the restless emptiness  
Of suffering. My nerves lie near the surface  
And every silly word and silly present  
Brings bitterness - the unrealness  
Of this cosiness is unbearable.  
Instead I would think on you,  
Your child-like smile and woman's body;  
Your old hands and deep eyes.  
But you are one of them - surrendering  
Your poisoned body to the choking  
World - singing sweet lies to every passing youth.  
I stretch out, and am rebuffed.  
It is right and the lesson - that love is  
Not enough - must be learnt. I push  
Warmth away and seek for cold and



Cannot find the cleanness and purity  
I once knew. Each action is a compromise  
And when I seem to speak in earnest  
Am mocked – as Christ was mocked.  
Blood – streaming through the shrieking night – the crowd cries  
For my body and with Christ  
I am born into this conflicting  
World: Joy in moments and  
Long suffering and above all separation.  
Voices of ‘good cheer’ in another  
Room and here the ticking  
Of the clock. Lord forgive  
Me – and forgive those I  
Cannot love: my dearest ones.  
You come to draw me back,  
And will betray me with a kiss.  
Kissing – no you do not sink  
To that. Or perhaps you know  
My heart too well. I  
Would that I knew yours.  
Forgive me Zoë.

A small card with  
To Alan Macfarlane  
I O U  
£5 - 2 - 6d  
signed Zoë 27.12.65

31 December 1965 Glenridding, Penrith

*Dear Mr & Mrs Macfarlane,*

*This is just a note to thank you very much indeed for all your kindness in having me to stay last week .... It was lovely to be with you, and very generous of you to share your first Christmas together as a family for such a long time. ... a very happy New Year to you all, and thank you again very much indeed for a lovely Christmas. Yours, Zoë*

## 1965 OCTOBER - DECEMBER - RESEARCH

Keith sent me a short note on 10 November

*Dear Alan,*

*How are things going?*

*When would you like to meet next?* Keith

To this I replied on 16 November from Field Head, Ambleside

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for your letter. The work is going very well and I will send you the next chapter and a longer letter, suggesting a time to meet etc., at the end of the week. The only slight hitch has been my grant. After 3 weeks the ministry have just got round to replying to that letter you sent. They now say that they will give me the grant but that 'it will be necessary for you to ask your supervisor to write to the Department to confirm that your studies from Oxford (I told them I'd be working in Essex, London and in the Lake District) form a necessary part of your approved programme of post-graduate studies and that he approves of your proposals'. Could you possibly do this for me? I enclose an addressed stamped envelope and a covering letter. Sorry to bother you with this, but I'm having to borrow off my parents etc.*

*I hope you are getting time away from tutoring in which to finish the book. I look forward to discussing things with you in two or three weeks.*

*Yours sincerely,*

I wrote a week later on 23 November

Outgate, Nr Ambleside

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I enclose the next chunk of writing; I hope it is not too indigestible. As you'll see, the footnotes in the earlier section have become overweight, a fault emphasized by my inability to estimate how much room to leave at the bottom of the page. The reason for this is that I am loath to spend too much of my thesis outlining the legal machinery of the courts when there is so much material to deal with. The consequent cramming and argumentative footnotes aren't much better than dealing with the problems at more length. You'll also see that I've not interposed much interpretation of the facts; this will come later. I enclose a few xeroxes of maps in Felix Hull's thesis on agriculture in C17 & C18 Essex. Perhaps you will see some significance in the maps I've drawn; I haven't noted any very obvious correlations yet. [in margin in Alan's hand 'not been through'] Finally I enclose a letter from Ipswich which may interest you, I expect you know this already. My passage on Assizes outside Essex is the weakest part of the Chapter, and will possibly have to be re-written. As you'll see I've not been through the Ely records. I went to Cambridge, but Mrs Owen said you'd spent a week there looking through them so it seemed pointless to duplicate. She said you hadn't been through the Elizabethan material - pretty thin on the ground as it is - so I went through that and have one case which I can send you if you're interested. I would be most grateful if you could let me know about the other Ely stuff. You'll probably have been through Northern circuit recognizances also, which Ewen missed (Appendix 2).*

*Already the Appendices are growing and with the 200 odd cases from the Archdeaconry courts, nearly all unprinted, it doesn't look as if there'll be much room for the 480 odd correct Ewen 1 cases. (You'll see that I've abbreviated Ewen I to E.) Perhaps a very contracted list of cases will be necessary for the examiners?*

*As I told you on the phone, the Commissary records look as if they will be inaccessible by next October - all 15 tons of them! Thus my major chunks of material still to search are a) King's Bench b) Borough court. I'll also have to follow up some of the individuals we've already found - in local records. I've started analysing Hatfield Peverel and it is proving most fascinating. Though there are no parish registers there is a very detailed court roll 1556-1600 for the old Priory, now a manor. All the people involved in the witchcraft accusations - Wilmott, Waterhouse, Frauncis, Cocke appear here. There are over 1,000 references to Hatfield in the Archdeaconry records alone - and over 100 wills. Luckily I've managed to persuade my mother, just retired from India, to learn C16 handwriting and she is helping me with what, as you can see, is a pretty large effort of reconstruction. Incidentally, in the earlier court book for the manor of Mudgon Hall (the other manor in Hatfield Peverel - owned, interestingly enough, by the Bishop of London, Aylmer) starting in 1499 there is an entry on the first page as follows:*

*(In a list of place names of Hatfield Peverel and Ulting, made in 1618 - [I then give a five line account of a suicide, and 15 line strange account of a prophecy from Hatfield Peverel in the Assizes] ...*

*Hatfield, in itself, would be worth a book. I hope also to cover the next door village of Boreham which has poor manorial records but has both churchwardens accounts from 1560 and parish registers - and 4 witches.*

*Incidentally in the P.R.O. in the Calendar of Carew Mss, 1575-1588, p. 425, nos. 610 I came across the following 'A Note of the Acts Handled in the last Session of Parliament, 1586' - May 16. The acts that passed ..... Against witchcraft and sorcery ..... (vol. 632, p.88) Have you any idea what this referring to? I haven't had a chance to follow it up yet. [in margin in Alan's hand 'Irish. See if same. P.R.O. Cal. St. Pap. Jas. I, vol.8, no.55, Notes for amendment of Witchcraft Statute']*

*I will be in Oxford on Friday and Saturday (26 & 27 Nov.) and could see you any time - at your convenience. But you probably won't have time to look at all this by then and perhaps the following Saturday (4th) or Sunday (5th) would be better. If you could drop a card in College (without a stamp - otherwise it will be forwarded) I will pick it up.*

*I hope all goes well with you and the book keeps moving. I look forward very much to discussing things. Yours sincerely,*

*It is not clear when we met, perhaps around 4th or 5th as I suggested, for my mother wrote me a letter with the exciting news of the arrival of her Provident Fund on December 2nd, suggesting I was away then for a few days.*

\*

*It looks as if the piece I sent Keith was my first systematical sociological analysis based on the records. I probably sent him chapters on the Assize records and Quarter Sessions as well. Here I will include seven pages from the 30 page essay on Assizes, and leave on one side the 16 page essay on Quarter Sessions.*

I include as much as this since this was my first real foray into data analysis and the move from impressionistic to quasi-statistical analysis. Keith read it with his usual vigilance and his tiny pencil marks can be seen from time to time. The over-long footnotes for which I apologised can be seen at the start.

## PROSECUTIONS IN THE ASSIZE COURTS.

### I ~~Witchcraft~~ PROCEDURE.

2 As was seen in the previous chapter, witchcraft was a felony between 1542 and 1547 and again between 1563 and 1736. As such, supposed witches were tried at the Assizes. The records of this court consequently contain detailed information concerning prosecutions.<sup>1</sup>

Twice a year, in the Lent and Trinity vacations, two judges rode through the counties holding assizes of two to four days length in each county town.<sup>2</sup> A calendar of Justices of the Peace and other officials, which also included prisoners in gaol was first read.<sup>3</sup> Officials deposited their records: examinations and informations from the justices of the peace,<sup>4</sup> presentments from the hundred constables, and inquisitions from the coroners.<sup>5</sup> The grand jury was then called and sworn. It consisted of between thirteen and twenty-three lesser gentlemen from many of the hundreds.<sup>6</sup> They examined presentments and decided whether they were 'true bills' or should be dismissed as 'ignoramus'.<sup>7</sup> Bills passed by them provide the indictments which ~~are~~ make up the bulk of the remaining material.<sup>8</sup> The court then divided into the civil and criminal sides, with one judge for each.<sup>9</sup>

The first indictment was then read and the named accused called to the Bar. The prisoner was asked if he pleaded guilty or not guilty, and the next was summoned until 'so many are arraigned as will serve for a petty Jury to pass upon at once'.<sup>10</sup> Those who confessed were put on one side until the time of Judgement.<sup>11</sup> The petty Jurors were then called by the Sheriff, their names read, and the prisoners given a chance to challenge them.<sup>12</sup> Witnesses against the accused were then publicly called for, and examinations of the accused taken before the justices of the peace

1. For a detailed discussion to these documents see the introduction to Ewen:1

2. This account is based on the Introduction to T.G.Barnes, (ed), Somerset ~~Assize Orders~~ Assize Orders, 1629-40, (Somerset Record Society, vol.LXV), and Henry Twyford's contemporary The Office of the Clerk of Assize, (1676); all quotations are from the latter, unless otherwise stated.

3. Where material relevant to witchcraft prosecutions is to be found an example from Appendix 1 (Addenda and Corrigenda to Ewen) will be cited. For examples of gaol calendar references see Appendix 1 p.3. The gaol delivery roll, which is even more important in the study of witchcraft since it included the sentence passed on the accused, was a more formal document. Necessarily it was compiled during and after the trial. For a fuller discussion of these two records see Ewen:1, pp.97-8.

(for notes 4-12 see following pages)



were read to the jury, if they were evidence for the Crown. 'Then if the Prisoner desire that any Witnesses should be heard for him, they must be called also, but they shall speak without Oath, unless the Fact be under Felony...' When the group of prisoners was large enough the jury retired  
(notes from previous page)

4. Ewen:1, p.54 found neither examinations nor informations in the Home Circuit records, though he gave an example of the latter from the Assizes of the Isle of Ely. There are examples in the Quarter Session records (for instance Q/SR. 67/44-6), but deposition books for the Home Circuit must have perished. Detailed examples of examinations and depositions at the Assizes are to be found in the various Essex pamphlets; for their contents and accuracy see Ch. .

5. Ewen:1, p.60 remarked that 'one would have expected the coroner's rolls and inquisitions to be full of verdicts of death by witchcraft, but the writer has never seen any entry but felo de se, visitation of God, homicide, murder, or misfortune. Possibly, as in some of the gaol calendars, the word murder is used to include death by witchcraft.' Mr. R.F. Hunnisett of the Public Record Office informs the writer that in his reading of medieval and sixteenth century coroner's records he has not come across a verdict of murder by witchcraft. Ewen includes among his indictments some inquisitions (for instance nos.122, given in full transcript on pp.81-2) and he missed them occasionally (Appendix nos.1,7). These, however, are not taken from coroner's records.

6. The importance of the Grand Jury in a witchcraft prosecution was recognized by Richard Bernard when he wrote A Guide to Grand Jury Men, divided into two bookes: In the First, is the Authors best advice to them what to doe, before they bring in a Billa vera in cases of Witchcraft, with a Christian Direction to such as are too much given upon every crosse to thinke themselves bewitched. In the Second, is a Treatise touching Witches good and bad, how they may be knowne, evicted, condemned, with many particulars tending thereunto, (1627). From this it is clear that the grand jury could examine suspects and witnesses. Their responsibility was thus considerable. Bernard (p.25) states it explicitly when he says it is better to write Ignoramus than billa vera 'and so thrust an intricate case upon a Jury of simple men, who proceed too often upon relations of meere presumptions...' The final decision was with the jury of 'life and death', the petty Jury, a fact recognized by Perkins (Damned Art..., p.218) when he warned this jury not to shed innocent blood.

All punishments for witchcraft therefore needed the consent of a sizable group of the minor gentry. This argues against theories which place the total blame for prosecutions either with the superstitious lower classes, with the clergy, with the judges, or with individual 'witch-hunters'. It is thus important to determine when this group became sceptical. The following graph shows when bills were rejected as 'Ignoramus'. Occasionally this was on technical grounds, an incorrect bill had been proffered, but towards the end of the period we see a definite tendency to reject bills more frequently. It seems likely that this signified a change in the attitude of the minor gentry, now more sceptical of witchcraft prosecutions.

(for notes 7-12 see next page)

1. At this should be in the text somewhere  
2 of p.12



with a list of prisoners 'for their better direction and help of their memory to know who they have in charge'. Finally they returned and gave their verdict of guilty or not guilty, whereupon the Judge passed sentence.<sup>1</sup> Largely formal enquiries were also to be made as to the felons goods and whether he or she fled after committing the crime.<sup>2</sup>

Thus in the indictment we have a summary of the whole trial; the opinion of both juries, the sentence and details of the crime and those involved.<sup>3</sup>

(notes from previous page)

7. For the difference between a presentment and an indictment see Ch. p. (chapter on Q/S) and Ewen:1, pp.74-5. There is only a slight difference.

8. Indictments are in Latin and on parchment. Usually there are separate indictments for different accusations against one person. During the interregnum they were in English. They ought to include County, Name, surname, address, and description of the indicted; the time and place of the offence; the name, surname, address, and description of the person offended or on whom the offence was committed (in the case of infants parentage and age should be added); if the offence was not perpetrated on any animal the kind, colour, value and ownership of the thing upon which the offence was committed should be included; the nature of the offence. Omissions and mistakes did not often cause the rejection of the bill. For a more detailed explanation and sixteen examples with their translations see Ewen:1, pp.75 seq. and for some abbreviated indictments Appendix I. (Addenda & Corrigenda to Ewen)

9. It was at this point that the Clerk of Gaol ~~delivered~~ filed up the recognizances for the appearance of witnesses and accused (Twyford, op.cit., p.7); Ewen:1, pp.56,7, prints two recognizances concerning witchcraft but omits them in his calendar of cases, examples will be found in Appendix I (Addenda to Ewen:14).

10. Barnes, op.cit., p.xviii, says this was usually 'seven or eight'; Twyford, op.cit., p.10 says that the Judge decided the number.

11. Only a very few cases of a prisoner pleading guilty occur in the Essex records; see Ewen:1, pp.59-60 for examples of those who pleaded guilty and were nevertheless found not guilty. For a general discussion of the numbers who confessed and pleaded guilty see the previous Chapter, p.16, note 1. No cases of the accused refusing to 'put themselves on God and the country' and hence

12. The status and qualifications for service on the petty jury are a little obscure. If the Grand Jury consisted of the minor gentry it seems reasonable to suppose that they consisted principally of the yeoman and small ~~small~~ trader class. John Gaule implied this in 1646 when he argued that 'these Twelve good men and True' should not be Impannelled of the ordinary Country People: but of the most Eminent Physitians, Lawyers and Divines... (Gaule, Cases..., p.194). This echoes Bernard's remark (cited n.6, on the previous page) about a 'Jury of simple men'. Writing of the Lincolnshire Quarter Sessions, Peyton ~~states that~~ explains that 'For the trial of prisoners at the bar, Hale states that fifteen days before the sessions, a general precept was directed to the sheriff to return twenty-four men, in order that twelve might be sworn should they be required. On the other hand, he describes as the common practice, a casual arrangement whereby jurymen were picked up in court as they might be needed.' (Pleas of the Crown, ii, 260-1.) S.A. Peyton (ed), Minutes of Proceedings in Quarter Sessions held for Parts of Kesteven... (Hinc. Rec. Soc. vol. 25, 1931), p. lxxii. This probably applies to the Assizes equally well.

For notes 1-3 see next page



### III. ANALYSIS OF CASES.

The following statistics are based on the indictments, inquisitions and gaol records (both calendars and delivery rolls) preserved for Essex. These somewhat different sources are treated as identical and are usually called by the group name 'indictment'. Indictments are by far the most numerous of the surviving types of record; there are half a dozen inquisitions and 23 persons mentioned in gaol calendars or delivery rolls alone.<sup>1</sup>

#### Types of offence.

Of the punishable offences listed in the witchcraft statutes the following appeared in the Essex Assizes.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 2: Offences at the Assize court.

	Number of cases.	Number of persons involved
Invocation of evil spirits	28	29 (18-1645)
Using dead bodies for witchcraft	1	1
Treasure-seeking by "	6	9
Seeking lost goods " "	3	3
Injuring/killing people or property	460	270
Causing love by w-?	-	-
'Intent' to murder/injure	2	2
Fortune telling	1	1
'Consulting' witches	1	1
Uncertain (ie? )	1	1
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	X / Total X	X (say 1 case)

Some of the cases and persons overlap from different categories, for instance most of the persons under 'invocation' were also accused of 'injuring/killing people or property'. Thus the true totals of cases and persons in the Essex Assizes accused for activities associated with witchcraft are less than the sum of the above table. In fact some 503

1. Ewen in his statistics also does not distinguish these sources. The dates of the gaol record references are as follows: 1582, 1582, 1583, 1585, 1586, 1609, 1619, 1620, 1626, 1628, 1631, 1634, 1634, 1634, 1638, 1638, 1639, 1641, 1644, 1653, 1656, 1659, 1660. All these name individuals as witches who do not appear in the indictments. For a discussion of the process of making gaol records see p. 1. n. 3 above; for examples see Appendix 1, p. 2.

2. For the Table of offences see Ch. 2. p. 7. for an explanation of the meaning of these offences was given on that page & there is another in the following pages.



other was the exceptional Edmund Mansell of Fingeringhoe, yeoman, otherwise of Feeringe, clerk. At Wivenhoe, by 'magic art', he burnt a barn, stable, and goods of a Wivenhoe man.<sup>1</sup> In half the indictments a verdict of guilty was found, but in the two cases where this was the only accusation the verdict was not guilty. Three of the cases occurred in 1582, the other three between 1587 and 1591.

Age distribution of accused and victims (human).

The age of the accused is never given and we can only infer from other sources or from their marital position that they were usually old enough to be wives or widows, and in three cases we know that they were young enough to be pregnant. The age of the victim, on the other hand, is often given, and where this is not so it is often stated that he or she is 'son of' or 'daughter of' another person. It seems likely that this was only done when the <sup>widow</sup> (person) was a child. In the cases where death was caused, the following ages of victims are given: one unborn child,<sup>2</sup> one which languished from the age of seven days to a year old, children aged 3, 3, 3, 6, 9 months and 1, 1½, 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 6, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11 years. (From this an average age of 3 years 8 months appears.) There were also two 'infants' and 46 'son/daughter of' persons. We only know the age of five children made ill; three of these were 1½ years, the others 1 and 7 years. There were 14 'son/daughter' and 1 infant.

TABLE 4: Age of people bewitched to death in the Assize records.

Period <sup>3</sup>	Under 3 months (including 'infants')	4 months and over (includes 'son/daughter')	Total for this period
1.	3	16	42
2	4	28	100
3	-	4	31
4	<del>16</del> -	161	15
5	-	16	35
6	-	2	10
Total	7	67	233

1. There is a full transcript of this case E. p. 85. Ewen was uncertain whether the other case of burning of a barn involved witchcraft (p. 145.n.). However, the 1582 Pamphlet (D.7) makes it clear, in the remark of Alex Baxter that her spirits were employed and 'burnt Rosses with corn', that this was so.
2. E. 145. Compare Elizabeth Frauncis who destroyed her own illegitimate child with a drink, before it was born, on the advice of her familiar (1566.P. p. 318)
3. The numbers in the following tables represent the following twenty-year periods: 1. 1560-79 2. 1580-99 3. 1600-19 4. 1620-39 5. 1640-59 6. 1660-79.

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nearly half the total, and the dominance of the agricultural profession. The cloth industry, represented by the 4 tailors and 1 weaver, only makes a slight appearance. It will be remembered, <sup>must</sup> that this table only gives us an indication of the social level of some 20% of the accused females.

TABLE 7: Occupation of the victims of witchcraft or their relatives.

	Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
labourer		2	3	-	-	-	1	6
husbandman		1	1	-	-	2	-	4
yeoman		6	1	-	-	8	1	16
gent		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
bricklayer		1	-	-	-	1	-	2
carpenter		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
fletcher		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
basket-maker		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
glover		2	-	-	-	-	-	2
tanner		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
sailor		2	1	-	-	2	-	5
weaver		1	-	-	-	-	-	1
smith		-	1	-	-	-	-	1
millar		-	1	-	-	-	-	1
butcher		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
mason		-	-	-	-	1	-	1
		19	8	-	-	16	2	45

Most striking in the above table is the high proportion of yeomen, over 30% of the sample, whereas the number of labourers has dropped considerably when compared to the table of the accused. This suggests a social polarization between accusers and accused. Another difference is that, though the occupation of <sup>fewer</sup> less victims is known, 12 non-agricultural trades are listed as opposed to 6 for the accused. Together with the fact that 40% of the victims were in non-agricultural occupations, compared to 22% of the accused this suggests that there was a flow of accusations ~~between~~ from small artificers and tradesmen towards agricultural workers. Once again, however, the cloth industry, here represented by the glovers and weaver, seems to be of no particular significance.

#### Marital position of accused persons.

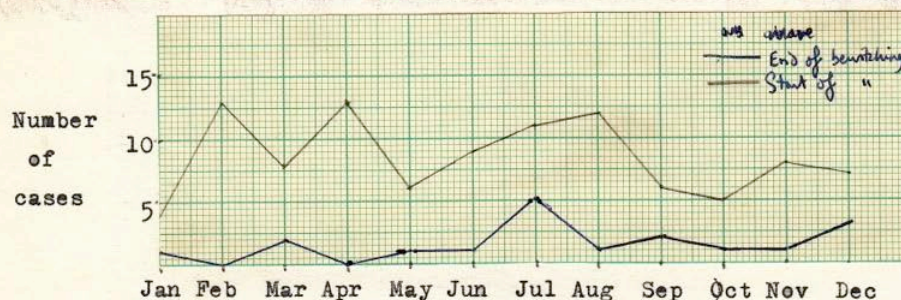
It has been noted above that 9 of the 23 men accused of witchcraft had wives who were also witches. It is probable that on a number of occasions the fact that a person was married was not stated.<sup>1</sup> Thus it would be wrong

1. For a sample check of this from what we know from other sources see p.



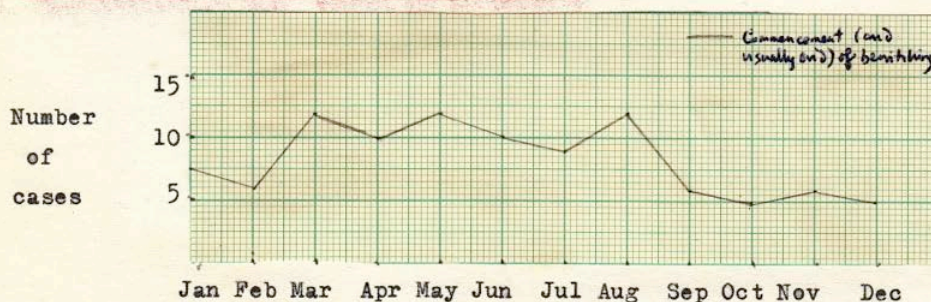
with the highest figure in April. The deaths from these bewitchings were also highest in the spring, particularly in February, and sunk to a low figure in the autumn, reaching the lowest point in September. November, however, was a lone peak of high mortality.

FIGURE 2: Date of commencement of bewitching causing illness to humans.



Again the spring, particularly February and April, were the most common months for the commencement of witchcraft illness and again the autumn, particularly September and October, were quiet months. The main difference is that July and August were also months of considerable activity in Figure 2. The date of the ending of witchcraft illness is not usually stated, since the victims were usually still languishing. It is interesting, however, that no-one recovered from witchcraft in the dangerous months of February and April, while there is a single isolated healthy spell in July.

FIGURE 3: Date of bewitching of animals.



March to August was a consistently likely time for witchcraft to animals, while September to January show a uniform lessening of cases.

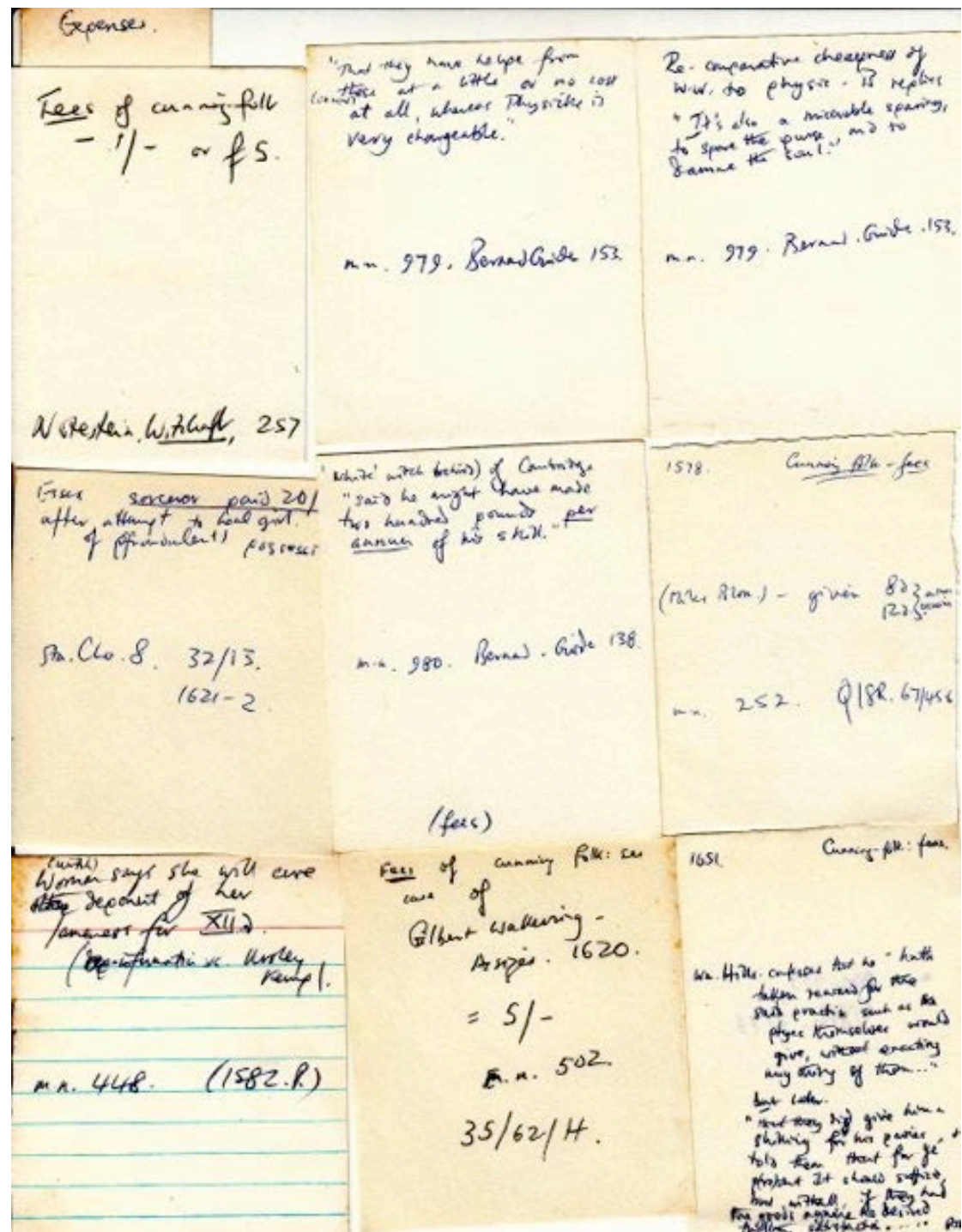
One interesting feature is the day of the month on which the bewitching or death was supposed to occur. A striking feature is the number of times the first day of a month is mentioned. For instance 1/6 of the 226 dates mentioned

\*

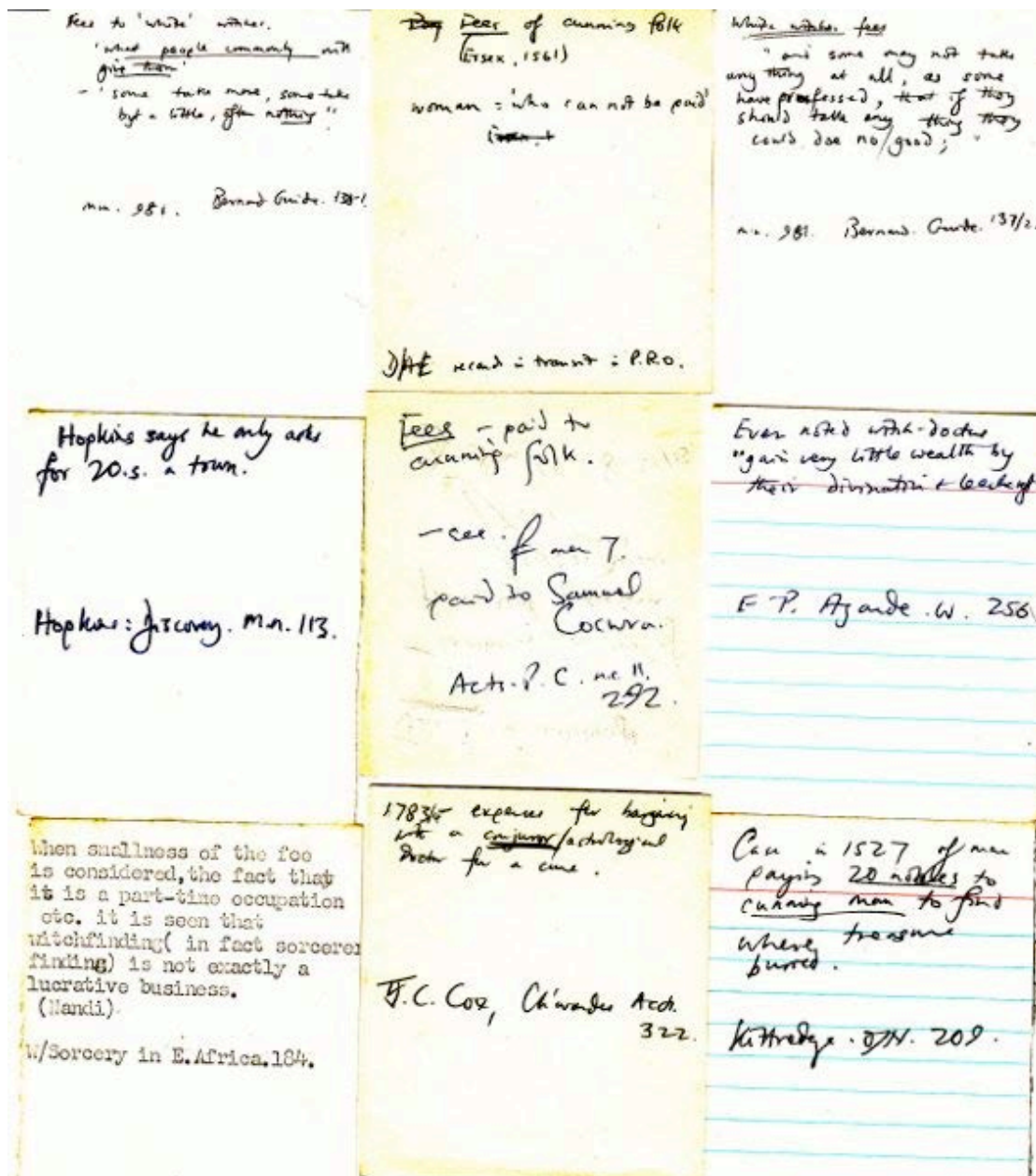
During this period I was analysing the cases by putting them onto cards, and then re-arranging these. I was also continuing to use the 'one fact one card' method which I had learnt from Brian Harrison. Using this I was able to write the more qualitative accounts of various topics, by indexing my books and other notes onto the 5 by 3 inch cards cut in half and then putting them under headings. A small example of what I was doing is

worth including, though it should perhaps go earlier. [This scan is at low quality and could be improved.]

This selection relates to the background for the previously described essay on 'Cunning Folk' or white witches. The first tenth of the subject index on 'expenses' is as follows:







Also a small part of the subject index headings:

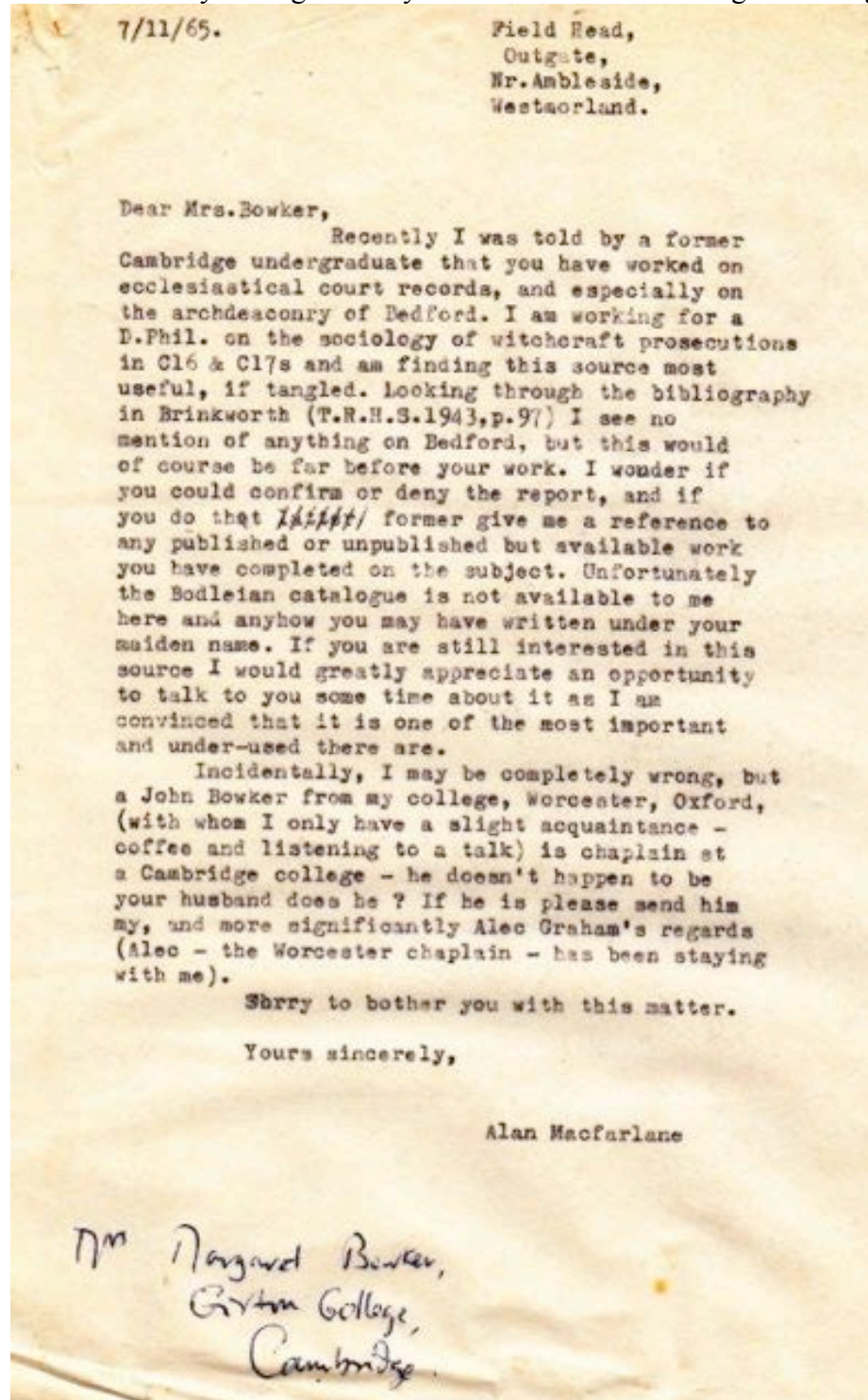




1965 OCTOBER – DECEMBER OTHER RESEARCHERS

## Margaret Bowker

Another short correspondence about ecclesiastical records was with Margaret Bowker. I cannot recall meeting her, though I remember that her husband John was mentioned in my undergraduate years as a charismatic evangelical clergyman.



Tel: Cambridge 55199.

5 Spens Avenue,  
Cambridge.

23rd November, 1965.

Dear Mr. MacFarlane,

Thank you very much  
for your letter. I am married to the  
John Bowker of Worcester College and  
Alec Graham introduced me to him!

I am working primarily  
on the state of the clergy before the  
English Reformation. I am therefore  
working a lot on ecclesiastical court  
records, and particularly those for the  
Diocese of Lincoln. I am publishing a  
Diocesan court book with the Lincoln  
Record Society at the beginning of next  
year ( or rather it goes to press then),  
and I have worked on some archdeaconry  
records. There are a lot of references  
to witchcraft in the Diocesan court books  
and some ambiguous ones in the archdeaconry  
books. The references you will easily



find in the appropriate hand books, but if you would let me know whether you are only interested in Bedford or whether you would like some more general references, I will send you a list.

Yours sincerely,

Nancy Bowker

4/1/65.

Mr. Margaret Bowker  
5, Spens Avenue  
Cambridge

Dear Mrs. Bowker,

Thank you very much for your letter of November re. witches. I was interested to hear of your work on pre-Reformation ecclesiastical records. I have been studying such records, particularly those of the arch-deacon, for the period 1560-1660 in Essex and am very impressed by their value. The 'comperta and detecta' and depositions are particularly useful for marriage customs, social mobility, land holding, religious deviating, and, of course, witchcraft and sorcery. But you will know all this. I see there is one Cl5 case in Andrew Clark(ed), Lincoln Diocese Documents... (1914), where he throws in some Cl6 Essex cases (pp 108-110) for good measure. I also have the cases in A.H. Thompson (ed), Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln... (1940). I would be most grateful, however, if you would send me any references you have, not just those for ~~the~~ Bedford. The amount of witchcraft prosecution before the Reformation is an extremely murky subject and any help medievalists can offer will be very gratefully received.

If you have the time, I would be most interested to hear something more general about your work. A friend of mine, Ralph Houlbrooke of Worcester College, has just started a D.Phil. on the pre-Reformation church - you will have heard of this no doubt. Do you have detailed visitation records - for instance similar to those for Hereford in 1397 - for this period? Do you suppose it would be able to select three or four villages over 500 or 100 years and re-construct (with the use of other records,



(2)

for instance wills, manorial etc) the religious and social life ? I am working along these lines for three Essex villages for 1560-1600 and there is an enormous amount of material. For instance for 1 village I have over 100 wills, 150 folios <sup>pages</sup> of manor court roll and over 1,000 cases in the arch-deaconry court. As you will see, the last of these figures works out at about 1 case for this village every 2 weeks. Since it is an extremely Puritan village, it is possible to work out in some detail not only the names, but also the economic status, the marriage relationships, the place of residence, the occupations etc. of the Puritans. I wonder if this would be possible for your period ?

Sorry to trouble you with this. It is the witchcraft that I am really after, so don't take any notice of the second part of the letter unless it interests you. If at any time I can help you in any way - for instance send you some statistics of witchcraft prosecution - please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

### Charles Phythian-Adams

In my memories of Oxford, written before I started looking at the documents, I wrote:

I remember Charles Phythian Adams and I walking across the Parks in Oxford and he explained to me something of the background to the Cambridge work and the work of the Annales School and its effects - including Aries' 'Centuries of Childhood'.

This is indeed a strong memory, and I remained friends with Charles for some years. He seemed to be one of the most innovative of the new social historians and open to new ideas from the Cambridge Group and France. My one remaining piece of correspondence with him for this period is a letter from me as follows. It is very long and I have supplied some of the headings which were missed in the scanning.



81165

C. Hyke - Adam

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Mr. Ambellside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Charles,

I hope things go well with you, and Coventry flourishes. Whenever we meet we seem to be in a great rush so I'm writing to set down on paper a few stray problems which seem to interest us both. I realise that it is easier to write in this quiet spot than in the mental whirl of Oxford so won't expect anything back, though I would be fascinated to hear your views on the subjects I raise. But first a few references. I'm afraid I gave you the wrong reference (from memory) to the article of Dorothy Crozier - I hope you haven't tried to look it up yet. It should be 'Kinship and occupational succession' in The Sociological Review, March 1965 (not the Br. Jnl. of Soc. as I said). Incidentally, I'm sure you're aware that an A.L. Fotheringham(?) is listed among the 'theses in progress' in the BHS, 1965, with 'Elizabethan Coventry' as his subject. I imagine this overlaps somewhat? I notice that Hoskins uses Coventry quite a lot in his various articles, for instance he notes the Coventry assessments (Local History, p.103) of 1524,5. Was he unaware of the censuses? If I remember you found them completely by chance. Have any more been discovered for any other towns in the Cl6 - I imagine Laslett would tell you if they had? Incidentally, if you haven't looked at it yet you might find something of interest on the elementary and three-generation family in Williams' book on Gosforth, pp.52,6. Apparently the latter is more common in the Cumberland village than in the country-side. I wonder if this was so in the Cl6? Have you found any explanations for the growth of the growth of non-nuclear families in Cl6 Coventry yet? I don't suppose Hoskins was looking for this in Wigston Magna, but I wonder if he could have found any figures anyhow?

I have just been looking through my notes on ~~the~~ 'kinship and marriage' intending to write a snappy little account of problems and sources. But the size of the subject has overwhelmed me. Here are a few scattered reflections. First I'll list some of the problems bothering me, then, if I can, suggest how one might set about answering them. If you can suggest further sources (possibly more relevant to a town; I am principally interested in the village at the moment) or suggest more fruitful questions I would be most interested. The major problem, as always, is that people never talk about things that are basic to their way of life; they assume them and hence basic relationships can only be studied indirectly, through their effects in other fields of activity. Thus I have approached kinship through a series of related topics. But first the direct approach.



### The family.

To determine: size, age-structure, sex-structure, residence - how far distributed (both nuclear and extended), mobility - both vertical and horizontal, inheritance patterns, occupational structure - i.e. how often children follow parents, obligations (e.g. at birth, death and marriage), sanctions (e.g. parental curse, disinheritance, corporal and other punishments), specialized groups such as widows, orphans and unmarried daughters, relationships between specific groups - e.g.

between affines, changes over ~~all the~~ time of all the above & relationship to other (e.g. religious, economic) factors.

Sources - any that will a) locate individuals - e.g. censuses, parish registers, wills, taxation. b) show the relationship between them - ecclesiastical and civil court, literary etc. In fact almost all local and other records.

Which of the following have you got for Cl6 Coventry? Assize, Quarter Session, Borough, Manor, Archdeaconry, Episcopal, court records? I assume you have the usual King's Bench, Chancery, Common Pleas and other central records, as well as the excellent census and taxation records. Have you used the ecclesiastical census of 1563 and the Liber Cleri of 1603 (or is this just restricted to certain parts of England, e.g. Wigston Magna - Provincial England, p.185)? Are there many wills for Coventry, I assume so - and what about inventories? Strangely, the latter are very scarce for Essex, the village I've chosen to study, for instance, hasn't got any. Are there any Cl6 rentals/maps/surveys of Coventry? These are usually manorial so I don't suppose there was any manorial jurisdiction in Coventry was there? When do the churchwardens accounts start, and when the parish registers - I assume there are several parishes in C. and they differ. David Palliser seems to have found the borough administrative records for York useful, have they survived for Coventry? I hope this doesn't sound too inquisitive - I'm not trying to do a take-over bid; I would like to know how far the records I have for my Essex villages are common to other places.



## Marriage

Who was present at; what economic arrangements were there - gifts and inherited wealth; what physical distance did they cover; how much social distance was there; what were courting habits (e.g. it seems to have been necessary to get the permission of 'friends', was it also necessary to obtain parents consent); where did the couple reside - with her or his relatives, or by themselves (cf. Wilmott & Young); what age did they marry (cf. Arensberg on the social reasons for late marriage in Ireland); did the woman ever retain her maiden name, were children called after father or mother's names; what did unmarried children do; what were divorce, incest, adultery & fornication rates; how close could one marry, is the myth of 'great interbreeding' in villages true?; were 'prohibited times' observed and was there a favourite time for marriage (e.g. after the harvest); how high were re-marriage rates and did these often happen between the same families (ie. marrying younger sisters); what were the obligations towards in-laws - (e.g. I have come across a case of a man being sued for not paying for the burial of his mother-in-law. And so on ad infinitum. Once one had some facts one could test the various hypotheses of anthropologists (who have been obsessed with this subject) and use marriage patterns as a ~~probe~~ to a number of other social relationships.

### Religion.

How often did Puritanism/ R.Catholicism run in families, and how far did it spread? (e.g. did marriage carry it; can either be related, either as cause and effect, to any particular family pattern)

did the family become increasingly the focus for religious activity (as Hill would argue); who were god-parents and how strong a tie was it; in what ways did religious ritual reinforce family sentiment (e.g. how far was confirmation a puberty rite which exhorted family obedience, how far did sermons and the eucharist emphasize the importance of the Father); in what ways did religious ritual at birth, marriage and death influence the family - who were expected to appear, what gifts were given etc. In what, if any, did the clergy's family differ from those of the laity (larger, better educated, married who?) - what was the effect of clerical marriage on the attitude to the family?

OHe's evidence here would tend to be mainly from Hill's sources - that is ecclesiastical records and Puritan polemicists; these would be related to the kinship structure as established from the above sources.



## Labour and leisure

How did the occupational structure fit the family - were certain occupations followed by certain families, did the pattern in the agricultural/professional/commercial groups differ; what differences were there between sex and age groups in labour - e.g. did the women do ~~the~~ domestic work, while the men went out, did the children start work very young and look after their younger brothers and sisters (cf. Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa), were certain jobs taboo for certain persons (as washing-up for early C20 men in Bethhall Green - Wilmott and Young); was the family, neighbour-group or village the 'leisure' unit - or was it divided into age-groups - e.g. it looks ~~like~~ as if the 'family' holiday is a modern conception; were children looked after communally at all when the parents went to work, how developed was the system of putting children out to be nursed?; was there any tension between living-in servants and members of the family (e.g. I have cases of jealousy by the wife and of incontinency with servants) and how far was the servant system really another form of extended family (i.e. servants of friends were taken on and treated almost as children); what effects did changes in the economic structure - either temporary, e.g. famines - or permanent - e.g. price changes, growth of industries etc. have on the family?

All the above sources are relevant - esp. anything dealing with servants, with children and with leisure.

### Local officials and politics; authority and crime.

How far was theft, popular disturbances, suicide and mental breakdown, official positions (e.g. church-warden, JP, constables, borough and manorial officials), etc. related to families? How far did kinship/neighbourliness act as a sanction and as a preventive to deviation - and what alternatives were there? - how far were there feuds between families and what were the mechanisms (e.g. 'The Peace in the Feud') for preventing them?; what decisions were taken by the family and what by the community?; what local activities - e.g. road-mending, law-and order, sanitation, building, were undertaken on a family, what on a communal basis?; what were the mechanisms of decision within the family - did the father control all, or could a group of outsiders (e.g. the 'village elders') or a privileged relative (grandmother) or official (clergyman) influence the family?



(4)

One could go on for ever - what effects ( and what causes) went with the 'housing revolution' of the C16; did the increase in possible privacy help to strengthen the nuclear family against the community? Why were there a large number of suicides among young men aged between 18-25 in Essex? What were the effects of different agricultural and housing patterns ( e.g. between forested, mountain, nucleated village and dispersed dwellings) ? etc. etc.

I do hope I haven't bored you too much. A string of questions isn't very exciting. But I wanted to clear my mind of a few of them, especially as I've got to write a piece on 'Kinship' for Raymond Firth. A lot of the questions are unanswerable, a lot are not well framed - still there might be some grain with the chaff. I am hoping to provide a few answers when I start a detailed study of an Essex village, using every kind of source (not just probate inventories) I can; perhaps Laslett has anticipated me?

I hope to be in Oxford early in December for a few days and hope we can meet then. I want very much to copy out any references I haven't got out of your 'exercise book', also to have a look at your large collection of books - not to mention discuss any of the above problems which interest you.

Best wishes,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Charles Phythian - Adams, Esq.,  
60. Rectory Rd.,  
St Clement's,  
Oxford.

25 St. Margaret's Road,  
Oxford.

21 November 1965

Dear Alan,

Just a short note asking for help, if you have time. I've been doing some work in Bristol, and had a look at the Act Book of the Consistory Court. It occurred to me that I might look for witchcraft cases ~~x~~ in plague years and see if there was any connection. But I was put off by the mere mechanics of the job - Latin abbreviations and bad handwriting. I thought I would ask you if there was a simple Latin formula always used in witchcraft cases which I could look out for, and also which ecclesiastical records gave you most of your material. I am hopelessly ignorant on the functions of the various courts and the documents they produced. So I would be grateful for a guide on the subject.

In part recompense, you ~~xxx~~ may be interested to know that I have found one case of suicide in ~~p~~ a parish register - in that of St. Giles', Reading, a man was buried in June 1606 having "drownèd hisselfe". This was a year of heavy plague. So suicides did occur. One wonders ~~as~~ whether this man had caught plague.

I hope the thesis is advancing.

Yours,

Paul.

See  
sample,



24/11/65.

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of enquiry and also for your letter of 23 Sept - it is lucky the second came to jog me into replying to the first. As you will see a few references have been piling up. First, to answer a question: yes, I am hoping to go to London (School of Economics next year to do a two year Diploma in anthropology. It is, possibly excepting the one-year Oxford course, the best in the country (and I think I need a break from Oxford, much as I love it). Of course there are financial difficulties, and it doesn't look as if I can get any help from anyone; still it makes me feel all the more 'pioneering' and I have romantic visions of working, a la Tawney etc., for W.E.A. or in coffee bars to pay my way. If I was a Keith I could probably pick up enough anthropology on the way - but I find I only have time for a smattering of reading at the moment and I would like to really seep myself in their outlook - and then return to history. As you can see I am turning into a proper little pupil of KVT's! Actually he's against the scheme, quite rightly pointing out that it's a bit of a waste of time. But I think that when things open up, as they soon will, on the borders between history and sociology, the more training one has is both the better. But enough of that. As to retiring to the Lakes, it has turned out to be a wise choice as it is far easier to write and think here. Of course one always feels one is missing a lot, as one is, and no doubt I would make valuable 'contacts' in Oxford, but the thesis must come first at the moment. It is going well so far, as is yours, I hope.

A few refs first (I expect you have them). C.W.Chalkin, Seventeenth Century Kent (Ch.2) (1965) - rather vague; Williams.W.M. The Sociology of an English Village (1956) - a book I've already mentioned re. marriage, so I expect you'll have seen that on p.155 he shows that 150 people died of plague 1596-7; ? Shrewsbury, The Plague of the Philistines, (? 1964) probably not relevant; I have an old reference to a Cook. P.J. of St. Hugh's (c.1964) doing a thesis on 'The geography of disease: a critical review of studies relating disease to environmental variables' - have you come across this? ; apparently there is something on plague (in Essex in the 1640's - probably too late for you, when is your end date?) in Ralph Jesselyn's diary; there is also something on plague in Braintree and Becking in the Essex Record Office - I haven't looked at this but they'd tell you what it was if you were ever there; what is the book by Bernard Garaide (People and Places in Hampton-on-Thames....) mentioned in the additional reading to Hoskin's chapter on plague in Local History... like? ; have you used wills at all for plague? I've been looking at some, but can't remember coming across any mention of it. Finally, when I was at the Public Record Office, Mr. R.P. Hunnisett, one of the Keepers (a very nice man, he has helped me a lot; he edited the Bedfordshire Coroner's Rolls for the Bedf. Rec. Soc.) suggested you might get in touch with him. He has been working on medieval and sixteenth century coroner's records and thinks they would be an



indispensable source for the study of plague. You have probably used them already. I've been looking at them for witchcraft (e.g. P.R.O. K.B.9) and agree with him - there are numerous people dying of 'Divine visitation', i.e. plague. Incidentally, there are numerous cases of suicide (thank you for your ref. by the way) and with other material I've seen I think Hoskins' (and others) view of a golden age, free from social (if not from economic and medical) problems is in for a big shake up. I'm convinced there was a very high suicide rate, a large amount of mental breakdown, mobility, conflicts etc etc. All I've got to do is prove it - and witchcraft isn't a bad place to start. But that's all by the way. Anyhow, next time you're at the P.R.O. you might contact Hunslett (or write to him).

I was very interested in your discussion of syphilis; it would make an interesting study in itself. I can't do more than give you my handful of references. A vicar was suspected to have the French pox according to a story of Reginald Scot (Discovery of Witchcraft, 1584, 1965 edition, p.28-9) - this is an amusing story, the vicar blaming his hoarse voice onto a neighbouring witch, his congregation thinking otherwise: a son refused to marry a woman after promises made between them 'for secret causes & especially for that the said Joane is not sound in body nor hath any haire on her head...'. (c.1600 - looks like v.d. :B(asser) R(ector) Office) D/ASA. 18 f.247.v. : in 1606 a man was accused in the same (ecclesiastical) court for a) carnal knowledge of a servant woman for a year b) that he infected his wife with venereal disease caught from the woman (E.R.O. D/ASA. f.121) - this is quite a common offence in the church courts and a number of people were hanged for ~~for~~ 'burning' (an expressive word for giving a person v.d.) e.g. in 1580 (D/ASA.9.f.68), in 1595 (D/ASA.17. f.149), in 1606 (D/ASA.f.138 - a man confessed this on his death bed, did he die of the disease?), and surgeons were prosecuted for being doctors to 'strumpets and those burnt' (D/ASA.11. f.124). If you want to look up a case or two in the church courts (this would be a good place to see what sort of business went on in them re. your later question) you might have a look at William Hale, Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes....(1847; Bodley L.R.W. Eng-Ref.53.d.1), p. 174 is a ~~syph~~ syphilis case.

Thank you for the witchcraft references. I think the bun-like W.Parkin must be William Perkins, also author of a discourse of the damned art of witchcraft.

Now to answer your last letter.

As you say, the ecclesiastical court records are not easy; Keith has been working on them as much as I have and a talk with him would be well worth while. Probably the best articles and books on these courts (which give further introductory reading) are E.R.Brinkworth, 'The Study and Use of Archdeacon's Court Records' ...! T.R.H.S. Ser.4.xxv.1943; another article by the same man on the Oxfordshire Archdeacon's Court (Oxon Rec.Soc. vol.xvii.1942); Kathleen Major, The Lincoln Diocesan Records, T.R.H.S.1940, 4th ser.22; a Northwick pamphlet (David Fellner has a copy) by John Addy on 'The Archdeacon and Ecclesiastical Discipline in Yorkshire....'1963; a simple, if unsatisfactory introduction can be found in J.S.Purvis 'An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records' (1953) and Claude Jenkins, Ecclesiastical Records - Helps for Students (no.18,

In view of your private trip you might like the article in the Journal of the Society for the Study of Church History of p.1 particularly interesting. It might also be worth getting in touch with Philip Tyler of Magdalen College who has done both a B.Litt. and a B.Phil. on the York ecclesiastical courts in the later C16 under SSM J.S.Purvis. Sorry some of these references are shoddy - many were copied onto scraps of paper in my first weeks of postgraduate work & I didn't know how to copy down correctly.

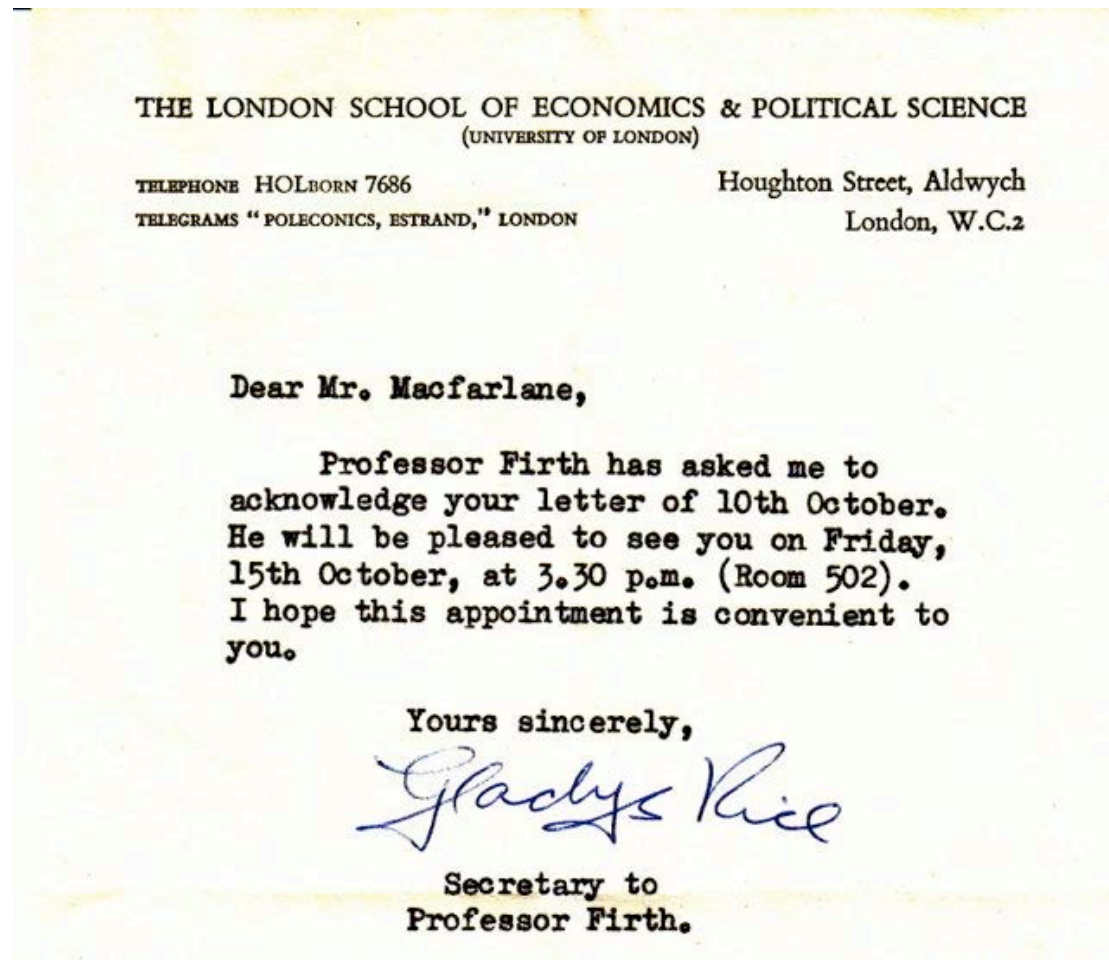
Good luck!



42

over! But this memory may be from a second meeting which we clearly had the following June.

The summons to the interview is as follows:





24/11/65

Dear Professor Firth,

It was most kind of you to see me in ~~November~~ October and I enjoyed our talk. You suggested that I might write a memorandum on 'historical kinship' with a view to discussing it with the other members of your group for the comparative study of kinship. This is an apology for not doing so. There are two reasons.

Firstly it seems to me that I know too little as yet either about anthropology or history to be able to write anything useful. I know roughly what anthropologists are interested in - from reading Young and Wilmott, Arensberg, yourself on 'Two Studies in Kinship', Williams on Gosforth, Turner on Schism and Continuity in an African Society etc. But it would be wasting your time to repeat the problems - size, residence, sanctions, succession, conflicts within, inter-marriage etc - concerning kinship. Nor can I yet give a clear account of how far there is historical material to answer the many questions one would ask. It is clear that parish registers, wills and manor court records (which record the succession to property) would be the basic materials for the actual kinship structure, while the ecclesiastical and other court records would illuminate conflicts and alliances between families and generally give the emotional content of the otherwise abstract structure. At the moment I am reconstructing two Essex villages in detail and hope to write a chapter on 'kinship and marriage' in them. I would be most interested if you could give me your comments on it and I think it would be more valuable for you than a string of 'possible approaches' and 'possible sources'.

Secondly I have been thinking about your vague suggestion that I might (finances allowing) join your



24/11/65

group for the study of kinship. It was most kind of you even to think of including me and I fully realise that you cannot be at all positive at this stage. I also realise that it would be impossible for me to both receive money from this source and do the Diploma. But I have rather set my heart on acquiring proper training as an anthropologist. If I don't 'social frameworks' 'systems of sentiments' etc. Now, I never will and would remain something of a dabbler - an expert in witchcraft and kinship perhaps, but with huge gaps where I knew nothing. I agree this is not a particularly sensible position but it is how I feel. Thus, assuming the School allows me to do the Diploma, I think I will take it. I am no further in obtaining funds from other sources yet - the Nuffield Foundation social science fellowships have an age limit of 28-40 and the secretary tells me there would be little point in my competing for them (I wonder why Evans-Pritchard suggested them?). No doubt something will emerge.

Thank you for all your kindness and I look forward to discussing historical kinship on future occasions.

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics and Political Science,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
London, W.C.2.



# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



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

26th November 1965.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

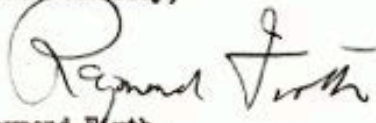
Thank you for your letter. May I comment on the points you raise, in reverse order?

First, as regards the group for the study of kinship. This meets irregularly, perhaps once or twice a term on an evening, the members dine together and we then have a paper, usually discussing a piece of someone's research. I am not quite clear whether you realize this because your letter rather suggests that attending meetings of this group would be a sort of alternative to your Diploma work. This, of course, is not so. I can quite see that from your point of view the thing is to get a proper training as an anthropologist. When you say "assuming the School allows me to do the Diploma, I think I will take it" I am not absolutely certain whether you are referring to the Oxford one-year Diploma or to our two-year Diploma here. I rather assume the latter, in which case I would think there is unlikely to be any hindrance in your acceptance. Of course these matters are finally judged by committees, but your qualifications and case seem to me to be strong for admission.

As regards your first point, it seems to me that in due course your reconstruction of kinship and marriage in two Essex villages would indeed be of interest not only to me but also to our kinship study group. But I take it that this will be quite some time ahead.

Come and see me again, if you wish.

Yours sincerely,

  
Raymond Firth.

Alan Macfarlane Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

From The Regius Professor of Modern History

History Faculty Library,

Merton Street,

Oxford.

Telephone ~~XXXX~~ 43388

3rd December, 1965.

My dear Macfarlane

I do not seem to have run into you all this term, and when I last saw you you were going off to some hermitage in the Lake District in order to work. How well did you work? I hope everything is going well. If you have time between now and the 13th December, when I shall be leaving, do call on me and tell me about your studies. I would very much like to see you again if you are free.

Yours sincerely

Hyth Trevor-Roper

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

From The Regius Professor of Modern History

History Faculty Library,

Merton Street,

Oxford.

Telephone ~~XXXX~~ 43388

6th December, 1965.

My dear Macfarlane

Thank you for your letter: I am so sorry I have missed you. I am never too busy to see people and would be delighted to see you any time you like to call. Do come next term.

Yours sincerely

Hyth Trevor-Roper

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

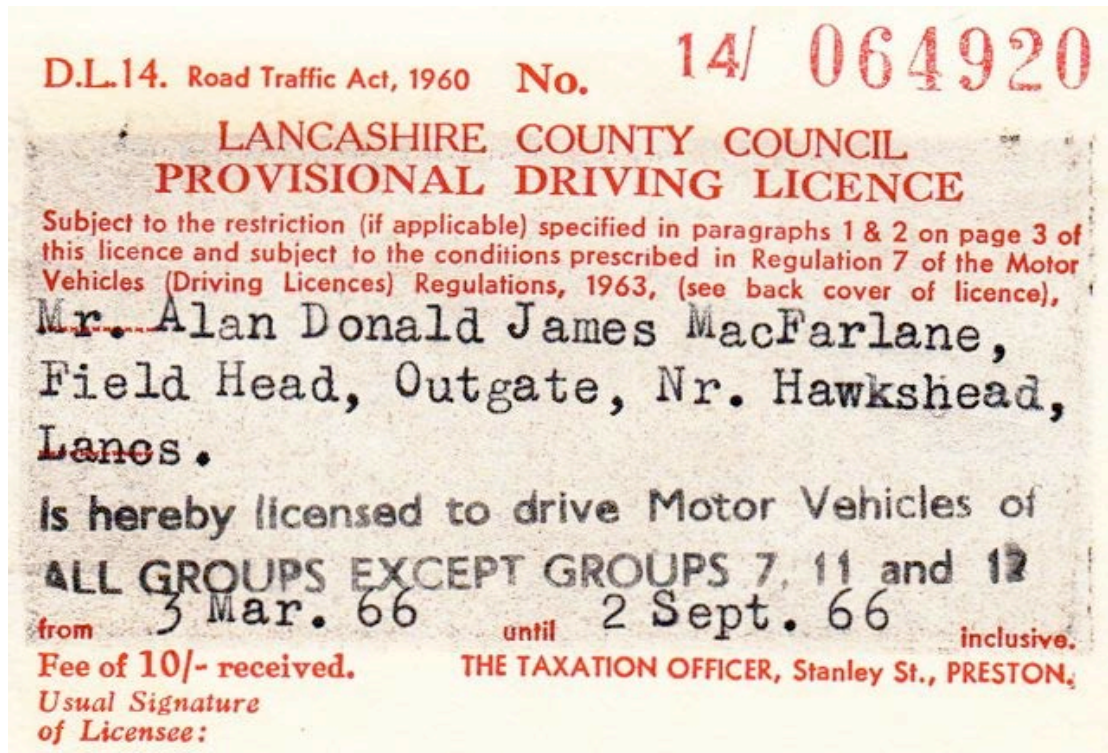
I feel very ashamed at not answering your very kind letters to me in the vacation. Please forgive me. I had trusted to seeing you in person.



## 1966 JANUARY TO MARCH

### Transport

There is a good deal in the letters etc. about how we travelled around during this period. I shall incorporate all this – the adventures on motorbikes, cars etc. There is a reference to my passing my driving test, presumably at the start of March 1966, as indicated by the provisional licence below. I drove down to Oxford that April/May on my own.



The other, curious, Lakes party was one which I ran for my family – perhaps to celebrate the completion of the ‘shed’. Alexander Wilmott and Ambrose Waterduck were the names of two of the familiars in a famous C16 witch trial. My mother’s reply was in the same spirit...

Dated: 25/2/66.



'The Shed'  
Ambleside.  
Telegrams: 'Witches'  
Kakelund.

Alexander Wilmott, Ambrose Waterduck,  
and Alan and Anne Macfarlane

humbly crave the  
presence of their  
honoured parents

'Iris' and 'Donald'  
for an informal celebration  
at 7 p.m. Tuesday, 1st March  
in the 'Shed'. R.S.V.P. 'The Shed'

Iris & Donald  
first March  
Fields Road  
Thanks Alan & Anne  
for their invitation to their  
Luncheon "go good" &  
will be happy to accept.

From Linda



Thursday 20 Feb 1966

*Dearest Alan,*

*.... I hope you had a pleasant journey back to the Lakes and have settled into your thesis again. Lucky you had that lift travelling by coach is so uncomfortable.... It was marvellous to have you to confide in and I will always remember how kind and understanding you have been. I am really very grateful. Perhaps one day I will be able to repay all your kindness.*

\*

### **Letters from Zoë**

LSE Friday. No date, c. Jan 1966

*Dear Alan,*

*Thank you very much for your card - how typically nice & thoughtful of you to get it here just before I arrived. Lovely card too, apart from anything else.*

I wrote on 24 January 1966

With Zoë - London - knitting.

The synthesis of your hands, flickering together  
The threads of night and day, dark and white  
Wool patterned by your presence  
Into a new shape and substance  
To Clothe me from the world's naked gaze  
To bring me in moments of fear  
When friends choke me with well-meaning  
And the familiar becomes hostile -  
And impulses no longer bring sensations  
And the feet are wounded in the soft grass  
Memories - of our meaningless friendship -  
That I might strike down the flame  
And bring peace to tormented minds.  
That I might forget the I and You,  
Swinging to the stars of ecstasy  
In a passion obliterating: instead  
Of this reluctant anatomizing of love,  
This endless niggling, drawing and denying,  
Demanding and pleading and hesitating  
Towards the sympathetic smile.  
I ought to sweep the autumn leaves,  
Forget the first winter and remember  
That there are a few bitter springs  
Left to us: go your way, and  
Push me on mine. No longer will  
The hawthorn blossom, or the swans  
Ride the level mist, but a lifted skirt,

Or a congratulation, tea after a cold walk,  
Or a satisfactory footnote can still bring pleasure.  
Soon will be the time for compromise and slippers.  
And the end of living on the edge,  
For a time, and then the lonely season,  
When I remember. But shut away that time  
And sweep me now into your arms  
And spit me into the depths of  
Forgetfulness...

No date, c. February. LSE

*... I liked all your observations on sex & sublimation & the social psychology thereof. I didn't agree at the time & still don't, that the desire decreases through lack of immediate stimulus! Though I expect I agree about the insecurity correlation thing. ... I'm sure you needn't feel guilty about Linda, so long as you don't actually seduce her! It sounds as if you're being very nice to her. If she's as dedicated to this man as you say, I shouldn't think she'd be seducible anyway. ... Anyway if I don't see you in Oxford, I'll see you next week. Do come & stay if you want. You know you're more than welcome (whatever that means!)*

15 Feb. 1966. London

[Notes by Alan: Flowers; Zoë's parents; Margaret; Val; Robert; re. going back to Zoë's with flowers – this I remember, the snowdrop; re. scholarship (Alistair); Mrs. W.]

*Dear Alan,*

*Really, you are marvellous. I suspected on of your post-cards might appear yesterday, but to come in & find all those lovely exquisite flowers was a glorious surprise. They were daffodils (& some jonquils), beautiful red & yellow tulips & some regal irises, in case you didn't know what they were to be. And so many of them – a whole riot of them. They're now standing in my black jug & looking really beautiful. The tulips are a lovely flame colour. Really, I'm sure you shouldn't have, but they're giving me immense pleasure & it was a magnificent thing to do. Thank you – there's nothing more profound I can say, though it sounds so inadequate.*

*And the snowdrops today (easily transcending the bureaucracy!) were exquisite too & so very appropriate for us. Yesterday, I tried to remember the day in detail. Are you sure I cycled the last bit of the way home. If so, when was it you first came back to College with me? I have a distinct image of coming back & putting the snow-drop in water with a feeling that you were there too. But this is very probably an illusion of memory. I remember the Worcester gardens & the tea-drinking bits anyway. Yes, it's odd it was a year ago – a whole exact year ago. I often think it can't really only have been a year ago.*

*How was the journey back – I wondered where you found a snowdrop under all that snow. Or has it melted by now? Friday went well enough, though we missed you....*

*I'm going off to watch that programme on divorce now. Sounds interesting. Did you see the Panorama feature on India? Makes one feel one really ought to be an agriculturist or something.*

*Thank you for the beautiful flowers. You really couldn't have done anything which gave me a greater glow of pleasure. Love, Zoë*



Saturday 12 March 1966 - from London

*Dear Alan,*

*I am really abjectly full of apologies. I hadn't realised just how long it is since I wrote. Your card this morning amazed me - I thought it was ages before you were coming down to London again. I am terribly sorry. Yes, I did get the snowdrops - in remarkably good conditions, compete with beautiful damp moss & was, of course, delighted with them. ... And how are you, & the work, above all. I hope it's been going well. I expect your concentration's been as good as ever. Hope you've been keeping the family at it too. I hope you are in fact in Chelmsford this week so this letter will reach you. ... Where will you be working - can we meet at lunch-time, or will you leave it till Thursday? ... So I could meet you in the Grad. Common Room (?) at any time you suggest. Will leave it to you. Where will you stay? Not your doss house I hope.*

## 1966 JANUARY - MARCH RESEARCH

I wrote a postcard to Keith on 16 January from Field Head.

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I hope you had a pleasant Christmas and have had time to continue the book. Writing proceeds according to plan up here and I hope to have the first draft of the chapter on 'ecclesiastical sources for witchcraft prosecutions' with me when I arrive in Oxford next (22-23 Jan) week-end. I will deposit it in John's with an accompanying letter. Could you possibly have a look at it by the following week-end? I will be at the P.R.O. from Monday-Thursday & in Oxford Fri-Saturday (28-30 Jan). If you could manage anytime then could you drop a note in Worcester to that effect for when I come down on 22nd. Otherwise I can ring you if that (28-30) week-end is no good & we can arrange a time. Thank you. Yrs. Alan Macfarlane*

I wrote a card on 22 January to Keith

*Dear Mr Thomas,*

*Next Saturday (29th) at 2 p.m. in St John's will be fine. I look forward to seeing you then. Yrs Alan Macfarlane*

I wrote from to Keith Thomas on 22 February as from Worcester College

*Dear Mr Thomas,*

*I enclose another chapter and some rather rough maps etc. there are several obvious difficulties in this section; the lack of comparative statistics for other counties, the possible haziness of examiners about ecclesiastical court procedure etc. I'm not certain whether the long description of Essex sources p. 14 onwards should be relegated to the bibliography. I'm not sure that a description is necessary for any understanding of the number and distribution of cases - but it takes a lot of room. It's probably a problem which will sort itself out. The last couple of pages would probably go in the second half of the thesis - in the chapters of subject analysis, but I thought you might be interested to see them. If you could let me have any rough comparative statistics of defamation cases I would be most indebted. I seem to remember that you had found a large number, but, as you see, they are rare in Essex.*

*I'm still working at King's Bench records, and will be moving on to chapters on Borough, pamphlet and central court (other than Assize) witchcraft. I should be able to let you have some suicide statistics quite soon. I'm also working on a couple of villages - Hatfield Peverel and Boreham in an attempt to reconstruct the economic, religious & kinship background. I never realised what an enormous amount of material there is, even for 1 village for 30 yrs. For HP. There are 100 wills or over, 130 folios of court roll, 1,000 cases in Archdeaconry court and about 20 in secular courts. I've even found my first suicide - in 1569, but not a witch, I regret to say.*

*I look forward to discussing things with you.*

*I hope all goes well,*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

Alan wrote to Keith on 23 February

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*



*Just a note to ask your permission to quote you as a possible referee for an application for money from a body known as the 'Covenantors' Educational Trust'. Would this be alright? They claim to provide assistance for those unable to obtain it elsewhere, but beyond this I don't know anything of them. Of course it's a long hope, but I'm at the stage of trying anything to get money to support me through my London M.Sc. in anthropology. The State, Nuffield Foundation and L.S.E. generally are unable to help, nor are Trevor-Roper or Firth.*

*The thesis progresses and I'm writing up the central records (St. Cha. K.B. P.C. etc) and literary and pamphlet sources. I will send down a further batch in three weeks or less if I may: I will also be down in about a month. I hope all goes well with your work.*

*I wonder what the significance of April, May and November as high suicide months is and why twice as many males as females committed suicide (so far this is only based on a small sample - i.e. the 79 cases occurring in K.B.9 in 1584)?*

*Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

There is a card from Keith on 26 February

*Yes, of course, do cite me as referee at any time (no need to ask in future cases!). I look forward to reading your next instalment. What you say about the months of suicides is v. interesting. In the 19th Century May & June were the peak months. We must talk about it when you come next. Keith*

The next letter from Alan to Keith is on 12 March from Field Head

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you very much for your permission to use you as a referee when I like: I have made immediate use of this permission and cited you in an application for some extra-mural lecturing at London next year - I hope this is alright. I trust that your book is progressing.*

*As you see, I enclose a couple of short chapters. A third - on the pamphlets - is nearly ready, but I decided not to rush it. When this, and a brief chapter on the borough records, are completed the first half of the thesis should be finished (though it has all to be rewritten). I enclose a rough plan of the shape of the second half. I would value your comments as I'm not awfully happy with it - so much is left out - but can't see a better way at the moment. Section ii) a-f would all be short chapters of less than ten pages, attempts to find correlations between the material set out in part I and these subjects. I still don't feel much nearer to writing iii) b) (reasons for the growth and decline of prosecutions), but perhaps solutions will emerge as I analyse further. You will see that some of the appendices are very abbreviated; this is because I think that it would be best, finally, to incorporate quite a few of the lists of cases into one list by date - with columns for each source. I don't know if you think this would be a good idea.*

*There is a vague suggestion that I might be allowed to sample a few Commissary Act books, but this will have to be a last-minute addition as the P.R.O. keep putting a definite answer off. Otherwise I am through (except for a visit to Colchester) with primary sources for witchcraft and am now engaged in studying the background - parish registers, wills, other court records etc. I will be in London, Essex and Oxford over the next three weeks and wondered if we could meet at a time convenient to you? I will be in Oxford on Saturday 19th of March and the following Saturday (26th) and if you could manage either a note at Worcester (not stamped and 'to await arrival') would*

find me. If these are impossible I'll ring you when in Oxford and we can perhaps fix something.

As you see, I enclose a few figures from the Elizabethan coroner's rolls on suicide. These have got to be checked as I did them in a rush while noting deaths of plague (I now discover that Essex have been calendaring K.B.9 - which will help me cross-check), but I thought they would interest you despite their crudity. I hope to analyse further and correct them fairly soon, but I obviously haven't time to go into the subject properly. As it was partly through you that I became interested in the subject, I would be very happy for you to use any of the figures (when corrected) if you feel like writing on the subject. There is no need for me to comment on some very interesting patterns - e.g. age/sex figures for Essex. The major problem, as far as I'm concerned, is whether these are anywhere near the total figures. Equipped with names, date of death etc. I do hope to do a few samples in Essex to see how such deaths were registered in the parish registers, but I haven't enough cases from other sources (or the time) to do a cross-check the other way, i.e. see if misc. cases appear in the coroner's rolls - this should be possible however. Or instance, the case of John Brine or Brand of Great Hallingbury which I sent you does get recorded in an inquisition - K.B. 631 m.78. Unfortunately there is only one suicide in the three villages I am studying in detail (Hatfield P) and this is the village without a register - from other records it does appear that she was not a member of one of the established families anyhow. Of course, all this isn't too irrelevant to witchcraft, a map of suicides (which I should be able to make soon) will make an interesting comparison to the maps of witchcraft; or, it is obviously interesting to see whether suspected witches killed themselves: all I've noticed in this line is witch's husband who killed himself (apart, of course, from the attempted suicide of a witch in the Elizabeth Lowys of Great Waltham case - see appendix D/AEA 2 to the chapter on the pamphlets, when it arrives!). I look forward to another discussion, Yours sincerely

P.S. Please keep the suicide figures if they're of interest - I have another copy.

[Loose sheet attached]

Plan for second half of thesis.

i) Detailed studies of

- a) Witchcraft in three Essex villages, 1560-1600 (Hatfield Peverel, Boreham, Little Baddow)
- b) Anti-witchcraft activity: the cunning man, 'white' witchcraft.
- c) Matthew Hopkins and the 1645 trial.

ii) Witchcraft in relationship to

- a) religious groups (puritanism, clergy et)
- b) medical factors (plague, types of illness caused etc)
- c) economic change (poverty, famine, class, occupations)
- d) kinship and neighbourliness
- e) sexual factors; age tensions
- f) personality/activities of accused and accusers

iii) Explanations of witchcraft

- a) the functions of witchcraft - as explanation, outlet for aggression and guilt, as rupturing force etc.
- b) reasons for growth and decline of prosecutions



*Appendices, maps, graphs and bibliography*

The next letter is from Keith on 14 March

*Dear Alan,*

*The briefest of notes to thank you for the package which arrived today and which I look forward to reading. The contents as usual look most interesting. Meanwhile there are two points I ought to mention. The first is that it would be very helpful if you could give me the roughest of indications as to when, at the present rate of progress, you expect the thesis to be finished and ready for submission. This is just so I can enter it in the terminal note for the History Board. If you could drop me a p.c. that would be fine.*

*The second is that I shall, I am afraid, be away from Oxford for the better part of the next fortnight. I'll be back by the General Election [31 March 1966] and could see you over the weekend following (2/3 April) if that were possible. Otherwise perhaps you could offer some other dates thereafter. I am so sorry about this and do hope this isn't too inconvenient for you. It will be nice to see you again. Meanwhile I hope you are well and cheerful. The Lake District must be starting to be v. nice at this time of time year. Yrs, Keith*

Alan wrote a card to Keith on 20 March as from Worcester College, Oxford

*Dear Mr Thomas,*

*You ask for a rough approximation as to when I'll finish the thesis. I hope to finish the final draught [sic] and send it to the typist in October. I don't know how long these people take and it'll have to be checked. So I imagine I will supplicate in January at the latest (illness/accident barring). I checked with the registry. I don't need to ask for an extension until June 1967.*

*I hope the TLS goes OK. I suppose this new Waltzer book is psychological rather than sociological? I look forward to seeing you in March 31st. Yrs Alan Macfarlane*

[addressed to Keith in Barry, Glamorgan]

\*

For the moment I shall just put in scans of a few of the pages of the drafts I was producing for Keith.

The first referred to in January, was a chapter on 'ecclesiastical sources'. This was 24 pages long and includes comments by Keith.

# WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS AT THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS

From at least the seventh century Liber Poenitentialis of Archbishop Theodore, witchcraft and sorcery cases had come under the jurisdiction of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the middle ages a considerable number of cases appeared before the ecclesiastical authorities, though punishments were usually of a non-physical kind.<sup>2</sup> Such cases were closely related to those for heresy and at the end of the fourteenth century were probably affected by the writ de haeretico comburendo. While the ecclesiastical courts still apprehended suspected sorcerers it is unlikely that a death sentence could be passed without parliamentary sanction.<sup>3</sup> During the fifteenth century scattered cases of ecclesiastical trial of witchcraft can be gleaned from the printed records, and others would undoubtedly emerge if a more systematic search of unprinted material were made.<sup>4</sup> As the amount of records increases in the first half of the sixteenth century, so do the number of known instances of trial.<sup>5</sup> A large proportion of all the cases before 1560 occurring in the ecclesiastical courts concern sorcery rather than witchcraft: none mention the Satanic compact and few include the malevolent destruction of persons and property.

1. For a further discussion of the interrelating jurisdiction of Church and State ~~to~~ 1500 see p. above: see also Notestein, Witchcraft, pp. 29-30.
2. For cases to 1400 see Kittredge, Witchcraft..., pp. 41, 46, 48, 51-6; E.I., pp. 6-9; H.G. Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power under Richard II', Eng. Hist. Rev., li (1936), 4-5. A case from the 1397 Visitation of Hereford is mentioned in G.C. Coulton, Medieval Panorama, (Fontana ed'n, 1961), i. 204.
3. This complex subject is inadequately discussed in Pallock and Maitland, History of English Law..., p. 555; Holdsworth, History of English Law..., p. 509 and Richardson, 'Heresy and the Lay Power...', 24.
4. For printed cases see E, p. 10; Kittredge, Witchcraft... pp. 37-9; James Raine, Depositions and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings from the Courts of Durham, (Surtees Soc., xxi, 1845), pp. 27, 29, 33; William Hale, A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes, 1475-1650..., (1847), pp. 3, 7, 10, 11, 16, 17, 20, 32-3, 36-7, 61, 63. An unprinted case of possible sorcery in 1499, involving an interview with 'Lez Gracious Fayry', was kindly brought to my attention by Mr. John Davies, formerly of Linacre House, Oxford; it is in the Lambeth Registers, Morton, II. f. 113.v. Another unprinted case, the reference to which I owe to Mrs. Owen of the University Library, Cambridge, occurs in 1465 in an Ely Episcopal Register, G.1.5. f. 133.
5. Yorkshire cases are referred to in A.G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, (Oxford, 1959), p. 16 and Kittredge, Witchcraft..., pp. 34, 65-71. There are a series of cases in Hale, Precedents..., 77, 102, 107-8, 139 and in Raine, Durham Depositions..., pp. 45-6, and W.H. Thompson, Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1517-1531, ed. A.H. Thompson (Lincs. Rec. Soc., xxxiii, 1940), i, xlix-1; also in the Act Book of the Ecclesiastical Court of Whalley, ed. A.K. N. (Chethams Soc., n.s., 44, 1901), pp. 22, 67. and Ewen, p. 446.

Sp. also. Finham, Ecc'l' C't. pp. 119-120. (m. 1, 572-3)  
early 16th c. Atharic survey case.

late 15th century

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

Trade Slaves 71?

Intro Conclusion

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Paul G. Thomas

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Number and type of offences in the Essex ecclesiastical records.

Visitation articles listed a number of offences under the general heading of 'sorcery': for instance in the London episcopal articles of 1571 'any that useth sorcery, witchcraft, enchantment, incantations, charms, unlawful prayers, or invocations in latin' were to be presented.<sup>1</sup> Thus we find a number of different crimes in the courts. These are set out in table 3 below. A major division has been made between 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery', that is between 'black' and 'white' witchcraft.<sup>2</sup> This tests the hypothesis that while the secular courts dealt with maleficent witchcraft, the ecclesiastical authorities punished sorcery. The statistics show that this is by no means true for Essex, at least until 1603. Within 'sorcery' a major division is made between going to cunning folk for help, and actually being a wizard. Finally, there are some offences which do not fit into either category. Included in these are the ~~the~~ seventeen defamation cases: calling a person a witch without sufficient proof. The defamation cases include the three 'instance' cases from the Deposition books; thus all the cases in the first two categories come from the Act books of the Archdeaconry courts, except for a dozen from equivalent records of the Bishop's Consistory. The number of persons, rather than each appearance of each person, is counted: hence a person might appear more than once (as we have seen that nine did) and only be listed once.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 3: Types of offence in the ecclesiastical courts: number of persons.

<u>Offence</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Example</u>
WITCHCRAFT.		

'Witchcraft and sorcery'	128+7	D/AEA 8
(of which 19 were probably sorcery <sup>4</sup> , and 24 definitely witchcraft. <sup>5</sup> )		

(for 'sorcery' see over....)

(notes from previous page)

2. D/ACA. 21.

3. See Appendix

4. D/AED 3. f.113.v. ff.

5. See Appendix

6. Including those in the Act books there were 17 in all though some of these were merely quarrels in which 'witch' was used, see p. 21.

1. See p.

2. For a discussion of this distinction see p.

3. .... 4. Often it is impossible to tell from the accusation whether 'black' or 'white' witchcraft was meant: the figure 19 here is the total of men, or man and wife, accused of 'witchcraft and sorcery', men were more probably sorcerers than witches (see p. ). The 24 'definitely witchcraft' accusations are those persons who also appeared at the secular court accused of witchcraft. It is possible, of course, that, like Margery Skelton (see bottom p. 13 above), they were accused in the ecclesiastical court of sorcery and then accused of witchcraft.

In February and March I refer to chapters on literary sources and pamphlet sources and one I was hoping to finish on borough court records.

The literary chapter was sixteen pages long, and has Keith's comments on it.

LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF ESSEX WITCHCRAFT.

Since most historians of witchcraft have ~~mainly~~ based their works mainly on pamphlet accounts of trials, and on literary sources, that is upon accounts of witchcraft written in polemical books and in letters, biographies, diaries, plays and poems, it is important to see how accurate a picture these give of the witchcraft prosecutions.<sup>1</sup> Such sources are also important because they indicate contemporary attitudes towards such prosecutions.<sup>2</sup>

Diaries.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century English diaries are not numerous and even less numerous are the references to witchcraft in them.<sup>3</sup> The earliest Essex diary to be explored is that of the Puritan, Richard Rogers, born in Chelmsford and preacher at Wethersfield in north Essex from about 1575 to 1618. Though there were many witch trials in neighbouring villages,<sup>4</sup> there are none recorded from Wethersfield until 1626.<sup>5</sup> Nor are there any references to witchcraft in the diary, which covers the period February 1587-August 1590,<sup>6</sup> and Rogers' name does not appear in any of the known prosecutions.<sup>7</sup> One Puritan, at least, seems neither interested in, nor encouraging to, prosecutions.<sup>8</sup>

The next diary referring to Essex was also written by an extreme protestant, Arthur Wilson, for a time steward of the Puritan Earl of Warwick.<sup>9</sup> Wilson was present at the sensational trial in 1645 and he recorded his opinions of it. These are extremely sceptical and an excerpt will give

1. See p. above for a table of the sources used by subsequent historians.

2. It is obvious that a lifetime could be devoted to such sources and still some references to witchcraft be undiscovered.

3. This impression is based on the works of historians who have based their accounts of witchcraft on literary sources: Briggs, *Pale Hecate...*, cites no diaries in her bibliography, nor does Trevor Davies, *Four Centuries...* (though he includes two Scottish diaries: from his comparative reading of English and Scottish personal records Professor Trevor-Roper has the impression, which he has kindly conveyed to the writer, that Scottish writers were far more aware and frightened of witchcraft than their English counterparts). Notestein, *Witchcraft...*, Appendix C, only cites one English diary for a county other than Essex, a Lancashire diary referring to a case in 1674-5.

4. See map . Great Bardfield, for instance, the home of Edward Mason the sorcerer, was next to Wethersfield.

5. E.565, 566.

6. *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, ed. M.M. Knappen, (1933). The other Puritan diary that of Samuel Ward, fellow of Emmanuel College, covering the years 1595-1630, also omits the subject of witchcraft.

7. Since Wethersfield was in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, there are no surviving ecclesiastical records for this period: this weakens the negative evidence.

8, 9 - see next page.



finding no satisfaction at the courts, the villagers took the law into their own hands.<sup>1</sup>

The general impression from the infrequent diaries would be that witchcraft prosecution in Essex was an infrequent occurrence; a subject to dismay or perplex country vicars, occasionally leading to an exceptional and bloody trial. There is no mention of the <sup>Assize</sup> or ecclesiastical prosecutions, <sup>hundreds</sup> of them, and no witchcraft is mentioned before 1645.

#### Minute and Committee Books.

The diaries of official bodies, the minute books, are likewise sparse and provide little evidence of interest in witchcraft. One such minute book is that of the Dedham Classis from 1582-1589.<sup>2</sup> Among the many matters discussed was the following:

'6 May. 1588 Mr. Salmon moved 'How he might know a witch, it was thought fittest to give it over to some Justice to examine it, and that there must be some usual experience of evil effects to ensue of their displeasure and some presumption of the death of man or beast: some said she might be found out by search in her body, some thought that to be fancy in the people easily conceiving such a thing and to be reprov'd in them.'<sup>3</sup>

Salmon was not an Essex minister<sup>4</sup> and his name does not appear in any of the recorded Essex prosecutions.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that the clergy thought that the matter should be handed over to the secular ~~and~~ magistrates, and that they were divided on the witch's mark. There is no sign here of either marked scepticism or a persecuting spirit. While the possibility of witchcraft was assumed, there was already some doubt as to the tests which could be employed to discover the crime.<sup>6</sup>

A minute book of another kind and another body, was that of the Civil War County Committee. That these sometimes contained references to witchcraft we know: the Suffolk Orders include a payment for expenses incurred at a witch trial.<sup>7</sup> In Essex, however, despite the notorious 1645 trial, no mention

1. See p. 7, n. 1, for the development of this trend in the eighteenth century and later.

2. The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, ed. R. G. Usher (Camden Soc., 3rd ser., viii, 1905): A unique document ~~and~~ hence comparison with other parts of England is impossible.

3. Ibid., p. 70.

4. At least he is absent from Newcourt, Reportorium: all the information Usher gives is that he was a member of the Classis and lived at Ewerton.

5. There is nothing, except name, to connect him with the notorious John Salmon of Danbury, probably executed in 1587: (See p. for the career of John Salmon.)

6. William Perkins, among others, later emphasized this difficulty, see p.

7. This was in 1645: Alan Everitt, Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660

(Suffolk Rec. Soc., iii, 1960), p. 73. They may have taken an even more active part: in a letter to John Gaule, printed in Gaule's Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches and Witchcrafts, (1646), A. 3. Matthew Hopkins's remarks that a minister in Suffolk was 'forc'd to recant (by the Committee)' his preaching opposing the discovery of witches.

The pamphlet chapter was 22 pages long and had Keith's comments on it.

THE MOTIVES, METHODS AND NUMBER OF WITCHES: EVIDENCE FROM THE PAMPHLETS.

Detailed, often verbatim, reports of the depositions of witnesses and the examination of suspects in witchcraft trials have occasionally survived in the form of popular pamphlets. Usually they describe trials at the Assizes and in doing so they provide three principal kinds of information for the historian of witchcraft. Firstly, they often give added information about those involved as accusers or accused; their age, their wealth, their personality and their relationships. Secondly, they indicate how witchcraft was believed to work; the power of cursing, the relationship of the supposed witch to her familiar or to the devil. Thirdly, they reveal the motives ascribed to witches and the actual incident which was believed to have prompted the bewitching. In giving these details, otherwise often inaccessible, they become one of the most important of all sources for the study of witchcraft.

Essex is fortunate in possessing several detailed pamphlets. Of the twenty-eight 'Major English Witch Trials as Recorded in Contemporary Pamphlets' listed by R.H. Robbins, five are from Essex.<sup>1</sup> A primary consequence of this has been an immediate assumption that Essex was a particularly witch-haunted county. Though this may be true,<sup>2</sup> pamphlets, in themselves, are a misleading indication of the density of witchcraft beliefs and prosecutions. Often a major trial, for instance that in Lancashire in 1633, produced no pamphlet: Essex Assize records show that peaks of accusations in that county do not necessarily coincide with a pamphlet. This is shown in the following table:-

TABLE 1: Assize prosecutions and pamphlets compared.

(Years with either 12 or more indictments, a pamphlet, or both)

Year	Number of Indictments	Pamphlet	Year	Number of Indictments	Pamph.
1566	4	P	1589	19	P
1572	16	-	1592	14	-
1574	15	-	1593	13	-
1576	12	-	1594	17	-
1579	13	P	1601	12	-
1582	18	P	1616	13	-
1584	35	-	1645	50	P(x2)

1. Robbins, Encyclopedia..., pp.168-9.

2. See pp. .



suspect, onto the person who had precipitated the conflict in values. Such a shift was rationalised and made acceptable by making the witch's offence far worse than the original uncharitable act. For instance, the victim could argue that although he had refused a loan of 12d. for a woman's sick husband placing his kinship obligations before his neighbourly ones, yet this did not justify an act of homicide by witchcraft.<sup>1</sup>

Table 11: The supposed motive of witches, as revealed in the 1582 pamphlet.

<u>Name of accused</u>	<u>Supposed motive</u>	<u>Folio reference</u>
Ursley Kemp	refused nursing of child.	Av
	a promised payment refused.	A2v
	refused a loan of 'scouring sand'	A3
Joan Pechey	a food dole given to her is not of sufficient quality	A4
Ales Newman	refused 12d. for her sick husband	A7
Ursula Kemp	called 'whore' and other names	B2
Elizabeth Bennet	cursed, maligned and her cattle cursed her swine beaten and pitchforked	B6v
		B7
Alice Manfield	a thatcher refused to work for her unless he could get his master's permission	C6v
Eliz. Ewstace	her daughter threatened (being a servant)	C7
Cicely Celles	denied mault at the price she wants, her cattle hunted off a neighbour's land	C8v "
Ales Hunt	denied a piece of 'Porke'	D5
Ales Manfield	denied 'curdes' a 'greene place' in fron of her house made muddy by a neighbour's muckcart	D6v
		D7
Cicely Celles	refused the nursing of a child	D8v
Ales Manfield	refused a 'mess of milk'	E2v
Margaret Grevell	denied 'Godesgood'	E2v
	denied mutton	E3
Eliz. Ewstace	geese driven off a neighbour's land and hurt	E4
Ursley Kemp	physically attacked	E5

2v  
3

1. 1582.P. sig.A7: for a further discussion of these problems see pp.

Ursley Kemp                      physically attacked                      E5

The borough court chapter was shorter, just five pages, and again had Keith's comments on it.



## WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS IN TOWNS: EVIDENCE FROM THE BOROUGH COURTS.

We have seen that witchcraft prosecutions were widespread in Essex villages. The problem remains, however, <sup>as to</sup> (of) how far this was a rural phenomenon, and to what extent statistics, based on the Assize and other general courts, understate the true number of cases because they do not include cases tried in the independent borough courts.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that, in England as a whole, a considerable number of accused witches were punished in borough courts. For instance Wallace Notestein lists over three dozen cases from all over England tried in the boroughs; among them five from Great Yarmouth, four from King's Lynn and five from Newcastle.<sup>2</sup> As this chapter will demonstrate, the known prosecutions could soon be increased by a search of the voluminous printed and manuscript borough records.<sup>3</sup> A particularly difficult problem is the amount of witchcraft prosecution in London. That there were prosecutions in both ecclesiastical and secular courts, from 1560 on, is evident.<sup>4</sup> It also seems that London was especially famous for its cunning folk; people travelled from all over Essex to visit them.<sup>5</sup> Without a detailed study, however, it is not possible to go beyond an impression that both black and white witchcraft were commonly prosecuted; such prosecutions never appear to have mounted at any one time into a holocaust similar to those in Essex in 1582 or 1645. There are no famous trials of 'the London witches' described in a contemporary pamphlet.<sup>6</sup> Yet accusations, of the kind we have been studying in Essex, appeared in a steady stream at the Middlesex sessions. For instance, if we take the years 1612-1618 as a sample, there were nine persons either indicted, or mentioned as suspects in a recognizance; all were for killing or injuring human beings by witchcraft and they came from Holborn, Tottenham, Smithfield, Hampstead and several other suburbs.<sup>7</sup> Over the same period, in Essex, there were 15 people prosecuted, three of them in Harwich, the rest at the Assizes; but there are too many incomparable factors, for instance relative population and survival of records to make this a useful comparative statistic. It does suggest,

1. Ewen believed that these courts were very important; he suggested that as many cases were tried in 'independent courts' as at the Assizes (p. 112). If Essex is a fair sample he greatly exaggerated their importance: the ratio was more likely about 1:8 (see p. below)

2. Notestein, *Witchcraft...*, Appendix C.

3. Two Essex prosecutions are listed, <sup>by Notestein</sup> (another 22 have been added (see p. below)). A factor of ten would give over 300 persons tried at borough courts throughout England, but Essex may be exceptional. Notestein only sampled printed records and others have become accessible since he wrote: for an example of cases he missed see R.H. Morris, *Chester during the Plantagenet & Tudor Periods* (Chester, 1893), pp. 187, 371.

4. For a summary of trials at the Middlesex sessions see p. above; for ecclesiastical cases discovered while searching for Essex prosecutions, p. .

5. See p. below.

6. Though it is impossible to be categorical until all the records have been thoroughly checked; as we have seen in Essex in 1584, a major trial may not produce a pamphlet.

7. Of course it would be wrong to think of London as a city in our sense, Hampstead, for instance, was a neighbouring village, probably little different from many Essex villages. This complicates the question of whether witchcraft tensions were exacerbated or undermined by the break-down of the obligations and social relationships upon which accusations were founded in the past.



1966 JANUARY – MARCH OTHER RESEARCHERS

Patrick Collinson

Patrick Collinson was referred to in my letters to others – for example to Lady Clay. His interest in ecclesiastical records overlapped with mine and he was part of the new movement in social history.

21/2/66

Field Head  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Collinson,

I have been meaning to write to you for some time, but reading your interesting article on Field in Essays to Neale has finally spurred me on. I myself am working at Worcester College, Oxford on a D.Phil entitled 'Witchcraft prosecutions in Essex, 1560-1680; a sociological analysis' and this is due to be finished in October this year. I am in the process of trying to see correlations between prosecutions and other trends, one of which is puritanism. Your thesis on the 'Classical movement' was unfortunately on loan from the University Library when I was last there, but I have ordered it at the Bodleian. My first request is for permission to quote any small passages which may be relevant to my thesis, though, of course, I don't know what these will be yet. Secondly, Nicholas Tyacke (formerly of Balliol College) tells me that you are turning the thesis into a book: is there any chance of this appearing in the near future?

At the moment I am undertaking a detailed analysis of three Essex parishes, Hatfield Peverel, Boreham and Little Baddow. Though they were adjacent their experience of the classical movement seems to have been completely different.



While a presbytery was supposedly set up at Hatfield under Carew the other two vicars were dismissed in the Puritan Survey as 'unpreaching ministers'. I want to see, using all local records available - wills, manorial, parish registers etc. what this actually meant in these villages. Obviously the ecclesiastical court records are vital here and I have obtained a list of all suspected puritans in the three villages and hope to relate them to their economic and social background: to discover where they lived, what part they took in ecclesiastical affairs (i.e. were they church-wardens etc), whether they intermarried, what expression their religious beliefs found in their wills etc. I wonder if you have undertaken anything of this type either in your thesis or since? I would very much value your comments on the possibility of this approach and any suggestions for further problems or sources. Incidentally, do you know whether the Bishop of London ever did answer the enquiry about the number of communicants in the parishes in his diocese. In the Harleian Mss. (595) he promises to do so, but I have not been able to locate such a listing. Also, do you know if there is any equivalent to the Lincoln Liber Cleri edited by C.W. Foster (Lincs. Rec. Soc., xxi) ? This was the enquiry about the number of communicants, made in 1603. I think this should be different from 'A viewe of the State of the Clergie within the Countie of Essex....' 1604 (B.M. 4705 d 22) or are they the same? On the above two points the suggestion to ask you was made by Hilda Grieve of the Essex Record Office.

In exchange for all these questions, you might be interested in the following case from



(2)

Apologies for bothering you with all this when you must be very busy, but it is very important for me to discover whether there was any link between puritanism and witchcraft. I am writing the thesis in the Lakes (at the above address) but come down to London for brief periods. Perhaps, if you are not too busy, we could meet and discuss sources and problems for the study of popular religion ?

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Dr. Patrick Collinson,  
Department of History, *Ky's College,*  
University of London, *↓*  
Senate House,  
Malet Street,  
London, W.C.1

To which Collinson kindly replied as follows (I don't recall meeting him, but perhaps we did). [A better scan could be made]

Margaret Bowker – continuation of an earlier correspondence (the date should be 1966, not 1965)

4/1/65.

77 Margaret Bow  
5, Spens Avenue,  
Cambridge

Dear Mrs. Bowker,

Thank you very much for your letter of November re. witches. I was interested to hear of your work on pre-Reformation ecclesiastical records. I have been studying such records, particularly those of the arch-deacon, for the period 1560-1660 in Essex and am very impressed by their value. The 'comperta and detecta' and depositions are particularly useful for marriage customs, social mobility, land holding, religious deviating, and, of course, witchcraft and sorcery. But you will know all this. I see there is one C15 case in Andrew Clark(ed), Lincoln Diocese Documents... (1914), where he throws in some C16 Essex cases (pp 108-110) for good measure. I also have the cases in A.H. Thompson (ed), Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln... (1940). I would be most grateful, however, if you would send me any references you have, not just these for ~~the~~ Bedford. The amount of witchcraft prosecution before the Reformation is an extremely murky subject and any help medievalists can offer will be very gratefully received.

If you have the time, I would be most interested to hear something more general about your work. A friend of mine, Ralph Houlbrooke of Worcester College, has just started a D.Phil. on the pre-Reformation church - you will have heard of this no doubt. Do you have detailed visitation records - for instance similar to those for Hereford in 1397 - for this period? Do you suppose it would be ~~able~~ to select three or four villages over 500 or 100 years and re-construct (with the use of other records,



(2)

for instance wills, manorial etc) the religious and social life ? I am working along these lines for three Essex villages for 1560-1600 and there is an enormous amount of material. For instance for 1 village I have over 100 wills, 150 folios <sup>pages</sup> of manor court roll and over 1,000 cases in the arch-deaconry court. As you will see, the last of these figures works out at about 1 case for this village every 2 weeks. Since it is an extremely Puritan village, it is possible to work out in some detail not only the names, but also the economic status, the marriage relationships, the place of residence, the occupations etc. of the Puritans. I wonder if this would be possible for your period ?

Sorry to trouble you with this. It is the witchcraft that I am really after, so don't take any notice of the second part of the letter unless it interests you. If at any time I can help you in any way - for instance send you some statistics of witchcraft prosecution - please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

To which Dr Collinson replied [a better scan could be inserted].



replied to 20/3/66.

- (4) Great Baddow: S.R. (824)  
- no identification has been possible: Dialogue.  
(b) next is a comp<sup>le</sup> of author  
when I've read the Answers.  
(c) Past & Present article: not finished  
this if sending off material.

University of London, King's  
College,  
March 12th 1966

Dear Mr. MacFarlane,

I must apologise for leaving your interesting ~~letter~~ letter unanswered for so long. One reason for the delay lies in the many questions that you raise. There is so much that I should like to say in response to some of these points that I think that it would be best if, as you suggest, we were to meet when you are next in London. I very rarely leave London these days. So let me know when you come to town and we can arrange a meeting. Another reason for this tardy reply is that the book to which you refer (on Elizabethan Puritanism) finally went to press yesterday. If all goes well (not a foregone conclusion) it should be out by about this time next year. No earlier, I'm afraid.

I am most interested in your subject, and have been ever since I saw how many references there are to witchcraft in the assize indictment slips at the PRO. If you do manage to get hold of my thesis you will see how much material it contains on Essex puritanism, but you will also see that I have not been able to do the close local research into individuals which you are developing. (I was covering the whole of England.) I shall be very interested to see your findings in due course. But I think that you will find a pretty clear picture in my thesis of the 'singular' and semi-separatist character of the 'godly' in Essex. This is used again in my book. And I shall draw on Essex archdeaconry material for a paper I am doing for 'Past and Present' on popular protestantism under Elizabeth. Yes, do draw on my thesis for any things which interest you. But I should be glad to be told what you propose to use.

*Reply to Hilda*  
I am sure the view you have of "atfield Peverel, Boreham and "ittle Baddow, or rather of the incumbents, is the correct one. "arew wasn't at Hatfield for very long of course, and his position as donatee was precarious. He subsequently served two Ipswich donatives, and there is some fascinating material on his ministry there in the Norwich Deposition Books - see my thesis. His presbytery at Hatfield was, I think, a presbytery in inverted commas. I shall welcome a chance to talk about this. If you look at a dialogue by George Gifford of Aldon, A Briefe discourse of the ... countrie divinitie (1582) you will I think find a portrait of the ale-bench vicar of Great Baddow in the 'Atheos' of that dialogue. Certainly he is vicar of 'G.B.', and he and Zelotes are walking towards Chelmsford.

I look forward very much to meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

*John*

Hilda Grieve

I owed an enormous debt of gratitude to Hilda Grieve. She was the Student's room Supervisor at the Essex Record Office. I can still see her sitting at a raised table, perhaps behind a glass screen, with a special mat to keep her coffee well away from



the documents. She was one of the leading figures nationally in palaeography, and here (?two) guides, with ample illustrations and parallel texts, to local palaeography was probably my major aid in learning how to read the almost impossibly difficult ecclesiastical and other records. The formal palaeography of 'court hand' I had started in Oxford was of no use for this kind of work and without Hilda's patient help on a daily basis over the first few weeks, I would probably have given up. So it is a pleasure to find our correspondence around this time. I imagine I did not need to write in 1965, as I was on the spot, but when I retired to write up in the Lakes, I started to write to her.

My first letters were clearly after visits.

c. 28/1/66.

Dear Hilda,

I hope to be in Essex on Monday for a couple of days and wonder if you could book me in ? I want to check a few ecclesiastical and other references. My watches and detailed study of Hatfield Peverel go well: even as I write my mother and sister are translating wills from the microfilms! Has Mr. Emmison been able to get the Boreham parish register for microfilming yet ? I would also like to have the Little Baddow register microfilmed - to 1603 - but will arrange that when I arrive. I hope all goes well with you and that you have had time to work on Chelmsford. I look forward very much to seeing you all: regards to Arthur, Ron, Nancy etc.

Yours,

(Alan Macfarlane)

16/2/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Hilda,

Many thanks for your help during my last visit. Please thank the others for me. As usual it was a pleasant and profitable time. I wonder if you could ask Brian to microfilm the wills on this list ? As you see I am moving on to the villages around Hatfield Peverel - which also had witches.

I have applied for the Brentwood job, using your name as you kindly gave me permission. I don't think they'll be interested as I made it clear that I would be working at anthropology at the same time. Still, I'm trying every possible source.

I enclose a copy of a list of a few wills at the County Record Office, County Hall, London which might interest you - tho' I expect you've listed them yourselves. As you see I only go to 1603 and only include date and place.

I look forward to seeing you all at the end of March. Please tell Arthur I will be sending him witches for Ingatestone shortly. Regards to all.

Yours sincerely,

Miss H.E.P. Grieve,  
Student's Room Supervisor,  
Essex Record Office.

Paul Slack continued



15/2/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside.  
Westmorland.

Dear Paul,

*(Wrigley's two articles)*

Many thanks for the loan of these: most interesting. I will reserve my comments until such times as I have tried the 'Method' out on my witch villages. Thanks also for coffee and a most stimulating exchange. When I have done a little more on Boreham, Little Baddow and Hatfield Peverel and 'theories of causation' we should have even more valuable exchanges. I won't write at length now. Here are just a few odd references.

Essex Record Office.

Woman attends on small pox sufferers 1636. D/ABD 7. f.113.  
An 'infection' in Chipping Ongar from which a child and mother died, 1626,  
D/AEA 36 f.144.

A woman unable to appear at the court 'by reason of the falling sickness'  
1639, D/AEA 42. f.83.v.

(the three above, taken from a partial calendar may be inaccurate up to 2 folios in either direction)

1665 Passengers from London not allowed to land unless they have a certificate that they are not from an infected area. Q/SR 406/104.

(cf. also 406/100 & 407/62, 66, 67 )

Man allows the 'infected' to come out of their house, c.1647-8. Q/SR 406/58.  
A pox known as 'the sleeping evil' - Q/SR 251/35, 6.

Etc.

A plague in Essex in 1640, esp. Braintree - referred to in Peck, Désiderata Curiosa.....vol.II. p. 474 ( 1779 edition)

Regulations for the Plague made by JPs - tax to be collected, 2 women viewers appointed etc. 30 July, 1603, Harwich Borough Records Bundle 6/7

Weekly tables of deaths in Colchester from the Plague, 1665-6.  
Stowe Mss. 840.5. (f.446)

When you are in Essex, if you write to the Student's Room Supervisor (Miss H.E.P.Grieve) you will find that there are a number of plague refs. in their subject index. My landlady in Essex (15/- b& b) is Mrs. L.Heathwood, 10 Weight Road, Chelmsford : I don't know if she takes married couples, but you could try. It might be worth mentioning me.

Good luck, perhaps we will coincide. Iw will get in touch before I come South to try and arrange a meeting.

All the best,

Joan Thirsk contd.



Jon Thirsk

22/1/66

Dear Mrs. Thirsk,

You may remember that I wrote to you some months ago about a talk you gave to Dr. Hoskin's seminar at All Soul's. You very kindly edited my notes on the talk; thank you for this and for your letter. I took your advice, and wrote to Professor Firth about ways and means of doing anthropology. He very kindly saw me and assured me that there would be no barrier to my reading anthropology at L.S.E; but, as I expected, was unable to suggest any financial source which would support me. I still intend to go, though I haven't worked out how. But that is by the way.

I write to ask whether you could kindly let me know of anyone you know who is working on a detailed village study - for the period 1500-1700 - from any, even vaguely, sociological angle. I ask because I have just embarked on a study of such a kind for a couple of Essex villages. I am hoping to work out - via wills, ecclesiastical, manor and other court records etc - the social background to witchcraft prosecutions there. Already I am gathering a good deal of material on popular religion, kinship etc. which may come in useful later, but I very much feel the need for some comparative statistics on subjects which are omitted by the Laslett school. I have written to Mrs. Spufford and Mr. Havinden, whose names I found in some of your Ag.Hist.Rev. bibliographies, but neither seem to have done much beyond a purely economic analysis. I would like to discuss all these matters with someone who has attempted social and cultural reconstruction based on something beyond parish registers. Thank you for any



suggestions you make.

I will be in Oxford for the week-ends of Friday-Sunday 28-30 Jan. and 5-7 Feb. and if you were free at any time would be most grateful to discuss 'sociological' history and, possibly, witchcraft with you. I realize you must be very busy and will, of course, understand if you cannot manage either of these times. I am writing my thesis at home, in Westmorland (an interesting comparison to Essex as you say) and this is why my visits to Oxford are so brief. If you reply to Worcester, could you put 'To await arrival' on the envelope, otherwise they'll forward anything.

I hope you are enjoying Oxford and that we shall meet, if not now, on some future occasion.

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Hugh Trevor-Roper – continued

Worcester College,  
Oxford.

22/1/66

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

You very kindly said I might come and see you sometime this term. I will be in Oxford from Friday to Sunday 28-30 Jan. and 5-7 Feb. and I wondered whether you would be free at either time? I'm sorry to only offer such restricted periods but, as you know, I am writing my thesis in the Lake District and consequently only pass through Oxford. I do hope we can have a talk as I would very much value your comments both on my present work, and on my future plans. 'Witchcraft' is progressing very well, but I find writing a strain all the same. When I finish, at the end of the year, I hope to go to the London School of Economics to do a diploma in social anthropology. People are always advocating that historians should be 'sociologically aware' but I haven't been able to discover anyone who is, in a tangible (financial) way, prepared to back me. I imagine this is beyond even the long arm of a Regius Professor of History? Perhaps you think it would be a waste of time? I would be most grateful for any advice you could give me. I feel I am at a cross-roads, and though I feel I probably know what I should do I haven't much confidence in my convictions.

If you could see me I would be very happy. I know you are very busy, perhaps I could write to you at greater length from my Wordsworthian fastness? I hope your many works all go well. I appreciate your continuing interest in my work: it makes me feel slightly less isolated.

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)



*From The Regius Professor of Modern History*

*History Faculty Library,*

*Merton Street,*

*Oxford.*

Telephone ~~XXXX~~ 43388

24th January, 1966.

*My dear Macfarlane*

Many thanks for your letter. I would be delighted to see you. Would you care to call on me here at 11 o'clock on Friday, 28th January? I would be free then and would very much like to talk with you. Meanwhile I will think about your problem and hope to have something articulate to say about it.

*Yours sincerely*

*Hugh Trevor-Roper*

P.S. You write from the Lake District but give no address, so I am sending a copy of this letter to await you at Worcester College in case the top copy misses you.

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

From The Regius Professor of Modern History

History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.

Telephone 43388

9 February 1966

Dear Alan

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I was very glad to see you when you were here, and I would certainly like to see you again any time you are here. But will I be here in "six weeks"? I fear that I may not be. It will be in vacation and I may well be in Scotland or abroad. But do anyway look me up if I am here. Meanwhile I will keep an eye out for any means of support for you in your project of working in London.

+ Feb 1966  
arch

Incidentally I am re-writing for publication the paper I once wrote on the witch-craze. I wonder if there have been any special studies which I have missed, more particularly on trials on the Continent. Do you happen to know of any good recent work? Apart from the two studies by Bayoux (on Quingey and Luxeuil) I know nothing recent; but I may well have missed something. So if you do happen to know of anything, do please tell me.

I suppose you are now buried again in your hut in the Lake District. I hope that work goes well in that isolated hermitage.

Yours sincerely

Alan Trevor-Roper

A. D. J. MacFarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.



16/2/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. It is always good for my morale and status within the family to get a letter from a Regius Professor. I do hope we will manage to overlap at Oxford. I will write as soon as I know exactly when I will be down.

You kindly said I might have your support in my bid to get financial aid for my London project, so I have taken the liberty of quoting you as a possible referee for a lectureship at Brentwood Training College. I do hope this was alright. I would have written and asked specifically, but there was a rush to get the form off in time. Also I think it very unlikely that they will bother you or be interested. I told them not to consider the application unless they were prepared to let me take an M.Sc. at London at the same time as teaching with them. I doubt if they will swallow this, even with your name behind it.

I'm afraid I don't know of much that's come out recently on Continental witchcraft. You'll know of J.C. Baroja's The World of the Witches, (1964) - mostly about Basque witchcraft - I'm sure. I've only dipped into it and wasn't very impressed. The only anthropologist he quotes is Mr. R. Benedict (meaning Ruth Benedict). You probably know also R. Delcambre, Le Concept de la Sorcellerie dans le Duché de Lorraine au Cl6 & Cl7 (Waarg(?), 1947, 1949) and Die Hexenprozesse in Franken by Friedrich Merzbacher - (C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957). The latter has, apparently, a very comprehensive bibliography. You will know that Notestein has just been reprinted. Though you are doubtful of its relevance a very good anthropological account has just been published: M.G. Marwick, 'Sorcery in its



Social Setting (Manchester, 1965).

I can't remember if I ever told you the results of my hunt for that book by E.R.Snow, Secret's of the North Atlantic Islands which purported to reveal a hitherto unknown mid-C18 American witchcraft trial. This case was not in either of his other books - 'Tales of the Atlantic coast' or 'Amazing sea stories never told before' but these titles suggest he might well have written such a book - even though it is not mentioned in either the Bodley or B.M. catalogue.

I am interested to hear that you are going to publish your paper on witchcraft. As you know, we agree to differ on a lot of major interpretations, but perhaps this is because we work on different sources and different levels. You work on the branches and the broad outlines, I tend to get buried in the leaves. But both these are preferable to counting the twigs and small offshoots. (a metaphor borrowed, I expect you'll remember, from a conversation between Namier and Toynbee: I hope the comparison won't annoy you!).

Would it be presumptuous to cite a few exceptions to points in the paper you lent me. You are probably going to alter it anyhow. On p.4. you say that the 'witch-mark', the insensitive spot which revealed the witch....was not recognized here (i.e. England). Of course the Newcastle 'pricking' episode was an exception - tho' this may be attributed to Scottish influence. In a number of English trials people search the witch for her mark but, in England, it was more often a protuberance or red spot, easily visible, than the dead patch which required pricking. The divided opinion on the subject (& attitude of puritan clergy) is nicely shown in one of the discussions at the Dedham classis where a minister moved 'how he might know a witche': 'some said she might be found out by serche in her bodie, some thought that to be fancy in the people easilie conceiving such a thinge and to be reprov'd in them'. (R.G. Usher, The Presbyterian Movement.... (Camd.Soc. 3rd.Ser.8. ,p.70).

On the same page you say that 'incubi and succubi were purely clerical inventions', and were



not among the furniture of lay or protestant minds'. I think this is too strong. Of course the thing was systematized and spread by the Catholics, but the idea of sexual demons which assualted one in the night was much older and arose from the 'folk' mind. Perhaps it was the Church which united the two ideas. Certainly there were cases in England of a very similar idea. A nice ~~example~~ case is quoted in J.S.Purvis, Tudor Parish Documents of the Diocese of York (pp.197-9 contain several witchcraft cases), (1948). A woman was tried for slandering 'that there dwelleth a witch within three houses at one time & five houses at another, & upon further examination, she confessed herself to be ridden with a witch three times of one night, being thereby greatly astonished & upon her astonishment awaked her husband'. (Ridden, I am told, is an euphemism). The devil was not far from an Incubus in the confession of Elizabeth Clarke before Hopkins.

On p.5. you say that the witch-mania was 'instituted, inflamed & prolonged....by organised religion', and on p.16 'What was needed was an anti-clerical revolution, a revolt of lay reason...'. Of course this is a huge point & I can't deal with it here. But it is not true of England. Here, as I hope to show in detail anon, the Church courts were mild, the ecclesiastics not interested in finding 'witches' and the pressure for the punishment of witches came from their neighbours. Though it is satisfying to pin the blame on some particular group or institution no one was blameless. It is difficult, as you realize, to fit Italy - once the Church began to control persecution - into this pattern (or Spain). I think your solution, that persecution spread where the clergy had power but not discipline & where the laity lacked education and social strength is very ingenious. I must admit I find it difficult to find a hole in it.

As you know, we disagree over the interpretation of Bacon and Selden's remarks. Perhaps this is because I am convinced that believing in witchcraft was not shameful or lunatic or even illogical. This is the horror of it. That sane, well-intentioned,



logical men, men who reveal themselves to have been so like us in many ways, suddenly reveal both the awful consequences of putting any set of assumptions into action. Witchcraft beliefs also reveal that there is a great void between their world and our world, an abyss which we might never, otherwise, have noticed since it lies in the unquestioned and unspoken depths of society, in the assumptions and pattern of thought of the age. It is terrifying that just as they were unable, for the most part to break out of this, so we must be committing awful atrocities because we also are based on assumptions we can never question. But enough sermonising. Perhaps we can talk over some of these points when we meet? If you would like any statistics of the leaf variety, mainly on Essex (the sex, age, number, geography of, etc. witches) do please let me know.

Forgive me for taking up so much of your time. My regards, if you will pardon them, to your secretary, Carol.

Yours sincerely,

Professor H.R.Trevor-Roper,  
History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
OXFORD.



18 Feb 1966

From The Regius Professor of Modern History

History Faculty Library,

Merton Street,

Oxford.

My dear Alan

Telephone 43395

Thank you very much for your letter - and for writing so fully: I was delighted to read it.

I must confess that on reading my essay on witches, I was astonished to realise how much I myself disagree with it! I think I must have written it when I was too much under the influence of Lea and Burr. I agree with your criticism, and with your view that there was a difference of mental structure which Lea + Burr, I now feel convinced, overlooked. I am totally rewriting the essay. I didn't intend to republish it; but I have got myself into an irreversible position in respect of my essay on 'Religion, the Reformation & Social Change'. I have got to re-publish <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~ and in order to make a volume of it have agreed to include other appropriate essays, including the one on witches. I have now rewritten half of it. If I may, I will send it to you when it is completely re-written.

I know Julio Caro Baroja: he is a real scholar. I don't know his work on witches, but I will look at it. The M<sup>r</sup> R Benedict may be a mistranslation: Baroja is Spanish. His great work is on the Spanish Jews + Moriscos and, like Lea, he has been led into witches from the Inquisition, whose records he has studied. The evidence from Lorraine, I suppose, comes largely from Rémy. Anyway, I am looking through the evidence again. (PS. Have now done so: I see it does not come from Rémy but from local records). I am much impressed by the little book I picked up



- quite accidentally - on the Quais in Paris. I think I lent it to you: Procès Verbal fait pour délivrer une fille Possédée par le Diable Esprit à Louviers. This seems to me to shed real light, because the girl was not tortured and did supply minute details (unlike most English trials) of sexual activity. I think this is semi-fatal to the Lee-Burn Thesis. I have also had some discussions with psychiatrists at mental homes which confirms the conclusions drawn by the Viscomte de Moray, the editor of that text.

Anyway, I am most grateful for your observations and will pursue all the sources you mention (including <sup>Barnes</sup> ~~Selden~~).

I have come to some - provisional - new conclusions ('conclusions', in such a sense, must be the wrong word) which I would like to discuss with you.

The most important problem seems to me to be this: when did the intellectual substructure crack, & why? All the critics that I know of, including Wier, Speer, Scot, etc. etc., assume the reality of the demonic world <sup>even</sup> while doubting the genuineness of particular accusations. Lee ascribes the intellectual revolution to Balthasar Bekker (1691); but I think it must have been earlier. It seems to me that quite ordinary people, whose ideas must be at second-hand, are genuinely sceptical in the 1650s: e.g. Cromwell's soldiers in Scotland ('Witches, if there be such things...'). Assuming, as I do, that it takes a generation for new ideas to become an attitude of mind, this would mean that intellectual



3

scepticism began in the 1620s or 1630s. Perhaps this is too early; but anyway in the 1640s.

Now here I have a point to put to you. My suspicion is — based partly on analogy, partly on hunch — that some difference (whether recorded or not) probably arose on this subject between Presbyterians and Independents in the later 1640s. The Independents inherit so much from the 'Arminians' and the <sup>English</sup> Presbyterians <sup>were at that time</sup> ~~and~~ so dependent on the Scots <sup>Presbyterians</sup> who, at that time, were fanatical witch-burners. But I cannot document this. Can you?

Lucien Fèbre has some interesting observations on the general problem. He admits the intellectual revolution. He also dates the public expression of it in the 1650s — with Cyrano de Bergerac. But when was the revolution itself? He refers to 'la révolution copernicienne de Bérulle' — a phrase, evidently, of the abbé Brémond (I suppose in his splendid Histoire du Sentiment Religieux en France). But — although I have not traced the phrase in Bérulle — I suspect that it does not really refer to this subject (Fèbre could be very random in his suggestive writing). Certainly Bérulle's Traité des Energumènes shows him to be completely conservative in this matter.

Incidentally, in Fèbre's article ('Sorcellerie, sottise ou révolution mentale? <sup>Annales 1948</sup> L) there is a serious misprint, which misled me when I wrote my article. Bossuet is a misprint for Boguet: which makes

a great difference. When Fébvre's article was reprinted after his death, in Au Coeur Religieux du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle, the mistake was made worse. The editor, unwilling — I suppose — to allow that Fébvre had thought it possible to dismiss Bossuet as an 'imbecile', re-wrote the words 'Un imbecile...' as 'Bossuet...', thus redoubling the error and spoiling the sense. Replace 'Bossuet', where the name first appears, by the word 'Boguet' and all is clear.

I wonder if Grotius ever expressed an opinion on such a topic. I believe that Grotius' influence in England was immense, but it is not easy to trace.

I agree with you entirely about the imprisoning effect of subconscious axioms. What is most terrifying to me is the easy way in which such axioms grow up, and their capacity to generate a momentum of their own. This makes the question, when do they begin to crack? all the more important

Yours truly

Hyth Trevor-Roper



*From The Regius Professor of Modern History*

*History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.*

Telephone ~~XXXX~~ 4338

22nd March 1966

Dear Alan,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th to Professor Trevor-Roper saying that you will be in Oxford this weekend.

Unfortunately he is abroad until Monday 28th - in France. Will you be here on Monday also? He returns about lunch-time, and would probably be in Oxford by about 3 p.m. If you won't still be here I am sure he will be sorry to miss you, but as you say, try again next term.

Yours sincerely,

*Carol Edwards*  
(Secretary)

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

(Written to 20/3/66  
asking for permission to see  
26/27 - if not, next term)

*From The Regius Professor of Modern History*

*History Faculty Library,*

*Merton Street,*

*Oxford.*

Telephone ~~XXXX~~ 43388

25th March, 1966.

*Dear Alan*

I have had to come back early from France and so have found your letter of 20th March and Carol's answer to it. I will now be in Oxford on Saturday and Sunday and would very much like to see you. I would like to ask you to a meal, but I dare not do so at the moment, since my wife is ill (that is why we had to come back from abroad) and is going back into a nursing home for a few days. Would you care to telephone me, at my home (47262) either tonight, Friday, or tomorrow, Saturday, morning at about 8.45-9.0 a.m.? I will then know the position a little better.

*Yours*

*Mr Trevor-Roper*

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.



1966 APRIL TO JUNE

## Medical

Apart from a cold and possibly blocked ears, I seem to have been pretty fit during these years. There are occasional references in letters to appointments with dentists in the Lakes and perhaps the doctor, Dr Millchrist of Ambleside who I remember with affection. One indication of this is the following screening information.

**MANCHESTER REGIONAL HOSPITAL BOARD**

**MASS RADIOGRAPHY SERVICE**

MR2c

Please fill in your name and address etc. below. This form will then be returned to you with the report.

Full Name	(USE BLOCK LETTERS) Mr. <u>MACFARLANE. (ALAN)</u> Mrs. Miss	Note- This type of examination is not available for children under 15 years or expectant mothers
Present Address	<u>FIELD HEAD, OUTGATE,</u> <u>IN AMBLESIDE, WESTMORLAND</u>	
Age <u>24</u>	Occupation <u>Student</u>	

IF THE RESULT IS NOT SATISFACTORY A REPORT SHOULD ALSO BE SENT TO YOUR FAMILY DOCTOR. IF YOU ARE WILLING PLEASE GIVE YOUR DOCTOR'S NAME AND ADDRESS: -  
DR MILCHRIST, AMBLESIDE.

**Thank you for your co-operation**  
**you will be pleased to learn that your**  
**Chest X-ray was satisfactory on**  
**25 APR 1966**  
**It is hoped that you will volunteer**  
**for Mass Radiography again when**  
**the opportunity occurs.**

REPORT (For use by Unit) Date and Serial No.

PLEASE KEEP THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND TAKE IT WITH YOU  
WHENEVER YOU HAVE AN X-RAY EXAMINATION IN FUTURE

## Family Papers and their location

The following short correspondence shows several things: my interest in the family papers which were clearly at Field Head; my realization of their value and that perhaps they should be deposited at some time; my early archival interests in colonial archives etc. Fortunately I did not proceed with any deposit, as we have worked on



them a good deal since, though now, nearly fifty years later, they are starting to be deposited, not in the Bodleian but in the Cambridge University Library.

RY SUPPLEMENT THURSDAY MAY 19 1966

## PRIVATE THOUGHTS ON PUBLIC POLICY

From a Special Correspondent

A major experiment in the collection of contemporary archives is taking place at Oxford. Some of its fruits, up to the present, will be shown to the public at an exhibition there next week (on Friday, May 27, at Rhodes House, Oxford, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.). Jointly, the University Colonial Records Project (collecting private papers about service and travel in Britain's former colonial empire) and the Middle East Centre of St. Antony's College (collecting private papers on British nineteenth and twentieth-century policy and achievement in the Middle East) are showing their accessions. The two collections will henceforth be available to scholars of all universities and nationalities, the colonial one in the Commonwealth section of the Bodleian Library at Rhodes House, and the Middle East one in St. Antony's College Library.

The object of this double drive is to preserve for the use of future historians, including historians coming from new countries of Asia and Africa with an interest in their own antecedents, the mass of material known to be lying in desks, libraries and attics all over the British Isles and in Ireland. Private papers reveal moments of truth; they are far removed from the bland assurance that is bound to mark statements of public policy. But they provide a living picture of the perplexities and anxieties, the frustrations as well as the triumphs, the moments of wrath as well as the selfless concept and warm fellow-feelings that colour the process of government in any territory, whether dependent or independent.

In the work of collecting the papers, far the most intractable problem is the discovery of owners of material. Many of these have no idea that letters or press-cuttings that their forebears preserved are of the slightest interest outside their family. Yet a mass of useful information belongs not only to former potentates such as a Governor or a High Commissioner, but to district officers, merchants, soldiers, teachers, doctors, missionaries or travellers for pleasure. How locate it? A list of Colonial Service pensioners or a handbook of for-

mer club members may help with the job, but neither identifies the married daughter who has changed her name but inherited her father's papers. Lists of people worth writing to have snowballed as one potential owner calls others to mind, but need to snowball faster if papers of value are to be saved from the wastepaper basket. A main purpose of next week's exhibition is to speed the process of detection, and to alert owners who have not hitherto thought of their material as useful to posterity.

The collections do not compete with one another, or with other national or local libraries. They aim to rescue material not now publicly available. The endeavour is to save this from destruction before owners die or move, or become too frail to bother about their documents. Once inside a library, the papers can be handled by qualified archivists. Sometimes papers cannot be acquired, the owners preferring to retain them while allowing historians access to them. In this event, scholars can be helped to find out whether and where papers are accessible; St. Antony's is establishing an index showing where all known private material on the Middle East is lying, whether in other libraries or in private hands, and whether in Britain or abroad. Both libraries keep "negative cards" showing the names of those who kept nothing, or whose papers are known to have been lost or destroyed.

Modern techniques such as Xerox and microfilm photography have permitted the copying of documents that might not otherwise have been available, either because families want to keep them, or because they have been lodged outside Britain. Both the libraries concerned are geared to observe restrictions set by families on the use of their papers, as well as, of course, British Government restrictions imposed by the Official Secrets Act. All such papers will be available in the course of time.

The accessions already gathered by the Colonial Records Project are remarkable for their bulk as well as for their interest. Some cover the whole range of an individual's service

from the moment of first landing as a novice to the day of retirement with band playing, crowd waving, and lumps in all throats at the end of a long life of service. Among the papers it owns are thirty-three volumes of Sir Philip Mitchell's diaries in East Africa, the seventy-six volumes of Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen's diaries that are of course far fuller than the three or four successful books on East Africa and the Middle East that he based on them; it also possesses many Asia records such as Sir Shenton Thomas's memoranda on the war in Malaya. Minor as well as major dependencies, personal as well as public problems are represented—Tristan da Cunha's day-to-day doings as well as diaries of prisoners of war toiling in Japanese hands after the fall of Singapore. The St. Antony's exhibit on the Middle East displays single documents of significance, and shows *seriatim* documents on dealings with Napoleon in Egypt and with Mehmet Ali, and on more recent subjects such as the occupation of Egypt, the settlement of accounts with the Arabs after the First World War, and the conundrum of Palestine. Probably the most illuminating documents shown are letters and memoranda of First World War pundits and officials including Lord Balfour, Sir Herbert Samuel, Lord Allenby, Miss Gertrude Bell and Sir Mark Sykes.

The work of collection has a term to it. The generation with imperial experience will not live for ever, and tends to bequeath its goods to flat-dwellers who have no room for old papers. Speed, therefore, is of the essence in this systematic search. Letters home, diaries, memoranda, old and unobtainable local pamphlets, books of press cuttings, old photographs—all can be sorted and indexed if only owners can be traced and will cooperate. All over the world, new universities are sprouting alongside the old, all eager to produce historical works on the emergence of Asia and Africa from variegated states of dependence. Here at Oxford, provided scholars learn of its existence, is an indispensable till of raw material for their job.



29/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

I read with interest in the Times Literary Supplement of May 19 of the Colonial Records Project. Our family have a collection of papers, photographs etc. belonging to a Mr. Rodway Swinhoe, a solicitor in Burma between 1870-1900. They are mostly of a personal nature - collections of myths and anecdotes and some delightful sketches etc. Possibly there might be something of interest to you and if you gave me a clearer idea of what ~~of~~ ~~your~~ type of material you are after I could let you know what there is. I believe my father is sorting through the papers at the moment.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

The Archivist,  
Colonial Records Project  
Rhodes House,  
Oxford.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY COLONIAL RECORDS PROJECT

Dame Margery Perham  
The Beit Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth  
The Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies  
The Superintendent of the Rhodes House Library

Director:  
J.J. Tawney  
Assistant Director:  
I. Lloyd Phillips

The Institute of Commonwealth Studies  
20/21 St Giles  
Oxford  
Tel. Oxford 57541/59831

1st June 1966.

*Dear Mr Macfarlane.*

Thank you for your letter of 29th May addressed to the Archivist of the Oxford Colonial Records Project. I was indeed interested to hear of your collection of papers belonging to Mr. Swinhoe dealing with his Burma service at the end of the last century.

However, the field in which the Oxford Colonial Records Project functions is restricted to the former Colonial Empire and we do not collect papers relating to India or Burma. I have, however, mentioned Mr. Swinhoe's papers to the Librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford and I understand that he is much interested in this collection. I am accordingly sending your letter and a copy of this reply to the Indian Institute and I have no doubt that a further letter will be sent to you by that organisation.

Thank you again for letting me know about these papers and I am only personally sorry that we cannot add them to our collection for the reasons I have explained.

*I. Lloyd Phillips*  
*I. Lloyd Phillips*

Alan Macfarlane Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

I. Lloyd Phillips

c.c. H.W. Alderman Esq.,  
The Indian Institute, Broad St., Oxford.



Please reply to  
THE KEEPER OF WESTERN MSS.

RWH/VCD

DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN MSS.  
BODLEIAN LIBRARY  
OXFORD

Telephone: OXFORD 44675

4th June, 1966.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Your letter to the archivist of the Colonial Records Project has been forwarded here, since the papers you mention hardly fall within the scope of the project. But if you are looking for a home for the papers, we should be happy to consider accepting them.

Yours sincerely,

R. W. Hunt

Keeper of Western MSS.

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

6/6/66  
BLACKWELL LTD  
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Invoice  
Account  
Date  
11.11.66  
28/7/66

MACFARLANE A  
WOSC

Dear Mr Hunt,

Thank you for your reply concerning a suggestion I made that the Colonial Records Project might be interested in some papers of Mr. R. Swinhoe. I think, for the moment at least, we would like to keep these if they are not of immediate interest to you or the Project. If my parents decide to deposit them I will inform you.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

R.W. Hunt, Esq.,  
Keeper of Western MSS.,  
Department of Western MSS.,  
Bodleian Library,  
OXFORD.

24/4/66

H.P.A.

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Harry,

Sorry to bother you once again, but I wonder if you'd mind scrawling a note to the Secretary of the Graduate School and posting it in the enclosed. I am applying for an M.Sc. in social anthropology starting in October of this year and the form says that 'All applicants should ask two teachers who are familiar with their work to write on their behalf direct to the Secretary...' I suppose they just want a general blurb. Thanks.

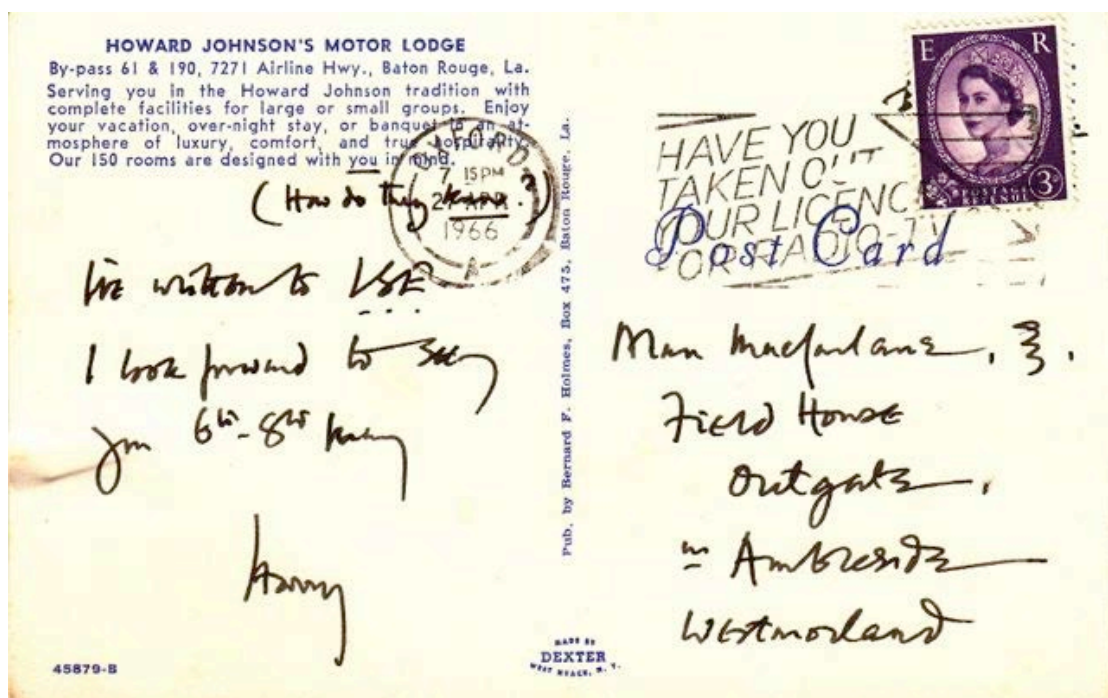
I hope everything goes well with you and your feeling rested. I will be down the week-end of 6th-8th May and, if you can spare the time, would very much like to meet for another chat. Will arrange this when I arrive. The thesis goes well and I now have the whole family sitting round the 'tele' doing family reconstitution - I imagine my sister's analysis of the 'age-specific marriage rate' will go a little crazy when the Beatles appear. I & Keith has got into an argument with Cooper look forward to hearing all the scandal.

I included a copy of my application to the L.S.E. to read anthropology.



L.S.E. Application. 24/4/66.  
 'State briefly your aims, interests, plans etc. . . .  
 I am just completing a Doctoral thesis on 'the sociology of witchcraft prosecutions in sixteenth century England' and my special interest is therefore in the value of anthropological studies for the historian. By reading for an M.Sc. in Social Anthropology I hope to become a better historian aware of historical problems and approaches: it may be that my studies of historical change will also give depth to my anthropology and give me an opportunity to test some of the, necessarily static, theoretical formulations of anthropologists. I hope, finally, to return to research in a historical period and then to spend some time in India where I was born.

To which he replied:



I suspect that it was a card from Harry which finally alerted me to the fact, which the L.S.E. had failed to inform me, that there was a new S.S.R.C. scheme to support postgraduate research and I might be eligible. I wrote to the L.S.E. and they agreed I could apply - and I did get one. This made all the difference. The pencil note from Harry to this effect was as follows:

Sincerely

Alan -

the Social Studies Research

Council gives

Research Studentships

Advance Course Studentships

+ (which might apply to you -)

post doctoral Research Fellowships  
(usually for 2 years)

P-20

They are all allocated to univs. &  
who then distribute them. So you  
should ask LSE whether they  
would consider you for one - & they  
w<sup>d</sup> then decide against the merits  
of others! applying also in the LSE.  
It's worth enquiring, I think.

It was good to see you  
Amy

I was already beginning to discover the important fact that busy and well-connected people's scribbled cards suggesting things could be very important - something I

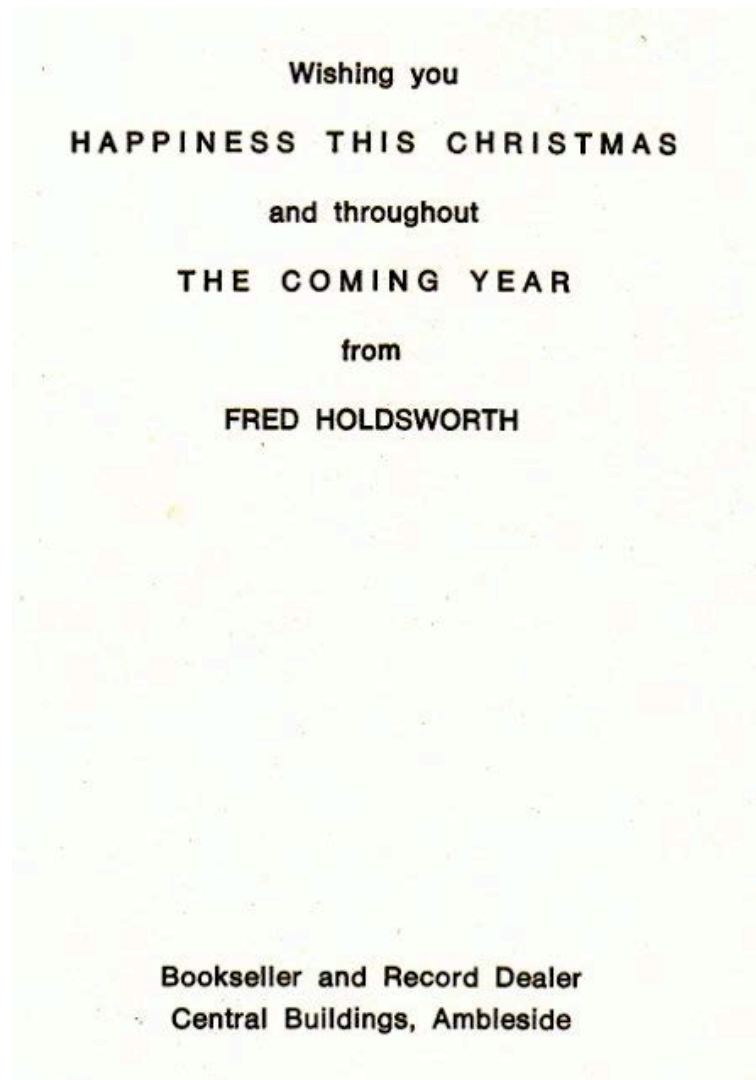


remember being told when I arrived in the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge in relation to Jack Goody's almost illegible, but always worthwhile, messages.

\*

### **Fred Holdsworth**

Fred was an important person in my life. He was a little older than me, I think, but was on the edges of the 'gang' of Lakes friends who partied and met over my Oxford years and perhaps before. He was particularly interesting as the proprietor of a very good bookshop in Ambleside, from which I bought many of my books (and probably gramophone records) and through his help obtained books over the years – even in Nepal. I do not have any letters from him, but one Christmas Card is an indication of his presence.



And there is one receipt for books – the extremely important book from the Cambridge Group on historical demography.

TELEPHONE 3388.

CENTRAL BUILDINGS,  
AMBLESIDE.

April 1st 1966

Mr. A. Macfarlane, Field Head, Outgate..

Dr. to . . .

**F. HOLDSWORTH**

BOOKS AND RECORDS.

To a/c rend.

4 7 6

English Hist. Demography 2

2 -

£6 9 6d

*PAID*  
*Recd with thanks*  
*F.H. Holdsworth*  
*7.4.66*



~~21~~<sup>21<sup>st</sup></sup> April  
1966

121 Woodstock Road.

Oxford.

Tel. 53086.

Dear Alan  
Though you had to do without  
any letter communication from me,  
I feel that you may have had  
telepathic messages, as I thought often  
of you - Far too much has been  
happening & I couldn't get time for  
even a short letter - but you did  
this morning convince me that I  
should have a try.

I shall be very glad to see  
you some time during the weekend of the  
7<sup>th</sup>, but will warn you that my  
step daughter may be in Oxford on 7<sup>th</sup>  
itself & suggested coming at 6 to take  
me to dine out, so don't try then.  
(though she might cancel it)

I was with Oliver  
on April 8<sup>th</sup> (Totteridge - rather like  
Boars Hill. O has an acre of  
garden with cedars & masses of

Wed 31<sup>st</sup>



Dear Alan,

Though you had to do without any written communication from me, I feel that you may have had telepathic messages, as I thought often of you - Far too much has been happening & I couldn't get peace for even a short letter, but your card this morning convinced me that I should have a try.

I shall be very glad to see you some time during the weekend after 7th, but will warn you that my stepdaughter may be in Oxford on 7th itself & she suggested coming at 6 to take me to dine out, so don't try then. (though she might cancel it)

I was with Oliver March 31st to April 8th (Totteridge - rather like Boars Hill. O has an acre of garden with cedars & masses of daffs.) & then 8th - 14th with Peter & Elizabeth & their 4 wild children at St Ives - Cornwall is a revelation - not like a piece of England at all & the coast enchantingly beautiful. St Ives is a high rocky headland, carved into 5 sandy bays, & huddled with houses perched one above the other & crammed into nooks - most of them reached by high stone stairs with painted ??? balustrades - whole place full of colour - pink or blue houses, yellow rails & masses of creepers. The south coast is just as lovely - especially Mevagissey - An enterprising solicitor has turned a sort of pilchard packer into 16 flats, right on the beach so that the Atlantic thunders to within a few feet of one's bed - The sea is an irresistible spectacle to me, & my eyes get drawn to it even when there are no surf-riders - but there was. I found Peter Shore most congenial - very moderate, though I thought it wisest not to shatter the general impression that I had voted Labour (I voted Liberal). He is Junior Minister of Technology, under Frank Cousins - & the floor was thick with congratulatory telegrams. The eldest girl (nearly 15) is pretty & civilized but the 3 others ghastly noisy young savages. With completely animal manners - a pity. Elizabeth too has just let her looks go to pieces ^& that grieved me, but I managed to avoid giving advice of any kind. We took 11 hours in the car to get there & 9 to come back but the return journey (apart from the sight of Stonehenge in snow) was the more unpleasant as the children racketed & found & hollered - I got back on 15th & Ian Green came that day too.

I don't know what to make of him. He told me some time ago that he was not working, & he has just repeated this - sees no point. He says he can't get a first without more work than he is prepared to do. I don't know what is going on inside him, but I conclude that he is really 'temperamentally up Y& down', perhaps always given to pendulum swings. I am coming to think that I really know some of these men better than Mr Pitt or Mr Campbell, though Mr C. is certainly far shrewder about their work. Ian looks much better in health; I just have no clue what to say so I don't say anything much. He appears to have washed his hands of the whole situation & says he is hardly working at all. He claims that I rate him too high as the only period he really likes is Tudor - Stuart. All this would be very baffling - this swing from too much to too little - if I was his guardian angel, but I am not - Anyhow he is stubborn & independent & no guardian angel could be given much of a hearing.

The College dinner was last night, Mr Graham most kindly rang up & offered to meet me & take me down the steps. Which made all the difference. It was a marvellous evening for me, though there were far too many people & I had to sit between 2 strangers (Prof. Palmer & Dr Harris) - I didn't get on too badly there as one knew A.J.P. Taylor & Namier intimately & the other knew Prof. Toynbee - but I feared I was not going to see any of the dons I knew. However I had a long talk with Llewellyn Woodward (a v. old friend who had been seeing some of Rosemary's work), & then Mr Pitt & Roger Fulford & finally Mr Campbell who seemed in particularly gay spirits & promised to send me an offprint of his brilliant chapter on Bede. I had just read it that



morning. It is a most wonderful piece of work. I did not get away till 11.40 & Lord Franks saw me to my taxi (a slight blow as Mr Campbell looked like doing this). These people have a real gift for making me happy. When Peter Shore's children want him to listen they seize hold of his chin & turn his face towards them. I have never before seen this trick & I told Mr Campbell I marked it at the time as suitable to apply to him. It was nice to apply to him. It was nice to see him in such a larky mood & I am thrilled about the offprint as I didn't really want to buy the book (almost entirely about historians like Polybius about whom I know nothing at all).

This term I have 4 English History girls (mostly London External degree) & 4 new Americans. I have masses to read & a stream of chatty interruptions. Sybil's graph is right up at the top as she was pathetic about missing me & also said she had been cutting down on cigarettes & for that reason had rudely contradicted everything I said - a handsome apology.

I picture you reading this as your prep just before you meet me - if you can read it.

I hope your writing is getting along. My son is still tinkering with his thesis but it sounds practically finished.

I shall miss Ian very much when he goes - I never expected to say that of any lodger, but he makes a good impression on everyone who meets him. I hope his very curious attitude will attract the attention of Mr Pitt or Mr Campbell or anyone who knows better how to receive the strange remarks he makes.

Garden very gay - I don't know how tall daffs stand themselves up again once they have been beaten to the ground - for that's what they have done,

Best wishes, Rosalind Clay

I have a carbon copy of my reply, dated 25th April 1966 from Field Head.

Thank you so much for your long letter - which I didn't read half an hour before coming to see you! Although this is a wonderful place to work I sometimes feel very cut off and start wondering, pathetically, whether all my Oxford (and London) friends have forgotten me. On these occasions a long letter from you restores me wonderfully. Thank you.

Please forgive this typed letter, but I think you'd find it easier than my handwriting. It's odd how bad handwriting seems to go with intelligence and character isn't it - at least it's comforting! Anyhow I won't write at length as I'll see you shortly.

Yes, Ian's behaviour is a little strange, but it's not what he says about his work but the amount (and quality) of what he actually does that matters. I remember going around nonchalantly saying (in the last month or two before exams) that I 'wasn't doing a scrap of work' and even going punting, lying about in the sun etc. so that my friends would be all the more surprised when I didn't get a fourth! There may be something of this in Ian's behaviour, but anyhow it won't help if you get worried about it. After all, if he can't stand the strain, it is probably better to find out now than when he has fully committed himself to an academic career and has wives, children etc. to look after and tie him to his decision. Well, enough sermonising for this letter!

I'm glad you enjoyed your Cornish venture - I really must visit the realm of Arthur. The very word Tintagel sends a pre-Raphaelite tingle down my sentimental spine. I love Devon and used to solemnly recite Tennyson to the breaking sea. But there are cloud-flecked days of daffodils and primroses and blue water between the silver birches when the Lakes are very magical, not awesome really like Wordsworth's vision but fey and strange. I visited Beatrix Potter's house (a couple of miles away) for

the first time recently – enchanting. Jeremy Fisher's adventures happed on our local lake. Esthwaite.

My thesis staggers on and I've half written, in a preliminary draught, now. I'm also employing my mother and sister in a microscopic study of three Essex villages during Elizabeth's reign: the kind of thing Hoskins did for Wigston Magna but, I hope, with a less narrowly economic approach. I'm finding out fascinating things about marriage, crime, sex, witchcraft, puritanism and their various highly complex interrelations. Will enlarge on this later.

Must plug on with my work, forgive such a short letter.

I look forward very much to seeing you. Regards to friends.

P.S. I wonder if the Thomas Hodgkin who wrote in the T.L.S. of April 7 is any relation?

I have a carbon of a letter with no date. From the contents (reference to Ian Green before exams, it looks as if it was written in May)

**Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland, from Alan Macfarlane**

Dear Lady Clay,

Thank you so much for your interesting letter – it was nice to hear from you. Please forgive a typewritten reply, but you'll probably find it easier to read than my progressively worsening handwriting.

Yes, I dropped Mr Pitt a note and he had a word with Ian. He doesn't think he's too bad. I hope he's (Ian that is) recovered his spirits. Even I get depressed sometimes at my vast ignorance and drive myself on to work too hard so that I get tired into the bargain. I suppose we are all (including you) just the anxious type – anxious of what other people think of us (even the Sybils of this world) and desperately attempting to keep abreast of the latest books. Incidentally, I'm sure you'll have come across the new Population in History edited by D.V. Glass which is even at this moment staring at me accusingly from my bookshelf because I haven't got down to reading it. It's a collection of essays, some of them look very good, though masses of statistics: Habakkuk's on C18 population is included.

Yes Ralph Houlbrooke, despite his intenseness and booming voice (or perhaps partly because of them) is a sweetie – and quick mind. His thesis on Norwich ecclesiastical records should be most interesting. With parish records (cf. the new book by E.A. Wrigley (Introduction to English Historical Demography, Weidenfeld, 1966), the records of the church courts are undoubtedly going to be the most important source for historical studies during the next 10 or so years. They give detailed (and often delightful) glimpses into everyday social and religious life. But then, I don't have to give you a lecture on this, you saw a few excerpts from them in the W.E.A. lectures I lent you. I hope to do a study of puritanism in a few villages – to see what correlations there are between religious groups and such factors as sex, age, economic position, kinship links, size of family, length of residence in a village, village disputes etc. I think this might give a new depth to the old wrangling about puritanism and capitalism for though one will never be able to say finally a man was a puritan because – (he inherited land at the dissolution of the monasteries, he was the youngest son in a big family, he was a 'newcomer' to a village, he was a frustrated bachelor etc.) one should at least be able to show some correlation with something – even if, like Brunton and Pennington, it is that the average age of puritans was five years older than that of middle-of-the-road



Anglicans etc. Also it would be nice to know who exactly was supposed (& did) attend church, whether the eccl'l regulations re. the prohibited seasons for marriage were observed, what was the attitude to the local clergy etc. etc. this can only be done, I think, if one uses every single source and not just pamphlets and economic sources (as Hill tends to) or parish registers and censuses (as Laslett) etc. But enough of that for now. If you are at all interested I would be grateful for your comments when I have written something. At the moment I am just at the stage of reading hundreds of wills, manor court rolls, parish registers, archdeaconry records, subsidy assessments etc. I never realised how much material there was for one village just for the reign of Elizabeth. There is more than enough for a large book. I am attempting to cover three villages and have enlisted the support of my sister and mother who read and analyse with me. We really need a computer with this detailed mass of information. It's all carried out in our garden shed which my father has kindly set up as a kind of local history factory and which is becoming filled with trays of index cards and files of every colour and kind. I have a slide projector and get my documents microfilmed and then turn them into slides and show them on a screen here. Articles I want, I send for Xerox copies from the Bodleian. In fact, apart from checking and one or two sources too large to photograph, this place is pretty self-sufficient. When I enter the shed I feel I am in a bathscope; by turning the right controls and selecting the write [sic] information I can slide back 400 years and peer out into the sixteenth century where witches and suicides, puritans and young wedded couples float past my curious eye. This world seems much more real than the C20, and much more satisfactory, since I only have to see what I want to see and I can sort and arrange things as one never can in real life. This probably all sounds vaguely monomaniacal, but if anyone would understand it would be you.

I don't really think you need support - if I had half your knowledge and half your memory power I would be a far better historian than I am. All I can say is that you have helped and inspired me more than I can say. Anything more would sound gushing.

If you ever have the energy to write, please do. Our weekly chats are one of the few things I miss here. But there are many compensations, not least the snowdrops which are visible from where I write this. Of course I miss Oxford in stabbing moments, but it is too gentle and voluptuous a place (at the moment) for my ascetic soul.

*Ill times may be; she has no thought of time:  
She reigns beside the waters yet in pride.  
Rude voices cry: but in her ears the chime  
Of full sad bells bring back her old springtide.*

The last verse of a poem about Oxford - do you know who wrote it? It sounds famous.

*I hope to see you again in four weeks or so.  
Very best wishes,*

**Field Head, Outgate Nr Ambleside 29 May 1966** [the right margin has been torn, so a word or two has had to be guessed at]

Please forgive a typed letter: it will at least save your eyes from my scrawly writing. It was nice to hear from you again; I always love hearing from Oxford. I miss your garden in the Spring and those late Oxford evenings with the scent of wallflowers and old stone. It is very beautiful here with an apple tree frothing into pink blossom outside my work-shed and azaleas in full flower. I still gather bunches of flowers for disconsolate maidens but it rather spoils the Peter Abelard flavour when they have to be wrapped up

in brown paper and cellotape and sent by post! Still, I will see my current Heloïse (actually she's called Zoë which at least has the same punctuation). At least I'll have one excuse for coming to Oxford next term as Joan Thirsk has just written to ask me to give a paper to her seminar: on witchcraft. When I'm at London it will be easier to get down for week-ends.

I hope Ralph Holbrook and Richard Fletcher appreciated your guided tour: they are both intelligent and nice people. I envied your trip to East Leach Turville; I think I visited it when I was staying in the Cotswolds before Schools – exactly three years ago now. Even up here I get a sinking feeling this week when I note in my diary that History Schools are starting. I hope Ian is still relaxed and doing a modicum of work. Don't you get involved and worried. Like me, you would not be a very good social worker, you identify with people too much. As I want to do social work one day this is a problem for me, but I expect one gets immunized and 'cold'. How do saints manage to remain compassionate and firm?

I was interested in your remarks about Church attendance. I enclose a note I sent to my supervisor on this problem; it might interest you. As far as I know it is the first attempt to give any C16 statistics of church attendance and though both figures and conclusions are extremely tentative seems worth pondering. It is even more curious that total attendance slightly declined during the period when I measured population in this village. Between 1560-1600 population had increased by 256 (deducting deaths from births registered); thus it had nearly doubled. Even by 1584 (people born before that date would be over 16 by 1600 and thus should have attended communion) it had increased by 140. Where did they all go, and if they didn't all move out of the village, why didn't they go to church? Incidentally, it might interest you that the pre-marital pregnancy rate was about 15% in this village in this period. I might even be able to write my dreamed-of article on 'sex and religion: their relationship in a sixteenth village'! I am at the moment particularly interested in violent crime – rape, theft, manslaughter, suicide etc – in the attempt to really see how wild a society it was; whether it was tightly controlled being very mobile, also very savage. Unfortunately, I don't know of any studies (in detail) of crime-rates in Elizabethan villages. But enough of that. We can talk it over on Sunday. Looking forward to seeing you.

\*

Letters from Linda

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> April [1966] from 103 Victoria Road, Oxford

*Dearest Alan,*

*I hope you had a safe journey home & that your sister had a lovely Birthday. It was really so nice to be with you again and sad to think it was possibly the last time I would eat curry at the Bombay & walk down by the river with you in Oxford. I am just being sentimental & lest hope it isn't the last.*

*...If it is convenient with you and your parents I would still love to come and spend a few days after Easter with you – Here are my plans... I have booked a seat on the 11 o'clock coach from Victoria for Monday 11<sup>th</sup> April which is due to arrive at Ambleside 8.45 that evening... By the way if everything is O.K. I will leave for London the Saturday of the following weekend 16<sup>th</sup>*

16 May 66 – from CERN - date stamp



*... I was a little surprised to hear you had slept with Jane – do you like her very much. Then my ideas about sleeping with people has changed quite a lot.*

No date, from 103 Victorian Road, Oxford. – c. May?

*Thanking for birthday present, and noting I do feel very old now, it is sad I will not be a teenager again... I would say my 19<sup>th</sup> year was the happiest I have ever known and yet at the same time the most heart-breaking. You must have known me for near on two years now doesn't time fly past.*

24 Sunday 1966

*Dearest Alan,*

*I am sorry I have left writing to you so late. I imagine you have had a peaceful week and have found more time to concentrate on your work. Thank you very much for a lovely time in Ambleside and I can understand why you are proud to live in such a beautiful place. .... [Leaving Oxford – c. May 1966?]*

Whit Monday Geneva Date stamp 31.5.66

*....Alan I really think you should take things a little easier and not work so hard – your health is much more important than anything – Are your headaches better? [very good photos of the Lakes, which Linda hopes Alan will see if he comes to Geneva] Fondest love, Linda*

[Notes on letter by Alan: Bill; walk down Chalfont Rd; Folk club; French; Oxford – David; Health; Drive round mountains; Zoe; Driving test; Gill]

\*

## **Letters from Zoë**

8, Ladbroke Sq, W.11 24.4.1966

*Dear Alan,*

*It was lovely to find the primroses & daffodils here, really welcoming. I was delighted, as you knew of course I would be. It was a magnificent thought, and thank you. They do remind me of the Lakes. ... You don't need to apologise for the week-end. We ought to know each other pretty well by now, and so account for moods. I didn't feel as if I had been soul-searched anyway. .. It'll be nice to see you next week...*

The final scrap of poetry is dated 4th May 1966.

## **To Zoë**

A full moon in the tiredness night, poetry  
And lights and a hunchback by  
The lift and thighs bared as legs cross;  
A million impressions and contacts,  
A meaningless jungle where prowls

Inoffensive and deadly careerists.  
 With moments of contact long  
 Stretches of loss of understanding.  
 Depths of sudden humiliation.  
 A slight penetration and then  
 A loss of vision; a pool in  
 The desert, a girl's eyes and smile,  
 And then a wall: all these  
 Meaningless images as I try  
 To grope towards describing you and my life. But my  
 Emotions and rootless life and  
 Lack of formal training, or  
 Even sincerity of feeling preclude  
 Any strong-based verse. All I  
 Can offer you is this pen and  
 Paper and an economy and  
 A tired hand and my man y-  
 Distracted mind. Sleep my  
 Darling, and if you ever read  
 This meandering know that  
 Behind and beyond this I

LSE no date - c. May 1966

*Dear Alan,*

*Nice to hear from you this morning. Glad Oxford went well. ... Where are you staying ?? (I don't suppose you saw BBC 3 on Saturday - very near-the-bone sketch about a tramp & a Rowthon (?) House). I know it's probably pointless saying this, because your pride I'm sure would make you sleep in the gutter rather than with friends - & maybe you are staying somewhere respectable - but anyway, in case not, you're more than welcome to sleep on my floor (underlined by Mrs. W.) What's more, I promise to be there! Seriously, it would be nice to have the company. ... I don't finish here till 5-30-45 ish tomorrow... but I'll come to the common room after that... Shall be interested to hear what Firth's latest utterance is. Either see you tonight or tomorrow then, Love, Zoë*

Undated, probably late May 1966 L.S. E.

*Dear Alan,*

*Thank you for your letter - I do enjoy reading them. I hope you're not getting too strung up about work. But I suspect there's nothing anyone else can say that helps. It's pointless saying you work probably much harder than most people, as I suspect your work-compulsion isn't open to rational consolation. Anyway, I'm glad the family's ministering to you.*

*The Oxford week-end sounded lovely & I'm glad you enjoyed it. Really you are funny - your introspection runs riot. Of course you can make any woman jealous (or disconcerted or whatever) to some degree by talking about other women - but it ruins the effect to point out that's what one might possibly be doing! Of course you know this & of course I'm taking it too seriously & of course it was all tongue-in-cheek anyway, still there is a point. Its somehow like talking about making love - which makes it*



*almost impossible we ever will. Still, no doubt all the odd things we say are just a function of our odd relationship! Still, whatever it is, I'm very glad it is. I feel we've got to know each other much better since Oxford, & I'd miss you very much if you disappeared out of my life. ... I thought afterwards that, from the things we talk about all the bits of oneself to some people - & I suppose it's when one imagines the other person will understand & be responsive. But it's not only that, because it also needs affection, since telling people about oneself involves one to some extent by letting them past the outside boundaries. This begins to sound like a women's magazine, but you know what I mean. The general drift is that I do feel as if you know me well - not that I ever seem to tell you very much, you just gather things. Insight, that's what it is! ... Yes, I'd like to come to Oxford that w/e. ... Don't get too frayed. When is Anne off to Paris? ... Much love, Zoë*

Tuesday, L.S.E. No date, c. May 1966

*Dear Alan,*

*Thank you very much for your letter. It's so no to get quick replies to letters so that you have a nice long letter to read when you're not expecting it. [asking for friend to stay with Alan...] I explained that it wasn't your flat, & that in any case it was awkward to ask since you're so nice you don't like refusing things!*

31 May 1966 London. Tuesday

*Dear Alan,*

*Thank you for your letter this morning. This is just a quick note to say don't bring a sleeping-bag unless you were bringing one anyway... And yo can have mine in London of course, tho' as you know it's not v. warm. ... I also forgot to thank you for the photograph, which is superb. What a gross omission. See you Thurs. lunch-time then, 1 p.m. downstairs. Look forward to that. Hope this reaches you tomorrow, Love, Zoë*

8 Ladbroke Sq, Wednesday. No date - June

*My dear Alan ... Thank you for your, as usual, lovely card. I thought of you in Oxford & round about & I'm so glad things with G\*ll worked well as presumably they did!*

L.S.E. Wed. No date - c. June 1966

[Notes by Alan: Roses; Dr. Bohm; C.U.P/Routledge; lift North; S.S.R.C; Gill; description of Zoë; Anne; Linda]

*Dear Alan,*

*At last I'm writing to thank you for those exquisite roses. I really was overjoyed to get them - so utterly unexpected. It was marvellous of you. But it must have cost a fortune - I really feel very guilty about that. You've no idea how morale-boosting it was, especially as taking exams in London is such a routine & unceremonious business, quite different from Oxford. They were beautiful yellow buds which have since opened with wide & exquisite whorls of gold with the most lovely scent. It seems silly to say thank you - such an inadequate word. But I hope you know how much I mean it. It was a lovely idea, & I was very touched. It's so typical of you & your thoughtfulness & generosity. ....I'm sure the last thing you want to hear is a catalogue of my woes, but I*

have to write it to someone & I know you'll understand. [long description about the likely impossibility of getting a second year for the M.Sc] ... It was so nice to have your letter - I did so enjoy that w/e in Oxford, & thank you for making it so enjoyable, & countering the inevitable nostalgias of Oxford by introducing me to your friends & filling it up with currently attractive things. It was altogether a lovely w/e.

I'm glad if the Gill-thing is working well. It must be strange & I can imagine how you feel about it. Incidentally the back-peddling remark wasn't a prediction of your reaction, but sort of veiled advice. Tho' it was probably very presumptuous I only meant, I suppose, that I feel a bit superstitious about things developing v. fast, as it's not clear where one goes after having plunges in up to the neck. Still, I'm not the one to talk - as I never seem to manage things very well. Anyway, I'm glad if you feel happy about it, & can't imagine how you couldn't. I don't think you stand to lose by it. I must say she sounds very nice. ... I still don't quite know when I'll be home, tho' I think it'll be sometime around 2nd or 3rd July.

I wonder how you are feeling now - you sounded pretty cheerful work-wise & the efforts of your parents in contributing to sociological/historical knowledge sound magnificent. Yes, it must be nice being able to drive & being independent.

I'm sorry about the moans at the beginning of this. But the main gist of it was meant to be thanks for your being so nice & for the roses. Not so long until I see you. Love, Zoë

Sunday 19th June 1966    Field Head, Outgate [a carbon of a typed letter, but very poor quality, so re-typed in full here]

My dear Zoe,

Please forgive a typed letter. I find that I can write more with less effort this way, and, of course, it's slightly more legible. Thank you very much for your letter, sweetie. Of course I don't mind you moaning about Dr Bohm *et. al.* To begin with, you are always hearing my groans - and also one of my complaints about our relationship was that you didn't depend enough on me. Too self-sufficient etc. Anyhow I'm particularly interested in this subject as I'm intimately involved. I wonder if Propp (?) was any help? As I said in my card, it makes one furious - I really do feel more bitter than my placid disposition normally allows me. I think that if I also got refused, and hence am in a pretty independent position I may kick up a fuss. Apart from failing to even mention the fact that there was such a thing as an S.S.R.C. after my repeated requests to her for suggested means of income, her latest cretinous act was to lose my tutor's testimonials. At least I assume that's what happened. I asked Keith and Harry to write even before I sent in my application to be registered at L.S.E. and they both wrote by return that they'd done this. But both Firth and 'B' (future ref. for Dr. Bohm) wrote on several occasions to say that if I didn't hurry up with my testimonials I wouldn't be considered etc. Finally I wrote to her and explained that she had probably mislaid them - having received them before my application. She immediately replied that she now had them - but didn't have the courage to admit that this is what happened. Firth, though he's wasted a lot of time on me, has also been pretty vague and disorganised. If you remember, as a member of the S.S.R.C. Committee he more or less said that I wouldn't be eligible for a Studentship. He's now written to say that I am. No doubt he'll wriggle out of the verbal promise that if I were to be eligible, on the strength of my D.Phil. I'd get one. I'm telling you this last piece of information as I feel decidedly guilty about it. I would feel awful if I got money - after 3 years State support - to



*continue while you were turned down and a whole lot of spotty pseudo-sociologists from East Clacton, Cheam and Cheadle Universities were welcomed to the starry portals of L.S.E. I know you're too proud to receive help from me – but if I both get an advance contract for a book (both Routledge and Cambridge U.P. have now written to offer me an advance if they like a couple of chapters of my thesis) and an S.S.R.C. grant I would be comparatively well off and would love to help you if you decided to try to work your way through. I'm counting my chickens a little fast as I'll probably still be working my [way] through. Still. If only we were suited to get married.....*

*Glad the roses arrived O.K. The garden is full of foxgloves, irises, sun-flowers, poppies and the first roses. Soon it will be strawberry time. You will be up for that which is nice.*

*When will you hear your exam results? I'm sure you'll do better than you expect – even if this falls on deaf ears in L.S.E. You're always underestimating (stating?) your ability. I know you hate me when I go on like this, but I can't resist quoting a little bit from Gill's first letter. After I left her on that Sunday evening she went round to 'the twins' – one of whom, Karen, read History and finished at the same time as you. She knew you, and Clare (and David and Bron) – perhaps you know who she is? Her remark re. you was (and I quote) 'very bright Gill – the type who moans – my god I'm scared and then proceeds to get Alpha plus for an economics paper'. Gill's next remark was 'I retreated onto the armchair at this news – and didn't emerge for at least a couple of seconds!' Even I know that this isn't strictly true – re. economics anyhow. Nor, as you know full well, does it now matter to me what sort of brain you have. At one time it used to seem important to me what people thought of a person I liked – though I still haven't got over this completely I now have a little more faith in my judgement and whether you failed ever exam you took or not I'd still know that you're one of the nicest people I have ever met – or am ever likely to. End of digression. And to think that L.S.E. are thinking of preferring trogs with good seconds in Sociology to you ... ugh! I'm very tempted to go somewhere else. (May have to, anyway, if they keep on bungling)*

*I wonder how plans for India are progressing. I hope everything is smooth there [at] any rate and that the worst of the injections etc. are over. My concern is partly selfish. Unable to go to India myself, yet. I want to enjoy it and learn about it from you.*

*Was very intrigued by your enigmatic references to 'complications'. Perhaps your savings them for Hampstead Heath – or rather a walk up Helvellyn. Fortunately I won't have reason to act in such a childish and possessive way now.*

.....

*If Gill wants to see me, I will be taking the car down to Oxford this coming Saturday and staying there (she's got exams till Wednesday) until Friday when she goes to Greece. This will be my official holiday and I hope to sleep out in a sleeping-bag on Boars Hill and generally have a Scholar-Gipsey'ish time skipping round Bablock Hithe etc. Otherwise I'll probably go to Wales or Cornwall for a few days. It's thus possible that I'll be driving north on Sunday, 3rd July and if I am I would love it if I could come to London (or the outskirts – I'm a bit frightened of the city) and pick you and any possession you have to take up – this might be a help) and take you back to the Lakes. I'll [k]now definitely whether I can do this by next Sunday evening. I'll ring (person-to-person) some time during the day to find out if you're interested. It would be nice to have someone to talk to.*

*Write if you feel like it sweetie – before Friday to Field Head. Am thinking of you and missing you as I always will.*

*Love as always,*

Post-card from Zoë, dated 27 June London, Monday - to Worcester College

*Thanks very much for letter – very glad you're having a week's break. At least I hope you really are. Hope things go well with Gill too!*



## 1966 APRIL - JUNE RESEARCH

### Supervisor's report 1 April 1966 by Keith Thomas.

Title: Witchcraft Prosecutions in Essex, 1560-1680; a sociological analysis.

Mr Macfarlane is now writing his thesis and hopes to be able to send the final draft to the typist by October. I think, however, that he will be lucky to get it finished by then. Most of his research is completed, but the arrangement and presentation of his thesis is affording him some difficulty. His preliminary drafts will need to be re-shaped and polished quite substantially before they are ready for submission. His findings, however, are extremely interesting, and should constitute a real contribution to knowledge.

I wrote a card to Keith on 4 April from Field Head

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for a stimulating supervision. You asked for the reference to the 1602<sup>9</sup> Essex survey - it is 'A Viewe of the State of the Clergie Within the Countie of Essex'... : a printed copy presented to the B.M. in 1895 (catalogue mark = 5105 d 22) and original in the P.R.O. 30/15/1/128. I've checked and the printed copy looks alright. It is used a lot in Hill, Economic Problems (e.g. pp. 68, 111, 140, 203, 218, 228) and is a most fascinating document. I hope to place and name the ministers anonymously referred to in the second half by comparison with the 1589 survey, the Archdeaconry records etc.*

*Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

A card from Alan to Keith on Saturday 9 April from Field Head

*Dear Mr Thomas,*

*Could we arrange another session? I'm writing so far in advance as I'll only be down one week-end and thus don't want to miss you. I'll fit my various London interviews in when I've heard from you. Could you manage any time on Saturday 7th May (or Friday 6th/Sunday 8th) or, failing that, any time Friday-Sunday (13th-15th) the following week-end? I will send down a couple of chapters in two weeks time. Yours Alan Macfarlane*

Keith wrote on 15 April 13

*I could only offer Friday 6th May at 2 pm (lunch here if you like?) on the weekend you suggest. Would that be too awkward (Do give me a chance to read the chapters in advance, won't you). Keith*

Alan to Keith Thomas 20 April Field Head, Ambleside

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for your card. Friday 6th May at 2 p.m. will be fine; may I accept your kind invitation to lunch? Unless this is inconvenient and I hear from you I will call at your room at 1 p.m.*

*I enclose a couple of chapters; this concludes the 'Sources' half of the thesis and I now hope to move on to analysis. First I'll have to get Hopkins out of the way - a quick sketch (as I haven't much to offer in the way of new material or insights) should be*

completed by the time I come down. I'll bring it with me and perhaps we can discuss it at a later meeting. The analysis of my three villages, in depth, is proving most interesting - for instance it looks as if all the Hatfield Peverel witches and their victims lived on one manor, though it may be the fact that this also happened to cover the village rather than the fact that it was the old monastic foundation, that is significant. I ought to apologise for all the bits of cello-taped footnote: I don't seem to be able to anticipate how long (or over-long) my footnotes are going to be, but this may be a preferable method to continuing them on the next page.

Three isolated points:

- i) Though I agree that the 'bloody flux' was probably too well known to be often ascribed to witches that it was sometimes appears from the confession of Agnes Waterhouse in the 1566 pamphlet.
- ii) The additional Aylett references in the Ashmole Ms. 412 which you omitted from the list you kindly gave me are f. 13v, 16, 19v, 153v, 175v - this may save you going through it all again.
- iii) I may remember wrongly, but when we were talking about animals I think you said that you had not come across any examples of butchers actually being presented for not baiting their bulls to death, in accordance with the law: there are two examples for Dec. 1975 in the Maldon Borough Records, (in the E.R.O) D/B 3 1/6 f. 192v.

I enjoyed your article in the T.L.S. very much and hope it was not too bitterly received in certain quarters. Still unable to get any support to do social anthropology at L.S.E. I, also, look forward to seeing whether 'the prevailing system of historical training can generate the intellectual flexibility necessary for the new history to sustain itself!'

I look forward to your comments on the enclosed: I hope I've given you plenty of time to read them. Yours sincerely,

Alan to Keith Thomas      24 April    Field Head, Ambleside

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Sorry to bother you again, but I wonder if you'd mind scrawling a note to the Secretary of the Graduate School and posting it in the enclosed. I have just applied for an M.Sc. in Social Anthropology starting in October of this year and the form says that 'All applicants should ask two teachers who are familiar with their work to write on their behalf direct to the Secretary...' Thank you.

I see you've roused a few old bears in the T.L.S. I note that Cooper, in a surprisingly generous manner, refrains from offering any suggestions as to English works which have succeeded or superseded Homans! I'm seeing Wagner next week and hope to discuss the query he raises about the unreliability of parish registers: I don't know if he has any statistical support for his remark about wills - it doesn't appear that he has bothered to read Wrigley's various articles on the difficulties of using English material. I've done a quick check in one of the three villages I'm studying in detail and enclose the results. Obviously the families may have registered their children in a neighbouring church, may have been immigrants etc. etc. and this will emerge later (when I have more time to analyse - at the moment most of it is nobly being done by my mother and sister) - still I think it does suggest caution. I must tell Wrigley the glum news some time.

See you on May 6th. Yours,

Card from Keith Thomas to Alan, 26 April



*Many thanks for your v. interesting letter re parish registers. You'll turn Peter Laslett's hair white, & Garter King of Arms will probably make you a Herald. See on Friday 6 May - 1pm for lunch. Keith. P.S. I've duly written to L.S.E. for you.*

**Letter to Harry Pitt 24 April**

*The thesis goes well and I now have the whole family sitting round the 'tele' doing family reconstitution - I imagine my sister's analysis of the 'age-specific marriage rate' will go a little crazy when the Beatles appear.'*

**Letter to Lady Clay 25 April**

*My thesis staggers on and I've half written, in a preliminary draught, now. I'm also employing my mother and sister in a microscopic study of three Essex villages during Elizabeth's reign: the kind of thing Hoskins did for Wigston Magna but, I hope, with a less narrowly economic approach. I'm finding out fascinating things about marriage, crime, sex, witchcraft, puritanism and their various highly complex interrelations. Will enlarge on this later.*

Note from Alan to Keith on 12 May Field Head, Outgate

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thanks very much for the loan of this: I've written off to them to see if I am eligible - will keep you informed. I see Raymond Firth is on the committee. [info re. S.S.R.C.]*

*Glad your Hobbes piece was greeted with such enthusiasm in the T.L.S.*

*Will send more witchcraft shortly.*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

Card from Keith Thomas on 17 May

*Have you noticed the enquiry about Miles Blomfylde in Notes & Queries, March 1966, p.105 (& also in T.L.S. if I remember aright)?*

Card from Alan to Keith 20 May Field Head, Outgate

*Dear Mr Thomas,*

*Thank you for the Blomfield ref: will chase it when within reach of libraries. I hope book etc. go well. I will be sending two more chapters in three days but write to see if we can arrange a meeting - as you will be very busy. I will be in Oxford Friday 3rd - Sunday 5th June and would be happy to see you at any time on these three days. If they are impossible and you could manage Monday 6th that would be feasible. Otherwise I'll be down again about 25th June. Writing, after slight crisis of confidence, is progressing well. Will write at greater length with my chapters. Yours sincerely, Alan Macfarlane*

Keith Thomas to Alan 21 May 1966

*Dear Alan,*

*Many thanks for your post-card. The Blomfield thing is not a reference so much as a request for information, as you will see if you look up Notes and Queries in the Ambleside (?) Public Library.*

*I'm not quite sure about my movements during the weekend 4/5 June so I think it would be best if we were to meet on the Friday (3rd), say 3 p.m. We can have tea in the middle. I look forward very much to your chapters. They always cheer me up.*

*Incidentally do you mind if I mention your name to the Cambridge University Press, who have asked me to suggest possible authors of history books which 'employ the concepts and techniques of sociologists, social anthropologists' etc? I'm not sure how tied up you are with Routledge, but the C.U.P. are anxious to print as many tables, figures, notes, etc as you want. Anyway you can always say no, if they write to you.*  
*Yours, Keith*

Alan to Keith Thomas 22 May Field Head, Westmorland

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*The next two chapters; not too indigestible I hope. Another, on the 'Cunning Man in Essex' will be ready, I hope, when I come down.*

*I hope the section on religion has untangled itself; as you see, I haven't been able to really get past the problem of whether people used the magic described by contemporary writers. Like you, I have a conviction that they did mutter spells over their crops and their butter, and that the Reformation, in its attempt to cut away this substructure, left people in a vacuum, but it's almost impossible to prove. The only new fact I've come across concerns a much more prosaic matter, church attendance. As you know Laslett *et. al.* have suggested that the lower classes didn't go to church. I don't know if you know of any studies of this, if so, I'd be most interested to hear of them. In my reconstruction of village life in three Essex villages it looks as if I should be able to more or less answer this problem. For instance, in Boreham, a combination of churchwardens accounts, wills and ecclesiastical court records makes it possible to learn quite a lot on the subject. I enclose some very hesitant and preliminary figures on this.*

*I look forwards, as always to our meeting. Yours sincerely,*

Card from Alan to Keith on 23 May from Field Head

*As a p.s. to my jottings on church attendance, have just calculated total population growth in Boreham during the period 1560-1600. Population, comparing births & deaths, went up almost 85% - by about 250 people. I wonder where they all communicated?! Of course many were too young and many must have migrated, but still ... By 1584, 140 increase, these should have been old enough in 1600... Yrs Alan Macfarlane*

Alan to Keith Thomas, 24 May Field Head, Outgate, Ambleside

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for your letter: 3 p.m. on Friday (3rd June) will be fine - I look forward to discussing things then.*

*It was most kind of you to mention my name to C.U.P: one cannot have too many panting publishers, and, though Routledge have first option, it will be a stick to beat them with. Also, one day I dream of writing a great work on my three villages, a sort of*



*Williams on Gosforth, plus Firth on Tikopia, plus Homans, plus Hoskins, maybe Cambridge would be interested in this. But for now must obviously confine myself to witches.*

*I enclose a few more cases, too late to put into my chapter on ecclesiastical sources: I think you might like one or two of them – e.g. those connected with the clergy. I wonder what idea about insanity the first case reveals? I don't understand the reference to rats and moles. Nor do I, yet, know what a 'slyenck' is – Chambers suggests it comes from the same root as sly/cunning. Nice case of a woman refusing payment for her whit witchcraft 'who can not be paid'.*

*Please keep the carbon account, from the same sources as the above, of a conventicle. Thought you might like the meeting at a religious woman's house etc.*  
*Yours,*

Alan to Keith Thomas    17 June 1966    Field Head

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I enclose a chapter on Cunning folk and a few more cases of witchcraft from Colchester records which you haven't seen. I am easy as to whether we discuss this chapter soon, or leave it until I've written my final 'first draft' chapter – on '3 Essex villages'. I will be in Oxford from Sunday 26th June until Thursday 30th and, if you would like this, could see you at any time during these days. Otherwise, I will be down again towards the end of July and we could fix a time then. Anyhow I'm sending this so that you will have plenty of time to read it.*

*I've just heard from Firth that I will be eligible for an S.S.R.C studentship – but that there's very fierce competition so don't know what my chances are.*

*Thank you for the tea and comments on our last meeting. I do hope the book is starting to roll again. I look forward to seeing you at the end of this month, or next.*  
*Yours sincerely,*

\*

I mention that I am sending two final chapters on sources. This probably included the following chapter. I will give one example here of what I did in every instance – type a first draft and heavily correct it, and then a new draft to show to Keith. This was ten pages long with an extra 7 pages of appendices.





Central records of witchcraft(excluding Assizes).

( A number of central courts and other bodies occasionally dealt with witchcraft prosecutions. Unlike the cases at the Assizes, however, this offence only came within their cognizance by chance, for instance when it was allied to treason or slander. Such sources, therefore, cannot be used as a statistical indication of the amount of prosecution, yet they reveal some interesting facets of current beliefs, including an indication of the attitude of the central government.)

The Star Chamber.

From extracts and calendars of the records of the Star Chamber no pre-1560 cases of witchcraft have been discovered, either in Essex or England.<sup>1</sup> Nor have any Elizabethan cases been found, though there is little doubt that a search of the vast quantity of unindexed material would reveal some.<sup>2</sup> The Jacobean files have been calendared and some cases of witchcraft from them are already in print.<sup>3</sup>

There are four Jacobean cases for Essex,<sup>4</sup> but in only one can we discover from other Essex witchcraft records further details.<sup>5</sup> This is in the second case where the accused sorcerer was Edwin Hadesley:<sup>6</sup> a year later, in 1607, he was prosecuted at the Assizes for bewitching two people but was acquitted on both charges.<sup>7</sup> In none of the cases was a person simply accused of bewitching another, as happened at the Assizes. In the first the charge was fraud, counterfeiting the symptoms of being bewitched to earn money from sympathisers. Among the details of interest here are a good description of a supposed diabolic possession; the efforts of nearby preachers to heal the victim by prayer; the use of a sorcerer in the attempt to find a cure, a sorcerer who was paid the large fee of twenty shillings; and the fact that the supposed victim was later examined before James I. Apart from the contorted state of Gregory Cannell in 1566<sup>8</sup> and the further

1. There are none in the subject index to Select Cases in the Star Chamber, 1577-1544, ed. I.S. Leadam (Selden Soc., xvi, xxv, 1903, 1911) or in the P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, xiii, 1901, which is a calendar of proceedings, 1485-1558.
2. Only 31 Elizabethan bundles have been calendared (St.Ch.7) and these and the 10 original bundles (St.Ch.5 A.1-9) searched produced no cases; there are, however, another 972 bundles. If cases appear in the Elizabethan records at roughly the same intervals as those in the Jacobean, we could only expect one Essex case every eighty or more bundles. Until a subject index has been made a search is impracticable.
3. C.L. Ewen, Witchcraft in the Star Chamber, (For the author, 1938), includes two Essex cases, pp. 15, 55.
4. For these see Appendix .

For notes 5-8 see next page.

Another likely chapter at this time was one I mention on the background to the Mathew Hopkins witchcraft cases in 1645. This was 13 pages long and again annotated by Keith.



THE WITCH-FINDING MOVEMENT OF 1645, IN ESSEX.

At the Summer Assizes at Châlmsford in 1645 there were fifty indictments against suspected witches:<sup>1</sup> the largest number in the whole of Essex history. This trial has already received much attention and only a very brief account will therefore be given of it.<sup>2</sup> The trials in Essex and nearby counties have usually been ascribed to a combination of the diabolic personality of a professional witch-finder, Matthew Hopkins, the insecurity and loosening of society caused by the Civil War, and the prevalence of a persecuting brand of Calvinism. Yet no direct connection has been demonstrated between these causes and the specific prosecutions, and there has been little attempt to relate the accusations to the social background. Nor has the actual part played by Hopkins in the trials been investigated or their continuity with earlier witchcraft beliefs been explored.<sup>3</sup>

Although Gifford suggested in the sixteenth century that 'divers well disposed men have seriously taken the matter (i.e. witchcraft) in hande, and have hunted those puckerils out of their nestes',<sup>4</sup> there is no evidence in Essex,<sup>5</sup> and little elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> that a writer who opposed Hopkins was wrong when he argued that 'such a Profession (i.e. Witch-finding) or occupation has not beene heard of heretofore...'.<sup>7</sup> In this Essex and England appear to have differed from Scotland and the Continent where the professional witch-finder was more common.<sup>8</sup> Since this study is principally concerned with the mass of ordinary witchcraft accusations, and not the extraordinary or bizarre, the presence of a witch-finder at the trial immediately makes the depositions and prosecutions suspect. Yet there is so much contemporary evidence for the 1645 trial that it deserves close attention.<sup>9</sup>

1. The next largest year, 1584, contained 35 indictments. For the general context of the 1645 trial see figure ).
2. The best account of Hopkins' activities, both in Essex and on his tour through Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and the Isle of Ely is still Notestein, *Witchcraft...*, pp 164-205. The Assize documents, unused by Notestein, are printed in Ewen I, pp. 221-231 and Ewen discusses and analyses these in his second book, pp. 254-277. Other works on Hopkins are cited in the bibliography, but none really add much to the information in these two works.
3. One result is that evidence from this trial has been the basis for much generalization about English witchcraft, and yet, as will be shown, the depositions are abnormal. This was carried to the furthest extreme by Margaret Murray who used the depositions at this trial, quoting them on over twenty different occasions, as prime evidence of the existence of covens and Sabbaths in England; see *The Witch Cult...*, passim.

4. *Discourse...*, sig. G<sup>3</sup>.

5. Apart from the unusual interest of Brian Darcy, see pp. above and the activities of the more covert cunning folk, see Ch. : it is perhaps to the latter that Gifford is referring.

6. There were other over-interested justices, for instance Robert Hunt in Wiltshire or the Yorkshire magistrate who signed so many recognizances in the 1650's, see p. above. The nearest to Hopkins were the Scottish witch-prickers who visited Berwick on Tweed and Newcastle in the Interregnum: see *Notestein, Witchcraft...*, pp .

7. Gaule, *Select Cases...*, p. 88.

8. For continental witch-hunters see in the books in the bibliography: for Scotland see W.N. Neill, 'The Professional Pricker and His Test for

Caule 1650  
E.I., 69.70 (1954)

A diagram which, like others, I re-drew and used in thesis and book, is presented here in very early form.







There were two principal methods of avoiding being bewitched: taking magical precautions, such as wearing certain objects round one's neck, or regulating one's life so that a witch was unlikely, or unable, to attack. There is abundant literary evidence for the fact that people surrounded themselves with a wall of magical objects and gestures, intended to ward off evil generally and a witch specifically. Hanging holy writing round the neck, especially the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, was much favoured. It was referred to by Scot,<sup>1</sup> Bernard,<sup>2</sup> and in sixteenth century visitation articles.<sup>3</sup> It is one of the few types of protection mentioned in Essex evidence: Gifford told how a woman 'haunted with a fairy' was rumoured to wear 'about her Saint John's Gospel or some part of it'.<sup>4</sup> Charms were either worn around the neck or carried in the pocket,<sup>5</sup> they might be certain plants,<sup>6</sup> roots or stones,<sup>7</sup> or the holy objects which the pre-Reformation clergy had advocated as amulets against evil.<sup>8</sup> The list of such charms, spells and amulets could be endless. To take only a few examples: a holed stone was used as a stable-charm according to Scot, Aubrey and Sir Thomas Browne.<sup>9</sup> Salt,<sup>10</sup> communion wafers,<sup>11</sup> holy water,<sup>12</sup> the sign of the cross,<sup>13</sup> all these were probably daily employed to ward off evil and witches. Unfortunately we cannot go further than say that they were 'probably' used often: when we turn from the generalizations of contemporary writers to the legal records we are left with a gap in the evidence. A few buried bottles with curious contents have been discovered; these were probably used to prevent or cure witchcraft.<sup>14</sup> We know that the use of plants and other objects to ward off witchcraft was widespread in the nineteenth century and there are cases from all over England for the sixteenth century.<sup>15</sup> But specific cases in Essex are scarce, presumably because it was not an offence to wear an amulet or tie a horseshoe above the door.<sup>16</sup>

1. Scot, Discovery, pp. 212, 230.

2. Bernard, Guide, p. 135.

3. Frere, Visitation Articles (op. cit.), p. 126: Frere gives many other of the semi-religious charms used to counter evil forces.

4. Dialogue, sig. B.

5. Ady, Candle, p. 47.

6. Perkins, Damned Art, p. 149: for an Essex case see p. below.

7. Scot, Discovery, pp. 207, 248.

8. Frere, Visitation Articles, pp. 183-7;

Scot, Discovery, p. 208.

9. Kittredge, Witchcraft, p. 220.

10. Perkins, Damned Art, p. 245.

11. Frere, Visitation Articles, p. 110.

12. Scot, Discovery, p. 236: Scot in the following pages gives many other examples of counter-witchcraft charms and spells.

13. Ady, Candle, p. 57.

14. Ralph Merrifield, The Use of Bellarmine's as Witch Bottles, The Guildhall Miscellany, i, 3 (1954), pp. 3-15; for evidence that burying such jugs was common in seventeenth century Essex see A.C. Kelway, Memorials of Old Essex, (1908), p. 252.

15. For one excellent account of the amount of anti-witchcraft precautions taken in a nineteenth century Yorkshire village see J.C. Atkinson, Forty Years in a Moorland Parish, (1891), pp. 91-102. For many sixteenth century cases see the references to white witchcraft in various parts of England listed in the notes to pp. above.

16. Preservatives within the framework of normal Christian behaviour, for instance prayers, leading a holy life, blessing one's house and friends, are quickly dealt with below.



1966 APRIL – JUNE OTHER RESEARCHERS

Rosalind Clay

Rosalind Clay wrote on 21st April 1966 from Woodstock Road, Oxford

*Dear Alan,*

*Though you had to do without any written communication from me, I feel that you may have had telepathic messages, as I thought often of you - Far too much has been happening & I couldn't get peace for even a short letter, but your card this morning convinced me that I should have a try.*

*I shall be very glad to see you some time during the weekend after 7th, but will warn you that my stepdaughter may be in Oxford on 7th itself & she suggested coming at 6 to take me to dine out, so don't try then. (though she might cancel it)*

*I was with Oliver March 31st to April 8th (Totteridge - rather like Boars Hill. O has an acre of garden with cedars & masses of daffs.) & then 8th - 14th with Peter & Elizabeth & their 4 wild children at St Ives - Cornwall is a revelation - not like a piece of England at all & the coast enchantingly beautiful. St Ives is a high rocky headland, carved into 5 sandy bays, & huddled with houses perched one above the other & crammed into nooks - most of them reached by high stone stairs with painted ??? balustrades - whole place full of colour - pink or blue houses, yellow rails & masses of creepers. The south coast is just as lovely - especially Mevagasey - An enterprising solicitor has turned a sort of pilchard packer into 16 flats, right on the beach so that the Atlantic thunders to within a few feet of one's bed - The sea is an irresistible spectacle to me, & my eyes get drawn to it even when there are no surf-riders - but there was. I found Peter Shore most congenial - very moderate, though I thought it wisest not to shatter the general impression that I had voted Labour (I voted Liberal). He is Junior Minister of Technology, under Frank Cousins - & the floor was thick with congratulatory telegrams. The eldest girl (nearly 15) is pretty & civilized but the 3 others ghastly noisy young savages. With completely animal manners - a pity. Elizabeth too has just let her looks go to pieces ^& that grieved me, but I managed to avoid giving advice of any kind. We took 11 hours in the car to get there & 9 to come back but the return journey (apart from the sight of Stonehenge in snow) was the more unpleasant as the children racketed & found & hollered - I got back on 15th & Ian Green came that day too.*

*I don't know what to make of him. He told me some time ago that he was not working, & he has just repeated this - sees no point. He says he can't get a first without more work than he is prepared to do. I don't know what is going on inside him, but I conclude that he is really 'temperamentally up Y& down', perhaps always given to pendulum swings. I am coming to think that I really know some of these men better than Mr Pitt or Mr Campbell, though Mr C. is certainly far shrewder about their work. Ian looks much better in health; I just have no clue what to say so I don't say anything much. He appears to have washed his hands of the whole situation & says he is hardly working at all. He claims that I rate him too high as the only period he really likes is Tudor - Stuart. All this would be very baffling - this swing from too much to too little - if I was his guardian angel, but I am not - Anyhow he is stubborn & independent & no guardian angel could be given much of a hearing.*

*The College dinner was last night, Mr Graham most kindly rang up & offered to meet me & take me down the steps. Which made all the difference. It was a marvellous evening for me, though there were far too many people & I had to sit between 2*

strangers (Prof. Palmer & Dr Harris) – I didn't get on too badly there as one knew A.J.P. Taylor & Namier intimately & the other knew Prof. Toynbee – but I feared I was not going to see any of the dons I knew. However I had a long talk with Llewellyn Woodward (a v. old friend who had been seeing some of Rosemary's work), & then Mr Pitt & Roger Fulford & finally Mr Campbell who seemed in particularly gay spirits & promised to send me an offprint of his brilliant chapter on Bede. I had just read it that morning. It is a most wonderful piece of work. I did not get away till 11.40 & Lord Franks saw me to my taxi (a slight blow as Mr Campbell looked like doing this). These people have a real gift for making me happy. When Peter Shore's children want him to listen they seize hold of his chin & turn his face towards them. I have never before seen this trick & I told Mr Campbell I marked it at the time as suitable to apply to him. It was nice to apply to him. It was nice to see him in such a larky mood & I am thrilled about the offprint as I didn't really want to buy the book (almost entirely about historians like Polybius about whom I know nothing at all).

This term I have 4 English History girls (mostly London External degree) & 4 new Americans. I have masses to read & a stream of chatty interruptions. Sybil's graph is right up at the top as she was pathetic about missing me & also said she had been cutting down on cigarettes & for that reason had rudely contradicted everything I said – a handsome apology.

I picture you reading this as your prep just before you meet me – if you can read it.

I hope your writing is getting along. My son is still tinkering with his thesis but it sounds practically finished.

I shall miss Ian very much when he goes – I never expected to say that of any lodger, but he makes a good impression on everyone who meets him. I hope his very curious attitude will attract the attention of Mr Pitt or Mr Campbell or anyone who knows better how to receive the strange remarks he makes.

Garden very gay – I don't know how tall daffs stand themselves up again once they have been beaten to the ground – for that's what they have done,

Best wishes, Rosalind Clay

I have a carbon copy of my reply, dated 25th April 1966 from Field Head.

Thank you so much for your long letter – which I didn't read half an hour before coming to see you! Although this is a wonderful place to work I sometimes feel very cut off and start wondering, pathetically, whether all my Oxford (and London) friends have forgotten me. On these occasions a long letter from you restores me wonderfully. Thank you.

Please forgive this typed letter, but I think you'd find it easier than my handwriting. It's odd how bad handwriting seems to go with intelligence and character isn't it – at least it's comforting! Anyhow I won't write at length as I'll see you shortly.

Yes, Ian's behaviour is a little strange, but it's not what he says about his work but the amount (and quality) of what he actually does that matters. I remember going around nonchalantly saying (in the last month or two before exams) that I 'wasn't doing a scrap of work' and even going punting, lying about in the sun etc. so that my friends would be all the more surprised when I didn't get a fourth! There may be something of this in Ian's behaviour, but anyhow it won't help if you get worried about it. After all, if he can't stand the strain, it is probably better to find out now than when he has fully committed himself to an academic career and has wives, children etc. to look after and tie him to his decision. Well, enough sermonising for this letter!



*I'm glad you enjoyed your Cornish venture – I really must visit the realm of Arthur. The very word Tintagel sends a pre-Raphaelite tingle down my sentimental spine. I love Devon and used to solemnly recite Tennyson to the breaking sea. But there are cloud-flecked days of daffodils and primroses and blue water between the silver birches when the Lakes are very magical, not awesome really like Wordsworth's vision but fey and strange. I visited Beatrix Potter's house (a couple of miles away) for the first time recently – enchanting. Jeremy Fisher's adventures happed on our local lake. Esthwaite.*

*My thesis staggers on and I've half written, in a preliminary draught, now. I'm also employing my mother and sister in a microscopic study of three Essex villages during Elizabeth's reign: the kind of thing Hoskins did for Wigston Magna but, I hope, with a less narrowly economic approach. I'm finding out fascinating things about marriage, crime, sex, witchcraft, puritanism and their various highly complex interrelations. Will enlarge on this later.*

*Must plug on with my work, forgive such a short letter.*

*I look forward very much to seeing you. Regards to friends.*

*P.S. I wonder if the Thomas Hodgkin who wrote in the T.L.S. of April 7 is any relation?*

I have a carbon of a letter with no date. From the contents (reference to Ian Green before exams, it looks as if it was written in May)

**Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland, from Alan Macfarlane**

*Dear Lady Clay,*

*Thank you so much for your interesting letter – it was nice to hear from you. Please forgive a typewritten reply, but you'll probably find it easier to read than my progressively worsening handwriting.*

*Yes, I dropped Mr Pitt a note and he had a word with Ian. He doesn't think he's too bad. I hope he's (Ian that is) recovered his spirits. Even I get depressed sometimes at my vast ignorance and drive myself on to work too hard so that I get tired into the bargain. I suppose we are all (including you) just the anxious type – anxious of what other people think of us (even the Sybils of this world) and desperately attempting to keep abreast of the last books. Incidentally, I'm sure you'll have come across the new Population in History edited by D.V. Glass which is even at this moment staring at me accusingly from my bookshelf because I haven't got down to reading it. It's a collection of essays, some of them look very good, tho' masses of statistics: Habakkuk's on C18 population is included.*

*Yes Ralph Houlbrooke, despite his intenseness and booming voice (or perhaps partly because of them) is a sweetie – and quick mind. His thesis on Norwich ecclesiastical records should be most interesting. With parish records (cf. the new book by E.A. Wrigley (Introduction to English Historical Demography, Weidenfeld, 1966), the records of the church courts are undoubtedly going to be the most important source for historical studies during the next 10 or so years. They give detailed (and often delightful) glimpses into everyday social and religious life. But then, I don't have to give you a lecture on this, you saw a few excerpts from them in the W.E.A. lectures I lent you. I hope to do a study of puritanism in a few villages – to see what correlations there are between religious groups and such factors as sex, age, economic position, kinship links, size of family, length of residence in a village, village disputes etc. I think*

this might give a new depth to the old wrangling about puritanism and capitalism for though one will never be able to say finally a man was a puritan because – (he inherited land at the dissolution of the monasteries, he was the youngest son in a big family, he was a ‘newcomer’ to a village, he was a frustrated bachelor etc.) one should at least be able to show some correlation with something- even if, like Brunton and Pennington, it is that the average age of puritans was five years older than that of middle-of-the-road Anglicans etc. Also it would be nice to know who exactly was supposed (& did) attend church, whether the eccl’l regulations re. the prohibited seasons for marriage were observed, what was the attitude to the local clergy etc. etc. this can only be done, I think, if one uses every single source and not just pamphlets and economic sources (as Hill tends to) or parish registers and censuses (as Laslett) etc. But enough of that for now. If you are at all interested I would be grateful for your comments when I have written something. At the moment I am just at the stage of reading hundreds of wills, manor court rolls, parish registers, archdeaconry records, subsidy assessments etc. I never realised how much material there was for one village just for the reign of Elizabeth. There is more than enough for a large book. I am attempting to cover three villages and have enlisted the support of my sister and mother who read and analyse with me. We really need a computer with this detailed mass of information. It’s all carried out in our garden shed which my father has kindly set up as a kind of local history factory and which is becoming filled with trays of index cards and files of every colour and kind. I have a slide projector and get my documents microfilmed and then turn them into slides and show them on a screen here. Articles I want, I send for Xerox copies from the Bodleian. In fact, apart from checking and one or two sources too large to photograph, this place is pretty self-sufficient. When I enter the shed I feel I am in a bathscope; by turning the right controls and selecting the write [sic] information I can slide back 400 years and peer out into the sixteenth century where witches and suicides, puritans and young wedded couples float past my curious eye. This world seems much more real than the C20, and much more satisfactory, since I only have to see what I want to see and I can sort and arrange things as one never can in real life. This probably all sounds vaguely monomaniacal, but if anyone would understand it would be you.

I don’t really think you need support – if I had half your knowledge and half your memory power I would be a far better historian than I am. All I can say is that you have helped and inspired me more than I can say. Anything more would sound gushing.

If you ever have the energy to write, please do. Our weekly chats are one of the few things I miss here. But there are many compensations, not least the snowdrops which are visible from where I write this. Of course I miss Oxford in stabbing moments, but it is too gentle and voluptuous a place (at the moment) for my ascetic soul.

*Ill times may be; she has no thought of time:*

*She reigns beside the waters yet in pride.*

*Rude voices cry: but in her ears the chime*

*Of full sad bells bring back her old springtide.*

The last verse of a poem about Oxford – do you know who wrote it? It sounds famous.

I hope to see you again in four weeks or so.

Very best wishes,

**Field Head, Outgate Nr Ambleside 29 May 1966** [the right margin has been torn, so a word or two has had to be guessed at]



*Please forgive a typed letter: it will at least save your eyes from my scrawly writing. It was nice to hear from you again; I always love hearing from Oxford. I miss your garden in the Spring and those late Oxford evenings with the scent of wallflowers and old stone. It is very beautiful here with an apple tree frothing into pink blossom outside my work-shed and azaleas in full flower. I still gather bunches of flowers for disconsolate maidens but it rather spoils the Peter Abelard flavour when they have to be wrapped up in brown paper and cellotape and sent by post! Still, I will see my current Heloise (actually she's called Zoë which at least has the same punctuation). At least I'll have one excuse for coming to Oxford next term as Joan Thirsk has just written to ask me to give a paper to her seminar: on witchcraft. When I'm at London it will be easier to get down for week-ends.*

*I hope Ralph Holbrook and Richard Fletcher appreciated your guided tour: they are both intelligent and nice people. I envied your trip to East Leach Turville; I think I visited it when I was staying in the Cotswolds before Schools – exactly three years ago now. Even up here I get a sinking feeling this week when I note in my diary that History Schools are starting. I hope Ian is still relaxed and doing a modicum of work. Don't you get involved and worried. Like me, you would not be a very good social worker, you identify with people too much. As I want to do social work one day this is a problem for me, but I expect one gets immunized and 'cold'. How do saints manage to remain compassionate and firm?*

*I was interested in your remarks about Church attendance. I enclose a note I sent to my supervisor on this problem; it might interest you. As far as I know it is the first attempt to give any C16 statistics of church attendance and though both figures and conclusions are extremely tentative seems worth pondering. It is even more curious that total attendance slightly declined during the period when I measured population in this village. Between 1560-1600 population had increased by 256 (deducting deaths from births registered); thus it had nearly doubled. Even by 1584 (people born before that date would be over 16 by 1600 and thus should have attended communion) it had increased by 140. Where did they all go, and if they didn't all move out of the village, why didn't they go to church? Incidentally, it might interest you that the pre-marital pregnancy rate was about 15% in this village in this period. I might even be able to write my dreamed-of article on 'sex and religion: their relationship in a sixteenth village'! I am at the moment particularly interested in violent crime – rape, theft, manslaughter, suicide etc – in the attempt to really see how wild a society it was; whether it was tightly controlled being very mobile, also very savage. Unfortunately, I don't know of any studies (in detail) of crime-rates in Elizabethan villages. But enough of that. We can talk it over on Sunday. Looking forward to seeing you.*

*Nick Tyacke*

29/5/66

Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Nich.,

I hope all goes well with you and that your thesis is not too firmly bedded: sorry we couldn't have a chat when we met in Duke Humfrey. I wonder how the teaching etc. goes; you must be very busy.

Further to our discussion about wills as an index to religious attitudes etc. I thought you might be interested in a few very rough figures I've worked out. Perhaps you know of some studies of church attendance. Perhaps, also, you can explain why attendance at communion declined (if the accounts are correct) while parish registers show that the population (births over deaths) increased by 256 people (i.e. nearly doubled) during the period 1560-1600 (up to 1584 it had increased by 140 - all these should have been old enough by 1600 to communicate). Have you managed to do any work yet on locating puritans from their wills? What do you make of Michael Walzer's book?

Perhaps we will bump into each other. I won't be at the P & P conference, though I expect you will. Still, I'll be in London from October at the L.S.E. (I hope). Have a pleasant summer.

Yours,

P.S. Keep the carbon if it's of interest.



*To which Tyacke wrote back on 1st June from University College, London.*

*Dear Alan,*

*I have just received your interesting “note” and letter, and at risk of impressionism am replying immediately. Declining communion numbers rings a bell – you might try the works of A. Tyndale-Hart for a lead – Are you publishing this note somewhere? If you could get 2 or 3 similar Essex villages, it really could be excellent – I am sure you are correct about the non-attendees not being Puritans: along these lines, is there any evidence of a radical incumbent, curate or lecturer, driving the more conservative away? Secondly is the fact that your decline occurs up to the 1590’s significant, being a decade of agrarian crisis (more-or-less)? I take it these people don’t die (?), but could they be ill? Migration obviously remains the big possibility (Rich etc.); do the Essex Muster Rolls help?*

*I like your interesting use of the will preambles, keen v. indifferent; it has possibilities. My own investigations have just really got underway, ‘though local gentry wills seem more hopeful than I originally thought (at least in Kent); one setback is the discovery (not fairly original) that at least some R. C. ’s in the early C16th are capable of using what I called a “Calvinist” will preamble, mentioning election etc.*

*Looking forward to seeing you,*

*Yrs, Nick T.*

Hilda Grieve – continued:

7/4/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Hilda,

Many thanks for your continued help during my last visit. I hope all goes well. Though you'll hear in due course I thought you might be interested to hear about some ecclesiastical court records I saw during my visit to London. As you know, there are at the P.R.O various records in transit to the Guildhall and at the moment in the charge of Dr. Conway Davies. I was told these were Commissary of London court records, but I was allowed to look at them the other day (although they are not indexed and it looks as if it will be years before anything is done about them as all transfers need the signature of the Lord Chancellor etc.). Among them I found certain which will, presumably, finally go to Essex: but how long this will take at the present rate I don't know. The Archdeaconry Act Book is particularly good, detailed and in reasonable condition considering it is the earliest known book. Needless to say, I found several more covens of witches!

Yours,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Essex ecclesiastical records (1500-1640) in transit  
at the Public Record Office.

Archdeaconry of Essex  
Act Book, Sept. 1561 - April, 1562.

Comissary of Essex and Herts.  
Act Books,  
March 1605 - c. 1606  
March 1611 - c. 1612  
Jan. 1619 - May 1620

(There are also a considerable number of Consistory of London Act (Correction and Detection) books with a large amount of Essex material: these, of course, will go to the London County Record Office)



To which Hilda replied:

PLEASE ADDRESS TO:  
~~Students' Room Supervisor.~~  
~~PLEASE ADDRESS OFFICIAL~~  
~~LETTERS IMPERSONALLY~~

COUNTY OF ESSEX  
ESSEX RECORD OFFICE  
County Archivist: F. G. EMMISON, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Chelmsford S3233  
Ingatestone 340

COUNTY RECORD OFFICE (QUARTER SESSIONS AND LIUTENANCY RECORDS)  
DIOCESAN RECORD OFFICE (WILLS, ARCHDEACONRY AND PARISH RECORDS)

MANORIAL REPOSITORY (ESTATE AND FAMILY ARCHIVES AND MAPS)  
LIBRARY (INCLUDING ESSEX BOOKS AND PICTORIAL COLLECTIONS)

COUNTY HALL, CHELMSFORD  
HOURS - STUDENTS' ROOM, COUNTY HALL: 9.15-5.15 (Mon. 9.15-8.45, Closed Sat.)  
INGATESTONE HALL: 9.30-12.30, 2.0-4.30 (Exhibitions, Summer only, not Sun. or Mon.)


IN REPLY PLEASE QUOTE: YOUR REFERENCE:

12.4.66

Dear Alan,

Many thanks for your letter and information. Mr. Emmonson has some line on this, so I have passed it on to him. He will, of course, treat it in complete confidence. I should be particularly glad to have the Commemorative Act Books. I hear your Exhibition exhibit looks very well.

Best wishes,



Hunnisett - continued

7/4/66

Your ref:RFH/JG

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr.Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Mr. Hunnisett,

Thank you so much for letting me know about the new Essex Assize file. Though my heart ~~thinks~~ at the thought of all my tidy maps and graphs as a pursuivant (?) of truth I am glad I seem to have got into a bit of a muddle over this, for though I noted it was missing from your card index C.L.Ewen (Witch Hunting and Witch Trials pp.124-5) either made a mistake in dating a file or else saw it before it became gummed up: I have followed him. I will sort all this out when I come down.

I have been meaning to write to you for some time on another issue - suicide. While searching for witches dying of plague in the coroner's indictments (K.B.9) I hastily noted down suicides for Essex and one sample year for the whole of England. The enclosed rough figures (I have subsequently checked them and there are a few corrections to be made) are the result. I thought they might interest you. Of ~~the~~ course they need much more detailed analysis - eg. the age group 10-19 needs a further breakdown - and various factors, for instance sex and month, need to be correlated. But, as you will see, there are already some interesting facts.

Two of the major problems worrying me at the moment are a) how complete are these figures, both in details and as a total of Elizabethan suicides ? b) how do they compare with medieval



(2)

figures ? As to totals, the only way I can think of checking is to find cases in other sources and then see if there is a coroner's inquisition. The only two I have found so far for Essex, in a parish register and a ~~parish~~ manorial court, were both echoed in inquisitions down to the last detail, but this is obviously too small a sample to give much confidence. One or two other cases must have come within exempt jurisdictions - for instance in Essex the mayor of Writtle had its own coroner's inquests. I wonder if large towns such as Colchester and Chelmsford also had such rights ? It shouldn't ~~be~~ be too difficult to find out and it will obviously make quite a difference to total statistics and to any theories about the stresses caused by conflict between urban and rural values etc. I wonder, also, if there was deliberate undervaluation of property to benefit relatives ? In a considerable number of cases inventories are given and these appear to be thorough.

As for the medieval period, that is your province. I see that you only found 3 (or 2) suicides out of 223 inquests in Beds (Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc. xli.)xxiii. Have you any theories why there should have been such a low number - apart from the one you suggest about the uncertainty of contemporaries in the many drowning cases (which uncertainty does not seem to have deterred sixteenth century juries from ascribing many drownings to suicide) ? I have forgotten when you said inquisitions started registering suicides in quantity - was it the end of the C15 ? Perhaps there was a procedural or legal change then .

Sorry to bombard you with questions.

Thank you again for all your help.

Yours sincerely,

The final letter is a long, hand-written one, on suicide. I include the first of five pages of this letter.



PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Chancery Lane, LONDON W.C.2

Telephone: HOLBORN 0741

Please address any reply to  
THE SECRETARY

Our reference:

Your reference:

13 April 1966.

Dear Macfarlane.

Thank you very much for your suicide figures. I still have not done anything similar for my Sussex inquests. Instead I am continuing to collect material, very slowly I fear, and am now in the late 1650s. The trouble is that there is no obvious stopping point - but I think I will now go on until either 1688 or 1714 and then start analysing & digesting.

I think you are quite right to suspect deliberate under-valuation of suicides' possessions, although it would be difficult to prove in most cases. I am even more suspicious of the large number of cases in which suicides (and murderers) are said to have had no lands or goods at all - a very high proportion in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. J.D.J. Howard has some interesting comments and

Raymond Firth - continued:



22/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

You may remember that I came to see you last October about possible means of financing myself for a course in social anthropology at L.S.E. Thank you for your letter of November: I didn't reply earlier as there has been no progress in my various attempts to find financial backing. It is possible that you have seen my application to do an M.Sc. next year and, if so, you will know that whether I get a grant or scholarship or not I intend to study at L.S.E. as long as I am accepted. But you will realize that in order to pay back a loan from my parents I will have to do part-time work - probably writing or lecturing (I hope to turn my thesis on 'Witchcraft in Essex' into a book etc.) and this will detract from the value of my course at L.S.E. I would not bother you with all these details if it was not for the fact that one possible source of money has just offered itself.

My supervisor, Mr. Keith Thomas, and my college Senior Tutor both pointed out the possibility of a grant from the Social Science Research Council which, as you know, has, as one of its aims, the facilitating of transfer from arts subjects to the social sciences. I therefore wrote to the Council, pointing out that I had already received a State Studentship for three years and asking if this would disqualify me from a S.S.R.C. award (particularly the Advanced Course Studentship). In their reply they did not comment on this, but seemed to imply, by their suggestion that I 'consult the head of the department at the L.S.E. and ask to be considered for nomination to one of our studentships', that there was no obvious reason why I shouldn't apply. I wonder, therefore, if you would let me know the position, and whether you would consider me in your list of nominations?

Incidentally, my study of three Essex villages is progressing well and I am applying the methods of 'Family Reconstitution' pioneered by Wrigley and the Cambridge School, but, I hope, giving depth to this method by studying the religious, economic and political life of the village through the financial and court records which the Cambridge Group, in their concern about demographic history, tend to overlook. I am convinced that in all this anthropology will be of essential importance and that the contribution which such studies have for anthropological theories is considerable. But there is no need to preach to the converted: excuse my over-enthusiasm.

I will be in London on Thursday 2nd of June if you would like to see me about the above, and again at the end of June for a few days.

I apologise for taking up so much of your valuable time.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



Houghton Street, Aldwych  
London, W.C.2

Telephone HOLBORN 7686

24th May 1966.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

I think what the S.S.R.C. office meant by their suggestion to you about a studentship was that Research Studentships (two years) and Advanced Course Studentships (one year) are not awarded individually but on the recommendation of a department which has been allocated a quota. I see no reason why, if you are accepted for registration, you should not apply to this Department to be considered for an award. But it is likely that the number of studentships available will be very small, so I should not put too much faith in your possibilities of getting one.

I would be interested to see you and learn of your work and will be available at 3 p.m. on Thursday, 2nd June. Perhaps you could let me know if you can come then.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond Firth.



26/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

Thank you for your letter. I am glad there is a possibility, even if it is a remote one, of obtaining an S.S.R.C. grant.

I would be delighted to call on you at 3 p.m. on Thursday, 2nd June. I look forward to seeing you then and to discussing history and anthropology etc.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
LONDON, W.C.2



6/6/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

I really must thank you for your kindness in spending so much time last Thursday trying to sort out my possible future as an anthropologist/historian. I feel guilty that I took up so much time but am very grateful all the same.

You asked me to let you know the gist of the correspondence with the S.S.R.C. I wrote to them on 12/5/66 as follows (I take this from a carbon):

'I write to enquire whether I am eligible for any of the S.S.R.C. studentships...I took a B.A.(2nd) in history at Oxford in June 1963 and since then have been engaged in research for a D.Phil. in history. This will be finished in October. I have been financed in this by a State Studentship.....and I therefore wondered if there would be any objection to my competing for an award?'

To this they replied (Miss H.M. Clay) on 17/5/1966 saying that they enclosed a booklet on the S.S.R.C. awards and that 'I would advise you to consult the head of the department at the L.S.E. and asked to be considered for nomination to one of our studentships. You do not have to supply the form ACS. 2 yourself. The College authorities have supplies of these.'

I would have thought that this



not about Research Fellowship but  
Advanced Course Studentships (hence the  
ref. to ACS 2). If they consider me  
ineligible now this must have been a  
mistake. Nor have I been able to find any  
specific ruling in the pamphlet on  
'Postgraduate Training in the Social Sciences'  
to say that a person in my position is not  
eligible. I realize, however, that, since  
this is a new project, everything has not  
been worked out clearly and I may have  
found an unintentional loophole.

Whatever happens, I would like to  
read anthropology at L.S.E. and very much  
appreciate any help you can give me. Please  
forgive my continued importunity.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
LONDON, W.C.2

# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



Houghton Street, Aldwych  
London, W.C.2

Telephone HOLBORN 7686

9th June 1966.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

I have your letter of 6th June. By the same mail I also had a note from the Secretary to the S.S.R.C. confirming that where a conversion course is involved, as in your case, they would see no objection to allotting a studentship to someone with more than four years' postgraduate study. The way is now clear for us to nominate you for a studentship and your name has gone forward for consideration. I do not as yet know how soon you will hear the result. I am sorry if I misled you the other day but I myself was not at all clear as to how the provisions regarding years of graduate study were intended to be applied.

I understand from the Graduate Office here that though your application was received quite some time ago, letters of recommendation regarding you have not yet arrived. Perhaps you could look into this.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond Firth.

Mr. Alan Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.



12/6/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th of June. I was so glad to hear that I'm eligible for an S.S.R.C award, but am refraining from counting my chickens... Thank you once again for your continued help.

Both my referees informed me that they'd written to the Graduate Office long ago so there must be some muddle. I will look into this.

I look forward to hearing the result of my application. Incidentally I've started making a kinship diagram of one of my villages and the results look surprisingly certain and detailed. Without anthropological training, however, I feel lost to interpret the patterns.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
LONDON, W.C.2

Joan Thirsk:

History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.  
Telephone 43395

25 May 1966.

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

How is your thesis going? I had dinner with Keith Thomas last week and he said you were still expecting to take the course at L.S.E. next year. I hope you have succeeded in raising the money somehow?

Do you think you could come and read a paper at the postgraduate seminar in Michaelmas term? I realize it may be awkward if you are much involved at L.S.E. but on the other hand you may be able to fit it in with a weekend in Oxford. We <sup>shall</sup> meet as before on Mondays at 5 o'clock. ~~If~~ I for one would be most interested to hear how your work has proceeded.

Yours sincerely  
Joan Thirk



29/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Thirsk,

Thank you for your letter. I would be more than delighted to read a paper to your postgraduate seminar in Michaelmas term. Shall I send you a title - something general like 'Problems in the interpretation of English witchcraft'? How long would you like it to last? I am especially glad to do this ~~and~~ it may give us a chance to have our long-delayed talk.

My thesis is about to be re-written and will, I hope, be ready for typing etc. in October. Yes, I'm still going to L.S.E. but will have, probably, to live garret-like existence and work in coffee bars etc. I have a contract to write a book and there is a possibility that I'll get a S.S.R.C. grant; I'm going to see Raymond Firth about it on Thursday. But in practice it seems that the blending of history and anthropology is a long way off. My detailed analysis of three Essex villages is going well and the results to general problems - illegitimacy, crime, population are beginning to emerge. I'm a bit stuck on kinship however. With the huge amount of social mobility in the villages a family tree of all those living in Elizabeth's reign is terribly complicated and full of loose ends. You don't know of any historical studies of kinship in English villages do you?

I hope your own work goes well and that you are enjoying an Oxford summer.

Yours sincerely,

History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.  
Telephone 43395

1 June, 1966


Dear Mr Macfarlane,

Thank you very much for your letter. Good, I am delighted that you can read a paper. I will put down the title you suggest. Will you say what date you prefer! It will be on Mondays at 5p.m. ~~Wednesday~~, November 21 is free and some earlier dates between October 24 and November 21 have been offered to other speakers who have not yet made up their minds. Will you let me know whether there is any particular day you would like to choose?

Yes, I think that history and social anthropology will only be brought together by force of example, and your thesis will be one of the earliest examples. Perhaps in the T.L.S. ten years from now it will be quoted as a classic - a milestone on the way! I don't know a single work on kinship in a village. I think Alan Everitt's new book on the Community of Kent in the Civil War is a very <sup>good</sup> illustration of the importance of kinship in political history. Have you read it? It is not what you are looking for, but it shows that historians are moving towards an appreciation of the subject.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Joan Thirk  




6/6/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Thirsk,

Thank you very much for your letter. I think November 21st will be fine for me - unless Professor Firth sends me off to Tikopia or somewhere to undergo a 'cultural jolt'. As far as I can see, it will be easy enough for me to come down from London so if the 21st. is already booked just give me another Monday. At this distance I have no fixed plans.

My interview with Raymond Firth was a little unsatisfactory and it looks as if there is no alternative to earning my way through the first year and hoping for help in the second. But as an admirer of Tawney, Webb et. al. I am rather (immaturely) excited by the prospect of ~~living~~ reliving the early self-help/garret type of life: the main snag is that one cannot buy books.

The pattern of kinship in my villages is emerging a little more easily than I expected and when this is interrelated with crime, religion, economics (witchcraft) etc. should prove exciting. It's quite clear, for instance, that wills are a far better source for kinship than parish registers which surprises me slightly. Unfortunately all this has to be suppressed, more or less, while I finish off my thesis but I look forward to discussing it with you/ in due course.

I hope all continues to go well with you.

Yours sincerely,

History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.  
Telephone 43395

8 June 1966

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

Many thanks for your letter. I will put you  
down for November 21st. I should have asked you if  
you want to stay at All Souls, or will you go to your own college?  
Don't bother to reply unless you do want accommodation  
in All Souls.

I am sorry that you have not found a source of financial  
help. The only consolation is that there are lots of opportunities for  
getting part-time jobs in London - better than anywhere else.  
But it is a pity that you will not be able to devote yourself  
single-mindedly to your studies.

All good wishes

Yours sincerely  
Ian Thirk

Trevor-Roper continued:



22/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

I trust that you have had a good term and that you various and varied articles and books progress. You must teach me your secret of how you manage to do so many things at the same time. I am especially interested to hear how your class went: I only wish I had been able to attend it. I gather you gave a paper on witchcraft which I am sorry to have missed.

I realise that you will be very busy in Schools week, but I will be down that week-end and if you have any free time I would be most grateful of an opportunity for another discussion of witchcraft and allied problems. I will be in Oxford from the morning of Friday, 3rd June to Sunday evening (5th) and could manage any time, I think. I didn't like to bother you on my last visit, as Carol may have explained, but hope to see you on this visit.

The thesis trundles towards its end and all my Wordsworthian fantasies turn into demons and sorcerers: fortunately, perhaps, I haven't been visited by any incubi or succubi.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

*From The Regius Professor of Modern History*

*History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
Oxford.*

*Telephone 43388*

*24th May, 1966.*

*My dear Alan*

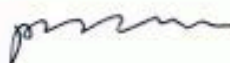
I was very glad to hear from you again and of course I would like to see you if possible.

It is unfortunate that you have chosen a weekend when I am going away into the country. I am actually leaving on Friday afternoon and I have rather a busy day on Friday. I have my class from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., and am busy in committees and seeing people from 2 o'clock until I leave Oxford. So you will see that this only leaves three possibilities:

1. to call on me before 11 o'clock on Friday;
2. to come to my class;
3. to have rather a hasty lunch with me on Friday (I would have to leave before 2 o'clock).

Will you take your choice?

Had I known earlier, of course I would have asked you to come to my class and talk about your subject. But I am afraid they have already had a dose of *that*, and I am not at the moment sure what we will be discussing that day. But I do hope I will see you anyway.



*Hugh Trevor-Roper*

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.



24/5/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Thank you so much for your kind letter and for, once again, making time to see me: sorry to catch you at an especially busy time.

May I be greedy and choose options 2 and 3 ? I would very much like to attend your class, but don't suppose we will have much time to talk at it, so perhaps I could take you up on the invitation to a quick lunch? Unless I hear from you, I will assume that this is O.K.

I look forward very much to seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

Professor H.R. Trevor-Roper,  
History Faculty Library,  
Merton Street,  
OXFORD.

p.c. sent. 12/6/66.

*From The Regius Professor of Modern History*

*History Faculty Library,*

*Merton Street,*

*Oxford.*

*Telephone 43395*

*10th June, 1966.*

*My dear Alan*

I was very glad to see you again last week and am only sorry that it happened to be such a crowded day. Do let me know when you come up next.

Meanwhile would you be very kind and so post this letter that it gets an Ambleside postmark? I have left it unsealed so that you can assure yourself that you are not personally committed by this pious fraud! Will you seal it before posting.

*Yours ever*

*Hyth Trevor-Roper*

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

The pleasures of such meetings and the gossip they provided are indicated in a letter I wrote to my parents on 20th June. I described a meeting with Evans-Pritchard and then likened it to one with Trevor-Roper.

One of the nice things about meeting the 'top' people is that they are 'in the know' about all the scurrilous stories about A.J.P. Taylor, Verrier Elwin etc. The same happened yesterday when I had tea with Trevor-Roper. He talks very well and I just sat open-mouthed and listened - which no doubt flattered him! He recounted his meetings with various people whose names are part of my mythology of history.



1966 JULY TO SEPTEMBER

## Charity

I had worked for Oxfam as an undergraduate and continued to be interested in their work through my postgraduate days (and much later). I may discover gifts in my bank accounts, but for the moment will just include one undated item as an indication of this charitable support.



The terrible effects of prolonged hunger on a little child.



A tiny good Samaritan feeds his sick father too ill to rise.



This boy's Hong Kong 'home' is a wicker basket.

# LOOK!

they desperately need help ...

When children go hungry like this, and when helpless people suffer from famine, persecution, earthquakes and other disasters, people want to show their compassion in a constructive way. The world-wide work of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief has grown out of such compassion.

We try to send all possible aid to the needy, whoever or wherever they may be, simply because they are our fellow-men, women and children in distress.

## Can you do something?

All kinds of help are needed. Could you put aside 3d. (a meal for a Korean orphan) or more a week through our Pledged Gifts scheme? A voluntary helper would willingly call for your gift.

Can you help by knitting blankets or baby garments, gathering warm clothing, collecting, or actively arranging special fund-raising efforts? Your help, great or small, is needed in a host of ways.

## See your local helper:

This helper will gladly tell you of all the local ways of helping, and also more about our work and answer your questions. Do help if you can. So much depends on it.

## PLEDGED GIFTS



## OXFORD COMMITTEE FOR FAMINE RELIEF

In association with THE FREEDOM FROM HUNGER CAMPAIGN

274 BANBURY ROAD, OXFORD

Dear Sir/Madam,


I enclose a small  
cheque for £3-3-0 as ~~xx~~ a very slender  
contribution to your marvellous work.  
Please do not bother to acknowledge  
the receipt of this donation.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

The other charity to which I subscribed was to that of Father Borelli, for his work among the children in the slums of Naples. I think I went to an inspiring talk by him in my undergraduate years and certainly there are donations from at least 1962, and the last recorded one I have for this rough period is in 1967. One example will illustrate this. The sums involved are not insignificant given my budget.

*£5 sent  
6/12/66.*

  
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DIRECTORS: J. B. CLARK, M. S. L. CLARK, J. M. DIARMID.

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RUTHERGLEN

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:  
GENARWELD RUTHERGLEN

YOUR REF.  
OUR REF. JG/EG.

30th December, 1965.

Mr. A. MacFarlane,  
Worcester College,  
OXFORD.

Dear Mr. MacFarlane,

I should like to thank you very much for your contribution to the House of the Urchins Fund.

This was most kind and please be assured that your continued interest and support for Father Borrelli's work is very much appreciated both here and in Naples.

and best wishes for 1966.

158      Date **28 DEC 1965**

Received of  
*Mr. A. Macfarlane*

The sum of  
£      s.      d.      *JAIRSON*

*Ten* Pounds  
*Seven* Shillings      Pence

For **HOUSE OF URCHINS FUND**  
per **MARGARET S. L. CLARK**

*Clydebank Bank*  
*Mount Florida Branch*

at S.L. Clark.  
Organising Secretary.  
of the Urchins Fund.



I suspect that my somewhat ascetic living – including sleeping rough and in working men's shelters – was partly inspired by Father Borelli, whose autobiography 'A Street Lamp and the Stars' I vaguely remember reading.

The other major 'charitable' activity I engaged in was to work at the Oxford-Borstal camp in 1965. I shall deal with that separately.

\*

21/7/66

Outgate,  
Mr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Roy + Rose

Dear E + D,

CONGRATULATIONS: MARVELOUS! I'm so happy for you. Thank you,

Rosemary, for your long letter. Please excuse a typed reply, at least I will be more legible than my usual, infuriatingly scrawly, handwriting. How exciting about Daniel - I will come and goggle over him as soon as possible. Rachel must be almost human by now. I'm longing to see them. The problem of babies is somewhat vexing me, as you will hear, and it will be helpful if I can browse round one or two live examples! Also how nice about the Leicester job; most interesting. Looked at from a purely selfish point of view, I'm very glad its Leicester. As Roy will know, Leicester is the leading University in England for the type of history I'm particularly interested in - local history, and there are several very good people there whom I've been meaning to look up. A friend of mine (Charles Fyfe - he can't help the name) has just been, or is about to be, made an assistant lecturer there. W.G. Hoskins is the Professor there. How lucky you are. You're seriously thinking of buying a house, are you? Another thing I must talk to you about. I gather from Gill that Russia is way ahead of us in setting up these Health Centres - but Roy will know about that. Was interested to hear about David and Coletter, Pam etc. I haven't seen Jo for a while! I gather she's gone off to Spain from Joe. Joe has just left for 6 weeks in India - she travels today. She's apparently been going out seriously with a Pakistani, which is appropriately timed. There is some trouble about her grant at I.C.S. next year, but, with luck we should both be there together. Glad Sheila's wedding was a success; sorry we have missed it. Alison will love Norway - at least I did, give her my regards. Hope her smears sort themselves out.

My chief news is Gill. I can't quite remember how much I have told you about her, or when I wrote, but things have undoubtedly progressed since then. I spent a week with her while she was finishing her exams in social admin. (the results come today - so am awaiting a telephone call with some trepidation). She was meant to be going to Greece with an



American professor (he was paying for it - 5 weeks), but when we went for a Chinese curry together the evening before she left we both developed food poisoning from the meat balls and she was unable to go. As she had been dithering about it for the last week it was a blessing in disguise, as they say. Instead we retired to Bill's flat to be violently sick and violently happy for a couple of days and then came north - I dropped her at her home in Darlington and then she came over the following week-end and has been staying here for 4 or 5 days. We are hoping, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Bank Managers allowing, to go for ten days to Ireland next week. Consequently my thesis is a little disrupted and it doesn't look as if it will get finished by the time my grant runs out, but at the moment I can't care too much about that. I'm so happy with Gill and we 'fit' so well that other things sink into insignificance. She's the first girl I've seriously considered marrying and may well do just that, rather precipitately, at the end of the year. You'll both like her very much. Actually, she's very like you Rose, intelligent, read English (at Manchester), interested in social work, likes music and poetry, did the Parnet House course etc. - also bubbly and talkative and full of energy and warmth. She's going to be in London next year doing her final training (either Home Office or Bedford College) as a Probation Officer. Sorry if I've told you all this already. She's very interested in my work and would be a great help in that, as in other things. She's quite strong willed and has strong domestic instincts - the last is the main problem as I obviously can't afford to settle down and have children, buy a house etc. if I'm going off at 30 to the plains of Calcutta, still, I expect 'love will find a way' etc. As for my work plans.... I've first got to finish my thesis, then, I hope I'll get a Social Science Research Council grant to do anthropology at L.S.E. for 2 years - write my book on witchcraft and so on. I'd got a temporary lecturing post at Nottingham University for next term (3 seminars a week in European history) but have, annoyingly, heard that L.S.E. will not let me teach at another university. Specially annoying since both you, Rose, and Gill (who has friends there) have connections with the place.

My parents are very well - my mother is writing another book, my sister (Fiona) working in a hotel in Ullapool, and the other one (Anne) in Paris. I will be down about August 8th for 2 or 3 days when Gill starts 6 weeks work in Bethnal Green and say, if you're not in the middle of moving & too chaotic either/both around a floor, bring Gill over.

Love to you all,



Sunday 18/9/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Annie,

I don't seem to have written for a long time, so here is little of my latest news. I expect you've heard most of it from Mummy. How are you? I think of you often and plow through the monster letters that are brought in wheelbarrows to field head. Glad you've made contacts in Paris; hope you'll manage to re-make them when you return from Cannes. Look forward to hearing about La Dolce Vita - probably turn out to be much like Waterhead on a sunny afternoon; crowds of over-fed, under-exercized, neurotic and anxiety-bidden families escaping from the towns and setting about trying to enjoy their leisure. Are there really masses of long-haired females in bikinis like Birgit Bardot? Wonder if Erik contacted you before you left Paris, he said he was going to. Field Head must feel very distant.

My major news is Gill - whom you haven't even met and whom I am going to marry on 20th Dec. I know you'll like each other. Mummy has probably given you a pen picture so I won't add my enthusiasms. Anyhow, she's a poppet and bosses me around in a nice way. I'm annoyed that all my plans have been thrown out and that I've got to put my schedule forward five years, but still.....Am training her to analyse wills, touchtype, note books etc. so perhaps we'll make up lost ground! I do hope you'll be back in plenty of time for the wedding. It is going to be delicious chaos. I have at least 250 people I want to invite and will be meanwhile finishing off my thesis in the shed. In fact Gill suggested that we had the honeymoon in the shed - which shows how well she knows me! Mummy will need help and I want you to be around; do come back as soon as you can. You'll have heard my other news also I expect; I've got a grant for another two years (£500 p.a.) to do anthropology at London and a book contract for the end of next year. So all your work on Hatfield Peverel, the Wilmotts etc. will be appearing before a startled public in not too long a time. I have several new filing systems now and the shed is filled with orange/tomato/cardboard/cornflake/cigarette and other boxes, as well as a new framework filing system which I don't think I had when you were here. Mummy is gamefully struggling away with archdeaconry records and I'm generally getting my egotistical way in all things. I hope to go down to London next week-end to get a flat in London and to visit Granny in hospital. I expect you've heard that she is recovering well. It'll be nine if we can find an attic somewhere as then you can come down to London and stay. I hope to be in the Lakes for the holidays, and the room will then be free. Still, musn't count my chickens.

Must back to my thesis appendices which are driving me bleary-eyed. Thinking of you. Have a happy autumn.

Lots of love,



Dear Ian, Campbell,

C. N. V. 1966

Please excuse a typed letter - but you will probably be so surprised (guilty? - for no reason) to hear from me that you'll overlook attempted efficiency. It is literally years since I've written. What prompts me now, apart from the usual Christmas sentiments, is partly curiosity to hear how you are getting on, partly that this seems to be more or less a turning point in my life and I thought I'd let you know my news. Anyhow, Ian, I hope everything goes well with you. I imagine you will have finished training by now - what job are you doing, I presume something in the electrical engineering line... Is there any chance of your ever coming over to England: be sure to let me know if you do. I wonder if you've got anything to do with the World Fair, 1967 - even though that is on the other side of Canada. Do you work with computers at all? They fascinate me. Are you married? How is Pat? I won't go on asking questions, nor will I expect a reply, unless you have a week's illness and consequent leisure.

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

About myself. I haven't quite forsaken my great dreams and ideals of my youth, though they become narrowed. I've just finished three years doing a doctorate at Oxford on the history of witchcraft - which I think I must have told you of. The thesis will need another couple of months to finish and I will submit it early next year. It has led me into weird crevices of the human soul and I have got interested in a host of sociological and psychological problems. I have signed a contract to turn the thesis into a book next year - and if this happens it is going to be printed in America, so keep your eyes open in the bookshops in about 18 months time! I spent last year at home, working in the garden shed at the bottom of the garden which I fitted up with lights, heating, filing cabinets, my own invented form of a lateral suspended filing system, microfilm projector, tape recorder etc. I even got my sister (Anne) to work as my secretary/help for a small salary and my parents - who have retired from India - to help part-time analysing mortality rates etc. in the sixteenth century. It was most exciting and I think, if I have time to finish the work, I will have made quite a break-through both in history and sociology. Anyhow the year was well spent, but now my life has changed radically. With my yearning to go to India, I decided that I should do some training in anthropology, so I am now at the London School of Economic doing a 2-yr. diploma in Soc. Anthropology.



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

I've saved my most important news until last - this being the reason above all, for this letter. I am getting married on my birthday Dec. 20th. The wedding is at Hawkshead parish church - I'm not sending an invitation as there isn't much likelihood of your being able to attend and I don't want to cadge a present. But think of me! I met Gill in the summer and we finally decided to get married after an idyllic holiday in Yeats' country in Ireland. She read English at Manchester and after two more years training will be a fully qualified social worker next year - a probation officer. She is everything I hoped for - bright, gentle, imaginative, sense of humour, very good with people, artistic, likes the country, music etc. etc. At the moment we are living together in London (44 Ridge Road, London N.8) and things are going very well. I wish you could meet her, I know you'd like each other (unless you've changed a lot, which I doubt). Anyhow, perhaps I'll be in America some time and be able to call in.

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

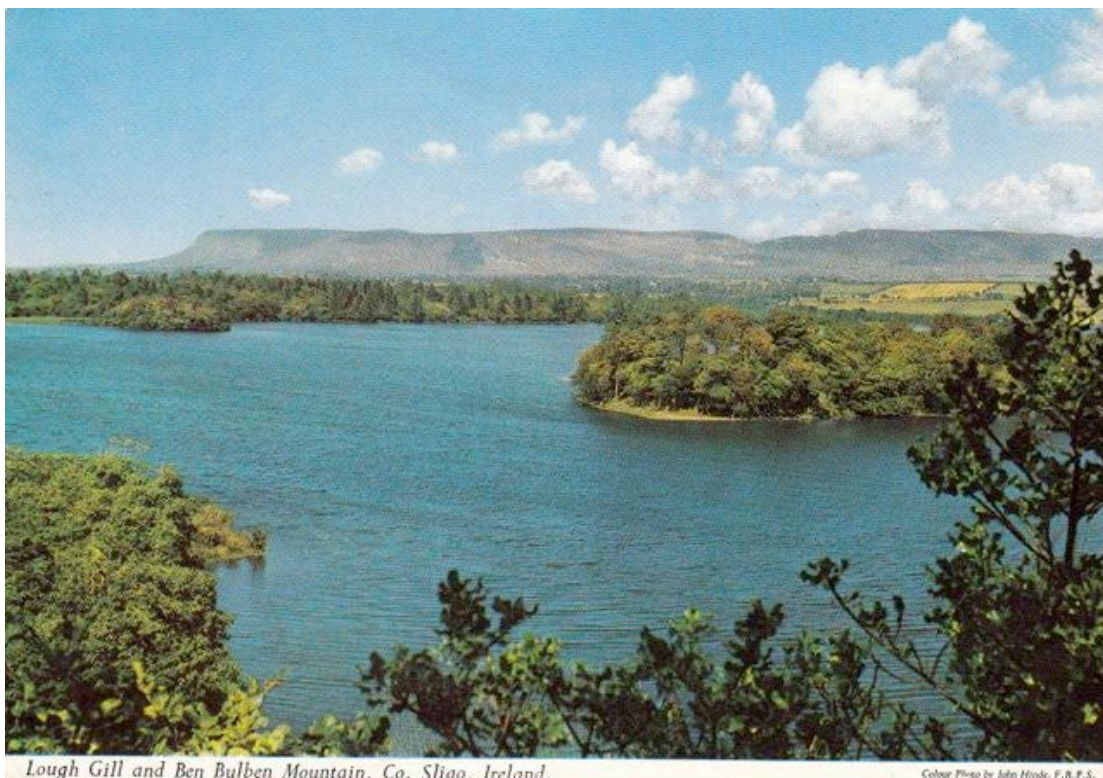
Yrs ever,

\*

### Alan's Irish holiday, July 1966

I am not sure I can use this, but will include here. It is a postcard from Ireland written during the camping holiday with Gill. It was this holiday, a kind of test advance honeymoon, which seems, from the evidence of various letters, to have made me decide to take the plunge and get married - which I did the following December. The effect of Yeats etc. was all too much. The photograph is of the Lake Isle of Innisfree - one of my favourite Yeats poems, and we camped beside it.





Lough Gill and Ben Bulbin Mountain, Co. Sligo, Ireland.

Colour Photo by John Hinde, F.R.P.S.

28/7/66.  
Friday.

Dear Ned,

Thought this was appropriate  
for our best warden age 7 1/2 PM  
out to the lake Isle of Gloom  
over the bee-hive glider. Heavy rain  
intermixed with lovely sunshine.  
Gorgeous place and exciting (non-vegetarian  
I regret) Gill-cooked food. Haven't  
ventured out with my rod yet.  
Dublin a bit disappointing but  
this is bliss. Hope all goes  
well with you.  
Love from us both.  
A + G.

JOHN HINDE  
ORIGINAL

POST OFFICE  
DUBLIN  
ADDRESSES

EIRE 1916 1966  
3p  
James Connolly

Mr and Mrs J. K. MacFarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr Ambleside  
Westmorland.  
ENGLAND.  
(~~Nr London~~)

LOUGH GILL, CO. SLAGO: On the doorstep of Sligo town lies the lovely Lough Gill which County Sligo shares with County Leitrim. On three sides wooded islands dot the water, and endless days can be spent fishing—or just messing about in boats. Here the poet W. B. Yeats located the "Lake Isle of Innisfree" of his best-known poem, but also you will find Dooney Rock, Silish Wood, and discover for yourself the beauty of a region which inspired Ireland's greatest poet.

No. 2/144 Printed and Published by John Hinde Ltd. Cabinteely, Co. Dublin, Irish Republic.

\*

For this year I shall include a transcript of the only letter I have a copy of to Julie, kept as a carbon copy.

18 September 1966. Field Head.

Dearest Pusseybite,

I see that it is exactly a month since you wrote; so it is time for a reply. I was glad to hear that all my suspicions were groundless. Hope that things are sorting themselves out. I only wish I could have been some help, but not only am I hardly ever 'with' the Twentieth Century for long periods, but I am also rather cut off in this remote spot ... Let me know how things have developed. Perhaps I'll hear from Peter Goodden who is coming for the night of the 26th, though I don't suppose you've told him much. Perhaps you've heard from him that Dick Smethurst (you remember him?) has got a fellowship at Worcester and that Euan (Porter – remember) is getting married soon. Alistair is back/arriving back soon, from Rome and I hope to see him in Oxford. Erik came up to stay last week-end for two days. Gill was staying here and they got on very well. Erik appears unchanged and as sweet as ever; still optimistic and bubbly and Roman Catholic. As I was depressed at the time I found his élan a little irritating but hope I wasn't too surly. He is hoping to get a job with U.N.E.S.C.O. next year. He enjoyed Laos. Linda has returned from Geneva, but I haven't seen her. Still, you should get first hand news of all these people if you manage to get up here for my birthday/wedding which will almost certainly take place on the same day – that is Dec. 20th – at Field Head. I've only just got Gills' parent's consent after an amusing Victorian supplication session where I had to outline my prospects to a tough Yorkshire tax-inspector. Arrangements haven't been begun yet, but you should get a card sometime. It's deliberately just before Xmas to put off a few of the hordes whom I will have to invite. Personally I would like to see everyone, but the house just isn't big enough. But I do hope that really key figures in my past, the shaping influences if you don't mind being called that, will come. We'll probably live together before then if we can find a flat and some money.

Re. money, I can't remember whether I'd told you I was trying for a Social Science Research Council (S.S.R.C.) grant – anyhow I got one for two years (£500 p.a.) so am very relieved and can settle down to my anthropology without having to worry too much. I think I must have told you about my publishing contract for the end of next year – that £200 will come in handy also. See how mercenary-minded I'm getting at the approach of responsibility! Gill has a grant to train as a probation officer, and will get over £1,000 p.a. when she starts. My tutoring at Nottingham Univ. (1 term, 1 day a week, if I didn't tell you) is going to be allowed and I am just working out a book list for the poor students now.

My work goes well, though I find up to 8 hours writing a day very tiring and can't do very long spells. Also, one gets to a stage where one is writing things for the 6th or 7th time and all the excitement has been squeezed out. Consequently, to me at any rate, it sounds pretty flat. I hope doing anthropology will inject me with new zest. I've just devised a couple of new filing systems – card-indexing and lateral filing – and between them they are absorbing my vastly growing amount of docts. I'll only be able to move a small % to London I fear. My shed is now thick with orange/tomato and cardboard boxes and lined with books and racks of files. I hope you'll see it sometime, I'm rather proud of it. I spend so much of my time devising new filing



systems that I leave very little time for actual work – i.e. thought. No, that's not absolutely true, but still, there may be something in it.

Incidentally, I saw Midhurst [where Julie had a bookshop] on the telly the other day ... When I'm in London I hope I'll be able to visit you more often. Also, if I ever have the money, perhaps I could order some of my books through you? I'm looking forward to seeing the new children's room. It's a shockingly long time since I last read a children's book. It depressed me to see how all my favourites are being taken up by everyone else – e.g. the 'Uncle' books which you put me onto, and 'I capture the castle'. It's funny how possessive one feels about children's books. My mother is writing another, which her publishers are enthusiastic about. She is down at Crowthorne at the moment since my granny is in hospital after an operation. I will be coming down to London at the beginning of Oct. Will let you have my garret address when I have one. It will literally have to be an unfurnished attic I fear. Still, my latent and never-tried talents as home-decorator can then emerge.

Sorry this is such a chatty letter. Don't feel up to any very great thoughts at 8.30 a.m. on a Sunday morning. Love to you pussy, and best wishes to Adrian and your parents. Lots of love, Alan

\*

Alan to Lady Clay 26th July 1966 Field Head

Dear Lady Clay,

Funny how we always seem to decide to write to each other on the same day – perhaps psychic? Even as I type this perhaps you're writing – Anyhow, thank you very much for your long letter: hope you got my little p.c. in return. I'm off to Ireland for ten days from this evening so I'm replying now. This won't be very high-power stuff I'm afraid as most of my energy is being devoted to witches at the moment. Like all theses mine is at least a month behind schedule, but not to worry.

Yes, Ian's result sounds like a medium 2nd. I imagine it will be coming out soon. Sorry, for his sake at least, to hear of the death of K.B. Macfarlane – though he was a strange and frightening man. Have you seen any obituaries? What did he die of? I wonder who will take his place.

Sorry to hear that people have been criticising C. Hill. I think it's probably a measure of his courage (and, probably, narrow-mindedness) that people should find he doesn't drop all his egalitarian, anti-hierarchical principles once he is accepted into the Establishment. Only a very blind person could say that a book like *Puritanism and Society* (which I'm just reading) could have been picked up from his pupils. Though I think his sociology is home-spun and his sources are too limited to impressionistic pamphlet literature and secondary sources, I'm still convinced that he's the most stimulating historian on English C17 England since Tawney – though his influence, in the long-run, will be less than Hoskins'. His knowledge is quite incredible, especially when, as he claims, he employs no highly complex filing-system etc. I was interested to hear of your meetings with Mrs. Habakkuk: she is a dear. I would be interested to hear of his working methods. I expect you've read the massive 'Papers presented to the Past and Present Conference', stimulating but not shattering. Collinson's paper, for instance, used some very good sources, but did not attempt to answer any of the really exciting questions. He just misses, in my humble opinion, being very good indeed, both in his thesis and his other works. He talks about 'the sociology of religion', but his writing shows less evidence of sociological interest than Tawney's despite the enormous

amount that has been written on the subject since Religion and the Rise – Still, perhaps I'm a bit prejudiced since he's stepped into my own particular plot, Essex Archdeaconry records.

Hope Ian is satisfied if he does get a straight second: I've forgotten what he is going to do.

I wonder why you get melancholy in August – the weather, the deadness of Oxford or what? I'm puzzling about melancholy generally at the moment – especially in the C16. Am trying to work out how much mental break-down, tension, anxiety, pain there was in the Elizabethan period & how people reacted to it. It's difficult to get statistics on this kind of subject. You probably know of various essays on social history, including one by Hoskins and interesting ones on prisons and medicine in Shakespeare Survey, no. 17 ed. Allardyce Nicoll (called 'Shakespeare in His Own Age', Camb. U.P. 1964). This has a little on illness etc. but not beyond what one knew already – that very little was known about most diseases; that there were masses of quacks; that medicine was very closely connected with astrology etc. I don't know where one would start looking for evidence for such subjects in the middle ages. Oh well, I've got enough problems to fill a life-time.

Mush rush off and put a tooth-brush and comb in a bag for Ireland. Hope to see you in early August.

Yours, Alan Macfarlane

Letter from Rosalind Clay, 121A Woodstock Road, August 18th

Dear Alan,

I hope you were not anxious about your home & family during these amazing floods in the North.

It is a great happiness to think of the offer from Routledge & Kegan Paul. [to publish 'Witchcraft'] I hope that the work at Nottingham won't be a drag on you.

I am sending you some papers (keep them as long as you like) – probably too childish & anyhow wildly out of date – about 40 years old – & some questions. I think questions are a very great help in getting up a subject: many of these are Cambridge ones (as they demand those vast outline periods) others come from the History Previous exam. Which I taught (even at Magdalen) up to 1928. If you need more recent ones are available in the Camera & I expect the stairs would not be insuperable to me – I could send you more, or ones selected on particular topics. These are a bit miscellaneous but, even so, don't really do justice to the extraordinary collection from which I selected these from – questions ranged from Clovis to the younger Pitt. You said you need do only 4 questions & these would strike me as being the most fun to do – Lewis the Bakenu & Marsilio [??]

Hussites

Councils

Venice (I have not re-read any of the papers I am sending except to see that the pages were in the right order but the one on Venice looks the least childish.) I had one on the Condothieri – better than the others because partly drawn from my brother – but it seems to be missing – perhaps I did it out of my head. You may find these papers no use at all – on the other hand there might be a day when you had a migraine or your motor-bike broke down & you had to skimp your reading & could use some of my stuff, if only to say 'it has been said – but I don't agree.'

Margaret Toynbee took this period at Oxford, but I suppose about 40 years ago – taught by Armstrong – I have no up to date book list. – I suppose the Cambridge Med.



Hist (tho' old) will be a help. Previt  Orton goes on over that period. I used Rashdall's Universities a lot (but have had the best vols. Stolen - anyhow re-edited), HF Brown's Venice (delightful book which I can lend you) & I suppose Lavisse Historie de France - I possess Dante's de Monarchia ( for HenVII & see I gave it to my husband in 1914 - that makes me feel contemporary with the apiones [??], but as a matter of fact I was not married then - I see my papers seem to have avoided the Italian Renaissance which still rather scares me off.

Don't spare time to look at these if you have plenty of material already with you. I have not touched them for about 40 years as the Colleges began to take Law prelin instead of Hist. Previous, but fortunately mice had not nested in them - the state they are in suggests that I found them useful. I include MS on later Franciscans as groundwork for the 14C rumpus about Evangelical Poverty.

It was a pleasure to see you - but don't feel that I should be hurt if you couldn't manage to call here - You must have much to do when you come to Oxford. My Cairns sister tried to do so much that she collapsed & had to spend a day in bed here.

Strangely enough Mr Higham (once public orator) rang up & asked whether I should like to go to Inglesham - I have been there twice in about 3 months, but was attracted by the thought of the country & as a matter of fact he spent so much time in an Antiques Shop in Farringdon that we never got there - did great Coxwell Barn (again) & actually drew up accidentally in one of the places claimed for the Battle of Mons Badonicus - Bradbury Hill, just outside Farringdon. I had been looking for this place & wish I had located it earlier as we passed it on that tour Mr Graham took us.

Mr Campbell has just sent the marks, which are highly peculiar but only one (Mr Cooke) did worse on English II than on I & III - I just don't want to feel I don't help them. Mr Campbell was pleased that 8 out of 10 got some sort of  $\alpha$  somewhere. I am squirming with backache from swimming this morning & shall have to lie on the floor - but it was worth it. The pool is on Boars Hill - quite undescribably lovely with great tranquil white water lilies motionless upon it & some charming little girls with almost no clothes on fishing with longhandled shrimping nets - all drenched in such in spite of lying in a wood -

I still haven't written on Elizabeth - it keeps getting pushed to one side by other jobs. I must get it out of the way, only Nov 22 is so far off that I might waste my efforts by dying before I have to do it.

Ron Fryer used to have some absurd nickname Beaver or Badger - I remember a telegram announcing his coming when we were v. crowded & Charles had failed to tell me he had invited him - Signed Badger or some such - no one knew whom to expect as C. was still away. He stayed with us in Museum Rd but I don't know how we squeezed him in, Rosalind Clay

Alan to Lady Clay 17 September 1966 from Field Head

Dear Lady Clay,

The letter I promised in my card - though it will be rather short I am afraid. My thesis is at its most fraying stage and after a day of appendices I don't feel like writing at all. Still, it cheers me so much to hear from you that I want to precipitate another letter by writing to you. It was nice to hear all your news - re. Sybil, Isley, the cyclamen, Ian, etc. (just to prove that I've read it attentively - through the handwriting!). Hope the writing of your Elizabeth talk went O.K. It should be peanuts to you - except that you know too much. I've got to that stage with my thesis. What really exhausts me is having to discard so much information that has taken me months to extract, to summarize it all

into a half-truth which I might have guessed at the beginning. I find it very difficult to be sure that I'm really doing anything worthwhile. One gets so close to the subject that it is impossible to decide whether one hasn't just buried oneself in some pile of silt at the bottom of an unimportant tributary to the historical stream – and other Trevor-Roper-like metaphors! (I have to eschew any colourful or high spirited writing in my thesis – so you'll have to beware muddy rhetoric in my letters) Anyhow, the main point is to say that I hope that September has restored your good humour, and that with the trees turning to the melancholy slaughter of autumn you feel revived. When my eyes blare open from their appendix-gummed state I vaguely notice leaves turning incredible reds and golds and the autumn beginning to toast the bracken. But even being in love isn't enough to raise me from my wickets for more than a sniff of the Twentieth Century. Still, the thesis goes very well and I should have nearly half of it written in final form, and the rest in a fairly advanced draft by the time I go to London.

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

Hope to see you soon. Look after yourself.

\*

Tuesday 5<sup>th</sup> July – CERN. – very long letter indeed

Dearest Alan, I really do have to apologise for not writing to you for such a long time. Don't think it is because I have forgotten you because I could certainly never do that or forget how very kind you have been to me in the past ....my lazy life for the past two years in Oxford. Very happy and forgetful years though & I am sure that through your help this was so. Do you remember the first time I went to your room for coffee? A desperate love-sick little girl just looking for someone as kind as you to put her troubles out to. I haven't changed much I am still love-sick but not so desperate anymore. Poor Miss Faraday her hair would really stand on end if she knew of a little of the things that have gone on in No 9 Dover the years – don't you think... Also in those days we went for many a beautiful walk down beside the river & the canal. Do you remember the very first time you took me for a walk down there & you didn't know whether to hold my hand or not. I still can see those bats at night swooping about – they really frightened me. ....How is your thesis progressing? How many chapters are now completed? I really hope it all goes well for you because your work is your happiness. Also that you have not been suffering anymore of those headaches but then you have a very kind Mother-Father to look after you to make sure you don't



just eat cold bake-beans for breakfast, dinner & tea!!! ...I was very amazed to hear you passed your driving test so quickly, you really are clever... How are your girl friends, Zoe, Gill Jane etc.  
Fondest love, Linda xx

LETTER FROM Alan (Carbon – hand-written)

16.7.1966 Field Head

Dearest Linda,

What a lovely long letter: well worth waiting for. Please forgive a much shorter letter from me. I can't compete with you. I hope this finds you at your new address – I wonder what these digs are like. Better than the last, I trust, and less squabbles over bath water etc. The last one did sound a bit distressing. What wonderful descriptions of the mountains etc. I do wish I could come and see it myself and hear a running commentary from you. Unfortunately .... You know me! My thesis is about 6 weeks behind schedule and it doesn't look as if it will get finished even if I press ahead at full speed. Oh well – there are compensations as you will hear. I do hope you'll come back in September, if you decide to, try to let me know as far in advance as possible, as I would like to coincide it with a visit down south and I will be in a particular panic by then. It must have been nice having your parents with you. Poor Linda – I can't imagine how you manage without someone to look after you: you won't mind me saying that, in memory at least, you make me feel very protective and almost efficient! Remember those meals we used to cook on Julia's stove? With me nagging at you about how it should be done? You really do need a man. Wonder if you've had any further adventures with men? There seem to be quite a profusion of them working for CERN, but do be careful won't you sweet. You get so easily hurt. I would be sad if a miserable little Linda crawled off the Ambleside bus, having just returned from Geneva. But if you get miserable in any way you will let me know won't you sweetie? Especially if there is anything I can do.

Yes, I remember all those things about Oxford, the first weeks at Miss Faradays: the early-morning cups of tea and poetry: the many curries at the Bombay: you nearly freezing to death on my motor-bike: creeping up and down your stairs: listening to your records. I visited Oxford for a week's holiday at the end of last month and it brought back all those memories. Nothing seems to have changed. David is still there. Bill is once again in hospital – I once again stayed in his flat. The holiday he'd planned (2 weeks costing £1,200 (not including air-passage there and back) was almost certainly going to have to be cancelled – he'd lose the £1,200. Anyhow, and here I come to latest part of my news (and, incidentally, my excuse for a dull and badly written letter – will do better next time), while in Oxford I was seeing a lot of Gill.

[PROBABLY OMIT I think I mentioned her before. Dark-haired; turned-up eyes; nice figure; sad-mouth; nice sense of humour; bubbly and chatters; intelligent; kind; sensitive; loves the country, music poetry, Lakes; wants to do social work (she is going to finish her training as a probation officer next year in London) etc etc. We are already very fond of each other. We have made love quite a lot – especially considering that we've only been together for about 3 weeks in all. For instance, today we made love and I, the first time in my life, didn't use a contraceptive – it was wonderful. We've also done it outside a good deal: which always reminds me of a

certain deep-grassed lane near Oxford and a rather small blanket! She's wonderful to make love to, though she has a tough job with me; as you know I tend to feel very guilty on these occasions and she spends her time trying to persuade me that it's not so sinful after all. I suppose you've hardly kissed a boy since you've been in Switzerland. Does it still make you feel sick? Anyhow, as you'll gather, Gills is staying with me: we hope to go for a short holiday to either Scotland or Ireland. She was meant to go to Greece, but (fortunately) we went to a Chinese restaurant for our good-bye meal and both got bad food-poisoning and, being sick all night, she was unable to go to her American lover & stayed with me instead! I hope you'll get a chance to meet her: you'll like each other. You're both very sweet people.]

Sorry this is such a dreary letter sweetie: after a long walk today I feel very sleepy. But if you write back soon I'll write a proper letter. I do think of you often and wonder how you're getting on. You are one of the sweetest people I've ever met and I hope we'll always be friends. It was one of the happiest years of my life when we were together. Write soon, and look after yourself sweetie.

Fondest love, Alan Macfarlane

LETTER FROM ALAN (CARBON) - dated 11 August 1966

Dearest Linda,

What a depressed letter I had this morning from you. Still, thank you very much for it. I always love hearing from you, and even if I can't offer any very good advice it appeals to my male/fatherly pride to be asked. I am writing back straight away in the hope that this will reach you before you are evicted. Since most of your letter was about that topic, I'll start with it and give you my news later. I don't know what to advise, sweetie. I wish I could come out and provide on-the-spot assistance but various circumstances, chief of them an overdraft at my bank and a thesis which is already about 6 weeks behind schedule, as well as an ardent and much-desired girlfriend in London, make it almost impossible. Surely, there is some way of finding another digs in a week? You seemed to manage to find the other digs quite easily. I must say, they sound unnecessarily strict. Among the people who might give you advice would be a) the Police – who, in England at least, keep a list of digs b) the various Tourist agencies in Geneva, of whom there must be many c) the British Embassy – in an emergency d) the newspapers e) Cern – I think you said they arranged accommodation f) other workers at Cern – surely they know of somewhere? Still, I expect you've tried all these, and expect you've found somewhere. I sympathize all the same as I am just about to start hunting for digs myself – in London. It seems a long time since the days of Miss F. and Julia. I've almost forgotten the world of landladies and creaking floors. As for your boss – How do the other girls find him? Does he just pick on you, and if so, why? I hope this sorts itself out, although it would be lovely to have you back in England again. I'm longing for you to meet Gill: I'm sure you'll like each other.

Finally, the problem of men. At least you are now aware of your weakness and vulnerability, sweetheart (sorry, for a moment I thought I was writing to Gill!). The only practical advice I can give is to be as hard as possible – and make sure that, if you make love, the man takes maximum precautions. You really are too trusting, and men, I'm told, just don't bother unless they're pushed. It would be too much if you also got pregnant. The answer will be, of course, to find the right man and get married. But, unfortunately, one can't hurry the process on. If there is anything more



positive I can do, e.g. send a little money or something please let me know. You know at least that I am thinking of you. I wish I could be of more help.

[POSSIBLY OMIT As for myself, you will have gathered from my last, garbled, letter, that I am, at last, in love. I think I wrote on the eve of my journey to Ireland with Gill. It was glorious; the most rapturous holiday I've had since I was a boy and perpetually lived in the magical and mysterious fantasy world of youth. We decided to camp, and pitched our tent on the banks of a Lough on the West Coast (Lough Gill – appropriately enough). The first two nights we were nearly washed out and G. was nearly frightened out of her wits by slugs (but delighted to see her first bats – which might have worried you more). I was nearly stung by a hornet: I caught a bad cold (after I returned): we found both banks and buses on strike. Yet it was marvellous, everything was beautiful and rich and peaceful. We made love a lot – and it's never been anything like that before. I suppose it was as you found it with Dudley. We were perfectly suited physically and since we were in love it was sublime. Even writing about it now makes me shiver inside. One can't contraceptives in Ireland (since its Catholic) so I had to buy a great wad in Ambleside and take them with me. I wondered what the Customs would have done if they'd decided to open my luggage and found my bag stuffed with c's?! Anyhow making love was just a part of it. We swam, I fished and caught trout for our supper, we ate wild strawberries and raspberries which we picked, and made a bilberry pie. We cooked delicious meals, (not baked beans) – Gill is a very good cook, over a camp fire. We walked and generally had a most relaxing time. By complete accident we had chosen a spot less than a mile away from the Lake Isle of Innisfree and perhaps I can't do better than describe it by quoting a piece from Yeats' poem describing the very place where we were '... for peace comes dropping slow... [A few more lines transcribed] I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore'. Oh dear, it makes me yearn to go back, even while I sit in the midst of the glories of the Lake District. Now Gill is doing 8 weeks practical social work in London and I am moping/hoping to finish my thesis in the Lakes. Tomorrow I go south for a week to see her and to see my supervisor and check some references. We will both be in London from October and will probably get engaged then – and live together.

Sorry for this yearning passage, but it may cheer you to hear that [carbon runs out...]

Later August, no date. 'I hope you are enjoying yourself at Ripon and that you are mixing with the boys alright. From the sound of your last you must be quite an expert on pop-music now. I have bought just one record since you left that is Joan Baez single. There but for fortune. On the flip side she sings Plaisir d'amour. Whenever I hear it I always think of you.

c. later August 1966 – no date.

Dearest Alan,

....I hope you are still as happy & as contented with life as you sounded in your last letter. It is wonderful to hear you so happy. Gill must be a really sweet girl.

.... Then came another crisis worst than when I was nearly shut outside in my dressing-gown do you remember that at 133?! ...[very long letter – asking for advice etc. ] ends....It is marvellous to hear Oxford hasn't changed. I loved it and all its memories. Let us go back there sometime & just wander over Port Meadow to the

Perch – it would be beautiful? Let me know how your thesis is coming along, don't over work. ... Write to me soon, fondest love, Linda

Letter from Slough – c. Sept 1966 ? No date Starting at Cavendish Labs. 2<sup>nd</sup> October

- assumes Alan is preparing to move to London – will be happy there 'especially as Gill will be with you. I was very happy to hear about the wonderful holiday you spent with Gill in Ireland as you were in lo I imagine it was out of this world.'

Letter from Cambridge – no date, c. October?

- congratulating Alan 'on your forthcoming wedding and I wish you both every single happiness in the world. It seems to have happened so very quickly but I can tell from your letter that you are very much in love. It is wonderful to be in love isn't it? Anyhow about arranging a meeting...
- we met again in London Friday 5<sup>th</sup> November at King's Cross

\*

Jo Gaebler

I had become friends with Jack and Jim from Newcastle after my spell in the Patterdale Youth Hostel in summer 1963. Through them I had become friends with one of their girl-friends I imagine, a German girl called Jo Gaebler. There are references to her in my letters, and a little correspondence with her. She seems to have been having various difficulties.

Here is a letter I wrote to her towards the end of my time on the D.Phil.



19/9/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dearest Jo,

How nice to get your letter - even if it was so sad and told me about your awful experiences in Spain. It is always nice to hear from you and I think of you often. If you ever change your address, please let me know. Do you prefer that I write to Amsterdam or Engel? I will send this to Engel, and hope you get it there. I enclose some pictures from an old manuscript. I thought you might like to put them on your wall if you have space. I am very interested in the Apocalypse or Second Coming of Christ and all the legends which have built themselves round it. Perhaps you know the poem on the subject by W.B. Yeats one of my favourite poets:

.....Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,  
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere  
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;  
The best lack all conviction, while the worst  
Are full of passionate intensity.

the whole poem is very good, but I won't waste space sending it to you. Do you still read poetry? I imagine Rilke is easier for you than Yeats. May I just quote one more passage before I get onto events? I came across it in a book. It was written by the late nineteenth century English poet and critic, William Morris, about a Medieval anarchist

'I pondered all these things, and how men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name.'

reflects what I sometimes feel when I seem to be losing ground...Not that I've attempted anything really big yet - that is to come. But I am already terrified of the battle.

How is your arm? Better after another spell in Spain, I do hope. I do worry about you and wish there was some way I could help. If the climate is so much better for you there, couldn't you stay there and find work there? Could you study art there? Or perhaps go to another Mediterranean country rather than the frozen lakes of Holland. Let me know how you get on.

My main news is that I am getting engaged very shortly and married on Dec. 20th - my 25th birthday. I think I must have told you about Gill, the girl I met at Oxford, went for a holiday to Ireland with, and am going to marry. She is lovely in every way; a good cook, interested in social work (she is going to be a probation officer), a sense of humour, interested in ideas and art etc. She will be training next year in London, so we decided to get married as soon as possible. The wedding will be here and it would be lovely if you were in England, if you could come. Please don't dream

of sending a present or anything. I know how little money you have and would feel awful if you sent anything. I just want you to share in my happiness. If you are ever in London, you could come and stay. I hope we will have a flat there, even if it is in a cellar and there is no furniture.

My other news is that I have a contract to write a book on witchcraft by the end of next year, and a grant to study anthropology (primitive societies) at the London School of Economics for the next two years. That is why I will be in London. I am looking forward to it very much as it will be most interesting to learn something more about marriage, suicide, incest, mental breakdown etc. etc. My thesis goes very well and is now about  $\frac{2}{3}$  written. I hope to be a Doctor of Philosophy about half-way through next year.

I will not go on as you must find my English style very tiring. I think of you often and am willing your arm to get better. If you ever have time, please write. I hope to see Jack and Jim at the wedding, though I haven't written to tell them about it yet.

Look after yourself Jo and be happy.....

Much love,

Alan.

I have three long letters from her in 1965 and 1966. Here is the first of two pages of the last of these, to which the above letter from me is the answer.



Amsterdam, August 66

To

Dearest Alan

I can't tell you what you make me  
for a lovely surprise with your book  
written for your mother, so many, many  
thanks and please tell your mother  
how many pleasure it give me and that  
I love it, only I have read two stories  
and I thank her so much.

It came, when I was back in Amsterdam  
and so it was still in Rode Rijden  
then in the meantime I was gone  
to Spain to make my own all right  
with the winter. But I had made  
in the time Rode Rijden a girlfriend  
(too a student) and she send me  
now the book, lovely packed in nice paper.  
It was for me too in another reason  
so extremely lovely. It is so good <sup>when</sup> you  
are sad and then there are friends  
thinking of you in love. I came  
back from Spain, to have broke up  
my holiday and was very, very sad  
because it give so very bad people in  
the world. Now my story.

I was a little time in a youth hostel  
near Barcelona when I found a very  
good book. I read it and was very  
happy. I was very sad when I read it.

## 1966 JULY- SEPTEMBER RESEARCH

Alan to Keith Thomas    13 July    Field Head, Westmorland

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I enclose my last preliminary chapter, on '3 Essex villages'. I also enclose carbons of two tables which you are welcome to keep if you are interested; though the statistics are far from final I think they are accurate enough to show what is possible in this direction - they certainly took enough sweat to obtain! The chapter itself includes some extra statistics and discussions not strictly relevant to the thesis which I will cut out later, but thought you might be interested (e.g. social mobility from the Archdeaconry books).*

*Incidentally, I came across several references to collections 'for Virginia' in some Commissary records. Was this literally for virgins, and if so, why? For their marriage or what? Perhaps you've come across this.*

*I will be down, having started rewriting, about the 10th of August, but will write again to see when it would be convenient for us to meet. I hope your work goes well: I am longing to see your thoughts on the many problems of mutual interest. Thank you for your comments on the 'Cunning Men'. Yours sincerely,*

Alan to Keith Thomas    21 July    Field Head, Westmorland

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I hope my chapter on '3 Villages' arrived safely and is not proving too stodgy. I enclose some receipts from the Essex Record Office for xeroxes, Photostats and microfilms of records. I wonder if you would be kind enough to write a note to the Dept. of Education and send it off in the enclosed envelope with the receipts? They said they would consider payment 'upon production of receipts and certificate from your supervisor to the effect that these are essential to your research and that the information cannot be obtained from any other sources'. Most of the xeroxes were of particularly difficult cases in the archdeaconry records and the microfilms were of wills, manorial, parish registers, churchwardens accounts etc. for my village studies. The former were made necessary by the fact that I had to keep a room in both Oxford and Essex during my visits there, the latter mainly because I am working at home. Actually the total comes to over £20 (which is all I can claim for) and does not include a certain amount of photographic work at the B.M. and P.R.O. I hope all this is in order.*

*I wonder if you will be back in Oxford on the week-end of Saturday-Sunday 13th-14th August? If you are, could we meet at any time on either day (or, if better, on Friday 12th?). At present I'm writing a chapter discussing the various possible interpretations of witchcraft - puritanism, medical etc. If possible, I'll let you have this well before I see you.*

*L.S.E. are proving as difficult as possible about my course. Having failed to tell me about the S.S.R.C grants at all, and then being muddled (Firth) about whether I was eligible, they have subsequently lost (and re-found after sending me two warning letters) your testimonial; changed my registration from an M.Sc. in social anthropology to a Diploma in Anthropology - without consulting me - which includes a considerable amount of physical anthropology and linguistics I believe; forgot to send me the application form for an S.S.R.C grant - they only sent it two days ago and the results are due out in two weeks; and now they've refused to let me do 3 hours seminar work a week for nine weeks in Nottingham, because internal students at London in no*



*circumstances must leave the city! So much for the integration of history and anthropology.*

*Sorry to end on this peevish note, and to bother you once again. I hope your work goes well. Yours sincerely,*

Keith Thomas to Alan 27 July 1966

*Dear Alan,*

*I have just got back from Cornwall to find your latest chapter, which I have not yet had time to read. I have however added a note to your batch of invoices and sent them off. I am a bit reluctant to fix a date in August as I am not quite sure of my movements at present (I may be in Wales then). I suggest that you give me a ring as soon as we get to Oxford and if I'm here I'll fix a time with pleasure. If not then it will have to be when you are next in Oxford. I hope this isn't too unsatisfactory for you.*

*What a lot of crosses you are having to bear for L.S.E. I do hope you get fixed up in the end. What is the Nottingham seminar you talk of?*

*All the best, Keith*

Alan to Keith Thomas 9 August Field Head, Westmorland

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thank you for your letter and for sending a note to the Dept. of Ed. Re. my invoices. As you see I enclose a couple more short, general, chapters which are the first half of my conclusion. I still have to rewrite the introduction, which was unsatisfactory, and write another concluding section on the English and European background. I hope to have this done by the end of month. I will just have to overlap into my L.S.E. course which is a nuisance.*

*There is no hurry about these chapters or the last one I sent you. I will probably be in Oxford this coming week-end and will ring to see if you are up. Otherwise I look forward to seeing you early in September. I do hope the book progresses. My Nottingham seminar is only some fill-in tutoring for one term which Trevor-Roper asked if I would like to do. No news of an S.S.R.C grant yet. Yours sincerely,*

Alan to Keith Thomas 25 August Field Head, Westmorland

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I wonder if you could just have a quick look at the enclosed suggested method of doing the appendix of witchcraft cases? If (& the Notes for Writers of ... D.Phil. Theses..' does not quite make this clear, p.5) the 100,000 words includes the appendices I am going to be very short of space. I don't want to take up more than 7,000 words (i.e. about 10 words per case) in the appendices - which means a very bald summary. Do you think I have the essential details? Do you think any of the cases - e.g. any of those from ecclesiastical, borough or Star Chamber deserve quoting at any greater length? As it is, anyone wanting to pursue the ecclesiastical cases, for instance, would have to go off to Essex and master the procedure and palaeography of the Archdeaconry records before he could read them. Still, it looks as if I have no alternative.*

*Could you let me know what you think as soon as possible as I want to finish the appendix before I go to London. Yours sincerely,*

Card from Alan to Keith on 25 August from Field Head

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*Thought you might be interested to hear that I've just received a letter to say I've got an S.S.R.C. award for next year. Many thanks for all your support in this (as also for a most enjoyable tea/discussion during my last visit to Oxford). Hope the book thunders on ....*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane (P.S. have received £20 for photographic expenses: thanks)*

Keith wrote on 2 September

*I've just had your p.c. & write to say I'm delighted re your S.S.R.C. grant. You must be very relieved. Keith.*

**Alan to Keith Thomas 5 September** Field Head, Ambleside

*Dear Mr. Thomas,*

*I enclose an introduction and concluding chapter to the thesis – parts of each you have seen before but I've pruned desperately. If we could discuss these on my next visit to Oxford, probably in early Oct. that would be fine. I'm now in the process of re-writing and cutting down: very exhausting I find it.*

*Thank you for your suggestions re. the appendices. I agree that the cases should include a very brief summary. The trouble is that with about 1,000 cases to list I can't really allow myself more than 10 words per case – even that's 1/10th of the thesis space gone. When one has stated date, place, name, reference, verdict, there is little room left. Still, will see what I can do. Yours sincerely*

**Letter from Alan to Lady Clay 17 September [PUT ELSEWHERE?]**

*Hope the writing of your Elizabeth talk went O.K. It should be peanuts to you – except that you know too much. I've got to that stage with my thesis. What really exhausts me is having to discard so much information that has taken me months to extract, to summarize it all into a half-truth which I might have guessed at the beginning. I find it very difficult to be sure that I'm really doing anything worthwhile. One gets so close to the subject that it is impossible to decide whether one hasn't just buried oneself in some pile of silt at the bottom of an unimportant tributary to the historical stream – and other Trevor-Roper-like metaphors! (I have to eschew any colourful or high spirited writing in my thesis – so you'll have to beware muddy rhetoric in my letters) ... When my eyes blar open from their appendix-gummed state I vaguely notice leaves turning incredible reds and golds and the autumn beginning to toast the bracken. ... the thesis goes very well and I should have nearly half of it written in final form, and the rest in a fairly advanced draft by the time I go to London.*

**Letter to Julie Simore 18 September**

*My work goes well, though I find up to 8 hours writing a day very tiring and can't do very long spells. Also, one gets to a stage where one is writing things for the 6th or 7th time and all the excitement has been squeezed out. Consequently, to me at any rate, it sounds pretty flat.*



## Reflecting backwards on the last stages of the thesis:

**Letter to Ian Campbell, November 1966**

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

**On 2 January 1967 I wrote to Peter Goodden:**

*The thesis is nearly finished - I am on the final rewriting stage of the last two chapters. Then I have to check footnotes, make maps, do bibliography etc. I hope to submit it in the summer term of 1967. Its going quite well and I think it should set a few historians buzzing. I probably told you that I have signed a contract with Routledge for a book on witchcraft - it is meant to be completed by Dec. 1967 ...*

\*

I was furiously writing during this period and also working on the appendices.

The next, and to me particularly significant, chapter was on '3 Essex villages'. This was very long (33 pages) and the closest I got to real anthropology.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS IN THREE ESSEX VILLAGES, 1560-1599.

Witchcraft prosecutions, it has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> were related to tensions at the basis of society. In an attempt to study how such accusations were correlated to other social phenomena, to religious, economic, kinship, and neighbourhood groups, and to other manifestations of conflict, crime, illegitimacy, suicide and mental breakdown, a microscopic analysis of the local records of three Essex villages has been undertaken. These are the adjacent villages of Hatfield Peverel, Boreham, and Little Baddow.<sup>2</sup> As will be seen in the maps of the distribution of prosecutions throughout Essex,<sup>3</sup> Hatfield was exceptional in the number of prosecutions which took place there, while Boreham and Little Baddow were normal. The names, references and dates of the witchcraft prosecutions in these three villages are set out in the following table. In all, there were 14 persons prosecuted at the Assizes in these three villages, 14 out of a total of 290 prosecuted at that court for the whole of Essex.<sup>4</sup> Thus we are studying in these three villages only a fraction of the widespread suspicion circulating in Essex.

TABLE 1: List of Suspect-Witches in Three Essex Villages.

Name of suspect	dates of trials	courts	reference (p. i appendix)
<u>Hatfield Peverel.</u>			
Lora Winchester	1566	Assize	
Elizabeth Fraunces	1566, 1572, 1579	Assize, Quarter Sessions	
Agnes Waterhouse	1566	Assize, Quarter Sessions	
Joan Waterhouse	1566	Assize, Quarter Sessions	
Joan Osborne	1567, 1579, 1587	Assize, Archdeaconry.	
Agnes Francys	1572	Assize	
Agnes Bromley	1576	Assize	
(Elizabeth Lorde	mentioned as a witch in 1579 pamphlet		)
Agnes Duke	1584, 1589	Assize	
Joan Cocke	1584	Assize	
<del>John Heare/Jenny</del>	<del>1589</del>		
Elizabeth Pillgram	1587	Archdeaconry	
Mary Godfrey	1587	Archdeaconry	
John Gosse and wife	1587	Archdeaconry	
John Heare/Hore/Jenny	1589	Assize	
<u>Boreham.</u>			
'Mason's wife'	1566	Archdeaconry	
Mary Belsted/Middleton	1566, 1576, 1594	Archdeaconry, Assize	
Margaret Poole	1576	Archdeaconry	
Agnes Haven	<del>1584</del> 1593	Assize	
<u>Little Baddow.</u>			
Alice Bambricke	1570	Assize	
Alice Swallow	1570	Assize	

1. See pp. above.

2. See map .

3. See map .

3. See p. above.



could help people focus their resources, cut away extended obligations to distant relatives and friends, and hence invest their wealth in a more directly economical way. Instead of ploughing back capital into their social relationships, they would devote it to more narrowly economic goals, to a small group of kin.<sup>1</sup>

Another strain which may have been related to witchcraft prosecutions was that caused by the very high rate of migration between Essex villages. It has long been known that villages were not the stable, unchanging, units once imagined,<sup>2</sup> but the social effects of rapid movement have not been examined. The dimensions of the problem in these three villages can be gauged from a brief analysis of Boreham. From the subsidy assessments it appears that the turnover rates of families were as follows.

TABLE : Social Mobility in Boreham from Subsidy Assessments, 1524-1598. <sup>3</sup>

	1524	1544	1566	1572	1598
Total of families assessed	42	36	30	23	10
Number of families assessed in 1524... (and still present).....	-	12	10	6	3
Number of new families (not previously assessed).....	-	24	15	2	4

Though this shows considerable movement, for instance between 1524-1544 there was such movement that only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of those assessed at the latter date were present at the earlier assessment, it vastly underates the actual amount, for two reasons. Firstly, it studies the most propertied, least mobile, elements in the village. Secondly, it only indicates that some member of the family stayed in the village. A study of parish registers and other sources suggests that it was younger sons and daughters who moved, leaving one member of the family on the land. A very tentative attempt to study this ~~in presented~~ undercurrent of mobility has been made on the basis of the Boreham parish register. Taking the christenings recorded for the years 1561-5, 71 in all, it was discovered that 17 of those christened had died within 3 years of birth. Of the remaining 54 only 7 are known to

1. Again this hypothesis is at a very tentative stage. One way in which it will be tested is through an analysis of wills, for instance were bequests growingly confined to the nuclear family? The change from bequests for religious purposes, in other words for the communal good, to more specific charitable bequests, analysed in the works of Professor Jordan, may be one form of this transition.

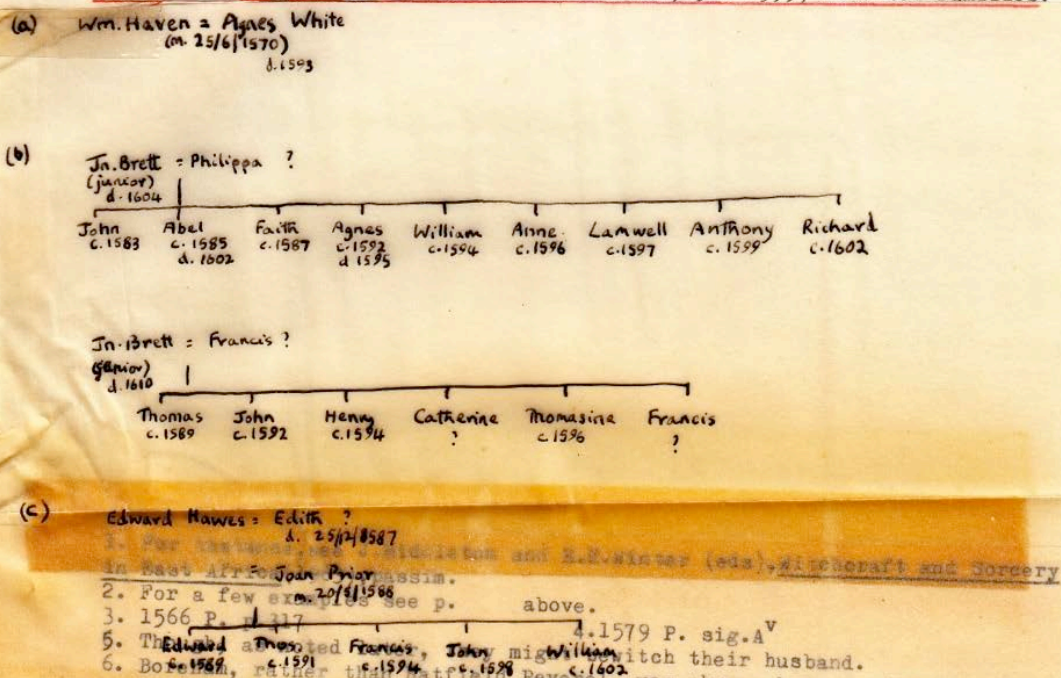
2. Among the best studies of this are E.E. Rich, 'The Population of Elizabethan England', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. ii (1949), pp. 247-265; S.A. Payton, 'The Village Population in the Tudor Lay Subsidy Rolls', *E.H.R.*, xxx (1915), pp. 234-50.

3. This is based on P.R.O. E.179/108/151, E.108/241, E.109/291, E.110/422, 111/447.111/501.

Kinship, marriage and witchcraft.

Investigators of the subject have found that in many societies witchcraft beliefs are related to the kinship structure, that accusations reflect tensions between certain members of the family.<sup>1</sup> Though there is a little Essex evidence that such strains occasionally precipitated prosecutions,<sup>2</sup> a detailed study of kinship and witchcraft in Boreham does not lend any support to theories that witchcraft prosecutions were related to conflicts in kinship organization.<sup>3</sup> In Hatfield Peverel there was certainly some blood relationship between the witches themselves. Elizabeth Fraunces was given her familiar, she confessed, by her grandmother.<sup>3</sup> Agnes Waterhouse was the mother of Joan Waterhouse and sister to Mother Osborne, another notorious witch.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that Agnes Fraunces was related to Elizabeth Fraunces. Yet there is no suggestion, either in the confessions of the witches themselves, or in local records, that they were related by blood to their victims.<sup>5</sup> Whenever their victims were talked about it was as a 'neighbour' rather than a kinsman. This impression is confirmed by a study of kinship in Boreham. The total results are too complex to set out here, but, so far, it has been impossible to trace even the most distant kinship ties between witches and victims. The following digrams give a few examples of this negative evidence.

FIGURE : Kinship and Witchcraft in Boreham, 1560-1599; selected families.<sup>6</sup>



I mentioned that I was sending a few more short, general chapters which were the first half of my conclusion. This was 17 pages and was annotated by Keith. This is again an important chapter, and summarizes many of my findings.



POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS.

Witchcraft and medicine.

It has been suggested that witchcraft prosecutions reflected the incidence of illness,<sup>1</sup> ~~(it has been argued)~~ that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were times of plague, high child-mortality and, as yet, undiagnosed disease, and that whenever an ailment could not be explained by medical theory it was attributed to witches, both by physicians and their clients. Obviously this does not explain why there ~~should have been~~ was a growth of witchcraft prosecutions in the second half of the sixteenth century, since it is difficult to show that plague or disease were not endemic in the middle ages. But it could be argued that improving medical knowledge, as well as a decline in certain forms of sickness, especially bubonic plague, at the end of the seventeenth century, does explain the decline of prosecutions.<sup>2</sup> The examination of Essex evidence does not support any such theory. Rather, it destroys any correlation between plague, medical improvements and witchcraft beliefs and prosecutions.

An analysis of the types of illness attributed to witches in Essex showed that they were usually of a lingering variety and that they were not normally accompanied by any particularly strange symptoms.<sup>3</sup> Witchcraft was not an automatic explanation of any unusual illness, mental breakdown or womb-diseases leading to paroxysms for instance. Much illness and many deaths were explained without reference to witches.<sup>4</sup> A majority of the cases of death or illness supposedly caused by witches were of adults: high child-mortality was not, in itself, a cause of prosecution.<sup>5</sup> Nor do medical factors explain change over time. Many villages had prosecutions before 1600, and none after that date.<sup>6</sup> It would be impossible to show any radical change in health conditions in villages before 1660. Nor does the incidence of illness begin to explain why ~~some~~ <sup>every</sup> approximately three out of four Essex villages witnessed not prosecutions, nor why Essex seems to have been particularly witch-conscious.

1. For instance by Kittredge, Witchcraft, p.5 and Parrinder, Witchcraft, pp.99-100. Contemporaries also argued that witchcraft beliefs were related to medical ignorance, cf. Bernard, Guide, p.168 and Ady, Candle, pp.103-4.

2. It is equally arguable that there was no appreciable improvement or growth of knowledge in medical matters at the village level until the late eighteenth century: overcrowding may have worsened conditions, cf. Hoskins, Provincial England, p.148.

3. For statistics of the duration of illness attributed to witches see p. above; for some of the symptoms of witchcraft victims see p. below.

4. This is discussed with reference to three villages on p. above.

5. For the age of victims of witchcraft see p. above.

6. See map , p. .



Witchcraft and economic change.

A number of hypotheses connecting witchcraft prosecutions and economic change can be tested by the Essex evidence. It might be suggested that prosecutions were connected with the growth and distribution of population: for instance that witchcraft would tend to be most feared in either the most densely or most sparsely populated parts of the country, depending on whether it is interpreted as a result of economic pressures or as a backward superstition. A comparison of a map of the distribution of prosecutions and tentative <sup>population</sup> figures based on the Essex Ship Money Assessment of 1638 supports neither of these suggestions.<sup>1</sup> It appears that prosecutions were most intense in the mediumly populated central-northern belt and that the most heavily populated Colchester and south-west areas were not notable for density of accusations; nor was the marshland of the south-west. The larger towns, like Maldon, Colchester and Harwich, had their share of prosecutions, but there seems to have been no particular concentration varying with the size of the town or village.<sup>2</sup> The outskirts of London appear to have been normal in the number of witchcraft indictments. As for the growth of population as a pressure indirectly leading to the tensions erupting in witchcraft charges, investigation of the situation in three villages showed some of the ways in which this may have happened. Until more detailed county studies, both of witchcraft and of population growth, have been made, generalizations are impossible. Clearly, population cannot explain yearly fluctuations or explain why certain villages did not have prosecutions. But it might be argued that population growth was steepest in the sixteenth century, levelled off a little in the first half of the seventeenth century, and ceased after 1660.<sup>3</sup> This would mirror witchcraft prosecutions. It would also fit into two other phenomena. The first is the apparent correlation between enclosure and prosecutions, the second, the lack of an obvious connection between prosecutions and the cloth industry.

Most of Essex had been enclosed before 1560, but there was one large and two small areas which remained unenclosed until the late eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The large area was the north-west corner, nearly one fifth of the county, the small ones were round Colchester and along the south-west

1. Cf. F. Hull, 'Agriculture and Rural Society in Essex, 1560-1640' (London Ph.D. thesis 1950), pp. 556-7 and Map 6.

2. For a discussion of witchcraft in Essex towns cf. Ch.

3. As yet there is no detailed analysis of changes in population during this period in Essex: this general outline is that supposed for the whole of England, cf. Population in History ed. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley (1965), pp. 147-8.

4. For a map of unenclosed areas in 1600 cf. Hull, 'Agriculture and Society' map. 2; for a general discussion and maps of enclosure cf. 'Enclosures: Essex Agriculture 1500-1900', Essex Naturalist, xxvi (1937-40), pp. 4-19.



were related to the distance of the county from London.<sup>1</sup> But any easy assumption that swift economic change, in itself, was enough to cause witchcraft tensions is soon dispelled when we remember that the relatively backward Scotland was notorious for its prosecutions, while Holland was almost entirely free of such beliefs.<sup>2</sup>

Witchcraft, Kinship and marriage.

There is little evidence from either pamphlets, indictments or the detailed village study, that witchcraft prosecutions were in any way related to kinship tensions.<sup>3</sup> The only relationship by blood which, it might be argued,<sup>4</sup> became related to witchcraft was the parent-child one. As Gifford pointed out,<sup>5</sup> children quite frequently gave evidence against their parents. For instance, the son of a witch gave evidence against his mother in 1579 in Essex,<sup>6</sup> and two bastard boys gave 'great evidence' against their mother and grandmother in 1589.<sup>7</sup> But it would be absurd to see child-parent hostility as a major factor in causing witchcraft prosecutions. Not only were a majority of the cases tried without child witnesses, but it seems apparent that such witnesses were only brought in to give added proof. They did not start suspicions, but were probably persuaded to give testimony. 'Many go so farre, that if they can intice children to accuse their parents, they thinke it a good worke'.<sup>8</sup> Often children must have supported their parents, as in 1564.<sup>9</sup> Possibly an added pressure on children was the knowledge that if they refused to support charges against their parents they, in turn, might be accused of being witches. It is clear that there was a strong popular belief that witchcraft was hereditary. 'Suspected Ancestors' was a general evidence of being a witch.<sup>10</sup> Witches, said the Essex witch-hunter Stearne, 'leave' witchcraft 'to Children, servants, or to some others...'; people born of 'bad and wicked parents' were likely to be witches.<sup>11</sup> Witches tried to make their children witches, though not always successfully.<sup>12</sup> If we turn to the

1. See p. above.

2. See p. above.

3. The surnames of victims in indictments were never the same as those of witches: an analysis of the type of tension leading to quarrels as specified in the pamphlets showed little kinship emphasis (see p. above); for negative evidence from the village study see p. above.

4. For instance Briggs, Fale Hecate, pp. 23, 39-40 suggests that the children were often illegitimate and for this, and other reasons, felt hostility to their parents.

5. Gifford, Discourse, sig. G4<sup>v</sup>

6. 1579 P. sig. Aiv<sup>v</sup>

7. 1589 P. sig. Aiv

8. Gifford, Dialogue, sig. L

9. Cf. Appdx , p. .

10. Gaule, Select Cases, p. 46.

11. Stearne, Confirmation, pp. 12, 29, 33.

12. Bernard, Guide, pp. 211-2; Perkins, Damned Art, pp. 202-3.

widowhood. There were many married witches, as we have seen, and there were also many widows who were not suspected to be witches.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that a married or widowed woman was more powerful in village society than a single one. She could make demands and hope to exert authority by virtue of the status given to her by her marriage. A single woman would be less likely to be thought a witch because she could be more easily ignored; she was not a mature member of the village community. Widows, it seems, were in a particularly anomalous position. They had power, and possibly some wealth, from their marriage, but, as they grew older, were increasingly dependent on the help of their neighbours. The change in the role of women from being the leaders and controllers of village society to becoming the 'old folk', whether they were married or widowed, may have been a significant tension in village society. They may have begrudged their loss of power, while the next generation resented the demands made on them.<sup>2</sup>

Witchcraft and religious disturbance.

Not only was Essex one of the most economically advanced countries, but it was also renowned for its radical religious position. It may, therefore, be wondered how far a study of Essex witchcraft prosecutions reflected religious tensions.<sup>3</sup> The narrower thesis is that Puritans, in their loathing of the Devil and bitter attack on Roman Catholic ~~ritual~~, identified witches with their enemies and used them as a scapegoat. More broadly, it might be argued that both Puritanism and witchcraft were differing reactions to, and causes of, anxieties and tensions arising out of broader change. In the second theory no necessary connections between particular witchcraft cases would be expected. The interrelationship between the attack on Catholic rituals, the new attitude towards sin and evil, and the new cosmology, and witchcraft beliefs, though crucial, would be indirect and complex. While Essex evidence tends to destroy any correlation of prosecutions and Puritans, it suggests, if no more than vaguely at this stage, that witchcraft and religious changes were linked at a deeper level.

1. For evidence of this see p.        above.

2. For a further analysis see p.        below.

3. For the strongest argument connecting the two see Trevor-Davies, Four Centuries; for arguments against the connection see Kittredge, Witchcraft, ch. xviii and the articles by Teal and Ross cited in the bibliography.



religious extremists. For example, none of the members of the Dedham classis are known to have been involved in witchcraft cases. In Essex, at least, neither Puritanism nor organized religion can be made to explain prosecutions.<sup>1</sup>

Essex evidence does, however, suggest, that witchcraft beliefs were related to wider religious changes. This will be argued at length when an attempt is made to discover what purposed witchcraft beliefs served and how they were related to the problems of guilt, pain and causation.<sup>2</sup>

The personality and physical characteristics of supposed witches.

Another interpretation of witchcraft is that it was one method by which society could punish deviants: that witches were anti-social in some respect, for example by being cantankerous, or sexual offenders, and that a witchcraft <sup>prosecution</sup> was one method of disciplining them. A related argument is that witches were ugly and dirty and generally revolted people. The literary stereotype of the witch seems to support both these suggestions. Gaule gives a typical description:

'every old woman with a wrinkled face, a furr'd brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voyce, or a scolding tongue, having a rugged coate on her back, a skull-cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, and a Dog or Cat by her side; is not only suspected, but pronounced for a witch.'<sup>3</sup>

Although negative evidence is not conclusive in this instance, for it is difficult to see why people would bring up a suspect's ugliness in court, there is, nevertheless, no suggestion in the Essex records that people selected as likely witches those either suffering from physical disabilities or particularly ugly.<sup>4</sup> As suggested above, the determining factors were actions and personality, rather than looks.<sup>5</sup> This was equally true of the witch's mark, a physical protuberance searched for by panels of women. A woman was not first suspected because she had this mark: it was usually in some secret place. It was merely searched for to confirm that she was a witch.<sup>6</sup>

Several writers outlined the personality types most likely to be accused of witchcraft. Those who were boastful,<sup>7</sup> illiterate,<sup>8</sup> miserable,<sup>9</sup> lustful and leading a 'lewd and naughty kind of life',<sup>10</sup> melancholy,<sup>11</sup> were

1. For a discussion of the connection in England and Europe generally see p.

2. Cf. pp. below.

3. Gaule, Cases, p.5; for other literary stereotypes cf. Briggs, Pale Hecate, pp.27,83,90 and Scot, Discovery, pp.29,34.

4. There are only two cases of lame witches in Essex, Elizabeth Clark in 1645 and Ursley Kempe, cured of lameness in 1582.

5. Cf. p. above where This point is discussed and evidence given to show that a person looked like a witch when they acted like a witch.

6. For examples of the searching of Essex witches after they were suspected cf. 1582 P. sig.E5<sup>v</sup> or Appdx , the case of Deborah Nayler.

7. Bernard, Guide, p.220 ; Gaule, Cases, p.64. 8. Gaule, Cases, p.51.

9. Glanvil, Saducis Philosophic Considerations, p.30; Bernard, Guide, p.103

10. Stearne, Confirmation, p.29; Gaule, Cases, p.80.

11. Scot, Discovery, p.29; Gaule, Cases, p.51; Glanvil, Philosophic Considerations.



deviant behaviour.<sup>1</sup> People were not already of evil reputation when they began to be suspected of witchcraft.<sup>2</sup> When people suspected witchcraft they examined their relationship to others: they did not automatically select the most notorious prostitutes or criminals in the neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup>

Witchcraft, sex and age.

Several contemporary authorities noted that 'black' witches were mostly women;<sup>4</sup> Essex cases confirm this impression and show that under 1/12 of the accused were men.<sup>5</sup> Several contemporary authors explained this fact by the comparative weakness and viciousness of the female sex. Perkins observed that 'the woman being the weaker sexe is sooner entangled by the devills illusions with this damnable art, then the man.'<sup>6</sup> Stearne's theory was as follows. Either it was because of Satan's success with Eve, or because of 'their more credulous nature, and more apt to be misled, for that they be commonly impatient, and being displeased more malicious, and so more apt to revenge according to their power, and thereby more fit instruments for the Devill; or that, because they be more ready to be teachers of Witchcraft to others...or that, because, where they can command they are more fierce in their rule, and revengeful in setting such on worke whom they can command....'<sup>7</sup>

This is an almost exact paraphrase of the five reasons given by Bernard in his earlier treatise.<sup>8</sup> Reginald Scot quoted a continental author to the effect that women were more likely to be witches partly because of their violent temperament, 'they have such an unbridled force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no means it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same', partly because menstruation makes them evil.<sup>9</sup>

The Essex evidence can first be used to contradict certain general theories. There is very little evidence that witchcraft prosecutions arose out of male sexual frustration. Both indictments<sup>10</sup> and pamphlets show that the victims and accusers of witches were as often women as men. We have seen that it was not the clergy, celibate or otherwise, who led prosecutions, and it will be shown that witches were old, and probably far from physically attractive.<sup>11</sup> There is very little sexual content in either the offences

1. For instance, incest, even between close relatives does not seem to have led to witchcraft suspicion. Although one case is noted above and Scot, Discovery, p. 58 suggested a connection; of the 25 cases of incest noted in the Essex archdeaconry records 1570-1670 (10 of which were between blood-relatives, father-daughter(4), mother-son (4), sister-brother(2)) none are known to have been connected with witchcraft suspicions.

2. Cf. however Glanvil, Philosophical Considerations, p. 39 who wrote that witches had already alienated their guardian spirits when they became witches.

3. For the manner in which suspicion focused see pp. above.

4. E.g. Glanvil, Sadducismus, p. 39; Gaule, Cases, p. 52; Stearne, Confirmation, p. 10.

5. Cf. p. above: only 23 male witches were tried at the Assizes out of a total of 270 persons: for the predominance of men as 'white' witches see p. above.

7. Stearne, Confirmation, p. 11.

6. Perkins, Damned Art, p. 168

8. Bernard, Guide, pp. 92-3.

9. Scot, Discovery, p. 236

10. For instance table p. above, where it is shown that those killed or made ill by witchcraft were more often women than men.



There was a second, formal, conclusion, which I may also have written in draft at this time, or may be later, but is worth putting in here. It is fifteen pages long.

CONCLUSION: WITCHCRAFT IN A WIDER CONTEXT.

A study of Essex has shown that witchcraft prosecutions were far from peripheral to the life of villagers. Perkins wrote <sup>that</sup> (because) 'witchcraft is a rife and common sinne in these our daies, and very many are intangled in it...' <sup>1</sup> and Gaule attacked the multitude who 'conclude peremptorily...that witches not only are, but are in every place, and Parish with them....' <sup>2</sup> These general impressions were echoed for Essex by <sup>Samuel's</sup> Sam's remark in Gifford's Dialogue that 'there is scarce any town or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at the least in it.' <sup>3</sup> Some cases are listed in the appendices to this thesis, and detailed study suggests that this was less than one third of the actual suspected acts of witchcraft. From all records we know that witches were accused in  $\wedge$  of the 400 Essex villages during the period. At the peak period of accusations some 13% of all the cases occurring at the Assize court concerned this offence. A detailed study of all offences committed in three villages showed witchcraft to have been one of the most common charges. (Behind the formal accusations), The occasional glimpses afforded by the pamphlets suggest a background of complicated and widely <sup>distributed</sup> held [set of] beliefs and activities related to witchcraft. Cunning folk and magical counter-action against witches absorbed much of the interest and time of villagers. It may well be asked whether Essex was exceptional in all this, or ~~was~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~the whole~~ <sup>with which</sup> of England living in a world of witchcraft and magic, which has only escaped the notice of the historian because of his lack of interest in the subject? If Yorkshire in the later nineteenth century was saturated in witchcraft beliefs so that it was 'difficult to exaggerate the dimensions of that element of folklore' <sup>4</sup>, how far was this true in the earlier period?

Conclusion: Notes.(1)

1. Perkins, Damned Art, p.1.
2. Gaule, Select Cases, p.4. <sup>v</sup>
3. Gifford, Dialogue, sig. A4
4. Atkinson, Moorland Parish, pp.73-4.



attitudes to one's neighbours, towards the ideals of charity and 'neighbourliness'.

While the Reformation left people stripped of their traditional counter-actions against feelings of guilt, fear and frustration, these feelings grew under the pressure of growing change. They occurred first in areas earliest undergoing such change, particularly the south-east of England, although witchcraft was not a necessary reaction to such a situation. The reign of Elizabeth, in many ways the transitional era before new values and patterns were devised, saw the height of the prosecutions. They declined in the seventeenth century because these factors became less powerful. Economic and social change became less dramatic, for instance population growth and social mobility decreased, and a new system of values, whose most vocal protagonists were named Puritans, (more adapted to the needs of the new society,) emerged and were accepted. These new values and attitudes were not merely intellectual, but formed a layer of unexamined assumptions, just like those challenged by the Reformation. They explained and justified new positions and new worries, gave people new methods of dealing with their relationships and their activities, methods of taking decisions, criteria for judgement and patterns to which to conform. Those who first attained the new stability were the country gentry, educated at the expanding universities and most receptive to the new ideas. It was they who formed the grand juries which, in Essex, began throwing out witchcraft presentment bills in 1647. In the Elizabethan period there seems to have been no fundamental division between educated and uneducated villagers. The clergy and judges and jury accepted

Finally, I mentioned writing a draft of parts of the introduction - which, of course, is one of the most important parts of a thesis, and can only be written at the end. This was about 13 pages, and again annotated by Keith.



CHAPTER I Introduction: definitions, sources, and problems.

1. Definitions.

It is notoriously difficult to make definitions of the terms 'witchcraft', 'sorcery', and 'magic'. Yet, since different uses of these words have caused many of the disagreements between historians of these subjects, it is essential that their meaning should be made clear.<sup>1</sup> This is especially important when the historian is forced to make analytical distinctions which were not made by members of the society in which such beliefs occurred. If it is generally true that,

'No social phenomenon can be adequately studied merely in the language and categories of thought in which the people among whom it is found, represent it to themselves',<sup>2</sup>

this is especially the case when analysing witchcraft beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. Not only did different authorities define terms in incompatible ways, but definitions also varied over time. 'Witchcraft' meant something different in 1700 and in 1560. ~~Terms were also used with a different connotation by ordinary villagers from the meaning ascribed to them by literary authorities,~~ <sup>It meant different things to ordinary villagers and to literary authorities</sup> who <sup>often</sup> based their definitions on continental works of demonology. We shall, therefore, first discuss the definitions employed by modern students of witchcraft; then investigate how far contemporary Englishmen, that is to say those living in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, employed such distinctions in their discussions of the subject; finally, the meaning ascribed to various terms, for the purposes of this thesis, will be stated.

The classic distinction between witchcraft and sorcery was first outlined by Professor Evans-Pritchard in the following words.

'Azande believe that some people are witches and can injure them in virtue of an inherent quality. A witch performs no rite, utters no spell, and possesses no medicines. An act of witchcraft is a psychic act. They believe also that sorcerers may do them ill by performing magic rites with bad medicines.'<sup>3</sup>

p.1

1. K.M. Briggs, Pale Hecate's Team (1962), p.3, discusses various definitions and suggests the effects of defining terms differently. Among other recent discussions are those of C.L. Ewen (Ewen I, pp.21-24) and G. Parrinder, Witchcraft (Pelican edn., 1958), pp. 81-13.
2. G. Lienhardt, Social Anthropology (2nd edn., 1956 Oxford, 1966), p.123.
3. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande (Oxford, 1937), p.21.

And some pages later, an account of the previous historiography of the subject.



works  
problems

Until the publication of Wallace Notestein's History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718 in 1911, studies of English witchcraft had been based almost exclusively on two sources; <sup>1</sup> ~~(contemporary)~~ literary accounts, and descriptions of witchcraft trials in <sup>contemporary</sup> pamphlets. Notestein not only provided a far more detailed description of the literary controversy and of the famous trials, but also made an attempt to use <sup>other</sup> legal records. Since he was covering the whole of England for over 150 years, he was only able to look at cases already in print, <sup>and</sup> though these included witchcraft prosecutions from a number of central and local courts, <sup>2</sup> he admitted that 'no history of the subject has the right to be called final' until 'someone had been round English counties and searched 'the masses of gaol delivery records and municipal archives'. His prediction that 'it seems improbable that such a search would uncover so many unlisted trials as seriously to modify the narrative' <sup>3</sup> was shown to be incorrect in 1929 when C.L.Ewen published ~~his~~ <sup>work</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>4</sup> indictments for witchcraft, occurring at the Assizes. Of the 748 indictments he listed, only a few had been discovered by Notestein; Notestein, from all sources and for the whole of England had only compiled a list of approximately 400 references. In Essex, for example, this meant that, instead of the fifteen trials listed by Notestein, in which there are references to about 40 individuals, Ewen provided some 473 indictments, referring to 299 persons and including crucial details such as the exact nature of the offence, and <sup>the</sup> place of residence of witch and victim. These facts were unobtainable from many of Notestein's references. In his second work on the subject, Ewen supplemented Notestein's list by adding

Assign

p.1

Notes: Introduction.

1. The principal secondary authorities on witchcraft to 1911 are cited in the bibliography: the most important works are those by Hutchinson, Wright and Lecky.
2. Notestein, Witchcraft, Appdx. C!
3. Notestein, Witchcraft, p.x.
4. C.L.Ewen, Witch Hunting and Witch Trials, (1929). <sup>henceforth referred to as Ewen I.</sup> This important work is referred to constantly throughout this thesis, and will henceforth be referred to as Ewen I, cases from it being given their numbers, for instance Ewen I, 53 refers to the case of Joan Barberne on p.126. ~~Without Ewen's research~~



## 1966 JULY – SEPTEMBER OTHER RESEARCHERS

Brian Harrison

5/7/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Brian,

Just a note to say how much I have enjoyed reading your contribution to the P & P conference. All the problems you are studying for the C19 I am tackling for the C16 - which makes for interesting comparisons. Also congratulations on your letter to the T.L.S about photographic facilities at the B.M. Hope it has some effect and that they don't outlaw you.

Three vague points.

a) Have you pursued the idea that drink/alcoholism is related to the amount of anxiety in a society (I'm sure you'll know of this, I came across it in Clyde Kluckhohn's Mirror for Man, p.132 (Premier reprint, 1957): at one time I thought I might be able to use this for the C16 - but a detailed study of three villages (1560-1599, populations of roughly 300,400,500) has only revealed 4 cases of drunkenness in the church courts.

b) Re. animals - have you studied the reverse of cruelty - buggery? I've got a lot of case for C16-C17, but haven't gone into the social attitude towards it yet. I gather that the prisons at the beginning of this century were full of offenders on this point.

c) How does cruelty to animals vary over Europe generally, between industrialized/agricultural countries, countries of different religious beliefs etc. Vast question. I just felt at the end of the paper that I wasn't quite sure what your answer to the most



basic question of all was - i.e. what are the necessary and sufficient social conditions for a change in attitude towards cruelty to occur. In relation to this I was interested in your suggestions about the growing anthropomorphization (?) of animals - reflected of course, delightfully, in late Victorian children's stories. This aspect, connected with the idea that God created the animals as well as humans and the Puritan influence especially interests me. The very human relationship of people towards their farm animals in the Cló (witness nicknames etc) appears a lot in witchcraft history. I can't decide whether it is the alienation from animals in towns which brings cruelty, or allows a final impractical, and sentimental attitude to emerge. Perhaps one should distinguish very clearly between cruelty through necessity - for which you obviously have sympathy - and sadism. Torturing animals as an ~~an~~ outlet takes one on to insanity etc: driving animals very hard takes one more into economic affairs.

Sorry I didn't mean to ramble. Just to say how glad I am that you're rolling into action. I'm holding back a bit longer though I have a projected book in the background. Will be off to do social anthropology in October, at L.S.E.

I hope Hurstfield's daughter returns your file. If not I'll drop her a line. She's going to be in Oxford next term doing a B.Phil. on the sociology of education.

When is your book coming out ?

Best wishes,



Telephone: 48014

NUFFIELD COLLEGE  
OXFORD

8 July 66

Dear Alan: Many thanks for your kind and interesting note. I have come across the "anxiety thesis", but I don't really think it's terribly helpful: One of those sociological generalisations not susceptible to empirical testing! Buggery: what a naughty thought. I certainly hadn't thought of investigating it (hardly "the reverse of cruelty"?), and shall have a look at the Judicial Statistics in case they oblige. Many thanks. I agree that the question of "sufficient social conditions for a change in attitudes towards cruelty" is most interesting, though I wasn't trying

to deal with this question in my paper. Perhaps in my revised version I shall, though I really don't know what the answer is. The anti-animal cruelty movement in the 19th C is decidedly town-based (in fact, London-based) and seems to be partly a response to the Smithfield Market's congestion of the London streets, with the consequent cruelty among drovers. But we must obviously talk about this when you are next in Oxford.

Yes, La Hurstfield returned the files with thanks. You are quite right not to roll into action in too much of a hurry. So long as you can get people to finance you, keep researching for as long as you can. It'll pay off in the end, ensure that you avoid making a fool of yourself, and be enjoyable into the bargain. But I moralise.....!

*Yours ever  
Brian*

The correspondence continued and there are a number of letters in the following ten years.

Lady Clay:

Alan to Lady Clay 26th July 1966 Field Head

*Dear Lady Clay,*

*Funny how we always seem to decide to write to each other on the same day - perhaps psychic? Even as I type this perhaps you're writing - Anyhow, thank you very much for your long letter: hope you got my little p.c. in return. I'm off to Ireland for ten days from this evening so I'm replying now. This won't be very high-power stuff I'm afraid as most of my energy is being devoted to witches at the moment. Like all theses mine is at least a month behind schedule, but not to worry.*

*Yes, Ian's result sounds like a medium 2nd. I imagine it will be coming out soon. Sorry, for his sake at least, to hear of the death of K.B. Macfarlane - though he was a strange and frightening man. Have you seen any obituaries? What did he die of? I wonder who will take his place.*

*Sorry to hear that people have been criticising C. Hill. I think it's probably a measure of his courage (and, probably, narrow-mindedness) that people should find he doesn't drop all his egalitarian, anti-hierarchical principles once he is accepted into the Establishment. Only a very blind person could say that a book like *Puritanism and Society* (which I'm just reading) could have been picked up from his pupils. Though I think his sociology is home-spun and his sources are too limited to impressionistic pamphlet literature and secondary sources, I'm still convinced that he's the most stimulating historian on English C17 England since Tawney - though his influence, in the long-run, will be less than Hoskins'. His knowledge is quite incredible, especially when, as he claims, he employs no highly complex filing-system etc. I was interested to hear of your meetings with Mrs. Habakkuk: she is a dear. I would be interested to hear of his working methods. I expect you've read the massive 'Papers presented to the Past and Present Conference', stimulating but not shattering. Collinson's paper, for instance, used some very good sources, but did not attempt to answer any of the really exciting questions. He just misses, in my humble opinion, being very good indeed, both in his thesis and his other works. He talks about 'the sociology of religion', but his writing shows less evidence of sociological interest than Tawney's despite the enormous amount that has been written on the subject since *Religion and the Rise* - Still, perhaps I'm a bit prejudiced since he's stepped into my own particular plot, Essex Archdeaconry records.*

*Hope Ian is satisfied if he does get a straight second: I've forgotten what he is going to do.*

*I wonder why you get melancholy in August - the weather, the deadness of Oxford or what? I'm puzzling about melancholy generally at the moment - especially in the C16. Am trying to work out how much mental break-down, tension, anxiety, pain there was in the Elizabethan period & how people reacted to it. It's difficult to get statistics on this kind of subject. You probably know of various essays on social history, including one by Hoskins and interesting ones on prisons and medicine in *Shakespeare Survey*, no. 17 ed. Allardyce Nicoll (called 'Shakespeare in His Own Age', Camb. U.P. 1964). This has a little on illness etc. but not beyond what one knew already - that very little was known about most diseases; that there were masses of quacks; that medicine was very closely connected with astrology etc. I don't know where one would start looking for evidence for such subjects in the middle ages. Oh well, I've got enough problems to fill a life-time.*



*Mush rush off and put a tooth-brush and comb in a bag for Ireland. Hope to see you in early August.*

*Yours, Alan Macfarlane*

Letter from Rosalind Clay, 121A Woodstock Road, August 18th

*Dear Alan,*

*I hope you were not anxious about your home & family during these amazing floods in the North.*

*It is a great happiness to think of the offer from Routledge & Kegan Paul. [to publish 'Witchcraft'] I hope that the work at Nottingham won't be a drag on you.*

*I am sending you some papers (keep them as long as you like) - probably too childish & anyhow wildly out of date - about 40 years old - & some questions. I think questions are a very great help in getting up a subject: many of these are Cambridge ones (as they demand those vast outline periods) others come from the History Previous exam. Which I taught (even at Magdalen) up to 1928. If you need more recent ones are available in the Camera & I expect the stairs would not be insuperable to me - I could send you more, or ones selected on particular topics. These are a bit miscellaneous but, even so, don't really do justice to the extraordinary collection from which I selected these from - questions ranged from Clovis to the younger Pitt. You said you need do only 4 questions & these would strike me as being the most fun to do - Lewis the Bakenu & Marsilio [??]*

*Hussites*

*Councils*

*Venice (I have not re-read any of the papers I am sending except to see that the pages were in the right order but the one on Venice looks the least childish.) I had one on the Condothieri - better than the others because partly drawn from my brother - but it seems to be missing - perhaps I did it out of my head. You may find these papers no use at all - on the other hand there might be a day when you had a migraine or your motor-bike broke down & you had to skimp your reading & could use some of my stuff, if only to say 'it has been said - but I don't agree.'*

*Margaret Toynbee took this period at Oxford, but I suppose about 40 years ago - taught by Armstrong - I have no up to date book list. - I suppose the Cambridge Med. Hist (tho' old) will be a help. Previt  Orton goes on over that period. I used Rashdall's Universities a lot (but have had the best vols. Stolen - anyhow re-edited), HF Brown's Venice (delightful book which I can lend you) & I suppose Lavisse Historie de France - I possess Dante's de Monarchia ( for Hen VII & see I gave it to my husband in 1914 - that makes me feel contemporary with the apiones [??], but as a matter of fact I was not married then - I see my papers seem to have avoided the Italian Renaissance which still rather scares me off.*

*Don't spare time to look at these if you have plenty of material already with you. I have not touched them for about 40 years as the Colleges began to take Law prelim instead of Hist. Previous, but fortunately mice had not nested in them - the state they are in suggests that I found them useful. I include MS on later Franciscans as groundwork for the 14C rumpus about Evangelical Poverty.*

*It was a pleasure to see you - but don't feel that I should be hurt if you couldn't manage to call here - You must have much to do when you come to Oxford. My Cairns sister tried to do so much that she collapsed & had to spend a day in bed here.*

*Strangely enough Mr Higham (once public orator) rang up & asked whether I should like to go to Inglesham - I have been there twice in about 3 months, but was*

attracted by the thought of the country & as a matter of fact he spent so much time in an Antiques Shop in Farringdon that we never got there – did great Coxwell Barn (again) & actually drew up accidentally in one of the places claimed for the Battle of Mons Badonicus – Bradbury Hill, just outside Farringdon. I had been looking for this place & wish I had located it earlier as we passed it on that tour Mr Graham took us.

Mr Campbell has just sent the marks, which are highly peculiar but only one (Mr Cooke) did worse on English II than on I & III – I just don't want to feel I don't help them. Mr Campbell was pleased that 8 out of 10 got some sort of  $\alpha$  somewhere. I am squirming with backache from swimming this morning & shall have to lie on the floor – but it was worth it. The pool is on Boars Hill – quite undescribably lovely with great tranquil white water lilies motionless upon it & some charming little girls with almost no clothes on fishing with longhandled shrimping nets – all drenched in such in spite of lying in a wood –

I still haven't written on Elizabeth – it keeps getting pushed to one side by other jobs. I must get it out of the way, only Nov 22 is so far off that I might waste my efforts by dying before I have to do it.

Ron Fryer used to have some absurd nickname Beaver or Badger – I remember a telegram announcing his coming when we were v. crowded & Charles had failed to tell me he had invited him – Signed Badger or some such – no one knew whom to expect as C. was still away. He stayed with us in Museum Rd but I don't know how we squeezed him in, Rosalind Clay

Alan to Lady Clay 17 September 1966 from Field Head

Dear Lady Clay,

The letter I promised in my card – though it will be rather short I am afraid. My thesis is at its most fraying stage and after a day of appendices I don't feel like writing at all. Still, it cheers me so much to hear from you that I want to precipitate another letter by writing to you. It was nice to hear all your news – re. Sybil, Isley, the cyclamen, Ian, etc. (just to prove that I've read it attentively – through the handwriting!). Hope the writing of your Elizabeth talk went O.K. It should be peanuts to you – except that you know too much. I've got to that stage with my thesis. What really exhausts me is having to discard so much information that has taken me months to extract, to summarize it all into a half-truth which I might have guessed at the beginning. I find it very difficult to be sure that I'm really doing anything worthwhile. One gets so close to the subject that it is impossible to decide whether one hasn't just buried oneself in some pile of silt at the bottom of an unimportant tributary to the historical stream – and other Trevor-Roper-like metaphors! (I have to eschew any colourful or high spirited writing in my thesis – so you'll have to beware muddy rhetoric in my letters) Anyhow, the main point is to say that I hope that September has restored your good humour, and that with the trees turning to the melancholy slaughter of autumn you feel revived. When my eyes blar open from their appendix-gummed state I vaguely notice leaves turning incredible reds and golds and the autumn beginning to toast the bracken. But even being in love isn't enough to raise me from my witches for more than a sniff of the Twentieth Century. Still, the thesis goes very well and I should have nearly half of it written in final form, and the rest in a fairly advanced draft by the time I go to London.

I think you know my plans. I have got a Social Science Research Council grant for the next two years (they made a mistake at fist and told me it was only for one) – £500 p.a. Not much to live in London and keep a wife on – but I can hardly grumble having resigned myself to working as a lift-boy to keep myself. I really am excited at the



*prospect of learning something about social anthropology and sociology. I'm sure it will be a great help to my seventeenth-century studies. I would, finally, like to (among other things) do a study like that of Le Roy Ladurie reviewed in last week's T.L.S. - did you find his introductory essay interesting? I enclose draft chapter - it will have to be tightened up and cut down - on witchcraft in three Essex village. This is my first attempt at village sociology. I would very much value any comments - suggested sources or problems - you would care to make on it. Perhaps you could hold onto it until the beginning of October when I should be in Oxford and when I will collect it from you. Please don't bother to read it if you find it trying - rough chapters out of theses must be most irritating to read - but having been launched into local history by your enthusiasm for Hoskins over 4 years ago, I would value your comments. Hope to see you soon. Look after yourself.*

**Hilda Grieve – continued**

4/9/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Mr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Hilda,

It seems a long time since I was last at the E.R.O. so I thought I'd just drop a line to let you hear how things are going. I hope to be able to get to Chelmsford more often from London next year and look forward to seeing you all then. I wonder how your work is going? Does 'Chelmsford' inch toward the publishers, or are still trying to untangle the late middle ages? I was most impressed by the map etc. when I was taken round Ingatstone.

My thesis goes quite well. The whole of the first draft is written and, though it needs fairly extensive modification and simplification, I see the end in sight. I should get it off to the typist by December. My supervisor, Mr. Thomas, seems pleased I have stuck my neck out and signed a contract with Routledge & Kegan Paul for a book on 'Tudor and Stuart Witchcraft' to be delivered by the end of next year. I am still proposing to do anthropology at the London School of Economics next year, to see if I can't save sociological history from the amateur hands of Laslett et. al. I have been fortunate enough (after a long tussle) to get a Social Science Research Council studentship for next year. Not exactly a vast amount - on a par with a State Studentship - but more than I ever hoped for and puts off my spare-time work in a coffee-bar for another year at least. I am still very grateful to you for the concern and active help you gave me in trying to find support. Garter was very nice and it was an experience meeting him, even if I'm not going to work for him. I'm also supplementing my income a little (only enough to get my thesis typed) by a term's lecturing (one day a week) at Nottingham university.

My most important news, however, is that I am going to get engaged in October and married around Christmas. I only met Gill in about May, but a romantic holiday in Ireland broke down all my bachelor defences. I hope to train her into my research assistant, among other things, and so you will probably see at the E.R.O. I would very much like her to meet you, Arthur etc. for you have all been terribly kind and also you, particularly, Hilda, have been one of the major inspirations of my thesis. I hope my acknowledgement will finally repay some of your labour. I imagine you will be too busy to read the proofs of the thesis but very much look forward to your comments when it is finished. My chapter on the social background in three Essex villages you saw first particularly relevant to your work, though it is a bit



33 SHRUBLANDS CLOSE  
CHELMSFORD

TELEPHONE 54368

12.9.66

Dear Alan,

Many thanks for your letter. I was so glad to hear all your good news, particularly of your engagement. Thank heavens at last there's someone to see that you feed yourself properly! I'll look forward to meeting Gil, and to your book. Things really seem to be going your way now, and you certainly deserve it. I showed your letter to Arthur - the rest of the boys and Nancy and they were all delighted.

I was tickled to see that Outgate won one the L.I. Regional Scrapbook awards! I had to judge the Essex ones.



Paul Slack continued:

5/7/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Paul,

Many apologies for not coming at the revised time on Sunday morning. Unfortunately a) I had food poisoning from a Chinese meal b) I had to return home to the Lake District that day. I couldn't find a 'phone number - have you got one? A great pity as I would have loved a discussion. I hope the thesis goes well. I'm longing to read it. When should it be finished?

A few stray references, which I'm sure you'll have, have collected under your name in my filing system and to prevent clogging I'm sending them here; excuse brevity of reference - don't hesitate to ask if anything is unclear.

Guildhall Miscellany, II, 7, Sept. 1965 A list of Works relating to....Plague Cumb. & West'd Arch. and Arch Soc. Trans. o.s. xi, 'Visitations of the Plague.. C.M. Bouch & Jones, Economic....History of the Lake Counties, (1961), pp. 80-1 V.C.H. 'City of York', p. 159.

History Teacher's Miscellany, vol. v, pp. 16, 25. ; vol. vi, no. 4, pp. 50, 71.

Essex Record Office, Maldon Borough Records D/B 3/3/207.

Bodley, Ashmole Ms. 412 - Ms. index at end of.

~~W~~ P.R.O. Various die in early 1560's of 'le new ague' (K.B. 9 604 m. 97 e.g.) and 'the pyning ague' (K.B. 9 627 m. 226 e.g.)

Arthur Searle of the Essex R.O. told me that there was a detailed plague listing for Braintree for 1665 (I think), listed in Cunningham/Cunningham 'The Charities of Braintree' - sorry to be so vague.

Have you used manor court rolls at all? e.g. those who essoin 'de malo venendo' - actually I've not come across plague in the two court rolls I've scoured.

I think you said you'd missed the Boreham parish register since it was only deposited recently - I enclose figures extracted from it for Elizabeth's reign, hope they are decipherable; sorry the period is too short for you now. You might be interested in a few rough graphs. Little Baddow is ~~the~~ next door to Boreham and it is thus interesting to see that mortality rates differ. Deaths of children are very crudely calculated from whether the register says 'son of' etc; you'll be aware of the dangers of this. Am just engaged in working out infant mortality rates for these two villages and could let you have these if you are at all interested. Incidentally I've proved, to my satisfaction at least, that witchcraft prosecutions do not coincide with peaks of mortality, at least in these two villages. Could you let me have these back when you've finished with them. Regards to mutual friends. Please excuse rather a breathless letter but I feel Keith's hot breath on the tail of my thesis - which is due to be finished within three months. 'hen off to L.S.E....

Hope to see you later this summer.

Best wishes,



PHONE: 54852

25 ST. MARGARET'S ROAD,  
OXFORD.

22 July 1966

Dear Alan,

It was very kind of you to send the graphs etc. Sorry to be so late in returning them. I only got them yesterday, since we had been home for a funeral rather unexpectedly, and we're going on holiday tomorrow - so please excuse rather short note. We come back on August 20th, and would be pleased to see you any time after that for a longer talk than we've managed for a bit!

Your references are interesting - some of them I had, others not. Your figures for 'child' deaths, as you say, may mean nothing - the fact that most deaths in Boreham seem to be 'children' and most in Lt. Baddow not, suggests that the practice of citing parents may differ widely from parish to parish. But your figures for infant mortality I should find most interesting, since I've not tried to do anything like this myself yet.

We're going to Exeter tomorrow, where I hope to do some work as well as have a holiday. I'm trying to persuade Jill to do some counting of burials for me there!

Hope to see you soon,  
All the best with the thesis,

Paul.

Raymond Firth - continued

5/7/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

I write to ask for permission to undertake some teaching concurrently with my Diploma in Anthropology. I gather that such teaching is favoured by the S.S.R.C (Postgraduate Training, p.13), as long as it does not exceed 6 hours a week. I imagine, therefore, that they would not object. I would be taking two essay classes and a seminar at Nottingham University over one term (commencing this October). The subject, Reformation Europe, is one which I have specialized in and thus should not distract my attention too much! It will prove particularly valuable if the S.S.R.C application does not come off.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
London, W.C.2



18th Sept. 1966

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Firth,

I have just heard  
that I've got a S.S.R.C. grant and am  
naturally delighted. I would like to  
thank you personally for your help in  
applying for the grant and for your  
general support in my attempt to do  
anthropology. I look forward, very much,  
to starting my course next month.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

P.S. Please don't bother to acknowledge  
this note.

Professor Raymond Firth,  
London School of Economics,  
London.

Joan Thirsk: continued

22nd August 1966

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Thirsk,

Thank you very much for your letter of the eighth of June asking whether I would need accomodation at All Souls for the night of my talk on Nov. 21st. I didn't reply, as instructed, since I will not need accomodation. Thank you all the same.

I am just writing to ask if I may change the title of my talk from the rather general one 'Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England' to a more specific one - 'Witchcraft and Conflict in Elizabethan and Stuart Society'. I write this much in advance in case you are planning to circulate titles at the beginning of term. Please don't bother to acknowledge this letter as you must be very busy.

Incidentally, it is still possible that I may get a Social Science Research Council grant - so I may not be 'down and out' in November.

I hope your various projects go well

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane



Care of H. Roper. History Faculty Library  
18/8/66. Merton Street  
Oxford.  
25-8-66.

Many thanks for your letter. Yes, I will alter the  
title of your paper. I shall be sending out a programme  
of the seminar towards the end of September.  
I do hope you manage to get a grant.

Best wishes  
Joan Thirk  
—

Trevor-Roper continued

CHIEFSWOOD,  
MELROSE, SCOTLAND.  
MELROSE 72.

16 July 1966

My dear Alan

Never eat meat-balls in restaurants, especially Chinese restaurants. I hope you have recovered. You will probably not need my advice after that experience.

I am glad all went well with Koenigsbagen & I hope you will now be solvent next year.

I am living absolutely alone here until some of my family join me on Friday. I couldn't bear Oxford any longer. I find I can sleep here, not there. I am enjoying being alone, with no more exacting conversation than that of the gardener: and do not understand why Xandra makes such a fuss about cooking (to the extent, now, of fetching a Chinese cook from Hong Kong): I live on ham, tongue, pork pie, spring onions and strawberries - cream, cheese, white-wine and brandy, and I find that the preparation of meals takes no time or trouble at all, & I am working like



mad on witches. <sup>2</sup> If you feel in need of  
a change + can live on such fare, come  
+ visit me. I should not entertain you:  
you would work on you witches next door.

I met a former pupil the other day, in  
He was back from America.  
Oxford. He said, you have a house in  
the North too. I said, yes. He said,  
In Westmorland I think. I said, no.

'Oh', he said, with affected insouciance,  
'I thought I read a letter by you in the  
New York Review ...' I gave him a

severe look (at which I am told I am  
very good) and he quailed and began hastily  
to withdraw: perhaps he had guessed wrong...

I pressed him hard as to the origin of  
his conjecture: was it second-hand gossip  
or personal deduction. He insisted that  
it was mere personal deduction, on  
stylistic grounds alone. If so - + he  
seemed reduced to veracity (but after  
reading witches' confessions one can  
never be sure) - it is very alarming.

There is no anonymity left in the world.

Tell me one thing. What was the religious character of Essex in your period. Was it (like Lancashire) seething with popery? Why do you think that witchcraft trials were so common there?

I suppose you will not be in Oxford or London before I am, so it would be no use asking you to look up a book ~~or~~ or a point for me. I have promised to send in my completed text before leaving Chieftwood. It is desperate being so far from books. Hume couldn't find a text of Strabo in all Berwickshire, and Scotland is far less learned now than then.

And what a bore it is not being able to read Swedish or Hungarian! And having left the cellar-key in Oxford and being cut off, till Friday, from all



those half-bottles of champagne that I specially  
laid in for precisely such times as the  
present. And ... But there is no end to the  
crosses one bears in this Vale of Woe. I  
hope you are exempt from such tribulations  
in Westmorland -

yours — em

Hyw Trevor-Roper

---

P.S. I hear that Stone was in fine,  
pompos, boring form at the Past + Present  
+ Anglo-American Conferences — 'pomp[ing] away  
on all subjects without discrimination' my  
source tells me — except on that one  
subject on which Miss Trollope challenged  
him, on which, it seems, he has now  
become suddenly silent ...



26th July 1966

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

How kind of you to take such trouble over my struggle with Dr. Bohm and her minions - thank you for your two letters. I've just had a nice letter from Fryer to say that he'll see what he can do. I agree with you, it might be better to wait until Firth returns. Even if the letter of the law is against me he may be sufficiently flexible to follow the spirit.

I wonder if you've managed to get your friend to phone as Miss T.? Unfortunately I've not been following the correspondence and thus it would be rather awkward to get a female friend to phone him (nor do I know where he is). I am off to Ireland for ten days from this evening but look forward to hearing how the struggle progresses when I return.

As for witches and puritanism..... I hope to leave those, like Stone, until my return. My interpretation of why Essex was strongly puritan would be vaguely along the lines of Michael Walzer's Revolution of the Saints - i.e. that there was enough insecurity and need for discipline etc. in society for people to need it without there being any particular opponents (R.C's etc). Still, its too large a subject for what is merely a note to thank you for your continued interest and support. I hope your writing goes well and that you have obtained the key to your cellar....

Yours sincerely,



CHIEFSWOOD,  
MELROSE, SCOTLAND.  
MELROSE 72.

22 July 1966

12, Dear Alan

I am so sorry about these difficulties.  
It looks as if Dr Bohm is an ass.

I have written to Fryer & told him my opinion of Dr Bohm and said that my immediate reaction would be to suggest that you ignore her, keep to your original plan, and wait for the return of Prof Firth, whom Fryer & I could then get at first. I really believe that this would be the right course; but if course it is for Fryer to say, and he may not want to risk being left stranded. Anyway, I have told him that I will write to anyone whom he thinks that I could usefully approach.



Thank you very much for your answers to my questions. I wonder if Essex was exceptional, - 'seething in superstition' as Ewens says. ~~A~~ You make me think that it may not have been. After all, all these factors that you mention obtain elsewhere, <sup>BUT</sup> ~~and~~ intense puritanism, I feel, needs a challenge. There must have been something in Essex to create the puritanism - other than the puritan preachers! However, there are parallels abroad - Recklemberg is one: and I can discover nothing about it, and there are no books on it in Bodley or the Nat. Library of Scotland. It is very kind of you to offer to look things up in the John Rylands Library; but I won't impose that on you!

The only hope now is to create Miss Trollope in the flesh. I am writing to a lady friend instructing her to telephone Stone as Miss T. yours truly  
Hugh Trevor-Roper



CHIEFSWOOD,  
MELROSE, SCOTLAND.  
MELROSE 72.

22 July 1966

12, Dear Alan

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CHIEFSWOOD,  
MELROSE, SCOTLAND.  
MELROSE 72.

23 July 1966

12, dear Alan

The more I think of Dr Bohm the more I think that, if supported by Fryer, you should stand firm. As I understand it (from your account of the regulations) you are right in law, and therefore they cannot deprive you of your award for doing something which is not excluded by the regulations. It is not for ~~for~~ Dr Bohm, as secretary of the graduate school, to make the law or to impose conditions which are not imposed by the law: she is a mere official and one cannot be too firm in keeping officials in their place. But you will see what Fryer replies.

Could you not get a female member of your household to ring Stone ('hold the line sir, a personal call from Ambleside') and say, in brusque hunting-field - or even kennel-maid - style, 'Agnes



Trollope speaking ... and ask for a more  
satisfactory answer than has so far been  
given in the New York Review ... ?

But perhaps one battle is enough at a  
time.

Fryer has been appointed as professor <sup>at Nottingham</sup>  
in place of Koenigsberger; so perhaps  
he will feel that he owes it to his  
new status to give Dr Bohm a  
whack

Yours

Hyph Trevor-Roper

CHIEFSWOOD,  
MELROSE, SCOTLAND.  
MELROSE 72.

12/8/66

My dear Alan

Yes, I have been in vigorous correspondence with Fryer; but it is he who has softened up, or battered down, the tiresome Dr Bohm: I can only claim to have egged him on to the fray while remaining myself unexposed. I am very glad all is well and hope all will continue well.

I may call on you aid soon: I am thinking that poor Miss Trollope had better die, and have drafted her obituary notice for The Times. Would you post it from Ambleside if I sent it to you, in the name of Alan Basset (you will see why)? I think not till Sept — one must wait till the Silly Season is over before entering on serious matters like this. Besides, I shall have to draft a follow-up letter from 'A Friend' giving a brief, sympathetic character-sketch. I wonder if I could get that past my old hête noire (or rather, I am his)

Sir William Haley.



I have finished my essay on witches, which is now almost as long as your <sup>thesis</sup> ~~essay~~. But I may have to go down to the B7 to check some last references. I have just read Julio Caro Baroja, The World of the Witches (which you mentioned to me). I'm afraid my opinion of Caro Baroja has slumped in consequence.

Let me know your movements + come to see me when you can

Yours

Hyph Trevor-Roper

I have finished my essay on witches, which  
is now almost as long as your <sup>thesis</sup> ~~essay~~. But I  
may have to go down to the B7 to check  
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my opinion of Caro Baroja has slumped in  
consequence.

Let me know your movements + come  
+ see me when you can

Yours

Hyph Trevor-Roper



22/8/66  
 B. BLACKWELL LTD.  
 Broad Street, Oxford  
 Field Head, Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland.

REFERENCE
Invoice No.
Account No.
Date

*A H of course*  
*Wester*

Dear Professor Trevor-Roper,

How nice to receive your letter when I returned from a week's tour to Oxford and London. Thank you. My absence will, I hope, excuse my tardy reply. Of course, I'd only be too delighted to post off any of my mother (aunt?) Agnes' letters, funeral notices etc. I am so sorry to be informed of her death, but agree that her rapacious wit and biblical references will probably be better appreciated in Heaven than in the New York Review...

Am slightly anxious to hear of your massive essay on witches, but perhaps we will not overlap too much if you are dealing mainly with Europe. I have just been checking references at the B.M. - what a pity I couldn't have helped. Oxford, of course, is buzzing with the death of my namesake and the vultures are picking over his unpublished notes. I wonder if a riot of medieval publications will spring up now that his shadow is gone.

I visited Fryer on the way down. He was more than amiable, perhaps because he felt a little guilt at a) having to ask me to do half my tutoring on fourteenth and fifteenth century European history of which I know nothing - because they have no-one

*f. scandy only  
 paying c. £2 per  
 hour...*

Still, it is good experience and any money will come in handy if I don't get a grant. I've just signed a contract with Routledge for a book on witches to be completed next year so feel slightly more cheefful. Dr. Bohm has gone away on holiday, perhaps worn out with guilt and shame....

I will be in the Lakes until the end of September, and then go to live in London. I hope to be in Oxford frequently and do hope it would be alright for me to come and talk over our mutual interests. If you are ever travelling via the Lakes and could call in for a meal or a night please don't hesitate. It's far from palatial, but not quite a cell in the rocks.

Yours sincerely,



16. IX. 66

My dear Alan

You really must not mix quite so many metaphors! '... her acid pen cutting back the pompons growths...' Are pens acid? do pens, or acid, cut back? can growths be pompons? and ~~if~~ is pomposity cut back? If your thesis is written like this, and I examine, then alas, I shall fail you on literary grounds alone (as I would fail most of my Oxford colleagues). Alas for the English language! Will no one save it? Winston Churchill says that, at Harrow, he was taught the structure of an English sentence, 'which is a noble thing'. But now, I fear, such essential noble studies are overlooked: one must talk the fashionable jargon of sociology — especially, I fear, in St Johns — even if it is illiterate. The examiners in last year's History Schools reported that the candidates knew all about the social impact of heresy but had not the faintest idea about the heresies themselves; and when I asked a graduate student whether he had no desire to write well rather than badly, clearly rather than obscurely, musically rather than ~~cacophonously~~ discordantly, pungently rather than obtusely, with lapidary brevity rather than with windy prolixity, he genuinely did not know what I meant. I find this

very dispiriting.

But I must reassure myself. Occasionally one discovers, separable from the great mass of sinners, eternally doomed to literary perdition, a few Elect saints: an infinitesimal minority who nevertheless have not bowed the knee to that monstrous, faceless, formless Baal. Read the excellent front page article in the current TLS, on that Belgian fascist. It is by Cobb; who also wrote a brilliant piece on Furet et Richet and the Annales (and, earlier still, an excellent character-sketch of Georges Lefebvre in Past & Present). And perhaps there are others who, on the Great Day of Judgment, will be summoned before the Throne of Grace and pass smugly into that eternal bliss which (as the Fathers of the Church tell us) is enormously enhanced by the spectacle and sound of sinners cast down to eternal torment, and their wailing and gnashing of teeth.

Do come and see me next week. I am off to Scotland, via London, tomorrow, to lecture grandly on history in Glasgow and make a demagogic public speech in Dalkeith. I return - if my plans hold - by the night-train on Saturday night and should be back here on Sunday afternoon. Telephone me on Sunday and I am sure ~~we~~ can find a time to meet: I would love to see you.

Do you know anyone who could gay up Oriel, vice Gough? Are you still in love with Calcutta?

Yours ~~in~~ Hugh Trevor-Roper



## Borstal camp - 1965

[N.B. the scans are at fairly low resolution – they could be re-done from iPhoto to look better]

The Oxford-Borstal camps, retrospectively, were an excellent educational institution. They involved a small number of undergraduates from an Oxford College going to camp for a week or so in the Yorkshire dales with a similar sized group of boys who were young offenders imprisoned in open prisons or Borstals. Then the group would return for a few days so that the undergraduates could share a little life in the Borstal. I wrote reflections on this as an undergraduate and attended such camps with a group from Worcester in my first and second years.

As a postgraduate I went with a group from St. Peter's College in my second year as a postgraduate, summer 1965, where my friend Ralph Johnson, who had been on at least one of the Worcester camps, was now located. He was the Commander of the camp and I was made Bursar. There are comments on the camp in my letters, as well as some letters from a couple of the Borstal boys after the event (see elsewhere) Here are a few of the remaining documents. They show the instructions for a Bursar, and a brief diary of my arrangements through the week.

Some added points. The first is that in some ways this was a continuation, in another form, of the Christian boy's camps I had been to through my schooling and into the start of my time at Oxford – Varsities and Public Schools. From the personnel involved and memories, there was a strong Anglican and Catholic presence, prayers etc. etc.

Secondly, the location of the camps – near Masham in the dales – as well as the fact that the local liaison was Frank Theakston (owner, presumably, of the famous local brewery) an Old Sedberghian, whose son I had known at Sedbergh, connected this to my education at Sedbergh (and not so far from the Lakes, where I was still spending my holidays). It had the feel, in the rivers and limestone mountains, of my Sedbergh years.

This was an education in managing finances and domestic arrangements which was another part of my education. In some ways, dealing with the commissariat of a group of about 25 people for a week would be a preliminary training for the fieldwork I would do three years later in the remote Himalayas.

OXFORD - BORSTAL CAMP, 1965

Dear Alan,

Our camp begins on Saturday, July 24th, and ends on Saturday, August 7th, when we leave Wetherby. Postal addresses will be as follows:

July 24 - Nutwith Cote,  
Aug. 3 Masham, Ripon,  
Yorkshire.

Aug. 3-7 H.M. Borstal,  
York Road,  
Wetherby,  
Yorks.

Telephone: MASHAM (Yorkshire)  
366

WETHERBY 2754

Please bring the following: ruck-sack (if you have one),  
washing kit and towel, electric  
torch, suitable clothes,  
including heavy walking shoes,  
plimsolls, swimming trunks.

There is one additional member of the Camp:

Robin Crossley 1 Geography 9 Otley Old Road,  
Leeds 16.

Please arrive at Nutwith Cote in time for supper on Saturday, 24 July, i.e. not later than 7 p.m. The most convenient trains and buses run as follows:

TRAINS: London, King's Cross 9.00 a.m. 10.10 a.m.  
York 12.05 p.m. 1.09 p.m.  
York 12.47 p.m. 1.33 p.m.  
Harrogate 1.25 p.m. 2.11 p.m.  
Harrogate 1.51 p.m. 2.40 p.m.  
Ripon 2.05 p.m. 2.54 p.m.

OR

London, St. Pancras 9.15 a.m.	London, King's Cross 9.20 a.m.
Leeds City 1.31 p.m.	Leeds Central 12.44 p.m.
Leeds City 1.18 p.m. 1.37 p.m.	Leeds Central 1.58 p.m.
Ripon 2.05 p.m. 2.26 p.m.	Harrogate 2.30 p.m.
(The two stations in Leeds are not more than 10 mins. walk from one another)	Harrogate 2.40 p.m.
	Ripon 2.54 p.m.

BUSES: (Ripon bus-station is about 20 mins. walk from railway station).

Service 126 Harrogate railway station to Ripon railway station via Ripon bus-station. Service runs every half hour, taking 39 mins. for the whole journey, 35 mins. from Harrogate railway station to Ripon bus-station.

Service 127 Ripon to Masham via Grewelthorpe (ask to be put off at Nutwith Cote gate)

Ripon bus-station 4.45 p.m.	5.15 p.m.
Masham 5.21 p.m.	5.51 p.m.

OR

Service 146 Ripon to Masham via Well (This will necessitate a walk of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles to Nutwith Cote)

Ripon bus-station 2.35 p.m.	4.45 p.m.
Masham 3.19 p.m.	5.29 p.m.

If these transport arrangements present problems, or, indeed if you have any other queries please let me know.

Yours,



Frank Masham. 418.

#### NUTWITH BURSAR'S AIDE MEMOIRE.

NB there is no party line about all this: these are merely a number of suggestions about points which have caused difficulty in the past. In particular it should be noted that the Commandant is in charge and what he says goes.

GENERAL DUTIES: The bursar should make himself responsible for:

- (i) ordering of food(see below);
- (ii) arrangement of menus;
- (iii) provision of tentage and equipment-NB for working parties etc.
- (iv) transport arrangements for camp outings;
- (v) liaising with hostel officer re transport back to the hostel;
- (vi) erecting tents, latrines, etc (first camp on site);
- (vii) clearing up camp at the end of camp and the dismantling and storage of equipment (last camp on site);
- (viii) Programme: this will be arranged by the bursar in consultation with Frank Theakston, but the bursar should take on the responsibility of getting it into a coherent form, writing it out in full and making sure that there are no lacunae. It has been found helpful in the past for a notebook to be produced (specimen enclosed) giving the detailed programme with notes on destinations of work parties etc; one copy for the commandant and one copy for the bursar. This should be made up in consultation with the commandant during the preliminary week-end. There should also be a menu book for the cooks.

#### MENU:

A specimen menu will be found in the enclosed book. There are no special dos and don'ts here, but as we are living on hard-earned charitable subscriptions some economy is necessary. The following are expensive and should be avoided except on the occasions shown:

- (a) cold ham (sunday lunch to give cooks a rest)
- (b) pork pies (hike).

Food quantities: The following is a rough estimate of the amounts to order (if the camp is going well it should be necessary to increase these towards the end of the week):

Bacon: 2 to 3 oz per head per meal  
Sausage: 3oz -ditto-  
Cooked ham: 3 to 4 oz -ditto-  
Stewing meat: 4 to 5 Oz - ditto-  
Roasting meat: 5 to 6 oz -ditto- .

#### ORDERING OF FOOD:

(a) Groceries: Bulk order will be made before you arrive and should cover the main non-perishable items for most of the camp. Any further needs (provided the amounts involved are not too large) may be easily obtained from Brayshaw's of Masham. 728.

(b) Greengroceries: These are delivered twice a week from Ripon and therefore some foresight is necessary. Delivery days are Tuesday and Thursday before 10am. That day's supply must be ordered.

behalf before you arrive.

(c) Bread: same place as groceries. Order the night before if possible.

(d) Pork butcher: Order before 10am for delivery the same day. One order will be made before you arrive to cover the first weekend.

(e) Milk: easily obtainable locally. Churn to be put out on road leading to Nutwith Farm the night before. ~~See~~ Obtainable also from the dairy at about 5.30 pm daily. Daily consumption will be found to be 3 to 4 galls.

(f) Meat: consult Mrs Theakston. Order by phone-the butcher is a bit unreliable and may need chasing.

Final details of the above plus telephone numbers etc will be provided for you on arrival.

HIKE: The bursar should issue and see returned the equipment plus food. For food, see menu-book. For equipment, one set of cooking tins, four mugs, four plates, KFS, maps, compass, MATCHES, LAVATORY PAPER.

FINANCE: Frank will issue you with a certain amount of cash for the purchase of food, small items of equipment, etc. Please keep an account of this-useful for planning purposes next year.

U/g travelling expenses etc: Bursar should collect a list of this during the first week-end and draw sufficient from Frank at the end of the camp to ~~pay~~ pay out at the end of the time in Borstal (not before).

give  
list of money  
to R.



OXFORD - BORSTAL CAMPS  
ST. PETER'S COLLEGE - WETHERBY  
July 24th - August 7th

*could give you a lift - but  
 please let me know by  
 return if you want this*

Commandant	Ralph Johnson		S.P.C.	R.
Bursar	Alan Macfarlane	5 History	Worcester College	
Cooks	Peter Raggatt	5 Biochemistry	S.P.C. & Dept. of Biochemistry, South Parks Road.	
	Trevor Hatchett	2 Maths	46 Amberwood Rise, New Malden, Surrey.	
House Master	D.B. Hamilton Smith		Wetherby	
Chaplains	Norman Davies		The Rectory Flat, 233 Court Road, S.E.9.	
<i>Crick team</i>	Rory Geaghegan		Campion Hall	
Campers	Pat Brain	2 P.P.E.	Home Close, Yarnton, Oxford.	
	Robin Dixon	1 English	20, Cote Park, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.	
	+ Jim Golcher	1 P.P.E.	84, Aldridge Road, Little Aston, Aldridge, Staffs.	
	Tony Hills	1 Theology	109 Nuns Moor Road, Fenham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 4.	
	* Richard Hird	1 Geography	58, Deighlon Lane, Batley, West Yorks.	
	Tim Mead	2 Medicine	Highover, Gobblecote, Nr. Tring, Herts.	
	Tony O'Sullivan	4 Dip. Ed.	18, Grove Hill, Muswell Hill, N.10.	
	Ian Postgate	1 English	Coombe Hill, Highercoombe Road, Haslemere, Surrey.	
	* Neil Ridler	2 P.P.E.	The Rectory, Burlon Bradstock, Nr. Bridport, Dorset.	
	+ Tim Ward	1 Physics	Ellingham Rectory, Nr. Bungay, Suffolk.	
	Bob Whyte	1 Theology	158, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge.	

PLEASE NOTE

1. If any of you do not know each other please remedy this.
2. Sherry 6.15 p.m. June 15th in my room to meet everybody else; please do your best to keep this time free.
3. Will those coming up by transport (car/m/c) please let me know.
4. Further details later.

15th June, 1965.

Ralph Johnson

# Food.

Saturday

Eggs, bread, tea-cakes at Frank's  
(8 lb. cooked ham) - for tea  
(4 lb. bacon)

- collected food \*

Supper 6 lb. stew - on at 5 o'clock  
- at Frank's

onions, carrots,  
cabbage

T. 15 meat - (at Frank's 8.30)

1 gallon milk - tea  
cocoa.

Sleeping bags . \*

Allocation to tent.

Jobs - Pat Brain - agreed will let.



SETTLE TRAVEL EXPENSES

Sunday Collect Valuables

$\frac{1}{2}$  gallon milk - ha.  
cold ham / for shoes  
Packed lunch?  
- lettuce  
- butter  
- beef st.

Breakfast  
Lunch

Roast beef + gravy. Sunday night  
- potatoes, cabbage,  
- set up person to collect.  
Sgt. Drankton.

Tell the  
Drankton  
what  
time to  
exit.

6:30 leaving.

Bray.

Preparation of potatoes. Rock Farm  
about  
football

BREAD

Monday Breakfast 8:30  
Porridge?  
3 gallons milk. Bacon / fried egg.  
Bristol move 12 noon.  
- preparation for  
hand.

Gold - corner - bet  
// - orange squash when  
they arrive

Stew - has been ordered from  
(12 lb.) - to be collected from  
Mrs. T.  
- high tea?

? Sun to Castle. 6:45.

Buy - fly v. net

Work day  
Film  
Tuesday

Breakfast 8  
8 lb bacon  
(sunrise) pork pie  
- to collect from T.  
Packed lunch  
tomatoes (eggs) / cake  
apple / pork pie.

before breakfast

High tea. - to Drankton by 7:15.

Supper. Spaghetti.  
Sausages.  
Entry by 5:45  
or 5:45.

Film  
Prayer.

Look at maps

Wednesday

Pack lunch  
- more pork pie.  
- or 2 sandwiches.

Supper - Thrice <sup>\* saved</sup> ~~by Tuesday~~  
Goosehouse / outside. (\* let keep  
by Tuesday)

Hike - briefing (3 days)  
2 people with all  
equipment preparing hike  
meals.

Hike  
Rations - 1 (lb) half pint per person.  
bacon - to be ordered.

Gear  
Food  
Money - how much



Harriet prepare not to come.

Saturday

6:45 collect  
meat

Roast / Stew. (let Mrs T. know  
by Thursday)  
whether ready.

Kim - show in camp.

Concert.

Sunday

- Try to discover  
who is going to  
church.

Cornflakes - added before  
Crisp has - 8 lb. (milk)

Lunch? - out.

Concert }  
Feast }

- ice cream  
joint.

Coal mine -

Monday

Pack lunch in bus.

arrive 2 pm

Fish & chips.

Cocoa / sandwiches - or ham & eggs pie  
(pre-ordered - ~~ready~~ ~~ready~~)

Clear whole camp.

Tuesday

Breakfast

Lunch - something simple.  
- almost pack lunch.



Credit.

£50  
£20.

Debit.

To Ralph. £30  
Buses to Houses. £3: (3 groups)  
Hike money. £3 (10/- per group)  
Travel. £ ~~28-12-0~~ £28-12-0.  
To Rory Gheagha. £ ~~31/-~~ £1-11-0.  
(oil, petrol, paper, punch)  
Food. (candyflours) 18/-  
To Peter Raggett. 10/- (petrol)  
Miscellaneous: ping-pong balls, paper, (4/5.)  
his 8/- (1/2.)  
6/2.

(Tim Ward - cheque for £2. To Tim £2 cheque cashed.)

---

£70

2  
£67 17 2<sup>2</sup>  
To Tim Ward cheque £2.

---

£30  
3  
3  
28 - 12 - 0.  
1 - 11 - 0.  
18 -  
10/- -  
2<sup>2</sup>  
£67 11 0

### Letters from Borstal boys

I went on two Oxford-Borstal camps. The first one was in 1962 in my second year as an undergraduate - described in that account. The second was in 1964, organized by Ralph Johnson, where I acted as Bursar. There are references to this in various places. I shall describe it elsewhere. After the camp I clearly wrote to some of the boys I had met, and I have three letters from friends I made on this occasion - two from 'Freddie' and one from Scouse. I shall include the latter - which shows that Father Michael

Hollings was also on this camp. As was Euan Porter - clearly the 'U.N.' referred to in the letter.

WINDSOR HOUSE  
HEWELL GRANG  
REDDITCH  
WORCS.

Dear Alan.

I received your Post Card this morning, it was very considerate of you to think of my Blisters from the sharp walk. Its a nice bite of Scenery down in the lake District. I hope to get my. cheers this Good and my. home leave Date, How is U.N. getting on I can not spell his Name We are going to keep in touch Me and



Ginge for next years camp.  
we hope to get an cat.  
I hope you enjoyed your  
short stay at de Grange you  
know whishy de cat that  
was in de corner with  
you he has gone, then  
we have one cat is  
me Ginge has moved into  
our Dora so its filling  
up again well I'll be closing  
now I want to write to  
father Michel. So long.

Yours Brian.  
(SCOUSE).

# THE OXFORD—BORSTAL CAMPS

THE REV. J. N. JORY, SPENNITHORNE RECTORY, LEYBURN, YORKS. TEL.: MIDDLEHAM 3252.

*Hon. Treasurer:*

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*Hon. Secretary (Oxford):*

R. J. BUXTON, B.C.L., M.A.,  
EXETER COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.  
TEL.: OXFORD 4681.

## 1965—66

Perhaps the most memorable days of the 1965 Oxford—Borstal Camps were when we entertained children from the orthopaedic ward of the Friarage Hospital, Northallerton, and men from the Hospital of St. John of God at Scorton. We set out to be the arms and legs of our guests so that they could do things and see places which would otherwise have been impossible for them. Each pair of campers, a borstal boy and an undergraduate, took charge of one patient. Of the men from Scorton, many were on stretchers, others in chairs, and some had to be fed like babies. The day was taxing indeed, but very rewarding. With the children it was wildly exciting and the response humbling. **They were carried around the garden at Spennithorne; to the top of the Church tower; and after lunch were taken to Aysgarth Falls where we threw stones into the water and those who could scrambled after balls; then on to Bolton Castle where even the topmost towers were not beyond our reach.** We returned to Spennithorne for supper, and then the entire camp took them back to hospital and helped to put them to bed. On the following Sunday almost everyone went to hospital again to visit their friends. Memorable for us and according to the Matron, quite unlike anything she has known before. We shall certainly hope to include days like these in future camp programmes.

Some years ago we learned that acceptance and trust are essential for those who are seeking to re-establish their self-respect and find their feet again in life. We have known for a long time how the Borstal boy responds to courage when he meets it. Now we know that he can be among the most willing and tender of helpers. It is the opportunity to do and to be which is so often missing in modern life and which is so essential. From the beginning in Oxford—Borstal Camps we have tried to meet Borstal boys as people; to treat them as friends and to share with them the demands of our life together. To these things we must now try to add the opportunity to help those who need us. We hope that in saying this we are not being consciously pious or self-satisfied; but we also hope, both as Christians and as members of society, that we will never overlook the importance of giving people a chance of finding out the value that they have in the eyes of others.



We have always refused to try to tabulate "successes"; but this does not mean that we are not encouraged by good news. In this connexion the Rector of Church Stretton, the Rev. William H. Wilson, has written to tell us of an interesting experience. "Not long ago I was returning by car from my mother's funeral in Derby and gave a lift to a fine looking young man. As we talked it emerged that he had happy memories of Stretton, having been at the first of the Oxford—Borstal Camps held in the parish. It had meant a great deal to him. He is now working in Liverpool where he is trying to find housing for his wife and baby. It was clear to me that he has made good and that in his own mind this Camp was one of the turning points. I am very glad to know that such an experiment in personal relationships at depth takes place in this parish every year. May God bless all who are working in this way."

We find it increasingly difficult to thank everyone who has made our efforts possible. The people of the Yorkshire Dales and of Shropshire continue to make an inestimable contribution by their kindness and tolerance. The five Yorkshire Camps each spent an evening at Swinton, visits were made to Giggleswick and Pocklington Schools, and in Shropshire many homes have made their contribution. It is so important that the Oxford—Borstal Camps should not be thought, in the eyes of the Borstal boys, to be part of the efforts and attitudes of "peculiar" people, rather than an attempt by ordinary members of the community to meet and welcome other members of that community. We also continue to value most highly the close contact and friendship which we enjoy with so many members of the Borstal service, and we are glad this year to have been able to start a scheme whereby undergraduates who have attended the camps, and have now gone down from the University, volunteer to assist their local branch of the Borstal After-Care Association in its important work. In this connexion we must also record, with the deepest sorrow, the death of "Bill" Taylor, the Governor of Usk Borstal. A man rich in experience and understanding, he brought to our meetings a tolerance and kindness of judgment which made us proud to be trying to share his work with him.

In the summer of 1965 six camps were held, one more than mentioned in our last report and programme. Dr. Ralph Johnson, who has commandanted the Worcester, Hewell Grange camp for the last three years, was appointed Dean of St. Peter's College, and almost immediately raised a team for whom a camp was arranged with Wetherby Borstal. This year it is planned to hold the Exeter/Everthorpe and St. Peter's/Wetherby camps at Masham; Worcester/Hewell Grange and Pembroke/Pollington at Spennithorne; and to transfer the Christ Church/Hatfield camp to All Stretton, to use the site where the Trinity/Usk camp has built up such good relations with the local community. Our daughter camps also continue to flourish. The University of Nottingham again held their camp at Sedbergh School with Morton Hall Borstal, and men from Westcott House, Cambridge, camped at Hauxwell, the next-door parish to Spennithorne, with a number of boys from Hollesley Bay Colony. This year the Westcott House camp threatens to outgrow the cottages which they used in 1965 and to need to move into tents instead. Every new venture of this sort teaches us something about the work that we are trying to do; but without being complacent we would like to think that the continued success of new camps suggests that we have found some sort of possible and useful approach to the task in front of us.



## Finances

Last year we received £1,454 from subscribers, which we acknowledge most gratefully. In addition we received an unexpected £294, being the profit from a Recital given at Swinton by Dame Peggy Ashcroft and Mr. Julian Bream. These two artistes gave their services entirely free and we should like to take this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to them and to the audience of more than a hundred who supported this event. The money raised has been placed to reserve.

Food cost us £565 and is by far the largest item of expenditure. Other large items are £109 for hire of transport ; £351 for expenses of outings, hikes and sundry camp running expenses including undergraduates' travelling expenses and £56 for the hire of films—three of these films were shown when the Camps at Masham entertained the local Over-60 Club for the evening. The balance was made up of various items of equipment ; the printing of the Annual Report and Appeal ; Insurances (including Personal Accident Insurance for campers) and Travelling expenses of Committee members who have, during the year spoken about the Camps to many Clubs and other organisations. We ended the year with a balance of £1,402 which is equivalent to about one year's reserve. We estimate that the 1966 Camps will cost approximately £1,300, and we are therefore now appealing for that amount.

---

**Committee :** The Chairman (The Rev. J. N. Jory) ; The Hon. Treasurer ; The Hon. Secretaries ; The Rev. A. A. K. Graham, M.A., *Fellow of Worcester College* ; The Rev. V. H. H. Green, D.D., *Fellow of Lincoln College* ; The Rev. Michael Hollings, M.C., M.A., *Chaplain to the Catholic Members of the University* ; The Rev. J. L. Houlden, M.A., *Fellow of Trinity College* ; The Rev. Canon E. W. Kemp, D.D., *Fellow of Exeter College* ; J. D. Lambert, M.A., D.Sc., *Fellow of Trinity College* ; The Rev. C. Morris, M.A., *Fellow of Pembroke College* ; Major H. Morris, M.A. of *All Stretton* ; The Rev. D. M. Collins, *Rector of Middleham* ; The Rev. R. L. Incledon, M.A., *Assistant Chaplain to the Catholic Members of the University* ; R. H. Johnson, M.B., B.Chir., M.A., D.Phil., *Worcester College* ; The Rev. E. G. Midgeley, M.A., *Fellow of St. Edmund Hall*.



# THE OXFORD—BORSTAL CAMPS

THE REV. J. N. JORY, SPENNITHORNE RECTORY, LEYBURN, YORKS. TEL.: MIDDLEHAM 3252.

*Hon. Treasurer:*

LADY MASHAM,  
DYKES HILL HOUSE,  
MASHAM,  
RIPON, YORKS.  
TEL.: MASHAM 341.

*Hon. Secretary (Yorkshire):*

R. F. THRAKSTON, J.P.,  
THE COTTAGE,  
MASHAM,  
RIPON, YORKS.  
TEL.: MASHAM 418.

*Hon. Secretary (Oxford):*

R. J. BUXTON, B.C.L., M.A.,  
EXETER COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.  
TEL.: OXFORD 46691.

August 4th.1966

Dear Alan,

Excuse the official-looking paper - but I'm having an O-B session at the moment and it is all I have with me.

I'm sorry to have been so long in replying to your PC - it was very good of you to write wishing us well for the camps which really went very well. Worcester was up at Spennithorne this year, so we didn't see as much of them as we would have wished; but we went up to join them in their final Sunday nosh-up. They all seemed very happy and the concert was one of the best that I have seen.

St. Peter's had finished at Masham by the time we got your message, so I couldn't pass on your greetings to Ralph. This, too, went very well. They were rather a strange eccentric bunch of undergraduates, but they coped very well and had a most successful return to Wetherby. Ralph is talking of going to do a 'project' in Scotland with the whole camp next year; but I don't think that this will come off as there doesn't seem to be any worthwhile job to do, apart from clearing 90 acres of overgrown bush at Brodick Castle and this doesn't seem a very good idea!

How is the witchcraft going? Do call in and see us if you are passing this way.

*Jan*

*2 June*

*(i.e. Jan).*

### **Financing my D.Phil.**

There is a reasonable amount in the account of my undergraduate years about the costs and difficulties of money at the undergraduate level. I shall try to do something similar for the D.Phil. years. Among the things to consider are: the parental contribution and the state of my parent's finances; my acting as banker, patron of my sisters; the arrangements for our time in the Lake district; the financing of my increasing interest in office machinery, photography and Xeroxing etc; the costs of transport – including buying a motorbike etc; the purchase of books; the costs of accommodation, clothes etc; the relations with my bank and details of my bank account and expenditure etc.

The sources include a considerable number of letters – between members of the family and to others; bank statements, bank stubs etc.

Here, since it is quite a large and complex subject and requiring quite a bit of thought and effort, are a few examples of documents – more will be brought in, including material on my parents' financial position in their last years in India, revealed in the Assam Company papers.



# WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Battels for Michaelmas Term, 1964

A.D.J. Macfarlane, Esq.

	£	s.	d.
Inclusive charge for Board and Lodging			
Meals in Hall ... ..		3.	4.0
Guests Meals ... ..	12.0		
Guests Accommodation ... ..			
Hockey Club Dinner ... ..			
Buttery Account ... ..	3.	0.4	
Kitchen Account ... ..			
Coupons ... ..			
Gratuities ... ..			
Laundry ... ..	17.11		
Heat ... ..			
Graduate C. R. Battels ... ..	6.11		
Graduate C. R. Sub. ... ..	10.0		
Postage and Messenger ... ..	9		
J. C. R. Art Fund ... ..			
Damage ... ..			
Library-book Fines ... ..			
Junior Common Room ... ..	1.	0.0	
College Closes ... ..	4. 10.0		
College Dues ... ..	15.	0.0	
J.C.R. Scholarship ... ..	10.0		
University Dues ... ..			
Library Dues ... ..	2.	0.0	
	31.	11.11*	
Tuition Fee ... ..	18.	0.0	
Key Deposit ... ..			
B.U. Provident Association ... ..			
Oxford University ... ..			
Debit Balance brought forward ... ..	25.	0.0	
Prepayment for M.T. 1965 ... ..	74.	11.11*	
Credit:			
Prepayment for M.T. 1964 ... ..	25.	0.0-	
Credit Balance of last account ... ..			
Scholarship ... ..			
Exhibition ... ..			
Dept. of Education & Science ... ..	40.	10.0-	
Local Authority ... ..			
Cash ... ..			
Balance Due to the College	£	9.	1.11*

The College meets for next term on Friday, 15th January, 1965.

If these battels are not paid by 23rd January 1965 a fine will be imposed unless permission has been obtained from the Domestic Bursar for postponement of this payment.

The whole of this form, with the appended slip completed, should be forwarded with your remittance for the exact amount to National Provincial Bank Limited, 32, Cornmarket Street, Oxford. Cheques should be made payable to Worcester College, Oxford.

# WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

Battels for Trinity Term, 1965

A.D.J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside, Lancs.

	£	s.	d.
Inclusive charge for Board and Lodging			
Meals in Hall ... ..	3.	0.0	
Guests Meals ... ..		4.0	
Guests Accommodation ... ..			
Boys' Club Cricket Party ... ..			
Buttery ... ..	2.	8.9	
Kitchen ... ..		3	
Coupons ... ..	1.	0.0	
Gratuities ... ..			
Laundry ... ..	1.	10.6	
Heat ... ..			
Gate Fines ... ..			
Postage ... ..		3	
J.C.R. Scholarship ... ..		10.0	
Damage ... ..			
Library-book Fines ... ..			
Junior Common Room ... ..	1.	0.0	
College Clubs ... ..	4.	10.0	
Graduate C. R. Battels ... ..		5.9	
Graduate C. R. Subs. ... ..		10.0	
College Dues ... ..	15.	0.0	
University Dues ... ..			
Library Dues ... ..	2.	0.0	
	31.	19.6*	
Tuition Fee ... ..	18.	0.0	
Key Deposits ... ..			
B.U. Provident Association ... ..			
Oxford Society ... ..			
Debtor Balance brought forward ... ..			
Prepayment for M.T. 1965 ... ..	35.	0.0	
	84.	19.6*	
Credit:	£	s.	d.
Prepayment for T.T. 1965 ... ..	25.	0.0	
Credit Balance of last account			
Scholarship ... ..			
Exhibition ... ..			
Dept. of Education & Science ... ..	40.	10.0	
Local Authority ... ..			
Caution Money ... ..	20.	0.0	

Balance Due to the College £ 10. 6.00

*Mae Macfarlane*

Worchester College, 100, High Street, Oxford. 4th October, 1965.



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MARYGOLD HOUSE

CARFAX

OXFORD

**A LAN DONALD JAMES MACFARLANE ESQ**

DATE		DEBIT		CREDIT	BALANCE
16OCT63				SBY 122. 10. 5	122. 10. 50
17OCT63		201.	3. 19. 6		108. 10. 11 CR
					118. 10. 11 CR
17OCT63		201.	10. 0. 0	CSH 20. 0. 0	128. 10. 11 CR
18OCT63		810.	3. 3. 0		122. 4. 11 CR
		552.	3. 3. 0		
22OCT63		220.	10. 0. 0	CSH 3. 4	112. 8. 3 CR
23OCT63		CQB	4. 0		112. 4. 3 CR
26OCT63		433.	10. 0. 0		102. 4. 3 CR
		434.	2. 0. 0		100. 4. 3 CR
31OCT63		436.	3. 3. 0		
-6NOV63		435.	3. 3. 0		93. 18. 3 CR
		437.	8. 0. 0		85. 18. 3 CR
-7NOV63		438.	3. 3. 0		82. 15. 3 CR
13NOV63		439.	7. 0. 0		75. 15. 3 CR
13NOV63				C.T. 10. 0. 0	85. 15. 3 CR
14NOV63		444.	7. 0. 0		78. 15. 3 CR
18NOV63		441.	3. 13. 0		75. 2. 3 CR
19NOV63		443.	10. 0		74. 12. 3 CR
22NOV63					

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DIV. DIVIDEND  
INT. INTEREST  
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SDY. SUNDRY

S.O. STANDING ORDER  
SUP. SUPPLEMENTARY LIST AS ENCLOSED  
TFR. TRANSFER TO OR FROM  
ANOTHER ACCOUNT

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ALAN DONALD JAMES MACFARLANE ESQ

IN ACCOUNT WITH

**MARTINS BANK LIMITED**

MARYGOLD HOUSE

CARFAX

OXFORD

DATE	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE
1964 FORWARD.			79. 5. 9CR
-9JUL64	625. 3. 17. 10		75. 7. 11CR
13JUL64	626. 2. 0. 0		73. 7. 11CR
29JUL64	639. 7. 0. 0		66. 7. 11CR
4AUG64	630. 9. 0. 0		57. 7. 11CR
5AUG64	631. 3. 0. 0		54. 7. 11CR
14AUG64	632. 6. 0. 0		48. 7. 11CR
26AUG64	633. 20. 0. 0		28. 7. 11CR
27AUG64	80. 15. 0		27. 12. 11CR
-8SEP64	634. 6. 0. 0		21. 12. 11CR
17SEP64	635. 5. 0. 0		16. 12. 11CR
23SEP64	636. 14. 0		15. 18. 11CR
24SEP64	637. 5. 0. 0		10. 18. 11CR
28SEP64	547. 10. 0. 0		18. 11CR
1OCT64		CSH 112. 0. 0	112. 18. 11CR
-5OCT64	638. 5. 19. 11		106. 19. 0CR
-5OCT64	641. 10. 0. 0		96. 19. 0CR
-6OCT64	639. 5. 10. 0		93. 9. 0CR

COM. COMMISSION  
 CQB. CHEQUE BOOK  
 CSH. CASH AND/OR CHEQUES  
 C.T. CREDIT TRANSFER  
 (THIRD PARTY CREDIT)

DIV. DIVIDEND  
 INT. INTEREST  
 SAL. SALARY  
 SDY. SUNDRY

S.O. STANDING ORDER  
 SUP. SUPPLEMENTARY LIST AS ENCLOSED  
 TFR. TRANSFER TO OR FROM  
 ANOTHER ACCOUNT

CHEQUES ARE DESIGNATED BY THE LAST THREE FIGURES OF THEIR SERIAL NUMBERS

302N

ALAN DONALD JAMES MACFARLANE ESQ

IN ACCOUNT WITH

**MARTINS BANK LIMITED**

MARYGOLD HOUSE

CARFAX

OXFORD

DATE	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE
1964 FORWARD.			93. 9. 0S
-9OCT64	640. 1. 16. 0		91. 13. 0CR
14OCT64	645. 6. 0. 0		85. 13. 0CR
16OCT64	643. 5. 0. 0		80. 13. 0CR
17OCT64	642. 16. 6		79. 16. 6CR
19OCT64	644. 28. 0. 0		51. 16. 6CR
20OCT64	646. 6. 0. 0	CSH 5. 0. 0	50. 16. 6CR
26OCT64	647. 6. 0. 0		44. 16. 6CR
2NOV64	337. 12. 0. 0		32. 16. 6CR
3NOV64	648. 12. 4. 0		20. 12. 6CR
3NOV64	CQB 4. 0		20. 8. 6CR
13NOV64	338. 15. 0. 0		5. 8. 6CR
13NOV64	339. 6. 0. 0		11. 6CR
17NOV64	340. 3. 19. 6		4. 11. 0CR

COM. COMMISSION  
 CQB. CHEQUE BOOK  
 CSH. CASH AND/OR CHEQUES  
 C.T. CREDIT TRANSFER  
 (THIRD PARTY CREDIT)

DIV. DIVIDEND  
 INT. INTEREST  
 SAL. SALARY  
 SDY. SUNDRY

S.O. STANDING ORDER  
 SUP. SUPPLEMENTARY LIST AS ENCLOSED  
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<p>Nº P 254809</p> <p>11/10/1963</p> <p>For gown Shepherd + Ward</p> <p>£3-19-6</p>	<p>Nº P 254810</p> <p>14/10/1963</p> <p>Rent gro Waterma.</p> <p>£3-3-0</p>
<p>Nº P 254811</p> <p>17/10/1963</p> <p>Self.</p> <p>£10-0-0</p>	<p>Nº P 254812</p> <p>22/10/1963</p> <p>Self. (from)</p> <p>£10-0-0.</p>

There should be details about my book purchases etc. Here is one Blackwell's account (see also under Fred Holdsworth)





Alan McFarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.



# BLACKWELL'S

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	BROUGHT FORWARD		22 15. 1
JAN 14 65 CR	3. 12. 6		26 7. 7
	1. 17. 6		28 3. 1
JAN 19 65 CR	2. 5. 0		30 10. 1
JAN 8 65 CR	1. 19. 1		32 9. 2
JAN 18 65 CR	1. 5. 0		33 14. 2
JAN 18 65 CS 565 49		8. 5. 1	25 9. 1
JAN 9 65 CR 621329	2. 12. 0		28 1. 1
JAN 24 65 CR 660864	3. 13. 6		31 14. 7
JAN 17 65 CR 414 914		1. 1. 0	30 13. 7
JAN 12 65 CR	1. 19. 6		32 13. 1
JAN 13 65 CR	18. 0		33 11. 1
JAN 22 65 CR	5 4. 6		38 15. 7
JAN 26 65 CR	19. 6		39 15. 1
JAN 20 65 CS 82 765		10. 0. 0	29 15. 1
JAN 3 65 CR	16. 0		30 11. 1
JAN 3 65 CR	1. 4. 6		31 15. 7
JAN 6 66 CR 679 078	2. 12. 9		34 8. 4
JAN 13 66 CS 93 884		10. 0. 0	24 8. 4
JAN 23 66 CR	1. 13. 0		26 1. 4
JAN 31 66 CR 691 168	19. 2		27 0. 6
FEB 11 66 CR	17. 0		27 17. 6
FEB 18 66 CR 4053 42	3. 2. 9		31 0. 3

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BL - Balance  
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CS - Cash  
DR - Dollar Remittance  
DS - Discount

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GD - Books Invoiced  
RT - Books Returned  
TF - Transfer

\*\* The last amount in  
this column is the  
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A. Macfarlane Esq., E2 29th October, 1965.

Field Head,

Outgate, Nr. Ambleside, Westmorland.

Verrier Elwin : Myths of the North East Frontier of India.	1.	0.	0.
Turner, V.W. : Schism and Continuity in an African Society.	2.	5.	0.
Arensberg, C.M. : The Irish Country- man.	1.	5.	0.
Verrier Elwin : When the World was Young.		5.	0.
Postage and Packing.		3.	0.
	<u>£4.</u>	<u>18.</u>	<u>0.</u>

**35**

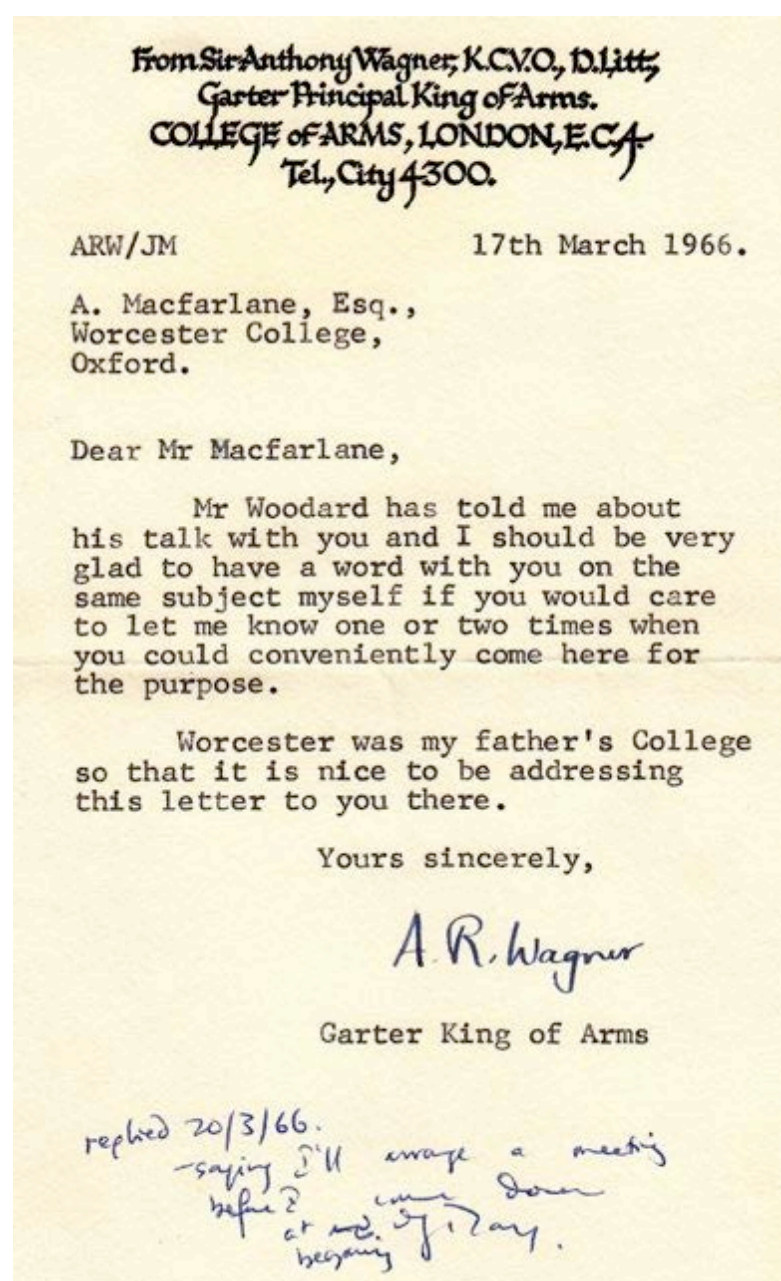
For payment arrangements, see overleaf

## SEARCH FOR MONEY FOR LSE COURSE

Once I had set my mind on going to the L.S.E., whether I got a grant or not, I set about trying to find money in case, as seemed likely, I did not get a grant. Here I shall just give examples of some of the sources I tried – not all the documents, but examples of different attempts. They show my persistence and determination – which finally bore fruit in my good fortune of getting an S.S.R.C. two year studentship, so I did not need any of the following.

Perhaps the most serious offer came from the College of Arms, where I might have ended up one day as a Herald or even King of Arms!

The first letter I have, obviously after meeting a Mr. Woodward, is as follows.





After a little more correspondence, and reading an article from Wagner in the Times Literary Supplement of 21 April on historical demography, we met on Wednesday 4th May. After that meeting I received the following offer of part-time employment.

From  
Sir Anthony Wagner.  
K.C.V.O., D.Litt.,  
Garter Principal King of Arms.



College of Arms,  
Queen Victoria St, London EC4  
Tel, City 4300.

ARW/JM

5th May 1966.

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

Following our talk on Wednesday I write to confirm that when you come to London in October we should like you to undertake part time research work for us at the rates suggested to you by Mr Woodard which you have told me commend themselves to you. These are as follows - payment of 10/- an hour or if a day's work is done, £3 3s. for the day; Expenses if you are working away from London and from home at the rate of 2½ guineas a day additional to rail or bus fares.

I felt that we had much in common in our way of looking at things and if this arrangement goes well I hope we may be able to continue and extend it later.

I am sending you under separate cover a little book on the Records and Collections of the College.

I do not know whether you have seen my book English Genealogy but if not it might interest you.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony Wagner

Garter King of Arms.

*Do let me know your relationship to M.R. James.*

Fortunately I had put in a warning about my availability, for after I received the S.S.R.C. offer I wrote.

4th Sept. 1966  
Your ref: ARW/JM

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Mr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

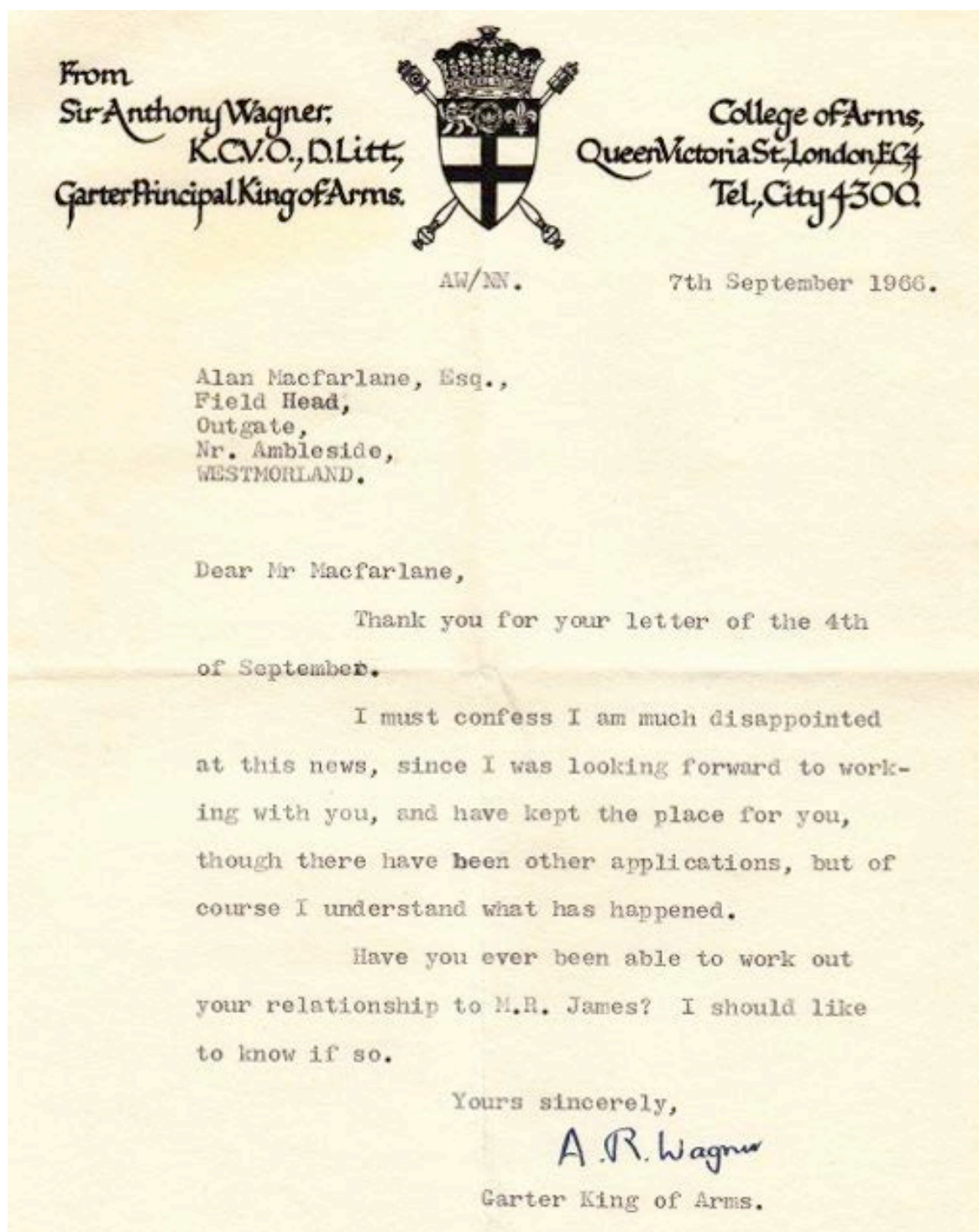
Dear Sir Anthony Wagner,

You will remember that I came to see you earlier in the summer about part time research for the College of Arms. You kindly said that I could get in touch again in October. As I wrote in my letter of the 12th of May, the only consideration which would prevent me undertaking the research would be if 'I was given another scholarship to continue my studies'. This has now happened. The Social Science Research Council have given me a studentship on which to start my anthropology. Of course I am delighted about this, but also feel a little worried in case I have left you 'in the lurch'. I'm sure you'll understand that, now that I have the money, I would like to devote myself full-time to my course, even though I found genealogy so interesting. Perhaps when I have learnt something more about kinship in primitive societies I will be able to do useful research into our system. Anyhow, thank you for all your kindness. I did enjoy meeting you and hope your work goes well. Apologies again if I let you down.

Yours sincerely,



To which I received a pained reply.



And my final reply is:

18/9/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Your ref: AW/NN

Dear Sir Anthony Wagner,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th of Septmeber. I'm sorry that I made you turn away applicants, but hope that you'll find someone to help you. I would have enjoyed working for you.

You asked for my relationship to M.R. James. It's more distant than I thought I was misled by my uncle, Robert Rhodes James (whose just been writing in Observer Colour supplement on Winston Churchill in the '30's) who sometimes claims to be closely related. Anyhow, may I set out the relationship as explained to me by my grandfather, William Rhodes James, in a recent letter?

leaving out the earliest, Jamaican, Rhodes James',

William Rhodes James m. Anne James

William Rhodes James m. Julianne Wisdom

William Rhodes James m. Rachel Jarrett

1) William Rhodes James m. a) Mary Kerr  
Brown.

b) Caroline Pope

2) Herbert Jarrett James m. Jane Caroline  
Vidal.

M.R. James is the son of Caroline Pope and my grandfather's (W.R.J) grandfather (W.R.J) is the son of Jane Caroline Vidal.

My grandfather got a letter in the trenches in 1915 from Mr Woods Woolaston suggesting that he register his pedigree:

P.T.O



The following was obviously compiled by my grandfather earlier – and only later conveyed in the letter above. I may put it elsewhere – it is one of the few letters from my grandfather at this time.

Dearest Alan,

10<sup>th</sup> May

The family of Turners may claim to be the oldest Colonial family in Jamaica + members of the family have been leaders both in its civil and military life.

The founder of the family <sup>Capt</sup> Richard James was an officer in the Penn + Venables expedition which conquered the island from the Spaniards in 1655. <sup>Capt</sup> Richard came from Glamorganshire Brigadier Montague James, to whom the grant of arms <sup>in 1772</sup> by the College of Arms was made, was the eldest son of Col Richard James, who was the son of Capt James (of Glamorgan).

Col Richard James (b 1656 d 1759) had a brother William (b about 1660) + it is from him that our family descends. The right to bear the arms was granted to the descendants of Col Richard and his brother William, who married Anne James (d of Richard James)

See over leaf

William Rhodes James m Anne James  
 |  
 William Rhodes James m Julia's wedding  
 |  
 William Rhodes James m Rachel Anne Jarrett  
 |  
 1) William Rhodes James m 1<sup>st</sup> Mary Kerr Brown  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Caroline Pope  
 2) Herbert Jarrett James m Jane Caroline Vidal  
  
 Montague Rhodes James is the son of  
 Caroline Pope + my grandfather (W.R.J.)  
 is the son of Jane Caroline Vidal -  


---

 I got a letter (which reached me in the trenches  
 in France in 1915) from Mr Woods Woolaston  
 Blue mantle saying that the descendants of  
 William James are not entered in the pedigree  
 of the family entered in 1823. He recommended  
 that I should record our pedigree to date in  
 the interests of the family + that the cost would  
 not be great. I'm afraid I took no action  
 but there is no doubt that we are entitled to  
 bear the Arms  
 Grandpa

### Brentwood College

A long shot and not sure that anything came of it. I refer to this in a letter to Hugh Trevor-Roper on 16th February. It seems I thought I might teach there and do the M.Sc. I probably heard about it while working at the Essex Record Office from Hilda Grieve, as she is mentioned as one of the referees.







It has always been my aim to return to India where I was born to do social work of some kind. With a view to deciding more specifically on the nature of such work and to obtain a broad framework of comparative knowledge of primitive and developing societies and the problems of dealing with information, I read history at Oxford. The undergraduate course does not allow time for the study of any period or subject in depth, nor the use and ordering of original material. Further, it is based largely on the economic, political and religious approaches to history of the late nineteenth century and after and leaves serious social history on one side. I therefore decided to prolong my course and am now in the last year of a D.Phil. on 'Witchcraft prosecutions in Essex, 1560-1680: a sociological analysis'. This will be completed by October of this year. It has convinced me both of the necessity of applying anthropological insights and approaches to history, and the value of historical material to sociologists and anthropologists in allowing them to check and give time-depth to their theories. It has also increased my interest in the cultural and social problems of the transition from a face-to-face, agricultural, religion-dominated society to the modern, individualistic, industrial system. This transition can be studied both in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe and also in modern India. An acquaintance with both phenomena will be of great value to both the problems of factoring industrializing nations and in awakening historians to the most crucial problems awaiting their study.

It is clear, however, that dabbling in sociological theory is not enough and that a serious study of subjects such as statistics, primitive religion and kinship, and primitive economics is



necessary if more than a superficial contribution is to be made to the problems facing modern industrializing nations. I have therefore decided to acquire this by taking a course in anthropology as specified. Quite naturally the State, which has given me my allotted three years of a State Studentship is no longer interested. Though it is probable that I could acquire a research fellowship at a University - the usual course for someone in my position - this would preclude a further degree and be the first step to an academic career, which is not, as I have stated, what I am working for. I have tried all possible sources, and have visited the Professor of Anthropology at London who assures me that if I can get financial backing I will be accepted. Short of doing part-time lecturing or teaching, or writing, I see no method of earning my way through.

My 'social work' activities have been limited to a little work for Oxfam and three Oxford-Borstal boys camps. I applied for V.S.O. at the end of my first degree at Oxford but they were already full.

## THE COVENANTORS EDUCATIONAL TRUST

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W. G. NURSAW, F.C.I.S.

310 WINCHESTER HOUSE,  
Fourth Floor,  
OLD BROAD STREET,  
LONDON, E.C.2.

Telephone: London Wall 6759

23/3/66

Dear Sir

Your application for financial assistance has been carefully considered by the Governors but they very much regret that they are unable to award a grant in your case.

Yours faithfully,

*Mahs*

for Hon. Secretary



## The Victoria County History

This clearly did not get anywhere. I do not remember whether I met Pugh.

14/2/66

Dear Mr. Pugh,

Mr. Ray Powell of the Essex V.C.H. suggested that I might write to you about part-time work for the V.C.H. I am, at present, in the last year of an Oxford D.Phil on 'Witchcraft prosecutions in Essex 1560-1680'. Next year I hope to start a two-year M.Sc. in social anthropology at the London School of Economics. I will have to subsidize myself for this and am therefore looking for part-time historical work. I would be next door to the Public Record Office and would, even if I find other forms of financing, be working on Essex records (eg. Chancery, Star Chamber and other untranscribed or indexed sources) there. I wondered if any work a) either of a very detailed nature on a few villages (during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and from all angles and using all sources) or b) on Essex central records, would be of any interest to you? I realize that you must have your own specific interests and plans, but some might possibly overlap with the above.

I look forward to your reply and apologise for bothering you with this trivial matter.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

R.B. Pugh, Esq.,  
General Editor, V.C.H.,  
Institute of Historical Research,  
Senate House,  
LONDON W.C.1



# VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

GENERAL EDITOR  
R. B. PUGH, M.A., F.S.A.

TELEPHONE  
MUSEUM 0272, 0273



Institute of Historical Research,  
University of London,  
Senate House,  
London, W.C.1

15 February 1966

Alan Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
OXFORD.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Thank you for your letter of 14 February. I am rather doubtful whether it would be possible to find you any part-time work of the type that you describe. Would you not, however, care to call on me one day and discuss what you are doing? I should be grateful if you would make an appointment beforehand with my secretary.

Yours sincerely,

# VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

GENERAL EDITOR  
R. B. PUGH, M.A., F.S.A.

TELEPHONE  
MUSEUM 0272, 0273



Institute of Historical Research,  
University of London,  
Senate House,  
London, W.C.1.

23 March 1966

Alan Macfarlane Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford

Dear Mr Macfarlane,

Thank you for your postcard of 22 March.  
Mr Pugh is away at present, but I will draw  
your note to his attention when he returns.

Yours sincerely,

*Patricia Tattersfield*  
Secretary to Mr Pugh

I shall not include a couple of short letters to and from King's College, University of London (in February 1966) asking if they taught social anthropology – which they did not. I also enquired of Westfield College in the same University in November 1965, and they said no anthropology and no money.

## Nuffield Foundation Fellowships

I wrote to them, probably at the suggestion of Evans-Pritchard, but received two replies, reiterating that because of my age I was ineligible (I was too young – only those between 28-40 were to be considered). I will include just the second of these.



1/11/65

Dear Sir/Madam,

I have just started my third year of a historical D.Phil. on the sociology of witchcraft in seventeenth century England. I intend to do a further diploma in anthropology either at Oxford or London and have been informed that it might be possible for me to compete for a Nuffield Foundation Social Science fellowship which would aid me in this course. At the moment I am on a State Studentship. The Oxford diploma is one year, the London two years. I would be grateful, therefore, if you could send me any details concerning these fellowships (or any other grants and awards I might enter for).

Yours faithfully,

Alan Macfarlane

The Secretary,  
Nuffield College,  
OXFORD.

— copy then sent  
(7/11/65) to  
appended address

# The Nuffield Foundation

*Patron: H.M. Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother*  
*Chairman: the Hon. Sir Geoffrey Gibbs, KCMG*    *Director: Brian Young*

Nuffield Lodge, Regent's Park, London NW1

PRImrose 8871-9  
Telegrams: Nuffound London NW1

## CONFIDENTIAL

ENQ DDY/JT/GB

19th November, 1965.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th November. I am afraid that it is unlikely that the Committee would relax its ruling regarding the age limit for the Sociological Scholarships. You may try, of course, but your chances must be slender in view of your age. I am afraid there is no other scheme in the field of Sociology. I am very sorry to have to send you such a disappointing reply.

Yours sincerely,



D.D. YONCE,  
Fellowships Adviser.

A. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

One other place I wrote to on 23 November 1965 was the Science Research council, at the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Needless to say I did not get anywhere with this.

I also applied for some money from the University at Oxford towards photography, microfilming etc. (£20 was available) and have a little correspondence about this.

One thing I tried was enquiring of the Department of Education as to whether my State studentship could be extended. It was clearly no good.



16/1/66

Field Head,  
Outcote,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

Since October 1963 I have held a (Major) State Studentship (UP 63/9154) which will terminate in September of this year. I hope to be admitted to a graduate diploma in anthropology at the London School of Economics which is a two year course and I would start in October, after having completed my present doctorate. I wondered if it would be possible either to extend my grant for a year, or whether it would be worth my applying for an Advanced Course State Studentship? I realise that this would be unusual, but I hope you will consider my request.

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Min. of Education

no good.

Two other attempts:

Horniman Fund:

23/11/65.

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

Could you please send me particulars concerning the Leverhulme Studentships for Special Courses. I am hoping to start a diploma in anthropology at the London School of Economics in October 1965, after completing my D.Phil. at Worcester College, Oxford (in history).

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)

The Registrar,

London School of Economics and Political Science,  
Houghton Street,

London, W.C.2.

*Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London W.C.1  
Museum 2980*

26 November 1965

With reference to your letter of 23.11.65  
Horniman studentships are granted for fieldwork  
only. I am afraid that we do not have any  
funds available for postgraduate work to be  
carried out in this country.

*Christine Hughes*  
Clerk to the Officers

**Leverhulme:**



23/11/65.

23/11/65

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

Could you please send me particulars concerning the Leverhulme Studentships for Special Courses. I am hoping to start a diploma in anthropology at the London School of Economics in October 1965, after completing my D.Phil. at Worcester College, Oxford (in history).

Yours sincerely,

(Alan Macfarlane)

Yours sincerely,

The Registrar,

London School of Economics and Political Science,

Houghton Street,

Aldwych,

London, W.C.2.

### Dr Anne Bohm and the L.S.E. administration

I shall just give samples from this quite lengthy correspondence, which comprises about twenty letters, about half copies of letters from me, the other half from Dr. Bohm, the Secretary of the Graduate School at the L.S.E.

In a letter to Zoe (who was also having trouble with the L.S.E.) I wrote on 19th June 1966.

Apart from failing to even mention the fact that there was such a thing as an S.S.R.C. after my repeated requests to her for suggested means of income, her latest cretinous act was to lose my tutor's testimonials. At least I assume that's what happened. I asked Keith and Harry to write even before I sent in my application to be registered at L.S.E. and they both wrote by return that they'd done this. But both Firth and 'B' (future ref. for Dr. Bohm) wrote on several occasions to say that if I didn't hurry up with my testimonials I wouldn't be considered etc. Finally I wrote to her and explained that she had probably mislaid them - having received them before my application. She

immediately replied that she now had them – but didn't have the courage to admit that this is what happened.

Later there was also a confrontation with them about another matter – permission for me to teach one day a week in Nottingham. There is some amusing acid comment on this in Trevor-Roper's letters also.

The London School of Economics and Political Science  
(University of London)



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

AMB/SG

7th December, 1965.

Dear Mr. McFarlane,

I am sorry that your two letters of 23rd November, addressed to the School have gone unanswered for so long. I was trying to find out what the position is.

It is possible for candidates applying for the Diploma in Anthropology to apply to the Department of Education and Science for an Advanced Course State Studentship. You must do so through your Oxford college. We do not process applications from students who are not yet registered at the School, but you must say on your form that you hope to be admitted to do graduate work here.

The Leverhulme Studentships for special courses which you mention have now been abolished, and I think it unlikely that an applicant for a Diploma would be considered for a Research Studentship. It has never been done before.

Yours sincerely,

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

Mr. A. McFarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.



24/4/66

Previous refs: AMB/EO  
AMB/SG

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Bohm,

Thank you for sending an application form for graduate work at L.S.E. : I will be returning this, completed, as soon as I have a photograph.

I apologise for continuing to pester you about awards and grants but I wonder if you could tell me anything further about the following and whether, as a prospective candidate for the M.Sc. I would be eligible for (and whether, in your opinion, it would be worth my while applying for) any of the following.

- i) The Jackson Lewis Scholarship. (p.91)
  - ii) The Bursaries for graduate students. (p.96)
  - iii) either University postgraduate studentship or university studentships (pp.100-1).
- (the page refs. are to 'The Graduate School').

Since Professor Firth is unable to suggest any sources of income and the State is unwilling to finance me after completing my D.Phil. you can see why I am desperately hunting round. As I am writing my thesis away from Oxford it is a little difficult to find out about the various possible awards and this is why I am driven to causing you all this bother.

Apologies once again.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



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

AMB/JAC

27 April 1966

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

I have your letter of 24 April. I only wish I could be more helpful. Unfortunately, you are not eligible for a University Studentship, as you are not a London graduate. It is open for you \* to apply for the Jackson Lewis, but the result will not be known until October and I cannot tell you at all what your chances are.

As regards bursaries, it is the School's usual practice not to give bursaries to students in the first year of their registration, as it is their view that they should not take up their registration at the School unless they can finance themselves.

I am sorry that this must sound so very unhelpful, but there is simply nothing else that I can suggest for you, except that you try to find a job and do the work part-time.

Yours sincerely,

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

Mr. A. Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.



# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



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

AMB/JJ

13th July, 1966.

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

I have been asked to reply to your letter of 5th July, to Professor Firth, who is at present in the Pacific.

The position is that you are not allowed to be absent from London in term time and that you therefore cannot give the classes at Nottingham which you mention if you want to be registered at the School as a full-time student.

Unfortunately, S.S.R.C. Regulations and London University Regulations do not quite overlap! Would it not be possible for you to find some teaching of the kind which you mention in London? The University of London has no objection to graduate students doing up to 6 hours teaching per week, but the residence requirements have to be adhered to very strictly.

Yours sincerely,

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

Mr. Alan Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

14/7/66

Your ref: AMB/JJ

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Dr. Bohm,

I have just received your letter of 13th of July. May I pursue the matter a little further? You say that I must be resident in London throughout the diploma in anthropology, if this is so, I do not quite see the meaning of a clause in the Calendar (1963-4) of the London School of Economics (p.196) which states, in reference to the Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Anthropology, that 'the student will be required to attend an approved course of instruction at a School of the University during a substantial portion of three academic terms, which terms need not necessarily be consecutive'. Would it therefore be possible, since it is a two-year course, for me to be absent for the first term - although I would, in fact, only be absent for one day a week?

I would be grateful if you would let me know the position as soon as possible since the teaching I was hoping to do was at the personal request of Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper of Oxford and he, and Professor Koenigsberger at Nottingham, would have to be informed of the reasons why I could not accept. Like myself, they might find the divergence between S.S.R.C and London University regulations somewhat peculiar.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Dr. Anna M. Bohm,  
Secretary of the Graduate School,  
London School of Economics,  
Houghton Street,  
Aldwych,  
London, W.C.2.



# The London School of Economics and Political Science

(University of London)



Houghton Street, Aldwych  
London, W.C.2

Telephone HOLBORN 7686

AMB/JAC

25 July 1966

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Thank you for sending me your form. I was about to put you in for an S.S.R.C. award when I noticed that you had put on your form that you were expecting to obtain the D.Phil. at the end of the year. London University regulations do not allow candidates to be working for two qualifications simultaneously. Can you confirm that your registration at Oxford has come to an end and that your statement simply means that you will finish the writing up of your thesis either in the vacation or while you start your work for the Diploma here? I will then alter the statement on the S.S.R.C. form accordingly. They may also object to candidates working for two qualifications simultaneously.

Could I ask for a reply by return of post.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Anne M. Bohm  
Secretary of the  
Graduate School

Mr. A. Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

26th July 1966

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Your ref: AMB/JAC

Dear Dr. Bohm,

Thank you for your letter. I am replying by return to say that my registration at Oxford will be ending at the end of September, before I start at L.S.E. I hope to have finished my D.Phil. and the delay before it is presented will be due to the time it takes to have it typed and corrected, which I hope to do during the vacation.

I hope that this is now all in order as I will be away in Ireland for the next ten days.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane.

### State Studentship

I had received a three-year grant from Lancashire County Council for my undergraduate studies at Oxford and was then very fortunate to receive a three-year State studentship (in the end) for my D.Phil. years (and then two years funding from the London School of Economics, and a further grant from the London-Cornell fund and S.O.A.S. for my second Ph.D.). A period of economic expansion when it was possible to get most of the funding I needed to pursue four different degrees over a period between 1960 and 1971, over ten years, now seems, retrospectively in a day of student fees and loans, extraordinary.



Here are some of the documents related to the D.Phil. funding from the State Studentship.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
(AWARDS BRANCH)

HUNter 1455

13, CORNWALL TERRACE,  
REGENTS PARK,  
LONDON, N.W.1.

Your references:

Our reference: State Studentships  
UP.63/ 9154

**23 SEP 1963**

Sir/Madam,

I am directed by the Minister of Education to refer to previous correspondence about your State Studentship, and to confirm that your Studentship will be tenable from 1st October, 1963, for the period of your approved studies. This award is subject to satisfactory attendance, conduct and progress.

The value of your award from 1st October will be as follows:

- (a) approved fees;
- (b) a maintenance grant at the rate of £450 per annum, which will be paid in four instalments.

This award is subject to review at any time in the light of changes in your circumstances and is given on the understanding that:

- (a) you will be required to devote at least 44 weeks of the academic year to approved full-time study, during which time you will be living away from your parental home. Otherwise, a proportionate reduction in grant will be made;
- (b) your total income from other sources, including S bolarships etc., will not exceed £100 in the academic year 1963/64.
- ~~(c) your total income from other sources during the academic year 1963/64 will be...~~

Any changes in your circumstances as outlined above or, e.g. marriage or a change in your place of residence, should be reported to the Ministry without delay.

In writing to the Ministry on any matter connected with your State Studentship you should quote the reference number shown at the head of this letter.

I am, Sir/Madam,  
Your obedient Servant,

*A. S. J. Macfarlane, Esq.*

*D. E. Lloyd-Jones*

Form 106 UP.  
19/3/63 - 1300

(D. E. Lloyd-Jones)



DEPARTMENT OF  
EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

AWARDS BRANCH

13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, LONDON N.W.1

Telephone: HUNter 1455

Your reference:

Our reference: UP.63/9154

18 OCT 1965

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

With reference to your letter of 5th October, I write to say that our records show that your State Studentship was tenable for a course of study leading to the degree of B.Litt. and this is the first that we have heard of your proposed transfer to D.Phil. status, thereby requiring a third year. Would you please ask your supervisor to write to us recommending that your award be continued for the academic year 1965/66, to enable you to complete your approved scheme of advanced post-graduate research.

Yours sincerely,

  
(J. Wilson)

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.





DEPARTMENT OF  
EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

AWARDS BRANCH

13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, LONDON N.W.1

Telephone: HUNTER 1455

Your reference:

Our reference: UP 63/9154

11 NOV 1965

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

With reference to your letter of 23rd October, with enclosures, I am writing to say that, in view of your supervisor's recommendation, we can approve the extension of your State Studentship for the academic year 1965/66 to enable you to complete your post-graduate research studies leading to the degree of D.Phil.

I should explain that before your proposals to study at home and in Essex and London can be approved for State Studentship purposes, it will be necessary for you to ask your supervisor to write to the Department to confirm that your studies from Oxford form a necessary part of your approved programme of post-graduate studies and that he approves of your proposals. Your instalments of grant will then be sent to your home address upon receipt of a special form, as explained in paragraph 23 of the enclosed copy of "Education Information No. 3". Your grant would be based on the rate applicable for a student living at home, i.e. £380 per annum, but adjustments would be made for any period of study away from home, when you were able to state the exact number of weeks involved.

Payment of travelling expenses will also be considered if you will proceed in accordance with paragraph 12(C) of the memorandum.

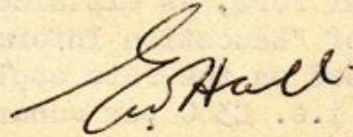
A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.

/With

With regard to the Xerox copies and microfilms, we will consider payment towards the cost of these upon production of receipts and a certificate from your supervisor to the effect that these are essential to your research and that the information cannot be obtained from any other source. Any such payment would not in any circumstances total more than £20 over the whole tenure of your award.

Would you please confirm that your income of £120 during the academic year 1964/65 was from Workers' Educational Association classes. A prepaid label is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'E. W. Hall', written in a cursive style.

(E. W. Hall)



Field Head,  
16/11/65 .  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

16/11/65  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,  
With reference to my State  
Studentship (UP 63/9154) you asked me to  
send a letter from my supervisor supporting  
my plan to spend the last year of my  
D.Phil. away from Oxford. I enclose such  
a letter and hope that everything is now  
in order for me to receive my grant at  
the above address. I would be grateful if  
you could send it as quickly as possible  
as I am hoping to continue my researches  
in Essex and London from the middle of  
the next week.

Yours sincerely,  
(Alan Macfarlane)

Department of Education and Science,  
LONDON, N.W.1.

~~I hope you are settling time well  
tutoring in which to finish the book.  
I am looking forward to discussing things with you  
three weeks.~~

Yours sincerely,  
+ letter to them confirming  
that £120 was from W.E.A.  
17/11/65





DEPARTMENT OF  
EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

AWARDS BRANCH

13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, LONDON N.W.1

Telephone: HUNter 1455

Your reference:

Our reference: U.P.63/9154

29 NOV 1965

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

With reference to your letter of 16th November, I am writing to inform you that the assessment of your postgraduate studentship has been revised and as from 1st October, 1965 the award will be

(a) approved fees

(b) a maintenance grant at the rate of £380 per annum, which will be paid in instalments of £95, £95, £95 and £95.

This award is subject to review at any time in the light of changes in your circumstances and is given on the understanding that:

(a) you will be required to devote at least 44 weeks of the academic year to approved full time study, otherwise, a proportionate reduction in grant will be made.

(b) your total income from other sources, including Scholarships etc. will not exceed £100 in the academic year 1965/66.

/As

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Ambleside,  
Westmorland.



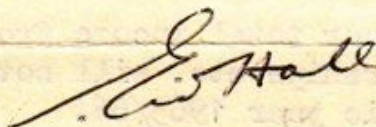
As you are studying away from Oxford, payment of your quarterly instalment of maintenance grant will be made if you will return one of the enclosed copies of Form 112F.UP duly completed.

In view of your income of £120 from Workers Educational Association classes during the academic year 1964/65, an overpayment of £20 has arisen for that year and this amount will be deducted from your October 1965 instalment. As you have already received a payment of £50 on account ~~this~~ <sup>the balance</sup> will be £25.

Any changes in your circumstances as outlined above, or, e.g. marriage or a change in your place of residence, should be reported to the Department without delay.

In writing to the Department on any matter connected with your postgraduate Studentship you should quote the reference number shown at the head of this letter.

Yours sincerely,



(E. W. Hall)



DEPARTMENT OF  
EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

AWARDS BRANCH

13 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, LONDON N.W.1

Telephone: HUNTER 1455

Your reference:

Our reference: UP.63/9154

17 DEC 1965

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

With reference to your letter of 4th December, I write to say that a draft for £25, in respect of the balance of your maintenance grant for the October quarter, is being sent to your bank in Ambleside.

I should explain that earnings from Workers' Educational Association classes, sponsored by the Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies, are not regarded as income from University teaching or supervision, therefore the practice of halving any further income beyond the first £100 does not apply.

Yours sincerely,

(R. Fowler)

A. D. J. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Ambleside,  
Westmorland.





DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Curzon Street, London, W.1.

HYDe Park 7070

Ref: ..... UP: 63/9154

The enclosed payment  
in respect of

26 JAN 1966

*maintenance grant and  
travelling*

*£32-4-0*

is forwarded with the Secretary's  
Compliments.

A. D. J. Macfarlane Esq.,  
Field Head.  
Outgate  
Amble-side  
Westmorland.

Form 151F

## Social Science Research Council

It may have been as a result of a note from Harry Pitt that I looked out for the new S.S.R.C. awards – or I may have spotted them in the paper, as in the advertisement below. I then negotiated to get one for my two year M.Sc (later M.Phil) at the London School of Economics, a conversion course into anthropology not dissimilar to the one I helped to inaugurate and then taught for thirty years in Cambridge (though that was one year).

Here is some of the correspondence relating to the next stage of my career. Again it shows my persistence – against early advice that I was not eligible and errors by the S.S.R.C.

**SOCIAL SCIENCE  
RESEARCH COUNCIL  
RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS  
AND FELLOWSHIPS  
FOR MATURE STUDENTS**

Applications are invited for research fellowships in the social sciences from research workers who have completed the normal course of post-graduate research training, to undertake research in subjects affording scope for original work.

Candidates should normally be between 24 and 27 years of age and must be British subjects, normally resident in the United Kingdom.

The Fellowships are tenable at any institution in the United Kingdom acceptable to the Council.

Their value is between £950 and £1,175 per annum.

A limited number of Fellowships are also available for older graduates with experience outside the universities or research institutes, to enable them to obtain further training in the methods of research or on suitable courses of instruction at post-graduate rather than post-doctoral level. These Fellowships are tenable for up to three years. The conditions are similar to those for research Fellowships.

Applications should be sent to : The Secretary, Social Science Research Council, State House, High Holborn, London, W.C.1, not later than 10th May 1966.



12/5/66

Dear Sir,

I write to enquire whether I am eligible for any of the S.S.R.C. studentships (the most likely being the advanced course studentship). I took a B.A. (2nd) in history at the above college in June 1963 and since then have been engaged in research for a D.Phil. in history. This will be finished in October. I have been financed in this by a State Studentship. Having become very interested in anthropology (my thesis on witchcraft sociology took me towards the subject) I have applied to do an M.Sc. in social anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science commencing in October of this year. I see that in your booklet 'Postgraduate Training in the Social Sciences' you explicitly say (p.6) that 'the S.S.R.C. will also consider applications on behalf of eligible candidates who have graduated in other disciplines...' and I therefore wondered if there would be any objection to my competing for an award?

I realize that you do not handle individual applications, but would be grateful if you would send me a form A.C.S.2. Also I would like a copy of the pamphlet 'Postgraduate Training in the Social Sciences' - I will send a remittance for this if necessary.

Thank you in advance for your help in this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Alan Macfarlane



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

State House, High Holborn, LONDON W.C.1

Telephone: HOLborn 6491

Our reference:

Your reference:

17th May, 1966

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th May.

... I enclose a copy of our booklet. As you will see it sets out the administrative procedures for our research and advanced course studentships. I would advise you to consult the head of the department at the L.S.E. and asked to be considered for nomination to one of our studentships. You do not have to supply the form ACS.2 yourself. The College authorities have supplies of these.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. Clay (Miss).

Alan Macfarlane Esq.,  
Worcester College,  
Oxford.





SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

State House, High Holborn, LONDON W.C.1

Telephone: HOLborn 6491

Our reference: E/66/8120  
Your reference:

23 AUG 1966

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

S.S.R.C. ADVANCED COURSE STUDENTSHIPS

I am pleased to inform you that you have been awarded a S.S.R.C. Advanced Course Studentship.

The conditions of the award are as set out in paragraphs 1 to 20 and 31 to 39 of the booklet "S.S.R.C. Postgraduate Training in the Social Sciences - Awards and ... Courses 1966" and in any subsequent amendments. A copy of this booklet is attached for your retention. Amendment slips will be issued as necessary.

Your award will start on 1st October next and will be tenable for the normal duration of your course of study with an allowance for a holiday at the end of the course where this is appropriate (paragraphs 36, 37 and 38 of the booklet explain this). On the basis of present information the award will terminate on 30/9/67.

Payments will be made under the conditions of paragraphs 10 to 16 of the booklet. It would appear that in your case the appropriate rate of payment is £500 a year (tax free), plus approved fees.

This rate is based on the information which you provided on your form A.C.S.2. If there have been any subsequent changes in your circumstances, financial or otherwise, or if there are any changes in the future, these must be notified in writing at once (vide paragraph 14(vi) of the regulations).


If you wish to query this figure, or the termination date, you should write to us at once. (Perhaps I should remind you that the annual rate of payment is reduced pro-rata when the period of tenure of an award is not a complete year).

Copies of this letter are being sent to the head of the department, and the university or college authorities, who applied for this Studentship for you.

This award is being administered until 31st March 1967 by the Science Research Council at the above address and all correspondence and telephone enquiries should be addressed to that Council (CHAncery 1262 (Ex: 248)).

Please quote the reference number shown at the top of this letter in any communication.

Yours sincerely,

  
H. J. COMERY

A. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland,

AC

24/8/66

Your ref: B/66/8120

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

I have just received a letter to say that I have been awarded a S.S.R.C. Advanced Course Studentship for next year. I am naturally delighted and thank you very much. I wonder if I may just raise two points concerning this award?

The first is that I have been asked, in an emergency, to do 3 hours a week seminar work at Nottingham University for one term. I would be paid £50 for this. After requests from the Professor of History at ~~London~~ Nottingham the University authorities at London are 'sympathetically considering' my application to waive the university residence regulations. I have not heard their conclusion, but if they accept my request this means that I should have put down £50 for tutoring on my A.C.S.2 form.

The second point concerns the length of my award. On the recommendation of the anthropology department at the London School of Economics I have changed my course from the one year M.Sc. in social anthropology, to the two year Postgraduate Diploma in Social Anthropology. Though I do not possess a copy of the form A.C.S.2 I imagine that I entered this fact down on it. I wondered, therefore, what would happen when my award terminated in September 1967? Would I be eligible for another year's award? If I am only to receive a grant for one year (although I see that you state in your letter that my grant will be tenable 'for the normal duration of your course of study') perhaps I ought to be doing the 1 year M.Sc? I apologise if I am being dense, but I would like to be clear on this matter.

I apologise for taking up your time, but look forward to hearing from you. Thank you once again for the award.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane





SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

State House, High Holborn, LONDON W.C.1

Telex: 25952 Telegrams: Scires London Telex

Telephone: CHANCERY 1262

Our reference: B/66/8120

Your reference:

9th September, 1966

Dear Mr. Macfarlane,

Thank you for your letter dated 24th August, 1966.

There was a mistake made in our initial letter announcing your award. The period of the award should have read 1st October, 1966 to 30th September, 1968.

I apologise for any inconvenience this might have caused you.

Yours sincerely,

Training Awards Section

A. Macfarlane, Esq.,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

MLW

## MAKING A TIME MACHINE

[THE QUALITY OF THE SCANS COULD BE IMPROVED]

One of the important features developments during my D.Phil. years was my growing interest in filing and retrieval systems – something which has absorbed much of the rest of my life.

Even before Oxford I had started to hoard letters and other artefacts in tomato boxes assembled round my room in Field Head, and the undergraduate years had added proper files and small index cards (half the 5 x 3 cards) based on Brian Harrison's methods. But it was really as I started to undertake serious long-term research that I became really interested in how to store and retrieve materials.

There are some interesting descriptions of my evolving experiments in letters to various people, and I shall combine those into this account – alongside examples of the results. The main point was that I became aware that the simple methods used to write short undergraduate essays would no longer work, so I needed something better, especially as I made more explicit my desire to preserve as much of my passing life as possible.

The key to it all was the Garden shed, which became the prototype for the research room at the top of Fountain Cottage, and finally of the Barn at Lode. The development of this, and the excitement of purchasing my first small filing cabinet – into which I put my witchcraft cases – is related elsewhere. Here I shall just insert a few things from a folder called 'office equipment'.

### Intercoms

One great pleasure was to work in a quiet and shut-off spot away from the house, and yet not to feel too cut-off. The shed was about 30 yards from the house and during my last six months working in it I installed a small red intercom – with a lead that went through the larder of the house and summoned me with one, two or three rings to coffee, lunch, answer phones etc. The purchase of this intercom is shown in two documents.

The first is the answer to my query about the availability of the Intercom.



DANSON Park 1351

REF: RDP/JFC/EM/44

R.D. PIDGEON.  
141, WELLINGTON AVENUE,  
SIDCUP,  
KENT.

Two Station Intercom Sets

Dear Sir,

It was with much pleasure that we received your recent letter expressing interest in our two station intercom system.

This system was, until recently marketed by a famous British firm who have now sold all their remaining stocks to us. We in turn are offering a set to you at nearly half the price it was originally sold for.

As you will see from the attached photograph the instrument is a one piece moulding of unbreakable red polythene.

Communication is controlled by a two way switch on each instrument. This switch is pressed one way to call the other party, and the other way to speak. Calling is by buzzer which is housed inside the set.

The instruments are designed to operate over distances of up to 200 - 300 yards using only one 4½ volt battery. (Any 4½ volt battery will do but we particularly recommend Ever Ready No. 126). Four wire telephone cable for connecting the instruments can be supplied by us at the rate of £2 per 100 yards.

Installation of the system is very simple and no technical knowledge or wiring experience is needed. Wiring and operating instructions including a diagram are included with the instruments.

We sincerely trust that the foregoing proves of interest to you and look forward to hearing from you further in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

  
R.D. Pidgeon.

The second is my order, and the original advert (probably from Exchange and Mart, of which I was a big fan).

12/2/66

Your ref: RDP/JFC/EM/24

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your reply to my enquiry about your two station intercom sets. I would like to purchase one of these and also 50 yards of telephone cable for connecting them. I enclose a cheque for £3-15-0 to cover the cost of this. If you let me know how much the postage is I will forward you the money.

I look forward very much to receiving the set; it sounds just what I am looking for. I return the photograph, which you may need for other customers.

Yours faithfully,

Alan Macfarlane

P.S. Please send the set to the above address, and not to Worcester College, Oxford from where I last wrote.

• Intercoms, point to point instruments for  
offices, homes, garages, shops, 55/- per pair.  
R. Piddison, 141 Wellington Avenue, Sidcup,  
Kent

Sadly, I think the physical object and the picture is gone. It was certainly much bulkier than the mobile phone with which I would presumably now have dealt with the problem of communication.

### Filing cabinets and suspended systems.

Much of my filing was done by the use of stacked tomato boxes - which had convenient high so they sat one on top of each other. I had started to do this in my late



teens, I think, but see that at some later point I may have tinkered with the idea of buying some specially designed trays for this purpose.

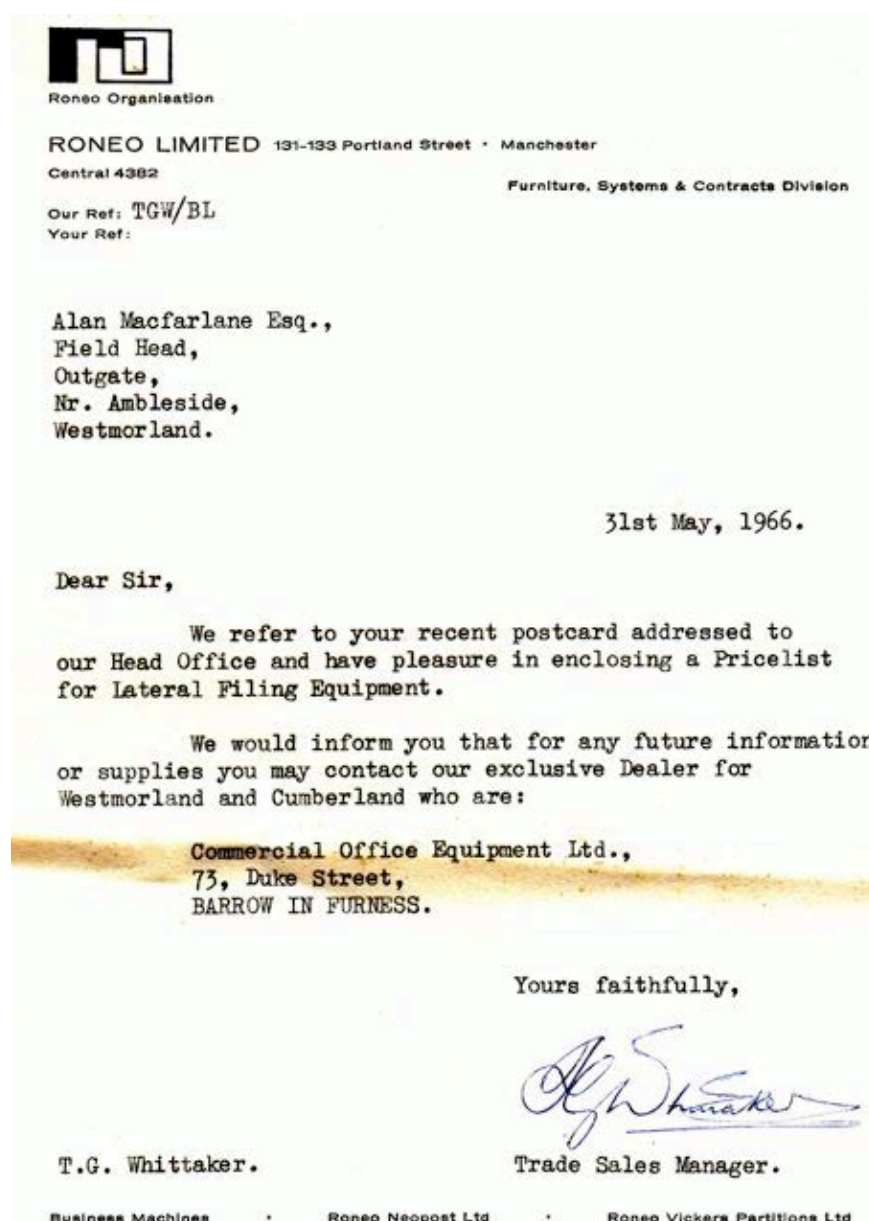
# Possibility Pile up!



—with these colourful, smart, stackable, hangable, plastic drawer units. The outer case is always white, the drawers are orange, grey, white, black or clear. They measure 15½" x 17" x 5½" approx. £2.80 including carriage. Write for details to Kerridge Joinery Ltd., 184 Sangley ad, London SE6.

As materials accumulated, a preliminary sort of such things – particularly letters, was made through a simple device. I had early in my undergraduate days bought a wire In/Pending/Out tray which has (in later incarnations) accompanied me through the rest of my life. The question was, however, how to organize the numerous files of research notes, as well as letters and accumulated archives, so that one could find them.

One solution was to buy large filing-cabinets with suspended files. These, however, had two disadvantages. They were expensive to buy (for me) and they were very heavy to carry around at a time when I was not yet settled down. So at some point I came across another idea – the lateral suspended filing system, as illustrated below.





# Roneo Vickers

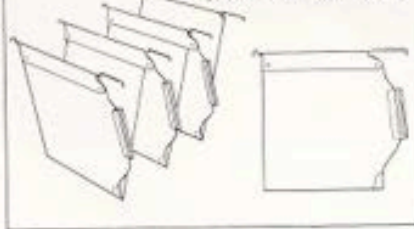
## LATERAL FILING - UNILINK SYSTEM

### BRANCHES



### STOCKS

#### SIMPLE LINKAGE



Nothing could be simpler than the new Roneo Vickers Unilink System. At last, filing and finding become as easy as A.B.C. Just put two files together, slide in the link and Unilink is ready for efficient economical use. Check these Unilink advantages against **your** office systems and see how **you** can benefit.

#### WIDE CAPACITY



- Simple linkage.
- Quick assembly.
- Lightweight but strong.
- Cannot become unlinked when suspended.
- Whisper quiet in use.
- Nameholders slide-on easily and remain firmly in position.
- Economical price.
- Completely visible, easy-to-read nameholders.

**RONEO VICKERS**

LATERAL FILING



What I did was to construct a simple wooden frame, and then attach curtain runners onto it. Onto the curtain hooks, by way of paper clips, I attached files, into which I put my papers. I filled part of the shed with these - never quite rivalling the quantity above, and later modified them to hang below a wallpaper hanging table when we moved to London. In effect I had created a cheap, easy to move set of filing cabinets - which



were only later replaced when I moved to Cambridge in 1971 for my first real job, with real metal filing cabinets, of which I accumulated about ten in the end.

## Card index cabinets

Then there was the five-drawer metal filing cabinet of my first year as a postgraduate student – in which I kept the mounting number of witchcraft cases, and also the small index cards of the subject index (to be described later). It has five drawers and still works very well – beside Sarah.

I must have felt that I needed more drawers, however, for by early 1966 and there is the following addition to the system.

Telephone :  
EXETER 59115

**COLLETT'S** P 5109  
ALPHINGTON HOUSE  
ALPHINGTON  
EXETER  
DEVON

Date 14/2/66  
Per B.R.P.

M Alan Macfarlane  
Field Hapt. Outgate  
Nr Ambleside. Westmorland.

1-4	Drawers C.I. 760	7500
	Ax5	

Received the sum of  
5-0-0  
3/3/66  
Goods Despatched  
COLLETT'S  
per  
W.D. THORPE

**CARD INDEX FILING CABINETS**  
All metal  
both drawers and  
columns. Smooth-  
fully finished in  
standard dark green or  
grey. Excellent condition.  
Full range of sizes to  
take cards 2 1/2" x 4" x 1/4"  
or 3" x 5" - state card size  
required.  
Four drawers  
unit as illus.  
Available in 4,  
6 or 8 drawer  
units.  
25/- only per  
drawer  
cash price delivered  
**Colletts** ALPHINGTON EXETER

## Typewriters

It is difficult to remember a time when not only did one type with a clumsy manual type-writer, but that such devices were an expensive luxury. I think that I recount the purchase of my first typewriter in my undergraduate period – and may mention the make. There is quite a lot about my mother's desire for a typewriter, and I may have moved on during my postgraduate years to a new machine – it was not until the 1970's that I purchased my first electric – the trusty Smith-Corona. The increased legibility, and better carbon copies, are an important part of the effect of the typewriter at this period – so I shall include one suggestion that we were looking for new models.

**TYPEWRITERS**

● Typewriter £6. Remington £8. office models, both good; will deliver. Southall 6471. jhi

● **Free Typewriter Catalogue.** We sell every make of typewriter, so if you are thinking of buying one, first send for our illustrated catalogue and be sure of buying the one which suits you best. Prices and HP terms shown. Don't buy before seeing this unique publication—it's free from: Denny Bros., St. Andrew's Street South, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. b1

● **Typewriters,** over hundred office machines at £18, £25 and £32 to clear, top quality, guaranteed; best makes only; easy terms arranged. **St. Albans Typewriter Centre (ES),** 103 Victoria Street. **St. Albans.** Tel. 50464. b1

● Portable typewriters from £17.6.6. HP interest free. Francis Typewriters, 173 Streat-ham High Road, London, S.W.16. STR 0192. jhe

● **Typewriters: Sale every Saturday** this month 9 a.m.-5 p.m. Over fifty wonderful office clearance bargains, £7 to £16 guaranteed. Easy terms arranged. Delivery arranged. New portables £14.19.6. amazing value. **St. Albans Typewriter Centre (ES),** 103 Victoria Street, **St. Albans.** Telephone 50464. b1

● **Typewriters, electric, ten bargains at £25.** Preferably personal callers. **St. Albans Typewriter Centre,** 103 Victoria Street, **St. Albans.** Phone 50464. b1

● Brand new British portable typewriters (still in packing box), 13gns. WOO 4146. ne

● Bluebird Solitaire office typewriter, beautiful condition, £20. ADD 4885. de


● Remington Superwriter standard typewriter, must sell, £15. STR 6954. de

● **Typewriters, bargains galore.** World famous selection. 1966 brand new portables £7.7.0. 2 years guarantee. Visit us now **A.B.M. Ltd.** (est. 1931), **87 Highgate Hill, London, N.19** (2 minutes Archway tube). Easy terms, part exchanges, free brochures s.a.e. Open Saturdays. Typewriters, adding machines purchased cash on sight. jta

● Typewriter for sale, first class condition, £7. 19 Elm Grove, Peckham, S.E.15. ta

---

**TYPEWRITERS**  
from LONDON'S  
LEADING SUPPLIERS  
FOR ONLY **£10**



**SEND FOR FREE BROCHURE**

Hundreds of rebuilt standard typewriters (manual & electric!) Cash or terms. **CARRIAGE FREE.** Send for brochure stating choice. Great mark down sale of New Portables to now only

**£16.16s.**  
7-day Money Back Guarantee  
**TRADE ENQUIRIES ALSO WELCOME**

**TYPEWRITERS HIRED (LONDON) 13<sup>0</sup> DAILY NO DEPOSIT**

**A.B.C. Typewriter Co.,**  
51 Blandford Street,  
Baker Street, London,  
W.1. **WEL 4908**  
**HUN 2634**



## Calculators and computers and other statistical devices

As I began to gather in the hundreds of witchcraft cases in Essex, and notice that they had a number of variables which I would like to cross-tabulate – for example age, sex, religion, geography, time, I began to wonder whether there were not devices which would help me with this. I went to see the Oxford computing service and they said that with only 500 or so cases and perhaps ten variables for each, it was not worth thinking of using a computer – which was very crude anyway at that time. But that I might use some other semi-computer form of device such as edge-punched cards.

So I started to do this. There was a system called ‘Cope-Chat’ cards, which I now discover was short for the Copeland-Chatterton Company, which made cards. You punched the edges and used something like a knitting needle to lift out cards which had not had the edges punched – or vice versa. The system is described in the scans below. I remember spending a lot of time putting all the cases into the centre of the cards – and I think I did the same with the statistical work for my second Ph.D. on the Gurungs. But I don’t think that it helped greatly. As with computers later, by the time one had done all the tedious work of assembling the materials, one already had worked out the rough answer – but perhaps that is the function, to slow down and systematize thought.

Anyway, here is a little of the evidence for this activity – an expensive one in terms of my total research budget at the time and an indication of my desire to tinker with new technologies which would pervade my life. I bought one thousand cards – so may have had some left over for my second Ph.D.

Here is the description of how it worked:

# The COPELAND-CHATTERSON Co. Ltd.

GATEWAY HOUSE, 1, WATLING STREET,  
LONDON, E.C.4.

TELEPHONE:  
CITY. 2264/5/6.

TELEGRAMS:  
COPE-CHAT. CENT.  
LONDON.

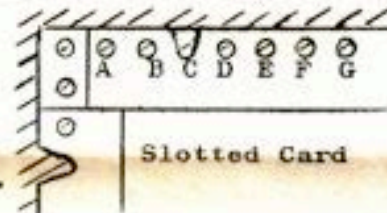
REGISTERED OFFICE  
AND WORKS:  
STROUD, GLOS.

## THE PARAMOUNT HAND OPERATED PUNCHED CARD SORTING SYSTEM

ALSO AT  
BIRMINGHAM  
BRISTOL  
CARDIFF  
EDINBURGH  
GLASGOW  
LEEDS  
LIVERPOOL  
MANCHESTER  
NEWCASTLE  
SHEFFIELD

### WHAT IT IS

Paramount Cards are punched with a series of holes along one or more edges. Each hole represents an item of information and is identified by either a numbered or lettered code. When the required information has been entered on the card the relevant hole is slotted with a pair of nippers similar to Ticket Collector's nippers. Slotting consists of making the closed holes into open 'V' shaped slots. Thus, when a needle is inserted through a batch of cards and the batch is raised, those cards which have been slotted at the needle position will fall away.



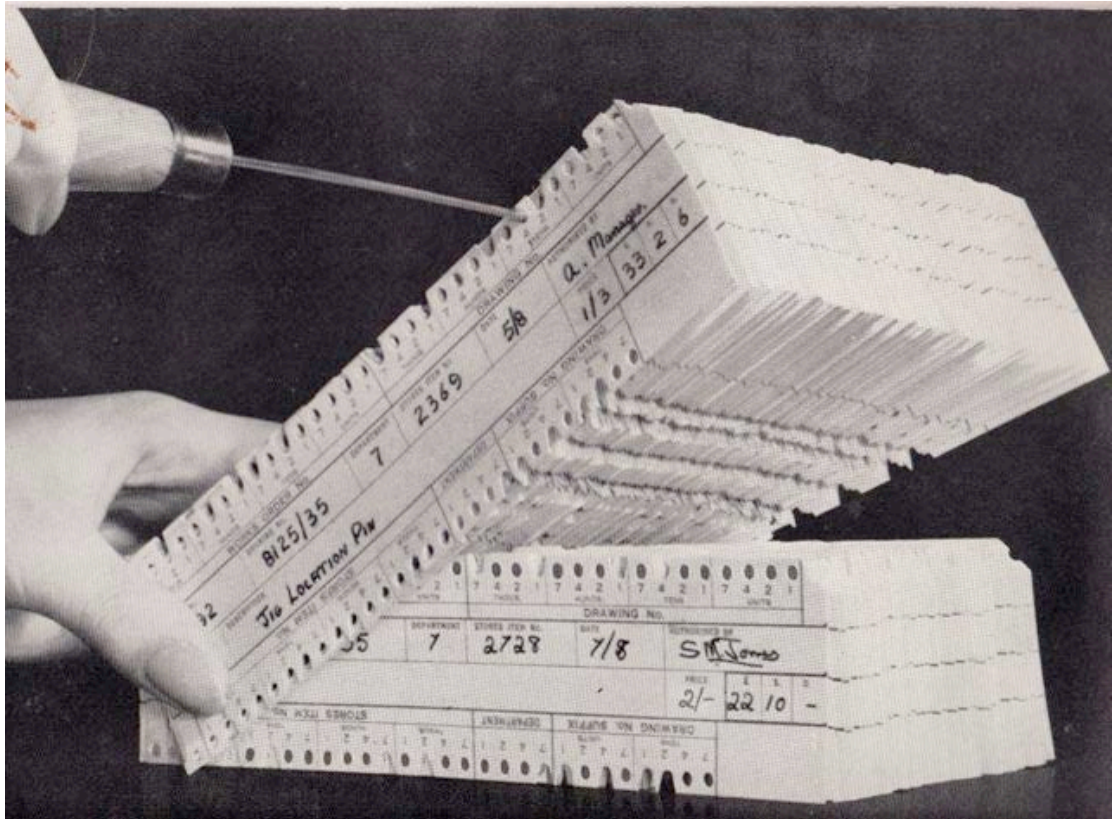
When sorting, the most satisfactory results are obtained by taking a convenient hand-full of cards and using the free hand to control the cards which fall out. Selection is quick and accurate; approximately one thousand cards can be needled through any one position in one minute.

### FLEXIBILITY

Any reasonable size card or sheet can be used either singly or made up in various ways. Books are made for stores requisitions in which the Paramount duplicate is torn out and the original retained. Similarly, in an invoice set, Paramount is used to take care of analysis of sales by line, territory, town or traveller, etc. In many instances a Paramount card forms the last copy of a set.

MACHINE ACCOUNTING EQUIPMENT  
THE PARAMOUNT CARD SORTING SYSTEM  
VISIBLE INDEX AND STRIP INDEX EQUIPMENT  
CONTINUOUS STATIONERY  
PULL-AWAY SETS





And my order:

**COPE-CHAT**  
*Systems*

TELEPHONE  
STROUD 500-501

TELEGRAMS  
COPECHAT, STROUD

THE COPELAND-CHATTERSON CO. LTD.  
REGD. OFFICE & WORKS: STROUD, GLOS.

Mr Alan Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Nr Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

ACCOUNT NO. *Sunds.*  
YOUR REF. *Letter 13.2.66.*  
OUR REF. *59854.*  
DATE *14-3-66.*

INVOICE

L0/4/Fish

1,000. 5-7/8" x 1/4" Standard Paramount Cards. Ref. P.3.	5 4 0
1 Paramount Hand Nipper.	1 10 0
	- 5 0
1. L.H. Paramount Sorting Needle.	6 19 0
Pur Tax Cds	1 2 1
" " Ntle	- 1 2
	£8 2 3
	NETT

SENT PER Post PACKED IN 1, Parcel. HB

TERMS: NETT 30 DAYS  
CHEQUES AND POSTAL ORDERS TO BE MADE PAYABLE TO THE COMPANY, AND CROSSED.

Another element in statistical work is some basic arithmetic which is now routinely done using pocket calculators. I don't think I could possibly have had one – though I would dearly have loved to and remember my delight when suddenly they became very cheap. Given inflation, a calculator, such as the one in the advertisement I cut out, would have cost well over a thousand pounds in today's money.



● 4 function + – × ÷  
● 1 Accumulating Memory  
● 12 Digits in display  
● Constant multiplication, flow arithmetic  
● Automatic decimal point (÷ only)

**QUALITY ELECTRONIC CALCULATOR**

12 months guarantee. Nationwide service facilities.  
Refund guaranteed if not absolutely delighted, provided  
machine returned undamaged within 7 days of receipt.

**£129**

Send cheque with order, or write to:  
**SET (ELECTRONICS) LTD. Dept. 3**  
52 Princess Street, Manchester M1 6JZ.  
Tel: 061-228 1001. Similar machines sell at £175

## Duplicators

This was the period before the Xerox revolution. One had to think before one wrote a letter as to whether a copy was necessary – afterwards was too late. Fortunately I early realized the importance of copy-keeping, and much of my account of the period from undergraduate Oxford onwards rests on the carbons I kept of what I thought would be important letters. I have learnt from recent enquiries that retrieving the letters I wrote to others during those years is almost (there is one big exception) impossible – even my mother only kept some of my letters.

Yet duplicators using chemicals were just starting to become available, and below is a leaflet for some early devices. The local agent was in Oxford, so it must have been from these postgraduate years.

I did buy a cheap device in 1967 (I could not have afforded any of those in the illustration) and found it moderately useful – it depended on some chemicals and was a bit slow and messy, but I remember feeling very exciting that I could make copies.



## dyeline process

Skycopy rotary dyeline machines will make an unlimited number of copies from any reasonably translucent, one-sided original. 80% of documents do, in fact, come under this category.

Copies are dry and ready for immediate use, and cost less than 1d each.

**DIANA**, the all-purpose dyeline copier, can produce at the rate of 500 copies an hour. An additional lamp adapts the machine for ordinary photocopying, used with a processor.

The **BABY DYELINE**, a stalwart little copier, is specially designed for use in Offices or Works requiring inexpensive yet faithful copies. Accuracy—economy—simplicity.



**h** SKYCOPY DIANA rotary  
13" or 18" bed, £295 or £315.

**i** SKYCOPY BABY DYELINE flat-bed  
printing area 11½" x 16½", £87.

## papers and materials

Automatic Paper Dispensers available for convenient handling of document copying paper used with all methods. Double sided documents—even pages from books, can be copied on one sheet of positive paper.

Offset Plates and Dyeline Masters can be created for an inexpensive run-off. Airmail and Card weight positives for special applications.

No matter what Copying application you have, let your Skycopy Dealer match it with the correct machine and appropriate materials.

your local dealer:



# SKYCOPY

PHOTOCOPYING MACHINES

A more ambitious idea was to self-publish by buying a very small press. The advertisement, from my favourite magazine, comes from a couple of years later, and I don't remember ever proceeding to such publishing until very recent experiments with the web.

**GET INTO PRINT!**  
—and  
**EARN EXTRA CASH**

**WHILE YOU FOLLOW THE MOST INTERESTING HOBBY OF ALL**

All over the world ambitious men and women are earning extra cash, while they enjoy what has been called "the world's most interesting hobby." Adana Printing Machines enable you to "get into print" and produce first class work easily and quickly. Everybody is a customer for printed material, such as greetings cards, leaflets, bills, notepaper, invitations, tickets, etc. — in fact, the demand increases with the increasing supply. Your next door neighbour, your nearest church, local businesses, shops—all are constant users of print and it would surprise you to know how many would welcome the help of a Home Printer with an ADANA. "Have saved my Society £200!"—A.D.C., Manchester. "Am getting more work than I can cope with!"—D.S.K. Reading. "A very lucrative business!"—The C. Press, Cheshire. "Have built up a flourishing business!"—The M. Printing Co. N. Ireland.

**Don't envy these successful people —be one of them!**

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**(EM33), 15/19 CHURCH ST.,**  
**TWICKENHAM, MIDD.**  
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Phone 01-892 3655 for details

Callers Welcome: Open Sats. until 4. (E.C. Tues.)  
London Branch: 8 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1  
(Closed 12.30 Saturdays)

The ADANA 8/5. A larger machine for the more ambitious  
PRICE £27.10.0

*Exchange & Post Aug. 22. 1968*

## Slide projectors and microfilm

One of my break-throughs was to realize that the microfilm revolution could be made available to me. Normally, as I describe in letters, proper microfilm readers were prohibitively expensive and I would not have been able to microfilm parish registers and other materials and work on them in the Lake District. But if the microfilm, being 35mm, was cut into pieces and put in slide mounts, then it could be projected on my shed wall or in the house. This is how I managed to start the first three-village study with the help of my sister Anne and my parents. I don't have the advert for such machines, but describe its purchase and use in my letters. Later it was to be adapted for work on other villages and Josselin's Diary in particular.

## Dictation machines


I think there is a certain amount in the letters about another important innovation – the use of tape-recorders. I do have, I have just discovered, one tape (which is damaged) with something like 'Anne – parish registers' on it. What I did then, and much more later, was to help the deciphering of documents by myself and my family by reading the document into a tape-recorder, and then typing from that. I just used a normal tape-recorder (which was also much used for recording music etc). I did not have anything as



sophisticated as a proper dictation machine until the 1970's – so the advertisement below was either from later, or just a dream.

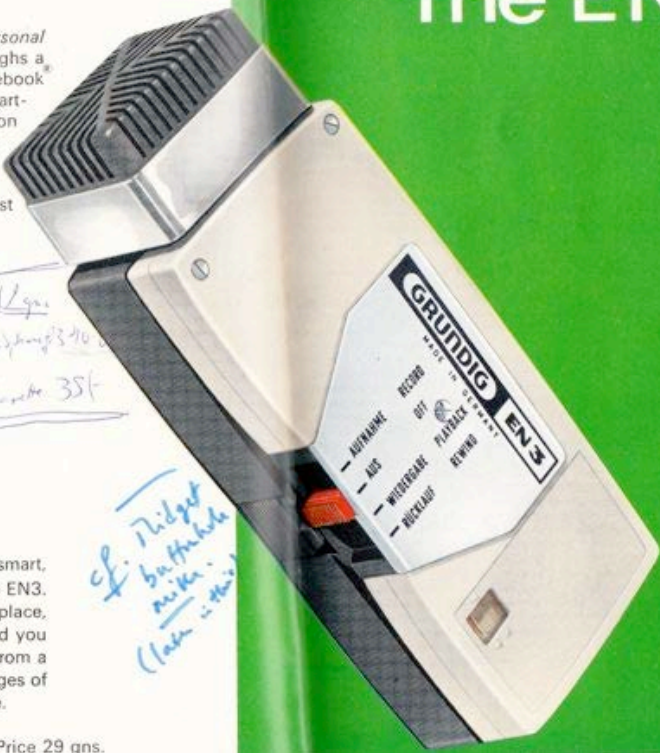
Grundig's record breaking *personal* tape recording machine that weighs a mere 14 ozs. The Electronic Notebook fits in a pocket, car glove compartment or handbag. Single button control lets you talk or play back as you wish. You can record 45 minutes dictation on the EN3 and it can be transcribed by a typist or re-recorded on a Stenorette.

Supplied with zip-up case.  
 Dimensions:  $6\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}" \times 1\frac{1}{2}"$   
 Weight: 14 oz Price 23 gns.



The new Grundig EW3 is the smart, efficient transcription unit for the EN3. Just put an EN3 cassette in place, switch on, adjust the volume and you can type from the recording as from a Stenorette. Gives all the advantages of a bigger, more expensive machine.  
 Dimensions:  $8" \times 5\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{2}"$   
 Weight:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lbs (with cassette) Price 29 gns.

## The EN3



12 gns

handy 35f

cf. Tidget bufferable mikes (later - 400)

Two other related technologies are worth appending.

One was some interest I showed in a quasi-statistical, or at least logical, method, called 'Critical Path Analysis'. I remember thinking this might help in analysing my witchcraft cases, but did not get much further than the thought. Here is the method:

## It's all very well drawing pretty diagrams. The question is, does Critical Path Analysis work?

We wanted to automate our hot mill. A big job—£2½ million. And a new one—there were no rules.

So the men who were going to do the job got together and worked out a Critical Path Analysis.

About 900 separate jobs were involved. They had to be done in a certain order and to a time limit. That meant 900 little Critical Path arrows. And yards of print-out from our newest computer. All the work listed and timed in its logical sequence. It was a beautiful schedule.

(C.P.A. works best with complex jobs. And the computer takes care of the tedious arithmetic. Together, they cut out the bottlenecks which waste materials and men's time.)

Then our schedule ran into a problem: we wanted to close the mill in June to install automation equipment. But customers' demands for steel made us keep going until August. Would this ruin our automation plans?

We ran the C.P.A. through our computer again and it re-scheduled all 900 jobs. But it showed we could still keep the original finishing date!

To deal with situations like this and to keep the whole operation on the move, we revised our schedule regularly. This flow of reliable information from the computer enabled us to meet our target dates.

C.P.A. has proved its worth in automating our hot mill and in other complex jobs. We shall be using it even more in the future.

### Critical Paths for Beginners

C.P.A. (Critical Path Analysis) is a method of doing complex jobs in a logical way. This is how it works: first, break down the job into its separate steps. Represent each step by an arrow (the length of this doesn't matter). Show by your arrows how jobs inter-relate (e.g. 'A' must be done before 'C,' which must come after 'B').

Then give each arrow a time value. Your Network Analysis chart will now show a series of parallel chains of jobs, sharing some common points between the beginning and the end.

Work out the longest time needed to reach each of these common points. Now add up the time along each chain of arrows from start to finish. The longest chain is the Critical Path—because this determines the total length of the job. All the jobs on

this path must be carried out in the allotted time. Many of the others will have 'spare time' because they can be done more rapidly than the Critical Path job.

So you can read off the maximum time for the whole job and the points at which you will need certain resources. You can juggle these—according to whether time or cost is the more important.

Once set up, the whole logical framework can be instantly adapted by computer to accommodate variables. This is the most important advantage of C.P.A. Your plan is always up to date.

Both management and workers know exactly what has to be done—and when. Both men and equipment can be employed with maximum efficiency.

C.P.A. is not just a pretty picture. It pays.

# THE STEEL COMPANY OF WALES LIMITED



The other concerned maps and mapping. A good deal of my Essex witchcraft work depended on various attempts to place people on maps, and I became interested in duplicating maps. Here is part of an attempt to produce some maps.



4/1/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

I wonder if you could give me any details about your ability to do plan copying? I want to purchase about a dozen copies of an outline map, traced from an 1841 Essex tithe map in the Essex Record Office. I have already traced the map and wondered how I could reproduce some copies. Miss Grieve of the Essex Record Office staff suggested 'Industrial plan copying' which has been successfully performed for her with her maps of Chelmsford. The maps, as you know, are several feet in length and width.

Yours sincerely,

Alan Macfarlane

Messrs. E. N. Mason & Sons, Ltd.,  
Arclight Works,  
COLCHESTER,  
Essex.

## E. N. MASON & SONS LTD

COLCHESTER · ESSEX · ENGLAND

Telephone: Colchester 5195 Telegrams: Arclight Colchester

YOUR REF.

OUR REF. R.J.L./JH/203/3/0297

7th January, 1966.

Mr. A. Macfarlane,  
Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

*Shipeys Bookshop  
Head Street,  
Colchester.*

Dear Sirs,

We thank you for your letter of the 4th January and are pleased to inform you that we can undertake the reproduction of plans from tracings, by the dyeline or photographic processes.

Unfortunately, you omitted to state the size, type or number of drawings so that we are unable to give you a quotation but this we will be pleased to do on receipt of this information.

We can normally copy up to 40" in width by any length by the dyeline process.

We hope that we may look forward to your further instructions in due course.

Yours faithfully,  
for E. N. MASON & SONS LIMITED.

  
R.J. LITTLE

28-31 Dullington Street,  
London, E.C.1  
Clarkson 4064 (4 lines)

27 Tennant Avenue, College Milton,  
Essex, S.10  
East Kilbride 25411 (2 lines)

Albion Road, Ipswich,  
Birmingham 33  
Ipswich 4442 (3 lines)

11 Victoria Street, Sheffield 3  
Sheffield 13109

Broughton Works, Blackburn Street,  
Salford 2  
Densmore 2942 (2 lines)

3 Unity Street, Bristol 1  
Bristol 291447 (2 lines)

Clayton Works, Clayton Road,  
Derby  
Derby 41607 (2 lines)

Railway Yard  
Grimsby, Lincoln  
Grimsby 1386

A VENESTA COMPANY



4/4/66

Field Head,  
Outgate,  
Nr. Ambleside,  
Westmorland.

Dear Sir,

I enclose a tracing of an Essex tithe map. I would like two Diazo copies made (I am not sure whether it would be best onto Deltalyne or Masonblack etc - I leave this to your discretion). I apologise for the fact that the tracing is onto separate pieces of paper, this was dictated by the size of the tracing paper. I imagine that you can put the whole map onto one sheet. I would like the maps one on 'Postal Lightweight Medium Paper', the other on 'Airmail Stout Paper'. The size would obviously be the smallest size onto which the whole map would fit.

By the same process could you please make six copies of map I. and two copies of map II. I realize that the paper may not be suitable for map II. All these onto the 'Postal Lightweight'.

Are you able to make copies onto tracing paper ?

I look forward to hearing from you and will send payment when I am informed of the price of the above copies.

Yours faithfully,

Alan Macfarlane.

## Staples is Heaven

Later in my life I became a great fan of the Office Furniture emporium 'Staples' and loved wandering around buying gadgets, much to my family's amusement. This was the later development of a love of all kinds of devices which helped me to organize and access the growing archive which is now spilling onto the pages. It seems appropriate therefore to end with an example of my love as expressed in the advertisements I snipped out of 'Exchange and Mart' at that time.



Thursday, January 27, 1966

## RECONDITIONED FURNITURE

100 Filing Cabinets from £5.  
200 General Office Desks from £7.10.0.  
100 Exec. & Typist Swivel Chairs from £3.15.0.  
100 Card Index Drawers from 27/6.  
200 Assorted Wooden Chairs from 15/-.  
100 Wood & Metal Tables.  
100 Formica Topped Canteen Tables, £3.  
200 Children's School Desks from 35/-.  
Thousands of other items. Discount on items not reconditioned.  
**OFFICE RECONSTRUCTIONS LTD.**  
Mather House, Mather Lane, Leigh, Lancs.  
Leigh 73105

## FURNITURE

● Kardex cabinets, as new, less than half new prices, e.g.: 16 tray for 8in. x 5in. cards, £48; 14 tray for 10in. x 8in., £57; Cope Chat 12 tray, double banked equals 24 normal trays, £42.10.0. Large stocks for immediate dispatch, all cabinets reconditioned and resprayed, complete with pockets. Cartage £1.10.0 each, London free. C.W.O. Crowder, 50 West Street, Dorking, Dorking 4805.  
● Largest stock in the country of reconditioned office furniture pounds below new prices and immediate delivery, 100 filing cabinets, 150 desks, tables, chairs, cabinets, plan chests, lockers, etc., all priced low to ensure rapid clearance. Call or send for our list, daily delivery London and Home Counties. Crowder, 50 West Street, Dorking, Dorking 4805. **Wanted:** Double elephant plan chest. Phone Covent Garden 1377.  
● Quarto filing cabinets, metal, 4 drawer, £7.10.0, delivered London or 20 miles Chelmsford. Phone Chelmsford 51084.  
● Wood office desks £3.10.0; wooden swivel chairs 10/-; 12 Boxley Street, West Silvertown, London, E.16. ALB 6837.  
● Office desk, inlaid top, for quick sale. 89 Station Road, Northwich, Cheshire 2398.  
● Four drawer toolcup steel filing cabinet, £6; desks £4; tables 50/-; swivel armchair £6; light pendants 7/6; doors 12/6. 50 London Road, Stanmore.  
● National signature recording clock, hand wound, dial type £5; Carter Parratt Adminindex cabinet, 12 traps type, £18.12.15; Presto posting press, No. 1 cards 8in. x 5in., 30/-; Box (Herts) M57191.  
● 1-drawer toolcup size steel filing cabinet, preferably 27in. in good condition. Box (Oxon) M57202.  
● Hundreds of new and used desks and chairs in stock at Lewisham, 47-50 North Road, Kingston, Surrey, K.V. 9786. Also sale tables, benches, chairs, from 10/-.

## MACHINES

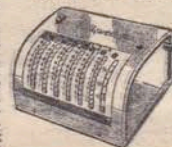
● Stenorette dictating machines with foot control, mike, tape, complete, reconditioned, guaranteed, £29.10.0, complete (new model £73). A good buy. St. Albans Typewriter Centre (E.S.), 103 Victoria Street, St. Albans. Telephone 50464.  
● Adding machine, shop soiled, at reduced prices, £14, £25 and £33. Easy terms arranged. Big selection. Write quickly to St. Albans Typewriter Centre (E.S.), 103 Victoria Street, St. Albans. Telephone 50464.  
● Adding, accounting and calculating machines, all makes, reconditioned, guaranteed. Burroughs, Comptometer, Sumlock, National accounting machines. Easy terms, Mike, MacVeigh & Larkin, 55 Cowcross Street, (opposite Farringdon Station), E.C.1. Clerkenwell 7434.  
● Typist's pool of Dictaphone Timomaster transcribing machines, comprising TB6 and International Model 5, mechanically and electronically tested, sold in batches or single machines. Holdings, 39-41 Mincing Lane, Blackburn.  
● Photocopier, desk model, cost new £110. Quality machine, little used, only £20. Box (Middx) M58828.  
● Anson P.A.V.E. waxes machine. Six months old, cost £60, sell £25. Welbeck 3022.  
● Desk photocopier, takes up to 9in. x 14in., all colours. Current model, £20. Hayes £239.  
● Thermofax 3M instantaneous copier, No. 350 lightweight, extremely portable, new, almost unused, full box paper, cost over £100. 38cms. Putney 3078 evenings or s.a.e. Box (London) KY6082.  
● Wanted: Modern Grundig Stenorette dictating machine. Full details: Parris, Spring Cottage, Usk, Mon.

## ADDING MACHINE

DO YOU STILL ADD UP IN YOUR HEAD?

only £5 POST FREE

If so, why not buy a good adding machine for only £5? The ADDIPRESTO adds up to £9,999 19s 11½ and so easy even a child can use it. The solution to many a headache adding columns of figures mentally. Does the work of a machine 10 times the price! Sturdily made. Complete with Styhus fitted ball point pen, spare Styhus and cover. IDEAL FOR HOME, OFFICE, SHOP, FACTORY, etc. SATISFACTION OR MONEY BACK. Send Now £5 P.O. Cheque or Cash. NO MORE TO PAY (C.O.D. 2/8 extra).



**Wm. PENN LTD. (Dept. EX)**  
585 High Road, Finchley, London, N.12

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### DUPLICATORS

● Duplicators, all makes. Gestetners, from £2.10.0; spirit unisex, £25; flat £6, guaranteed. MacVeigh & Larkin, 55 Cowcross Street, opposite Farringdon Station, E.C.1. Clerkenwell 7434.  
● 200 typewritten circulars, 8in. x 5in., actively duplicated for 10/-, everything included. Quick service. Brown's Typewriting Service Ltd., Calderdale Works, Burnley.  
● Electronic stencils, 8/6; c.w.o. Photocopying, duplicating, prompt service. Bettalors, 12 London Road, Leicester.  
● Duplicating and typewriting service. Prompt attention to all orders. Hugh Bedford, 34 Garden Road, Newport Pagnell, Bucks.  
● Gestetner 320, little used, with cabinet, £65. 2 Seagrave Road, Wansstead, E.11. Wansstead 802. Sunday to Thursday only.  
● Photocopier, Vactroprint, brand new. Copies any colour original permanent copies, fully guaranteed and serviced, only £39. Ask for free demonstration. Write: Star Carbon Mfg. Co. Ltd., Machine Supplies Division, Lower Kings Road, Berkhamstead, Herts. Tel. Berkhamstead 1369.  
● New toolcup duplicators; ink 30/-, spirit 1/6, postage included, refund guarantee. Partridge, Gilebe House, Bussage, Stroud, ide.  
● Gestetner duplicator, £9, with instructions, incompressible typewritten, photo, printed copies. Colour sets, stationery available. Deliver HUR 6721.  
● Late Gestetner electric duplicator, fully automatic 260 Mark II, cost £180, bargain £65; stand, instructions, colour, stencils, paper, delivery demonstration, THO 8945.  
● Roneo 500 automatic duplicator, £19, excellent working order, possible delivery. ADD 3470.  
● Gestetner 360 with cabinet, all accessories, little used, new £280, accept £150 o.n.o.; sale due to sudden death. Barnet 2344.  
● Eltams duplicators, colour, hand-operated, perfect copies produced at high speed, cost £30, bargain £11. Phone RIV 3967.  
● Gestetner duplicators and supplies. Latest models (used from £9), spares, repairs by Gestetner trained specialist. Write for list: 48 Milton Road, Wallington, Surrey.  
● Gestetner educational model, excellent condition, needs slight mechanical attention. £7.10.0 o.n.o. Goodwin, Feltham 6185.  
● Very latest Roneo 750 precision duplicator, just cost over £250, virtually unused, selling £145 with all equipment, possible delivery. HUR 6721.  
● High quality duplicating by Harvey Office Services, 3 days delivery, postage paid. Samples and price list free. Special reductions on large quantities. 230 Main Street, Thornton, Leics.  
● The best electronic stencils, only 7/3 c.w.o., by return post. Mayford Company, 45 Sandall Park Drive, Doncaster.  
● Roneo 750 Mark 3 electric, with cabinet, col. ext., nearly new, £120 o.n.o. Middleweek, 218 Wolverton Road, Newport Pagnell. Tel. 213.  
● Express Typewriting/duplicating Services, 21 Gaveston Road, London, S.W.15. All kinds of Printing, Duplicating Services.  
● Duplicating, Typing and all ancillary office services. Quotations by return post. Heywood Duplicating Services, Roach Mill, Heywood, Lancs.  
● Quality Offset Duplicating. Walker & Wright Ltd., 67 Union Street, Bedford.  
● Gestetner Scholar duplicator, hardly ever used, and serviced recently by makers. Produces a first-class copy. Must sell owing to purchase of an electric model, £15 or nearest offer. Box (London) M56691.  
● Wanted: Roneo 250 duplicator for sale. Electric Roneo 750, manufacturer's guarantee, £75. Box (Kent) EK6498.  
● 500 duplicated circulars 8 x 5, 11/6 post paid same day. List for s.a.e. B.C.B., 47 Highcliff, Barrow in Furness, Lancs.

## 4-STATION INTERCOM



## Transistor TELEPHONE AMPLIFIER





## OTHER POEMS – postgraduate period

1963

I don't know why I was visiting the Radcliffe hospital on 19 October 1963. But it seems to have inspired me to a short poem – which has echoes of another piece of writing as an undergraduate, reacting to pain in a hospital. (It is clearly heavily influenced by Yeats).

Radcliffe. 1963. Oct 19 . On seeing a girl on a trolley.

I saw a face I had not seen before  
Fair flushed with pains bright roses,  
Eyes staring open as the trolley bumped  
Hair falling on the harvest pillow.  
Breasts rising in the shrouds.  
And all the starlight wonder & the sun  
Streaming through the evening leaves  
Seemed a madness in this drifting  
World where restless moanings  
And the stale drab deaths  
Sneers across the dusty field  
And drags us sobbing to the grave.

It looks as if it was on the same evening that I wrote a poem to a girl.

On Autumn & Helen 19.10.63

Rich in the blazoned attics of my mind  
Mid store of pomp & heralds gold  
I choose fine emblems to remind  
Thee of the glory that grows cold.  
Deep in the warmth of wintered woods  
Asleep in their coats of ice & snow  
Stand the oak-trees in their hoods  
While the bitter winds do blow.  
All the joy and all the pain  
Through this autumn world of leaves  
Gathers in the human frame  
Binds our thoughts as thick as sheaves  
And the timeless moan of song  
That beats breathless in my soul  
Pours the drift of death along  
Into winter's starving bowl.

1964

26.7.64

To be poised in and out of time.

To feel still uncertain of the movements  
Of things, to feel unsure that the rose will ever die.  
To kiss the rose and not to know goodbye.  
To hear music in the silences  
And the distant trumpets of a loftier moment  
When all the majesty, all the misery  
Of this world gathered itself to a greatness  
And struck in fury and pain on the rock  
Thrilling the far moment with its spray  
Its lights, and dancing desires and  
The sound of bells in the deep.  
This is the stillness in the storm  
The unravelled moment of the poet  
The affirmation that 'all is well',  
And answering voice in the dark.  
Not an answer to a query  
Not a certainty amidst doubt  
Not even shelter but a certain  
Timelessness.

[There is a quote 'all is well' as well as other allusions to T.S.Eliot's Four Quartets here]

Scan of the above as an example:



26.11.64.

To be poised in and out of time,  
 To feel still uncertain of the movements  
 of things; to feel unsure that the rose will  
 ever die.  
 To kiss the rose and not to know goodbye  
 To hear music in the silences  
 And the distant trumpets of a loftier world  
 When all the majesty, all the misery  
 of this world gathered itself to a greatness  
 And struck in fury and pain on the rock  
 Throwing the far moment with its spray  
 Its lights, and dancing shadows and  
 The sound of bells in the deep.  
 This is the stillness in the storm  
 The unravelled moment of the poet  
 The affirmation that 'all is well'  
 The answering voice in the dark.  
 Not an answer to a query  
 Not a certainty amidst doubt  
 Not even shelter but a certain  
 Timelessness.

To Antonia 4/11/64

It is not easy to rhyme to you;  
 Beauty cannot be invoked for your  
 Beauty is still a mystery unknown  
 Too passing even for the leaf to notice.  
 It is a recollection of eyes & hair  
 Set in a childish candour of innocence,  
 Of level eyes & golden hair  
 And the rapture of a shared smile.  
 Your grace of movement and  
 Our serious concentration are your art.  
 I remember this; but no more.  
 Nor can Love be wooed  
 In all its melancholy meaninglessness,  
 For the love I have is all

For the shadow princess in  
My own soul and not for you.  
And what is Truth? Is it true  
That this day is lonely, and that  
Spring buds grow in the midst of  
Autumn leaves, it is sure  
That midst the last fine fire  
Our hearts & souls will remain unquenched? All that I  
Can offer is the still, sad, Musings of a love-lorn  
Wight, a glimpse into the  
Formless, shapeless complexities  
Of a restless child who seeks  
To hold your hand and gaze  
In terror at the darkening night.

As I set off, presumably to the Lake District (or London) I jotted down the following.

### **Waiting in a bus - Walton Street 13/12/64**

Rhododendrons brushed the waiting bus  
A backscreen to the little play  
The winter sky which had sucked all  
The colours, carried Salvation Army carols  
And the scent of soaked fields  
Of the full brown river  
Across the slates.  
Listless conversation mingled with Bach  
Nostalgia merged with emptiness  
And a group of youths sidled, watching  
How the collections for the band were treated.  
The whole world seemed caught in  
That restless web, of Yeats' poems on my  
Knee, the clink of counted change  
The moment of children being guided  
To their seats. All the complexity  
The crowded unmeaning  
The silence of the babble of men  
Seemed to come into that  
Waiting bus.

On my twenty-third birthday, I wrote a poem as follows.

### 20/12/64 Birthday

How can one reach through the sticky sentiments  
Of Christmas, the mock loneliness, the prettiness and trivia  
To something permanent and true; man's eternal search  
Seems again important. And as I write the faces of the many dead  
Rise through the forests of beauty to sing  
That in the depths and bitterness of winter



And in the snow and cold  
 And in the tears that have mixed with the dirt  
 Of station platforms and through the vomit  
 And blood of a thousand hospitals  
 Where the ulcered and lepered lie  
 Screaming curses on their god  
 As he tears the brain and paints  
 The heavens with the cloth of gold  
 And pulls the trees across the sky  
 The graves and the beggars on the pavement,  
 The movement of young girls, the sugared  
 Voice of mock pop singers, the bitterness  
 Of hurt lovers all these merge into  
 The agony and laughter that we know.  
 To feel velvet and to know the cold wind  
 To abandon the pen and let the sore  
 Heart moan to the moon: to feel that  
 Death rides each shadow and that laughter  
 Pulls back from the machine-given.  
 We cannot hold one another  
 Cannot compromise, nor fight,  
 Cannot feel nor think though we sneer  
 And scoff at other's who walk in humility  
 In their sorrow. And here I stand in my  
 Mock despair, no older, no deeper, no  
 Nearer God or Man, eaten up with myself  
 Slobbering before the feast of fame  
 And self-importance and yet groaning  
 Awestruck before the majesty of man's inconsequence  
 Horror at the balloon of ignorance & prejudice  
 On which we dance. Sleep on in your cosy  
 Irresponsibility or give and lose, suffer and  
 Shout and dance into the rolling years.  
 Pour your soul into God's bucket or man's  
 Pocket and let the wind numb the body  
 And man's whip, to scar your timid flesh.  
 Laugh and stand on Christ's side in the  
 Infinite tragedy of this deep folly.

[Stirring stuff!]

1965

This was perhaps the time I was attending the Trypanis poetry meetings, for at the top of the sheet on which these few lines were written are some notes on how to write poetry – elementary stuff. The poem itself, it appears, was written during a seminar in January 1965 – the seminar was run by A.C. Crombie, the Historian of Science.

Winter's trumpet clashes from the sea-shore rocks  
 Throwing the wind up to the stars.

Now the night flows across the hills  
And the night-birds roam, through the silent wood  
The raven swarms cloud the darkened moon  
And the brooding vampire sinks the death-gasp groan  
Where the splendid stick of the lightnings flash  
Light, and then darkens the castles black.

Slowly change moves in on our mind  
The morning, evening, sorrow's own  
Then the vision goes and you flounder on  
And the bells toll no more in the ???? sea.

I find in a letter in December 1964 that I wrote to my parents:

I got round to going to see Jill (Celia's niece) yesterday, or at least I found the Catholic Worker's College where she lives at Boar's Hill and found that her second name (which I'd been unable to read) is Walker. I've invited her to coffee.

So it may have been that I tried to visit her again and the following poem was partly inspired by the anticipated, or achieved, meeting.

### **Catholic Workers College. Reflections 15/1/65**

And if I had woven a web of fire  
For the blue and the gold of autumn days  
For the blood that mingles with the mire,  
For the passionate depths of lost mystery plays  
Or if I had sought through the forest shade,  
Catching the stars of the weeded sun  
Running or staring at the monstrous glades  
Pulling the moss where the wild deer run  
I had found a house of dream-grey stone  
Where the birds sang down in their streams  
And the music of water and of distant foam  
And of lights and drams  
But I cannot move in the magic wood  
It's depths turn to slabs  
And the trees turn to tombs  
Where the factories jolt up and stagger  
Heaving on their oceans of sand.  
And all that was fresh that was young  
That was pure, sinks in the sound  
Of the lute  
And all that I hear in the cold of this night  
Is the distant flute  
Et it pour, let it come.  
Let the song roar & run  
Let the winds on moor blow free



But the empty house, with wainscot & mouse  
No longer contains me.

For I move in a world of a different dram  
Hard and noisy, good & clean  
Where the mind leaps around  
From mound to mound  
Digging and delving and sorting.

I am split in two  
So what shall I do?  
You see I laugh at myself,  
So do you!

There are obvious allusion again to Elliot (Wainscot and Mouse). The end is interesting – the final recognition of a split, a division, between the older poetic, unified self, and the new filing-system, researching, self.

I was a member of a poetry circle, as mentioned, organized by Constantine Trypanis. I felt a bit of a fraud, and particularly when we were encouraged to bring a recently written poem to the group. I remember sitting miserably with a heavy cold (which I describe in a letter on 28th February to my parents as following:

“I’ve been slightly hampered in my pursuit of her by having an awful cold - one of the most intense I can remember. It only lasted 3 days but I got through half-a-dozen handkerchiefs & 2 and a half toilet rolls in no time. It’s nearly gone again thank goodness.”)

I was in the Radcliffe Camera, waiting to go to a meeting of the circle and expected to write a poem. So, in desperation I wrote (on two Bodleian book order slips) a poem – about having a cold. (I seem to remember that some of the group quite liked it!) The start, of course, mirrors ‘The cormorant or lesser shag, lays its eggs in a paper bag...’

**A cold.** 22/2/1965

The influenza or the common cold  
Grows lushly in human mould.  
The reason is, I’m sure you’ll see,  
It takes us for a rat or flea.  
And then the swimming lights,  
The hotness stretching up into the brain,  
The trickling, treading & tenderness  
Of burnt flesh round the nose,  
Smeared with moisture & rubbed sore by damp rags.  
The drug-handkerchief complex –  
The descent into magic & pills  
Rituals with bottles and jars  
The loss of interest in all ideals  
In beauty, sex, thought all  
Except when the damn thing will stop.  
God puffs out in a sneeze  
Woman evaporates in a wheeze,

Purposive intellect moans to a standstill  
And friends become enemies  
Because they fail to ask us how we are.  
Winds which before shook our fancy into shaking Shakespeare into shaking the darling  
buds of May'  
Now beat, break through and cut raw rust of our reddened face.  
Sleep which before slipt, slid and sealed the casements of our souls, now bubbles,  
claustrophobia, crumpled-sheet \* distracted upon us.  
We are turned from men,  
Mature leaders of a giddy world  
Into moults [?moles], mooning our self-pitying way back into our mother's laps.  
Perhaps the influenza was right?

As an example of fevered composition, here is the original manuscript, suitable stained  
with drips...



A W.D.

22/2/65.

The influenza or the common cold  
~~lays to~~  
~~how~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ human world  
how ~~badly~~.

The reason ~~It takes~~ <sup>is</sup>, I'm sure you'll see,  
It ~~takes~~ us for a rat or flea.

And then the swimming lights,  
The hotness stretching up into <sup>the</sup> brain,  
The dripping, teaching ~~or~~ <sup>of</sup> tenderness  
Of burnt flesh round the nose,  
Smeared with moisture & rubbed  
Sore by damp rag.

The drug-handkerchief ~~complex~~ <sup>addiction</sup>  
The descent into magic & pills  
Rituals with bottles or jars  
The loss of interest in <sup>all</sup> ~~it~~  
In beauty, sex, thought <sup>idea</sup> ~~all~~  
Except when the damn thing  
Will stop.  
God puffs out in a sneeze  
Woman evaporates in a whoop,  
Purposive intellect means to a  
And friend becomes <sup>steadfast</sup> ~~enemy~~  
Because they fail to ask us  
how we are.

Which before shook our  
 fancy into shaping Shakespeare  
 into shaking the dark  
 buds of day.  
 Now beat, break through and  
 cut raw rot of our  
 reddened face.  
 Sleep which before slept,  
 slid and sealed the  
 casements of our souls,  
 now bubbles, claustrophobia,  
 crumpled sheet & dream  
 upon us.  
 We are turned for men,  
 Nature leaders of a giddy  
 world  
 Into mounds, mourning our  
 self-pitying way back  
 into our mother's laps  
 Perhaps the influenza was  
 right?  
~~What a mess about~~  
~~it~~

At present, the last poetic outpouring which I have saved was written on 19th April 1965.



On 21st April I wrote to my parents.

“My one burst of social life was on Easter Sunday. After Easter communion in the beautifully decorated church & a chicken-lunch I was driven over to Troutbeck by Jane (Byrne) & spent the afternoon watching the Beatles & others (the session Anne went to). Then cocktails at Anne Johnson's - where we met Bill Critchley etc etc & back for a select party at Jane's till 2 p.m.” I presumably mean 2 a.m., and one result was

### **Jane's kitchen after a party**

Sausage frying and safely tabled toast,  
A few half empty glasses  
To remind one of the party,  
Impatient children eating left-over  
Easter eggs, nests of bright pebbles  
Held in the hollow of chocolate.  
All these disassociated images,  
Caught in a web of the Beatles spinning  
And tugging one gently back into life,  
Faces drift from yesterdays,  
Stalking into the kitchen of my mind  
On cat feet, playing with my affections  
As with a dead vole - and then all  
The splendour of a peacock's  
Tail - shot through with all the  
Fury of emotion aroused, of sand  
Streaming across the mountains  
Shaping the waterfalls into rainbows  
And the trees fermenting in the ground,  
Spring's wine oozing into the soup  
Of summer. When will the ???  
Come so that the sleep will be shaken  
And the trumpet sound.  
When will the splendour of a thousand  
Golden days enrich again our shifting skies  
And all the summer of youth & innocence  
Drown itself in the greater glory of  
The Word Revealed when Christ  
Shall fall from the Cross and let  
His soul's agony stain the flowers?  
Then shall the mountains leap  
And the heavens spark beauty,  
Then shall the sons of man speak  
An unutterable humility, and the  
Broken limbs shall be mended.  
Slowly, slightly the skies sombre  
Fulfillment pulls the light down  
It's back, revealing breasts and thighs of ivory, long-combing back  
It's hair of light; pressing with  
Iris-tender hands the smothering

Cries of our fevered brows.  
Asleep the strong find themselves  
Chained by the fire of Old forests,  
Caught by their muscles in a band  
Of blood, which flows down through  
Their eyes and catches and tugs at  
Their restless minds. I saw  
The ecstasy breaking down through  
The farms, rolling the trumpet  
Through the boulders, and the  
Sand of the seven riders. High  
Above the thunder, and the  
Moving of deep-down Evil. The  
Splitting open of wounds, the appalling  
Scream of shells and the batteries  
Of force engage and maul,  
And then the stillness of  
Infinite distance and the tenderness  
Of sunlight on music, of water  
Blending into the leaves and  
The reflections, catching long  
Tresses of hair, and wide eyes  
Reflecting naked feet and long limbs  
And I felt hands stealing through  
Sand; the gradual pouring out of  
Desire; and when the wind dropped  
The lake was completely still  
And your heart in mine enfolded.  
The conflict for a moment  
Higher than the mountains and  
Hidden from eyes in the deep moss  
At a tree's foot.

[A strange semi-poem indeed, and a suitable ending to my poetic career – if it was the last poem, filled with my usual mixture of borrowed ideas, obvious battles between sex and religion etc. A psycho-analyst's paradise no doubt!]