Lives of Victorian Literary Figures VI

Lewis Carroll

Edited by
Edward Wakeling

ROUTLEDGE

LIVES OF VICTORIAN LITERARY FIGURES VI

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VOLUME 1: LEWIS CARROLL
VOLUME 2: ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON
VOLUME 3: ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE

LIVES OF VICTORIAN LITERARY FIGURES VI

LEWIS CARROLL, ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON AND ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE BY THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

VOLUME

1

LEWIS CARROLL

EDITED BY
EDWARD WAKELING

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CONTENTS

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Andy Warhol's famous quip, 'In the future, everyone will be famous for fifteen minutes', is often seen as fulfilled in celebrity culture. Today's pop star is tomorrow's unknown; today's unknown is tomorrow's pop star. The turnover of 'famous' names has become so rapid that keeping track is a full-time occupation (which is perhaps the point). Meanwhile, as people never tire of pointing out, celebrity seems arbitrary; the people we are invited to admire seem characterless and mediocre, while people of much greater worth and interest remain out of sight. It is feared that young people are being offered unsatisfactory role models or, more worryingly, that the whole notion of role model is being gradually devalued. As so much time and column inches are devoted to uninteresting 'celebrities', concern grows that the audience will lose faith in the possibility of excellence.

This atmosphere can produce the opposite effect, however, and place at a premium 'genuine' achievement, which emerges more powerfully by contrast with the crowd of empty, self-promoting celebrities. It also makes durability important; being able to last (while so many others rapidly vanish) becomes the criterion of true celebrity status. Being 'hot' or 'the latest thing' is viewed, by contrast, with suspicion; the instant celebrity fascinates and is also on trial.

This creates a pattern in celebrity careers, in which overnight success is followed by slow attainment of real success – a pattern in which the manufactured is slowly displaced by the authentic or the absence of any authentic centre or worth is gradually revealed. In that respect, celebrity culture can be seen as continuing to support supposedly old-fashioned ideas of integral, essential selfhood instead of evacuating them. Though celebrities must continually reinvent themselves and continually court publicity, their lasting success depends both upon their skilfulness in doing so and their conveying that this is not all they are doing – that instead, within their manipulation of the media machine, a personal quest can still be discerned. The audience also knows that this authentic inner artist is something many would-be celebrities attempt to fake – that it too is subject to manufacture – and consequently acute tension surrounds decisions about where

the genuine can be found. Is Bono a loudmouth or a prophet? Is Madonna a publicity-thirsty chameleon or a feminist icon?

Contemporary literature is increasingly caught up too in celebrity culture's structuring of careers. Writers will initially become widely known via an early success – Jeanette Winterson's *Oranges are Not the Only Fruit* (1985), for instance, or Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000) – and they are then watched, to see whether they will fulfil their potential or disappear. This pattern produces a lot of writers who are 'one-hit wonders' and, consequently, it tends to suggest that true success and true worth come only from a number of solid achievements, from the creation of a body of work. In fact, of course, many writers only have, as the phrase is, one book in them and the demand to go on producing (in order to sustain the status of an enduring artist rather than a fleeting celebrity) leads to lots of second-rate books. *Collected Works* are frequently cluttered with junk.

Swinburne, Lewis Carroll and Robert Louis Stevenson are all writers it is easy to think of as 'one-hit wonders' – although, in Stevenson's case, perhaps a two-hit wonder would be more accurate. Swinburne's fame rests almost exclusively on his 1866 *Poems and Ballads*; Carroll is known for *Alice in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871), two books often treated as one though they appeared six years apart, and Stevenson is remembered as the author of *Treasure Island* (1883) and *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). Though all these works are widely admired, the limited scope of each author's perceived achievement allows each man to be seen as (differently) eccentric and that in turn both supports – and is supported by – the critical judgement which places their works to one side of a supposed mainstream.

The expectation (which is frequently an unconscious assumption) that a writer must produce voluminous works in order to qualify for greatness or even to be thought of as 'successful' evidently works to the disadvantage of people who, for whatever reason, produce only a single or a few well-regarded works. Less obviously, perhaps, this pattern can be imposed on writers whom a critic or critical school wishes to disparage. Lewis Carroll is a good example of the first situation; Stevenson of the second, and Swinburne's career and reception have elements of both.

Consequently, in other words, although the *Alice* books are widely admired, they are not very often placed at the head of the list of great Victorian novels. They do not figure on the A-level curriculum in the same way that Dickens does or Hardy (or as I think they should) and students are not assumed necessarily to be familiar with them by the time they finish a degree in English. The books may be consigned to the ghetto of children's literature or seen as an indulgence of the eccentric famous (like William Empson). And both these dismissive manoeuvres are easier to make because Carroll did not build on the books' success. He wrote mathematics instead and some nonsense poetry, producing in the way of fiction

only the *Sylvie and Bruno* books– two volumes, appearing in the last years of his life, that are usually treated either as a failure or as a retreat from the daringly subversive implications of Alice.

Similarly, though more distressingly, the singularity of the *Alice* books within Carroll's writing career (viewed in a context where continuity of achievement is valorised) encourages readings of them, which emphasise how they manifest feelings that Carroll otherwise kept hidden, even from himself. Because he is not being thought of as a great writer, his artistry and artistic control are underestimated; and, worse than this, the one-off of *Alice* is taken as the betrayal of his guilty secret – the perverse form of his love for little girls and Alice Liddell in particular.

Edward Wakeling in his excellent introduction to the Carroll volume in this set shows how little foundation there is for the belief that Carroll was erotically attracted to Alice Liddell or other young girls. His innocence as a friend to them and as a photographer of them seems to have been entire. Our suspicions about him linger partly because a post-Freudian culture finds it difficult to believe that sexual desire is not present in some disguised form in all human activity (and especially when men take photographs of women or girls) and partly because a permissive society assumes that a tightly regimented one must be damagingly repressive. Carroll is someone particularly vulnerable to suspicion, however, because his writerly status is compromised by the absence of a recognizable authorial career.

Robert Louis Stevenson, on the other hand, pursued his vocation as a writer energetically and consistently. The *Collected Works* that started to appear in the year of his death ran to twenty-eight volumes, even though Stevenson died in his early forties. Most of the material in all those numerous volumes is little known even so and although often excellent editions of his other novels have been published – notably Adrian Poole's *Master of Ballentrae* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996) – Stevenson's reputation is still dominated by *Jekyll and Hyde* and *Treasure Island*. Whether these are the most interesting books he wrote should be more arguable, I think, and more frequently debated. Jenni Calder's 1979 edition of *Jekyll and Hyde* included two further substantial stories in the volume ('The Beach of Falesá' and 'The Ebb-tide'), in an admirable attempt to broaden people's appreciation of Stevenson's works. *Jekyll and Hyde* remains though, like Frankenstein, so embedded in the culture and Stevenson remains so closely associated with it that efforts to distance the author from this work appear repeatedly to fail.

Given the high quality of Stevenson's other writings, the exclusive focus on one novella and one adventure story seems suspicious, especially when it is combined with the dubious history of his reception (outlined so well in the introduction to the Stevenson volume in this set). If Stevenson is to be dismissed

effectively (as a opportunistic writer of trivial crowd-pleasers) then it is convenient for him to have written only one book that anyone remembers; if he is to be caricatured, then his output must lack variety and range; if he is to be looked down upon as a hearty outdoorsman (by Bloomsbury aesthetes among others), then his application to his craft must be downplayed. Furthermore, *Jekyll and Hyde* is an attractive choice for those who wish to disparage Stevenson because, like the *Alice* books, it offers itself up very readily as material for psychological readings of the author. Stevenson becomes another Victorian afflicted by the period's repressiveness – an affliction that extends to the limited control he was able to exert over his writing, which (by this account) becomes powerful only when it is self-betraying.

Equally, there has been no shortage of critics eager to attack Swinburne. He was the particular target of Modernists including most influentially T. S. Eliot, despite the fact that Eliot's own poetry is evidently indebted to Swinburne, especially early on, and the two writers shared a common ancestor in Baudelaire. In recent years, countering this modernist judgement, skilled and energetic efforts have been made to recuperate Swinburne: leading scholars such as Jerome McGann, John Hollander and Kenneth Haynes, as well as recent biographers, including Rikky Rooksby, editor of the Swinburne volume here, have enjoyed some success in raising Swinburne's profile and found a critical approach that appreciates his eclecticism and artful virtuosity. Even so, Swinburne's life and career continue to be seen in terms of early triumphant success followed by years and years where his talent faded away; despite the attention now paid to the prose writings of Swinburne's later years, especially his essays on Renaissance drama, and despite critical admiration for his Arthurian poem, *Tristam of Lyonesse*, Swinburne is still treated as a prodigy, his work as a flash in the pan.

Literary biography can all too easily follow (and reinforce) its surrounding culture's assumptions about greatness. To some extent, it has to: market forces dictate that biographies are written, for the most part, about authors who are highly valued, whose artistic standing is high and who possess some kind of exemplary status. Official biographies of the grand old men of English letters show this danger most clearly, perhaps, but so in more indirect ways does the tradition of sensationalizing, debunking biographies. In these, characteristically, the writer is shown falling short of the public image and failing to match up to the pattern of sustained endeavour and achievement required of 'greatness'. Uncovering these lapses allows the modern biographer to reveal the naivety of a writer's earlier admirers (who were taken in by personal charisma or projected onto the writer their own desires); this style of biography can generate in other words a sense of gleeful superiority over the past, both its heroic writers and the audience that adored them – a superiority also enacted in the biographer's dismissal of earlier forms of biography.

Analysing the psychological weaknesses (that were masked previously by the patina of greatness) becomes a similarly triumphalist undertaking. Having fallen from the pedestal of greatness, the writer turns into an object of study. In that sense the psychological portrait can seem no more than the reflex of the traditional heroic one. If the career of the major writer was assumed to be one that conjoined durability and autonomy (self-creation and self-recreation taking place over the course of a lifetime's work), that traditional pattern still operates (strangely enough) when a sceptical biographer brings the shape of the life into question, because when that happens belief in a controlling self seems to disappear too. The self exaggerated into heroic autonomy offers the opportunity for claiming that no selfhood existed, at least none that could exert any control over the subject's primal drives. As a result of this oppositional history, biographies, whether they go along with an idealized image of their subject or whether they seek to disprove it, run the risk of cruelly asking too much of the people they are written about.

The patterns of heroic biography are evidently ill suited to Carroll or Swinburne. A quiet life in an Oxford college, drafting papers on obscure mathematical problems and going for walks, or a life spent in protected retirement, leading the life of a semi-invalid, are not interesting in themselves and they cannot be construed as a narrative of gradual and strenuous artistic fulfilment. Meanwhile, in the case of both men contemporary paranoia about scandal led to elaborate secrecy, which in turn generated suspicion and the pursuit by biographers of guilty secrets. Swinburne had greater notoriety and the details of his life were more feverishly hidden; Carroll led a life of perfect outward innocence and could be fondly portrayed as the kindly Oxford don. (There was a family biography by his nephew and another by the children's writer Roger Lancelyn Green). When the 'revelations' about him were finally made, Carroll was then transformed into a victim of his culture's sexual repressiveness.

Arguably, recent accounts of Carroll continued the victimization by ignoring the coherence, within Carroll's culture and environment, of the way he acted and by assuming (dubiously) that erotic desire cannot be modified by social structures and historical conditions. There might, in other words, have been a quality to Carroll's feelings about little girls that in the present day it is difficult to recapture or represent, feelings that we habitually mistranslate. Similarly, the sensational elements in Swinburne's sexuality, together with the dependency in his make-up (dependency at different times on alcohol, lovers, admirers and carers) have made it easy to read his writings as merely symptomatic and disregard their power as interventions at the time of their first appearance, as calls-to-arms on behalf of political and sexual liberation. Hardy (an intense and life-long admirer of Swinburne, odd as that may sound) responded to the 1866 *Poems and Ballads* as if he heard in them the chimes of freedom; many other young men of

Hardy's generation did the same. The importance of Swinburne in that moment, when he hit upon the *Zeitgeist*, perhaps without realizing it and even perhaps without being the kind of person able to intend it, is something that biography has found it awkward to address.

And with Stevenson too, biography can seem a cumbersome tool, one that in his case finds it hard to recognize or convey the determination within his waywardness and caprice. 'Heroic' seems the wrong word to choose in following Stevenson's restless journeying or in tracing the variety of his writing (some of the styles and genres he worked in being such self-evidently easy options); yet there is something heroic nevertheless about how much he managed to produce and how good so much of it was, considering his ill-health, uprooted life and financial worries. Furthermore, the works from the end of his life, *Weir of Hermiston* and 'The Ebb-Tide' particularly, reveal his artistic development, and imply a more serious and self-critical engagement with his own facility than he ever liked to admit to. Yet, how easy to make admiration in these terms obscure both Stevenson's uncertainties and his lightness – as a writer and as a person? How easy to use a heroic narrative in order to downplay (or even deny) frailty, or the absence of purposefulness, or ease? Or, when these qualities are undeniable, how likely that a heroic biography will regret them, trying too hard to make a role-model out of a person?

These problems may be inseparable from biography as a form, though I prefer to believe that the genre can be modified – through techniques of quotation, for instance, or choices over narrative structure or through the details of style – so that it shifts readers' and writer's expectations about what biography should aim to provide and what, more profoundly, we should expect of the artists we admire. These sets of biographical materials, drawn from a variety of sources and anthologized – introduced and contextualized by an editor rather than being deployed by a biographer – may appear to be only preparatory to biography proper, but they can (indeed should) be seen more positively and treated as biographical themselves – as collections that encourage the kind of reading (of the evidence and of the person which that evidence portrays), which biography itself might profitably move towards.

Contemporary reminiscences and memoirs remind us, among other things, that 'great writers' from the past were persons too, related to others and in relations with others – that they were seen as friends, acquaintances and loved-ones by their friends, acquaintances and loved-ones. The materials collected provide a range of perspectives (none perfectly reliable or impartial) that releases the subject from the single point-of-view entailed by either heroic idealization or psychoanalysis. By being seen situated within a complicated network of social relations, the subject of the biographer ceases to be isolated and that may in addition remind the reader that identity is produced socially. An anthology like

these ones challenges the assumption, often implied by biographies, that greatness derives from autonomy and consequently the reader may notice how much is invested culturally in an idea of individual independence that conflicts with social experience.

As the subject of biography emerges differently from an anthology, so the appropriate perspective on him or her will change as well. Anthologies encourage the reader to compare different points-of-view, constructing out of these a rounded picture of their own; at the same time, each point-of-view remains in the collection, as that particular person's account of the subject. A biographer, putting together a continuous narrative, cannot avoid selectively quoting from the sources; whether the quotations are made fairly or unscrupulously, the evidence is still being used to support the biographer's point-of-view. Though the reader will, of course, be able to compare the evidence with the biographer's reading of it and, if they wish, to compare one biography with another, even so an anthology makes that aspect of encountering a person from the past far more vivid.

The anthology gives the impression of many different, freestanding voices reacting in their own way to a particular individual. Consistent qualities appear along with new variety, comic weaknesses with unexpected strengths, kindness beneath a mask of severity, and so on. Amidst all this, however, the anthology gives greater weight than a biography can to the person who meets the subject; this shift in emphasis helps to socialize the biographical subject, but it shows too how the encounter occurred between two individuals, and consequently that (despite hero-worship or the person's thrill at meeting a 'celebrity') nonetheless, the meeting took place in some ways on an equal footing, between two people, speaking together and looking at one another.

Viewing the biographical subject as essentially an equal (neither hero nor patient) is, I think, the ideal position for a biographer and one that a biographer should also create for his or her readership; yet it is also for narrative biography, encumbered as the form is by heroic expectations and by the pressure to explain, a peculiarly difficult perspective to attain. For these three vulnerable and easily disparaged men, liable to caricature as much as to sentimentalization, these anthologies provide the means to a fairer consideration – what one might think of as a more open verdict.

R.P.

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INTRODUCTION

Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–98) was a mathematical lecturer at Oxford University. He was born at Daresbury, Cheshire, the eldest son of a gifted cleric, Charles Dodgson senior, perpetual curate and later archdeacon and canon in the Church of England. Using his pen name, Lewis Carroll, he became famous as the writer of two important books in the field of children's literature, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871). He published many books under his real name, mainly mathematical works or pamphlets connected with his university (*Dynamics of a Parti-cle* (1865), *An Elementary Treatise on Determinants* (1867), *Euclid and His Modern Rivals* (1879), *Euclid I, II* (1882), *Curiosa Mathematica, Part I, A New Theory of Parallels* (1888) and *Curiosa Mathematica, Part II, Pillow Problems* (1893)). Under his pseudonym he published books that he wanted to popularize, mainly books on poetry, puzzles and logic (*Phantasmagoria* (1869), *Rhyme? and Reason?* (1883), *A Tangled Tale* (1885), *The Game of Logic* (1886), *Symbolic Logic* (1896)). He wrote two further novels, not specifically for children that have remained unpopular and probably under-estimated in literary value – *Sylvie and Bruno* (1889) and *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1893). His complete opus of published works numbers almost 300 items, but this includes many short papers, leaflets, pamphlets, and circulars.

The character of Lewis Carroll has been the subject of many biographical studies over the years, commencing with the personal reminiscences of his nephew and confidante, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood. The rapid publication of this work, within a year of Dodgson's death, lends weight to the argument that aspects of the book were already in preparation beforehand. Collingwood came up to Christ Church, Oxford (home of his uncle since 1851) in October 1888, and remained a member of the college until at least 1892, spending much time with his uncle. They probably discussed the likelihood of a biography of 'Lewis Carroll', who was then a well-known name in the literary world, although very few people knew anything about his personal life. Dodgson avoided all forms of publicity, frequently returning letters sent to him at Christ Church, addressed to 'Lewis Carroll', refusing interviews with journalists, and getting his colleagues

to reply to autograph hunters. To a certain extent, Dodgson probably groomed Collingwood as his future biographer. Collingwood had access to accurate information about his life and work. At the same time, he was not going to include anything controversial or damaging to his uncle's reputation, assuming that such information existed. From what we now know about Dodgson, he had very little to hide. This has been a contentious issue for later biographers, each looking for some 'new angle' or 'skeleton in the cupboard'. Finding none, some resorted to invention.

But what about the host of child-friends he befriended, and the photography of little girls, and the fact that he never married? Surely these are sources of scandal you may ask. Our modern sensibilities make us ponder such features of his life, but if we condemn them we would be making a grave mistake. We need to understand his character in the context of the life he was born into – a Victorian in every sense of the word. He was nurtured to be a good Christian in society's upper-middle class showing respect for his God, his parents, his Queen, and his country. There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that he failed in any of these duties. Diligence and hard work were second nature to him; his achievements astound us today. Yet myths have arisen over time, probably because of the secrecy he imposed on his private life, and the lack of primary source material made available by his successors – a series of nephews, nieces, great nephews and great nieces, all who guarded his private life from prying eyes. For a man who wrote two highly successful children's books in order to satisfy the request of a ten-year-old child, his literary guardians did not see that his life and career was any business to the world at large. When Collingwood assembled the first biography, he was given access to all the private papers that Dodgson had amassed, describing himself 'embarrassed by his wealth of excellent material'.[1] These included thirteen volumes of a private journal kept by Dodgson throughout his life (a memorandum of his main activities), a letter register begun in 1861 that included notes on every letter and document sent and received until his death, a register of every photograph he took over a period of twenty-five years (1856–80), a large number of letters and personal papers carefully filed, a mass of working notes and proofs of books published and not published, address books, lists of child-friends and their birthdays and his mathematical working papers and lecture notes. All this material would have been gold dust to a biographer, but little of it remains. Four volumes of his private journal have now been lost presumably destroyed by a zealous family member seeking to hide some indiscretion revealed by Dodgson (almost certainly an internal family matter of no interest to us today) and ten pages have been cut out of the nine surviving volumes. A 'missing-page' has proved to be a bonanza for subsequent biographers

1 S. R. B., '"Lewis Carroll", His Biographer and Alice' [an interview with Stuart Dodgson Collingwood] *Unwin's Chap Book 1899–1900* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), p. 2.

– speculation on what 'might' have been written has resulted in flights of fancy that would win a biographer 'the most ingenious, inventive, and creative mind' award, if such an accolade was available. The complete correspondence register is missing, said by Collingwood to have consisted of twenty-four volumes.[2] Nothing of his photographic register survives except almost one thousand prints of his photographs in albums and as loose images.[3] There are some letters received by Dodgson preserved in the Dodgson Family owned by individual members of the family or on deposit at the Surrey History Centre and Archive, Woking, Surrey. Very few manuscript and proof copies of his literary output survive. Most of Dodgson's personal papers are lost. His mathematical notes were purchased by an old pupil, Henry T. Gerrans, mathematical lecturer and fellow of Worcester College, soon after Dodgson's death. They have now found their way to the Morris L. Parrish Collection, Princeton University. Very few people have studied them or shown any interest in them.

The secrecy of the Dodgson Family has, to some extent, been counterproductive. Biographers assumed, wrongly as it turned out, that the family had something to hide. The current guardians of the Dodgson literary estate are more enlightened, and much material has been made available over the last two decades. Dodgson's complete surviving diaries are now published in an unabridged form, and a complete list of his known photographs is now available.[4] Many of Dodgson's letters have now been published in various volumes since 1979, including his correspondence with his publisher, Macmillan, and letters to his illustrators; further volumes are projected for the future.[5]

At the time of his death in January 1898, many people who knew him, and who were influenced and inspired by him, including many of his child-friends, wrote their reminiscences of him. At the time of his centenary in 1932, the newspapers were full of letters from old friends, remembering him and offering insights into his life not previously revealed. To some extent, these are the mem-

2 [Anon.], 'Lewis Carroll: An Interview with His Biographer', *Westminster Budget*, 12 (9 December 1898), 23.

3 I estimate that he took about 3,000 photographs during a quarter-century of photographic activity.

4 I was given the opportunity to edit and publish Dodgson's private journals in an unabridged form for the first time; a task that took me fifteen years to accomplish. Nine volumes and an index are now available (Lewis Carroll Society, 1993–2007). I have also reconstructed Dodgson's photographic register, and the complete list of images known to have been taken can be found on my website, www.lewiscarroll-site.com.

5 *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, ed. Morton N. Cohen with the assistance of Roger Lancelyn Green, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1979); *Lewis Carroll and the Kitchins*, ed. Morton N. Cohen (New York: Argosy Bookstore and LCSNA Carroll Studies No. 4, 1980); *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan*, ed. by Morton N. Cohen and Anita Gandolfo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators – Collaborations & Correspondence, 1865–1898*, ed. Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling (London: Macmillan; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

ories of old people, some who knew Dodgson when they were children; hence, the credibility of these reminiscences is brought into question. Nevertheless, they offer a view of Dodgson not found elsewhere, and as long as we are aware of the passage of time, and its effect on an aged mind, we read these memories not for the detail, but for the general and consistent view we attain of his character. All biographies must be read with some caution. Reminiscences written by people who actually knew him are more valid, but not necessarily more reliable. One of the first to be published was written by a child-friend and actress that Dodgson had known from when she played a small role in the dramatization of the two *Alice* books prepared by Henry Savile Clarke in 1886. Isa Bowman went on to play the main character of Alice in the revival of the play in 1888. Her book of reminiscences, *The Story of Lewis Carroll Told for Young People by the Real Alice in Wonderland* was published in 1899. The next biography to surface was published in the United States – *Lewis Carroll in Wonderland and at Home, The Story of His Life* by Belle Moses. It contained nothing new; a rehash of Collingwood's biography. In September 1930, Walter De La Mare published a paper entitled 'Lewis Carroll' in the *Fortnightly Review*, but this is more a critical essay about Dodgson as a writer rather than a biography.

The next full biography was published at the time of Dodgson's centenary in 1932 when interest in the writer was rekindled with exhibitions and articles in the press and a significant number of letters published in newspapers from former friends and acquaintances. Herbert Langford Reed's *The Life of Lewis Carroll* (1932) was timed to coincide with the celebrations, but it again contains little that is new. The Dodgson Family denied him access to personal papers, so he had to rely on material he collected from Dodgson's child-friends, including some letters sent by Dodgson to Ellen Terry. Of interest is his summary of Dodgson's religious attitudes, mainly gleaned from interviews and correspondence with some of the surviving child-friends. The 'letters' column of *The Times* ran a series of contributions from these child-friends as the centenary approached. For example, here is a letter from Alice Wilson Fox, published on 15 January 1932:

> To the Editor of *The Times*
>
> Sir, I was, fortunately for me, christened 'Alice,' and to that owe a very pleasant acquaintance with Lewis Carroll, which endured for many years. I venture to offer you this anecdote, to add to those you have been publishing in connexion with his delightful and whimsical personality.
>
> As children we lived in Onslow-square and used to play in the garden behind the houses. Charles Dodgson used to stay with an old uncle there, and walk up and down, his hands behind him, on the strip of lawn. One day, hearing my name, he called me to him, saying, 'So you are another Alice. I'm very fond of Alices. Would you like to come and see something which is rather puzzling?' We followed him into his house, into a room full of furniture with a tall mirror standing across one corner.

> 'Now,' he said, giving me an orange, 'first tell me which hand you have got that in.' 'The right,' I said. 'Now,' he said, 'go and stand before the glass, and tell me which hand the little girl you see there has got the orange in.' After some perplexed contemplation, I said, 'The left hand.' 'Exactly,' he said. 'And how do you explain that?' I couldn't explain it, but seeing that some solution was expected, I ventured, 'If I was on the *other* side of the glass, wouldn't the orange still be in my right hand?' I can remember his laugh. 'Well done, little Alice,' he said. 'The best answer I've had yet.'
>
> I heard no more then, but in after years was told that he said that had given him his first idea for 'Alice through the Looking-Glass,' a copy of which, together with each of his other books, he regularly sent to me.
>
> Faithfully yours,
>
> Alice Wilson Fox

Alice Raikes, as she was before she married, was the daughter of Henry Cecil Raikes, conservative politician and later post-master general, and a distant Dodgson relative. Dodgson supplied the date of this meeting in his diary entry for 24 June 1871: 'Met little Alice Raikes on the lawn, and called at the house to make acquaintance with Mr. and Mrs. Raikes who were very friendly'. By this time, the text of *Through the Looking-Glass* was virtually complete, but he may have made some subsequent modifications, possibly inspired by Alice Raikes.

Another biography that relied on interviews with people Dodgson knew, rather than using primary source material, was Florence Becker Lennon's *Victoria through the Looking-Glass: The Life of Lewis Carroll* (New York, 1945; London, 1947). This was followed by Roger Lancelyn Green's rather superficial biography *The Story of Lewis Carroll* (1949), much admired by Dodgson's surviving nieces, and Helmut Gernsheim's *Lewis Carroll, Photographer* (1949), the latter making use of Dodgson's diary references to photography supplied by the nieces. As a result of Lancelyn Green's acceptable biography, he was invited by F. Menella Dodgson, niece and executor of the C. L. Dodgson estate, to edit Dodgson's diaries for publication. At this time, only nine of the thirteen volumes were available, and Miss Dodgson took control of what could and could not be included. *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll* (1953) edited by Roger Lancelyn Green contain about half of the actual text of Dodgson's private journals, heavily excised for any reference to people who might still be living, and severely edited for anything the Dodgson Family saw as being too private to be viewed by the general public (for example, all the private prayers, many references to family members, and much more besides). References to Dodgson's mathematical and logical discoveries were also removed, seemingly of no general interest.

The first biography to take into account the published *Diaries* followed quickly afterwards. Derek Hudson's *Lewis Carroll* (1954) is probably one of the best biographies to be produced in the twentieth century, including many previously unpublished letters and acknowledging many lesser known works by

Dodgson. A number of child-friends wrote specifically for Hudson's biography. The book was revised and reprinted in 1976 with many new illustrations.

Since then, there have been many other biographies and books about Lewis Carroll, some accurate accounts of his life, and some not. A number of myths have emerged about him manufactured, in the main, by unscrupulous biographers. Let me take this opportunity of exploding a few of them.

Florence Becker Lennon was the first to suggest that Dodgson was in love with Alice Liddell, his child-muse, and wanted to marry her; an idea for which there is not a shred of evidence.[6] Alexander E. Taylor took up this suggestion in his biography, *The White Knight* (1952), as did Anne Clark in *Lewis Carroll, A Biography* (1979).[7] A 'missing' diary page is cited as evidence that Dodgson proposed marriage to Alice's parents, and was rebuffed, ending the relationship with the Liddells for good. This is untrue. The facts are different. On 17 May 1857, Dodgson recorded an unfounded rumour circulating around Christ Church that he was paying amorous attentions towards the Liddell's governess, Miss Mary Prickett. He wrote: 'for my own part I should give little importance to the existence of so groundless a rumour', and continued 'it would be inconsiderate to the governess to give any further occasion for remarks of the sort. For this reason I shall avoid taking any public notice of the children in future, unless any occasion should arise when such an interpretation is impossible'. Dodgson then made a cross-reference to another diary entry dated 27 June 1863. The entry for this date is now partially missing – a page has been cut from the diary. Shirley Corke, Archivist at the Guildford Muniment Room, catalogued the Dodgson Family Collection placed on deposit there (now at the Surrey History Centre and Archive, Woking) in 1989. Her catalogue entry DFC.F/17/1 says: 'Notes (on a page torn from a small notebook) entitled "Cut pages in Diary", and relating to Vol. 8, p. 72; Vol. 8, p. 92; Vol. 11, p. 110. In each case there is a description of subject matter, very short in the 1st and last cases, longer in the 2nd. Notes about the Liddell family on the back (Violet Dodgson)'. And the second reference is in fact the missing page in question for 27 June 1863, and whatever was written for 28 and 29 June, except this is p. 91, not 92, of Volume 8. The brief note says: 'L.C. learns from Mrs. Liddell that he is supposed to be using the children as a means of paying court to the governess. He is also supposed by some to be courting Ina'. This explains Dodgson's cross-reference; the rumour about Miss Prickett had resurfaced. In addition, a grossly unfounded rumour about Alice's older sister, Lorina 'Ina' Liddell, was now being circulated, which could jeopard-

6 Florence Becker Lennon, *Victoria through the Looking-Glass: The Life of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1945), p. 192.

7 See Alexander L. Taylor, *The White Knight* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952), pp. 32–3, 152–3,198, and Anne Clark, *Lewis Carroll, a Biography* (London: J. M. Dent, 1979), pp. 142–4.

ize the fourteen-year-old's marriage possibilities – such were the conventions in the Victorian era.

The Dodgson family guardians were sensitive to these erroneous rumours, and chose to hide them. This was a short-term solution that had long term repercussions. On the previous occasion in 1857, Dodgson kept away from the Liddell family for ten days. This time, he had to be more resolute. Clearly, Mrs Liddell was aware of the rumour and the dangers it posed to her eldest daughter. Far from being anything to do with Alice Liddell, or a proposal of marriage, the content of this missing page is about scotching a scurrilous slur against Lorina's reputation, and that of the governess, to the satisfaction of the Liddells. Dodgson used the same approach as before – keeping away from the family for a while until matters died down – but this time it was with the mutual consent and approval of the Liddells. Circumstances came to the aid of both partners. The Liddells left for Llandudno on 30 June for the summer vacation, not returning until mid-October when the new term began. Dodgson spent the summer away from Oxford and returned on Wednesday 14 October. Matriculation took place on Friday 16 October, signalling the commencement of college duties. On this day, Dodgson noted that he met the Liddells – probably his first opportunity since 30 June. Dodgson gives no details of the meeting, and since it was almost certainly a public meeting, he kept his distance.

The next mention of the Liddells in Dodgson's diary is on 5 December 1863 when Dodgson wrote about the Christ Church theatricals: 'Mrs. Liddell and the children were there, but I held aloof from them, as I have done all this term'. Now, how do we interpret this 'holding aloof from them'? Is it a disgruntled reaction on the part of Dodgson? Is he still smarting from some supposed row with the Liddells? It certainly does not have to be interpreted in this way. It can be just as easily an 'aloofness' by mutual agreement, a strategy to dispel the rumours, a sufficient time span during which public contact was restricted to convince the rumourmongers that they were wrong. Was there any lasting antagonism between the two implicated parties? No – because this is what Dodgson wrote just a few days later:

> Dec: 19. (Sat) ... At 5 went over to the Deanery, where I staid till 8, making a sort of dinner at their tea. The nominal object of my going was to play croquêt, but it never came to that, music, talk, etc. occupying the whole of a *very* pleasant evening. The Dean was away: Mrs. Liddell was with us part of the time. It is nearly six months (June 25th) since I have seen anything of them, to speak of. I mark this day with a white stone.

This was a private party, and it does not sound anything like the major split with the Liddell family that has been suggested. Marking it with a 'white stone' (an old Roman custom) was Dodgson's way of saying the event was delightful and

memorable. There are other meetings with the children. Dodgson recorded this entry for 12 May 1864:

> May 12. (Th). During these last few days I have applied in vain for leave to take the children on the river, i.e. Alice, Edith, and Rhoda: but Mrs. Liddell will not let *any* come in future - rather superfluous caution.

Note that Dodgson does not include Lorina in the trio of sisters; she is clearly too old at this stage for such an expedition without a chaperone. The 'superfluous caution' may still result from the aim to stem unwelcome rumours. It does not have to mean that Mrs Liddell lost her trust in Dodgson as some people have suggested. Dodgson is of the opinion that such activities can now begin again without danger of jeopardizing the reputation of the younger children. If there had been a total breakdown of relationships between Dodgson and the Liddells, he would not be making this suggestion of another river-trip. Naturally, there was less contact with the children as they grew older and became interested in other things.

What other evidence do we have that counters the suggestion of a total breakdown with the Liddells? Dodgson's continuing work on the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* is compelling evidence that the relationship was not over. This massive undertaking, the writing out by hand of the story told on a boat-trip on 4 July 1862, supplemented by pictures of his own devising, continued until November 1864. Then Dodgson gave the manuscript to Alice, inscribing it 'A Christmas Gift to a Dear Child, in Memory of a Summer Day'. There followed a string of presentation copies of his subsequent publications to all members of the Liddell family for the rest of Dodgson's life, often with warm and sincere inscriptions (over thirty are known). Take, for example, Dodgson's inscription in a copy of the facsimile of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* presented to Mrs Liddell: 'To Her, whose children's smiles fed the narrator's fancy and were his rich reward: from the Author. Xmas. 1886'. Many of these copies were in special bindings; this one, for example, was bound in expensive purple morocco (now darkened with age).[8]

Dodgson photographed Alice and Lorina Liddell again in his studio on 25 June 1870. The images show two serious-looking young ladies, but the fact that they came to be photographed indicates no rift between them. There are letters between Dodgson and all members of the Liddell family that continued for many years. Taking all the evidence together, of which this is just a sample, the rift with the Liddells is a myth, and the cause of the six months without regular contact is now known. There is nothing to suggest that Dodgson proposed marriage to Alice. Perhaps it should be pointed out that Dodgson made a com-

8 The copy is in the private collection of Jon Lindseth.

mitment in 1852 to remain unmarried and take Holy Orders when he accepted his Studentship at Christ Church (equivalent of a Fellowship). Marriage would have broken this commitment, and Dodgson would have been forced to give up his career as mathematical lecturer and leave the college. These rather archaic regulations were rescinded in the late 1870s, but Dodgson chose to maintain his vows throughout his life. He was not a man known for breaking a promise.

Another myth concerns his shyness and retiring nature. His diaries paint a very different picture. There are many examples that reveal Dodgson's ease in society; his visit to meet Alfred, Lord Tennyson, his calling at the home of John Everett Millais, his trips to see other eminent Victorian celebrities, his association with Royalty, frequent house-calls when he was in London, afternoons spent with his female friends, meetings with actors and actresses of his day (sometime going back-stage to visit them), joint trips around the British Isles with friends, and so on. Dodgson was a socialite. He loved the company of others, and if they were important and famous, so much the better. He was a lionizer. He certainly was not shy or reclusive. Nor did he lead a cloistered life at Christ Church. He frequently made trips to London and elsewhere to meet the celebrities of his day.

Another myth says that he had a bad stammer, but lost this in the company of children. Many people attribute his supposed reclusive nature to this stammer. In fact it was a speech hesitation. He hesitated over combinations of certain words – words that began with a hard consonant or contained a hard consonant – he did not repeat words or sounds in the form of a stutter. We know this because he explains his difficulty in his diaries and in his letters to Henry Rivers, his speech therapist, from whom he sought advice and guidance. The hesitation came mainly in reading, but occasionally in normal speech. Dodgson described the difficulty in this diary entry from 1862. He was at Putney:

> Aug: 31. (Sun): Went to the new Church both morning and afternoon, and read service in the afternoon. I got through it all with great success, till I came to read out the first verse of the hymn before the sermon, where the two words 'strife strengthened,' coming together, were too much for me, and I had to leave the verse unfinished.

The following is an extract from a letter to Henry Rivers dated 1 September 1873:

> Could you give me a line here to say whether I could have a short time with you in London on Thursday? I could come at almost any hour you like to name. I should like to see whether you can give me any further help as to my difficulties with 'p' in such combinations as 'impossible,' 'them patience,' 'the power,' 'spake,' which combinations have lately beaten me when trying to read in the presence of others, in spite of my feeling quite cool, and trying my best to do it 'on rule.' These failures have rather deferred the hope I had formed of being very soon able to help in Church again, for if I break

> down in reading to only one or two, I should be all the worse, I fear, for the presence of a congregation.

Dodgson's hesitation occurred, in the main, when he was reading – far less so in ordinary speech where he consciously chose the words he used to communicate. For many who knew him the hesitation was slight and endearing, and although Dodgson did everything he could to control it, the effect of this speech problem did not hinder him in society or in his work. Sometimes he is recorded as using the hesitation to great effect when telling a story. We get some hint of how it might have been used when we read, for example, *Through the Looking-Glass*:

> 'It's long,' said the Knight, "but it's very, *very* beautiful. Everybody that hears me sing it – either it brings *tears* into their eyes, or else –'
>
> 'Or else what?' said Alice, for the Knight had made a sudden pause.
>
> 'Or else it doesn't, you know ...'

John Alexander Stewart, senior student at Christ Church, described Dodgson's speech hesitation as follows, saying that it 'was a good deal under control and could be used defensively (to gain time), or rhetorically to enhance the effect of a story, when the point was near'.[9]

And just a quick comment about the hesitation disappearing in front of children. This extract comes from *For My Grandchildren, Some Reminiscences of Her Royal Highness Princess Alice* (1966):

> Lewis Carroll was especially kind to Charlie and me, though when I was only five I offended him once when, at a children's party at Hatfield, he was telling us a story. He was a stammerer and being unable to follow what he was saying I suddenly asked in a loud voice, 'Why does he waggle his mouth like that?' I was hastily removed by the lady-in-waiting. Afterwards he wrote that he 'liked Charlie but thought Alice would turn out badly.'

We need to be cautious with the reminiscences of a five-year-old written over eighty years after the event. Nevertheless, his speech hesitation happened when telling a story to a large group of children. He sometimes had an audience of fifty or more when at Hatfield House; high-society children. And this must have been quite a strain on the nerves. On this occasion a precocious princess noticed his speech difficulty.

Dodgson was an ordained deacon; he never proceeded to full priest's orders although he noted from time to time in his diaries that he was still 'reading for ordination' well after taking deacon's orders. He preached on many occasions, frequently when he first became ordained in 1861. Then there was a gap of several years during which he preached infrequently before he took it up again with

9 Professor John A. Stewart's reminiscences of C. L. Dodgson, Falconer Madan Files, Morris L. Parrish Collection, Princeton University, Box 19.

more regularity. In the latter years of his life he was preaching to huge congregations at the University Church of St. Mary's in Oxford. What he avoided was 'taking' the service in which, for the most part, he would be required to read from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Understandably, he was very concerned that any hesitation he made in his reading of the order of service, especially in prayers, would seriously distract the congregation, affecting their spiritual contemplation, apart from being very embarrassing for them and for him. For example, in a letter to his cousin, James Hume Dodgson, dated 8 September 1884, he explains his reason for turning down the offer of reading the funeral service for his Uncle Hassard:

> My dear Hume,
>
> I could not well explain to you in my telegram, and had not the opportunity of doing so when we met, my reason for not undertaking, as you wished, to read the service. If I could have trusted myself to command my feelings and my voice, I should much have wished to read the service over the remains of my dear old uncle, whom I can never think of without the deepest affection and gratitude for his life-long kindness: but I did not feel I could safely do so. Otherwise, you may be sure I would have attempted it.

And here is another extract from the diaries – this is dated 1896 towards the end of his life:

> Dec: 6. (Sun). Preached at St. Mary's, at the evening service. One of our Chaplains, the Rev. Sydney Baker, is curate in charge, and had asked for my help. It was indeed a privilege to be thankful for – but a formidable task: I had fancied there would be only a small audience, and the church was *full*, as well as the West Gallery, and the North one partly filled as well. I took as text Mark IX, 24, and the sermon lasted about 18 minutes.

To summarize on this point, Dodgson had a speech hesitation that manifested itself when he was reading out loud, far less so in normal conversation. When speaking, he was able to control the hesitation and even use it to effect. This problem did not prevent him from being a successful preacher, but he was much more cautious when asked to read a lesson or the service in church. Speaking extempore was not a major difficulty unless he was making a speech to a large audience, such as at Convocation in University debates, where the occasion gave added stress, particularly if he had not prepared what he was going to say in advance. The hesitation was part of his character. It certainly did not disappear entirely in the presence of children, or in well-known company of friends and colleagues, but was probably lessened as a result of the familiarity of those around him. For those that suggest his adoption of the Dodo-character in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is somehow linked to the way he spoke his own name are far from the truth; Do-do-Dodgson it wasn't!

There are other myths that have arisen because biographers have taken him literally when he was making a joke. Often in letters, Dodgson would tease his correspondent. When he wrote: 'I am fond of children (except boys)' biographers seized upon this statement as meaning that he had a strong dislike for boy-children. The comment was written in a letter to the twelve year old Kathleen Eschwege and was undoubtedly part of his characteristic teasing. A view shared by some people is that his attitude towards children was unhealthy. This is a modern idea that fails entirely to take into consideration the norms of society in his day. Being with an unrelated child under the age of ten would cause no concern to Victorians; a man being with an unrelated and unchaperoned unmarried young lady would be frowned upon, and might cause serious damage to the young person's reputation. The opposite is true today. Dodgson only associated with children of his own class in society, and this included boys and girls – the children of his many friends. As an unmarried man, this was, to some extent, a substitute for family life.

His photography of children, especially the few (probably no more than thirty such images in an opus of 3,000 photographs) of nude studies, has caused some raised eyebrows today. Six of these images survive – four of young girls and two of baby boys. They follow a tradition among Victorian photographers, particularly the photographic artists, of making nude studies mainly of very young children – often in the guise of angels. High mortality rates among children meant that parents were often concerned that the innocent members of their family would not survive to adulthood, and recording them as 'little angels' was common practice. Dodgson's photographs tended to picture them as sea or river sprites. To emphasize the artistic nature of these images, four of the surviving prints have been coloured, with backgrounds painted in, so that families could display the photographs to their friends within an artistic context. Most commentators that criticize these images have never laid eyes on them! Suggestions that Dodgson was a child-abuser are outrageous and are made without any knowledge of the man's true characteristics. Dodgson had a very high regard and respect for children, and the fact that many of them took the opportunity to praise him in their reminiscences published after his death is testimony to the value in which they held him – a man who loved children. And he was not entirely child-centred as some would suggest; he had many adult friends.

The biographical accounts in this volume have been selected to show the variety of Dodgson's characteristics. He was a polymath. The world at large fascinated him and he had many diverse interests. As a member of the University at Oxford he took part in university matters, attending meetings of the decision-making body, Convocation. He occasionally took part in debates, but preferred the printed page; he issued many pamphlets that did the rounds of the Common Rooms. His group of friends in the world of mathematics appears to be

small and carefully chosen; he did not mix with some of the key players of his age. His mentor was Prof. Bartholomew Price, a thoroughly Oxford man, who is now remembered as the saviour of the Oxford University Press rather than as a mathematician (he wrote treatises on the Differential and Integral Calculcus). Dodgson corresponded with a few mathematicians, namely William Spottiswoode (Fellow of the Royal Society and publisher), Henry John Stephen Smith (Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford), Isaac Todhunter (writer of many mathematical textbooks), and Robert Potts (writer of geometry texts), and briefly rubbed shoulders with Charles Babbage (inventor of a mechanical calculator) and Arthur Cayley (Sadlerian Professor of pure mathematics at Cambridge). Likewise, as a logician, he trod his own path, sharing his ideas with very few other logicians. His main correspondent was John Cook Wilson (Wykeham Professor of Logic at Oxford), but he also had some brief contact with John Venn concerning his work on 'Symbolic Logic'. To a great extent, Dodgson's inventions in the field of mathematics and logic were independently thought out and based on his own ideas; generally, he did not use other experts in the field as a sounding-board to refine his own ideas. His mathematical publications did not become standard reference books, yet he is now remembered and valued as the mathematician who devised an algorithmic method for calculating a determinant, and was one of three independent main inventors of proportional representation in the theory of voting, the other two being Frenchmen.

His interests covered the full range of the arts; theatre, music, art, and photography. In the latter he was a pioneer; an early exponent of the wet-collodion process. He was a regular visitor to art galleries and exhibitions, and included many important Victorian painters and sculptors among his friends. In particular, he admired the work of the Pre-Raphaelites, much influenced by the writings of John Ruskin. His taste in music was less catholic, preferring songs and ballads, a selection of classical composers (Beethoven but not Bach), and the Italian operas of Bellini, Donizetti and Rossini. He enjoyed the operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan, attending most performances during their first London seasons. But theatre was his main passion; he recorded his attendance at 384 plays in his lifetime. He went to all the main Shakespeare performances of the age, and knew the key actors and actresses personally. His friendship with Ellen Terry began when she was seventeen, although he had seen her on the stage as a child, and lasted throughout his life. Dodgson also enjoyed a good farce, as long as it was wholesome and not coarse. The slightest attempt at introducing irreligious and morally offensive material in a play would have Dodgson leaving the theatre and penning a rebuke to the theatre manager.

Dodgson was also a poet, and had written verse since he was a child. For a time he edited *College Rhymes*, the magazine of poetry for members of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and contributed several poems (mainly serious)

to its pages. He is remembered, of course, for his humorous verse in the two *Alice* books, and particularly the most influential nonsense poem ever written, 'Jabberwocky'. His nonsense epic, *The Hunting of the Snark*, is still very popular today, with several new illustrated editions published in the last decade, and with the continuation of Snark Clubs (select dining groups) around the world based on the characters in the poem.

Religion played a major part in Dodgson's life – he was a regular church-goer, and as an ordained deacon of the Church of England he took part in services and occasionally preached. His father was 'High Church' but Dodgson's own preferred approach was more 'Broad Church'. He did not like ritualism. He had very clear views about worship and expected church services to be conducted in a clear, slow, and devotional manner. He never stood up when the choirboys and clergy processed to their places at the start of a service, everyone being equal in the sight of God, and he felt that children should be allowed to read an appropriate book during the sermon. His diaries are peppered with prayers and supplications seeking help from God to make him a better person. Some of the prayers are about diligence and duty, but others are harder to define. They suggest that, at certain times in his life, there was something on his mind that troubled him that he had great difficulty in controlling. This may have been linked to his adopted celibate and unmarried state, but without evidence, all is speculation. Dodgson set himself very high standards in terms of moral behaviour and a work ethic that most people would find impossible to attain.

In an age devoid of the telephone, the principal form of communication was the letter. Dodgson was a frequent letter writer standing at his desk. He probably wrote letters every day, and on some days we know that several letters were written. Some of his letters were full of wonderful invention, especially those written to children, and it is no surprise that many of these letters have survived to this day. Dodgson was also a reader and bibliophile. He collected second-hand books and over a lifetime amassed a significant library. Themes within his library included sections on theology, medicine, education, women, children's books, general literature, and, naturally, mathematics and logic.

After the death of Dodgson's father in 1868, he assumed the role of head of the family, a position he did not shirk. He leased a house in Guildford for his six unmarried sisters, and visited them frequently. He watched the careers of his three younger brothers with interest, being particularly supportive to Skeffington who took a long time before settling down as a country vicar. His youngest brother, Edwin, became a missionary in Zanzibar and later to the islanders of Tristan da Cunha. During the famine on the island, Dodgson wrote to the Prime Minister for support to ship the inhabitants to a safer home, and although he was unsuccessful in this attempt, the Government did send aid to help these

poor unfortunate people. Edwin Dodgson is remembered with affection by the islanders, even today.

During a Christmas visit to his sisters at Guildford in 1897, Dodgson became ill with bronchitis. What at first appeared a minor ailment soon turned more serious, and on 13 January 1898, he realized that he would not recover. He gave instructions to his sisters: 'Take away those pillows, I shall need them no more'. He died the following afternoon, and was buried in Guildford cemetery, a simple white cross marking the grave. His memory lives on to this day through his books for children, most particularly the timeless fantasy of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, but also because he was an interesting person who achieved much in his lifetime.

E. W.

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CHRONOLOGY

1832 (27 January) Born at the Parsonage, Daresbury, the eldest son and third child of Charles Dodgson, perpetual curate of Daresbury, Cheshire, and Frances Jane, née Lutwidge.

1843 The Dodgson Family moves to Croft-on-Tees, on the Yorkshire/Durham border, where Revd Charles Dodgson becomes rector until his death in 1868.

1845–6 Dodgson is sent to boarding school at Richmond, Yorkshire, residing in the home of the headmaster, James Tate.

1846–9 He enters Rugby School to continue his educational studies in preparation for university. He resides in the home of the headmaster, Archibald Tait.

1850 (23 May) Dodgson matriculates at Christ Church, Oxford, the former college of his father.

1851 Dodgson becomes a resident member of Christ Church, Oxford (from 24 January) to begin his undergraduate studies. His mother dies (26 January) and he briefly returns to the family home.

1852 Dr Edward Pusey nominates him for a studentship of Christ Church (equivalent to a fellowship), which he holds for the rest of his life.

1854 (July) He gains Third Class in Classics. He spends the summer at Whitby on a mathematical reading party with Professor Bartholomew Price. (August, September) His first publications (a humorous poem and a story) appear in the *Whitby Gazette*. (December) He gains BA First Class Honours in Mathematics.

1855 (February) Dodgson is made Sub-Librarian of Christ Church Library (May) He wins the Bostock Scholarship. He is made a Master of the House, an honorary position awarded following the appointment of a new Dean at Christ Church. (October) The new Dean, Henry George Liddell, appoints him as Mathematical Lecturer, but he does not take up the position immediately.

1856 (January) Dodgson begins his mathematical lectureship. (11 February) He adopts the pen-name 'Lewis Carroll' derived from a Latinate form of his first two names, and uses it for contributions made to the *Train*, a magazine edited by Edmund Yates. (April) He takes up photography, his 'one recreation', and orders a new Ottewill camera from London, which arrives some weeks later on 1 May.

1861 (22 December) He is ordained deacon of the Church of England by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in Christ Church Cathedral.

1862 He moves from the Cloister Staircase at Christ Church to rooms in the north-west corner, ground floor, of Tom Quad. (4 July) The story of Alice's adventures is told to the three daughters of Dean Liddell (Lorina, Alice, and Edith) during a boat trip to Godstow, the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Under-Ground* was begun soon after.

1863 (18 June) He rents Badcock's Yard, St Aldates, Oxford, for photography.

1865 (July) *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is published but is immediately withdrawn and re-issued with improved illustrations (November).

1867 He makes his only journey abroad through Europe to Russia with Henry P. Liddon (July–September), spending some time in Paris on his return. (October) *An Elementary Treatise on Determinants* published.

1868 (21 June) His father dies and in September his siblings move to 'The Chestnuts', Guildford. (November) Dodgson moves to a new suite of rooms above his current rooms in Tom Quad and retains these for the rest of his life.

1869 (January) Dodgson's first book of poetry, *Phantasmagoria*, is published. (February) The first German translation of *Alice's Adventures* by Antonie Zimmermann published; (August) the first French translation by Henri Bué follows soon after.

1871 (December) *Through the Looking-Glass* is published.

1872 Photographic studio constructed on the roof above his rooms in Tom Quad, and used for the first time on 17 March.

1874 (June) He publishes *Suggestions as to taking Votes*, the first of a series of pamphlets on voting theory that leads to his invention of Proportional Representation.

1876 (March) His epic nonsense poem, *The Hunting of the Snark*, is published.

1879 (March) His mathematical drama, *Euclid and His Modern Rivals*, is published.

1880 (15 July) He gives up his photographic hobby after twenty-five years, and takes his last photograph.

1881 (October) Dodgson applies to the Dean for early retirement from his mathematical lectureship, which is accepted. He remains a resident member of Christ Church.

1882 (December) Colleagues at Christ Church encourage him to become Curator of the Common Room, a position he holds for nine years.

1883 (December) A book of Dodgson's humorous poems, mostly reprints, entitled *Rhyme? And Reason?* is published.

1885 (December) *A Tangled Tale*, a book of stories each containing mathematical problems, based on contributions to the *Monthly Packet* (a girls' magazine edited by Charlotte M. Yonge,) is published.

1886 (December) Dodgson borrows the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* from Alice Hargreaves, née Liddell, so that a facsimile can be prepared and published, all proceeds going to children's homes and hospitals. (23 December) The adaptation of the *Alice* books for the stage by Henry Savile Clark opens at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London.

1887 (February) *The Game of Logic* is published. (November 1886) An earlier printing by Baxter of Oxford was withdrawn because the quality did not meet Dodgson's required standard.

1889 (June) Dodgson's rewrite of the *Alice* story for younger readers, *The Nursery 'Alice'*, with coloured illustrations, is published, but withdrawn because the pictures have come out too bright and gaudy. The book is reprinted and issued in 1890. (December) *Sylvie and Bruno* is published, but this rather elaborate and sentimental story never matches the *Alice* books in popularity.

1893 (December) *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* is published.

1896 The first part of Dodgson's major treatise in logic is published entitled *Symbolic Logic: Part 1, Elementary*; the remaining two volumes, *Part II, Advanced* and *Part III, Transcendental*, are incomplete at the time of his death, although large portions of part two survive in galley proofs.

1898 (14 January) Dies at Guildford and is buried there. (January) His book of serious poetry, *Three Sunsets and Other Poems*, is published posthumously.

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Childhood of Lewis Carroll

a) Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1898), pp. 3–42
b) Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, 'Before "Alice" – The Boyhood of Lewis Carroll', *Strand Magazine*, 16 (July–December 1898), 616–27

In the winter of 1832, at a quiet and remote spot in Cheshire near the village of Daresbury, a child was born who was destined to influence the lives of countless other children (and adults) for generations to come. He was the first son of Charles Dodgson (1800–68), perpetual curate of Daresbury, and his wife, Frances, née Lutwidge (1803–51). In the time-honoured family tradition, he was given his father's own first name, and also his mother's maiden name, becoming Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–98). He already had two sisters, Frances Jane and Elizabeth Lucy, and in the next few years, two further sisters, Caroline Hume and Mary Charlotte, were added to the family. The company of girls was to become a common feature of his life. Eventually, there were eleven children in the Dodgson family; four boys and seven girls.

At an appropriate age, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson received primary education from his parents; his father taught him mathematics and his mother taught him to read and write and was instrumental in the development of his religious beliefs and attitudes. He soon revealed a natural aptitude for academic study, particularly in mathematics. When the family moved to Croft-on-Tees, Yorkshire in 1843, Richmond School was close at hand, and Charles began his secondary education here, becoming a boarder at the age of eleven. The next eighteen months were preparation for his main formative education at Rugby School, which began in 1845. Again he excelled in mathematics, but was also proficient in literature, scripture and the classical languages of Latin and Greek. Hence, it was a foregone conclusion that he would follow in his father's footsteps and matriculate at Christ Church, Oxford.

The most vivid, and probably the most accurate, account of Dodgson's childhood comes from his nephew, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood (1870–1937), eldest son of his sister Mary Charlotte (1835–1911), who married Charles Edward Stuart Collingwood (1831–98) in April 1869. Collingwood knew Dodgson intimately; he was frequently at the Dodgson home during his early