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and His Girls

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Children Through the Decades

Lewis Carroll and His Girls

By Matthew DEMAKOS

Abstract

“Children Through the Decades” examines the evolutions in Lewis Carroll’s girl-child relationships by charting out data collected from his diaries and letters. The paper discusses not only the changes in his friends’ ages, but the changes in how he met his friends, where he met his friends, when he met his friends, and what activities he enjoyed with his friends. This is achieved by taking five three-year snapshots of his life at ten year intervals: 1855-57, 1865-67, 1875-77, 1885-87, and 1895-97. Each of the five snapshots begins with a short biographical sketch of his life at the time, followed by a discussion of his girl-child relationships, highlighting, for example, his favorite girls or emphasizing a particular recurring theme for the period. Each snapshot concludes with a discussion of a numeric chart built from a comprehensive reading of Carroll’s diaries and letters. Being comprehensive, the five resulting charts for each snapshot are designed to keep the researcher free from bias. The paper finds that the most dramatic change occurred between the third and fourth snapshots, and thus concludes with a further examination of those years.

One and One and One and One...

“I should like very much to come and see your Mary,” wrote Lewis Carroll in late 1877 to his publisher, Alexander Macmillan. “But do not

suppose *she* is the chief attraction of your house. My views about children are changing, and I *now* put the nicest age at about 17!” The exclamation point refers to the age of Olive, another daughter. The letter, shooing off with diplomatic panache the toddling Mary, has often been cited as an illustration of an intriguing biographical point in Carroll’s relationship with children—older girls. Late in his life, he estimated that around 1864 to 1874, “‘ten’ was about my ideal age for such friends,” adding, “now ‘twenty’ or ‘twenty-five’ is nearer the mark.”¹ But was Carroll merely displaying bravado in the Macmillan letter? How should such a declaration in the year 1877 be read? And, more interestingly, who were the other near-seventeen-year-olds implied in the letter?

Before he turned fifty, Carroll seemed to have found it unnecessary to mention the range in the ages of his young friends. After fifty, letters abound with these ranges, mostly emphasizing the older children, and indeed, young ladies. He once defined his child-friends for the mother of two girls as “ages varying from 7 to 27....” In some twelve other letters, he listed the ages as ranging from five to thirty-five, from twelve to twenty-five, or from ten to forty, to sample a few.² But how should these later declarations be read? And, more importantly, what other changes took place in conjunction with the changes in age?

Some may deem it foolhardy to place a value, a numeric value, on a given aspect of Lewis Carroll’s relationship with children, that will in fact be attempted here. But to discover the changes in his girl-child relationships—the purpose of this study—researchers must, in one form or another, “sample the population.” A scholar who merely wishes to convey the

1 Lewis Carroll to Alexander Macmillan, December 18, 1877, in Morton Cohen and Anita Gandolfo, *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 141; Carroll to Mrs. J. C. Egerton, March 8, 1894, in Morton Cohen, with the assistance of Roger Lancelyn Green, *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1009.

2 Carroll to Mrs. F. S. Rix, March 9, 1885, in Cohen, *Letters*, 565; Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson* (Luton and Clifford, England: The Lewis Carroll Society, 1993–2005), 9 vol., 8:87, 314. See also *Letters*, 524, 539, 575, 715, 873, 887, 1032, 1108.

increasing age of his friends, for example, must have weighed, mentally or physically, one figure against another figure. The same is true for the scholar who hopes to describe the changes in how he met his friends, where he met his friends, when he met his friends, who he met and what activities he enjoyed with his friends, all of which qualify for discussion in this study. The only difference here is that the conclusions will be based on a more methodical approach and have a resulting number. To bring some life to the numbers, however, they will be accompanied with discussions of Carroll's relationships, built from readings of his diaries and letters, highlighting his favorite girls or emphasizing particular recurring themes, discussions which in turn will be brought into context with short biographical sketches of his life outside of his girl friendships.

To discover the evolutions in Carroll's relationships with the various girls he met, five long snapshots of his life will be taken at intervals of ten years. The snapshots, each three years in length, include the years 1855–57, 1865–67, 1875–77, 1885–87, and 1895–97. The years were chosen to include the first and last years of Carroll's extant diary, generating the longest possible record. The periods also avoid the missing years between 1858 and 1862. The three-year time period, as opposed to a single year, or even a two-year period, guards against the possibility of running into an anomaly in any given year. But more importantly, a three-year time span is a lengthy period in itself. It is not simply a statistical sample only meaningful for comparison to another statistical sample. It is Carroll's actual experience for three years—a healthy amount of living. The results for each of these periods is Lewis Carroll. It is who he was at that time.

There is no best way to generate numbers on Lewis Carroll's life with children. All results are faulty, misleading, or ambiguous for one reason or another. The present study, therefore, will use several measuring sticks to further the discussion. The main source for the measures, however, is a day-by-day analysis of Carroll's life. No other method is better for generating numbers that reflect the time he spent with children. Letter counting, though sensible and laudable in some aspects, is intrinsically weak.³ By definition, letters are written to people not seen. Younger

children are more apt to lose letters. In truth, more letters exist from Carroll's later life when he was more famous and obviously interested in older children than from his earlier life when younger children bounced about. And certainly the existence of twenty letters to one twelve-year-old is not necessarily more important than two letters to one eighteen-year-old. The same is true for counting inscribed editions of his books.

In the simplest terms, a day-by-day analysis charts the girls seen each day. To demonstrate, the sample diary information below:

Date	Name	Age	First Met
May 7	Ethel Manners	9	No
	Lizzie Manners	13	No
May 10	Ethel Manners	9	No
May 11	Ethel Manners	9	No
	May Brookfield	13	Yes
	Maggie Brookfield	16	Yes

yields the following:

Measure		Age								
		8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Children	First Met						1			1
	All Children		1				2			1
Days	Youngest		3							
	Oldest		1				1			1
Encounters			3				2			1

The first measure displays the results by *Children*, separating them into two groups, the total number of children, and those met for the first time. Though beneficial, the information fails to give an accurate portrayal of his time with children. The second measure displays that missing element, detailing the findings by *Days*. Since he often sees children of various ages

3 See Karoline Leach, " 'Your Sexagenarian Lover...': The ages of Charles Dodgson's Female Friends as Reflected in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*," in *The Carrollian* 16 (Autumn 2005): 17-24.

in a single day, the information is displayed by the youngest child and by the oldest child. Though beneficial as well, the data is meaningless in itself—despite its disdain for averaging nine, thirteen, and sixteen together and meaninglessly reporting a twelve-and-a-half-year-old. The last measure, acting as if a weighted figure of the previous two, displays the total number of days Carroll encountered each child. Only these *Encounters*, for lack of a better term, show that he spent half his time with nine-year-old children. In many cases, it is the only measure that can be presented alone and still retain significance. However so, it is not without problems. The measure shows no difference between Carroll meeting five children in one day, for example, and the same five on five separate days. And there is no difference between playing Doublets with a child for half an hour one day, and taking another child as a full day companion the next. Including a measure called *Significance*, explained in table 1, helps alleviate this concern.

To make the results more meaningful, other details besides the ones above are charted in the five summary tables for each of the five snapshots. The girls are given a connection (Oxford, Family, Artist, Theatre, etc.) and the encounters are given a location (Oxford, Family Town, Beach Town, London, etc.). To make the range of the ages reflect the natural development of the girls, they are grouped into four divisions: twelve and under (younger children), thirteen and fourteen (middle-aged children), between fifteen and twenty (older children), and those of an unknown age. The partitioning of the years during “the awkward stage of transition” “where the stream and river meet”⁴ allows each reader to keep them as separated or mentally add their numbers to the younger or older group, or even split their numbers, depending on each reader’s own definition of

4 Carroll, May 11, 1865, Wakeling, *Diaries*, 5:74, speaking of Alice just after she turned 14; Carroll to Isabel Standen, August 4, 1885, Cohen, *Letters*, 595. The separation of the middle-aged children is a reflection of nature more than Carroll scholarship, but readers may be interested to see, along with the above, *Letters*, 307–8 n. 1, 831; Cohen, *Macmillan*, 135; *Diaries*, 7:240, 8:616 n. 977; Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll: Interviews and Recollections* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 56–7.

younger versus older children. A summary of all five snapshot tables will show the age ranges in equal and smaller age groups, an appropriate representation of the data for some discussions.

For purposes of this analysis, a child must be female, must be twenty years or younger, and must be unrelated to Carroll. Though he often joked about disliking boys— “Boys are not in my line: I think they are a mistake” —he was also quite serious about his concentration on girls. In 1887, he wrote, “Our only point of difference probably is that I care more for girls than boys, while you most likely care more for boys than girls” and in 1882, he tells his diary, “The children being all girls is a temptation!” when mulling over the possibility of visiting an old friend.⁵ Because many people have a different definition of children, especially as we age, children will be defined here as persons twenty years or younger (i.e. below “coming of age”). Carroll often used the term “child-friend” for his female friends well over the age of twenty. For this reason, the term is here usually avoided. This study is interested in real children, and not his many relationships with young ladies whom he called “children,” though that might be a worthy study in itself. Lastly, though Carroll had a few delightful relationships with young relatives, they are also not included here. Relatives, are often pre-made friends, must-sees, and so forth, and do not necessarily express one’s will. In many situations—weddings and funerals, for example—they are problematic and so have been left for textual discussion only.

Unfortunately, Lewis Carroll’s diaries are not complete. Many days are not recorded and he occasionally slacks off, failing to make an entry for weeks or even months at a time. But one of its main purposes, as any reader eventually comes to realize, is to record his social life, with children or otherwise. This is exemplified in an entry made after a writing lapse of over two months. “In my last visit to town,” Carroll wrote, after a prayer

⁵ Carroll to George Charles Bell, February 19, 1882, and Carroll to Mary Brown, May 19, 1887 in Cohen, *Letters*, 455, 678; Carroll, September 28, 1882, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:476. See also *Letters*, 351, 456, 541, 781.

and a complaint about family matters, "I had an hour with Mr. Heaphy and Theo at the British Artists'... and was introduced to three of them, Mr. Hurlstone, the president, Mr. Cole, and Mr. Salter. I also visited the Terrys and had a long chat with Mrs. Terry, who was the only one at home except the three youngest boys. I also went to see Mr. Tenniel, who has not yet begun drawing for *Behind the Looking-Glass*..." and so on, adding lists of adults and children he met in the interim. He even adds an addendum in the margin, "I also called on Mr. Millais, but found no one to receive me but little Mary, who did it with charming ease and grace." Similarly, in another entry six years later, Carroll mentions the girls he forgot to mention two days before.⁶ The accuracy can also be tedious. "A few minutes before I left," Carroll wrote after listing all eight children who heard him tell a story (even parenthetically naming an absented child), "a new little friend of the Chataways, Sybil Blackwell, arrived and Gertrude brought her in to see me."⁷

His care for completeness with people met is also seen in his lax attitude about detail, as if the facts are only recorded for recalling them in the future. His entry for August 8, 1876, mentions being introduced to two children, Mary and Evelyn Karney, "the latter has been laid up for 9 weeks with a bad knee." But Evelyn, writing about fifty-six years later, recalled how Carroll visited her in her sickbed, drawing a game on an old photograph album and cutting out paper counters "while I watched with expectant eyes, and in five minutes our heads were close together, deep in wonderful and engrossing games." The emotional weight of this and her description of "her kind friend" sitting beside her on the beach drawing "pictures of the children paddling round," is all but missing from Carroll's brief matter-of-fact account. The same is true of the oft-quoted Charlotte Rix letter. Carroll skips the emotional detail the girls naturally find in his

6 Carroll, April 6, 1869, and November 1, 1875, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:77-82, 430. Also see gaps in the diary before October 3, 1872 and June 22, 1874. Admittedly, there is a nine week gap between two of Carroll's journals (January 25 to April 1, 1868) and other gaps which Carroll does not address.

7 Carroll, October 11, 1875, *ibid.*, 6:425. See also May 2, 1885, *ibid.*, 8:194-5.

company.⁸

The thoroughness of his diary, vis-à-vis the people he met, is also shown in the fact that, for the five periods studied here, only three letters in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* add to our knowledge of the children he had seen. Three other letters and three recollections of Carroll add to the activities that his diary fails to detail.⁹

Though Carroll shows a want for completeness, he obviously fails from time to time. His February 9, 1885, entry shows that he likely failed to mention other encounters with the ten- and eleven-year-old Climène and Francis Holiday, a family he probably would not be visiting and staying with as an overnight guest if he had only met them once before, as his diary seems to indicate, during his summer stay at Eastbourne. In Eastbourne, he occasionally skips entries when children are obviously about, and he may even annoy the chronicler with such inexactitudes as “batches of them were in and out constantly.”¹⁰

Even if Carroll were more apt to make an entry on a sociable day, the results displayed below must still be read with some degree of caution—and with some measures read more cautiously than others. The results for the total number of encounters during any of the three-year time periods (each child counted once per day), for example, are probably somewhat less accurate than the total number of children met during the period (each child counted only once per snapshot). Also, there is subjectivity in the numbers, another cause to read the results with caution. When Carroll dines at the family home, for example, it is often unclear which children, if any, are present, even when keeping in mind the Victorian practice of having older children at the table, with the younger ones only “going down

8 Carroll, August 8, 1876, *ibid.*, 6:479–80; Evelyn S. Karney, letter to the editor, *John O'London's Weekly*, 205; Edith Rix to her mother, Cohen, Letters, 578–80.

9 Cohen, Letters, 90–3, 279, 280, 590–2, 593–4, 1073–4; Evelyn S. Karney, letter to the editor, *John O'London's Weekly* 27 (April 9, 1932), 58, in Cohen, Interviews, 205; Katy Lucy, diary, private collection, September 19, 1887, and Sylvia Dorothy Robinson, *The Hereford Times*, February 19, 1954, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:363, 9:287–8.

10 Carroll, October 9, 1875, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:425.

to dessert.”¹¹ Subjectivity also plays a part in the giving of a significance rating to each encounter, as too many girls simply “ran into” would be a cause for concern. (See table 1 for the process of controlling these gray areas, along with the troublesome use of the term “Miss.”)

TABLE 1 Special fields in the database.

Field	Explanation
Dined Issue	This field tracks the occasions when it is unclear if children were present when Carroll dined with a family, especially with the Victorian practice of not having younger children, up to five to seven, present until dessert. Also, families differed from each other in the practice.
Miss Issue	This field tracks the unidentified females referred to as “Miss” and without any indication of age. They could either be as young as fifteen (or even fourteen) or as old as ninety.
Seen	When a child is not definitely present, the child is either marked, Highly Likely, Probably, Maybe, or Doubtfully seen.
Significance	The significance of each girl’s presence for each specific day is measured on a scale of one through five. A score of one is given to those met for under five minutes, a person who he simply ran into or met with a quick hello, and a score of two for those who were met for about twenty minutes and lasting a bit longer than simply running into would imply. A score of three is the default, when it is unclear, or is given for a meeting that lasts about one hour, including a simple social visit. A score of four is given for those who enjoyed one or two major activities (photography, croquet, theatre guest) with Carroll. A score of five is given for those who had three major activities (or one long activity, such as a boat trip) or to those who he had spent more than five hours with him or if the day were marked as special.

The information in the tables, unless otherwise noted, are individuals given no Dined Issue, a Significance rating of two through five, and a Seen value of Probably and Highly Likely (and those unquestioned). Miss Issue girls, along with girls whose ages are too open for approximation, appear in the tables under the unknown column.

But the study is not without its benefits. Some of the more compelling numbers in each of the five snapshots are the percentages the total encounters yield for each age group. Generated from the relatively high number of encounters Carroll records—over 200 in the first snapshot and over 400 and even 600 in other snapshots—these percentages more likely near the actual truth of Carroll’s experience than the segmental percentages. Though some encounters are indeed missing, they are doubtless in about the same proportion as the numbers Carroll does report

11 Marion Lochhead, *Their First Ten Years: Victorian Childhood* (London: John Murray, 1956), 10. “‘Going down to dessert’ continued to be a nursery treat all through the century.”

rather than in some ratio that would significantly skew the data. In other words, the more unbiased Carroll's recording—the diary being nothing more than a random sample—the more accurate the results. Even if Carroll had swayed discriminatorily toward one group over another, it would likely have been a reflection of his own feelings—and not a terribly offensive bias.

There are two benefits gained from the methodology chosen to gather the data. Primarily, the three-year span guards against the misrepresentative example within each snapshot and the rigidly chosen ten-year intervals thwarts the potential claim that the researcher chose the samples to prove a preconceived theory. Anyone may prove, for instance, that Carroll referred to the attractiveness of younger girls more than older girls by citing, deceitfully or ignorantly, a few passages from his diary. Since the methodology here must take a fair sample, such errors are avoided. Secondarily, the database has the inherent benefit of generating information that it was not originally intended to yield. For example, it could suddenly occur to the researcher to test if Carroll made more friends on Tuesday, his favorite day, than any other day of the week.¹² No further flipping of pages would be necessary.

The Five Snapshots

The Years 1855–1857

These are the years that show Lewis Carroll—who began them as “a poor bachelor student, with no definite plans or expectations”¹³—becoming a tutor and Mathematical Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford. The tutoring began in January of the first year just before he turned twenty-three, and the lecturing began the following year, a position that required about seven

12 In the fifteen years studied, Carroll most often befriended girls on Saturday, as would be expected, with Wednesday being the most popular weekday and Tuesday the second most popular. But he did befriend significantly more girls on Tuesday in the years 1865 to 1867 than any other weekday, even tying with Saturday.

13 Lewis Carroll, December 31, 1855, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 1:136.

hours a day in the lecture hall. At this time, he had been at Christ Church for four years, matriculating in 1850, boarding in January 1851, and earning his Studentship almost two years later in December 1852. He completed his Bachelor of Arts at the end of 1854 with a third class in Classics in June and a first class in Mathematics in December. In the following year, the Chapter, the governing Christ Church Canons, gave Carroll a Master of the House, one of two honorary degrees conferred with the appointment of a new Dean. At this time, he was a familiar figure around Oxford, to many the young man with the peculiar erect walk, and to some the familiar face of the sub-librarian, a position he held since February 1855 and from which he had to resign after finally obtaining his Master of Arts in early 1857.¹⁴

Carroll in his leisure, the years show, was contributing his writing to several magazines—a habit that began the year before—and for one, *The Train*, was busy inventing his famous pseudonym. He took up photography, taking his famous “Beggar-Maid” photograph of Alice Liddell. He met, John Ruskin, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Alfred Lord Tennyson, the last of whom he had photographed in these years. He was by disposition inclined to leisure and from his early diary, it is clear he would rather read novels than study mathematics. He spends his vacations with his family at Croft or by visiting London to see plays and relatives, or by taking a trip to the Scottish Highlands. It is well to remember that in the beginning of 1855, the youngest members of the family were still children themselves, being nine, twelve, fourteen, fifteen, and seventeen.

The adult Carroll’s relationships with children evolved slowly. The first entry to show interest in this inclination comes in April, when he postulated that a children’s Christmas book for marionette theatres would sell well.

14 Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 58–60 (see note 27 below); see Lewis Carroll, July 14, 1881, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:349, for having the honour-men in the last two terms of 1855, and for being full Lecturer beginning in Hilary Term 1856. Also see October, 18, 1881, *ibid.*, 8:371–2, n. 646, for other dates concerning the lectureship. Cohen, *Interviews and Recollections*, 53, 87, 131, 156, 158, 229, for his erect posture, including Ethel Hatch, “Lewis Carroll Remembered,” *The Listener* 76, no. 1949 (August 4, 1966), 167.

Two months later, he wrote of meeting two nice children, Bob and Beatrice Harington, a four- and three-year-old, the first mention of making friends with the very young. By August he was commenting on the growth of children and showing—as the years will later show—an interest in “conversable” children (ten and twelve years old), and writing such entries as: “I took a great fancy to Florence [Crawshay, 5], the eldest, a child of very sweet manners. She has a very striking, though not a pretty, face, and may possibly turn out a beautiful brunette.” But these are mere inklings and only owe their mention here to his future behavior, which could be said to begin on one of his family vacations when he met the seven-year-old Frederica Liddell, a relative of the new Dean Liddell. “Each time I see her confirms me in the impression,” he wrote in late August, “that she is one of the most lovely children I ever saw, gentle and innocent looking, not an inanimate doll-beauty.” A week later, he took the opportunity to make the acquaintance official, describing her as “one of the nicest children I have ever seen, as well as the prettiest; dear, sweet, pretty little Frederica!” adding his first known white stone to the day. Two weeks later, however, the fickle Carroll observed, “The youngest Liddell, Gertrude, is even prettier than my little favourite Freddie: indeed she has quite the most lovely face I ever saw in a child.”¹⁵ Carroll was not the usual sort of man.

During the 1856 Easter term, while learning photography with his friend Reginald Southey, Carroll met the three Liddell girls, Alice and Edith for the first time, marking the day with a white stone. He and Southey saw the children on four other days, once with the three girls, once with only Harry and Lorina, and twice with just Harry. The children inspired him; after learning the art sufficiently enough to go out on his own, he initiated his serious interest in photography— after taking a few trial likenesses of himself some weeks before—by lugging his camera over to the deanery. Days before leaving Oxford for his long vacation, Carroll took Harry and

15 Lewis Carroll, April 11, July 3, August 17 (under August 20), 21 and 27, September 4 and 21, 1855, Wakeling, *Diaries*, 1:81–2, 108, 120–1, 123–4, 128, 133–4.

Ina, “the latter, much to my surprise,” on a boat trip, the first non-photographic activity with Oxford children.¹⁶ As he built the first and most important child relationships of his life, he began to fear that he was intruding on the deanery, and indeed, the following year, he endured the rumors about his courting of Miss Prickett. Not to be discouraged, that term he spends at least four days taking photographs of the children (two of which are white stones), including the famous “Beggar-maid” photograph. He talks of “swinging, backgammon, etc.”¹⁷ In these early years of his relationship with the Liddells, Carroll saw the older children more than the younger, including Harry, who he tutored in arithmetic for a couple of months.

TABLE 2 Children by term and vacation from 1855 to 1857.

Ages	1855		1856						1857						
	LV	MT	CV	HT	EV	ET	LV	MT	CV	HT	EV	ET	LV	MT	CV
1-12	7	—	3	1	1	3	16	4	2	10	—	5	9	4	2
13-14	1	—	2	—	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
15-20	3	—	1	—	1	—	5	—	—	2	—	—	4	—	—
(?)	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	3	—	—	—
	12	—	6	1	3	3	26	4	2	13	—	8	16	4	2

NOTE: Column headings are as follows: (HT) Hilary Term; (ET) Easter and Act Term; (MT) Michaelmas Term; (CV) Christmas Vacation; (EV) Easter Vacation; and (LV) Long Vacation. The terms and vacations begin and end as in Carroll’s diary, and not necessarily by the strict observance of term dates.

It was not until his first summer vacation with his camera, in the midst of his relationship with the Liddells, that Carroll showed his enthusiasm and faculty with children. Carroll, with his camera in tow, met more non-relative girls during this time than the prior year and a half. He met twenty-six children in all compared to twenty-five before: sixteen (twelve or younger), three (between thirteen and fourteen), five (fifteen or older), and another two of an unknown age, perhaps older than twenty (see table 2). He recorded meeting twelve families, ten of which were not recorded

16 Carroll, April 25 to June 5, 1856, *ibid.*, 2:65-79 *passim*.

17 Carroll, May 17 to June 30, 1857, *ibid.*, 3:59-74 *passim*.

before. Though photography was the main attraction here, only half of the children had their likenesses taken. Carroll also recorded charades, dancing, walking and boating, along with showing his newly made photographic albums.¹⁸ Displaying interest in children beyond photography, he avoided adults and “Spent most of the evening with the children who have grown out of my recollection.”¹⁹ A month later, he wrote, “In the afternoon Collyns and I rowed down to Herbert’s Island, taking Charlotte and Mary with us. It was I think the most perfectly lovely day I ever saw, and the water as smooth as glass: I never enjoyed rowing more thoroughly. The little girls rowed us a part of the way, and steered the rest.”²⁰ The following year, he ends up meeting far fewer girl children during the Long Vacation, owing partly to his befriending of Tennyson and his two boy children.²¹

Carroll twice attempted teaching young children at this time, once at his father’s school in Croft and once at Oxford. The Croft children even experienced his magic lantern show during the Christmas holidays one year. Despite an auspicious start, the Oxford children proved too much for the newly appointed Mathematical Lecturer. “Class again noisy and inattentive,” he wrote after a month, “and I almost think I had better give up teaching there for the present.”²²

18 Carroll, June 12 to October 9, 1856, *ibid.*, 2:81–106 *passim*.

19 Carroll, June 26, 1856, *ibid.*, 2:84–5.

20 Carroll August 22, 1856, *ibid.*, 2:94–5.

21 Carroll, August 3 to September 29, 1857, *ibid.*, 3:84–119 *passim*.

22 Carroll, February 26, 1856, *ibid.*, 2:44. For Carroll’s teaching, see 1:108–14 *passim*, 2:30–44 *passim*, and for the magic lantern shows, see December 31, 1856, and January 1, 1857, 1:127, 2:7.

TABLE 3 Summary of Carroll's meetings with girls from 1855 to 1857.

	Total	Ages				Percentage				
		1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	
First Met										
Oxford	15	12	—	2	1	80.0	—	13.3	6.7	
Family	18	11	1	5	1	61.1	5.6	27.8	5.6	
Writer	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	2	2	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
	36	26	1	7	2	73.2	2.8	19.4	5.6	
All Children (First Age) ^a										
Oxford	19	13	—	2	4	68.4	—	10.5	21.1	
Family	42	24	5	10	3	57.1	11.9	23.8	7.1	
Writer	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	4	4	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
	66	42	5	12	7	63.6	7.6	18.2	10.6	
Days										
Youngest	98	85	5	4	4	86.7	5.1	4.1	4.1	
Oldest	98	64	13	16	5	65.3	13.3	16.3	5.1	
Encounters										
Oxford	87	81	—	2	4	93.1	—	2.3	4.6	
Family Town ^b	96	50	18	25	3	52.1	18.8	26.0	3.1	
London	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Scotland	22	22	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	25	13	4	8	—	52.0	16.0	32.0	—	
	231	167	22	35	7	72.3	9.5	15.2	3.0	

NOTE: The ages of nine children were approximated and represent 4.8% of the total Encounters. The percentage totals for All Children (Last Age) are 63.6—7.6—18.2—10.6. With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the percentages for each measure are relatively the same, except Days Oldest (72.5—9.8—15.7—2.0), skewing even more toward younger children. With the higher degree, the percentages for Encounters also slightly favor younger children (76.1—9.2—13.8—0.9).

^aThe girls are charted by the age when Carroll first meets them in this period. The numbers for last age are too similar for inclusion, though the percentages are mentioned in the note above.

^bFamily Town refers to towns where Carroll's own family and relatives resided. The home towns of Carroll's friends are charted under Other.

The findings for the first three years of Carroll's extant diaries are shown in table 3. During these years, Carroll is on record meeting thirty-six girls for the first time, twenty-six young children (twelve and under), one middle-aged child (thirteen and fourteen), and seven older children (fifteen to twenty), with two being of an unknown age. He meets sixty-six children in all, a majority whom are connected with his family, as opposed to

Oxford. A greater part of the children are young, and a greater part of the older children have a connection to his family's or his relative's residences. Of the ninety-eight days he is recorded meeting children, 86.7% involve at least one young child, while only 16.3% involve at least one older child.²³

Of the 231 encounters (an encounter being scored as one child in one day, see page xx), the table shows that Carroll has only slightly fewer encounters with children in Oxford as he does in towns related to his family. Again, and even more dramatically, the young children dominate with their presence, 72.3% being younger as opposed to 15.2% being older. As reflected above, a majority of the encounters with the older children are family-related, a matter of which he has less control when compared with Oxford.

Not illustrated on the chart, of the 231 encounters, thirty-three are in the first year and about three times as many are in the second and third years. As the three years progress, the percentage of the encounters with younger children steadily increase (51.5%, 68.6%, 83.9%) while the ones for older girls sharply decrease (42.4%, 14.3%, 6.5%). In 1856, Carroll has seventy-two encounters with family children and twenty-six with Oxford children. A switch takes place in the following year with only twenty-five encounters with family children and fifty-seven with Oxford children.

Carroll enjoys many activities with the children, but none more so than photography (see table 8). Of the ninety-eight recorded days, twenty-three are spent in photography, with eight of them having the Liddell girls as subjects of his photographic sessions, not including two days where they just observe the operation of the craft. He plays games on five days (Ways and Means [a card game Carroll invented], charades, backgammon, and origami), tells stories on three days (not specified), and takes walks with

23 A hearty thanks to Edward Wakeling for a healthy supply of dates (birth and death) that alluded him when preparing the diaries for publication. These dates will appear in a forthcoming cumulative index. (The word "about" will often be omitted when referring to a girl's age when only the birth year is known. Also, owing to the nature of this paper, not all sentences will be burdened by the inclusion of such cautionary words as "approximately," "on record meeting," and the like, especially those sentences that refer to tables.)

the girls on four days. His diaries record boating on four days, along with visiting exhibitions, storytelling, and touring with girls, for three days each during this period. Various days are spent with other activities.

Perhaps the most relevant numbers in the above chart are the final percentages that divide the whole of Carroll's friends into the three age groups (72.3–9.5–15.2). Based on over 200 recorded encounters, it would be difficult to argue that the numbers, though not quite definitive, are simply random and meaningless.

The Years 1865–1867

These are the years that show Lewis Carroll—deacon and the now Reverend Charles L. Dodgson, still a Mathematical Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford—publishing his first children's book, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The year 1865 has the thirty-three-year-old preaching at least twenty times—with only about two sermons given in 1862, the first full year of his new title, and nine in 1863 and four given in 1864. In August, he listed six books in his diary to read for ordination though he is often thought to have given up the idea of taking priest's orders three years before. His prayers to serve God better, showing a feeling of unworthiness—a hint to some scholars of one of the “several reasons” he chose not to take orders—appear frequently in his diary at this time and may owe to his preaching only once each in 1866 and 1867. Despite the 1862 decision about his “lay” or “clerical” position as a Student, he still shows a conflicted attitude toward priesthood.²⁴

During these years, Carroll was heavily involved in Oxford politics, writing several squibs and other assorted parodies.²⁵ From early 1865 to early 1867, he attended numerous meetings with other Students,

24 Carroll, October 21, 1862, and August 13, 1865, Wakeling, *Diaries*, 4:137, 5:102; Carroll to his godson W. M. Wilcox, September 10, 1885, in Cohen, *Letters*, 603.

25 Sidney Herbert Williams, Falconer Madan, and Roger Lancelyn Green, *A Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll)*, revised by Denis Crutch (Folkestone, England: Archon Books, 1979), 27–42. Regarding his mathematical works, *ibid.*, 19–43, to be discussed below, an 1858 book on *The Fifth Book of Euclid* is perhaps not by Carroll.

challenging the Dean and chapter for “the admission of the Students into the Corporation of The House, with a due share of the administration of the revenues and in the government of the same....” On August 12, 1867, the Students finally obtained many of the same privileges the Fellows of other Oxford colleges had when the Bill, passed by Parliament, received the Royal Assent.²⁶

The years proved to be busy with his mathematical responsibilities and endeavors. In 1865, Carroll had seventy students, complaining one day in his diary that it was “too much for one” and mentioning some days later that his lecturing “reached a climax. Lectures from 9 to 2, and 5 to 6, and a good deal of looking over papers etc. besides.” Similar complaints were made in the next two years.²⁷ Along with these duties came his many mathematical publications, from pamphlets to books, beginning years before with *A Syllabus of Plane Algebraical Geometry* (1860), and culminating in these years with his book *An Elementary Treatise on Determinants* (1867).

Excepting his trip to the continent in 1867, his leisure hours were spent with much of the same activities as the previous period, photography, theatre, lionizing or befriending celebrities, and children—though each had a slightly different nature. His photography had the benefit of Badcock’s studio, and accordingly more indoor photographs were produced at this time (along with his first child nude).²⁸ He takes his first photographs of the Terry family, met only weeks before the new year 1865. Unlike the previous period, many days are spent bopping [gallivanting] around London, visiting theatrical and artistic people, and commenting on the latters’ work, and meeting their children. His interest in children now had

26 Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 248–50. The quotation (*ibid.*, 148) was voiced by Prout, supported by Carroll, and was published in Arthur Hassall, *Christ Church, Oxford: An Anthology in Prose and Verse* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), 42.

27 Carroll, October 28 (quoted), November 8, 1865 (quoted), October 17, 1866, October 24 (see under “End of Russian Journal”), and December 12, 1867, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 5:113, 115, 179, 375.

28 Carroll, May 21, 1867, *ibid.*, 5:244.

a solid product, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. In the first year during this period, he likely finished the tale, and unfortunately saw it through a difficult first publication. In the last year, he began looking for a new illustrator for its sequel, though that task became more frantic in 1868.

No single family took the place of the Liddells after the curious slow break in their relations which began in late July 1863. The MacDonald and Terry families came the closest, with the Slatters, Sants, Wards, and Monier-Williamses close after.²⁹ And no single person appears to be a favorite, though Carroll is said to have fallen in love with Ellen Terry. Of the seventeen girls under twenty in these families, twelve were young children, four were middle-aged, and one older (the eighteen-year-old and married, yet separated, Ellen Terry).

The widening range of his friendships, owing to these families and many others, have Carroll photographing children all about the country, even spending one more day in London at this recreation than in Oxford. This mobility, especially with the cumbersome equipment, combined with his management and flexibility in arranging desired subjects, shows him driven by a certain degree of passion, accompanied by an equal degree of pleasure when succeeding. "The four Wards came to Mr. Sant's again," Carroll wrote about a summer day in London, "and I took a good one of Eva, three of Beatrice (one full-length), one of Russell, and a large head of Flora."

Mr. Terry had promised to bring the four children, but was deterred by the rain. I went over to see if they could come tomorrow, and again spent the evening there.

Never before in one week have I had five such lovely children to photograph as Mary and Constance Sant, Eva, Flora and Beatrice Ward. Beatrice is very like what Mrs. Watts [Ellen Terry] was as a child.³⁰

29 Carroll spent fourteen days with the Terry children, eleven with the MacDonalds, eight with the Slatters, eight with the Wards, and seven with the others.

30 Carroll, July 27, 1866, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 5:167-70.

A year before in Shippon, Carroll noticed a “pretty child” leaving church and on the following Sunday, he “made out that the family is Godfrey...” A few months later, he succeeded in photographing her in Oxford. “Mr. Godfrey arrived at quarter to 11, with Miss Godfrey, Georgie, and a very pretty child he had offered to bring, Edith Stone (at 8 about). I took both children very successfully.”³¹ His artistic aspirations even led him to follow suitable subjects home:

Went to St. Mary’s, and in leaving church noticed a lady with a child very like Edith Jebb (whom also I first noticed when returning from St. Mary’s at Whitby). As I should like much to photograph this Second Edition of “Edith,” I walked their way (Iffley Road) to see who they were. Their home seems to be in James Street and the Directory gives the name as a “Mrs. Baughan.”³²

31 Carroll, March 5 and 12, and July 1, 1865, *ibid.*, 5:55–6, 82. After this typical Oxford day of photographing children, Carroll traveled to Windsor and atypically received a bow from the Queen.

32 Carroll, May 5, 1867, *ibid.*, 5:234

TABLE 4 Summary of Carroll's meetings with girls from 1865 to 1867.

	Total	Ages				Percentage				
		1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	
First Met										
Oxford	17	12	1	3	1	70.6	5.9	17.6	5.9	
Family	24	16	3	4	1	66.7	12.5	16.7	4.2	
Beach	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Theatre	6	6	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Artist	14	10	4	—	—	71.4	28.6	—	—	
Writer	2	2	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Train	4	4	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	2	1	—	—	1	50.0	—	—	50.0	
	70	52	8	7	3	74.3	11.4	10.0	4.3	
All Children (First Age)										
Oxford	35	19	4	10	2	54.3	11.4	28.6	5.7	
Family	47	29	5	10	3	61.7	10.6	21.3	6.4	
Beach	5	3	—	2	—	60.0	—	40.0	—	
Theatre	12	8	—	1	3	66.7	—	8.3	25.0	
Artist	23	15	4	1	3	65.2	17.4	4.3	13.0	
Writer	9	8	1	—	—	88.9	11.1	—	—	
Train	4	4	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	8	7	—	—	1	87.5	—	—	12.5	
	143	93	14	24	12	65.0	9.8	16.8	8.4	
Days										
Youngest	118	97	6	8	7	82.2	5.1	6.8	5.9	
Oldest	118	55	20	28	15	46.6	16.9	23.7	12.7	
Encounters										
Oxford	56	38	4	12	2	67.9	7.1	21.4	3.6	
Family Town	59	35	7	15	2	59.3	11.9	25.4	3.4	
London	177	119	34	18	6	67.2	19.2	10.2	3.4	
Russia	7	1	—	—	6	14.3	—	—	85.7	
Belgium	2	2	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	34	27	5	1	1	79.4	14.7	2.9	2.9	
	335	222	50	46	17	66.3	14.9	13.7	5.1	

NOTE: The ages of sixteen children were approximated and represent 6.7 % of the total Encounters. The percentage totals for All Children (Last Age) are 60.8—11.9—18.9—8.4. With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the percentages for each measure skew even more toward younger children, but most notably in All Children (76.5—8.2—9.4—5.9), and Encounters (74.5—14.2—8.8—2.5).

The findings for the encounters in the years 1865 to 1867 are shown in table 4. During this time, Carroll is on record meeting seventy children never seen before, almost double that of a decade before. A great majority of those he seeks out, fifty-two, are young, with only seven, by contrast, older. All in all, 143 children are met, ninety-three young, fourteen middle-aged, and twenty-four older, but with twelve of an unknown age.³³ Along with the thirty-five he meets through Oxford and the forty-seven children he meets through his family, Carroll meets, new to this period, forty-four children through his London connections—theatrical, publishing, and artistic—the latter making up more than half with twenty-three girls seen. Carroll devotes more days to children in this period compared to the previous period. However, if the equivalent time periods for the first six months of 1855, when Carroll did not record meeting any children, and the trip abroad in 1867 when he met few, are factored out, the days are about equal (ninety-one to eighty-five). Nonetheless, he spends 82.2% of these days with at least one child under the age of twelve, and spends only 23.7% with at least one child fifteen or older, figures somewhat equal to the previous decade.

In this period, Carroll's diaries show he had over one hundred more encounters with children than in the previous period. Of the 335 encounters with girl children, an overwhelming number are with London-related children, a number three times higher than the Oxford children. He encounters younger children 222 times, fifty times with middle aged children, and forty-six times with older children, a balance somewhat equivalent to the decade before. In other words, younger children spend about five times more time with him than older children.

Not seen on the chart, Carroll meets eighty children in the first year, fifty-three in the next, and fifty-five in the last. This shows a slightly slow year for children in 1866, as the figures almost equal that for the last year

33 Of the twenty-four older children, about two-thirds have younger sisters seen, and a higher percentage, when matched against the younger girls, were seen only once—66.7% compared to 57.0%.

when Carroll goes abroad and meets few children. Naturally, his photographic output drops in the last year as well, seventeen and fifteen days in the first two years to a mere four in 1867. There is a significant change in family related friends after 1865, dropping from thirty-five to fifteen to a mere five. The Oxford friends remain steady throughout the three years, but the artist-related girls pick up dramatically in 1866.

Photography is still a major part of Carroll's relationship with children. He photographs about a third of the children he meets in this period (though some girls may have been photographed before or after). The task takes thirty-six days, thirteen more than the previous period. The other two main activities (see table 8), the playing of croquet and the taking of girls to the theatre, are not recorded in the previous period. He plays croquet on nine days, mostly his own game of "Castle Croquet," with at least seven families, including the MacDonalds and the Terrys. On seven occasions, Carroll goes to the theatre with children, including four times when Carroll escorts MacDonald children—the first time, April 7, 1865, with his brother Wilfred—and two when he escorts Terry children to the theatre. He is also seen, but to a much lesser degree, showing his pictures to children, storytelling ("The Pixies"), walking, and game playing.

The Years 1875–1877

These are the years in which Lewis Carroll—famous for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and the equally successful *Through the Looking-Glass*—prepares and publishes *The Hunting of the Snark*. In these years, the forty-three to forty-five year old was head of his family, and had been ever since his father's death in 1868, the same year Carroll moved to his final accommodations in Christ Church. The spacious rooms, with two distinctive octagon-shaped rooms overlooking St. Aldates Road, had a photographic studio, ever since 1871 but first used the following year, conveniently constructed on the roof.

Despite these college conveniences, his lectureship and deaconate responsibilities, along with Oxford politics, remained quite bland at this time, as opposed to the previous period. By giving up preaching (only a

handful of prayers appear in his diary) and squib writing (only the non-squib *Professor of Comparative Philology* appeared), and with only one mathematical work published during this time (*Euclid I, II*),³⁴ Carroll concentrated his energy on his recreations. He continued his photography, photographing the famous, namely John Ruskin and Prince Leopold, his family, friends, and children, including the ubiquitous Xie Kitchin, and at times, traveling with his camera to family homes, such as his visit to Henry Holiday. He also continued his writing for children, not only by writing and publishing *The Snark* but also by searching, hopefully but failingly, for an artist for an illustrated version of his earlier *Phantasmagoria and Other Poems*. Ruskin, who already criticized Holiday's work on *The Snark*, was on hand to criticize sample drawings from several artists. Carroll also began to compile a book he first called *Alice's Puzzle Book*, with John Tenniel even on board to illustrate the frontispiece.

Some of the miscellaneous events of his life during this time included his opposition to vivisection and his support of vaccination, his use of an electric pen, and his writing of *Memoria Technica*, and an *Easter Greeting*. These were also the last years of his visits to Hatfield House, the home of the Marquis of Salisbury, for New Year celebrations, where he often told stories to a gathering of children. After somewhat pointedly refusing to tell a story in 1875,³⁵ to break the expectation, Carroll failed to appear in following years, but the two matters are likely unconnected.

Regarding his child-friends, there are three notable differences between this period and the previous two periods, all of which are exemplified in a single sentence written in 1877 to the mother of little Dolly Blakemore:

No summer that I have ever spent has given me so many child-friends as this, and I am very glad to think that I can now (a thing I despaired of for many weeks) include Edith in the list.³⁶

34 Crutch, et. al., *Handbook*, 86, 88.

35 Carroll, December 31, 1875, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:442.

36 Carroll to Mrs. V. Blakemore, October 2, 1877, in Cohen, *Letters*, 285-6.

First, the word “child-friend” itself. He is first recorded using the term only two years before, on March 18, 1873. Besides two other uses of the term in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* for this period, he uses the term twice in his diary.³⁷ Second, the list Carroll mentions does not simply have a mental existence but a physical one. In the year he met Dolly, Carroll begins to consistently list his new child-friends in his diary, always at the end of his summer outings, including newly formed relationships outside of the beach girls. He will carry on the practice to the year 1894, with a break in 1893. His list for 1877 was by far the longest, and included fifteen families, and thirty-five girls.³⁸ Third, and most importantly, is the catalyst of that list, what drove it into existence—the beach. The beach years have begun. The first two years in this period had Carroll meeting numerous children at the beach in Sandown, and in the last year, at Eastbourne. Though his first Eastbourne year compelled him to write the list, the figures are not much higher than his 1875 Sandown vacation.

Carroll spent much time with the Hulls, the Dymeses, and the Threshers. But he seems to have connected most emotionally with the nine-year-old Gertrude Chataway and the five-year-old Edith Blakemore, the “Dolly” above. He called Gertrude, “one of the sweetest children it has ever been my happiness to meet” and referred to her in his diaries as “my special friend Gertrude....” With others, he joined her on the beach, told her stories, toured around the island, and, most especially, drew her in her bathing costume. Consisting of a jersey and bathing drawers, her novel beachwear seemed to have been an obsession with Carroll. A year after their first meeting, Carroll invited her and her mother to Oxford and took eight pictures of Gertrude, with at least one in her full beach attire, and one each of her sister and mother. Though he sought permission

37 Carroll, March 18, 1873, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:264; Carroll to George Denman, April 6, 1876, Carroll to Mrs. J. Chataway, June 29, 1876, in Cohen, *Letters*, 247, 254.

38 Carroll, September 27, 1877, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:74–5. After a visit to Whitby, Carroll had made one earlier list of child-friends, though it included parents as well, see Carroll, August 16, 1871, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:176–7. Carroll likely thought of his lists as appearing at the end of the college year.

beforehand to take her in “Eve’s original dress,” he had to be satisfied with a compromise—reached during the photographic session—of taking three negatives of her in her bathing drawers only, what was dubbed her “Swanage Costume,” a reference to the town her and her family visited the summer after meeting Carroll. So entranced with Gertrude, Carroll, using an acrostic of her name, dedicated *The Hunting of the Snark* to her—“Girt with a boyish garb for boyish task...” —obsessing on that bathing dress again.³⁹

Edith “Dolly” Blakemore was a harder catch. Appraising the beginnings of his child-friendships for his first year in Eastbourne, Carroll saved the best for last:

But this evening, on the pier, I have made friends with quite the brightest child, and nearly the prettiest, I have yet seen here—“Dolly,” about 5 years old, realises Coleridge’s “little child, a limber elf, etc.” She seemed to be on springs, and was dancing incessantly to the music: in face she reminds me of Bessie Slatter as a child, and her eyes literally glitter. The father is from Birmingham, evidently in business: there was also the mother, quiet and pleasant, and a boy of about 10. Dolly is fascinating, and I hope to see her again. [Edith Rose Blakemore].⁴⁰

After receiving a present from Carroll four days later, “Dolly fled: she is a regular little coquette.” The timid Dolly thanked him for his gift, “but

39 Carroll, October 2 and December 13, 1875, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:422, 438; Carroll to Mrs. J. Chataway, June 28 and October 1, 25 and 28 and November 1, 1876, in Cohen, *Letters*, 258, 231, 253, 261–2; Lewis Carroll, *The Hunting of the Snark* (London: Macmillan, 1876). See the October 28 and November 1 letters for Carroll’s reference to the “Swanage Costume” being one of three photographs taken in drawers only; see October 1 and 20 for Carroll not using the term “bathing-drawers” to mean the top and bottom of some bathing attire; see May 26 and 27, 1879, for future photography with bathing-drawers only and a description of the two-piece outfit being the norm for Sandown attire. The October 28 letter makes it clear that he did not take her in the nude: “My own idea would be to put them among the others I have done of the same kind (some in less dress)…”

40 Carroll, August 2, 1877, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:52–3. Carroll brackets her name at the end of the entry.

the effort was too much for her nerves...” and that only after she shied away from him for a time. In a few letters—and not without Carroll criticizing the family’s treatment of Dolly—Carroll and Mrs. Blakemore experimented with different schemes to break little Dolly’s fear. The experiments failed. Surprisingly, after a three-week estrangement, the little five-year-old invited him into her house. Overcoming her shyness with Carroll, they met several times, ending with Carroll telling her “Little Foxes,”⁴¹ and little Dolly ending up on his inaugural list of befriended children. He must have been severely stricken with Dolly, as his usual practice was not to trouble himself with shy children.

41 Carroll to Mrs. V. Blakemore, [August 14 and 15, 1877], in Cohen, *Letters*, 282–4; Carroll, August 6 and 14, and September 9–12, 1877, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:55, 58, 69–70.

TABLE 5 Summary of Carroll's meetings with girls from 1875 to 1877.

	Total	Ages				Percentage			
		1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)
First Met									
Oxford	15	12	—	2	1	80.0	—	13.3	6.7
Family	5	5	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—
Beach	97	80	6	7	4	82.5	6.2	7.2	4.1
Theatre	8	6	—	1	1	75.0	—	12.5	12.5
Artist	3	1	1	1	—	33.3	33.3	33.3	—
Train	2	2	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—
Other	3	1	1	—	—	66.7	33.3	—	—
	133	107	8	11	6	81.2	6.0	8.3	4.5
All Children (First Age)									
Oxford	50	26	7	12	5	52.0	14.0	24.0	10.0
Family	20	9	1	10	—	45.0	5.0	50.0	—
Beach	119	97	7	8	7	81.5	5.9	6.7	5.9
Theatre	13	8	—	2	3	61.5	—	15.4	23.1
Artist	9	5	1	3	—	55.6	11.1	33.3	—
Writer	3	1	1	1	—	33.3	33.3	33.3	—
Train	3	2	—	1	—	66.7	—	33.3	—
Other	13	3	1	4	5	23.1	7.7	30.8	38.5
	230	151	18	41	20	65.7	7.8	17.8	8.7
Days									
Youngest	211	175	12	21	3	82.9	5.7	10.0	1.4
Oldest	212	106	36	49	21	50.0	17.0	23.1	9.9
Encounters									
Oxford	79	42	15	18	4	53.2	19.0	22.8	5.1
Family Town	9	4	—	5	—	44.4	—	55.6	—
Beach Town	340	282	31	17	10	82.9	9.1	5.0	2.9
London	87	51	14	19	3	58.6	16.1	21.8	3.4
Other	122	81	9	24	8	66.4	7.4	19.7	6.6
	637	460	69	84	25	72.2	10.8	13.0	3.9

NOTE: The ages of twenty-seven children were approximated and represent 8.0 % of the total Encounters. The percentage totals for All Children (Last Age) are 63.5—8.3—19.6—8.7. With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the percentages for All Children (70.1—10.7—14.1—5.1) and Encounters (73.4—11.7—12.4—2.5) skew even more toward younger children. With the higher degree, the percentage changes for both Days Youngest and Days Oldest are negligible.

As seen in table 5, from 1875 to 1877, Carroll is on record meeting 133 children never seen before, almost double the figures for the previous decade, with a great majority, still twelve and younger. He records meeting 230 children in all, about ninety more than previously, and the highest total of the five periods reviewed here. In fact, the number of young children he meets (excluding minor encounters) for this period totals 151, outnumbering the total he met—young, middle-aged, and older—in the previous period. At this time, Carroll begins to meet fewer family-related girls and more Oxford-related girls, a switch that will remain for the next two periods. But by far, the most notable difference, as mentioned above, is the 119 girls he meets on or around the beaches of Sandown and Eastbourne. Of these girls, an overwhelming majority are younger, as would be expected. Carroll spent 211 days with children in this period (101 in beach towns alone), almost doubling the number from the previous period, but as will be seen, not the highest total for all five periods. During these years, 82.9% of his days, if spent with children, have at least one girl twelve or younger, and on the other hand, 23.1 % of the days spent with children have a girl fifteen or older, numbers equivalent to the previous period.

Children have 637 encounters with Carroll, the highest total of all five periods, a number much aided by the beach encounters. From the previous period, the children he encounters in Oxford have a small increase while for those he encounters in his own families' towns there is a sharp decrease. His London encounters take the more noticeable change, with a drop of more than half. In other words, he spends his long vacation at the beach instead of in the capital.

For the three years from 1875 to 1877, not individually detailed in table 5, he sees 117, 70, and 108 children, with fifty-two, eighteen, and sixty-four being met for the first time. Remarkably, none of the eighteen first met in 1876 are thirteen or older. With all the children, he has 266, 130, and 241 encounters, respectively. There are a couple of reasons for the drop in the middle year. Carroll stops attending the New Year festivities at Hatfield House, failing to return at the end of December 1876, not to

mention leaving on the first day of January 1876, when he usually stays longer.⁴² Also, in the month of September for 1876, Carroll spends more time with friends and relatives than usual at Sandown, seeing only one-third the number of children as he did the previous September. And not detailed in table 8, Carroll photographs on only five or so days in 1877, with all of the subjects being children thirteen or younger, except for the nineteen-year-old Lucy Arnold (whom Carroll thought was 17!).⁴³

Carroll only photographed thirty-seven of the 230 girls he meets during this period (though some may have been photographed before or after). The drop from one-third for the previous period to one-sixth photographed is not surprising given that he never brought his camera to his beach getaways, though he did manage to photograph thirteen of the girls in Oxford or in their home towns. Another girl is even photographed in Eastbourne, Carroll directing and composing one of the compositions with a professional doing the rest of the work.⁴⁴ All in all, he photographs on thirty days, six fewer days than the previous period (see table 8). Completely new activities for this time include visiting Eastbourne sites (the Pier, the Parade, the Rink, Paradise, Devonshire Park) and doing puzzles (usually unnamed but occasionally a wire-puzzle), twelve and eleven days each. Activities increased during this time include showing his photograph albums, walking, storytelling, theatregoing, and drawing children. The stories include “The Blacksmith and the Hobgoblin,” “Prince Uggug,” the fable of “The Soup,” “The Two Sisters,” “The Queen and the Beggar-maid,” “The Three Foxes,” and “The Pixies.” Croquet and boating are not recorded as activities taking place in these three years.

Based on over 600 encounters, it is highly unlikely that the final

42 They are marked with a London location but with an Oxford connection because of “Liddon’s intervention, to get the Chancellor’s children to photograph...” (see June 25, 1870, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:120).

43 Edward Wakeling, “Register of All Known Photographs by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson,” in Roger Taylor and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer: The Princeton University Library Albums* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 273. The register makes it possible that Julia Arnold (fifteen) was also photographed at this time.

44 Carroll, September 20, 1875, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 6:419–20.

percentages (72.2–10.8–13.0) are not, within some minor degree of error, representative of Carroll's life at the time. Also, a browse through the unstudied years of Carroll's extant diary and letters between 1858 and 1874 makes it highly unlikely that the years would yield a vastly different outcome than the three snapshots have thus far revealed, at least, that is, for the final percentages. Younger girls obviously abounded when compared to older girls. Though the study makes no official claim on those years, it would be an exercise in futility to study them in depth when Carroll himself stated his preference for younger girls at this time in his life in one letter and implied his preference in another.

The Years 1885–1887

These are the years that show Lewis Carroll—retired Mathematical Lecturer of Christ Church and retired photographer extraordinaire but current curator of the Common Room—publishing a facsimile, a nursery, and a combined edition, not to mention two revised editions, of his *Alice* books. Inspired by the *Alice in Wonderland: A Dream Play* operetta, the first major stage adaptation, Carroll even writes an article for *The Theatre* detailing the origin of the tale, along with that for *The Hunting of the Snark*. The fifty-three to fifty-five-year-old also publishes several mathematical works,⁴⁵ and works on just about every book he is to publish in the remainder of his lifetime, and even posthumously. With this intense workload came new rules.

Sometime in 1886, he began to categorically refuse all invitations, noting his last acceptance on a back page of his current diary, as well as the first time he refused an Oxford invitation two years before.⁴⁶ He even stated

⁴⁵ Crutch, et. al., *Handbook*, 131–55.

⁴⁶ Carroll, [see under March 28, 1887], in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:326. Refusing certain luncheon invitations were a different matter evidently, see Carroll to Mrs. Kitchin, March 4, 1873, in Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll and the Kitchens: Containing Twenty-Five Letters Not Previously Published and Nineteen of His Photographs* (New York: The Lewis Carroll Society of North America, 1980), 3; and Carroll to Mrs. A. L. Mayhew, December 19, [1878], in Cohen, *Letters*, 319.

that he gave up calling on friends. He often blamed the weariness of society, the banality of small-talk, but the chief impetus of the rule, as stated at least once, was the same as the resignation of his lectureship—his books.⁴⁷ “Never before,” he wrote the year before the new rule, “have I had so many literary projects on hand at once,” and for the sake of curiosity he listed fifteen of them. So the “old man” —a repeated epithet begun sometime after he turned fifty⁴⁸—commenced the years that would unfairly portray him as a hermit, a concept that he himself would put forth during these years.⁴⁹ (He found the time to preach three sermons, all in 1887, and recorded only two prayers, both in 1886.)

But with this newly-found discipline, came changes in his relationships with younger and older children. With younger children, the changes seem to be one of frequency only. He still befriended little girls by roaming the sands of Eastbourne, or sending gifts of his books to attractive young actresses, and he even rejoices when “The nice children are now beginning to arrive....”⁵⁰ Also, even after the new rule, he still brings young guests to Eastbourne to stay with him overnight, a new development from the previous period.⁵¹ “To London to meet Marie,” he wrote in September 1886, “we left at 1 1/2, and reached Eastbourne about 3 1/2.” On the train with the twelve-year-old Marie Van Der Gucht, who was to stay for six

47 Carroll to Anne Isabella Thackeray, October 24, 1887, and Carroll to Mrs. V. Blakemore, October 28, 1889, in Cohen, *Letters*, 686–7, 759–60. The letter to Thackeray is also the first known letter stating his invitation rule. For weariness of dinner parties, see Carroll, November 18, 1881, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:377.

48 Carroll, March 29, 1885, in Wakeling, *Diaries*: 8:179–183; Carroll to Mrs. H. Morley, May 11, 1882, in Cohen, *Letters*, 459. But also see Carroll to Ellen Terry, April 14, 1881, in Cohen, *Letters*, 419; and Carroll to F. H. Atkinson, [December 1881?], in Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, 231.

49 For uses of the term “hermit” or “recluse” and the like from 1882 to 1890, see Cohen, *Letters*, 190 (1873), 496, 605, 694–5, 702, 795, and Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:501, 8:128.

50 Carroll, September 23, 1886, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:295.

51 In 1882, Carroll had guests three times in Guildford, and in the following year, he had two girls staying in his Eastbourne lodgings (one girl substituted by another at one time), though these girls’ parents were in Eastbourne anyway. In 1884, a guest in Eastbourne stayed in other lodgings, followed by two girls who stayed with him. His first solo girl was the eleven-year-old Phobebe Carlo, who stayed in Eastbourne for five days.

days, he proudly mentioned that he “had as companions two nice children and their governess, with whom I soon made friends. Their names are Mabel and Gladys Atkins, father an officer in India: mother dead: ages about 12 and 10.” The train girls, actually nine and ten, only prove awkward acquaintances when the grandfather denies him friendship, leaving Carroll to drone trivially about the matter in several letters. His friendship with the twelve-year-old May Mileham, who gave him the “novel experience” of being in his charge in 1884 when she stayed in separate lodgings in Eastbourne, also ended up on bad terms a year later, the possible reason for a missing page in his diary.⁵² So with younger girls it was all very much the same.

With older girls, the chief difference between this and the previous period is that there *are* older girls. Ever since at least 1880 Carroll lamented losing friendships with girls after a certain age, and ever since at least 1882 he regretted the change that took place once a child grew older. “To speak the truth... the *majority* (say 60 p.c.) of my child-friends cease to be friends *at all* after they grow up,” he wrote in 1884 to the eighteen-year-old Adelaide Paine, “about 30 p.c. develop ‘yours affectionately’ into ‘yours truly’: only about 10 p.c. keep up the old relationship unchanged. It is satisfaction to know that *you* are one of the 10.”⁵³ And ever since 1884, Carroll described for his correspondents, for one reason or another, the widened age range of his friends. Three of the fourteen such pronouncements found are from this period:

Among my many “child-friends” (ages varying from 7 to 27)...

I am quite used to tête-à-tête visits from ladies of any age from 10 to 40...

I have a good number of young friends, of ages from (say) 35 to 5...⁵⁴

52 Carroll, August 29, 1884, and June 15, 1885, September 1, 1886, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:139-40, 210 n. 361, 290.

53 Carroll to Adelaid Paine[?], January 9, 1884, in Cohen, *Letters*, 525.

54 Carroll to Mrs. F. S. Rix, March 9, 1885, and Carroll to Isabel Standen, May 19, 1885, in Cohen, *Letters*, 565, 575; Carroll to Lily Falle January 30, 1887, Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:315 n. 517.

Carroll befriends older girls in many ways, but quite often, and quite apart from the younger girls, with his newly-found, or renewed, interest in logic. In 1886, while giving a series of logic lectures at the Oxford High School for Girls, Carroll takes each student, one girl a day, for a walk. The walks began with an eleven-year-old in the class, but “Not to make... attentions too individual,” he asked the others out—one fifteen-year-old, four seventeen-year-olds, and one eighteen-year old. Two of the seventeen-year-olds, the fifteen- and the eleven-year-old end up on his list of new friends for the year. He published *The Game of Logic* privately in 1886 (immediately suppressed owing to bad printing) and commercially in 1887 as a classroom aid and interim project, and his working title for the full work, *Logic for Ladies*,⁵⁵ for his later work *Symbolic Logic, Part I* (1896) suggests how strongly he first associated the study with young ladies.

His desire for tête-à-tête dinners and other similar get-togethers, developing about 1882 or 1883, affected his relationships with girls of all ages.⁵⁶ By 1884, he wrote to the sixteen-year-old Beatrice Earle, “Next time I borrow you, I shall venture on having you *alone*: I like my child-friends best *one by one*....” Naturally, he must occasionally bow to Victorian social issues when inviting older girls, as the letter later shows. “But first I want to borrow (I can *scarcely* muster courage to say it!) your *eldest* sister [seventeen]. Oh, how the very thought of it frightens me! Do you think she would come? I don’t mean alone: I think Maggie [twelve] might come too, to make it all proper.”⁵⁷ Though teasingly applied here, these issues may fog some of the truth between his desire for older girls and his actual encounters with older girls. Nonetheless, with his new desire for “one-by-one” get-togethers, the number of children seen per day (on days with children) decreases drastically from around three the decade

55 Carroll, July 24, 1886, and October 2, 1886, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:285, 298–9.

56 Carroll to Mrs. F. W. Richards, October 30, 1882, in Cohen, *Letters*, 467; Carroll, November 22, 1883, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:62.

57 Carroll to Beatrice Earle, February 3, 1884, Carroll to Ethel Hatch, 2 March, 1884 (not quoted), and Carroll to Helen Alderson, May 4, 1884 (not quoted), in Cohen, *Letters*, 528, 532, 539.

before to somewhere less than two here.

Late in 1887, at the tail end of his stay in Eastbourne, Carroll met Isa Bowman. At thirteen, she bridges the young and the older children in his life. He had seen her in the *Alice* operetta and “fancied she looked nice....”⁵⁸ Just four days after their first meeting, he brings her to Eastbourne as a guest for eight days. Carroll’s diary effectively summarizes the adventure:

Isa’s visit has been a success. She seems stronger and better than when she came. On Tuesday we went to Miss Saigeman’s swimming entertainment. On Wednesday to concert and fireworks at Devonshire Park. And yesterday we walked to Beachy Head and back by Meads Road, being about six miles altogether. We have daily Bible-reading together: and I have taught her three propositions of Euclid!⁵⁹

He wrote affectionate letters to her, addressing her as “My own Darling,” and calling her “my pet.” “I think my little friend, Isa Bowman,” he wrote when she was fifteen, “was a more refined and intelligent Alice even than Phoebe Carlo, though *she* was a very good one.”⁶⁰ The relationship grew through Isa’s teenage years, with Carroll dedicating a book to her, *Sylvie and Bruno* (1889), and Isa, the year after Carroll died, writing a book of him, *The Story of Lewis Carroll* (1899).

58 Carroll, September 27, 1887, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:365.

59 Carroll, October 7, 1887, *ibid.*, 8:367–8.

60 Carroll to Isa Bowman, April 4, 1889, and April 14, 1890, and Carroll to Winifred Holiday, February 28, 1889, in Cohen, *Letters*, 735, 785, 730.

TABLE 6 Summary of Carroll's meetings with girls from 1885 to 1887.

	Total	Ages				Percentage			
		1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)
First Met									
Oxford	11	3	1	7	—	27.3	9.1	63.6	—
Family	5	3	1	1	—	60.0	20.0	20.0	—
Beach	18	6	2	8	2	33.3	11.1	44.4	11.1
Theatre	16	7	5	4	—	43.8	31.3	25.0	—
Artist	4	4	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—
Train	7	5	—	2	—	71.4	—	28.6	—
Other	9	3	1	5	—	33.3	11.1	55.6	—
	70	31	10	27	2	44.3	14.3	38.6	2.9
All Children (First Age)									
Oxford	22	4	5	12	1	18.2	22.7	54.5	4.5
Family	9	5	1	1	2	55.6	11.1	11.1	22.2
Beach	45	21	6	16	2	46.7	13.3	35.6	4.4
Theatre	23	7	5	11	—	30.4	21.7	47.8	—
Artist	9	9	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—
Writer	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	100.0	—
Train	8	5	—	2	1	62.5	—	25.0	12.5
Other	13	4	2	6	1	30.8	15.4	46.2	7.7
	130	55	19	49	7	42.3	14.6	37.7	5.4
Days									
Youngest	241	122	26	90	3	50.6	10.8	37.3	1.2
Oldest	241	80	26	129	6	33.2	10.8	53.5	2.5
Encounters									
Oxford	62	10	6	46	—	16.1	9.7	74.2	—
Family Town	26	14	2	10	—	53.8	7.7	38.5	—
Beach Town	154	76	21	56	1	49.4	13.6	36.4	0.6
London	148	65	26	54	3	43.9	17.6	36.5	2.0
Other	33	8	12	10	3	24.2	36.4	30.3	9.1
	423	173	67	176	7	40.9	15.8	41.6	1.7

NOTE: The ages of eleven children were approximated and represent 4.3 % of the total Encounters. The percentage totals for All Children (Last Age) are 36.9—16.9—40.8—5.4. With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the percentages for All Children (32.1—18.5—44.4—4.9), and Days Youngest (46.5—11.4—40.6—1.5) skew even more toward the older children. With the higher degree, the total percentages for Encounters only slightly skew more toward the older children (41.2—14.7—42.6—1.5).

For the three years beginning in 1885, Lewis Carroll is on record meeting seventy girls never seen before and 130 girls in all, about sixty and 100 fewer than a decade before (see table 6). He sees about half the family- and Oxford-related children, and much less than half the beach-related children, but almost double the theatre-related children (picked up greatly in the last year but only owing somewhat to the stage version of *Alice*). As would be expected from the discussion above, the wide difference between the younger children and the older children a decade before begins to close—42.3 % now younger and 37.7 % now older. Though Carroll sees far fewer children, his retirement of his mathematical lectureship allows him to spend more days with children. The number is not as significant, however, when considered by year, spending fewer days with children, for example, in 1887 than 1877. The days for Oxford and beach friends, being somewhat fixed, remain the same as the decade before, but the days with the London children increases, while his days with family connections continue a decrease, as would be expected as one ages. Significantly, half the days are spent with at least one child twelve or younger, and about half with one child at least fifteen or older.

During this period, Carroll has about 423 encounters with children, about 200 fewer than a decade before. Statistically significant in this weighted data, 173 are with young children, sixty-seven with middle-aged children, and 176 with older children, showing a balance at this time between the young and the old. His beach-town encounters decrease by more than half, while his London encounters increase—thanks to Climène Holiday; Irene and Edith Barnes; Nannie, Nina, and Ella Gaussen; Marie Van Der Gucht; Louise Keane; and Phoebe Carlo. In Oxford, most of his encounters are with older children, a switch from a decade before, and at the beach, there is only a slight edge toward younger children.

Examination of some of the data by year, not illustrated on the chart, shows that most of the change towards older children occurs in the last year. In the first two years, Carroll's encounters with younger children are 55.6% and 47.8% and with older children 27.8% and 33.1%. But in 1887, the younger children slide to 17.6% and the older children soar to 65.4%.

The change owes much to his friendship with the older Woodhouse, Earle, Lucy, Barnes and Lewis girls, and that four of the five extended overnight guests are fifteen or older. The final year being the first full year of his new rule of categorically rejecting invitations, and the February printing of *The Game of Logic* does not seem to be the cause for the sudden shift to older girls. After seeing only two theatre children in 1886, and nine the year before, he sees nineteen the following year. He goes to eighteen shows with children that year, with only eight each the years before.

The major difference in activities during this period is the lack of photography, though he is here considered the photographer of record when taking girls to a professional studio (see table 8). With fewer girls seen, fewer activities are realized, there is thus a drop in beach going, picture showing, puzzle solving, storytelling, and sketching, his lone attempt being his first serious nude study. The activities increased are walks, theatergoing, visiting art exhibitions, and the taking of a companion for the day. The latter, difficult to define exactly,⁶¹ seems to have gained significance in 1880. One new activity in this period is the many overnight guests only chaperoned by his landlady and her maid that Carroll allows himself, having four visits from young children, one from a middle aged child, and seven from older children. Another new activity is the lessons, Carroll spending twenty-six days giving lessons to two young children, two days to one middle aged child, and eighteen days to nine older children. Included separately are the fourteen lessons in logic that he delivers in a classroom setting to junior and senior girls, the one talk to sixty or so young girls, who Carroll entertains with his game Mischmasch and his story "Bruno's Picnic," and his one experience preaching at a high school.

The vast difference between the ages of the girls in this snapshot and the three previous ones demands a full study into the seven preceding years. Without a closer assessment of those years it would be impossible to know

61 It usually involves taking a child on social and business calls, including, but not necessarily, taking her to an exhibition or a play. But simply taking her to and from the theatre, for example, does not constitute being a companion.

for certain when the older girls became more prevalent in Carroll's life. Was it nearer 1878 or 1884, or was it in some year between? Such an examination will be taken in the concluding section.

The Years 1895–1897

These are the years that show Lewis Carroll—having resigned the Curatorship of the Common Room—finally publishing the first volume of *Symbolic Logic*. With the two *Sylvie and Bruno* books and the two *Curiosa Mathematica* books, *A New Theory of Parallels and Pillow Problems*, comfortably behind him, he still had several books to publish from the fifteen that he projected in 1885. The years find the sixty-three- to sixty-five-year-old working diligently on the remaining two volumes of *Symbolic Logic*, and the posthumously published *Three Sunsets and Other Poems*, and with a slightly passing interest in *Games and Puzzles*, the third part of *Curiosa Mathematica*. With only one major publication in four years, he decided two months before he died to publish the last two in “paper covers, paged consecutively, to be ultimately issued in boards.”⁶²

In this atmosphere, where one project seemed to distract him from the next, he even toyed with the idea of writing a book on “religious difficulties.” He opted instead to finish his logic work, believing that “The book will be a great novelty,” as he explained to his sister, “and will help, I fully believe, to make the study of Logic *far* easier than it now is: and it will, I also believe, be a help to religious thoughts, by giving *clearness* of conception and of expression, which may enable many people to face, and conquer, many religious difficulties for themselves. So I do really regard it as work for God.”⁶³

In these, the last years of his life, everything around him suggested change, a past once present. Gone were Dean Liddell and his family, retiring to Ascot, and, in the last two years of his life, gone were his usual Eastbourne lodgings on Lushington Road, enjoyed for nineteen years,

62 Carroll, November 12, 1897, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 9:351.

63 Carroll to his sister Louisa, September 28, 1896, in Cohen, *Letters*, 1099–100.

moving with his landlady to Bedford Well Road. He found it difficult to remember which of his college friends were still alive, and continually commented on the advanced ages of his child friends, even sentimentalizing their younger years. Despite the constant reflection on his age and his morbid thoughts, he attended to his health, taking many long walks—twenty-eight or so recorded in his diary for these years—and purchased a Whitely Exerciser for his rooms.⁶⁴ He preached six times, double from a decade before, with only one recorded prayer in his diary (on March 28, 1897).

The notion of dying before his books were completed affected his friendships with girls. “But my life is very busy,” he wrote to the mother of a fourteen- and seventeen-year-old, “and is nearing its end, and I have *very* little time to give to the sweet relief of girl-society.”⁶⁵ In Eastbourne, once his favorite place for befriending children, he devoted his time to his work, his diary much briefer than decades before. More and more he had to have his friends on his own terms. “The friendship of children has always been a great element in my enjoyment of life, and is very *restful* as a contrast to the society of books, or of men,” he wrote to the mother of fourteen-year-old Joy Poole. “But I don’t go *out* into Society now; and my only spare time, for such pleasures, is in the *evenings*; and tête-à-tête parties are the only kind I care for!”⁶⁶ The oft repeated desire for one-by-one dinners was not new—he made such claims fifteen years before—but they seemed to have taken on a new importance. Seeming to tire of making new friends, he wrote to the thirty-one-year-old Beatrice Hatch that he “like[d] old friends best!” or to the married twenty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Hussy, “I keep making new friends (and often, I fear, forgetting

64 Carroll to Edith Blakemore, March 4, 1896, in Cohen, *Letters*, 1084–5; Carroll, June 12, 1897, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 9:317.

65 Carroll to Mrs. A. L. Moore, July 24, 1896, in Cohen, *Letters*, 1095. Her daughters were 17 and 14. See also, Carroll to his sister Louisa in note 63 above, and Carroll to Ethel Rowell, October 31, 1895, *ibid.*, 1076, 1100.

66 Carroll to Mrs. R. L. Poole, November 7, 1896, *ibid.*, 1101. See also Carroll to Mrs. A. L. Moore, July 24, 1896, and Carroll, *ibid.*, 1095.

them again *directly!*): but the old friends are best.”⁶⁷ (In fact, he received about ninety-nine visits from former child-friends on seventy-six days during these years.) But not only did he enjoy his older child-friends above the age of twenty, he also cared for their mother’s company. “Child-society is very delightful to me,” he wrote again to Mrs. Poole, “but I confess that grown-up society is much more interesting!”⁶⁸ And as with the daughters, he preferred the mothers to be tête-à-tête as well.

Carroll is even seen making the acquaintance of Dora Abdy, a girl of twenty-three, though she did not have in her favor a younger sister nor the benefit of once being a younger friend. A few months later, and in the same manner as if she were a child, he befriends her, enjoying such enjoyments together as tête-à-tête dinners in his rooms, and a visit to London to see Marion Terry in a play, not to mention at least one walk.⁶⁹ Interestingly, she was the same age Carroll was in 1855 at the beginning of this study. The oddity is explained in Carroll’s own advancing age, of course, being about forty years older and the age of sixty-two when they first met, an age when the eccentricity of calling girls in their twenties “child-friends” begins to lessen with each passing year.

This is not to say that he did not still enjoy the company of younger girls and middle-aged girls. In February 1897, he invited his three nieces and the eleven-year-old Ursula Mallam, met once previously, to his rooms for tea. After playing games of Mischmasch and listening to his organette, he wrote, “Ursula is a decided acquisition as a friend.”⁷⁰ He befriended the Nutcombe Goulds, at Edith Barnes’ suggestion, an acting family with a four- six-, eleven-, and twelve-year old. In these years, however, his chief young friend at the time was Enid Stevens, sister of Winnie Stevens and

67 Carroll to Beatrice Hatch, February 8, 1897, and Carroll to Elizabeth (Hussey) Hill, June 17, 1897, *ibid.*, 1114, 1129.

68 Carroll to Mrs. R. L. Poole, November 16, 1896, *ibid.*, 1104. For preferring tête-à-têtes with mothers as well, see, for example, Carroll to Mrs. J. T. Mallam, March 4, 1897, *ibid.*, 1115.

69 Carroll, January 23, 1895, *ibid.*, 9:188. See also pages 199, 215, 216, 223, 251, 286.

70 Carroll, February 27, 1897, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 9:296.

dedictee of *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded* (1893), and a girl he had known since she was five. Now, being thirteen to fifteen, he had her over for tea, puzzles, Mischmasch, and played croquet with her and her friends of the same approximate age. In January 1895, he called on the Gateskills to befriend their daughter Nellie, “said to [be] under 13, looks 14 or more)”⁷¹ He thought her a “pleasant child” but the friendship didn’t seem to take.

During these later years, Carroll increased his visits to schoolrooms, a form of socializing with children not represented in the five tables (though they are charted in table 8). He made thirty-two visits in the three years, twenty-two in the last year alone, an impressive growth from the sixteen visits made a decade before. Included in these enumerated visits were the talks he gave at a children’s service in August 1897. “A new experience,” he wrote. “At Mr. Hewett’s request I went to his ‘Children’s Service,’ at 3, to talk to from 200 to 300 children. I put no text to it, but simply told them, with a few additions, the allegory of the little boy’s day’s walk along the hill-range. (I have now called him ‘Victor,’ and his little brother ‘Arnion’). I left it unfinished, promising more another day.”⁷²

71 Carroll, January 12, 1895, *ibid.*, 9:187.

72 Carroll, August 22, 1897, *ibid.*, 9:333.

TABLE 7 Summary of Carroll's meetings with girls from 1895 to 1897.

	Total	Ages				Percentage				
		1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)	
First Met										
Oxford	27	7	4	11	5	25.9	14.8	40.7	18.5	
Family	3	2	—	1	—	66.7	—	33.3	—	
Beach	5	—	—	3	2	—	—	60.0	40.0	
Theatre	6	5	—	—	1	83.3	—	—	16.7	
Artist	2	1	1	—	—	50.0	50.0	—	—	
Train	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	23	3	8	5	7	13.0	34.8	21.7	30.4	
	67	19	13	20	15	28.4	19.4	29.9	22.4	
All Children (First Age)										
Oxford	45	12	8	19	6	26.7	17.8	42.2	13.3	
Family	5	2	—	3	—	40.0	—	60.0	—	
Beach	12	1	2	7	2	8.3	16.7	58.3	16.7	
Theatre	9	6	1	1	1	66.7	11.1	11.1	11.1	
Artist	2	1	1	—	—	50.0	50.0	—	—	
Train	1	1	—	—	—	100.0	—	—	—	
Other	23	3	7	6	7	13.0	30.4	26.1	30.4	
	97	26	19	36	16	26.8	19.6	37.1	16.5	
Days										
Youngest	118	31	45	32	10	26.3	38.1	27.1	8.5	
Oldest	118	19	34	48	17	16.1	28.8	40.7	14.4	
Encounters										
Oxford	95	27	29	31	8	28.4	30.5	32.6	8.4	
Family Town	30	4	11	4	11	13.3	36.7	13.3	36.7	
Beach Town	41	1	17	21	2	2.4	41.5	51.2	4.9	
London	34	16	5	11	2	47.1	14.7	32.4	5.9	
Other	3	2	—	—	1	66.7	—	—	33.3	
	203	50	62	67	24	24.6	30.5	33.0	11.8	

NOTE: The ages of fourteen children were approximated and represent 8.9 % of the total Encounters. The percentage totals for All Children (Last Age) are 25.8—17.5—40.2—16.5. With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the total percentages skew even more toward the middle-aged and older children, most notably in Days Youngest (20.0—43.5—29.4—7.1), Days Oldest (12.9—37.6—40.0—9.4), and Encounters (19.7—38.5—33.3—8.5).

During the last three years of his life, Carroll is on record meeting sixty-seven children never seen before, and ninety-seven children in all (see table 7), thirty-three fewer than a decade before. Most of the children are from Oxford, the first time the town dominates his interest in children (in days and by encounters as well). The severe drop in his beach and London interests, cut to about a third when measured by the number of children, reflect his working habits. The numbers begin to skew toward the older children, 26.8 % younger, as opposed to 19.6 % middle-aged, and 37.1 % older. Perhaps more dramatically, of the 118 days with children—half that of a decade before—only 26.3 % have a child twelve or younger, while 40.7% have a child fifteen or older.

During this period, Carroll has 203 encounters with children, less than half than ten years before. As expected from the division of the girls, almost half of his encounters are from his college town, while London, Eastbourne, and Guildford (and other family towns), somewhat evenly take the balance. Not only does Carroll see more older girls than younger girls, 33.0% to 24.6%, but he also sees more middle-aged girls, 30.5%. This is the first time the middle-aged girls produce such a high figure—thanks mostly to May Schuster, Enid Stevens and her friend Maggie Mayhew, and Dolly Rivington and her twelve-day visit to Eastbourne.

Not illustrated in the table, Carroll meets more new girls in the last year of his life than in the two previous years combined, seventeen of which come from Oxford. Not all of the meetings, however, are significant. He also enjoys more than twice as many days playing games and having guests in his rooms for dinners, teas, and luncheons, in the last year than the two previous years combined. In 1895, by contrast, he has almost twice as many companions than he does in the two following years combined.

To his word, Carroll's favorite activity at this time—outside of visiting classrooms—is having guests in his college rooms. He holds about thirty-one dinners, teas, and luncheons, for children in the last three years of his life, but, perhaps against his own wishes, only eleven are noted as tête-à-têtes. He goes to the theatre with girls on twenty-four days, plays games on seventeen days (mostly Mischmasch and Lanrick, with some origami),

and invites girls as companions on eleven days. Other activities enjoyed are logic lessons on nine days, puzzles on five days, and the beach on four days. His college rooms dinners, teas, and luncheons increase sharply, as well as the game playing, from a decade before, but most other activities plunge. The leisurely walks fall from thirty-nine to three days, the lessons from forty to nine days, and the taking of a companion from twenty-four to eleven days. Also dropping, with only one recorded instance each, are visiting of Eastbourne sites, going to Exhibitions and non-art Events, and having overnight guests twenty years or younger.

TABLE 8 Summary of Carroll's activities with children by day.

Activity	Total	1855-57	1865-67	1875-77	1885-87	1895-97
Photographic Subjects	92	23	36	30	2	1
Classroom Visits	65	15	—	—	16	32
Games	29	5	2	4	1	17
Walks	55	4	2	7	39	3
Boating	6	4	2	—	—	—
Story	22	3	2	12	2	3
Tours	18	3	—	5	7	3
Exhibitions	18	3	—	4	10	1
Show Pictures	34	2	2	19	8	3
Gifts	11	2	2	8	3	2
Drawing Subjects	14	1	2	9	1	1
Tête-à-Tête-à-Têtes	26	1	—	1	4	20
Croquet	11	—	9	—	—	2
Theatre, etc.	78	—	7	12	35	24
Religious	21	—	1	2	17	1
Beach	32	—	—	24	4	4
Eastbourne Sites	26	—	—	12	13	1
Puzzles	20	—	—	11	4	5
Tête-à-Têtes	22	—	—	2	9	11
Companions	36	—	—	1	24	11
Non-Art Events	6	—	—	1	4	1
Lessons	49	—	—	—	40	9
Over-Night Guests*	13	—	—	—	12	1

NOTE: The over-night guests are marked by visit, not by day. Meryls, Origami, Card Tricks, Ways and Means, Backgammon, and Charades, are all listed under Games. Taking a girl to the Theater, Pantomime, Operetta, Concert, or any other like activity, is grouped under Theatre, Etc. Tête-à-têtes and tête-à-tête-à-têtes (three or more) refer strictly to visits to Carroll's Oxford or beach rooms when food or beverage is served.

The Mimsy Divide

No attempt has been made to ascertain the completeness of the numbers in the tables that summarize the five snapshots. Simply counting the number of diary entries *not* made against those made would produce a misleading number. Such a calculation would ignore Carroll's many statements about having nothing to record, his admitted episodes of being hermit-like, and the possibility that socializing itself initiated the making of an entry. Such an attempt would also disregard the likelihood of meeting girls at specific times, such as during term versus during vacation. Readers must also evaluate the relevance of comparing the data in one period with the data in another period. Those who believe that Carroll's later diaries are shorter than his earlier diaries owing to meeting fewer people than to anything else will accept such comparisons more readily than those who do not.

Nonetheless, even with a soft focus on the data, the five snapshot summaries show that Carroll's relationships with children likely peaked sometime in the 1870s, with the exception of the number of days which peaked sometime after he resigned his mathematical lectureship. His recorded encounters with children advanced from 231 to 335 to 637 in the first three periods before retreating to 423 and 203 in the last two, respectively. In the first period, Carroll saw sixty-six girls, mostly in his home town and in Oxford, with photography as the chief activity. A decade later, the girls more than double to 143, but with a majority now met in London, with photography still the main activity. In the middle period, the girls increase to 230, but with a majority now met at the beach. Though still photographing, these years show various activities in other amusements, such as, beach going, children drawing, puzzle solving, and storytelling. A decade later, in the 1880s, the girls drop by a hundred to 130, reflecting Carroll's increased attention to book-writing, with a majority still met at the beach but with renewed attention in London. At this time, without photography, he seems to prefer having day companions and overnight guests, and treating girls to the theatre, or just taking them for a walk. In the final years of his life, the number of girls falls to ninety-

seven, a majority now from Oxford, likely a reflection of his advancing age as much as his book-writing, with get-togethers in his college rooms, preferably tête-à-tête, being his chief activity.

His relationships with children may seem excessive, but when viewed by month they are less astounding. In the first two periods, Carroll's diary shows him spending an average of 2.7 days and 3.3 days per month with children. In the following two periods, in the active 1870s and 1880s, it shows him spending only an average of 5.9 days and 6.7 days a month with children. In the last years of his life, the numbers fall to those of the 1860s, spending an average of 3.3 days with children. Naturally, he enjoyed days at a time with children in the summer months, and many of those days one suspects had gone unrecorded, leaving these numbers only a minimum average. Nonetheless, as recorded in his diary, during the heavy beach days from 1875 to 1877, he averaged four days a week with children, and a decade later, a bit over three days a week.

TABLE 9 Summary of Carroll's encounters with girls in the five periods.

	Total	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-14	15-16	17-18	19-20	(?)
First Met												
1855-57	36	2	4	4	6	6	4	1	2	4	1	2
1865-67	70	2	4	16	15	9	6	8	3	4	—	3
1875-77	133	6	8	16	26	29	23	8	5	5	1	6
1885-87	70	1	—	5	6	8	11	10	8	14	5	2
1895-97	67	—	2	2	2	4	9	13	7	10	3	15
	376	11	18	43	55	56	53	40	25	37	10	28
All Children (First Age)												
1855-57	66	2	6	7	12	9	7	4	5	5	2	7
1865-67	143	4	9	24	25	17	14	14	9	11	4	12
1875-77	230	9	11	23	34	40	34	18	15	15	11	20
1885-87	130	1	2	8	10	15	19	19	14	24	11	7
1895-97	97	—	2	2	4	4	14	19	14	17	5	16
	666	16	30	64	85	85	88	74	57	72	33	62
Days												
Youngest	786	24	44	84	114	99	145	94	54	50	51	27
Oldest	787	1	3	29	83	84	124	129	73	102	95	64
Encounters												
1855-57	231	5	23	26	61	26	26	22	15	14	6	7
1865-67	335	4	11	40	62	47	58	50	15	22	9	17
1875-77	637	17	33	70	94	159	87	69	36	31	16	25
1885-87	423	1	2	12	15	34	109	67	48	57	71	7
1895-97	203	—	2	5	7	12	24	62	26	29	12	24
	1829	27	71	153	239	278	304	270	140	153	114	80

NOTE: The slight trend to older girls in each successive decade, especially noticeable in the all important Encounters, is also evident when all the estimated ages are removed. With a degree of significance of 4 or higher (see table 1), the trend toward older girls is still noticeable, though Carroll is seen encountering more eleven- and twelve-year-olds than seven- and eight-year-olds in 1865-67.

A careful analysis of Carroll's diary shows that throughout his life the ages of the girls steadily increased, even within the youngest age group itself (see table 9). The younger children progressed from a mode average of seven- and eight-year-olds in the first two periods to nine- and ten-year-olds in the middle period. In the later two periods, the younger children progressed from a tied mode average of eleven- and twelve-year-olds and thirteen- to fourteen-year-olds, to just thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds,

respectively. Table 9 has the added benefit of allowing readers to choose their own definitions of children. Some may have found it scandalous, for example, that nineteen- and twenty-year-old girls have been included (for they are *not* children), and that the thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds have been singled out (for they are *old* children).

The first major shift in the ages, as seen in the previous section, occurred sometime between 1877 and 1885. Since these are also the years when Carroll quit photography, resigned his lectureship, and became curator of Commons Rooms—major life decisions that influenced his relationships with children—the years warrant further study. The results, along with the years previously analyzed, are shown in table 10.

TABLE 10 Summary of meetings with children in selected and additional years.

Year	First Met	Children	Days	Encounters	Percentage of Encounters by Age			
					1-12	13-14	15-20	(?)
1875	52	107	73	266	69.9	13.2	13.5	3.4
1876	18	66	58	130	76.9	12.3	8.5	2.3
1877	64	103	80	241	72.2	7.5	14.9	5.4
1878	20	75	80	196	66.8	11.2	21.4	0.5
1879	29	97	89	307	66.1	7.5	26.4	—
1880	47	109	83	214	61.2	9.8	19.6	9.3
1881	19	62	57	152	48.7	25.0	23.7	2.6
1882	30	81	110	295	48.5	21.7	29.8	—
...								
1885	23	62	85	151	55.6	13.2	27.8	3.3
1886	16	44	85	136	47.8	18.4	33.1	0.7
1887	31	61	71	136	17.6	16.2	65.4	0.7
1888	15	54	76	138	15.2	45.7 ^a	37.7	1.4
1889	17	44	69	152	48.0	3.9	44.1	3.9
...								
1893	13	29	42	63	81.0	9.5	9.5	—
...								
1995	13	33	26	51	33.3	13.7	43.1	9.8
1996	17	39	38	65	29.2	32.3	30.8	7.7
1997	38	52	54	87	16.1	39.1	28.7	16.1

NOTE: With a higher degree of Significance of four and five (see table 1), the change from 1877 to 1878 becomes slightly more pronounced. Other noteworthy changes, as discussed in the text, are also still noticeable with the higher degree of Significance.

^a The high figure owes much to Isa Bowman being fourteen at the time and her five-week visit to Eastbourne. Adjusting the visit to only ten days produces 112 Encounters (18.8—33.0—46.4—1.8), and removing Isa from the year entirely produces 93 Encounters (22.6—19.4—55.9—2.2). In 1889, incidentally, the fifteen-year-old Isa and her twelve-year-old sister Nellie visited Carroll for about six weeks. Removing this anomaly by reducing the visit to ten days, produces ninety-one Encounters (46.2—6.6—40.7—6.6).

According to this information gathered from Carroll's diary, the year 1877 seems to have been a pivotal year concerning the ages of his child friends. In December, he flatly declared to his publisher that seventeen was the "nicest age." Responding to this newly-found interest, he made "a wild experiment" the following May and invited an eighteen- and twenty-year old to see Ellen Terry in *Olivia*. He was pleased to hear that despite the both of them being unavailable—he didn't care which could actually

make it—the invitation was not unwelcomed. He marked the day “*Dies cretâ notandus*.” The month before, he headed a diary entry with “A new experience,” welcoming a visit to Oxford from the sixteen-year-old actress Lizzie Coote. He photographed her without a chaperone the next day, and ended the trip hoping that she was as pleased with the experience as he was.⁷³ Moreover, the girl he saw the most throughout the year—barring the first, a ten-year-old—was the seventeen-year-old Evelyn Dubourg,⁷⁴ seen approximately nine times, with three tête-à-tête visits to the theatre, and one tête-à-tête to an art exhibition. In the previous three years, no older girls even neared topping the list. A sixteen-year-old does head the list by a slight margin in 1879, but the older girls fall again the year after.

The divide between 1877 and 1878 can also be seen in two of Carroll’s chief interests, theatre and photography. In the two years ending in 1877, only one older girl, who happened to be without a chaperone, visited the theatre with Carroll, and only three sat to be photographed, two on the same day. But in the following two years, older girls visited the theatre with Carroll twenty-three times, six without a chaperone, and older girls sat for his camera six times, six girls with each on a separate day. Further, no older girls sat for his camera in 1876 and 1877 that did not have a younger sitter as well, but in the two following years, four older girls sat without any younger children involved.

But a third interest, taking a walk with children, picked up its pace (as it were) with the older girls a year earlier, in mid-September 1877 to be exact. Carroll recorded no walks with older girls in 1875 and 1876 but he mentioned taking three, one, and five such walks in the following three years, four of which had no younger girls involved. In the first year, two of the walks were in Eastbourne with the nineteen-year-old Margaret Gathorne-Hardy and her friend who is assumed to be about the same age. Also in 1877, Carroll began to socialize with many more families that had

73 Carroll, April 30 and May 1 and 11, 1878 in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:107–8, 110–2.

74 As Carroll knew, she was mostly sixteen in this year, having a mid-December birthday. See Carroll to Agnes Hull, December 10, 1877, in Cohen, *Letters*, 292.

older daughters seen with no younger daughters seen.⁷⁵ This is not to say that all activities show an increase with older girls, nor that these activities did not show an increase with younger girls; in fact, at this time many of his activities—including photography, theatergoing, and walking—increased sharply with young children. But this is decidedly not the point. Older girls began to take Carroll's notice in a more significant way than they ever had before. As evidenced here, however, the change was subtle, being more of mind and spirit than in sudden execution.

A close analysis of Carroll's diary shows that another significant change concerning age likely took place in 1881, the first full year without photography. In this year, and in the following year, both the middle-aged girls and the older girls noticeably increase in encounters while the younger girls noticeably decrease. The ratios remain relatively the same until 1887 (not including the two years not studied), the first year in table 10 that shows the older children outnumber the younger children. But the lateness of this occurrence in his life is somewhat immaterial since the older girls are an important force well before they are a majority. The rise in the number of encounters in 1882 may owe to his resignation of his Mathematical Lectureship the year before,⁷⁶ but the increase was mostly in the number of days spent at a beach resort, which spanned the usual months, a time he would have had off despite. Nonetheless, in that year, Carroll is recorded spending 110 days with children, with only eighty-three and fifty-seven days in the two previous years.

The shifts in the data for these years are not a matter of mere division. When splitting the ages into only two groups, with the divide after eleven, after twelve, or after thirteen, noticeable changes are still seen in the years 1878, 1881–82, and 1887–88 (and even with a higher degree of Significance). Further, thoroughly convincing arguments for these shifts,

75 In the years studied, before 1877 Carroll saw from three such families a year to no such families a year, excepting 1875 with seven families. In 1877, the figure jumps to eleven families, with nine, ten, and fifteen in the years after.

76 See Carroll, October 18, 1881, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:371.

especially for 1878, can be made without the benefit of a database and any perceived biases it may have. In essence, the database has only been a hyperactive index for making the case, a point likely to be ignored by critics.

The results show that ever since 1877 age does not seem to be an important issue when befriending a child. The arbitrary fluctuations of the younger and older children in the later years show at least a disregard for his friends' ages. In fact, Carroll shows despair in the growth or aging of his friends mostly before 1877, after that year he either makes light about children growing too big or merely mentions the growth without disappointment.⁷⁷ This is not to say his relationships with younger girls changed or that he abandoned them or became less interested in them. Rather, he simply took on older girls at the same time. He still enjoyed his time with the younger girls. He still walked the beach in search of them for many years after 1877. The high percentage of older girls in 1887 and 1888 is simply chance, proven by his behavior in the year 1889. Donald Thomas' assertion that Carroll needed to be more cautious after the 1885 "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" scandal has no support in this evidence.⁷⁸

The year 1893—studied merely on a hunch that it would produce a high young-child value⁷⁹—proves as well Carroll's disregard for age. In this year, according to his own diary, eighty-one percent of his encounters were with younger children. Admittedly, though the numbers are comparable to 1876, there is quite a difference between the two years. In the later year, Carroll saw many more females above the age of twenty than the earlier year, for example, and in the later year he saw his younger friends half the

77 See, for example, Carroll to Mrs. Argles, June 16, 1871, in Cohen, *Letters*, 324 n. 1; Carroll to Alexander Macmillan, December 24, 1874, in Cohen, *Macmillan*, 104. Admittedly, the fewer existing earlier letters with the abundance of later letters weakens this point.

78 Donald Thomas, *Lewis Carroll: A Portrait with Background* (London: John Murray, 1996), 266.

79 The other extra years were not studied arbitrarily. In keeping with the strict evenness of the chosen years, the years 1880–1882 were entered. As the results were further from the former years, 1878 and 1879 were entered afterwards. The year 1888 was studied, then 1889, to find if 1887 was an anomaly or some persistent change in his life.

number of times. In fact, one-third of the encounters with girls twenty or younger are with the eleven-year-old Enid Stevens who had a habit of meeting Carroll on Fridays, a few of which may have gone unrecorded.

Despite all this attention paid to the age of the children, Carroll shows nothing but indifference towards it, especially in the later years of his diary. Before being rejected by several older girls to see a play with Ellen Terry, including the eighteen- and twenty-year-olds above, he settled happily on a younger child. In 1885, he requested a mother to send her eighteen- or thirteen-year-old on a visit to Eastbourne, skipping over the middle seventeen-year-old child.⁸⁰ A couple of years later, on a train to London to meet a sixteen-year-old for a visit to the beach, he befriended a little girl of six and her brother, even visiting his publisher in order to send the girl a copy of *Wonderland*. In his later years, he “Fetched Edith Wardell” —a twenty-eight-year-old— “to tea, and little Nora Charrington, aged 7, for whom I folded a fishing-boat, etc., etc.”⁸¹ These extremes all take place in one day, but extremes that take place from one day to the next, or one week to the next, of which there are countless examples, are just as relevant. It is even possible that before 1877, age—though the girls were predominantly young—was not consciously or subconsciously an issue.

What he was drawn to were girls who were outgoing and conversational — “get-on-with-ables” as he once described—and to girls who were attractive. He fretted about shy, silent children, though he would try to break through the shield from time to time, especially if attractive. He was often pleased with children who were “conversable,” “good talkers,” remarking once on a “wonderful child: she talked continuously and *well*.” Girls without “an atom of shyness” —a phrase he often used—had a greater chance of becoming his friends, and a quicker chance, something he also seemed to have desired. But a touch of shyness, the attractive type

80 Carroll to Mrs. J. Earle, August 16, 1885, in Cohen, *Letters*, 598. It was about shyness.

81 Carroll, Carroll, September 5, 1887 and August 28, 1897, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 8:359, 9:335. See also November 18, 1893.

associated with modesty, was also appreciated. "I was decidedly pleased with Connie," he wrote of a twelve-year-old in 1877, "who has a refined and modest manner, with just a touch of shyness, and who is about the most gloriously beautiful child (both face and figure) that I ever saw." Likewise, the following year, he delighted in an eight-year-old "who seemed a nice bright child neither too forward nor too shy."⁸²

Carroll saw many attractive girls throughout his life, clearly being drawn to them, even sometimes following them home, or declaring a longing to meet them. In 1866, Carroll and his family received Mrs. Henry Jebb, "We have been wishing for some days to know them and their beautiful children, whom I first noticed on the 16th, and I had written to Mr. Ellison to ask for an introduction,"⁸³ duly writing their names and birth years in his diary. A decade later, he even shows another curious requirement concerning attraction. "I have seen several nice ones," he wrote in Eastbourne, "but their friends are not attractive."

Today I went to Devonshire Park, and saw there more pretty children in one hour, on the Rink, than in all these ten days. Two splendid beauties, 11 and 8 years old, I to some extent made friends with: I showed them the wire puzzle, and tried a picture of the elder, who told me her name at parting, "Irene Slade."⁸⁴

The frequency of these declarations justifies a closer study, especially for a man who was capable of declaring that a nine-year-old had "the most beautiful pair of legs I had ever seen at Eastbourne."⁸⁵ Table 11 gives the percentage of girls by age and decade (each girl counted only once), described as being "attractive," "beautiful," "bonny," "handsome," "pretty," "striking" or implied as such. Also included are those described

82 Wakeling, *Diaries*, 1:120, 6:483-4, 7:29, 60, 62, 98, 128, 8:346.

83 Carroll, September 22, 1866, *ibid.*, 5:177.

84 Carroll, August 18, 1879, *ibid.*, 7:201.

85 Carroll, September 25, 1880, *ibid.*, 300.

with slightly ambiguous words of attraction: “charming,” “darling,” “delightful,” “lovely,” “pleasant,” or “wonderful,” including “sweet” and “sweet looking,” if in the appropriate context.

TABLE 11 Mentions of the attractiveness of girls in Carroll’s diary.

Years	Total	1–12	13–14	15–20	(?)
1855–57	14	85.7	14.3	—	—
1865–67	27	77.8	18.5	3.7	—
1875–77	33	75.8	12.1	9.1	3.0
1885–87	22	63.6	4.5	31.8	—
1895–97	9	33.3	22.2	33.3	11.1

NOTE: The numbers are restricted to girls met, or eventually met, and not to those simply seen.

The figures, restricted to his diary and to girls actually met, show that Carroll more often referred to a young child as being attractive than an older child, excepting the last years of his life where the figures are too infrequent for significance. When compared to the total number of children met in each year, Carroll appears to have a tendency to refer to a girl’s attractiveness if younger rather than if older.

* * *

For some twenty-three years, in the heart of his life, from the age of twenty-three to forty-five, through the years of his most memorable works, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* and *The Hunting of the Snark*, Lewis Carroll enjoyed the company of mostly younger children. He sought them out in his home town, in Oxford, on the London stage, and on the summer beaches. This is not to say that during this period older girls had no part in his life, nor that he did not enjoy their company, with or without their younger sisters. But experiences with older children were relatively rare when compared to similar experiences with younger children. The younger girls were the chief—avoid exclusive qualifiers like “only” and “sole” —attraction. As Carroll himself wrote about some of the years in this period, “‘ten’ was about my ideal age for such

friends....”⁸⁶

For the last twenty years, in the graying of his life, from the age of forty-six to sixty-five, through the years of his more forgettable books, *Sylvie and Bruno* and *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded and Symbolic Logic*, Lewis Carroll had an interest in both younger *and* older children. From 1878, Carroll began to actively test the waters for girls in their teenage years. He experimented in ways to gain their sole attention, hoping for more and more unchaperoned time with them—a more difficult feat than with the younger children. As the period progressed, comforted by Carroll’s advancing age, parents allowed Carroll to take their teenaged daughters to the theatre, on extended trips to Eastbourne, to photographic studios, on walks, to beach amusements, and to tête-à-tête dinners in his college rooms. During this period, younger girls were not forgotten. He still sought out and befriended the young and for many years in this period they were even more numerous than the older girls. It must be remembered as well that the growing number of former child-friends, especially late in this period and though decidedly not children, obscures the younger girls’ domination.

But the five three-year snapshots taken here were meant to illustrate with a certain tenacity the importance of seeing Carroll in any given time rather than generalizing broadly on his varied and ever-changing relationships with children. The actual results disparage the use of any earlier time in his life to define any later time and any later time, especially his graying years, to define any earlier time. This is also true of the two lengthy periods discussed above whose division, unlike the five snapshots, is based on a biographical point, and as such will be a cause for contention. Based on his execution rather than his desire, for example, some may argue that the first period should be extended to twenty-six or even thirty-two years, and that the second period should be shortened to seventeen or eleven years. Some may even argue that the first period should be shortened, claiming an unrealized desire more important than an actual

86 Carroll to Mrs. J. C. Egerton, March 8, 1894, in Cohen, *Letters*, 1009

execution, allowing that Victorian attitudes kept him from branching out from some true self. After all, psychological issues are certainly an essential part of biographical studies.⁸⁷ But shortening this long period would only belie Carroll's own statement of his "ideal age" being ten at that time and the emphasized word in his 1877 letter to Macmillan: "My views about children are changing, and I now put the nicest age at about 17!"⁸⁸

At long last, we are able to see the inspiration in these words, along with the bravado and the resulting misperception, but not without the truth and the enthusiasm behind them. As evidenced above, and by the emphasized now, the words mark the very beginning of an overt interest in older girls, and were written at a time when experiences with them were relatively scant when compared to like experiences with younger girls. The inspiration came from one or several of the older girls seen in the year the words were written. If known, the likely contenders were Helen Fielden, Margaret Langton-Clarke, Evelyn Dubourg, who was known to be just turning sixteen, and Lucy Arnold, who was thought to be seventeen—the latter being the more intriguing, Carroll having photographed her only days before.⁸⁹ The bravado is seen in the dramatic effect Carroll intended the words to have on the recipient, probative of the terminal exclamation point and nimbly rendered by the lack of obliging qualifiers. The resulting misperception is at the expense of Carroll's more prevalent younger friends—a concept he does not mind for the moment, despite it being soothed by the oft-omitted preamble (Carroll's reference to Macmillan's younger

87 Deeper issues, such as pedophilia and the Victorian cult of the child, are outside the scope of this paper and, frankly, could not be satisfactorily studied without this prerequisite.

88 Carroll to Macmillan, December 18, 1877, Cohen and Gandolfo, *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan*, 141. Carroll had last visited Macmillan's home on January 12, 1875, but the publisher was quite familiar with the ages of Carroll's friends through his author's requests for theatre tickets. On March 2, 1877 (*ibid.*, 135), for example, Carroll wrote, "Two of them are for children under 12 (I mention in case children may be 'Half-price')." Nonetheless the data suggests the *now* to be closer to the present than the past.

89 Carroll, December 7 and 12, 1877, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, 7:87–8. In the first entry, Carroll believes his advancing age may have gained him access to unchaperoned older girls. Other possible contenders were Mary Chataway, Ella Monier-Williams, Margaret Gathorne-Hardy, and Winnie MacDonald, sixteen, eighteen, nineteen, and nineteen, respectively.

daughter). But we also see the truth in the words—not the falseness of using them as a possible vantage point that Carroll’s teenaged friends currently outnumber his younger friends, an interpretation ten years hence—but the truth in using them as an illustration of the enthusiasm the onset of a new interest brings, the most thrilling time for any interest. A close reading of his diary strongly suggests that this redefinition of his child-friends was an expansion more than a change and, coming even at the late age of forty-five, did not effect his attitude toward younger girls. In truth, the words are a mere prefatory poem sketched on the top leaf of otherwise blank manuscript paper, terminal of nothing, nobody, nor any time when “Autumn frosts have slain July.”

TABLE 12 Milestones in Carroll's relationships with children.

April 11, 1855	First entry that shows interest in publishing for children.
July 3, 1855	First mention of making friends with children (3 and 4).
July 8, 1855	First time teaching children.
August 4, 1855	First mention of growth in a child (13).
September 4, 1855	First day marked with a white stone, likely owing to meeting a child (7).
April 25, 1856	First photographs (with Southey) of children (2, 4, 7), a day marked with a white stone.
August 12, 1857	First time writing for specific children.
April 7, 1865	First visit (with brother Wilfred) to the theatre with children (12 and 13).
November 9, 1865	First book publication (Wonderland) for children.
May 21, 1867	First known nude photograph of a child taken (6).
July 13, 1867	First mention of drawing a child (4). (Excluding August 28, 1855, when Frederica Liddell is included in a landscape.)
August 16, 1871	First list of children met at the end of a summer outing (includes parents).
March 18, 1873	First recorded use of the term "Child-friend(s)" in his diary.
January 13, 1875	First visit to the theatre with older girls (16 and 18) without chaperone.
June 11, 1875	First visit to the theatre with single child (14).
April 6, 1876	First known use of the term "child-friends(s)" in a letter.
January 13, 1877	First visit to the theatre with a single older child (16).
September 27, 1877	First list of children met at the end of a summer outing (without parents).
April 30, 1878	First visit of an older child (16) to Oxford, staying in lodgings.
May 11, 1878	First time asking, unsuccessfully, an older child out (18 and 20), likely to be chaperoned.
January 20, 1879	First time taking a single young child (8) to the theatre.
September 20, 1881	First time having a child (10) in his "charge for so long a time... Dies cretâ notandus."
May 11, 1882	First reference to himself as an "old man."
June 22, 1882	First girl (18) taken to Guildford as an overnight guest.
September 29, 1883	First girls (14 and 15) staying with him in his Eastbourne lodgings (with parents in town as well)
November 22, 1883	First tête-à-tête dinner with a girl (15) in his college rooms.
August 29, 1884	First girl (10) staying in Eastbourne in separate lodgings as Carroll's guest.
September 15, 1884	First girls (15 and 16) staying in his lodgings in Eastbourne.
July 2, 1885	First serious attempt at drawing a child (5) nude. (Hasty attempts were made on either April 4, 1871 or July 28, 1873.)
July 24, 1885	First girl (11) staying in his lodgings in Eastbourne alone without parents in town.
January 28, 1888	First nude drawings of an older child (14). "Dies creta notandus."
August 22, 1897	First sermon given to a children's service.
September 15, 1897	First time addressing children at the National Schools.

NOTE: The above excludes Carroll's July 15, 1865, visit to the theatre with the unchaperoned, eleven-year-old Polly Terry, whose older sister was acting in the play, and who took her home.