

# Dodgson And The Victorian Cult Of The Child

a reassessment on the hundredth anniversary of 'Lewis Carroll's' death

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## INTRODUCTION

In this year 1998 is celebrated the hundredth anniversary of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson's death. To the many who think, with Kathleen Baker, that "what Charles Dodgson did is less interesting than what Lewis Carroll wrote", [1] that may not seem a major event. Yet, to anyone who is willing to search beyond the superficial and much prejudiced surface view of his personality still prevalent even in many learned circles, his sudden death in January 1898, a few months after those of Leighton, Millais and Burne-Jones, marks the end of an era. It abruptly put an end to one of the most exhaustive testimonies available on the reception of artistic works and cultural events of all kinds by a deeply religious member of the educated Victorian middle-class, of exceptionally eclectic interests.

Such an assertion may sound paradoxical to those who still think of him as a monomaniac pervert, engrossed in a perpetual little girl hunt, attending only those plays in which child actresses filled the major parts, and attracted to Burlington House and the Grosvenor Gallery by the single hope of contemplating the latest of Millais's sentimental portraits, if not any - to us - outrageous prepubescent nudes. It would of course be preposterous to attempt to dispute the reality of that fascination, and to deny that it ever played a part in his choices of theatrical performances or in his more frequent visits to some of his painter-friends' studios. A close study of the original manuscripts of his diaries, [2] and of the hundreds of his letters collected by Morton N. Cohen , [3] will nevertheless convince any unbiased researcher that such incentives commanded but a minority of his artistic and cultural engagements, and that the range of his centres of interest was much wider than expected.

Far from singling him out among the society of his time, his very attraction to the immature female form was shared in, to a lesser or higher degree, by so many of his contemporaries belonging to the literary and artistic élites, as even a cursory glance at their private writings will prove, that it should rather be read as supplementary evidence of his partaking in one of the most typical attitudes of his time. In the same way, scores of excerpts from play or exhibition notices in the Victorian periodical press can be quoted that testify for the moderation of C. L. Dodgson's praises of the performances of child-actresses, or the beauty of immature stunners on canvas, as compared to some professional critics' floods of superlatives. .

## A far from exclusive interest

All along his adult life, from his early twenties in 1855 to the very last weeks of 1897, less than a month before his death, C. L. Dodgson was an insatiable and enthusiastic theatre-goer and exhibition visitor. Over the thirty-eight years documented by his diaries - the volumes covering April 1858 to May 1862 having unfortunately disappeared - he hardly ever missed a major summer show, paying a total of 186 visits to the Royal Academy, the Grosvenor, New, and French Galleries, as well as to the British Artists and Institution, and various other minor collections. He attended no fewer than 489 theatrical performances, during which he saw 697 plays and operas, and the comments he committed to his diaries on most of them mention 870 names of actors and actresses of all ages, sometimes simply listed, but often enough supplied with some form of evaluation of the quality of their acting. .

If it is indeed indisputable that a majority of his stage-friends were child-actresses, but for the notable exception of the Terry sisters, Kate, Ellen, Marion, and Florence, whose acquaintances he treasured all his life, this does not reflect at all his respective amount of interest in the performances of adult and child performers. Of the 870 players nominally identified, 720 belonged to the former age group, and 150 to the latter, which is indeed far from negligible, but roughly reflects the proportion of child parts on a Victorian stage that swarmed with the moving orphans and innocent victims of their elder's cruelty indispensable to the numerous and ever successful dramatizations of Dickens's novels and adaptations of French melodramas, as well as with the cute clowns and columbines of the traditional Christmas pantomimes. .

C. L. Dodgson's expertise as regards the naturalness and cleverness of the youngest female members of the casts he watched perform has seldom been disputed : ample proof of this obvious competence of his is given by his being one of the very few who immediately realized the exceptional gifts of the little Mamillius in Charles Kean's revival of *A Winter's Tale* at the Princess's theatre in 1856. Neither *The Athenaeum* , *The Art-Journal* , nor Henry Crabb Robinson did perceive the promises this first appearance in London of the future undisputed star of the Victorian stage held in store. [4] The critic from *The Times* was the only professional man to pinpoint her "vivacious precocity that prove[d] her a worthy relative of her sister", Kate, already acknowledged as the rising star of the decade. [5] C. L. Dodgson, who had just launched on his own career as an assiduous Thespian devotee, did not establish a connection with an elder sister he had not seen act yet, but wrote down he had "especially admired the acting of the little Ellen Terry, a beautiful little creature, who played with remarkable ease and spirit." [6] .

But the delightful vision she offered him then, and as Puck six months later, when she was also praised by A. G. C. Liddell, Henry Morley, and *The Illustrated London News* , whose critic claimed that she played better than he had "ever yet seen the trying part filled", [7] was far from representing the be-all and end-all of his joys as a greenhorn theatre-goer. It was to the "exquisite vision of Queen Catherine", in Charles Kean's production of *Henry VIII* the previous year, that he owed "the greatest theatrical treat [he] ever had or expect[ed] to have", [8] just as the equally childless *Hamlet* , got up later in 1855, brought him "hours of unmixed enjoyment". [9] .

His enthusiasm two years later for "the exquisitely graceful and beautiful Ariel" of a thirteen-year-old Kate Terry in whom J. W. Cole also found "the true spirit of Ariel", is to be re-examined in the light of Henry Crabb Robinson's regret that she was "too large and heavy" for the part, "though a girl ... too bulky and coarse", [10] hence hardly alluring to a so-called paedophile exclusively eager for immature forms ! Moreover, a few lines further down in his much detailed account of that performance of *The Tempest*, still at the Princess's, C. L. Dodgson acknowledged that "Miss Carlotta Leclerque made a charming Miranda."

From a certain Miss Stewart, "a remarkable Scotch beauty" who acted 'Mrs Squiffen' in Edmund Yates and N. H. Harrington's *My Friend from Leatherhead* he saw at Edinburgh's Theatre Royal in that same year 1857 [11] to "a very pretty" Miss Hilda Rivers who was the 'Maggie' of L. N. Parker and E. J. Goodman's *Love in Idleness* at Oxford's New Theatre forty years later, [12] many were the lesser actresses whose faces or figures gladdened his eye so much that he felt urged to commit their names and physical assets to his diary. If most amateurs and professionals agreed that Miss Helen Faucit, the future Mrs Theodore Martin, "beautifully looked and acted the part" of 'Imogen' in *Cymbeline* at Drury Lane in 1864, [13] that Miss Mary Anderson was a "very graceful and beautiful" Greek statue whose artfully draped dress revealed much of her shapely body in Gilbert's *Pygmalion and Galatea* at the Lyceum in 1885, [14] or that Mrs Cyril Maude, Miss Winifred Emery by birth, was a "superb" 'Lady Babbie' in J. M. Barrie's *The Little Minister* in 1897, [15] who else bears witness to us of the charms of Miss Wallace, "a very pretty new actress in a minor part" of J. B. Buckstone's *The Green Bushes*, at the Strand in 1865, [16] or those of Miss Ione Burke, "who [was] very pretty" as 'Kate' in T. H. Bayly's *Perfection* at the Haymarket in 1867 ? [17] Who else paid tribute to the "young and very pretty" Miss F. Hastings, who made fun of Mary Eastlake's acting in *The Silver King* in W. Warham's parody of the famous play, got up at the Strand in 1883 as *Silver Guilt* ? [18] .

Percy Fitzgerald had little fondness for Teresa Furtado, whom he described as one of those actresses "who have a noisy clientele, and whose reputation is chiefly based on physical attractions." [19] She is consequently a young lady one would hardly expect C. L. Dodgson to have admired ... and yet he found her "excellent" in J. B. Buckstone's *Good for Nothing* at the Adelphi, in 1864, and praised her "pretty and lively" 'Katherine Kloper' in J. S. Coyne's *Pas de Fascination* at the same theatre the following year ! [20] When, in October 1879, he went to hear ... and watch for the third time Offenbach's *Madame Favart*, adapted by H. B. Farnie, he so greatly missed the delightful Florence St John, who had "acted, and sang, most charmingly" on the two previous occasions, that he confided to his diary his "great disappointment" and his aggravation that "no apology was given" for that by the management. A fourth visit to the Strand, two months later, was up to his expectations again, and all the more so as Violet Cameron, another young actress he was far from indifferent to, had joined the cast in between. [21] .

Much of the responsibility for the distorted and restricted image of C. L. Dodgson this paper is trying to fight probably lies in his nieces' clumsy editing of the original manuscript when they prepared the typescript Roger Lancelyn Green had to do with: by omitting, for their dear uncle's memory's sake, any mention of his enthusiasm for such "low actresses" as operetta singers and dancers, as well as his regularly repeated attendance of such plays as *Madame Favart*, *Olivette*, *Lurette*, *Rip Van Winkle*, *Les Cloches de Corneville*, *Dorothy*, *La Cigale*, or *Sweet Lavender*, and other vulgar entertainments, acted

by a bevy of young beauties, while they retained most of his visits to "innocent" children pantomimes, they unwillingly helped to build, or at least to reinforce, his reputation as an exclusive admirer of immature forms. .

Their most unfortunate bowdlerization did not only aim at concealing what they deemed his most dubious theatrical tastes, it also let out most of his indulgences in his still more embarrassing fad for Miss Saigeman's swimming entertainments and Miss Louey Webb's underwater shows, performed respectively at Eastbourne's Devonshire Baths and on Brighton Pier, though on at least two occasions the latter's mention slipped unnoticed, including the very first one, in July 1887, when he noted that "as Miss Webb [was] 18, and ... beautifully formed, the exhibition [was] worth seeing, if only as a picture". [22] .

A similar weeding out seems to have affected C. L. Dodgson's reports of his visits to public exhibitions as well as to his artist friends' studios, though a few masterpieces by first rank painters such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Frederic Leighton did escape this 'purification' process, and should have started the upholders of the woman-hater theory thinking. Such was the happy lot of the former's 'The Beloved', and, still more surprisingly, 'Venus Verticordia', one of Rossetti's very scarce bare-breasted 'stunners', which C. L. Dodgson described as "a new picture that he is now at work on, [which] will be very beautiful", adding: "It represents Venus (head and shoulders), with some butterflies hovering round her head; the background is to be roses." [23] .

Though it is in no way certain he had the oil painting in mind, as he might as well have watched the artist in the process of completing a watercolour version he was doing "at the same time", according to R. L. Megroz, who defined it as "although rather sentimental and luscious [...] quite inoffensive", adding that "that is more than one can say for the oil", [24] one would hardly have expected C. L. Dodgson to approve of a pagan icon that disturbed John Ruskin so much that he could not even speak his mind openly, but had to charge the "awful" flowers around the figure with the "coarseness", the "conditions of non-sentiment" he perceived in the latter, [25] and which Frederick George Stephens described in The Athenaeum as a "winner of hearts, [who] recks not of the soul", concluding that "there is more of evil than of good in her" ! [26] .

Though the works of the President of the Royal Academy were rarely deemed so potentially corruptive by the major periodicals of the late 1870s, it is nearly as inexplicable, within the usual framing of C. L. Dodgson's aesthetic preferences, that he should have thought "lovely" two of the three unfinished paintings he saw in Frederic Leighton's studio in the summer of 1879: "a sort of 'Hero' on the shore (nude figure, seated, back view) [...] and a female figure which looks very queer at present, as the (unfinished) drapery only reaches to the waist." [27] Whereas the latter is difficult to identify with certainty - if it was sent to the 1880 R. A. exhibition with the other two, it may have been either 'Crenaia' or 'Iostephane', both being clad "in an abundance of diaphanous white drapery" [28] - the former undoubtedly was that 'Psamathe' The Art-Journal considered as "a surpassing piece of craftsmanship". [29] .

It was part of the 1996 centenary exhibition at Burlington House, and appears in the catalogue as number 83, page 189, so that anyone can easily check the truthfulness of the description given by F. G. Stephens to the readers of *The Athenaeum* : "The contours of the figure are exuberant, and therefore not severe in their character; they have been studied from life, and are less classical than those usually affected by Sir F. Leighton." [28] However great C. L. Dodgson's respect for the President of the Royal Academy may have been, and however proud he might have felt at being admitted into his impressive studio, he was in no way compelled to admire every single uncompleted canvas he was shown, and could easily have restricted his praises to the younger protagonist of 'The Sisters' Kiss', the third work he saw on that visit. On the contrary, he put that Rubens-like backview top of his list of "lovely" sights, even before the delicate embrace of the two slim silhouettes, described by Stephens as "a lovely group" combining "a charming damsel" and "a pretty child" in "one of the happiest of the President's productions". [28] .

Contrary to John Ruskin, who strongly resented any depiction of the undressed body, and ascribed to their inclination for immodest art part of the decadence of the Greek civilisation, C. L. Dodgson never condemned the adult female nude as such, but only according to its context and the impression created, willingly or not, by the protagonist's attitude and environment. Whereas the rocky sea-side surroundings of 'Psamathe' seemed to him appropriate enough to justify the nymph's nakedness and vest it with innocence, any variation on the 'Déjeuner sur l'Herbe' theme would rouse his wrath. Though he never mentioned Manet's famous work, his impression of Jean Léon Gérôme's 'Phryne before the Tribunal', exhibited at the French Gallery in 1866, as "a most disagreeable picture" [30] obviously sprang from the same disgust for a scene depicting a naked woman amidst a party of dressed males as that expressed by the French critics four years before. J. B. Atkinson wrote in *The Fine Arts Quarterly* that 'Phryne' both asserted the painter's "incomparable resource", and told "how a great artist may prostitute his talent." If, as he concluded, "only a Frenchman would venture to depict the carnal desire which kindles in the faces of the old judges", C. L. Dodgson is indeed hard to blame for his objection to that embarrassing portraiture of man's basest instincts, much more than to the heroine's unashamed, but decently depicted, exhibition. [31] .

When, twenty years later, another nude lady offended his morals more than his sight, she was once more connected with the Sodome of nineteenth-century Europe: Paris. Though due to a Russian brush, Marcelli Suchorowski's 'Nana' bore the infamous mark of her inspirer, Emile Zola's character, and thus deprived of any temporal or spatial distancing, she could aim at nothing but arousing the male spectator's pruriency, an impression reinforced by the Egyptian Hall's highly controversial choice to exhibit it in a dark room, with a mirror on either side of the brilliantly lit easel on which it stood ! Why C. L. Dodgson should have been to see it, even on a friend's commendation - possibly the actor Lionel Brough's - is food for thought in itself... In describing it as "a very life-like picture of a reclining woman, nude, except for a little drapery covering one leg from knee to foot, [which] would have been better entirely nude, but even so [was] rather 'French' in feeling", [32] he sounded far more lenient than the critic of *The Art-Journal* who exposed it as "a revoltingly sensual picture" and judged it was high time for "the authorities who look after our morals [to] be roused to action." [33] .

Their uncle's disgraceful yielding to such an improper curiosity was obviously the kind of embarrassing fact his nieces did not intend to see disclosed, and the whole entry was edited out of their typescript. But so was much evidence of his interest in far less outrageous works, such as the Mulready collection exhibited at the Kensington Museum, which he visited in April 1864 with Mary Bayne, the mother of one of his lifelong friends, Thomas Vere Bayne. In suppressing any mention of that outing, the two old ladies subscribed, nearly a century later, to John Ruskin's view of William Mulready as "degraded and bestial", and of his paintings as "of all pieces of art [...] skilful in execution, and not criminal in intention, without any exception, quite the most vulgar, and in the solemn sense of the word, abominable". [34] .

They also preferred to leave out of their clumsily bowdlerized version of the diaries any mention of John Collier's 'Pharaoh's Handmaidens', which C. L. Dodgson "admired" at the 1883 summer exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery: [35] in so doing, they echoed Cosmo Monkhouse's opinion, in *The Academy* , that their nakedness was "wholly unredeemed", and that it was "a pity that Mr Collier should attempt subjects of this kind". [36] A few lines further down, the highly respected critic praised contrariwise "a pretty picture of a little naked girl playing with her father's palette" by a Mr P. R. Morris which C. L. Dodgson did not list among his favourite works: had he done so, his ill-advised defenders would undoubtedly have left that mention in, convinced as they were in their Victorian innocence that there was nothing wrong with that sort of nude study ! His having left the latter painting unnoticed, and ranked among his favourites a pseudo- oriental group *The Athenaeum* described as "rather like three saucy ladies of the modern ballet who have been dyed brown" [37] says much about his alleged sexual abnormality, as does his description of Falguiere's 'Madeleine' as a "wonderfully life-like picture" which highlighted his visit to the 1887 Exhibition of 'Salon' pictures in Bond Street. [38] .

Other adult nudes or semi-nudes pitilessly suppressed from the typescript included Thomas Riley's "beautiful nude study (two nymphs)" at the 1888 R. A., entitled 'After the Chase', [39] and Frederic Leighton's 'An Idyll', which he deemed "lovely" on his first visit to Leighton House, where he also noticed "several beautiful female heads", [40] while other paintings were unaccountably spared, such as William Etty's three "illustrations of the history of Judith" he "thought in parts admirable" on going round the National Gallery of Scotland in 1857, [41] John Weguelin's 'Maidens' Race', "a lovely group of girls going to run in the Olympic Games", [42] which *The Athenaeum* described as "long-legged" and *The Graphic* as "partially denuded", [43] as well as Edwin Long's 'The Search for Beauty' and 'The Chosen Five' he almost blasphemously put on a par with the painter's famous flight into Egypt, entitled 'Anno Domini', as the "best" of this artist's works. Those two probably escaped the censors' eyes because they were not quoted by their titles, but mentioned in an off-hand manner as "a pair about Zeuxis painting a picture of Venus from six selected maidens"; [44] their subject was nevertheless as pagan and as mildly erotic as that of Long's celebrated 'Babylonian Slave Market' ! .

It would be unfair to conclude from the long list of instances quoted above that C. L. Dodgson's interest in pictures of fully grown women was strictly restricted to the productions of the 'fleshy school of painting'. He could also be captivated by a perfectly proper portrait, and fall under the spell of a charming young adult's face, exuding nothing stronger than "sugar-and-water sentiment and attar-of-roses confection", as *The Art-Journal* wrote of the 'Biondina' and 'Brunetta' exhibited at the 1865 British Institution by "that most dainty of painters", [45] Richard Buckner. To C. L. Dodgson, they looked

particularly "lovely", and three years later, at the British Artists, he "chiefly admired" [46] another of Buckner's conventional 'keepsakes', 'La Bionda', described in the same periodical as "the ghost of an ideal face - a fashionable beauty refined away to the shadow of a shade." [47] Another "lovely face" [48] he particularly admired was that of the heroine of Herbert Schmalz's 'How Long?', exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1883: The Graphic found "much beauty in the head, as well as the finely-formed figure" of that "lady in mediaeval attire, standing by a window in a despondent attitude" [49] who obviously could not be mistaken for a prepubescent girl ! .

### A widespread fascination.

Not only was C. L. Dodgson's fad for little girls far from exclusive, but it was also far from idiosyncratic. It anchored him in his time much more than it singled him out as an isolated pervert. As Jackie Wullschlager recently wrote, "men such as Carroll, Ruskin, Dickens and Kilvert took the Victorian romance with childhood to an extreme, but everywhere in nineteenth-century society and art a fascination with childhood is apparent ", [50] a fascination that found its icon in Thomas C. Gotch's 'The Child Enthroned', and its manifesto in Ernest Dowson's 'The Cult of the Child'. [51] .

Though far less numerous than C. L. Dodgson's letters to his innumerable child-friends, Edward Burne-Jones's highly humorous and admirably illustrated correspondence with little Katie Lewis is still here to testify to the high degree of complicity and mutual affection reached by this unrelated pair. Andrea Rose, in support of his assertion that the painter "had a talent for friendship with children, and in particular young girls", reports that he was "inordinately fond of his granddaughter, Angela Mackail", "solicitous in his friendship with two aristocratic sisters he taught to draw, Olive and Mary Maxe", and that Dorothy Drew, the prime minister's grandchild, "was another of his favourites". [52] .

It was also for a flesh and blood little girl that Edward Lear composed his first nonsense masterpiece, the 'picture-poem' 'The Owl and the Pussy-Cat'. He was staying then at a hotel in Cannes, on the French Riviera, and was trying to soften the illness of a little Janet, the daughter of the writer J. A. Symonds, whom he had befriended at the table d'hôte. He was as eager as C. L. Dodgson to enter into such relationships with all the female children he got in touch with, in railway carriages as well as in guesthouses and Italian pensions. Jackie Wullschlager quotes from the autobiography of a respectable diplomat's wife, who kept such fond memories of their meeting in a Torino hotel, in 1870, that she thought that "never was there a man who could so live into the feelings of a child". [53]

To support his statement that "such friendships between celebrated men in their middle age and assertive young girls have a familiar ring", Andrea Rose cites John Ruskin's infatuation for Constance Hilliard, "and his romance with his 'mouse-pet', Rose La Touche." [54] Fortunately, all these relationships did not bring to the children involved so tragic a fate as the latter's, whose mental troubles were undoubtedly worsened by her suitor's assiduous love-making and repeated proposals from the age of

twelve, just as his obsession with her played an important part, together with the famous libel case against Whistler, in his growing depression and insanity.

Leon Derrick, who skates as fast as possible over that embarrassing aspect of Ruskin's personality, is yet bound to acknowledge that he "wrote innumerable letters, as tender, as spontaneous and as witty as those of Charles Dodgson" to his many "little girl friends", and that "nothing gave him greater pleasure than to teach the children of the village school, or to entertain them to lavish festivities at Brantwood." [55] On such occasion, he would unashamedly join in the children's dances, then commit to his diary the pleasure he had found in their company. "Refreshed by a glimpse of Gussie Kitting, and a shy look up from under her curly hair" or "another peep of Mary at Kate Greenaway's - the most exquisite child [he] ever saw!", delighted with "a lovely little letter from the Irish school, with photograph of Rose Queen", he could go to bed and have "good sleep after a happy day with Thea and Kathie"! [56]

Though belonging to an entirely different generation, the aesthetical poet Ernest Dowson partook of the same fascination, he who devotedly collected photographs of the six-year-old Minnie Terry, a niece of Ellen, as well as copies of the programmes of all the performances in which she appeared, and once wrote: "I think it possible for the feminine nature to be reasonably candid and simplex, up to the age of eight or nine. Afterwards - phugh!" [57] In many of his letters to his friend Arthur Moore, he confessed feelings very akin to John Ruskin's, springing from their common conviction in the healing powers of girl children - "I've been kissing my hand aimlessly from the window to une petite demoiselle of my acquaintance [...], a Minnie presque aussi gentille as her prototype: this has temporarily revived me" [58] -, and climaxing in his four-year-long courtship of Adelaide Foltinowicz, the eleven to fourteen year old daughter of his Polish eating-house keeper.

Though he did carry it so far as proposing to the teen-ager, a few days before her fifteenth birthday, while her father was at death's door, he knew from the start that their relationship was ill-fated: two years earlier, he had written to another friend of his, Victor Plarr, that it made him mad "to think that in a year or two at most the most perfect exquisite relation [he had] ever succeeded in making must naturally end." [59] Indeed, according to Desmond Flower and Henry Maas, "the experience was the most intense of his life", "the inspiration of almost all of Dowson's best work", "his chief source of happiness - perhaps the only one", [60] which does not sound that exaggerated when related to Dowson's recurring professions that "children certainly reconcile one (at least in my case) more than anything else to one's life" [61], culminating in a letter sent to Victor Plarr in August 1890:

*The effect of her entry was transfusing [...]. Die kleine more entirely resembles a sunbeam than anything which I have ever come across. I am still mellow from the interlude. [...] I will [now] go back to Rainham & Mary Masters & all the other uninteresting adults one is foolish enough to write about. Why the deuce does anyone write anything but books about children! Quelle dommage that the world isn't composed entirely of little girls from 6 to 12. [62]*

Ernest Dowson felt all the less ashamed of speaking up in such matters as his tastes were shared in by several other Bohemian aesthetes of the naughty nineties: among his close friends ranked William Clark Hall, a magistrate and author of several collections of religious poems, whom he described as "a



charming person & properly a worshipper & devout of the most excellent cult of la Fillette", [63] just as Oscar Wilde numbered in his circle of "beautiful people" a far less scrupulous Leonard Smithers he held for "the most learned erotomaniac in Europe [who] loves first editions, especially of women: little girls are his passion." [64]

In spite of his notorious reputation, Algernon Charles Swinburne never indulged in such perverted debauchery, of which C. L. Dodgson deemed they could not be committed by a mere "common voluptuary", but by "so selfish, so pitiless, and so abject a coward as to be beneath one calling himself a man." [65] And yet, however confident Philip Henderson may sound that, notwithstanding Swinburne's "unorthodox sexual habits", "there is no evidence that, like Ruskin or Lewis Carroll, he was especially drawn to little girls", [66] he was quite ready to flirt innocently with the seven-year-old daughter of his friend Richard Monckton Milnes, acting his part very seriously through a sham engagement ceremony Lady Trevelyan found - or pretended to find - "affecting", adding that she was "only too thankful to hear [he] had a chance of being saved by a virtuous attachment." [67] It is very likely, of course, she had spoken that sentence with her tongue in her cheek: it nonetheless echoed the Victorians' sincere belief in the purifying power of a child's love that found its most ethereal expression in Dickens's novels, its vilest in the popular assumption that intercourse with a virgin could cure most venereal diseases...

When, many years later, Swinburne met in Paris the French translator of his 'Ode on the Statue of Victor Hugo', he wrote to his mother, in a typically 'Carrollian' way, how he had enjoyed meeting the couple, and "(not least) their little girl", "the sweetest and brightest little person now going", whom the innumerable marks of admiration "lavished by one of the most brilliant circles in Paris on her exceptional beauty and cleverness" had not made vain. [68] Obviously, the only female being who might have trapped him into her nets would have had to bear the childish grace of Coventry Patmore's Angel in the House, who

*[...] grows More infantine, auroral, mild, And still the more she lives and knows The lovelier she's expressed as child. [69]*

Clement William Scott, in whose eyes Ellen Terry embodied, better than any other actress, that ideal woman-child, did not think improper to expatiate upon a personal remembrance of that kind, in the introduction to his survey of her career on the stage, conjuring up the vision of "a fair-haired child with a cream-white face, sitting [...] in a blue silk frock, dangling her little legs encased in white silk stocking ending in white sandalled shoes" which still haunted him fifty years later. [70]

The famous professional photographer Henry Peach Robinson, to whose Tunbridge Wells studio Dodgson sent, in 1882, the twenty-two sketches by William Stephen Coleman the artist had allowed him to get photographed, is described by his biographer Margaret Harker as a man who "loved children. They were his favourite sitters and a whole wall of the gallery of his Tunbridge Wells studio was devoted to his child portraits." [71] In his personal reminiscences, published as early as 1874 in *The Mirror*, and entitled in a very Carrollian way 'Heads I have taken off', Robinson asserted that "the most delightful sitters are children" and went on: "A glow of happiness runs through me when I think of some of my little friends. I do not know a more charming occupation than photographing little girls, from the age of

four to eight or nine. After that age they lose their beauty for a time ... I can call to mind many pleasant hours in trying to get the 'counterfeit presentments' of little elves and fairies, who have at the same time driven me nearly mad by moving at the critical moment, or who would take a fancy to waltz when I required them to be immovable ... yet I never tired of them. The result, when you do get one, is so exquisitely beautiful that it repays you for all your labour. " [72]

George Du Maurier, another of Dodgson's close friends, could also partake in such nostalgic regression at the very heart of his celebration of the mature beauty of Trilby, investing her magical voice as 'La Svengali' with "the genial gaiety and grace of impishness of Pierrot and Columbine idealised into frolicsome beauty and holy innocence, as though they were performing for the saints in Paradise - a BABY Columbine, with a cherub for clown." [73] He went even further, earlier in the novel, when, advocating that, in the painter's eye, "nothing is so chaste as nudity", he claimed that " all beauty is sexless in the eyes of the artist at his work - the beauty of man, the beauty of woman, the heavenly beauty of the child, which is the sweetest and best of all." [74]

John Everett Millais , the uncontested master of child portrait in the second half of the century, to the point of being nicknamed - paradoxically for an ex-founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood - 'the Victorian Reynolds', obviously subscribed to such an article of faith: he put it into very similar words when he wrote to his friend Charles Collins that "the ONLY head you could paint to be considered beautiful by EVERYBODY would be the face of a little girl about eight years old, before humanity is subject to such change". [75]

Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who usually worshipped more fleshly 'stunners', and seldom painted beauty in its bud, fell nevertheless under the spell of Jane Morris's daughters, Jenny and May. When C. L. Dodgson visited the collection of his drawings posthumously exhibited at the Burlington Fine Art Club in 1883, his favourite was of course a "lovely crayon head" of the latter, aged nine. [76] These sketches had not risen out of the painter's devotion to their mother exclusively, nor out of the purely professional motive of filling the top corners of his 'La Ghirlandata' with two female angels' faces. In various letters to his mother - obviously the Victorian bachelor's - or widower's - fit recipient for such confessions -, he described May as "most lovely", "destined to be a great beauty beyond question", and both sisters as "such charming and lovable children that it is really a pleasure to be with them", a pleasure his friend George Hake untiringly partook of, "never so well pleased as when they [made] him escort them about". [77]

Indeed, in his devotion to Dante, whose name he was so proud of bearing, Rossetti could not but experience at least once in his life a feeling akin to his hero's love for Beatrice, which he had echoed and sung in 'Hand and Soul', a tale included in the first issue of *The Germ* , celebrating the mystical but consuming passion of a young painter for "his mistress - his mystical lady (now hardly in her ninth year, but whose solemn smile at meeting had already lighted in his soul like the dove of the Trinity)". [78] Such a hymn to the flaring but fleeting beauty of pure childhood was far from exceptional under his pen at the time: in a dramatic monologue also written in 1849, 'A Last Confession', he described the growth of "a child with a heavenly face" into a perfidious and arrogant hussy her appalled former worshipper finally felt compelled to put to death. A few months later, another contributor to the Pre-Raphaelite

journal, Walter H. Deverell, in his 'Modern Idyll', conjured up celestial visions of his prepubescent cousin, whose angelical beauty and pure gaiety illuminated the world around her. [79]

Contrary to Rossetti, whose oils never bore the mark of that youthful devotion, Frederic Leighton's canvases alternately paid tributes to the perfect classical forms of Olympian goddesses in full bloom and to the flimsier and no less moving figures of Connie Gilchrist or Lena Pullen. His official biographer, Mrs Barrington, put this down to his love for that "caressing littleness, in which there is much of the whole woeful heart of things", adding that "everything that had in it the unconscious grace of helplessness seemed especially to touch him." [80] A century later, Stephen Jones has just put the same idea more bluntly, in the catalogue to the Royal Academy centenary exhibition, stating that "like Ruskin, it was the freshness and grace of the innocent that moved him most profoundly", and deeming that "the company of children undoubtedly fulfilled for the bachelor painter an emotional need", [81] an indisputable evidence that obviously did not apply to him, Ruskin, and Dodgson only, within their generation !

Far more often than C. L. Dodgson himself, who has been much slandered from that point of view, Leighton was prone to getting rid of his childish muses when they had grown out of his affections: such was the case with Connie Gilchrist, who had modelled for his 'Cleobolus instructing his Daughter Cleoboline', 'The Daphnephoria', 'The Music Lesson', 'Study: at a Reading Desk', and 'Winding the Skein', but seems to have stopped inspiring him once Whistler had offered an entirely different view of her on his 'Harmony and Yellow and Gold: the Gold Girl' and her skipping-rope dance on the stage of the Westminster Aquarium had brought her universal fame. Trying to account for her sudden disappearance, Leonée and Richard Ormond are left to conclude that "possibly Leighton found her too popular or too sophisticated, for she was growing up, and he had been attracted by her extreme youth." [82]

A few years later, Leighton found her a worthy successor in Dorothy Dene's younger sister, Lena, whose golden hair and purplish blue eyes fascinated, not only the general public hoarding in front of 'Kittens', 'Sister's Kiss', and 'Rubinella', but also the poet Robert Browning who sent the President of the R. A. an anonymous epigram in which he praised her uncommon beauty:

*Yellow and pale as ripened corn*  
*Which Autumn's kiss frees, grain from sheath,*  
*Such was her hair, while her eyes beneath*  
*Showed Spring's fair violets freshly born.*[83]

Such an enthusiastic infatuation with a very minor work of art, from so discerning a mind, testifies to the incredible power exercised by the Victorian vestal virgins, not over C. L. Dodgson only, but over the sensitivity of many of the greatest literary and pictorial creators of his time. Not only was this 'cult of the child' shared in by a large majority of the visitors to the summer exhibitions, and the spectators of the West End theatres: it was also wholeheartedly defended and propagated by a large portion of the

professional critics whose notices in the most respectable periodicals widely contributed to building, or at least confirming, the general public's opinion.

## Restrained appraisals compared with floods of unmitigated praise.

To pretend to deny that C. L. Dodgson was attracted by and favourably prejudiced toward pictures depicting pretty little girls and casts teeming with charming child-actresses would be as foolish as dishonest, but an objective comparison of the very restrained words he used to express the satisfaction he had derived from watching the ones as well as the others, with the avalanche of superlatives lavished on them in the columns of some of the magazines and reviews he read, casts an entirely different light on his allegedly singular fascination.

When Francis Turner Palgrave, in his zeal to promote his friend Thomas Woolner's works against Alexander Munro's, violently attacked the latter's 'Child's Play' and 'Violet and Henry', it was not because he objected to the lack of interest of such saccharine childish nudities: contrariwise, he condemned the sculptor's failure to pay due tribute to such "masterpieces of nature's modellings" as the little boy and girl's bodies, with their "lithe limbs, so delicate and yet so firm, so mobile and so well balanced". [84] C. L. Dodgson did not share that view at all, and both marble groups were among the very few sculptures he praised in his diaries. But then, as when he jotted down the titles of the - not so numerous in fact - oil and watercolour portraits of children that struck his fancy on the walls of the Royal Academy, the Grosvenor Gallery, or his artist friends' studios, he was always much more moderate in his commendation than the critics of *The Magazine of Art*, *The Art-Journal*, and *The Athenaeum*.

Their undisputed favourite was of course John Everett Millais: not the young Pre-Raphaelite, who had offended Charles Dickens's eyes - and C. L. Dodgson's! - with his red-haired Jesus, and, "wilfully abjur[ing] all beauty" [85] selected the plainest children available as models for 'The Woodman's Daughter', 'The Blind Girl', and 'Autumn Leaves', [86] but the more mature renegade, who, from 'My First Sermon' onward, had at last accepted to work "in entire concord with the public taste", as Marion Spielmann put it in her catalogue to the 1898 retrospective of his career. [87] *The Art-Journal* held the famous picture for "one of the happiest works the artist ha[d] ever painted", in so far as "nothing c[ould] be more delightfully simple and more thoroughly artistic than the face, attitude and dress of this little girl." [88] To the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was nothing less than an instrument of redemption, since "we feel ourselves the better and the happier when our hearts are enlarged [...], when our spirits are touched by the playfulness, the innocence, the purity, [...] the piety of childhood." [89] Its companion piece, 'My Second Sermon', was greeted the following year by *The Art-Journal* as a delightful portrayal of "childhood's loveliest years and most bewitching moods". [90] Such was the universal opinion in 1867 when the artist exhibited 'The Minuet', which C. L. Dodgson thought "most charming", [91] and which F. G. Stephens described as an "exquisite picture", fascinated as he was by the "perfectly piquant expression" of the "sweet-faced, sparkingly wilful-looking" "pretty child" he also called a "little charmer". [92] In finding 'Sleeping', and 'Waking' equally beautiful, C. L. Dodgson was only yielding to

that "irresistible appeal to the public" The Art- Journal acknowledged in the sentiment of those touching bed-scenes. [93]

In the same way, when, in 1880, C. L. Dodgson pronounced Millais's 'Cuckoo' "the gem of the [R. A.] gallery", [94] he was but echoing the enthusiasm of James Comyns Carr for a "very graceful composition" enhancing "in a wonderful degree [...] the beauty of these two childish faces", whose expressions were considered as "masterpieces" by F. G. Stephens himself. [95] Still greater applause greeted Millais's three portraits of Beatrice Buckstone exhibited in 1881 at Burlington House and at the Grosvenor : Ruskin's statement that 'Caller Herrin' was "the highest of all yet produced by the Pre-Raphaelite School", Stephens's conviction that "every one [would] be charmed by the piquant expression and attitude" of his 'Cinderella', ranked by The Art-Journal as one of the three most "covetable pictures" in the exhibition, next to Alma-Tadema's 'Sappho' and James Clark Hook's 'Diamond Merchants', "each in itself so perfect it would be impossible to find better examples of each master's art", and Henry Blackburn's choice of a close-up of the heroine of 'Sweetest Eyes were ever seen's" face to adorn the front page of his Grosvenor Notes for that year, stretched praise far beyond C. L. Dodgson's description of the last two as "lovely". [96] So did Cosmo Monkhouse's pronouncement that "if there [were] still sweeter eyes yet unseen than those of this charming [twelve-year-old] girl, there [was] a decided answer to Mr Mallock's unsettling and unsettled question as to the worth of life." [97] According to The Art-Journal, she was nevertheless outmatched by the "three lovely little girls" charmingly grouped in front of the piper of 'An Idyll, 1745': going so far as to parody the title of the former canvas, its critic asserted that "prettier children than these girls were never seen" ! [98]

Frederic Leighton's already mentioned pictures depicting Connie Gilchrist and Lena Pullen met with similar approval. 'The Music Lesson' was greeted by Cosmo Monkhouse as "perhaps the most perfect of his pictures", "a dream of the purest and tenderest affection, a collection of dainty and exquisite things, arranged with inimitable grace", and he acknowledged he could not distract his gaze from the "lovely little girl [...] seated on her lovely young mother's lap". [99] F. G. Stephens, confronted with its companion piece at the 1877 R. A., 'Study: at a Reading Desk', felt deeply moved by the "great charm" of the peaceful scene, and its protagonist's "lovely face", which Mrs Russell Barrington judged "fascinating". [100] Lena Pullen and Dorothy Dene's 'Sisters' Kiss', exhibited three years later, which C. L. Dodgson deemed "lovely", was described by Stephens as "a lovely group" uniting "a charming damsel" and "a pretty child", the latter deemed by The Magazine of Art "no less beautiful" than her elder sister. Alice Corkran, who admired in this picture "perhaps the loveliest of all the lovely interpretations of a dream world" found equally "exquisite the bloom and transparency of skin of these two charming creatures", ideally embodying the beauty of "childhood and early girlhood". [101]

Few were the out-and-out opponents who stubbornly resisted to, and persistently and fiercely condemned, the insidious charms of this all-powerful juvenile invasion so many of their colleagues blissfully yielded to. Sidney Colvin must have felt sorely isolated in his crusade against such painters as Charles W. Cope, John Callcott Horsley, James Sant or James Hayllar who catered so well for the British taste for "studies of babyhood and nursery incidents" that they turned English art into the laughing stock of French critics "making merry at the expense of Paterfamilias and his troop of b b s roses", [102] and it was not until the very last years of the century that Max Beerbohm published in the Daily

Mail his famous articles deploring the dictature of the very young in the domestic as well as artistic spheres, and that a notice of *The Little Squire* in *The Athenaeum* dared quote "from Mrs Browning, with ironical emphasis : 'But the young, young children, O my brothers !'" and rejoice that, in Richard III's words, "so wise, so young, do ne'er live long". [103]

Frederick Wedmore's statement, six years earlier, in *The Academy* , that he "generally detest[ed] child-acting", was not to be taken at face value: mitigated by the mention of two former exceptions, Minnie Terry and the girl "who was Hester Prynne's daughter at the Royalty", it aimed mostly at reinforcing the significance of the praise he lavished on the performances of Vera Beringer and her sister Esmé as Little Lord Fauntleroy and his friend Dick in Mrs Burnett's dramatization of her novel that was to attract crowds to the Opera Comique for a whole year. [104] C. L. Dodgson was one of those thousands of enthusiasts, and he described Vera as "one of the cleverest children [he had] seen on the stage", a young lady who acted "with wonderful naturalness and spirit". [105]

And yet he was far less 'omnivorous' than his legend would have it as regarded child-actresses: he felt "a little disappointed" with Minnie Terry's 'Mignon' in *Boote's Baby* , deploring that she "recite[d] her speeches, not very clearly, without looking at the person addressed", [106] in sharp contrast to Wedmore's profession that she was "the only actress [he] ever cared for, except Miss Vera Beringer", not only because she was "graceful", but for the sake of her "excellent enunciation, [and] her intelligence, how marked" [107], and in still greater opposition to Ernest Dowson's ardent panegyric to her 'Daisy Desmond' in Sidney Grundy's *A White Lie* :

*Her share in the dialogue [...] was so childlike, and withal so appropriate, that I frequently forgot the credit which Mr. Grundy should have for his share in it in my admiration of the cleverness of this wonderful little lady. It was impossible to exaggerate the dramatic efficiency which [she] lends to the play. When this delightful little girl is on the stage the interest is at its highest [...]. Altogether, if A White Lie attains that success which I hope [...] it will owe as much to the charming acting of this dainty little player as to the less artless efforts of much bigger if not more talented people. [108]*

Such passionate tributes to the powers of juveniles were far from infrequent, and the floods of superlatives that greeted their high deeds greatly outweighed C. L. Dodgson's own marks of satisfaction. His appreciation of *The Children's Pinafore* as "pretty as a whole" [109] sounds moderate indeed when confronted with Clement William Scott's advice to the readers of *The Theatre* to rush to the Opera Comique where "some exceedingly clever youngsters act[ed] H.M.S. Pinafore in admirable style", as he didn't believe "that London ha[d] ever seen anything better than the baby Pinafore ." [110] The contrast is even greater between C. L. Dodgson's impression of a similar production of *The Pirates of Penzance* at the Savoy a few years later as "a charming performance [as some of the children] have lovely voices, specially 'Elsie Joel', who acted Mabel" [111] and Austin Brereton's opinion, in his *Dramatic Notes* , that:

The only theatrical event worthy of note in these pages, of the last month of the year, was a performance given entirely by children at the Savoy Theatre [...]. The general excellence of the performance is its most striking merit. [...] The principal characters are filled by young people who are

wonderfully successful, and the singing of the various choruses is really excellent. [...] Miss Elsie Joel, as Mabel, also sings with rare taste, sweetness, and expression. To hear Miss Joel and Master Tebbutt in the duet of the second act is a rare treat. [112]

William Beatty-Kingston went even further in his notice of the same event in *The Theatre*, arguing that hearing such a treat offered "perhaps the most triumphant confutation of the Continental postulate, 'The English are not a musical people'". Stressing the authority in such matter he derived from his "long sojourn on the Continent, teemed with musical experiences", he expressed his most solemn "conviction that such a rendering of a comic opera as that given by the Savoy children [...] ha[d] never within [his] remembrance been achieved by any German, French or Italian company." Evincing "a spirit, humour, and discretion rarely displayed by their professional seniors", the cast moreover contained at least one "pearl of great price" in Miss Elsie Joel, "the small prima-donna of this admirable company". He called the twelve-year-old singer an "amazing child", "a mistress of the art of vocalization", described "the truth of her impersonation [as] absolutely flawless", and professed he could "recall few sensations of musical bliss so intense" as her duet with Frederick in the second act, during which "[his] were not the only eyes by many filled with grateful tears as those songsters delivered Sullivan's sweet strains with an innocent tenderness and pure tunefulness" he thought he would "never hear excelled in this planet." All in all, this was "the best performance [he] ever heard in or out of London." [113]

As a very last testimony to the universality of this fad for child prodigies C. L. Dodgson only shared in, in a much more objective and balanced way than many, I will contrast his description of the eight-year-old Lydia Howard, whose 'one-girl-show' he greatly enjoyed at Worthing in 1872, as a "very clever" child-actress who "would do well to act 'Alice' if it should ever be dramatised" [114] with the rave reviews printed not only in the *Hampshire Independent* on that occasion, but also in the respectable *London Times*. That the former should praise any event in town, and write that "the powers of this charming little 'Fairy actress' are as varied as they are astonishing and impressive", that "the variety of characters assumed by this wonderful little artiste [SIC] [...] are something marvellous" and that "the audiences were perfectly astounded, and delighted beyond expression" is no wonder. But one would hardly have expected the latter's critic to call the performance "certainly the most novel and interesting entertainment [he] ever witnessed" and its child-star "a perfect little genius". [115]

Even when the performers were close friends of his, C. L. Dodgson was never blind to their shortcomings, and no fear of hurting their feelings would deter him from telling them about their failings and showering them with sound advice. Whereas *The Academy* described Isa and Emspie Bowman as "two extraordinarily clever children", the elder embodying "grace itself", [116] and *The Theatre* asserted that "nothing could be more loving" than the younger, to the point that "no one who goes to see *The Little Squire* will be able to resist his bewitching little sweetheart", [117] the connoisseur he undoubtedly was felt compelled to send the former a long letter denouncing the defects of her impersonation of the Duke of York in *Richard III*. [118]

When, in the summer of 1889, he joined the defenders of child-acting in their fight against an amendment to the *Prevention of Cruelty to Children Bill* that would have banned all under-tens from the stage, he did not resort to the same emotional blackmail as the leader writer of *The St James's Gazette*,

lamenting the fate of audiences "no longer delighted [...] with the pretty performances of precocious infants", [119] nor did he brandish the threat of the unproductability of many favourite plays, as did Herbert Beerbohm Tree when he testified to Lord Dunraven "that he had long contemplated a revival of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, but the Bill would prevent the realization of his intentions", [120] or Mrs Bancroft, when she wondered "if none of tender years [were] to be allowed to act, what [would] become of King Richard and the Princes in the Tower; of Charles I, without his boy and girl; or where [would] be the sorrows of poor Triplet if robbed of his starving little ones" [in Tom Taylor and Charles Reade's *Masks and Faces* [121] : he just put forward the wrong the adoption of the amendment would cause "to many a poor struggling family, to whom the child's stage salary is a godsend" while "making many poor children miserable by debarring them from a healthy and innocent occupation which they dearly love." [122]

Cleverly yet sincerely purporting to be exclusively and selflessly concerned about the involved youngsters' happiness, he went on suggesting a long list of sensible measures that would secure their schooling, as well as their physical and moral health and safety, most of which were taken up in the final version of the amendment passed later that year. In his highly moderate interventions and proposals, he had once more shown himself far less partial than most of his contemporaries who had resorted to much more emotional and excessive arguments. Whatever his personal tastes and feelings, he had been wise enough not to militate as zealously as Ernest Dowson, who, in his article 'The Cult of the Child', proudly claimed his belonging to the "ever increasing number of people who receive[d] from the beauty of childhood, in art as in life, an exquisite pleasure." C. L. Dodgson was indeed sharing in that mood which Dowson held for by far the most "distinctive feature of the age": in so doing, he was far from constituting an isolated case of emotional deviation and repressed sexual perversion; on the opposite, he was highly representative of the Victorian era as described by Dowson, in the conclusion to his manifesto:

It is not surprising that an age which is, after all, chiefly pessimist, an age which is so deeply disillusioned, should turn with an immense delight to the constant charm of childhood. And not less in the drama than in the rest of art the cult of the child should have a place, so that just as we seek relief from the sombre and relentless psychology of M. Paul Bourget in the realism of the nursery, [...] we may find it now and again across the footlights, and acknowledge [...] that art can still offer us the counterfeit presentment of one exquisite relation. [123]

## NOTES

[1] Kathleen BAKER, *Play, Games and Sport : The Literary Works of Lewis Carroll*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1974, p. 11.

[2] The first four volumes of which, covering the years 1855-64, have already been published for the first time in complete and unabridged form by Edward WAKELING for the Lewis Carroll Society, Luton, 1993, 1994, 1995 & 1997, under the title of *Lewis Carroll's Diaries, the Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson*. Roger Lancelyn GREEN's two-volume edition, *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, Cassell, London, 1953, did not reproduce the whole of the manuscript, now at the British Museum, but only a heavily



edited typescript prepared for him by C. L. Dodgson's nieces, Frances Menella and Violet Dodgson.  
[Henceforth WAKELING & GREEN]

[3] Morton N. COHEN, *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* 2 vol., Macmillan, London, 1979.

[4] *The Athenaeum* , n° 1488, May 3rd 1856, p. 561; *The Art-Journal* , June 1st 1856, pp. 190-1; *The London Theatre, 1811-1866, Selections from the Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson* , ed. by Eluned BROWN, The Society for Theatre Research, London, 1966, pp. 201-2 [20th July 1856].

[5] *The Times* , 1st May 1856, quoted by David F. CHESHIRE in his *Portrait of Ellen Terry* , Amber Lane Press, Charlbury, 1989, pp. 15-6.

[6] Monday 16th June 1856, in WAKELING, vol. 2, 1994, p. 83.

[7] A. G. C. LIDDELL, *Notes from the Life of an Ordinary Mortal* , John Murray, London, 1911, p. 19; Henry MORLEY, *The Journal of a London Playgoer* , G. Routledge, London, 1866, pp. 155-8; *The Illustrated Times* , Oct. 25th 1856, quoted by Christopher ST JOHN in his *Ellen Terry* , The Bodley Head, London, 1907, note p. 7.

[8] Friday 22nd June 1855, in WAKELING, vol. 1, 1993, pp. 105-6.

[9] Wednesday 16th January 1856, in WAKELING, vol. 2, 1994, p. 20.

[10] Friday 3rd July 1857, in WAKELING, vol. 3, 1995, pp. 81-2; John William COLE, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean* , 2 vol., Richard Bentley, London, 1860, vol. II, pp. 216-23; *The London Theatre, 1811-1866, Selections from the Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson* , op. cit., p. 204 [6th August 1857].

[11] Friday 11th September 1857, in WAKELING, vol. 3, 1995, p. 102.

[12] Saturday 15th May 1897 : not in GREEN.

[13] Friday 28th October 1864, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 223.

[14] Wednesday 22nd April 1885, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 435.

[15] Saturday 20th November 1897, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 542.

[16] Saturday 4th February 1865, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 226.

[17] Wednesday 10th April 1867, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 256.

[18] Friday 9th November 1883 : not in GREEN.

[19] Percy FITZGERALD, *Principles of Comedy and Dramatic Effect* , Tinsley Brothers, London, 1870, p. 314.

[20] Wednesday 12th October 1864, in which she appears as "Mrs Clarke", her future husband's name, in GREEN, vol. I, pp. 222-3; Thursday 21st December 1865, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 238.

[21] Friday 25th July 1879, Saturday 13th September 1879, Saturday 4th October 1879, Saturday 20th December 1879 : not in GREEN.

[22] Wednesday 13th July 1887, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 452.

[23] Friday 24th June 1864, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 217.

[24] R. L. MEGROZ, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Painter Poet of Heaven in Earth , Faber & Gwyer, London, 1928, pp. 197-8.

[25] John RUSKIN, letter to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1865, in The Works of John Ruskin , ed. by E. T. COOK & A. WEDDERBURN, George Allen, London, 1902-12, vol. XXXVI, p. 491.

[26] The Athenaeum , n° 1982, October 21st 1865, pp. 545-6.

[27] Friday 4th July 1879, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 381.

[28] The Athenaeum , n° 2740, May 1st 1880, p. 572.

[29] The Art-Journal , June 1st 1880, p. 187.

[30] Wednesday 27th June 1866, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 244.

[31] J. Beavington ATKINSON, 'Exhibitions of the Year', in The Fine Arts Quarterly Review , vol. I, new series, July-Oct. 1866, [pp. 343-74] pp. 364-5.

[32] Monday 26th May 1884 : unpublished entry.

[33] The Art-Journal , March 1885, pp. 92-3.

[34] Quoted by Jennifer STEAD in her The Nude in Victorian Art , Harrogate City Art Gallery, Harrogate, 1966, p. 3.

[35] Tuesday 29th May 1883 : unpublished entry.

[36] Cosmo MONKHOUSE, in The Academy , n° 574, May 5th 1883, p. 316.

[37] The Athenaeum , n° 2898, May 12th 1883, p. 609.

[38] Tuesday 27th September 1887 : unpublished entry; is C. L. Dodgson's exceptional misattribution of the painting to Emmanuel Benner, another exhibitor, to be put down to the emotional disturbance caused by the subject ? The fact Jean Alexandre Joseph Falguière was a sculptor who only occasionally exhibited paintings may also have played a part in that mistake.

- [39] Monday 16th July 1888 : unpublished entry. The picture was described by The Athenaeum as "an elegant group of nude girls, deftly designed and painted" [n° 3163, June 9th 1888, p. 733].
- [40] Monday 17th January 1881 : unpublished entry.
- [41] Saturday 12th September 1857, in WAKELING, vol. 3, 1995, p. 102.
- [42] Tuesday 29th May 1883, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 417.
- [43] The Athenaeum , n° 2903, June 16th 1883, p. 769; The Graphic , n° 705, June 2nd 1883, p. 563.
- [44] Saturday 18th March 1893, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 497.
- [45] The Art-Journal , March 1st 1865, p. 75.
- [46] Thursday 6th April 1865 & Thursday 9th April 1868, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 228 & vol. II, p. 267.
- [47] The Art-Journal , May 1st 1868, p. 86.
- [48] Tuesday 29th May 1883 : unpublished entry.
- [49] The Graphic , n° 701, May 5th 1883, p. 454.
- [50] Jackie WULLSCHLAGER, *Inventing Wonderland : The Lives and Fantasies of Lewis Carroll, Edward Lear, J. M. Barrie, Kenneth Grahame and A. A. Milne* , Methuen, London, 1995, p. 12.
- [51] 'The Child Enthroned', portrait of his daughter Phillys by Thomas Cooper Gotch [c. 1894], is reproduced in colour p. 151 in Christopher WOOD's *The Pre-Raphaelites* , Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1994. Ernest DOWSON's article 'The Cult of the Child' was published in *The Critic* , August 17th 1889, pp. 433-5.
- [52] Andrea ROSE, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits* , The Oxford Illustrated Press, Oxford, 1981, pp. 31 & 33.
- [53] Mrs Hugh FRASER, *A Diplomat's Wife in Many Lands* , London, 1910, vol. II, p. 25.
- [54] Andrea ROSE, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits* , op. cit., p. 31.
- [55] Derrick LEON, *Ruskin, The Great Victorian* , Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1949, pp. 551-2.
- [56] *The Diaries of John Ruskin* , ed. by Joan EVANS & John Howard WHITEHOUSE, Clarendon Press, Oxford, vol. III, 1959, pp. 1103 [Friday 17th April 1885], 1110 [Thursday 21st May 1885], & 1133 [Sunday 29th August & Wednesday 8th September 1886].
- [57] Letter 53 to Arthur Moore, Sunday 30th June 1889, in *The Letters of Ernest Dowson* , ed. by Desmond FLOWER & Henry MAAS, Cassell, London, 1967, p. 88.
- [58] *Ibid.*, p. 108, letter 68 to the same, Wednesday 16th October 1889.
- [59] *Ibid.*, p. 187, letter 137 to Victor Plarr, Thursday 5th March 1891.

[60] Ibid., pp. 127-8.

[61] Ibid., p. 147, letter 95 to the same, 8th April 1890.

[62] Ibid., pp. 161-2, letter 113 to the same, Wednesday 27th August 1890.

[63] Ibid., p. 164, letter 115 to the same, 6th September 1890.

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[67] *The Swinburne Letters*, ed. by Cecil Y. LANG, Yale University Press, New Haven (Connecticut), 1959-62, vol. I [1959], p. 66: letter 41 to Richard Monckton Milnes.

[68] Ibid., letter to Lady Jane Henrietta Swinburne, 26th Nov. 1882, in vol. IV, p. 316.

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- [79] Walter H. DEVERELL, 'A Modern Idyll', in *The Germ* , n° 4, pp. 177-9.
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- [82] Léonée & Richard ORMOND, *Lord Leighton* , Yale University Press, New Haven [Conn.], 1975, p. 133.
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- [85] Nathaniel HAWTHORNE, *The English Notebooks* , ed. by Randall STEWART, Oxford University Press, London, 1941, p. 550.
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- [88] *The Art-Journal* , June 1st 1863, p. 109.
- [89] Speech delivered at the 1863 Royal Academy Banquet, quoted by John G. MILLAIS in *The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais* , Methuen, London, 1899, p. 378.
- [90] *The Art-Journal* , June 1st 1864, p. 163.
- [91] Monday 8th April 1867, in GREEN, vol. I, p. 254.
- [92] *The Athenaeum* , n° 2063, May 11th 1867, p. 628.
- [93] *The Art-Journal* , June 1st 1867, pp. 137-8.
- [94] Saturday 26th June 1880, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 388.
- [95] *The Academy* , May 29th 1880, p. 406 & *The Athenaeum* , n° 2740, May 1st 1880, p. 571.
- [96] John Ruskin is quoted in A. FISH, *op. cit.*, p. 143; *The Athenaeum* , n° 2792, April 30th 1881, p. 596; *The Art-Journal* , June 1881, p. 185; Saturday 9th July 1881, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 397.
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- [103] *The Athenaeum* , n° 3468, April 14th 1894, p. 486.
- [104] *The Academy* , n° 855, September 22nd 1888, p. 195.
- [105] Monday 18th June 1888, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 460.
- [106] Monday 2nd July 1888, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 460.
- [107] *The Academy* , n° 1134, January 27th 1894, pp. 86-7.
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- [109] Friday 14th January 1881, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 383.
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- [111] Tuesday 13th January 1885, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 431, except for the last six words which are omitted.
- [112] Austin BRERETON, *Dramatic Notes, an Illustrated Handbook of the London Theatres*, 1884 , David Bogue, London, 1884, pp. 72-3.
- [113] *The Theatre* , February 2nd 1885, pp. 80-2.
- [114] Thursday 3rd October 1872, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 314.
- [115] *The Hampshire Independent* , December 12th 1868 & *The Times* , May 5th 1870, were both quoted in *The Sussex Coast Mercury* on Saturday 21st September 1872. In the same way, *The Brighton Gazette* wrote on Thursday 1st January 1874 that the young American actress Lizzie Coote was "really an infant phenomenon", that "for one so young her acting [was] astonishing", and that "nothing to surpass it ha[d] ever been seen in Brighton", whereas C. L. Dodgson soberly noted that the heroin was impersonated by "a very clever little American girl". [Tuesday 6th January 1874, in GREEN, vol. II, p. 325.]
- [116] *The Academy* , January 17th 1891, p. 72.

[117] *The Theatre* , May 1st 1894, pp. 282-4.

[118] Letter to Isa Bowman, 4th April 1889, in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* , ed. by Morton N. COHEN, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 735-6.

[119] 'Sense and Sensibility', leader of the *St James's Gazette* , July 11th 1889, p. 3.

[120] 'Deputation to Lord Dunraven', in the *St James's Gazette* , July 18th 1889, p. 14.

[121] 'Mrs Bancroft's Views on Children in Theatres', in the *St James's Gazette* , July 31st 1889, p. 7.

[122] 'Stage Children', cf. note 65.

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