

DREAMING IN PICTURES

Excerpts from Douglas R. Nickel, *Dreaming in Pictures: The Photography of Lewis Carroll*. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art/Yale University Press, 2002
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Introduction

The philosopher Thomas S. Kuhn popularized the concept of "paradigm shift" in the early sixties, to describe how research scientists operate out of a shared body of assumptions and beliefs about their subject—that is, until an innovative, revolutionary approach is introduced that challenges those assumptions and creates a new paradigm for research, with a new set of questions. The field of Lewis Carroll Studies seems to be at this moment in the midst of just such a paradigm shift, the evidence for which can be discovered on this website.

With the publication of her book *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild: A New Understanding of Lewis Carroll* (Peter Owen, 1999), Karoline Leach almost singlehandedly swept away 100 years of misguided speculation about the biographical conditions for Carroll's literary genius, and replaced it with a new, more historical and rational set of premises upon which new studies could be founded.

I was fortunate enough to be able to attempt one of these new studies in 2002. Fifteen years ago, as a doctoral student studying the history of photography at Princeton, I had the opportunity to research the wonderful albums of Dodgson photographs in the Morris L. Parrish Collection there. When I later became a curator of photography at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, I brought with me the idea of organizing an exhibition that would examine Dodgson's photographs *as pictures*, as serious and self-conscious works of art, and not simply remnants of a famous writer's hobby. I was encouraged in this direction by the work of other historians of Dodgson's photography, in particular Roger Taylor, Edward Wakeling, and Dianne Waggoner.

What follows is an excerpt from the extended essay that appears in *Dreaming in Pictures: The Photography of Lewis Carroll*. In my view, it demonstrates the possibilities for creating new knowledge in various areas of scholarship (in my case, the history of photography) opened up to investigation by the revolutionary contribution of Leach's study. For reasons of economy, the section titled "A Tangle Tale" necessarily adumbrates discussion of the "Carroll Myth" that *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild* so notably introduced to Carroll Studies: readers are encouraged to seek out the earlier text for the full, original, and better version of the argument. The sections of the essay not included here discuss the specifically pre-modern ways Victorians looked at photographs, the parallels between Carroll-the-writer and Dodgson-the-photographer, and the status of the child as subject and symbol in Dodgson's pictorial work.

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Douglas R. Nickel

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the butterfly collector

At the time he published the book that would bring him fame, he was a respected professor at one of the leading universities in the country. The book featured a girl, about twelve years in age, who through unexpected circumstances falls into an unhinged world of neurotic adults and bizarre behavior, a world where she displays more rational command of the situation than most of the adults around her. Both comical and dark, in passages violent even, the tale was conspicuous from the moment of its appearance for its lack of the expected moralizing message. The author's virtuosity—the splendid embroidery of his prose, his learned allusions and clever word-play—excused or perhaps simply confounded the disregard of protocol his moral-less story represented. To all appearances he was in demeanor the very embodiment of the sober, upright academician, but even before his death, rumors were circulating about how such singular imaginings must surely have sprung from a personal life harboring deep secrets.

Besides being an accomplished writer, Vladimir Nabokov was also a lifelong enthusiast of butterflies. At age ten he owned a complete library on the subject. The literature credits him with first identifying the *Lysandra cormion*, which he discovered in 1938 while hiking the French Maritime Alps. Upon arriving in the United States in 1940, and having yet to publish anything in English, he took a job at New York's Museum of Natural History, organizing its butterfly holdings, and then went on to perform similar duties at Harvard, composing several scientific papers on his researches along the way. *Lolita* was written in the early 1950s, while the author roamed the American West by car with his wife, seeking new specimens by day and sleeping in motor courts at night—the kind of road odyssey ascribed to Professor Humbert in the book. *Lolita* is, broadly speaking, a novel about the chase, about the force of imagination and desire for the unattainable; Humbert designates the object of his longing, Dolores Haze, a "nymphet," a little nymph, which any lepidopterist will tell you is the adolescent state of a butterfly as it undergoes metamorphosis. Collecting butterflies was more than a hobby for Nabokov: it was his great passion. He once told an interviewer that if it hadn't been for the Russian Revolution, he would have become an entomologist instead of a writer. His personal collections were meticulously catalogued and preserved—a pageant of lovely, delicate creatures, suspended from life and mounted for display, trophies of the far-flung places their attainment led the pursuer.

Critics have for many years now observed certain affinities between the sensibilities of Nabokov and Lewis Carroll. Both authors enjoyed language for its structured artificiality: Nabokov, because writing English was a discipline the native Russian felt compelled to make his own, Carroll because his background in mathematics and formal logic led him to regard language as a delightfully fluid system of signification (1). Likewise, card games and chess problems recur as a theme in both author's *oeuvres*. The royalty on playing cards gave Nabokov the inspiration for his 1928 love triangle, *King, Queen, Knave*, for instance, and the psychic crisis of a chessmaster is the central motif of *The Luzhin Defense* (1930), while Carroll, of course, has Alice confront the King and Queen of Hearts at the end of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and the characters in *Through the Looking Glass* play parts consistent with their corresponding pieces on the chess board. Erudition, even a certain educated snobbishness comes across in both men's styles, as their wit often relied upon divining the arcane cultural references lodged in their texts. And like Nabokov, Carroll had an overweening interest in the concept of innocence and fugitive beauty. He chased photographs.

The advent of a figure like Nabokov in the twentieth century represents a problem for our understanding of Carroll as a Victorian, however, for the lives of the two writers describe not so much a curious parallelism, but an intersection. Nabokov was acutely aware of Carroll and the way his mind worked. In 1923, the year after he graduated from Cambridge, he translated *Alice's Adventures* into Russian, an operation that, because of the English-specificity of the book's puns and homophones, required Nabokov to inhabit

Carroll's voice and re-write the story into his own cultural idiom. When he came to craft his own famous book in the 1950s, there already existed a post-Freudian literature that regarded Carroll as in the thrall of drives and sublimated desires the earlier writer could hardly have been aware of. Nabokov was no fan of Freud, especially when applied to his personal productions, but he shared the modern, knowing opinion of his literary predecessor:

I have been always very fond of Carroll...He has a pathetic affinity with Humbert Humbert but some odd scruple prevented me from alluding in *Lolita* to his perversion and to those ambiguous photographs he took in dim rooms. He got away with it, as so many other Victorians got away with pederasty and nympholepsy. His were sad scrawny little nymphets, bedraggled and half-dressed, or rather semi-undraped, as if participating in some dusty and dreadful charade. (2).

In *Lolita*, Nabokov makes Humbert an actual pedophile—a character who recognizes his pathology as such, who even tries to explain it to himself in psychoanalytic terms, who if nothing else avoids the charge of hypocritical repression by in fact acting on his impulses. Since then, the vivid image of the leering bachelor professor and his obsession with the girl-next-door has become exceedingly hard to shake. Seen through the filter of the twentieth century, Carroll's life and activities—his writings, his photography, his social relationships—have all appeared suspect, distorted by a postmortem diagnosis that reduces his biography to deviancy and his creative works to symptoms. To the person on the street, concerned today (for good reasons) with the safety of children, Carroll is assumed some manner of predator, a wolf in sheep's clothing, a perhaps less bold and self-aware version of Humbert. After his first night of debauchery, Nabokov's character drives off, his car grill plastered with dead butterflies. It now seems necessary, before all else, to worry what contact with the Oxford don and his dreadful charades entailed for the vulnerable child-friends who were made to act them out.

Thus the first obstacle encountered in examining the photographs of Lewis Carroll lies in distinguishing between what their creation might have meant to their maker and his Victorian contemporaries, and what they may have come to mean since. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson acquired his first camera in March 1856, while still a twenty-four-year-old student at Oxford, the very same month he invented the pen name "Lewis Carroll" and published his first writings under it, but nine years before the first Alice book made that name immortal. (3). The simultaneous invention of two new identities—photographer and lay author—can easily mask the important difference that arose between them: after the fame that came in the following decade, Dodgson would develop a love-hate relationship with Carroll, a persona that opened doors for him but one he wished to keep distant from his daily life and intercourse. (He was known to leave parties if his authorship of Alice were revealed, for example, and would return letters addressed to "Lewis Carroll" unacknowledged.) (4). In his more serious publications, to his friends, and in almost all of his other activities he was Charles L. Dodgson, and it was Dodgson who made the photographs. The distinction is more than semantic: for over one hundred years, Carroll's status as creator of the most popular children's story in the English language has governed the terms by which apperception of his photographs has been conducted. If we wish to approach the images on their own terms, as photographs, we must set off by noting how "Lewis Carroll" and the impresario behind the camera were both alter egos for—different public versions of—one Charles Dodgson.

Emphasis on the celebrity of their author has had, in the last century, the overall effect of moving discussion of his photographic images from the realm of art history to that of literary history, or worse, hagiography. "Carroll" photographs get inserted into the standard biographies to illustrate what, in that context, becomes the writer's "hobby." Yet we know that while Dodgson first took up photography as a student's diversion from schoolwork, it evolved into something much more. The camera immediately became a passport for Dodgson, allowing him a particular kind of social circulation and an excuse for meeting persons of high station. He attended photographic exhibitions, exchanged information with the leading practitioners in Victorian England, and by 1860 was distributing his own list of 159 photographs for sale. His diaries attest to the expense and difficulty of the undertaking, and the sincerity of his ambitions for it—before 1880, one

finds more references in these pages to photography than to creative writing. The historical accident of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and the economic independence it afforded after 1865 facilitated the transition of Dodgson's photography back into that of an amateur, in the sense that he could thereafter concentrate his energies on the subjects he most preferred and indulge a more private vision, without concern for marketability. Over a period of twenty-four years, through a succession of specially-built or improvised studios, Dodgson generated about 3000 negatives, carefully annotating the sittings and preserving his best images in a set of circulating albums. He became a recognized figure in elite photographic circles, notorious for his doggedness in procuring subjects. Therefore, if we wish to make a case for Dodgson as a visual artist, the first task has to be to engage his images as if they were not known to be the productions of a household name—to show, paradoxically, that the photographs have artistic merit, despite the renown of their maker. They must not be prejudged as keepsakes, the by-products of a writer's hobby, but as serious expressions of an innovator demonstrably committed to his medium and the world of pictures.

In our effort to look past the name to see the work, we must also recognize how being open to it now takes a bit of application. The second obstacle to assessing Dodgson's enterprise is the bigger problem of Victorian photography as a whole: we no longer know how to look at it properly, not because the pictures have changed, but because we have. Our understanding of photography is implicitly a modern one; the construction of its history did not begin until well into the twentieth century. When it did, modernist historians were inclined to assimilate those parts of nineteenth-century practice that could be configured as antecedents to modern strategies, and repudiate the rest. Dodgson's approach to the medium, especially his staged, allegorizing compositions, turned out to be for the most part resistant to Modernist appropriation, which accounts for some of what we now perceive as its strangeness. In this regard it shares a family relation with the efforts of Victorian contemporaries such as Oscar Rejlander, Lady Hawarden, Henry Peach Robinson, and Julia Margaret Cameron, all of whom are acknowledged by traditional photographic history, but with little sympathy or intelligence. The larger brief for the analysis, then, involves becoming cognizant of the Modernist habits of viewing we have learned to bring to work like this, and seize it as an opportunity to try and put ourselves back in the mental universe of its original Victorian user. Dodgson's photography might be seen as a case study in the history of reception, both articulating an individual sensibility and betokening his participation in the visual culture of his time.

Lolita's author identified the third difficulty in understanding the work. "Those ambiguous photographs in dim rooms" are ambiguous only insofar as they relate to our opinions about Dodgson's predilection for little girls. While a solid argument can be made that he never harmed his child-friends in any way—that he would in fact be mortified at the very thought—the photographs he pursued seem to loom as evidence of an unhealthy, unconscious interest he took in his young subjects. Their mere creation is seen as an act of sexual dominance and exploitation. In his habits Dodgson was undeniably an obsessive and somewhat eccentric character, but the burden falls on us to determine to what degree his photographs signify a real pathology, a Victorian cultural norm that has since shifted, or simply a blank screen upon which we project our own anxieties about the welfare of children. The Reverend Dodgson earnestly subscribed to a ideal of childhood animated by Romanticism—a child's innocence derived from its relative temporal proximity to God, he believed, which bestowed a prelapsarian freedom of sin, sexual awareness, and the stultifying effects of society. Wonder, play, and the free reign of the imagination are positive impulses central to both his storytelling and the making of his photographs. The question consequently becomes: if not a pedophile in life, was Dodgson one in his mind? How did popular belief in the author's abnormality originate in the first place? What kind of psychological evidence does his imagery represent, and what can psychoanalytic models of interpretation accomplish in relating the photographs to a long dead and otherwise unavailable analysis.

some other occupation

The year 1855 proved decisive to the career of the young Dodgson. In January he returned to his Oxford college, Christ Church, for the fourth time, and began tutoring his first students in mathematics. That June the school's new dean, Henry G. Liddell, moved his family next door, and by the fall Dodgson would discover he had been awarded the Mathematical Lectureship, a position that allowed him financial independence from home and lifetime security so long as he remained an academic. "It has been the most eventful year of my life," he writes in his diary that December:

I began it a poor bachelor student, with no definite plans or expectations; I end it a master and tutor at Christ Church, with an income of more than £300 a year, and the course of mathematical tuition marked out by God's providence for at least some years to come. (5).

In his time Dodgson's father had distinguished himself as a Christ Church scholar as well; he went on to become an Archdeacon in the Church of England, and in 1843 was given a living in the Yorkshire town of Croft, where Charles came of age. Dodgson the elder was by all reports a pious and grave cleric, who imposed high standards for the education and conduct of his brood of eleven children. He sent Charles to nearby Richmond School at age twelve, then to Rugby. Charles Senior's academic connections helped earn his oldest son a studentship at Christ Church—what we would call a fellowship—though he had already distinguished himself in Latin, Greek, English literature, divinity and especially mathematics as a teenager. (6). His arrival at college was overshadowed by the sudden death of his mother, two days into his first term. In the years that followed, Dodgson is found composing solemn essays on the themes that would mark his adult life: the deceptive nature of physical beauty, the struggle between good and evil, and the merits of following fame. (7).

After matriculating, Dodgson would occasionally take the train into London to visit his mother's brother, Skeffington Lutwidge. Though a barrister by profession, Uncle Skeffington was interested in all manner of optics and gadgetry, including photography. At home from school in the September of 1855, Dodgson joined his uncle in photographing landscapes around Croft, and was immediately inspired by the incident to write a spoof, "Photography Extraordinary," which used the concept of photographic development to satirize literary style. (8). Upon returning to Christ Church in January, Dodgson petitions his uncle "to get me some photographic apparatus, as I want some occupation here than mere reading and writing." (9). Roger Taylor has argued that Charles' friend and fellow Christ Church student Reginald Southey probably exerted an even greater influence on his decision to take up photography than did his uncle: the diaries find Dodgson admiring Southey's already-competent landscapes as early as March 1855, and a year later the two journey into London together to purchase a camera for Charles. (10). His income having just increased by a factor of six, that year he could afford to shop for an especially fine apparatus, in rosewood.

Even before the camera arrived, Dodgson and Southey were experimenting with a new subject: the Dean's children. Photography acted for Dodgson as entrée to Dr. Liddell and his young family: "Went over with Southey in the afternoon to the Deanery, to try and take a photograph," he writes on April 25. "The three little girls were in the garden most of the time, and we became excellent friends: we tried to group them in the foreground of the picture, but they were not patient sitters." (11). They eventually managed to get a good likeness of Harry Liddell against the window in Southey's rooms, and were soon back at the Deanery to show off the results and accept an invite to lunch. Dean Liddell, a noted classicist, was progressive in temperament, and an innovation like photography would interest him; his wife, provincial by birth but socially ambitious, was certainly amenable to seeing her handsome children memorialized. By mid-May of 1856, with the "long vacation" of summer about to begin, Dodgson's camera had arrived, Southey had prepared a stock of chemistry for him, and the Liddell children were on standing offer as photographic subjects. "I am now ready to begin the art," his journal declares confidently. (12).

The pattern of Dodgson's photography at its incipience shows what might well be predicted: he tackled landscapes and a few other genres, but was primarily drawn to portraits, usually of sitters close at hand. On visits to Croft he composed images of friends and relatives— some of them mildly droll, such as that of his brother Skeffington in fishing waders and cravat, taken in August of 1856, and a likeness of the family dog. (13). While he continued making family photographs throughout his career, by 1857 some other kind of vision was taking shape. A portrait of Annie Coates, daughter of Croft's grocer and poulterer William Coates, places her outside the henhouse, her boots and shirtsleeves indicating (pictorially, if not in fact) a working- class scenario (plate). A few months previously Dodgson had ventured a study of the Liddell's daughter Alice, age five, posed—as she would be again the next summer, more successfully—as a beggar-maid. (14). In August he is delighted to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Anne Weld and her daughter Agnes Grace; doubly so, because not only was Agnes "very striking and attractive, and will certainly make a beautiful photograph," but her mother turned out to be Alfred Tennyson's sister-in-law. (15). In one of the photographs made on the occasion, Agnes is presented against an ivy-covered bower, clutching a hooded cloak and toting a basket (figure 1). Dodgson exhibited the work the following January at the Photographic Society in London, under the title "Little Red Riding Hood." (16).

The initiation of such studies, which involved costumes, role-playing and greater attention to setting, signals an important departure. In 1856 the photographer began assembling his portraits into albums that were circulated in and around Oxford, to keep the most successful ones together and demonstrate his approach to potential sitters and their parents. (17). Such photography was an essentially genteel affair, conducted between Dodgson and persons in his social circle. In sending framed works for display at the Photographic Society, however, and in now applying a title to one derived from a literary source, Dodgson was testing the waters in a more public realm. Correlative to this was the idea that photography might perhaps be made gainful. After taking his Masters degree in February 1857, Charles was forced to relinquish one of his undergraduate scholarships and his job as sub-librarian, to the tune of £60 per year. Recording this loss, he notes in his diary:

Collyns, (of Drayton), tells me that there is a fund belonging to Ch. Ch. at present in Chancery, to be apportioned somehow to the encouragement of Physical sciences, and that the Chancellor would be willing to make an order on it for any college officer, provided it could be somehow brought under that category. He says it was suggested in Common Room that my cultivating photography might entitle me, as a college tutor, to claim some of it. (18)

Nothing seems to have come of the idea, but the same year sees Dodgson begin a campaign to secure portrait likenesses of Oxford worthies and visiting dignitaries. On June 15 he photographed Quentin Twiss, for example, a promising actor and Christ Church undergraduate, in both street clothes and costume. "I intend trying these at Ryman's [picture gallery], to see if I can in any way make photography pay its own expenses." (19). Over the next three years he collected hundreds of negatives of fellow dons, churchmen, and university personnel, and was delivered a windfall when the British Association for the Advancement of Science met at Oxford in 1860, bringing together in one place the best minds in Victorian England (including Thomas Huxley and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, who famously debated natural selection on the occasion). In 1860, Dodgson had printed a four-page list of photographs for sale, which included 106 portraits (individually and in groups, 45 of them Christ Church men), some architectural subjects, and studies of sculpture and natural history subjects. (20). He evidently continued this project into the 1860s, securing permissions from famous sitters to publish their portraits, sometimes vending studies of children to their happy parents. Dodgson created almost 1000 negatives between 1857 and 1862, his most active period in photography, and while the degree to which remuneration offset expenses is impossible to calculate, characterizing his first years with a camera as strictly those of an amateur clearly misconstrues something of his ambition at the time. The fact that Dodgson placed no photographs of the Liddells, Agnes Weld, or other costume studies of children on his list suggests that, by 1860, this kind of photography was moving into its own separate sphere of activity for him. It would soon predominate, courtesy the hand of

fate, but there is no telling what kind of career in photography the fixed-income academic might have negotiated were it not for that *deus ex machina* that was about to change his life.

On July 4, 1862, Dodgson annotates his diary:

Atkinson brought over to my rooms some friends of his, a Mrs. and Miss Peters, of whom I took photographs, and who afterwards looked over my albums and stayed to lunch. They then went off to the museum, and Duckworth and I made an expedition up the river to Godstow with the three Liddells: we had tea on the bank there, and did not reach Ch. Ch. again till quarter past eight, when we took them on to my rooms to see my collection of micro-photographs, and restored them to the Deanery just before nine. (22) .

The laconic notation belies the significance of the event. The day that begins and ends with photographs included a rowing trip on the Isis, with Lorina, Alice, and Edith Liddell and accompanied by his friend Robinson Duckworth, on which Dodgson was browbeaten by the girls into telling a story to pass the time—the story of Alice and her adventures underground. Each of the participants was rendered a character—Alice, the heroine, with Duckworth made the Duck, Lorina the Lory-bird, Edith the Eaglet, and the narrator himself the Dodo. (Dodgson had a stammer; when he pronounced his name it could come out "Do-Do-Dodgson.")(23).

Even Dinah, the Liddell's cat, got her part. Duckworth recalled the incident later in life:

I rowed *stroke* and he rowed *bow* in the famous Long Vacation voyage to Godstow, when the three Miss Liddells were our passengers, and the story was actually composed and spoken over my shoulder for the benefit of Alice Liddell, who was acting as "cox" of our gig. I remember turning round and saying, "Dodgson, is this an extempore romance of yours?" And he replied, "Yes, I'm inventing as we go along." I also well remember how, when we conducted the three children back to the Deanery, Alice said, as she bade us good night, "Oh, Mr. Dodgson, I wish you would write out Alice's adventures for me." He said he would try, and he afterwards told me he sat up nearly the whole night, committing to a MS. book his recollections of the drolleries with which he had enlivened the afternoon. He added illustrations of his own, and presented the volume, which used often to be seen on the drawing-room table at the Deanery. (24) .

It took Dodgson two-and-a-half years to complete the manuscript, illuminated with his drawings and closing with a pasted-in photograph of Alice, which he presented to his muse as a Christmas present in 1864. Prior to making the gift he shared the story with his friend George MacDonald, who as the author of *Phantastes* (1858) and other fairy tales, had expertise in the genre, and MacDonald in turn shared it with his wife and household full of children. They urged Dodgson to publish the story. Through his Oxford friend Thomas Combe—head of the Clarendon Press and a patron of the Pre-Raphaelites—Dodgson made arrangements to have the book brought out by Macmillan, with illustrations provided by the noted Punch caricaturist John Tenniel. Alice's manuscript, which Dodgson called "the germ" of the published work, was greatly altered and more than doubled in length: scenes like the Mad Tea Party now appeared, and the trial at the conclusion was expanded to encompass two chapters. The title too changed, from *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* to the flossier *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, as the in-jokes and familiar references of a story ad-libbed for three neighbor girls was to some degree polished into literature for popular consumption. Dodgson bore all the costs of production, and in 1865 expected he might take a loss on the whole affair; instead he had unleashed one of the most profitable children's books in history. The strong sales encouraged him, within a matter of months, to begin planning the sequel. (25). *Alice and Through the Looking Glass* won the Oxford mathematician inadvertent fame in a vocation he would hardly have deemed exalted before, and initiated a popular identification with the pseudonym on the cover that would vex him the rest of his life.

His photography, while betraying signs of his mature interests prior to 1862, came into its own in the years surrounding the Alice books. Dodgson trundled his camera and darkroom outfit with him when he traveled, but back in college he had been making the

Deanery and its gardens his unofficial headquarters. In April 1863 he decided he needed a permanent studio, probably inspired by a visit to the London atelier of Oscar Gustav Rejlander the month before. Rejlander was one of the pre-eminent photographers of the day, known for his allegorical compositions and nude studies of women and children as well as his portraits, and the genial interchange they enjoyed was celebrated with Rejlander making a portrait of Dodgson, lens in hand. Dodgson found Rejlander's work "very beautiful." (27). When he located an appropriate space to rent at Richard Badcock's upholstery shop on St. Aldates Street, he asked Rejlander to visit and give his advice about it. The month before he had compiled in his diary a list of 107 names of girls "photographed or to be photographed"; now, under the skylights of an indoor studio, he could concoct elaborate scenarios with more predictable results, and spend less time assembling and disassembling his apparatus. (28). The privacy here also facilitated more natural (that is to say, less distracted) behavior on the part of the children, and more seclusion for the posing of notables, such as Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark, who Dodgson convinced to sit for him in November of that year. (29). He still improvised most photographic settings in the field, but possession of a studio undoubtedly gave the artist a greater sense of purpose about what he was doing.

In June, 1868, Archdeacon Dodgson died after a brief illness. The 36-year-old Charles was now eldest male in the family and took responsibility for the welfare of his several maiden aunts and sisters, removing them from the rectory at Croft to a house in Guildford. By this time a senior member of his school, Dodgson moved himself the same year to new quarters in Christ Church, a suite of ten rooms on Tom Quad described as "perhaps the largest College set in Oxford." (30). Here he outfitted a darkroom, and converted the sitting room into a veritable playground for child visitors, its cupboards filled with mechanical bears, music boxes, dancing dolls, books, puzzles, and costumes that might be donned if photography was contemplated. One advantage of the new quarters lay in the rent saved by giving up the Babcock Yard studio, but it took three years before he could convince college officials to let him construct a studio on the roof of his residence.

However, the pace of Dodgson's photography was declining in these years, in direct relation to his increased publishing activities and other duties. Nearly all of the pictures created between 1872 and 1880, when he stopped photographing altogether, were made in the roof-top studio, some among his best. He also used the studio to re-number and organize his vast collection of negatives, collate his albums, and make new prints when needed. He took his collection seriously: at least eleven of these albums survive, most with a hand-written index at the beginning, and several with manuscript poetry or the sitter's autographs adjacent to the prints. (31). A compulsive archivist of his own life, Dodgson records having spent three weeks in August 1875 reviewing his photographic oeuvre:

Another week has gone exactly like the last, in photographic registering etc. and going through and destroying old letters. I have now got the alphabetical index of negatives arranged and nearly complete, written up the chronological register nearly to date, numbered, by it, all unmounted prints and mounted cartes and cabinets, and arranged them, numbered nearly all mounted in albums, and entered in the register references to them, and gone through all the 4 ¼ x 3 ¼ and 6 x 5 negatives by means of the register, erasing some, finding places for others, and making out an order for new prints to be done by Hills and Saunders.

He prepared a similar index of every letter he sent or received, with a brief summary of its contents. At the end of his life there were 98, 721 items registered. (33).

Dodgson did not quit photography in 1880 so much as digress from it. Summers—formerly the time of year when most of his photographic activity took place—were now spent without camera at the seaside resort of Eastbourne, committed wholly to writing projects. The school year was largely reserved for college business—indeed, that too became so demanding that soon Dodgson decided to resign his mathematical lectureship as well. In 1885, he wrote to his friend the artist Gertrude Thompson, "It is 3 or 4 years

now since I have photographed—I have been too busy...," referring no doubt to the fifteen or so publication projects listed in his diary earlier in the year. (34).

He satisfied occasional picture-making inclinations by taking up life drawing, which dispensed with the mess and tedium of darkroom work, though he kept the studio available and for some time continued making arrangements for sitters, as if his photography might at any time resume. The reasons given that it did not, ranging from a hypothetical reaction against the arrival of dry-plate negatives to a scandal in Oxford over his nude studies—are all more interesting than what is probably the truth: the now-celebrated author had devoted twenty-four years to his photography, a long career by contemporary standards, and achieved remarkable results. After 1880 he moved on to other things.

a tangled tale

Dodgson achieved his most memorable photographic results in the 1860s and 70s, years of intense activity dominated by the publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), *Phantasmagoria* (1869), *Through the Looking-Glass* (1871), and *The Hunting of the Snark* (1876), as well as scores of pamphlets, poems, games, and mathematical papers. It was a period of extraordinary social interaction, university politicking, and personal upheaval as well. One of the great controversies among Carroll scholars today involves the circumstances surrounding Dodgson's sudden break with the Liddell family in June of 1863, an incident that has become a source of rampant speculation on the part of later biographers and, falling chronologically as it does between the river trip and the publication of *Alice*, a catalyst to biographical conflation of the author's private life with his fictional products. Since received opinions about Carroll's purpose in photography have been so inflected by a line of thought that can be traced back to this incident, it is worth sorting what is known from what has simply been conjectured about it.

Assessment of the vicissitudes of Dodgson's actual relations with the Liddells is hampered by fact that, some time after his death, his heirs reviewed the contents of his personal journals and decided to expurgate those sections or whole volumes that they thought might put their kinsman in a bad light. The period subtended by April 1858 to May 1862 is thus completely missing, while the journals that survive have certain lines crossed out or pages removed. Dodgson's siblings were reserved in the extreme, anxious to protect their idiosyncratic brother's reputation from any posthumous scandal, and to that end they allowed a nephew, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, to write the first official Carroll biography the year of his death, which he titled *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (Rev. C. L. Dodgson). Though Collingwood had complete access to the diaries and letters in the estate, he was careful to fashion an uncomplicated version of Alice's author, one that would accord with family sentiment and public taste alike. For this reason the book is largely silent on the details of the writer's private life, stressing anecdotes and personal reminiscences instead, and devoting great attention to Carroll's fondness for children.

What Collingwood and the other Dodgson relatives read in the diary entries for June 27 to 29, 1863, we will never know for certain, as the pages were razored out and apparently destroyed. However, it is clear a situation ensued in Dodgson's relationship with the Liddells that ended contact between them for more than five months, and when the diary resumes it finds Dodgson holding himself "aloof" from them. (35).

Collingwood mentions nothing of these difficulties, but does allow "that the shadow of some disappointment lay over Lewis Carroll's life."

Such I believe to have been the case, and it was this that gave him his wonderful sympathy for all who suffered. But those who loved him would not wish to lift the veil from these dead sanctities, nor would any purpose be served by so doing (36).

The nephew refers here specifically to some love poetry Dodgson wrote, "Three Sunsets," describing a star-crossed relationship, composed in November 1861, one of the missing-diary years. (37). But he and his fellow executors were adamant about not "lifting the veil" of what was recorded in those pages. Denied access to Collingwood's sources, later biographers were forced to either repeat versions of his bland characterization or invent new ones based on the scanty data available. Florence Becker Lennon, an American writer, enhanced Collingwood's picture of Carroll as a saintly, child-like figure with a fresh assertion: in her 1945 *Victoria Through the Looking-Glass*, she suggests that not only did Dodgson avoid adult society in preference for that of children, but ten-year-old Alice Liddell, his "ideal child-friend," was in fact both muse and the object of a romantic obsession. "Carroll was actually in love with [her], and proposed honourable marriage to her," Lennon spontaneously reports. (38).

Seven years later the British author Alexander Taylor concurs:

There is no doubt in my mind that Dodgson was in some sense in love with his heroine or that the breakdown in their relationship which occurred as Alice grew up was the real disappointment of his life. (39).

Unsubstantiated though it was with any evidence, the idea, once planted, appeared as a key to unlocking the mystery to which Collingwood alludes, explaining why caretakers would remove pages from his diaries in precisely those sections leading to a break with the Liddells. The thirty-year-old Charles' supposed love for Alice, and the proposal of marriage that her protective parents would have emphatically rejected, were adopted as credible contentions by all subsequent biographers, and became part of popular lore. As recently as 1995, Morton Cohen would compound the story, offering gossip, elliptical correspondence, and the existence of other "May-September" marriages in the Victorian period as grounds for its acceptance (see Karoline Leach's *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild* for more about this aspect of Cohen's book) (40).

The legend of a romantic love for the actual Alice is just one of the traditions that has grown up around Lewis Carroll which serves to connect the personal history of the brilliant author more directly with his fictional creation.

Karoline Leach has demonstrated the tenacity of these myths and the way they have colored most modern interpretation, even in the face of logic and much contravening documentation. That Dodgson had no particularly strong feelings about Alice Liddell in the 1860s is manifest from his diaries, where she is seldom mentioned, and even then in often unflattering ways. (41).

While it is true that she did prompt him to write down his recitation from the boating trip, the character of Alice in the book is just that, an invention of Dodgson's imagination, with only a generic resemblance to her namesake. (Indeed, the "Alice" we picture from Tenniel's illustrations is based on another girl Dodgson brought to him as a model, Mary Badcock, not Liddell.) This became part of a larger myth—quite the opposite of reality—that found Dodgson morbidly shy of adult company, and only comfortable around little girls. The historiographic phenomenon that Leach describes, one that limits Carroll's amorous inclinations to female children in general and Alice in particular, has informed unspoken assumptions about every other aspect of his life, the irony being that the mythology that has made Carroll so suspect to modern eyes was originally crafted to protect him.

When Dodgson's family assigned Collingwood to write his biography in 1898, "Lewis Carroll" was already a famous name, but Charles Dodgson was a source of certain embarrassment for his highly decorous family. The conditions of his appointment at Christ Church not only prohibited him from marrying, but by Oxford regulation he was expected to move through ordination from deacon to the priesthood.

An imposed bachelor status did not inhibit Dodgson from cultivating a great number of friendships, however: with children, both boys and girls, with men, and with grown women. As a young professor setting out on an academic career, he could still

contemplate the possibility that he might one day leave the university to marry, but once settled in his course he made the best of the situation by operating at the outer limits of Victorian convention.

Rumors circulated around Oxford of Dodgson's trips to the seaside with young ladies, of his staying the night in the homes of widows or married women whose husbands were away, and several of his "child-friends" grew into teen-agers and then women with whom he maintained regular contact. His rather normal male weakness for the company of winsome young (and not-so-young) women might have been tolerable to his relations had children's books not made Carroll an object of great public interest. In response, the protective Collingwood, on behalf of the family and in the spirit of the age, fabricated in his pages a guileless "Carroll" designed to quell interest in the more problematic Rev. Dodgson. (44).

Collingwood accomplished this in a characteristically Victorian way. It was understood at the time that a girl was not a sexual creature until she had passed through puberty; after reaching fourteen she was liable to attract sexual attention, but before that divide such an idea was unthinkable among the polite classes. A bachelor who consorted with girls fourteen and older, as Dodgson did, was likely to be suspected of impropriety, but to say that a man confined his affiliations to the society of children was, in contemporary parlance, to declare him utterly safe. (45).

This is precisely what Collingwood attempted to do. His book is dedicated "to the child-friends of Lewis Carroll," and concludes with two chapters that expand on the topic. Here he asserts that "from very early college days began to emerge that beautiful side of Lewis Carroll's character which afterwards was to be, next to his fame as an author, the one for which he was best known—his attitude towards children, and the strong attraction they had for him." (46). When a girl reached the age of consent, the biography insisted, Carroll would refrain from continued contact. (47).

His supposed aversion for boys was also mentioned in passing. Collingwood's focused attention on his uncle's fondness for girl children, while not in itself untrue, was a deliberate diversion from an uncomfortable reality, such that the figure who emerges from his book is virtuous, devout, retiring, modest, asexual, charmingly eccentric, and completely unthreatening.

At the time of Dodgson's death, many of his former child-friends came forward and willingly acceded to this image of the man. The complications only began in the 1930s, at the end of two decades that saw Freud's complete works translated into English and introduced to the cocktail set. The generation of moderns, born at the end of the Victorian period, now had in Freud an effective means of discrediting it, as their own newly sophisticated understanding of sexuality could be contrasted with what became stereotyped as Victorian "repression." In 1933, a clever student named Anthony Goldschmidt submitted a four-page article to the *New Oxford Outlook* titled *Alice in Wonderland Psycho-Analysed*. The appearance of Goldschmidt's essay represents a decisive moment in the history of the subject, for it marks the birth of Lewis Carroll as a sexual deviant (see Leach's The Freudians & the Apologists/ Goldschmidt')

Goldschmidt argues that, because *Alice occurred* to Carroll on his river trip unprompted, as simply "the first thing that came into his head," the original story motifs more closely approximate the free-associations of Freudian analysis than they do willful creations of the author's conscious mind. The narrative takes the form of a dream, he points out, and its incidents and images seem not only subconscious in nature, but erotic. Its imagery is sexual: Alice runs into a rabbit hole and falls down what appears to her a very deep well. "Here we have what is perhaps the best known symbol of coitus." Next she pursues the White Rabbit through a series of passageways: "the pursuit in dreams of something we are unable to catch [may be seen] as representing an attempt to make up a disparity in age." Confronted with a number of locked doors, the dreamer (the narrator, here identified with protagonist Alice) discovers that the tiny golden key in hand is useless on all but a small one hidden behind a low curtain.

Here we find the common symbolism of lock and key representing coitus; the doors of normal size represent adult women. These are disregarded by the dreamer and the interest is centered on the little door, which symbolizes a female child; the curtain before it represents the child's clothes. (48).

Alice grows and shrinks, suggesting phallic significance; the sneezing baby implies an auto-erotic event. Of Carroll, then, the account concludes that "it is difficult to hold his interest in children was inspired by a love of childhood in general, and in any case based on a mental rather than a physical attraction, in view of two facts: that he detested little boys, ...and that his friendships almost invariably ended with the close of childhood." (49). Not knowing these "facts" were mostly biographical inventions, Goldschmidt could only surmise that Carroll's text indicated "the presence, in the subconscious, of an abnormal emotion of considerable strength." (50).

Alice in Wonderland' Psycho-Analyzed was but the first in a string of studies that began discovering subconscious Freudian symbolism everywhere in Carroll. Soon William Empson would decide the Alice stories represented a battle between carnality and intellect; the Red Queen personifies "uncontrolled animal passions," while the Cheshire Cat, with his disappearing body and floating head, symbolizes Dodgson's ideal of emotional detachment from the world of sexualized beings. Wonderland is here an allegory of reproductive development: the salt water in the pool of tears puts Alice back in the womb, as she first signifies the father getting down the hole, a fetus at the bottom, and then a child "only born by becoming a mother and producing"—by crying—"her own amniotic fluid." (51).

Several authors, beginning with Langford Reed, saw in Dodgson's discomfort with "Carroll" evidence of a split personality. (52).

Phyllis Greenacre, a professor of clinical psychiatry in New York, wrote the most extended of these analyses in 1955, in which she discovered the "psychic structure" of the author's works in various incidents of his childhood. For her, the ill treatment of babies in the Alice books (where they are tied in knots, or turned into pigs) stems from the jealousy he felt towards the succession of newborns that came along to displace parental attention in his youth. As an adult, seeing the Liddell girls playing in the Deanery garden triggered feelings of regression, she felt, as he identified them with his companionate sisters and the idyllic garden memories of home. Dodgson's letters to children playfully suggesting, for instance, that he flattened cats into pancakes get connected to aggression towards boys; the development of his mathematical ability turns out to be a "neurotic compulsive defense" against fears of an overly imaginative nature. (53). And perhaps inevitably, his "intense, unconsummated love" for little Alice Liddell indicates "reversal of the unresolved oedipal attachment" caused by the early death of his mother: the impossible age difference between him and these two females locked Dodgson in arrested development, "a man who seemed never to love another woman, but to live as a child, still in the magic garden, devoted only to little girls not yet across the mystic bar of puberty." (54). What all of these studies has in common is an attempt to synthesize information culled from Dodgson's life history with expressive elements from his writing. Psychological abnormality was a given. In retrospect, we realize this was theory built on theory—an intellectual house of cards, as Freudian concepts were applied to legends, conjecture, and half-truths. (55). At its center lies Dodgson's fixation on little girls, now firmly established.

a ride on a lion

Carroll's photographs entered history at the same moment he did. Stuart Collingwood included not only a number of ink sketches and other visual artifacts in his 1898 biography, but also twenty-nine of his uncle's camera studies. Not surprisingly, their appearance does little more than lend concrete factuality to the life story being narrated; eighteen depict famous adults, such as Tennyson and Ruskin, two are landscapes from the family homes in Yorkshire, three show notables posed beside their children, and of

the six portraying girls, four feature Alice. The following year Collingwood edited a small miscellany, *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, employing the same approach—a portrait of Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster, and Mary Millais, daughter of the Pre-Raphaelite painter, were now added. Thus the institution of valuing Dodgson's photography as essentially documentation of his social world finds its source in the agenda of the family-sanctioned memoir; Collingwood had his uncle's entire estate at hand—some thirty-four albums and an untold number of loose prints—and chose to stress the eminent Victorians. Carroll as an expressive photographer is first encountered in 1915, in the twilight of the Photo-Secession movement.

In January of that year, Alvin Langdon Coburn opened "An Exhibition of the Old Masters of Photography" at the Albright Art Gallery in Buffalo, New York, presenting early calotype portraits by Hill and Adamson and Dr. Thomas Keith, twenty works by Julia Margaret Cameron, and ten by Carroll. At a time when nothing equivalent to what we would call the history of photography had yet come into existence, this early effort to construct a nineteenth-century canon of "masters" was clearly predicated on the politics of the contemporary art world, which still rejected the idea that photography might be seen as a legitimate creative medium comparable to painting. "How consoling it is to think," writes Clarence White of the selection, "that the progress of photography is left, not in the hands of calculating professionals, but in those of the amateur whose sincerity of approach has made photography become indeed a medium of personal expression. This is why we are glad to see these 'Old Masters' and this is why we thank those who allowed us such an opportunity." (56). If Collingwood appropriates the photographs for testimonial reasons, Coburn does so to find prototypes constructing a lineage for art photography that is predicated on qualities of directness, esthetic purity, and what he viewed as independence from any taint of commercialism. Carroll is selected from scores of possible nineteenth-century practitioners because his reputation in another field guarantees his photography to be the high-minded, disinterested avocation of a gentleman who moved in artistic circles.

Already the cultural distance from the 1860s can be felt in these offerings. Although the year 1932 brought a spate of exhibitions and articles commemorating the centenary of Dodgson's birth, his imagery per se did not become a matter of scholarly inquiry until 1949, when Helmut Gernsheim, a historian of photography, published the first full-length monograph of his work, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer*. Gernsheim had studied art history in his native Munich before immigrating to England in 1937. A trained practitioner, he served as photographer at London's Warburg Institute during the war, married an Englishwoman, Alison Eames, and in the mid-forties met the American photo-historian Beaumont Newhall, who encouraged his collecting and research. Gernsheim's monograph ushered in our modern understanding of Carroll's photography; by isolating it for discussion, he underscored the extent of Dodgson's commitment to picture-making but also clearly struggled to appreciate, from a mid-twentieth-century perspective, what the pictures meant. His intellectual engagement with Carroll was unpremeditated:

It is a remarkable coincidence that while collecting material for my biography of Julia Margaret Cameron my attention was drawn to an album of another great mid-Victorian amateur photographer—Lewis Carroll. Turning its pages, I was struck first by the fertility of his imagination; later I became aware that each picture possessed a strong individual character, and the more I studied the 115 photographs it contains, the more I was convinced that here was a genius at work, the like of which is rare in nineteenth-century photography....Curiosity led to eager research, for quite frankly until then Lewis Carroll, photographer, had been a stranger to me. (57).

Gernsheim's study of Cameron had come out the year before, in 1948, so it might be justifiably argued that his conceptions of Carroll and Cameron developed in tandem. He reveals he gravitated to Cameron because she appeared to belong to "that select group of English eccentrics who always fascinated me," and his study was based on that perception, Gernsheim recognizing something of himself in her "very picturesque and eccentric personality," "a woman caring little for the conventions of her period, living her life according to her own will." (58). Carroll thus emerges as Cameron's foil: both were amateurs, practicing their art in the same patrician circles, and both were eccentric,

willing to importune even the most exalted luminary for the sake of photography, but whereas Cameron was outgoing, self-assured, and utterly individualistic in her approach, Carroll appeared the reverse. "Mrs. Cameron was urged on by great ambition," he concludes, "and her work is the expression of an ardent temperament. Lewis Carroll had no ambition; his art springs from delight in the beautiful; he is feminine and light-hearted in his approach to photography, whereas she is masculine and intellectual." (59). Carroll thus provides an effective counterpoint to Cameron's greatness, demonstrating how the same socio-economic circumstances might produce diverse levels of achievement. Cameron penetrated her sitter's countenance to reveal his or her inner character; Carroll sought only "attractive design," and therefore realized, at his worst, "facile characterization," at his best, "charm, grace and naturalness" (60).

Gernsheim saw Carroll's photography as falling into "two clearly defined categories—distinguished people, and children." Given what he had read of Dodgson's purported reticence in the literature, he had no problem apprehending why the pictures of adults seemed stiff and esthetically inferior. However, "the shy, pedantic mathematical lecturer completely unbent in the company of little girls, whom he never tired of entertaining." Thus Gernsheim's selection of pictures for inclusion as illustrations in the book was predicated upon a determined editorial stance: he inverts Collingwood's ratio, reproducing twice as many studies of children as adults. The qualitative reasons for the decision are stated plainly: "In considering his portrait work as a whole, the photographs of children are of infinitely greater artistic value than the portraits of the famous, and we feel sure that the enchanting portrait of Beatrice Henley...meant more to Lewis Carroll than the dull portrait of the Crown Prince of Denmark." (61). "Beautiful little girls had a strange fascination for Lewis Carroll," Gernsheim adds to the chorus, insisting it was an enchantment that ceased "when the girls put up their hair." (62).

Gernsheim's study became a breeding ground for future misinterpretation. His method in treating both Cameron and Carroll—a method that supported claims for their identification as true artists—was to read the work as a direct reflection of their unique personalities (63). Emphasizing their complete detachment from the realm of professional photography made clear their pictures served no other master than their temperaments. Gernsheim's estimation of Carroll's personality was based on then-available biographies, most recently Florence Becker Lennon's volume chronicling a love life revolving only around little girls and the marriage proposal to Alice, and he refers not only to Langford Reed's "valuable psycho-analytic study" of Carroll's split personality but also to Collingwood's "shadow of disappointment" allusion (64). The historian corresponded with Lennon on the subject, and through her was put in contact with the estate (65). On Gernsheim's behalf, Dodgson's nieces had gone through the unpublished diaries, providing him a redaction of those (and only those) entries specifically mentioning photography. He reproduces a selection of these in the book, a biographical gloss to Carroll's "hobby" that in a way turned the tables on the biographers. Yet the photographs still resided emphatically to the writer's psyche, not his culture.

Carroll's photography—or at least Gernsheim's vision of it—now belonged to photographic history. The monograph's essay need not have belaboured a fixation on little girls: the portfolio of photographs provided sufficient fuel for the fire, revealing, even in its relatively cautious edit, an aspect of Carroll's life that seemed to confirm biographers' speculations (66). When Phyllis Greenacre wanted an example to illustrate her psychoanalytic investigation of 1955, she borrowed from Gernsheim one of the most sensuous (plate 42), and then revamped Gernsheim's excursus on Carroll's nude photographs (then known about only through mention in the diaries), linking them to his penchant for kissing and other troubling behavior (67). In 1950, the Museum of Modern Art in New York opened an exhibition devoted to Carroll's photographs, including fifty nine images and five original albums supplied by Gernsheim and four albums from Princeton University. Again, portraits of children—girls—predominate, and the museum's press release quotes Gernsheim twice on the matter of possible nude subjects (68). Edward Steichen, then director of the photography department at the Modern, echoes the Gernsheim view in his wall text for the show: "The bouquet of lovely photographs of children in this collection enriches our appreciation of the unique quality of Lewis Carroll's finely sensitized understanding of children. The author of 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland' appears in this exhibition as an amateur photographer from back in the

days when photography was in its infancy." (69) Gernsheim's book, which served as the catalogue for the show, quickly went into a second edition and was revised and reissued in 1969. This is where an observer like Nabokov would have found the dusty charades that, for him, unmasked Carroll's pathology, and where, for half a century, scholarship on his art remained fixed.

NOTES & SOURCES

(1)At the beginning of *Lolita*, Humbert, impotent to act upon his longing, finds writing a compensatory outlet; "I have only words to play with," he laments. (p. 32) "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty declares in *Through the Looking-Glass*, "it means just what I choose it to mean-neither more nor less." Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass and what Alice found there* (1872) in *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll*.(London: Nonesuch Press, 1989) 196.

(2) Interview with Alfred Appel, Jr., September 1966, published in *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature*, volume VIII, number 2, Spring 1967. Nabokov is evidently referring to Carroll's portrait of Alice Liddell as a beggar maid, plate 21.

(3) The name itself is a word-game. Dodgson rendered his first and middle names, "Charles Lutwidge," in Latin to get "Carolus Ludovicus," then transposed them and translated the result back into English to get Lewis Carroll.

(4) Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll*(Rev. C.L. Dodgson). (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898) p. 272-3; Morton N. Cohen, *Lewis Carroll, A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 191. In 1890 he went so far as to have a circular printed, wherein he denied being connected with any book not published under his own name, and sent this in response to correspondence addressed to "Lewis Carroll."

(5)Diary for 1855 (the last three months of which are lost), quoted in Collingwood, 64-65.

(6)See Cohen, 3-27.

(7)Ibid, 38-41.

(8)"Photography Extraordinary" was published in the 3 November 1855 issue of *The Comic Times*, a humor magazine that competed briefly with *Punch*.

(9)The request is noted in Dodgson's diary, 22 January 1856. See Edward Wakeling, ed. *Lewis Carroll's Diaries: the Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson*. (Volume 2- January to December 1856.) (Luton: Lewis Carroll Society, 1994) 26.

(10)See Roger Taylor, 'All in a Golden Afternoon': The Photographs of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson" in Roger Taylor and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll Photographer: The Princeton University Library Albums*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press/Princeton University Library, 2002, 15-16

(11)Wakeling, *Diaries*, vol. 2, 25 April, 1856, 65.

(12)Ibid, vol. 2, 13 May, 1856, 70. Before leaving for vacation, Dodgson dined with Liddells (17 May), had Harry and Lorina-the oldest of the children-help put away library books (19 May), photographed the children at the Deanery on his own (3 June), took Harry and Lorina on a boating expedition (5 June), and made his farewells before departing (7 June). See 70-79.

(13)See Morton N. Cohen, *Reflections in a Looking Glass: A Centennial Celebration of Lewis Carroll, Photographer*. (New York: Aperture Inc., 1998), 35 and 39.

(14) The photograph, along with forty-seven others by Dodgson, was preserved in an album retained by the Liddell family and now on deposit at Christ Church. For an illustration, dated 2 June 1857, see *Lewis Carroll's Alice: the Photographs, Books, Papers, and Personal Effects of Alice Liddell and her Family*. London: Sotheby's, 2 June 2001, 71.

(15) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 3, 18 August 1857, 88.

(16) *Photographic Society-Exhibition of Photographs and Daguerreotypes at the South Kensington Museum*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1858, . 8. Under the name C. L. Dodgson, a frame with four photographs is listed, to wit: 1. Portrait 2. Group of Children from Life 3. Little Red Riding-Hood 4. Portrait of a Child.

(17) Taylor notes that this was a ploy Dodgson had observed Southey turn to account. The diaries indicate that Harry and Lorina were invited up to see "my book of photographs" on October 22, 1856, and that the next month the same was sent over to the mother of the Acland children, who were prospects discovered through the Liddells. (pp. 108, 118) February found the album with Dr. Frederick Barnes (volume 3, p. 27), and in March at the Norrises (p. 39).

(18) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 3, February 5, 1857. p. 21.

(19) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 3, June 15, 1857. p. 69.

(20) The printed brochure is titled "Photographs"; an example is retained in the Morris L. Parrish Collection at Princeton University Library. See Helmut Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer*. (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1949) 46-7. My thanks to Alexander Wainwright for providing me a copy of this document.

(21) A letter from the poet Henry Taylor to Dodgson, dated October 31, 1862, suggests as much:

"We are exceedingly obliged to you for all the trouble you have taken. Four of the specimens were dispatched this morning to the West Indies, viz. myself (large head), Eleanor, Harry, and Harry & Una, and we should be indebted to you if you would procure us six copies of these (Eleanor excepted) at the prices you mention. They are those I think which are the most liked. My own liking is for the Harry and the Harry & Una. Pray do as you like about distribution."

Cited in Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, p. 140.

(22) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, July 4, 1862. p. 94-5.

(23) See Martin Gardner, ed. *The Annotated Alice: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass by Lewis Carroll*. (New York: Meridian, 1960). n. 7, p. 44. When a facsimile edition of the original manuscript was published in 1886, Gardner notes, Dodgson forwarded a copy to Duckworth, inscribed "The Duck from the Dodo."

(24) Letter from Canon Duckworth, in Stuart D. Collingwood, ed. *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899, 261. Dodgson did not actually begin the task of preparing the manuscript until the following November.

(25) Cohen, *Lewis Carroll*, pp. 126-33.

(26) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, March 28, 1863. p. 183. Dodgson owned several examples of Rejlander's work, preserved in the Professional and Other Photographs album at the University of Texas, Austin.

(27) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, April 22, 1863. p. 194.

(28) Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, March 25, 1863. pp. 177-81. Wakeling notes that by this date at least half of the subjects on the list had already been photographed.

(29) On the Babcock Yard studio, see Taylor, "All in a Golden Afternoon," 75-77.

(30)Cohen, *Lewis Carroll*, 233-4.

(31) Thirty-four photographic albums are recorded in Dodgson's estate, though some of these would have held the work of other photographers. See Edward Wakeling, "The Numbering of C. L. Dodgson's Photographs: An introduction to the Princeton Albums," in Taylor and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer*, 123.

(32)Unpublished diary entry for August 7-8, 1875, quoted by Wakeling, in Catalogue, 126.

(33)Morton N. Cohen, ed. *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), xvi.

(34)See letter to E. Gertrude Thomson, July 16, 1885, in Cohen, *Letters*, p. 592, and Gernsheim, p. 79.

(35)Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4 December 5, 1863. p. 264.

(36)Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, p. 355.

(37)*Complete Works*, pp. 849-52.

(38)Florence Becker Lennon, *Victoria Through the Looking-Glass*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945. p. 192. For a more complete discussion, see Karoline Leach. *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild: A New Understanding of Lewis Carroll*. London: Peter Owen, 1999, 38-41.

(39) Alexander L. Taylor, *The White Knight*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1952. p. v., as cited by Leach, *In the Shadow*, 42.

(40)Cohen, *Lewis Carroll*, 100-104. "Add to the cloud that settled on Charles at his father's death Alice's rejection of him and her marriage to [Reginald] Hargreaves, and we see ample reasons for the guilt and disappointment that belie the happy man he sometimes claimed to be" (p. 342) Addressing the excised pages from 1863, Wakeling reports that in 1996 a paper was uncovered in the Dodgson Family Archive, written by one of the nieces, that gives a brief extract of the contents of the missing sections of the diary. It suggests a different reason altogether for the break:

"L.C. learns from Mrs. Liddell that he is supposed to be using the children as a means of paying court to the governess. He is also supposed by some to be courting Ina."

The discovery of the paper is covered in more depth in *In the Shadow of the Deamchild* . Rumors of Dodgson's interest in the Liddell's governess, Miss Prickett, had been circulating around Oxford since 1857. Ina (Lorina) Liddell was thirteen at the time. Though neither suggestion was likely true, the sensitive Dodgson and the socially-conscious Liddells would probably have agreed a period of separation would be the best remedy to the gossip. See Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, pp. 214-5. As Leach-the discoverer of the document-points out, the missing passage had nothing to do with Alice, let alone a marriage proposal, and once the rumors blew over Dodgson resumed his normal relations with the family (170-2).

(41)For example, when Dodgson visits the Deanery on 21 April, 1863, to check on Alice, laid-up with a strained leg, he finds her "in an unusually imperious and ungentle mood by no means improved by being an invalid." (Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 4, p. 193) This line was one of those the Dodgson nieces tried to obliterate, suggesting just how sensitive to preserving a wholesome and uncomplicated "Carroll" legend they were. On May 11, 1865, Dodgson writes (rather dispassionately) :

"Met Alice and Miss Prickett in the quadrangle. Alice seems changed a good deal, and hardly for the better, probably going through the usual awkward stage of transition."

At the time, she had just turned twelve. Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 5 May 11, 1865, p. 74. Most other mentions of Alice find her in the context of a family group.

(42) Like every holder of his position, Dodgson was expected by university bylaws to take holy orders within four years of receiving his MA or renounce his Studentship and income. In his case, this should have transpired no later than 1861. Why he remained in his position despite never proceeding to full orders has remained a mystery, as the circumstances leading up to this non-event fall precisely in the blackout years of the missing diaries. That the priesthood was Dodgson's intention (and his father's ambition for him) seems probable, but whether it was his love of the theater, his acute sense of the absolute faith required to take final vows in good conscience, a more general question about the clergy as a calling, or some crisis in his personal life that interfered, at the last moment he took deacon's vows and did not advance further. For reasons that are undocumented, Dean Liddell waived the requirement of Dodgson's ordination and allowed him to remain at Christ Church as a "lay" Student. The mystery is compounded by a change in self-regard Dodgson evidently underwent around the time. From 1862 and 1866, the extant diaries become filled with frequent supplications for divine forgiveness and a profound sense of sinfulness, of a character unlike that of the earlier volumes. Lack of substantive evidence indicating what would have induced this intensified sense of unworthiness continues to license speculation about the exact events in Dodgson's life that would have prevented ordination (if that was his plan) and left him feeling spiritually threatened.

(43) See entry for July 31, 1857, in Wakeling, *Diaries*, volume 3, p. 85-86.

(44) Leach, *In the Shadow*, 19-24.

(45) *Ibid*, 23.

(46) Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, 360.

(47) *Ibid*, 367. Dodgson's own view of what constituted a "child-friend" became more elastic with the years. "My views about children are changing," he writes to his publisher, Macmillan, in 1877, "and I now put the nicest age at about 17!" To the mother of some new acquaintances, he writes "Twenty and thirty years ago, 'ten' was about my ideal age for such friends; now 'twenty' or 'twenty-five' is nearer the mark. Some of my dearest child-friends are 30 or more; and I think an old man of 62 has the right to regard them as being 'child-friends' still." Quoted in Cohen, *Lewis Carroll*, 462.

(48) A. M. E. Goldschmidt, "'Alice in Wonderland' Psycho-Analyzed," *The New Oxford Outlook*, volume 1, number 1; May 1933. p. 70. It has since been suggested that Goldschmidt's article was published to spoof Freudian concepts - an undergraduate hoax - but even if that were the case, its premise was apparently taken seriously enough to encourage further, serious elaborations.

(49) *Ibid*.

(50) *Ibid*.

(51) William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1935. p. 273.

(52) Langford Reed. *The Life of Lewis Carroll*. London: W. and G. Foyle, 1932.

(53) Phyllis Greenacre, M. D. *Swift and Carroll: A Psychoanalytic Study of Two Lives*. New York: International Universities Press, 1955. pp. 138, 141, 154, 179.

(54) *Ibid*. 134.

(55) Leach, *In the Shadow*, 37.

(56) Clarence H. White, "Old Masters in Photography." *Platinum Print*. Volume 1, number 7. February 1915. p. 4. White reproduces here Coburn's essay on the subject from the

Century Magazine, (volume XC, 1915). The exhibition was also seen at the Ehrich Galleries in New York.

(57) Helmut Gernsheim. Preface to *Lewis Carroll*, v.

(58) Helmut Gernsheim. *Julia Margaret Cameron: Her Life and Photographic Work*. London: Fountain Press, 1948.

(59) Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer*. p. 29.

(60) Ibid 29-30. Lindsay Smith's reading of Gernsheim's texts concludes that they mean the opposite of what they say: that he prefers Carroll's feminine "no-ambition" to the threat of Cameron's masculine "great ambition" in photography. See Lindsay Smith. *The Politics of Focus: Women, Children and Nineteenth - Century Photography*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998. pp. 24-27

(61) Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer*, 16.

(62) Ibid, 18.

(63) This extended to their craft as well: "The same inherent contrast in their personalities is evident in their technique: Mrs. Cameron was slapdash, Lewis Carroll neat." Gernsheim, p. 30.

(64) Ibid, vi.

(65) Gernsheim details his circuitous research in his introduction to *Lewis Carroll, Victorian Photographer*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980. pp. 7-11.

(66) Gernsheim later wrote: "The publication of my book *Lewis Carroll Photographer* in 1949 caused quite a sensation in literary and artistic circles. I had succeeded in uncovering new aspects of Lewis Carroll's life and character which had not been suspected. I had been able to prove that photography had been Lewis Carroll's main interest in life, but it was obvious to many critics that some of the photographs of pretty little girls could only be interpreted as expressions of repressed desire. The eccentricities of the dry Oxford don of mathematics who preferred the company of little girls to any high-brow conversation were now seen in a new light." Gernsheim, Introduction to *Victorian Photographer*.

(67) Greenacre, *Swift and Carroll*, 144-6.

(68) "Photographs by Lewis Carroll, Author of 'Alice,' to go on view," The Museum of Modern Art, September 1950. The exhibition ran from September 27 to November 19, 1950.

(69) Edward Steichen, wall text for exhibition "Photographs by Lewis Carroll (Rev. Charles L. Dodgson, 1832-1898) Author of 'Alice'". Courtesy Photography Department, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

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