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Who Were The Inklings?

Abstract

Traces the Inklings from their earliest meetings to the waning of the group, examining their interactions and impressions of each other.

Additional Keywords

Inklings—History—1939–1945



WHO WERE THE INKLINGS ?

by Joe R. Christopher

On the eleventh of November, 1939, C. S. Lewis wrote to his brother:

On Thursday we had a meeting of the Inklings--you and Coghill both absent unfortunately. We dined at the East-gate. I have never in my life seen Dyson so exuberant--'A roaring cataract of nonsense'. The bill of fare afterwards, consisted of a section of the new Hobbit from Tolkien, a nativity play from Ch. Williams (unusually intelligible for him, and approved by all), and a chapter out of the book on the Problem of Pain from me. . . . I wished very much that we cd. have had you with us. . . .¹

Four months later, on the third of February, 1940, he wrote his brother again:

We had the usual pleasant party on Thursday evening in College, with the welcome addition of Havard (our doctor) who has been hidden all along but has hitherto been prevented from attending for various reasons. He read us a short paper on his clinical experience of the effects of pain, wh. he had written in order that I might use all or part of it as an appendix to my book. We had an evening almost equally compounded of merriment, piety, and literature. Rum this time again. The Inklings is now really very well provided, with Adam Fox as chaplin, you as army, Barfield as lawyer, Havard as doctor--almost all the estates--except of course anyone who could actually produce a single necessity of life--a loaf, a boot, or a hut. . . .²

Exactly one month later he mentioned the group to his brother again:

A visit from Dyson on Thursday produced a meeting of all the Inklings except yourself and Barfield. Adam Fox read us his latest 'Paradise' on Blenheim park in winter. The only line I can quote (wh. seems to me very good) is 'Beeches have figures: oaks anatomies'. It was in the Troilus stanza and full of his own 'cool, mellow flavour' as the tobaccoists say. Dyson. . . was in his usual form and on being told of Williams' Milton lectures on 'the sage

and serious doctrine of virginity', replied, 'The fellow's becoming a common chastitute'. . . .³

After Dunkirk and his brother's return to England, Lewis writes to another friend, a Roman Catholic monk, Dom Bede Griffiths, on the twenty-first of December, 1941:

Williams, Dyson of Reading and my brother (Anglicans) and Tolkien and Havard (our doctor), your Church, are the 'Inklings' to whom my Problem of Pain was dedicated. We meet on Friday evenings in my rooms; theoretically to talk about literature, but in fact nearly always to talk about something better. What I owe to them all is incalculable. Dyson and Tolkien were the immediate human causes of my conversion. Is any pleasure on earth as great as a circle of Christian friends by a good fire?⁴

Thus far I have been setting the stage: the Inklings were a group of men meeting at Oxford University during the years of the Second World War and after. Now for Act I, the establishment of the Inklings. The immediate cause seems to have been the friendship of C. S. Lewis and Charles Williams. Lewis writes:

Until 1939 that friendship had to subsist on occasional meetings, though, even thus, he had already become as dear to all my Oxford friends as he was to me. There were many meetings both in my room at Magdalen /College/ and in Williams' tiny office at Amen House /in London/. Neither Mr. Dyson nor my brother, Major W. H. Lewis, will forget a certain immortal lunch at Shirreff's in 1938(Williams gave me a copy of He Came Down From Heaven and we ate kidneys 'enclosed', like the wicked man, 'in their own fat') nor the almost Platonic discussion which followed for about two hours in St. Paul's churchyard. But in 1939 the Oxford University Press, and Williams with it, was evacuated to Oxford. From that time until his death we met one another about twice a week, sometimes more: nearly always on Thursday evenings in my rooms and on Tuesday morning in the best of all public-houses for draught

at least, in the members of the Inklings.

This note of non-egotism is fitting for the mention here of a few names of Inklings about whom I have not been able to learn much. Charles Moorman, in his most recent book, lists Colin Hardy as one of the Inklings.¹³ I have not found a reference to any such person in any standard reference, so I can only leave his name for others to document.

Another member, Charles L. Wrenn, was a sometimes attendee, but the reason for absences is obvious to anyone checking his career.¹⁴ He was a lecturer in the English language at Oxford from 1930 to 1939, but in that same year as the establishment of the Inklings he became a professor of English language and literature at the University of London. Perhaps his attendance picked up when he returned to Oxford in 1946. At any rate his publications, most of them dealing with Beowulf or other Old English matters, indicated an affinity with J. R. R. Tolkien's professional interests. Lewis refers to a meeting with Wrenn in his letters, just before the Inklings became established by name:

I had a pleasant evening on Thursday with Williams, Tolkien and Wrenn, during which Wrenn expressed almost seriously a strong wish to burn Williams, or at least maintained that conversation with Williams enable him to understand how inquisitors had felt it right to burn people. . . . The occasion was a discussion of the most distressing text in the Bible ('Narrow is the way, and few they be that find it'), and whether one could really believe in a universe where the majority were damned and also in the goodness of God. Wrenn, of course, took the view that it mattered precisely nothing whether it conformed to our ideas of goodness or not, and it was at this stage that the combustible possibilities of Williams revealed themselves to him in an attractive light.¹⁵

Another Inklings who moved away to London, although not so soon, was Adam Fox, a priest in the Church of England, who left in 1942 or '43.¹⁶ I have already quoted Lewis's letter which mentions one of Fox's poems with the line "Beeches have figures: oak anatomies." Checking a bibliography of Fox's writings I find some early books which look like titles of poetry collections, but since the Second World War he has written such non-poetic works as Meet the Greek Testament (1952) and two volumes on Plato. Perhaps the most interesting title is that in 1957: God Is an Artist. One day I hope to investigate that, to see if it has any similarities with The Mind of the Maker, by Dorothy Sayers, a follower of Charles Williams who seems to suggest that God is a writer of detective stories. By the way, the reason Adam Fox is named Adam is that he has a twin sister named Eve--no wonder the Inklings found him writing "Paradisals" about parks.

Owen Barfield also belongs, with a difference, in this group of London Inklings.¹⁷ The difference is that Barfield was in London all the time the Inklings were meeting, being a partner in Barfield and Barfield (solicitors) from 1934 until his retirement in 1960. But he was a close friend of Lewis and got to Oxford for occasional weekends. Lewis writes of him:

There is a sense in which . . . Barfield is the type of every man's . . . Second Friend. The first is the alter ego, man who first reveals to you that you are not alone in the world by turning out (beyond hope) to share all your most secret delights. There is nothing to be overcome in making him your friend; he and you join like rain-drops on a window. But the Second Friend is

the man who disagrees with you about everything. He is not so much the alter ego as the anti-self. Of course he shares your interests; otherwise he would not become your friend at all. But he has approached them all at a different angle. He has read all the right books but has got the wrong thing out of every one. It is as if he spoke your language but mispronounced it. How can he be so nearly right and yet, invariably, just not right? He is as fascinating (and infuriating) as a woman. When you set out to correct his heresies, you find that he forsooth has decided to correct yours! And then you go at it, hammer and tongs, far into the night, night after night, or walking through fine country that neither gives a glance to, each learning the weight of the other's punches, and often more like mutually respectful enemies than friends.¹⁸

One mark of Barfield's anti-Lewisness is that he is an Anthroposophist, a follower of Rudolf Steiner in what Lewis characterizes as a dull, Germanic mysticism.¹⁹ Do you remember the beginning of the third chapter of Lewis's science-fiction novel Perelandra, which describes a group discussion, perhaps of the Inklings?:

On one occasion, someone had been talking about "seeing life" in the popular sense of knocking about in the world and getting to know people, and B. who was present (and who is an Anthroposophist) said something I can't quite remember about "seeing life" in a very different sense. I think he was referring to some system of meditation which claimed to make "the form of Life itself" visible to the inner eye.²⁰

Whatever "the form of Life" may be, the form of Barfield's writings is twofold: the early works--History in English Words in 1926 and Poetic Diction in 1929--were attempts to trace the mental history of mankind through language, while more recently he has embarked on a series of philosophical dialogues--Worlds Apart in 1963 and Unancestral Voice in 1965. The former is something of an argument about the significance of modern science, while the latter begins with a discussion of Lady Chatterley's Lover and ends in a mystical experience. Plato up to date!

Another Inklings who appears in Perelandra is Lewis's doctor, Robert Havard, who is hidden under the name of Dr. Humphrey in the scene at the end of the second chapter. But I must confess that not much personality comes through this fictional sketch, nor from Havard's own, brief note on pain which forms an appendix to Lewis's Problem of Pain, although the latter certainly has an optimistic note, as shown by its conclusion: "Pain provides an opportunity for heroism: the opportunity is seized with surprising frequency." However, except for these touches, I cannot discover much about Dr. Havard--another nearly anonymous Inklings.

Two who are better known, but who were not regular attendees, are Lord David Cecil and Nevill Coghill.²¹ Cecil was perhaps not in full temperamental agreement with the Christian bias of the group--at least, his writing a book on Thomas Hardy in 1943 suggests this, although I admit I have not read the book to see its approach to Hardy--but he also edited The Oxford Book of Christian Verse and in 1946 he was reading a life of Thomas Gray to the Inklings.²² Given world enough and time, I hope to investigate his largely biographical books. Clearer is the reason that Coghill did not attend regularly.²³ Although a fellow of Exeter College, a friend of Lewis since their undergraduate days, and an authority on Chaucer, Langland, and Shakespeare--perhaps best known for his translation of The

Canterbury Tales for Penguin Books--Coghill has also been a senior member of the Oxford Dramatic Society since 1934 and has directed and produced a large number of plays both in London and in Oxford. Perhaps you remember reading about his 1966 production of Dr. Faustus at Oxford when Richard Burton came back to act under his former tutor's direction, and the current Mrs. Burton had a walk-on part as Helen of Troy, whose lips "launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium". Obviously no one so involved in drama as Coghill has been could have the time to appear at every Thursday evening meeting.

Before leaving him, however, I should like to quote Lewis's description of his personality in their student days:

I soon had the shock of discovering that he--clearly the most intelligent and best-informed man in that class--was a Christian and a thoroughgoing supernaturalist. There were other traits that I liked but found (for I was still very much a modern) oddly archaic; chivalry, honour, courtesy, "freedom", and "gentillesse". One could imagine him fighting a duel. He spoke much "ribaldry" but never "villeinry".²⁴

And John Wain, in his autobiography, refers to acting in Measure for Measure under Coghill's direction--under which direction the play became "a romantic Christian melodrama".²⁵ So Coghill's affinities with the Inklings are clear enough.

I notice that I have fallen into the practice of referring to C. S. Lewis simply as "Lewis"--but, of course, his brother, W. H. Lewis, was also a member. Warren Lewis was a professional soldier, ultimately a major, and also the author of four books about seventeenth-century France, the best known being Splendid Century: Life in the France of Louis XIV. C. S. Lewis writes of the meetings of the Inklings:

My brother's lifelong interest in the reign of Louis XIV was a bond between [Charles] Williams and him which no one had foreseen when they first met. Those two, and Mr. H. V. D. Dyson of Merton [College], could often be heard in a corner talking about Versailles, indendants, and the maison du roy, in a fashion with which the rest of us could not compete.²⁶

Also historical are the interests of another Inklings. Fr. Gervase Mathew is a Dominican monk, who has written two books about Byzantine art and aesthetics as well as having made archaeological surveys in Africa and the Near East.²⁷ He has lectured at Oxford on Greek Patristics, on Byzantine art and archaeology, on the medieval social theory, and, since 1945, on fourteenth-century English literature. Altogether, a man of formidable learning.

H. V. D. Dyson was mentioned above in a quotation as a discussor of seventeenth-century France. And this is how he is introduced in Lewis's correspondence, in a 1931 letter to Warren Lewis:

The weekend before last I went to spend a night at Reading [College] with a man called Hugo Dyson--now that I come to think of it, you heard all about him before you left. . . . You would enjoy Dyson very much, for his special period is the late 17th century; he was much intrigued by your library when he was last in our room. He is a most fastidious bookman . . . but as far from being a dilettante as anyone can be; a burly man, both in mind and body, with the stamp of the war on him, which begins to be a pleasing rarity, at any rate in civilian life. Lest anything should be lacking, he is a Christian and a lover of cats. The Dyson cat is called Mirralls, and is a Viscount. . . .²⁸

You will recall from earlier quotations that Dyson helped in Lewis's conversion to Christianity, and that he had an uncommon sense of humor, as the pun about the "common chastitute" indicates.

At this point I have mentioned eleven of the early Inklings. Probably this makes the group seem larger and more organized than it was--usually there were around six men present in Lewis's rooms for their discussions.²⁹ But two of them who were basic members I have not yet formally listed: C. S. Lewis himself and J. R. R. Tolkien. Lewis was an odd mixture of rationalist and romantic.³⁰ His tutorials, as his former students have testified, tended to become arguing matches which either sharpened the wits of the young man or left him utterly terrified of saying anything. Privately, however, Lewis was a romantic, moved by a feeling of joy, of Sehnsucht, which called to him from literature and from nature--a call which he ultimately believed came to him through these means from God. And also privately, Lewis was a convivial man--Wain has written,

Contrasting as we were, Lewis and I had one thing in common: we both loved innocent conviviality. A tobacco-clouded room, the unhampered talk and laughter of men who trusted each other, and a jug of beer on the table-- that was all that Lewis needed to make him happy, and I was the same.³¹

Of Lewis's writing, I believe the best by far to be his last novel, Till We Have Faces: A Myth Retold, but I suspect that the members of the Tolkien Society are more familiar with his Ransom trilogy--Out of the Silent Planet, Perelandra, and That Hideous Strength, the latter with its reference (in 1945) to Tolkien's Numeror.³² And still another group of readers--children--are familiar with a sequence of seven books which create and destroy the imaginary kingdom of Narnia: an accomplishment more complete, if less satisfying, and more openly moral than Tolkien's creation of Middle Earth.

And with that reference to Middle Earth we come to J. R. R. Tolkien, who is presently (we hope) sitting in his garage study near the Oxford soccer field, writing on one of his three Middle-earth narratives yet to come.³³ During the days of the Inklings, he was, of course, lecturing on Anglo-Saxon and Middle English at Oxford--W. H. Auden has told how Tolkien's reading of Beowulf suddenly changed philology into poetry. But Tolkien's relationship with the Inklings is less documented--he does not seem to have been directly influenced by them, for C. S. Lewis has written in a letter:

No one ever influenced Tolkien--you might as well try to influence a bandersnatch. We listened to his work, but could affect it only by encouragement. He has only two reactions to criticism; either he begins the whole work over again from the beginning or else takes no notice at all.³⁴

But perhaps even more revealing, in several ways, is a lengthy passage from Wain's autobiography: he is temperamentally separated from the Inklings although he was a member of the group just after the war. Because of his emotional distancing, he sees clearly, even though from the opposite side:

. . . I shall give a quite false picture of Lewis and his friends if I represent them as merely reactionary, putting all their energies into being against things. Far from it; this was a circle of instigators, almost of incendiaries, meeting to urge one another on in the task of redirecting the whole current of contemporary art and life. Now that Williams was dead, the two most active members were Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien. While Lewis attacked on a wide front,

with broadcasts, popular-theological books, children's stories, romances, and controversial literary criticism, Tolkien concentrated on the writings of his colossal 'Lord of the Rings' trilogy. His readings of each successive instalment were eagerly received, for 'romance' was a pillar of this whole structure. The literary household gods were George MacDonald, William Morris (selectively), and an almost forgotten writer named E. R. Eddison, whose work seemed to me to consist of a meaningless proliferation of fantastic incident. All these writers had one thing in common: they invented. Lewis considered 'fine fabling' an essential part of literature, and never lost a chance to push any author, from Spenser to Rider Haggard, who could be called a romancer. Once, unable to keep silence at what seemed to me a monstrous partiality, I attacked the whole basis of this view; a writer's task, I maintained, was to lay bare the human heart, and this could not be done if he were continually taking refuge in the spinning of fanciful webs. Lewis retorted with a theory that, since the Creator had seen fit to build a universe and set it in motion, it was the duty of the human artist to create as lavishly as possible in his turn. The romancer, who invents a whole world, is worshipping God more effectively than the mere realist who analyses that which lies about him. Looking back across fourteen years, I can hardly believe that Lewis said anything so manifestly absurd as this, and perhaps I misunderstood him; but that, at any rate, is how my memory reports the incident.³⁵

Lewis, of course, was paraphrasing to Wain what Tolkien had written in his essay "On Fairy-Stories" about Sub-creation: that the story-teller creates a self-consistent Secondary World, which has only an analogical relationship with the Primary (or real) World, as (for example) in the happy ending of the Fairy Story which parallels the Christian message in that both worlds have an "eucatastrophe", a good turning. The basic idea which Lewis and Tolkien develop here is at least suggested by Sir Philip Sidney in his Defence of Poesy, when he derives the word poet from the Greek for to make, suggesting that the poet has thus some affinity to the Maker of the Universe, and then adds:

Only the poet [among those learned in the various arts and sciences], lifted up with the vigour of his own invention, doth grow, in effect, into another nature, in making things either better than nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in nature, as the heroes, demi-gods, cyclops, chimeras, furies and such like; so as he goeth hand in hand with Nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging only within the zodiac of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done; neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely; her world is brazen, the poets only deliver a golden.

When he wrote these words, Sidney was probably thinking of his own Arcadia, but when we read them, we think of Middle Earth.

But Wain, of course, was by temperament a novelist, not a romancer, and it is not surprising that he ultimately left Oxford and teaching, to

write fiction which caused him, to his own chagrin, to be classified by reviewers as one of Britain's "angry young men" of some ten or fifteen years ago. And this mention of Wain brings us to the post-war Inklings. Of the three names I have down, the first is that of Christopher Tolkien, the son of J. R. R. Tolkien. He once wrote to William Ready:

I was in the R.A.F. during the war, a pilot, and spent 18 months in South Africa learning to fly (1944-45). . . . My father used to send me parts of The Lord of the Rings to read while I was in South Africa (simply because I read it as it was written, and so he sent it to me while I was away). I don't think a very great deal can have been sent this way, but it's over 20 years ago, and I don't remember very clearly.³⁶

To this I can add three things: first, the maps which accompanied The Lord of the Rings are initialed C. J. R. T., and are by Christopher Tolkien; second, he has collaborated with Nevill Coghill in editing Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale (1958) and Nun's Priest's Tale (1959); and third, he read much of "the new Hobbit" to the Inklings after the war when his father missed meetings. About John Wain you have probably heard enough through my excerpts of his autobiography, but let me add a passage from W. H. Lewis which includes both Wain and the last of the Inklings, Roy Campbell:

To indicate the content of those evenings, let me look forward to 1946, a vintage year. At most of the meetings during that year we had a chapter from Tolkien's 'new Hobbit', as we called it--the great work later published as The Lord of the Rings. My diary records in October of that year 'a long argument on the ethics of cannibalism'; in November, that 'Roy Campbell read us his translation of a couple of Spanish poems', and 'John Wain won an outstanding bet by reading a chapter of Irene Idlesleigh without a smile'; and of the next meeting, that 'David (Cecil) read a chapter of his forthcoming book on Gray'. In February 1949 we talked of red-brick universities; from where the talk drifted by channels which I have forgotten, to 'torture, Tertullian, bores, the contractual theory of mediaeval kingship, and odd place-names'.³⁷

I have selected more that I needed just for Wain and Campbell, but since we are nearly through with the members I thought a final description of their meetings justified. Roy Campbell was an unlikely member of the Inklings, although his Roman Catholicism and translations of the poems of St. John of the Cross indicate some ties. He was born in South Africa (like Tolkien), fought in the Spanish Civil War on Franco's side--on the side of Christianity, he thought, against Communism--and later fought in the Second World War on the Allied side against Fascism. His books of poetry, including such interesting titles as The Flaming Terrapin and Flowering Rifle, tend to be either satiric in the tradition of Dryden or romantic in the tradition of the French Symbolists. And, by the way, in C. S. Lewis's Poems you will find two poems to Campbell--one written before Lewis met Campbell, one after, but both disagreeing with him and correcting him.³⁸ I suspect that Campbell's brief year or so at Oxford did nothing to tame that bullfighter, but that during his stay he added much color to the Inklings meetings.

So much then for the catalogue of membership. Perhaps I should add a last act, to pick up my earlier metaphor, about the death of the Inklings. The Tuesday noon meetings continued into the

1960's (and perhaps still continue as a social get-together), but the Thursday evening discussions died out earlier. John Wain writes:

Though I did not realize it at the time, I can now see that the group had begun to spiral downwards from the time Williams died; one after another, people fell away (one of the founding members introduced a notorious bore into the circle and then stayed away on the grounds that the meetings were boring), and finally C. S. Lewis accepted a post at Cambridge, the famous rooms on staircase 3 passed into other hands, and all was over.³⁹

He adds:

... the story is over now and belongs to history. Lewis and his friends did not conquer the world. ... But they left considerable marks of struggle behind them. Tolkien's 'ring' series /which was dedicated to the Inklings, among others/ has become a best-seller. ... ; Lewis's works, too, have their devotees, and so do those of Williams; even Williams's poetry is not quite forgotten. The group has broken up, but the work is still there, and will go on exerting an influence sporadically and in unexpected ways for some time yet.⁴⁰

Perhaps it is fitting to close with T. S. Eliot's reminder that in battles such as these one fights not in hope of winning but in hope of keeping the battle from being completely lost.

Addendum (1972):

The above paper was written for the First Tolkien Conference, at Belknap College, Center Harbor, New Hampshire, on October 18-20, 1968. Since it was intended for reading (although I was not ultimately able to attend), the style is deliberately colloquial. And in the four years since then, enough things have happened that I feel called upon to add a few factual notes.

The most important addition to the information about the founding of the Inklings is contained in a letter by J. R. R. Tolkien, printed as Appendix 5 to William Luther White's The Image of Man in C. S. Lewis (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969), pp. 221-222. Tolkien recalls that the name was first used for a literary club started by an undergraduate at University College, Oxford, named Tangye-Lean; after that club died (in the mid-1930's), Lewis (who, like Tolkien, was one of the members) transferred the name to the meetings of friends in Lewis's rooms. The other treatment of the Inklings is (like mine) based on secondary sources: "The Social History of the Inklings, J. R. R. Tolkien, C. S. Lewis, Charles Williams, 1939-1945", by Glen GoodKnight, published in Mythlore, 2:1/5 (Winter, 1970), combined with the Tolkien Journal, 12, pp. 7-9. The emphasis here is on Charles Williams' centrality to the group; Bonnie Bergstrom contributes two drawings of "The Eagle and Child", the pub in which the Inklings met on Tuesdays. GoodKnight (on p. 7) says that Dorothy L. Sayers was a rare attendee of the meetings, but I have found no evidence of this; she was, however, a friend of both Williams and Lewis.

Several books have appeared on Tolkien's works but nothing of importance (which I have seen) on his life; although I understand he has moved from the garage study in which I described him in the essay to a new home at an undisclosed address. The most important addition to the material in Footnote 33 is Richard C. West's Tolkien Criticism: An Annotated Checklist (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1970) and its Supplement in Or Crist, 5 (1970-71), combined with the Tolkien Journal, 4:3/14, pp. 14-31; the other

new material may be traced through this work.

A large amount of biographical material on C. S. Lewis has appeared, mainly in the introductions by Walter Hooper to various collections of his works. But the important addition to Footnote 30 is yet to come: a biography of Lewis by Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper has been announced as forthcoming in the immediate future. (Joan K. Ostling and I have a bibliography of writings about Lewis and his works in process, hoping to do for Lewis what West has done for Tolkien, which is tentatively scheduled by Kent State University Press for publication in the fall of 1973; with luck, with luck.)

Two final notes may be added on other Inklings. In Footnote 17, I mention a doctoral dissertation; this has recently appeared in book form: R. J. Reilly's Romantic Religion: A Study of Barfield, Lewis, Williams, and Tolkien (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971). This volume still contains the most important study of Owen Barfield's words, and it has been brought up to date in this new publication. Second, about "Colin Hardy" (so Moorman spells his last name), about whom I confessed I could find no information. In Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis, edited by John Lawlor (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), Colin Hardie contributes "Dante and the Tradition of Courtly Love", pp. 26-44; two references to other publications of his on Dante appear in the footnotes.

The acute reader will notice that, from the dates, I should have made the association between Colin Hardie's 1966 essay and Colin Hardy's membership in the Inklings before I wrote my 1968 essay; quite true! And I can only leave to other equally acute readers to point out for future writers what other points I have missed. The more I write, the more I come to realize that my hopes to be definitive are futile.

FOOTNOTES

1. Letters of C. S. Lewis, edited by W. H. Lewis (London: Geoffrey Bles, Ltd., 1966), pp. 170-171.
2. Ibid., p. 176.
3. Ibid., p. 178.
4. Ibid., p. 197.
5. C. S. Lewis, "Preface" to Essays Presented to Charles Williams (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966--first published by Oxford University Press in 1947), pp. viii-ix.
6. John Wain, Sprightly Running: Part of an Autobiography (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1962), pp. 184-185. I wish to thank Dr. William B. Martin of Tarleton State College, Stephenville, Texas, for first calling my attention to this book.
7. The basic biographic and bibliographic information about Williams can be found in A. M. Hadfield's An Introduction to Charles Williams (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1959), although the author makes herself sound cloyingly possessive about her subject; in the "Introduction" to Anne Ridler's collection of Williams' essays, The Image of the City (London: Oxford University Press, 1958); and in John Heath-Stubbs' Charles Williams (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955), in the "Writers and Their Work" series, No. 63. Also see Mary McDermott Shideler's The Theology of Romantic Love: A Study in the Writings of Charles Williams (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962). Standard source: Who Was Who, 1941-1950.
8. Nevill Coghill, "The Approach to English," in Light on C. S. Lewis, edited by Jocelyn Gibb (London: Geoffrey Bles, Ltd., 1965), p. 63.
9. Wain, p. 149.

10. Lewis, "Preface", p. ix.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. x-xi.
 12. See Charles Moorman, The Precincts of Felicity: The Augustinian City of the Oxford Christians (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1966), p. 29. Moorman's second chapter, "Towers and Spires" (pp. 17-20), is a description of the Inklings as a literary group, filled with important, otherwise unavailable information.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
 14. Standard source: Who's Who, 1967-1968.
 15. Lewis, Letters, pp. 169-170.
 16. Standard sources: Who's Who, 1967-1968; Contemporary Authors 13/14.
 17. I have normally avoided doctoral dissertations in my footnotes to this paper, assuming professional scholars would know about them and no one else would be interested, but the only study of Barfield (of which I know) is in Robert J. Reilly's Michigan-State-University dissertation, Romantic Religion in the Work of Owen Barfield, C. S. Lewis, Charles Williams and J. R. R. Tolkien (1960); it is, of course, available (for a price) from University Microfilms. Standard source: Contemporary Authors 7/8.
 18. C. S. Lewis, Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life (London: Geoffrey Bles, Ltd., 1955), p. 189. One also notices the dedication of Barfield's Poetic Diction to Lewis with the motto, "Opposition is true friendship." (Lewis's Allegory of Love is dedicated to Barfield.)
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195.
 20. One gathers from this passage and its context in the novel that Ransom, Lewis's philologist-hero, is himself a member of the Inklings!
 21. All information about rate of attendance is from Moorman's Precincts of Felicity, pp. 17-18.
 22. Standard source: Who's Who, 1967-1968. I assume that the life of Gray appeared in Two Quiet Lives (1948). My apologies if my guess about the significance of Hardy, the Novelist is awry.
 23. Standard sources: Who's Who, 1967-1968; Contemporary Authors 13/14.
 24. Lewis, Surprised by Joy, p. 201.
 25. Wain, p. 145.
 26. Lewis, "Preface," pp. v-vi.
 27. Standard sources: Who's Who, 1967-1968; Contemporary Authors 11/12. Charles Williams' Arthurian poems also show an interest in Byzantium.
 28. Lewis, Letters, p. 145. Checking Books in Print, U.S.A., I find that somebody named Henry V. D. Dyson has written Emergence of Shakespeare's Tragedy and edited Alexander Pope's works. Whether he is the same man as Lewis's Hugo V. D. Dyson I do not know. By the way, the reader of Inklings materials will also find reference to "H. V. V. Dyson", which I assume is a misprint in Lewis's autobiography (p. 204) and which Clyde S. Kilby repeats in The Christian World of C. S. Lewis (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), p. 18. Lewis uses the other initial in his "Preface" to Essays Presented to Charles Williams, p. vi.
 29. Moorman, p. 22.
 30. The basic lives are his autobiography, Surprised by Joy (cited above), and his brother's "Memoir of C. S. Lewis," which introduces the Letters of C. S. Lewis; also see C. S. Lewis's Pilgrim's Regress (London: Geoffrey Bles, Ltd., 1943; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1958--these both are the third edition, with its clarifications), which allegorizes his life. The best supplement to these for biographical and bibliographical matters is Light on C. S. Lewis, edited by Jocelyn Gibb (cited above). Standard source:
- Current Biography, 1944, obit 1964.
 31. Wain, p. 184.
 32. See the "Preface". Lewis dedicated The Screwtape Letters (1942) to Tolkien.
 33. There is little personal information about Tolkien available--perhaps the most informative is Philip Norman's "The Prevalence of Hobbits," The New York Times Magazine, January 15, 1967, pp. 30-31, 97, 100, 102. The recent, unauthorized book, William Ready's The Tolkien Relation (Chicago: Henry Regency Co., 1968), adds a few details. Standard sources: Who's Who, 1967-1968; Contemporary Authors 17/18; Current Biography 1967. (By the way, Robert Reilly has suggested that Dr. Dimble in Lewis's That Hideous Strength may be based on Tolkien /see Romantic Religion in the work of Owen Barfield, C. S. Lewis, Charles Williams and J. R. R. Tolkien (Michigan State University doctoral dissertation, 1960), p. 234 n7.)
 34. Lewis, Letters, p. 287.
 35. Wain, pp. 181-182.
 36. William Ready, The Tolkien Relation: A Personal Inquiry (Chicago: Henry Regency Company, 1968), pp. 58-59.
 37. W. H. Lewis, "Memoir of C. S. Lewis," in Letters of C. S. Lewis, p. 14. For John Wain, besides his autobiography (cited above), see the standard source: Who's Who, 1967-1968.
 38. C. S. Lewis, Poems, ed. by Walter Hooper (London: Geoffrey Bles, Ltd., 1964), pp. 65 ("To the Author of Flowering Rifle") and 66 ("To Roy Campbell"). Campbell wrote two autobiographies, but I have not read them; my general information comes from David Wright's Roy Campbell (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1961) in the "Writers and Their Work" Series, No. 137. Standard source: Who Was Who 1951-1960.
 39. Wain, p. 185. See also Moorman, p. 28.
 40. Wain, p. 183.

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