



J.R.R.
TOLKIEN:
THE MAKING OF A LEGEND

Colin Duriez



Notes

1. “*I am in fact a Hobbit...*”

1. Through J.R.R. Tolkien’s childhood and youth to his coming-of-age, I simply call him “Ronald”, and “Tolkien” thereafter. He was called a variety of names at different times by various people – John, John Ronald, Tolkien, or even Tollers.
2. BBC Radio interview with Denys Gueroult, *Now Read On*, 16 December 1970.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Tolkien interviewed by John Ezard; quoted by Ezard in *The Guardian*, 28 December 1991,.
5. Quoted by Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 36.
6. Now called “Fern Cottage”.
7. Quoted by Carpenter, *ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

2. *Edith*

1. J.R.R. Tolkien (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 395.
2. Quoted by Mr Gerard Tracey on <http://www.birmingham-oratory.org.uk/TheOratory/Tolkien/tabid/76/Default.aspx>
3. Peter Jackson’s *The Two Towers* comes down on the side of the towers being Orthanc and Barad-dûr, a possibility considered by Tolkien. In the story itself, there is no clear indication of this.
4. The Waterworks at Edgbaston: See Robert S. Blackham, *The Roots of Tolkien’s Middle-earth* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), p. 99.

5. *Ibid*, p. 105.
6. <http://domesdaymap.co.uk/place/SP0584/edgbaston/>
7. See Blackham, *ibid*, p. 98 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sampson_Gamgee
8. Blackham, *ibid*, p. 105.
9. J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 416.
10. Richard Plotz, interview with Tolkien, “J.R.R. Tolkien Talks about the Discovery of Middle-earth, the Origins of Elvish”, *Seventeen* (January 1967, p. 118).
11. *The Times* obituary of J.R.R. Tolkien, 3 September 1973.
12. The hotel no longer exists, and the building is in poor state of repair. See: www.savethe3cups.info
13. The Index of Wills and Administration for 1891 contains the following entry for Alfred Frederick Warrillow (Personal Estate £8,724 15s. 2d.): “23 April. The Will of Alfred Frederick Warrillow late of Hudson House Strechford in the Parish of Yardley in the County of Worcester and of 101 Great-Hampton-street in the City of Birmingham Paper Dealer who died 12 March 1891 at Hudson House was proved at Worcester by Frances Bratt of Hudson House Spinster the sole Executrix.”

3. *Schooldays and the T.C.B.S.*

1. Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), pp. 41, 45.
2. See John Garth, “Wiseman, Christopher”, in Michael D.C. Drout (ed.), *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 708–709.
3. Humphrey Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 41.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 53–54.
5. A. Douglas, D. Moore, and J. Douglas, *Birmingham Remembered: A Centenary Celebration* (Birmingham: The Birmingham Post & Mail, 1988), p. 103.

6. “The Musical and Dramatic Society”, in *King Edward’s School Chronicle*, n.s. 27, no. 191 (March 1912), p. 10 – quoted in Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Chronology* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 30–31.
7. Humphrey Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 57.
8. Tom Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Author of the Century* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), p. xii.
9. J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 357, 20 July 1965.
10. *Ibid*, p. 213.
11. “English and Welsh”, in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 191.
12. On G.B. Smith and other members of the T.C.B.S., see John Garth’s definitive *Tolkien and the Great War* (London: HarperCollins, 2005).
13. C. Scull and W.G. Hammond, *Chronology*, p. 1045.
14. *King Edward’s School Chronicle*, n.s. 27, no. 191 (March 1912), p. 4.
15. Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 55.
16. Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 58.
17. *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, no. 306.
18. *Ibid*.
19. Tolkien says as much, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, p. 309.
20. C.S. Lewis, *An Experiment in Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 140–141.

4. Oxford, and the dawn of a new life

1. After the First World War, his future friend C.S. Lewis would start his studies in the same school of Literae Humaniores. Lewis was six years Tolkien’s junior.

2. These authors can be enjoyed in contemporary translation in the Penguin Classics series. Tolkien may have become, or already been, aware of Plato's creation account, *Timaeus*, at this time. It provides useful background reading for Tolkien's beautiful depiction of the creation of the universe and Middle-earth in the first section of his *The Silmarillion* – his body of tales about, and accounts of, the early ages of Middle-earth that forms the rich background of *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*.

3. *The Times* obituary of J.R.R. Tolkien, 3 September 1973.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Chronology* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 34, quoting an "Oxford letter" by Oxoniensis to the *King Edward's School Chronicle*, Dec 1912.

7. Examples can be found in Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator* (London: HarperCollins, 1995).

8. Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 71.

9. Bodleian Library, Tolkien Special Collection, A21/1.

10. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Reader's Guide* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 999.

11. The historic West Midlands region includes the counties of Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire, as well as the more recent West Midlands conurbation or metropolitan county, formed in 1974.

12. Not Victoria Road, as stated in *The Tolkien Family Album*, Scull and Hammond, and elsewhere.

5. Tolkien and the shadow of war

1. From time to time the Bodleian Library in Oxford displays some of his drawings and paintings, from its large archives.

2. John Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War*, (London: HarperCollins, 2005), p. 8.
3. *Ibid*, p. 9.
4. Martin Gilbert, *Somme: The Heroism and Horror of War* (London: John Murray, 2006), pp. 140–141; Garth, p. 183.
5. Quoted by Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p 72.
6. From George Steiner, originally published in *Le Monde*, 6 September 1973, translated as “Tolkien, Oxford’s Eccentric Don”, in Douglas A. Anderson, Michael D.C. Drout, and Verlyn Flieger (eds.), *Tolkien Studies: Volume 5* (West Virginia University Press, 2008), pp. 186–188.
7. Tolkien and mythology: For more on this, see Dimitra Fimi’s lucid account, *Tolkien, Race and Cultural History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 9.
8. Humphrey Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 79.
9. Dimitra Fimi, *ibid*, p. 16.
10. Humphrey Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 80.
11. J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), Letter 105 (letter to Christopher Tolkien).
12. See Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Chronology* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 56.
13. John Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), pp. 58, 60.
14. John Garth, “T.C.B.S. (Tea Club and Barrovian Society)”, in Michael D.C. Drout (ed.), *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), p. 635.

6. War and loss

1. Quoted by John Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), p. 101, from a letter to Tolkien, 6 October

1915.

2. In Thiepval Wood on the Somme (the scene of some of the fiercest fighting in the Battle of the Somme later that year)., according to Garth, *ibid*, p. 117
3. Quoted in Garth, *ibid*, p. 117.
4. Quoted in Garth, *ibid*, pp. 118–119.
5. See Robert S. Blackham, *Tolkien and the Peril of War* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), p. 63.
6. There is a lively debate about the location of a source “the House of a Hundred Chimneys”, with alternative suggestions put forward. See Blackham, *ibid*, p. 63; also Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Reader’s Guide* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 351–352.
7. Bill Cater, “We talked of love, death and fairy tales”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 29 November, 2001, p. 23. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4726863/We-talked-of-love-death-and-fairy-tales.html>.
8. For more on Lanky, see <http://www.paulsalveson.org.uk/northern-voices-dialect-writing-of-lancashire-and-yorkshire/>
9. Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 89.
10. Letter to Tolkien, 22 June 1916, quoted by Garth, *ibid*, p. 146.
11. The Celtic word might be *samara*, “tranquil”; see John Everett-Heath, *Concise Dictionary of World Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
12. Quoted by Martin Gilbert, *Somme: The Heroism and Horror of War* (London: John Murray, 2006), pp. xvii, 37, 44, 208.
13. Quoted in Gilbert, *ibid*, p. xvii.
14. See http://history-world.org/world_war_one.htm
15. Quoted in Gilbert, *ibid*, p. 140–141.
16. Tolkien’s initial response to the death of Gilson: see J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), Letter 5, from Tolkien to Smith, 12 August 1916.

17. Quoted in Gilbert, *ibid*, p. 201.
18. Philip Norman, “The Hobbit Man”, *Sunday Times Magazine*, 15 January 1967.

7. Recovery, “W”, and a half a million words (Pages 00 – 00)

1. Quoted in Judith Priestman, *Tolkien: Life and Legend* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1992), p. 34.
2. BBC Radio interview with Denys Gueroult, *Now Read On*, 16 December 1970.
3. I am indebted to John Garth for this insight. See Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War* (London: HarperCollins, 2005), pp. 220–221.
4. Reported in *The Times*, 25 October 1916, from the German source, the *Düsseldorfer Generalanzeiger*, as cited in John Garth, *ibid*, p. 221.
5. Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), p. 129.
6. Garth, *ibid*, p. 238; Robert S. Blackham, *Tolkien and the Peril of War* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), pp. 143–144.
7. J.R.R. Tolkien (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), Letter 340, p. 420.
8. See Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist & Illustrator* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 26, 31.
9. Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 106.
10. Peter Gilliver, Jeremy Marshall, and Edmund Weiner, *The Ring of Words: Tolkien and the Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. vii.
- 11., *ibid*, p. vii.
- 12., *ibid*, p. viii.
- 13., *ibid*, p. viii.
14. J.R.R. Tolkien (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R.*

Tolkien (London: HarperCollins, 2006), Letter 89, p. 100.

15. Exeter College archives, quoted in Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Chronology* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 111; spelling corrections (mine).

8. Leeds and dragons

1. C.S. Lewis, *Selected Literary Essays* (CUP, 1969), p. 18. Format simplified.

2. T.A. Shippey, “Tolkien, John Ronald Reuel (1892–1973)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn., Oct 2006.

3. See Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Reader’s Guide* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 858–860.

4. Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 113.

5. Letter to Ken Jackson, 29 January 1968, quoted in <http://www.tolkienlibrary.com/collecting/seenonebay/object17/description.htm>.

6. See Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 114.

7. Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 138.

9. Oxford, and C.S. Lewis

1. J.I.M. Stewart, *A Memorial Service* (London: Magnum Books, Methuen Paperbacks Ltd, 1977), p. 176.

2. W.H. Auden, “Making, Knowing and Judging”, in W.H. Auden, *The Dyer’s Hand and Other Essays* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 41–42..

3. John Lucas, “Auden’s politics: power, authority and the

- individual”, in Stan Smith (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 152.
4. Edward Mendelson, “The European Auden”, in *The Cambridge Companion to W. H. Auden*, *ibid*, p. 62.
5. Quoted in William Ready, *The Tolkien Relation* (Chicago: Regnery, 1968), p. 17.
6. Quoted in Zachary Leader, *The Life of Kingsley Amis* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006), p. 123.
7. *Ibid*, p. 123.
8. Kingsley Amis, *Memoirs* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 45.
9. Humphrey Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 158.
10. *Ibid*, p. 159.
11. J.I.M. Stewart, *Young Pattullo* (London: Gollancz, 1975), p.106–108.
12. Diary of C.S. Lewis, Tuesday 11 May, 1926. See Walter Hooper (ed.), *All My Road Before Me: The Diary of C.S. Lewis 1922–27* (London: HarperCollins, 1991).
13. *The Times* obituary of J.R.R. Tolkien, 3 September 1973.
14. John Mabbott, *Oxford Memories* (Oxford: Thornton’s of Oxford, 1986), p. 73.
15. In *Oxford Magazine*, 48, No. 21, 1930.
16. Quoted in Humphrey Carpenter, *The Inklings: C. S. Lewis, J. R. R. Tolkien, Charles Williams, and their friends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p. 42.
17. From Houghton Mifflin webpages, <http://www.hmhbooks.com/features/lordoftheringstrilogy/bio.jsp>
18. A.N. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography* (London: Collins, 1990), p. 117.
19. Letter to Tolkien, 7 December 1929, quoted in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 151.
20. Helen Gardner, “Clive Staples Lewis (1898–1963)”, *Proc. British Academy* 51 (1965), pp. 417–428.
21. C.S. Lewis, *Surprised by Joy* in C.S. Lewis, *Selected Books* (London: Harper Collins, 1999), p. 1369.

10. *Of Hobbits and Inklings*

1. Published after his death in J.R.R. Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980).
2. For more on this, see John D. Rateliff, *The History of the Hobbit*, 2 volumes, (HarperCollins, 2007).
3. In J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Hobbit*, 1987 ed. (London: Unwin Hyman), p. vii.
4. Quoted by Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 184.
5. *New York Times*, October 31, 1954.
6. “On Fairy Stories”, in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 151.
7. John Lawlor, *Memories and Reflections* (Dallas: Spence Publishing Company, 1998), pp. 33–35.
8. Quoted in Carpenter, *ibid*, p. 152.
9. See Tolkien’s undated letter to Anne Barrett in 1956, in J.R.R. Tolkien (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 238.
10. Donald K. Fry, *The Beowulf poet: a collection of critical essays* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. ix.

11. *Tolkien’s second war*

1. It is likely that by this date Tolkien’s duties as an air-raid warden had begun, following the London Blitz (heavy bombing), which started in September 1940.
2. John and Priscilla Tolkien, *The Tolkien Family Album* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), p. 55.
3. C.S. Lewis, *Arthurian Torso: Containing the Posthumous Fragment of “The Figure of Arthur” by Charles Williams and a Commentary on the Arthurian Poems of Charles Williams by C.S. Lewis* (London: Oxford

University Press, 1948), p. 2.

4. S. Eliot, "Introduction", in Charles Williams, *All Hallows' Eve* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1977), pp. xiii–xxiv, xviii).

5. See Humphrey Carpenter, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Biography* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), p. 199.

6. J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 111 (Letter 96).

7. *Ibid*, p. 78 (Letter 66).

12. *The struggle to publish*

1. J.R.R. Tolkien, Foreword to *The Fellowship of the Ring* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1954), p. 7.

2. See the BBC television coverage of the occasion at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/princesselizabeth/6621.shtml>

3. J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 172 (Letter 142).

4. BBC Radio interview with Denys Gueroult, *Now Read On*, 16 December 1970.

5. *Ibid*, p. 122.

6. George Sayer, "Recollections of J.R.R. Tolkien", in Patricia Reynolds and Glen H. GoodKnight (eds.), *Proceedings of the J.R.R. Tolkien Centenary Conference 1992* (Milton Keynes: Tolkien Society; Altadena, California: Mythopoeic Press, 1995), p. 23.

7. Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), *Brothers and Friends: The Diaries of Major Warren Hamilton Lewis* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), pp. 233234. There's no Pring Rd in Malvern; it may be an error for "Spring Lane".

8. Statistics from Wayne G. Hammond, *J.R.R. Tolkien: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies and New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Books, 1993).

9. "Valedictory Address", in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 238.

10. Philip Norman, “The Hobbit Man”, *Sunday Times Magazine*, 15 January 1967.

13. The Tolkien phenomenon, and farewell

1. Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J.R.R. Tolkien Companion and Guide: Chronology* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 464.
2. Tolkien attributes the adjective “Hobbit-forming” to him in a letter to Roger Lancelyn Green, 8 January 1971 in J.R.R. Tolkien, (Humphrey Carpenter, ed.), *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 406–407, Letter 319.
3. *The Bookseller*, 1968 series, p. 2136.

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- earth* (Stroud: The History Press, 2004)
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