Formal portrait of Charles Williams, 39 years old, taken the year before C.S. Lewis invited him to an Inklings meeting (© The Marion E. Wade Center).

C.S. Lewis and his brother, Warren Lewis, on vacation in Annagassan, Ireland, around 1949 (© The Marion E. Wade Center).

Dorothy L. Sayers, a friend of Charles Williams and C.S. Lewis. The mystery writer, dramatist, and popular theologian had strong affinities with the Inklings, though not a member (© The Marion E. Wade Center).

Owen Barfield, taken in the USA, probably while visiting Wheaton College, Illinois (photograph by Douglas R. Gilbert © 1973).

c. 1947. An Inklings gathering, seated on the low stone wall of terrace at the Trout Inn, Godstow, with the River Thames behind them. L. to R: Commander James Dundas-Grant, Colin Hardie, Robert E. “Humphrey” Havard, C.S. Lewis, and Peter Havard (son of Dr Havard). (© The Marion E. Wade Center.)
Leeds University, where J.R.R. Tolkien was first Reader then Professor of English Language between 1920 and 1925 in a highly productive period.

Lord David Cecil, as President of the Jane Austen Society, in conversation with a member at the 1968 annual meeting. Cecil, in the 1930s, pioneered Austen studies. From the collection of Harry Lee Poe.
Pembroke College, Oxford. Tolkien was a fellow here from 1925 to 1945, while university Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

Exeter College, where J.R.R. Tolkien was an undergraduate until 1915, as were Nevill Coghill and H.V.D. Dyson a few years later.

Coghill was elected a research fellow here in 1924, and official fellow and librarian in 1925.

Exeter College quad with the notable gothic chapel (within which is a commemorative bust of J.R.R. Tolkien).
Merton College, front quad. The Inklings sometimes met in Tolkien’s college rooms here after he became Merton Professor of English Language and literature in 1945. Hugo Dyson became a fellow and tutor in English Literature here, also in 1945. In 1957, Nevill Coghill was elected Merton Professor of English Literature.

Merton College seen from Christ Church Meadow.

New Building, Magdalen College, rear view. Here the Inklings met in C.S. Lewis’s rooms for many years. The room they usually used overlooked the deer park.
Addison's Walk, Magdalen College, where J.R.R. Tolkien, Hugo Dyson, and C.S. Lewis had a long night conversation that changed Lewis's life. Lewis often took a circular walk here from the college.

Magdalen College tower from Addison's Walk.

Opposite page:

Top: The Kings Arms was a popular meeting place for Inklings members in twos or threes, or for more regular gatherings. It is located conveniently close to the Bodleian Library, used for research.

Middle: The tiny White Horse pub, in Broad Street, was a meeting place for the Inklings. It is beside Blackwell’s Bookshop, much used by members. On one occasion in 1944, Tolkien read a draft chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* here to C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams.

Bottom: The Eagle and Child in St Giles, known by the Inklings as “the Bird and Baby”, is the pub most associated with the group.

Top right: When the Eagle and Child was extensively modernized, the Inklings crossed over St Giles for a new venue for gatherings, adopting the more suitable Lamb and Flag pub.

Middle right: Eastgate Hotel, near Magdalen College, which Lewis and Tolkien would often adjourn to after meeting together in Lewis’s college in the early years of their friendship.

Addison's Walk, Magdalen College, where J.R.R. Tolkien, Hugo Dyson, and C.S. Lewis had a long night conversation that changed Lewis’s life. Lewis often took a circular walk here from the college.
The Kilns, home to C.S. Lewis and his brother Warnie, was set in eight acres, including woodland and a flooded quarry (suitable for punting and swimming). Close friends would visit from time to time. This photo was taken in 1930, around the time that Lewis moved into the house with Mrs Moore and her daughter Maureen (© The Marion E. Wade Center).

Among the Inklings, Tolkien and C.S. Lewis most particularly were inspired in their fiction by the landscapes they knew. Here, the meeting of the rivers Trent and Sow near the Essex Bridge in Great Haywood, Staffordshire, inspired the confluence of two rivers near the Bridge of Tavrobel in an early story concerning Middle-earth.

Vale of the White Horse, Oxfordshire. Some of the Inklings shared in long walks and walking holidays enjoyed by C.S. Lewis in the countryside of England and Wales. Oxfordshire and Berkshire offered many fairly local walks.
A select Inklings chronology

1917: Tolkien begins writing the tales that will become *The Silmarillion*.

*Autumn 1919*: Lewis and Barfield meet as undergraduates and survivors of the war.

1925: Tolkien is elected to the Chair of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford University; Lewis becomes a fellow and tutor in English at Magdalen College.

*Tuesday 11 May 1926*: The first recorded meeting between Tolkien and Lewis. They meet at the four o’clock “English Tea” – a meeting of the Oxford English School faculty – at Merton College.

18 September 1926: Lewis’s narrative poem *Dymer* is published.

1928: Lewis begins his twice-weekly lectures on “The Prolegomena to Medieval and Renaissance Studies”, which soon make him one of the most popular lecturers in Oxford.

1928: Barfield’s *Poetic Diction* is published, the ideas in which have an enormous impact, first on Lewis and then on Tolkien.

27 May 1928: Lewis has just obtained a copy of Barfield’s *Poetic Diction*, and immediately writes to him: “I think in general that I am going to agree with the whole book more than we thought I did. We are really at one about imagination as the source of meanings i.e. almost of objects. We both agree that it is the *prin*[s] [antecedent] of truth.”

1928: In an undated letter to Barfield, perhaps written in 1928, Lewis observes that Tolkien had told him that Barfield’s “conception of the ancient semantic unity had modified his whole outlook”. He had been reading Barfield’s *Poetic Diction*.
A select Inklings chronology

November 1929: One Monday evening, after one of many meetings Lewis attends, Tolkien comes back with him to his college rooms and sits talking of northern myths by a bright fire in the larger sitting room. He leaves at 2:30 in the morning, in the wind and rain.

1929: Publication of Lord David Cecil’s biography of the poet William Cowper, called The Stricken Deer.

6 December 1929: Lewis reads Tolkien’s poetic version of the tale of Beren and Lúthien, lent to him from his collection of writings about Middle-earth, during the evening. His response is enthusiastic.

Late December 1929: Lewis stays in London for four days at the Barfields’ home. For two of the days Maud and their adopted baby are away, giving Barfield and Lewis an “uninterrupted feast of each other’s society”.

1930: Tolkien begins to write The Hobbit. Charles Williams publishes War in Heaven and Poetry at Present.

21 March 1930: Lewis writes to his friend A.K. Hamilton Jenkin, telling him how his outlook is changing. He does not feel that he is moving exactly to Christianity, though, he confesses, it may turn out that way in the end.

1931: Tolkien’s reformed English School syllabus is accepted, backed by C.S. Lewis, bringing together “Lang.” and “Lit.”. Whipsnade Zoo opens.

9 May 1931: Warnie Lewis returns to belief in Christianity.

19–20 September 1931: After a long night-time conversation with Tolkien and Hugo Dyson on Addison’s Walk in Oxford, Lewis starts to become convinced of the truth of Christian belief, especially the doctrine of the incarnation of Christ.

28 September 1931: Lewis returns to Christian faith while riding to Whipsnade Zoo in the sidecar of his brother’s motorbike.

1 October 1931: Lewis writes to Arthur Greeves that he now believes in Christ and Christianity.

22 November 1931: Lewis writes to Warnie in Shanghai about his meetings with Tolkien: “This is one of the pleasant spots in the week. Sometimes we talk English school politics: sometimes we criticize one another’s poems: other days we drift into theology or ‘the state of the nation’: rarely we fly no higher than bawdy and ‘puns’.”

1932: Lewis reads the draft of The Hobbit.
The Oxford Inklings

16–29 August 1932: Lewis writes *The Pilgrim’s Regress* while holidaying in Northern Ireland.

April 1933: On Easter Sunday Lewis has an idea for a book (probably while in church), which he outlines to Warren, who records it in his diary: “A religious work, based on the opinion of some of the [Church] Fathers, that while punishment for the damned is eternal, it is intermittent: he proposes to do sort of an infernal day excursion to Paradise.” Many years later the idea becomes the book *The Great Divorce*.

End of Hilary (Summer) Term, 1933: The undergraduate club called “the Inklings” disbands.

Michaelmas (Autumn) Term, 1933: This marks the possible beginning of Lewis’s convening of a group of friends specifically to share their writing and discuss, eventually called “the Inklings,” using the name of the former undergraduate club.

Monday 4 December 1933: Owen Barfield is up from London and staying at The Kilns. Barfield and Warren drive into town, where they are joined by Lewis at half past ten. Warnie is secretly miffed when he discovers that Lewis has arranged to go for a walk with Tolkien that afternoon. It seems to him that he sees less and less of his brother every day.

Monday 26 March 1934: Lewis, Warren, and Tolkien meet at Magdalen College to read the script of *The Valkyrie*. Lewis and Tolkien read in the German, and Warren in English. He finds it easy to follow the others’ parts. They finish after six o’clock and Tolkien goes home to his family, while the brothers heartily enjoy fried fish and a savoury omelette, with beer, at the nearby Eastgate Hotel.

Sunday 3 June 1934: Warren records that two of Lewis’s friends are up in Oxford: Barfield taking his BCL law examination and Dyson examining in the university English School.

1935: Lewis begins writing his volume of the *Oxford History of English Literature*, after completing of *The Allegory of Love*, at the suggestion of Professor F.P. Wilson, one of the series editors. In the early part of the year, Lewis’s GP, Dr “Humphrey” Havard, attends him for influenza (as he recalled many years later), and they discuss Aquinas. Soon afterwards he is invited to join the Inklings circle, because of his evident interest in “religio-philosophical discussion”. The Inklings are described to Havard as a group who meet on Thursday evenings, read papers they have written, and discuss them. The group is made up of friends of Lewis’s, and it is only later he learns their names.
Wednesday 11 March 1936: Lewis first writes to Charles Williams, in appreciation of his novel *The Place of the Lion*. The letter carries the first known use of “the Inklings”, to which Williams is invited.

Spring 1936: Lewis and Tolkien discuss writing time and space stories. Tolkien recalled in a letter\(^1\) that Lewis had one day remarked to him that since “there is too little of what we really like in stories”, they ought to write some themselves.

Thursday 21 May 1936: Publication of Lewis’s *The Allegory of Love*. It wins the Hawthornden Prize.

Sunday 28 June 1936: Lewis writes to Owen Barfield about his children’s story: “I lent *The Silver Trumpet* to Tolkien and hear that it is the greatest success among his children that they have ever known.” He signs the letter “The Alligator of Love”.

Wednesday 25 November 1936: Tolkien gives the Sir Isaac Gollancz Memorial Lecture to the British Academy on “Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics”, early drafts of which have been read by Lewis.

1937: Lewis is pressing ahead with his story of space travel, *Out of the Silent Planet*, reading it chapter by chapter to the Inklings as it is written.

Thursday 9 September 1937: Lewis refers to Charles Williams’s novel *Descent into Hell*, in a letter to him, as “a thundering good book and a real purgation to read”.

Tuesday 21 September 1937: *The Hobbit* is published, complete with Tolkien’s own illustrations. W.H. Auden writes in a review that *The Hobbit* “in my opinion, is one of the best children’s stories of this century”.

Mid-December 1937: Tolkien begins writing the “new Hobbit” (*The Lord of the Rings*).

Friday 18 February 1938: Tolkien writes to his publisher, Stanley Unwin, concerning Lewis’s science-fiction story, *Out of the Silent Planet*. It had been, he says, read aloud to the Inklings (“our local club”). He records that it proved to be exciting as a serial, and was highly approved by all of them. Tolkien reveals that he and Lewis each planned to write an excursionary thriller into space or time, each encountering myth. *Out of the Silent Planet* was the space story. His own, on time, was only a fragment (this was *The Lost Road*). Later he was to explore the same theme in the also unfinished *The Notion Club Papers*, loosely based on Inklings gatherings.
4 July 1938: Lewis meets Charles Williams in London. Later, in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams* (1947), Lewis remembers the meeting as “a certain immortal lunch”, which was followed by an “almost Platonic discussion” in St Paul’s churchyard, which lasted for about two hours.

Saturday 2 September 1939: Evacuee children arrive at The Kilns. Around this time Lewis begins a story about some evacuees who stay with an old professor, which he soon abandoned. After the war he will pick up the story again, and it becomes, after Aslan the lion bounds into it, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*.

4 September 1939: Warren Lewis is recalled to active service the day after Britain declares war on Germany, and is initially posted to Catterick, Yorkshire.


October 1939: Warren is assigned to serve with No. 3 Base Supply Depot, Le Havre, France.

Thursday 2 November 1939: At an Inklings gathering attended by Lewis, Williams, Tolkien, and Charles Wrenn, the discussion turns to the issue of God’s goodness and the damned.

Thursday 9 November 1939: After dining at Oxford’s Eastgate Hotel, the Inklings listen to Tolkien reading an early part of *The Lord of the Rings*, Charles Williams reading a Nativity play, and Lewis reading a chapter from *The Problem of Pain*.

Thursday 30 November 1939: There is no Inklings meeting, as Charles Williams and Gerard Hopkins (of the Oxford University Press) are both away. Lewis goes around to Tolkien’s house in Northmoor Road, where they read to each other chapters from *The Problem of Pain* and *The Lord of the Rings*.

1940: Lewis begins lecturing on Christianity for the Royal Air Force, which he continues to do until 1941.

27 January 1940: Warren is granted the temporary rank of major (later made permanent).

Thursday 1 February 1940: Dr Humphrey Havard reads a short paper on the clinical experience of pain, prepared as an appendix for Lewis’s book *The Problem of Pain*.
A SELECT INKLINGS CHRONOLOGY

5 February 1940: Charles Williams celebrates the theme of chastity in Milton’s *Comus* in a lecture.

*Wednesday 7 February 1940:* Dr James Welch, the Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation’s religious programming department, writes to Lewis, saying how impressed he is by the “depth of his conviction” and the “quality of his thinking”. He presses him to give a series of radio talks on the BBC.

*Wednesday 14 February 1940:* T.S. Eliot writes to Charles Williams, commenting that “one of your most important functions in life (which I tried to emulate in *The Family Reunion*) is to instil sound doctrine into people (tinged sometimes with heresy, of course, but the very best heresy) without their knowing it…”

*Thursday 15 February 1940:* Up from London, Owen Barfield attends an Inklings meeting.

*Thursday 29 February 1940:* Hugo Dyson visits the Inklings meeting from Reading, so all are present except for Warnie Lewis and Owen Barfield. Adam Fox reads a poem about Blenheim Park in winter.

*Friday 5 to Monday 8 April 1940:* With his friends Cecil Harwood, Walter Field, and Owen Barfield, Lewis has a walking tour on Exmoor, starting and finishing at Minehead.

*Thursday 25 April 1940:* The first weekly Thursday-evening Inklings of the term takes place, in Lewis’s college rooms as usual. Charles Williams, Tolkien, and Dr Humphrey Havard are among those in attendance. Havard reads a vivid account he has written of mountain climbing, in direct, straight-talking language. Writing to his absent brother, Lewis describes it as making their hair stand on end. Tolkien makes reference to his son John, at college in Rome as part of his training for the Roman Catholic priesthood.

*Thursday 2 May 1940:* Writing to Warnie, Lewis recounts an unusually good Inklings at which Charles Williams “read us a Whitsun play, a mixture of very good stuff and some deplorable errors in taste”.

*Thursday 16 May 1940:* Lewis, writing to the absent Warnie, recalls sitting in the north room in Magdalen College, looking out on the hawthorn in the grove, as he awaits the arrival of the Inklings. He much regrets the fact that his brother is not there.

*Thursday 30 May 1940:* The first troops arrive in England in an unprecedented mass evacuation from Dunkirk, employing naval vessels and
The Oxford Inklings

volunteer civilian boats of all shapes and sizes. Warnie Lewis has shortly before been evacuated, with his unit, from France to Wenvoe Camp, Cardiff, in South Wales.

Sunday 21 July 1940: During morning service at his local church, Holy Trinity, Headington, Lewis suddenly has the idea of writing a series of letters from a senior to a junior devil. It will employ the inverse perspective of hell on a young man who “unfortunately” comes to believe in Christianity. This becomes The Screwtape Letters.

Monday 14 October 1940: Lewis’s The Problem of Pain is published. It is dedicated to the Inklings

Tuesday 7 January 1941: Dr Havard drives Tolkien and the Lewis brothers to a pub at Appleton, some miles west of Oxford. It is a snowy night, and the roads are slippery. Tolkien’s offer of snuff, a recent gift, is taken up by several locals, and Major Lewis recounts an amusing story about visiting Blackwell’s Bookshop in Oxford with the irrepressible “Hugo” Dyson.

Friday 2 May 1941: The first instalment of what becomes The Screwtape Letters appears in a weekly religious paper, The Guardian.

Sunday 8 June 1941: Lewis preaches a momentous sermon, “The Weight of Glory”, at the church of St Mary the Virgin in Oxford. The church is packed with students.

Tuesday 23 June 1941: “Lord David [Cecil] was very agreeable last night; sorry he missed you; looks forward to meeting you; has ordered the Dove; didn’t know of the novels” (letter from Charles Williams to Michal Williams).

6 August 1941: Lewis gives the first of a series of five fifteen-minute talks on BBC radio on the subject of Right and Wrong: A Clue to the Meaning of the Universe. It is entitled “The Law of Human Nature”. The series is broadcast weekly, with the last being on 6 September. This answers listeners’ questions and is entitled “Some Objections”. Other series follow, leading to twenty-five talks in all. They are eventually edited and published as Mere Christianity.

Thursday 7 August 1941: Charles Williams refers in a letter to his wife, Michal, to Lewis as the person out of all in Oxford who understands his thinking.

Mid-December 1941: Stella Aldwinckle sets up a club at Oxford University to follow up on questions about Christian faith raised by doubters and unbelievers, and those who have lost their once-held faith. Lewis helps her to found the Socratic Club, and serves as president. Its committee will scour the pages of Who’s Who to find leading and articulate atheists or others critical of Christian belief who might come and present their creeds in a spirit of
intellectual enquiry. Several of the Inklings, and future Inklings, attend, and some participate.

Sunday 21 December 1941: In a letter to Dom Bede Griffiths, Lewis describes Charles Williams and lists the members of the Inklings: “He is an ugly man with rather a cockney voice. But no one ever thinks of this for five minutes after he has begun speaking. His face becomes almost angelic…. Charles Williams, Dyson of Reading, & my brother (Anglicans) and Tolkien and my doctor, Havard (your church) are the ‘Inklings’ to whom my Problem of Pain was dedicated.”


1942: Charles Williams’s *The Forgiveness of Sins* is published, dedicated to the Inklings.

Monday 26 January 1942: The first meeting of the “Socratic Club” is held in Oxford. R.E. Havard speaks on “Won’t Mankind Outgrow Christianity in the Face of the Advance of Science and of Modern Ideologies?”


Monday 2 March 1942: Charles Williams addresses the Oxford University Socratic Club on “Are There Any Valid Objections to Free Love?”, to a full house.

Wednesday 22 April 1942: Lewis goes by train to London to give the Annual Shakespeare Lecture to the British Academy on “Hamlet: The Prince or the Poem?”

April 1942: Lewis gives his first travelling talks to the RAF. His visit on this occasion is to the base at Abingdon, near Oxford. Some weeks later he writes to Sister Penelope: “As far as I can judge, they were a complete failure…. One must take comfort in remembering that God used an ass to convert the prophet.” His responsibilities to the RAF mean much travelling throughout Britain, with most weekends taken up.

Thursday 8 October 1942: Publication of Lewis’s scholarly work *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, a book of literary criticism partly inspired by Charles Williams’s view on one of Lewis’s long-loved authors, John Milton. Its index contains the entry “Rabbit, Peter”.

Monday 16 November 1942: C.S. Lewis speaks to the Socratic Club on “Christianity and Aesthetics, or ‘The Company Accepts No Liabilities’”.
8 February 1943: C.S. Lewis addresses the Socratic Club, his subject: “If We Have Christ’s Ethics, Does the Rest of the Christian Faith Matter?”

Wednesday 17 February 1943: Lewis gives a dinner party at Magdalen College for the writer E.R. Eddison, author of a fantasy approved by the Inklings, The Worm Ouroboros. Afterwards he takes him across to his college rooms for a meeting of the Inklings, attended by Tolkien, Warnie, and Charles Williams.

18 February 1943: Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. An honorary MA is awarded to Charles Williams, with many of the Inklings in attendance.

Monday 22 to Friday 26 February 1943: Warnie accompanies Lewis to Durham by train, where his brother gives the Riddell Memorial Lectures (later to be published as The Abolition of Man).

Wednesday 5 May 1943: Charles Williams, in letter to his wife, Michal, mentions Havard turning up in a naval lieutenant’s uniform. Havard, Tolkien, the Lewis brothers, and Charles Williams have lunch at the George Hotel.

Friday 15 October 1943: Charles Williams writes in a letter to Michal: “To-night Gervase Mathew is to take me to meet a clergyman called Austin Farrer, a philosopher and theologian – whose books are far too learned for me. But Beatrice has allured him, I am told.” Williams is referring to his book The Figure of Beatrice, on Dante and romantic love.

Monday 15 November 1943: C.S. Lewis speaks that night to the Socratic Club, on the topic of “Science and Miracles”.

Thursday 9 December 1943: Lewis hears Charles Williams read more of his novel in progress, All Hallows’ Eve, probably at an Inklings meeting at Magdalen College.

Tuesday 14 December 1943: Lewis makes a point of inviting Charles Williams to Magdalen in order to meet “Hugo” Dyson, who is over from Reading, where he teaches at that time.

Friday 24 December 1943: Lewis has finished That Hideous Strength, the third volume of his science-fiction trilogy, and writes the short preface.

1944: Charles Williams continues reading All Hallows’ Eve to the Inklings as it is being written.

Wednesday 5 January 1944: Charles Williams writes to Michal about a Time magazine journalist writing on Lewis. Having interviewed Lewis, he wants
A select Inklings chronology

the view of Charles Williams, as a friend. The cover feature eventually appears in 1947 and helps to ensure Lewis’s popularity in the United States.

Saturday 5 February 1944: Charles Williams writes to Michal: “I have found myself thinking how admirable it would be if I could get a Readership here when I retire. I know it may only be a dream; on the other hand, Lewis and Tolkien are only human, and are likely to take more trouble over a project which would enable them to see a good deal more of me than over anything which didn’t.” Lewis and Tolkien had evidently discussed this aspiration with Williams; a Readership is a senior university appointment.

Tuesday 22 February 1944: In the evening Lewis broadcasts on the BBC. On seven consecutive Tuesdays, from 22 February to 4 April between 10:15 and 10:30 p.m., he gives the talks known as “Beyond Personality”.

Monday 7 February 1944: Lewis speaks to the Socratic Club on what he calls “Bulverism; or The Foundation of Twentieth-Century Thought”.

Wednesday 1 March 1944: In a letter, Tolkien comments on the Daily Telegraph’s description of the “ascetic Mr Lewis”: “I ask you! He put away three pints in a very short session we had this morning, and said he was ‘going short for Lent’.”

Tuesday 11 April 1944: Tolkien spends two hours with Lewis and Charles Williams, during which he reads a recently composed chapter from The Lord of the Rings – to the pleasure of the others.

Thursday 13 April 1944: In a letter to his son Christopher, in South Africa, Tolkien writes that he is going to Magdalen College that night for an Inklings meeting. He anticipates that those attending will be the Lewis brothers, Charles Williams, David Cecil, and probably Dr Havard (“the Useless Quack”, who was “still bearded and uniformed”). In the event all turn up except David Cecil, and they stay until midnight.

Wednesday 19 April 1944: Tolkien reads his chapter on the passage of the Dead Marshes from the unfolding The Lord of the Rings to an approving Lewis and Charles Williams that morning.

Spring or summer vacation, 1944: Charles Williams reads the first two chapters of a work never completed, The Figure of Arthur, to Lewis and Tolkien.

Monday 8 May 1944: Tolkien reads a fresh chapter of The Lord of the Rings, in which Faramir, a new character, comes on the scene. It receives “fullest approbation” from the listeners, Lewis and Charles Williams.
Monday 22 May 1944: After an exhausting day writing a new chapter of *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien is rewarded by its warm reception by Lewis and Charles Williams.

Thursday 25 May 1944: Tolkien records, in a letter to his son Christopher, a long, very enjoyable Inklings. “Hugo” Dyson attends from Reading. Tolkien thinks him tired-looking, but still “reasonably noisy”. Warnie Lewis reads another chapter from his book on the times of Louis XIV, and his younger brother reads extracts from *The Great Divorce* (then going by the title of “Who Goes Home?” – which Tolkien quips should rather be called “Hugo’s Home”).

Monday 29 May 1944: Tolkien reads the latest two chapters from *The Lord of the Rings* to Lewis in the morning, “Shelob’s Lair” and “The Choices of Master Samwise”. Lewis approves of them with unusual fervour, according to Tolkien, and is moved to tears by the second chapter.

Monday 5 June 1944: Lewis speaks to the Socratic Club on the subject “Is Institutional Christianity Necessary?”

Thursday 8 June 1944: The Inklings assemble in Lewis’s rooms at Magdalen College, those present being Tolkien, the Lewis brothers, Charles Williams, and E.R. Eddison (on his second visit). There are three and a half hours of reading, including a long chapter from Warnie Lewis’s book on Louis XIV, a new extract from *The Lord of the Rings*, an unrecorded piece from Lewis, and a new chapter from Eddison of a work in progress, *The Mezentian Gate* (which remained incomplete at his death in 1945).

Wednesday 12 July 1944: Charles Williams records going with Tolkien to visit Lewis in a nursing home. Lewis has had a minor operation on his arm. He finds the nurses “strong-minded” in not giving him enough to eat and washing him as if he couldn’t wash himself.

Monday 14 August 1944: In a letter to Michal, Charles Williams refers to an ideal life, which includes “a Tuesday drink with the Magdalen set [the Inklings] and a sometimes Thursday evening”.

Thursday 31 August 1944: An Inklings evening is attended by Lewis, Charles Williams, and others. Lewis reads a long paper on Kipling, and Williams reads his essay on that author from his book *Poetry at Present*.

Thursday 21 September 1944: An Inklings at Magdalen College is attended by the Lewis brothers, Tolkien, and Charles Williams. Warnie Lewis reads the final chapter of his book on Louis XIV, and they hear from Lewis an unnamed article and a long extract from his translation of Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Tolkien walks part of the way home afterwards with Charles Williams,
A select Inklings chronology

discussing the concept of freedom, and its misuses. The Inklings agree that if they are spared to have one, their victory celebration will consist of hiring a country inn for at least a week and spending the time entirely in beer and talk, totally ignoring any clock.

Tuesday 3 October 1944: At noon Tolkien and Charles Williams look in at the Bird and Baby (Eagle and Child) pub. Surprisingly, the Lewis brothers are already there (records Tolkien in a letter to Christopher). The conversation becomes lively. Tolkien notices a “strange gaunt man” rather like Strider at the inn in Bree. He doesn’t have the usual “pained astonishment of the British (and American) public” on encountering the Lewises and Tolkien in a pub, but rather shows an attentive interest in the conversation. Eventually he interjects a comment on Wordsworth. The stranger turns out to be the right-wing poet and soldier Roy Campbell, recently lampooned by Lewis in The Oxford Magazine. He is promptly invited to the next Inklings on Thursday.

Saturday 14 October 1944: Writing to Michal, Charles Williams refers to the Inklings as the “Tolkien-Lewis group”.

Monday 6 November 1944: Lewis gives a talk to the Socratic Club: “Is Theology Poetry?”

Thursday 23 November 1944: Tolkien, Charles Williams, and Dr Havard dine at The Mitre before joining Lewis and Barfield, who have dined at Magdalen College. Tolkien considers Barfield the only person who can tackle Lewis when in full flood of argument, “interrupting his most dogmatic pronouncements with subtle distinguished”. Writing about the evening to his son Christopher, Tolkien describes it as “most amusing and highly contentious”. Items they hear include a short play by Barfield concerning Jason and Medea, and two sonnets that have been sent to Lewis. They discuss ghosts, the special nature of hymns (following Lewis’s involvement with the revision of Hymns Ancient and Modern for the Church of England), and other subjects.

24 December 1944: In a letter to Christopher, Tolkien relates Charles Williams’s comment on the unfolding chapters of The Lord of the Rings: “Charles Williams who is reading it all says the great thing is that its centre is not in strife and war and heroism (though they are understood and depicted) but in freedom, peace, ordinary life and good living.”

1945: Tolkien takes up the Merton Chair of English Language and Literature.

Monday 14 May 1945: The day before his friend and fellow Inkling Charles Williams unexpectedly dies, Lewis gives a talk at the Socratic Club on the subject of “Resurrection”.

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Tuesday 15 May 1945: Warnie Lewis records in his diary the death of Charles Williams: “And so vanishes one of the best and nicest men it has ever been my good fortune to meet. May God receive him into His everlasting happiness.”

Monday 4 June 1945: Inklings member Gervase Mathew addresses the Socratic Club on the topic of “Christian and Non-Christian Mysticism”.

Tuesday 11 to Friday 14 December 1945: The Inklings celebrate the war’s end at The Bull, Fairford. The group includes the Lewis brothers and Tolkien, with Dr Humphrey Havard present for some of the time.

Thursday 28 March 1946: Warnie Lewis records that an Inklings gathering included himself, Lewis, Christopher Tolkien, Humphrey Havard, Colin Hardie, and Gervase Matthew. Among other things they discussed the possibility of dogs having souls.

Thursday 8 August 1946: In his diary, Warnie notes an Inklings meeting attended by himself, his brother, Hugo Dyson, Dr Havard, Tolkien, Gervase Matthew, and a visitor, Stanley Bennett of Cambridge. It is not, he writes, the sort of evening he enjoys: “mere noise and buffoonery”.

Thursday 22 August 1946: There is an Inklings meeting attended by Tolkien, his son Christopher, and the Lewis brothers. Warnie Lewis records his brother reading a poem on Paracelsus’s view of gnomes, and Tolkien reading from his “Papers of the Notions Club” – on the downfall of Númenor.

Tuesday 10 September 1946: Dr Humphrey Havard picks up the Lewis brothers and Christopher Tolkien from Magdalen College and drives them out to The Trout, a favoured inn at Godstow, near Oxford. They sit in the garden, records Warnie, and discuss the views Dr Johnston would probably have had on contemporary literature. They also talk about the nature of women.

8 September 1947: A *Time* magazine cover feature on Lewis, “Don v. Devil”, describes his growing influence, Oxford life, and conversion from atheism, where he “found himself part of a small circle of Christian Oxonians who met informally each week or so to drink and talk”. *Time* described “his handsome, white-panelled college room overlooking the deer park” and “his tiny, book-crammed inner study”.

Thursday 13 November 1947: Warnie Lewis, in his diary, records an Inklings meeting at Merton (Tolkien’s college). There “Tollers” [Tolkien] read “a rich melancholy poem on autumn, which J[ack] very aptly described as ‘Matthew Arnold strayed into the world of Hobbit’”.
Thursday 27 November 1947: Warnie’s diary notes the topics aired at an Inklings meeting that night, attended by Tolkien, Lewis, Stevens, Havard, and himself: “We talked of B[ishop] Barnes, of the extraordinary difficulty of interesting the uneducated indifferent in religion: savage and primitive man and the common confusion between them: how far pagan mythology was a substitute for theology: bravery and panache.”

Septuagesima (Sunday 25 January) 1948: Tolkien writes to Lewis about often wanting noise, despite appearances: “I know no more pleasant sound than arriving at the B.[ird] and B.[aby] and hearing a roar, and knowing that one can plunge in.”

Thursday 20 October 1949: This is the last Thursday-night Inklings meeting that is explicitly recorded in Warnie’s diary. “No one turned up” the following week. This seems to mark the end of the Inklings as a writing group meeting regularly, though the friends continue to meet mainly for conversation on Tuesdays and later Mondays in the Eagle and Child and other pubs (such as the King’s Arms) until Lewis’s death in 1963.

1954: Publication of the first two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings*. This first edition Tolkien dedicates to the Inklings.

Tuesday 9 November 1954: Roger Lancelyn Green notes in his diary an Inklings meeting that included Tolkien, indicating that he was normally in attendance at the group at this time.

1955: At the beginning of this year, the regular Inklings pub meetings moved from Tuesday to Monday mornings, to accommodate Lewis, now that he spent part of the week in term time at Cambridge University.

1955: Publication of the final volume of *The Lord of the Rings*.

1959: Tolkien retires from teaching at Oxford.

Monday 17 June 1963: In his diary Roger Lancelyn Green notes one of the last records of an Inklings meeting, now held at the Lamb and Flag in St Giles.

Friday 22 November 1963: Lewis dies at home.


Sunday 2 September 1973: Tolkien dies.

Friday 6 June 1975: Death of H.V.D. (“Hugo”) Dyson.

Wednesday 17 July 1985: Death of Dr Robert Emlyn (“Humphrey”) Havard.

Bibliography

(1) Notes on other books on the Inklings

The Inklings, Humphrey Carpenter (1978)
Though this book is beautifully written, much more is now known about the Inklings than when it was written. It makes two controversial points: (1) It denies that Lewis and Tolkien had any real influence on each other; (2) The Inklings are defined simply as a group of Lewis’s friends. No common purpose or project shaped them, according to Carpenter.

The Magical World of the Inklings, Gareth Knight (1990)
This focuses on key books by the four main Inklings, Tolkien, Lewis, Williams, and Barfield, and brings out their main themes. The author’s interest in paganism particularly illuminates esoteric and magical elements in the books.

This ground-breaking book focuses on the Inklings as a writers’ group, and analyses their influence on each other’s writings. It is at an academic level, though clearly and engagingly written.

The Inklings of Oxford: C.S. Lewis, J.R.R. Tolkien and Their Friends, Harry Lee Poe (writer) and James Ray Veneman (photographer) (2009)
This is a full-colour, large-format, coffee-table book, lavishly illustrated, the text of which briefly but effectively tells the story of the Inklings. The photographs focus on the Oxford places associated with the group and there are useful Inklings walking-tour guides at the end.
(2) Select bibliography


Heck, Joel D. (ed.), *Socratic Digest* (Austin, TX: Concordia University Press, 2012). Reprinted from five issues originally published separately between the years 1943 and 1952.


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1996.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


The Oxford Inklings


Notes

Publication details can be found in the Bibliography unless otherwise stated.

Introduction


3 ibid., pages 13–14.


6 In Oxford, Magdalen College is on the River Cherwell.


1. Through love and beyond: Charles Williams, the enigmatic Inkling

1 John Wain, *Sprightly Running*, page 147.
2 John Wain, *Sprightly Running*, page 182.
3 Its full name was New Connection Publications Office & Bookroom.
4 Alice Mary Hadfield, *Charles Williams: An Exploration of his Life and Work*, page 12. Quoted from MS by Edith Williams, “Memories of Early Days at Home”.
6 Overheard by the poet Anne Ridler. Anne Ridler, “Introduction”, in Anne Ridler (ed.), *Charles Williams, The Image of the City and Other Essays*, page xx.
7 John Wain, *Sprightly Running*, page 149.
13 Towards the end of his life, Lewis seems to have moved somewhat towards a more “catholic” kind of Anglicanism, perhaps influenced by the Oxford theologian Austin Farrer, but continued to portray “mere Christianity” in his books and essays, and in his personal correspondence. He also had some evangelical traits, which he never abandoned.
2 Roots and shoots: Friends who will become Inklings

1 Nevill Coghill, “The approach to English”, in Jocelyn Gibb (ed.), *Light on C.S. Lewis*, pages 52–53. Note the golden chessman found in the ruins of Cair Paravel in the Narnian tale *Prince Caspian*.


4 *ibid.*, page 15.

5 *ibid.*, page 16.


7 *ibid*.


9 *ibid*.

10 *ibid*.

3 The 1920s: Oxford, wistful dreams, and a war with Owen Barfield

1 I owe this insight to Lauren Jones, President of the Newman Carnegie Library, Newnan, GA, USA.

2 C.S. Lewis, *Dymer*, page xi.

3 I.A. Richards, *Principles of Literary Criticism*, chapter one.

4 For more on the impact of Richards on literary study, see http://www/english.cam.ac.uk/classroom/pracrit.htm. Accessed 29 October 2014


Notes

8 For an important study of Barfield’s influence on Tolkien, see Verlyn Flieger, *Splintered Light: Logos and Language in Tolkien’s World*.

9 Lewis explains this idea for the general reader in his chapter “Horrid Red Things” in *Miracles* (1960), and more technically in his chapter “Bluspels and Flalansferes” in Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis: Selected Literary Essays*.

10 Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances*, 1957, page 42. Barfield defined original participation as the belief that “there stands behind the phenomena, and on the other side of them from me, a represented which is of the same nature as me… of the same nature as the perceiving self, inasmuch as it is not mechanical or accidental, but psychic and voluntary”.


14 William Golding’s son, David, studied for a year at Michael Hall, before doing his A levels elsewhere.

15 The published *The Silmarillion* (1977) is a distillation, edited by Tolkien’s son Christopher, of a vast body of unfinished material written between 1917 and his death in 1973.

16 His daughter, Priscilla, was born in Oxford in 1929.


18 Oral history interview with Owen Barfield, The Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, IL.


23 C.S. Lewis, “Preface by the Author to the 1950 Edition [of *Dymer]*)”, in Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis; Narrative Poems*, page 3.

24 C.S. Lewis, “Is Theology Poetry?”
4 J.R.R. Tolkien returns to Oxford and C.S. Lewis meets God

1 It is included in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, Vol. 3 of *The History of Middle-earth*.

2 This is included in J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Book of Lost Tales, Part Two*, Vol. 2 of *The History of Middle-earth*.

3 A.N. Wilson, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, page 117.


6 Discerning students of Tolkien’s picked up on his fervent and inspiring love of language and medieval literature.

7 Oxford did, however, grant John Betjeman an honorary doctorate of letters in 1974, nearly fifty years later.

8 J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Legend of Sigurd and Gudrún*.


10 Italics mine. Lord David Cecil, *The Stricken Deer, or The Life of Cowper*. Lord David was referring to the poets Thompson and Crabbe as representative of the mainstream. “The light that never was, on land and sea” is a quotation from Wordsworth’s poem *Lines Suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle in a Storm* (1807).

11 For a fuller account of their friendship, see Colin Duriez, J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Gift of Friendship.


13 There would remain an option to study Victorian literature, but this option was not encouraged, it seems.

14 In one place, Lewis wonders whether the radical divide goes back even further in its earliest seeds to ideas of the great medieval philosopher St Thomas Aquinas. He writes in *The Allegory of Love*: “Aristotle is, before all, the philosopher of divisions. His effect on his greatest disciple [Aquinas], as M. Gilson has traced it, was to dig new chasms… The danger of Pantheism grew less: the danger of mechanical Deism came a step nearer. It is almost as if the first, faint shadow of Descartes, or even of ‘our present discontents’ had fallen across the scene”, page 88.
Christopher Ricks’s review of Humphrey Carpenter’s *The Inklings* in *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/books/01/02/11/specials/tolkien-carpenter.html (accessed 29 October 2014). The familiar title of Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* was created many years later. Another friend, Cecil Harwood, in this early period was called by his friends “the lord of the walks”, as he arranged walking excursions for them.


David C. Downing’s excellent *The Most Reluctant Convert* does just that.

W.H. Lewis (ed.), *Letters of C.S. Lewis*, page 141.

ibid., chapter 3.

In an early, unfinished account of his conversion to theism, he declared: “I am an empirical Theist. I have arrived at God by induction.”

5 The birth of the Inklings

1 Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), *Brothers and Friends*, page 26.

2 C.S. Lewis, “Introductory”, in *The Problem of Pain*.

3 The full title is *The Lewis Papers: Memoirs of the Lewis Family 1850–1930*, which would eventually run to eleven volumes, and be completed by 1935.


8 Assuming this is the same conversation recorded in *Surprised by Joy*, which is likely.

9 Lewis and Warnie took another trip to Whipsnade, on their own, a week later, and Lewis made a further trip the following spring in a car with a very talkative colleague, Revd Edward Foord-Kelsey, and Arthur Greeves, which doesn’t appear conducive to the decisive conversion experience as described by Lewis. Warnie was clear in his mind which day was the momentous one marking his brother’s return to Christianity; his
record would have been based on conversations and other knowledge, not simply on surviving letters from his brother. In Lewis’s much later *Surprised by Joy* there is a paragraph describing Whipsnade at that period, in contrast to its loss of glory in the 1950s. Alister McGrath argues that mainly because bluebells, which are spring flowers, are mentioned in the description (which he takes as a description only of the day of conversion, rather than of that period), Lewis’s conversion might have occurred during the spring visit of 1932. In view of the documentation of the time in letters, Warnie’s diary, details in his unpublished biography of his brother, and other pointers, it seems to me that Warnie is the best authority we have for identifying Lewis’s acceptance of Christian belief with the Whipsnade visit of September 1931.

10 Published in C.S. Lewis, *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics*, (edited by Walter Hooper).

11 Owen Barfield could talk about myth becoming fact in Jesus Christ as a belief already there in Steiner’s thought. However, Steiner had a very different view of fact from Lewis and Tolkien. Steiner interpreted the Gospel records according to hidden knowledge.


14 Maria Kuteeva, “Myth”, in Thomas L. Martin (ed.), *Reading the Classics with C.S. Lewis*, page 269.


17 Letter 25 March 1933.

18 Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), *Brothers and Friends*, page 102.

19 The book was given by Bede Griffiths; letter to W.H. Lewis, 24 October 1931, Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis: Collected Letters Vol. One*


23 See Warren Lewis’s diary, 21 Dec 1933, in Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), *Brothers and Friends*.

24 Nevill Coghill married in 1927, and had one daughter.
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26 By Hugo Dyson, after forgetting his name.


28 He recalled the date to John Rateliff, in “Introduction”, *The History of the Hobbit*, Kindle location 20469; see also Robert E. Havard, “Philia”, in James T. Como (ed.), *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*, page 215, and in oral history interview with Havard by The Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton, IL, 1984.


6 The 1930s: Writing books they liked to read

1 From a computer printout in the Bodleian Library, Barfield Collection, Dep. C. 1156. The article appeared in *The World and I*, January or February 1990.


3 The lecture is available in a collection of essays by Tolkien, edited by his son Christopher Tolkien: *J.R.R. Tolkien, The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*.


6 C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, page 44. At this point Lewis in a footnote simply refers the reader to Owen Barfield’s *Poetic Diction* (1928). Barfield in that book argues that an original unified consciousness in humans has become fractured.


9 Lewis was trying to show that the virtues and values resided in something even larger than the entire “Old West” – that is, our essential humanity, carrying the image of God. It was an ambitious natural theology by a layperson.

10 C.S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man*.


7 The war years and the Golden Age of the Inklings

1 Barfield's knowledgeable biographer, Simon Blaxford-de Lange, writes of “the art of conversation” as being “the essential hallmark of the Inklings circle” (*Owen Barfield: Romanticism Come of Age – A Biography*, page 45).

2 There was no absolute distinction between the two types of meeting. There was much conversation in the evening meetings, and in a documented meeting in a pub (the White Horse) Tolkien read a new chapter of *The Lord of the Rings* to C.S. Lewis and Charles Williams (on Wednesday 12 April 1944), indicating (given the scarcity of documentation on get-togethers of the Inklings) that there may have been rare readings from time to time in pubs.


4 Victory in Europe.

5 Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, page 157. The “best of all public-houses” was the Eagle and Child, in St Giles.

6 The last record I can find of Adam Fox’s attendance at an Inklings meeting is on 29 February 1940. See Lewis’s letter to his brother, Warren, in Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis: Collected Letters Vol. Two*, pages 359–60.


8 John Wain, *Sprightly Running*, pages 147–152.

9 Letter of Charles Williams to Florence Williams, 9 November 1943. Archived at The Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, IL.
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12 Letter to Warren Lewis, 11 April 1940.

13 See Laurence Harwood, *C.S. Lewis, My Godfather: Letters, Photos and Recollections*.

14 For even more glimpses, gleaned from the sparse documentation we have, see Appendix 2: A select Inklings chronology.

15 *The Lord of the Rings* is divided into six books. It was initially published in three volumes, each consisting of two books. With the publishing technology that existed in the 1950s, it seems that a one-volume edition of the work was not possible, even if it had been financially suitable.


17 Lewis notes in a letter to Warnie that a couple of nights before, the cold had woken him despite his wearing a pullover and having a great number of blankets on his bed. He couldn’t take a sip of water from the tumbler beside his bed as the water had frozen.

18 Lewis tended to refer to the Inklings in the singular, perhaps implying it was an entity with a definite character, rather than merely a higgledy-piggledy circle of his friends (see chapter 11).

19 That is, classes or orders in the British body politic.

20 Letter from C.S. Lewis to W.H. Lewis, 3 March 1940.

21 Major Lewis was not, it seems, evacuated from Dunkirk (at the end of May 1940), as stated in *Brothers and Friends*, page 201.

22 The student, Karl Leyser, later left his studies to fight with the Black Watch (an elite Scottish infantry regiment). After the war he was a history don at Magdalen College, and later a Professor of Medieval History at Oxford University. A high proportion of the Jewish population of Holland were sent to no-return Concentration Camps such as Auschwitz.

23 Robert E. Havard, “Philia: Jack at Ease”, in James T. Como (ed.), *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*, page 217.

25 C.S. Lewis, “Introductory”, in 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, page 2.

26 John Wain, Sprightly Running, page 184.

27 The Acland Nursing Home was on Banbury Road, near the Radcliffe Infirmary.

28 Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), Brothers and Friends, pages 184–85.

8 The close of the Golden Age

1 Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), Brothers and Friends, pages 218–19.

2 ibid., page 200.


4 His letter to the editor was published in Encounter, XX, No. 1 (January 1963), page 81, with the title “Wain’s Oxford”.

5 19 September.


7 ibid., page 226.

8 See Lewis’s preface in C.S. Lewis (ed.), Essays Presented to Charles Williams.


10 Published with the Notion Club Papers after Tolkien’s death in Sauron Defeated, a volume of The History of The Lord of the Rings, edited by Christopher Tolkien.


12 For more on Tolkien’s work on the earlier ages of Middle-earth, and The Silmarillion, see Colin Duriez, Tolkien and the Lord of the Rings: A Guide to Middle-earth.

13 Specifically, Parts One and Two.

14 Barfield was of the opposite opinion about Carpenter’s reconstruction. David C. Downing also reconstructs an Inklings conversation, this time in the Eagle and Child pub, in his novel Looking for the King.
NOTES


16 For a full account of the friendship, see Colin Duriez, Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Gift of Friendship – published as J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Story of Their Friendship in the UK.


18 Published by Geoffrey Bles.

19 The BBC was forced to abandon pioneering work on developing television broadcasting as a result of the onset of war and the initial fear of invasion by the enemy, so its wartime output was solely on radio. (See Justin Phillips, C.S. Lewis at the BBC.


22 David Graham (ed.), We Remember C.S. Lewis, page 51.


24 Derek Brewer, “The Tutor: A Portrait”, in James T. Como, C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences, page 57.

25 I owe this insight to David Porter, co-author with me of The Inklings Handbook, in conversation.

26 Joel D. Heck (ed.), Socratic Digest, page 96.

27 There is a parallel shift of emphasis in Tolkien’s writing, as his exploration of mythologies carried in language shifted in emphasis from his scholarly to his fictional output. See Colin Duriez, J.R.R. Tolkien: The Making of a Legend.

28 Owen Barfield wrote powerfully against a logical positivist approach to language in his introduction to the third edition of his Poetic Diction (1984).


30 Interview with Basil Mitchell, in Andrew Walker and James Patrick (eds.), A Christian for All Christians.
9 The Inklings: The final years

1 Barfield tells the story in a humorous fiction about the conflicts of creativity and humdrum duty based on his experiences in the family law firm. It is called *This Ever Diverse Pair*, and was admired by Walter de la Mare.

2 The founder was actually Stella Aldwinckle – see the previous chapter.


5 Roger Lancelyn Green would write a significant booklet on Lewis in the Bodley Head series, and write much of the first edition of *C.S. Lewis: A Biography*, co-authored with Walter Hooper.

6 For more on Joy Davidman, see Colin Duriez, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography of Friendship*.

8 James Dundas-Grant, “From an ‘Outsider’”, in James T. Como (ed.), *C.S. Lewis at the Breakfast Table and Other Reminiscences*, page 231.

9 *ibid.*, page 231.


13 *ibid.*, pages 158–159.

14 See *ibid.*, page 158.

15 Quoted in Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, page 63.

16 Letter to Nathan Comfort Starr, 22 April 1959, in Walter Hooper (ed.), *C.S. Lewis: Collected Letters, Vol. Three*. There is no documentation of when Tolkien completely stopped attending the morning meetings of the Inklings. It may have been partly due to his house move in 1953 to 76 Sandfield Road, which took him further from the town centre and out to
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Headington. It may also reflect the cooling of his friendship with Lewis, and his growing lack of interest now there was no longer reading of work in the group.

17 *ibid.*, page 159.


20 This is more fully explored in Colin Duriez, *Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Gift of Friendship*, published in the UK as *J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis: The Story of Their Friendship*.


23 Joanna Tolkien is the daughter of his son Michael Tolkien.

24 Helen Armstrong (ed.), *Digging Potatoes, Growing Trees: 25 Years of Speeches at the Tolkien Society’s Annual Dinners*, page 34.

25 For more on Joy Davidman’s involvement with *Till We Have Faces*, and possibly further collaboration in Lewis’s writings, see Colin Duriez, *C.S. Lewis: A Biography of Friendship*.

10 After the Inklings

1 The talk, simply entitled “C.S. Lewis”, was given on 16 October 1964, but not published until twenty-five years later, in Owen Barfield (edited by G. B. Tennyson), *Owen Barfield on C.S. Lewis*.

2 *ibid.*, page 3.

3 On 1 January 1966 he wrote: “Oh if only I could have known in time that he was to die first, how I would have Boswellised him!” James Boswell, companion of Dr Johnson, wrote his friend’s biography, using his journalistic experience to reproduce his wise and witty conversation.

4 Clyde S. Kilby and Marjorie Lamp Mead (eds.), *Brothers and Friends*, page 326.
11 The Inklings: Just a group of friends?


3 C.S. Lewis, preface, in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, page vi.

4 See the Introduction to this book.


9 *ibid.*, page 42.


Appendix 2  A select Inklings chronology


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Acknowledgments


