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On the cover: Fantasia on 42 (unpublished notebook drawing) by John Vernon Lord. See p. 61. Note also the number of dingbats.
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Monsters roam our pages herein as we cover the fall 2018 LCSNA meeting at the Morgan Library in New York. The library’s main exhibit, “Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, Wonders,” featured illuminated manuscripts, statues, and miscellaneous objects with a monstrous theme, all from the library’s world-class collection. One statue stopped us in our tracks: that of the third-century Saint Firmin holding his own head. A cephalophore (Greek for “head-carrier”), he was one of many saints who suffered martyrdom by decapitation. Heady stuff!

More to the Carrollian point, the library created a special exhibit of monsters and other highlights from their Carroll collection, just for us. A Through the Looking-Glass first edition, interleaved with proofs for the illustrations, was complete with Tenniel’s notes, including a list of corrections to be made to the Jabberwock—Carroll’s most famous monster. Speaking of Tenniel, Matt Demakos concludes his two-part article on Tenniel’s post-production drawings and tracings, examining why Tenniel created a set of twenty post-production drawings, how they were sold and resold, and the identity of the first collectors who owned them.

We also have a mini-Disney theme. Daniel Rover Singer takes a fresh look at Disney’s 1951 feature-length cartoon, Alice in Wonderland. For many, it was their first exposure to Carroll’s universe—albeit filtered through the Disney lens. Surprisingly, it lost money on first release, but eventually became profitable in the age of videocassettes and DVDs. In “All Must Have Prizes,” Matt Crandall discusses the many recordings of music from the Disney movie. Interestingly, the first Alice records appeared in 1944, and were not Disney recordings. Ginger Rogers, hoping to star in a live-action/animation adaptation of Alice for Disney, recorded an early collection of songs on the Decca label.

In this issue, we return to a happy tradition: more annotations for Alice. Martin Gardner wrote the first edition of The Annotated Alice in 1960, and it has been revised many times, most recently with The Annotated Alice 150th Anniversary Deluxe Edition, expanded and updated by Mark Burstein. In this issue, Molly Martin adds new information to the seemingly never-ending world of facts about the Alice books.

Lastly, we salute Stephanie Lovett as she completes her term as LCSNA president, and welcome Linda Cassady aboard our Snark ship. Stephanie has done great work for the Society, not the least of which was spearheading the movement to update our Constitution. We extend the fondest tip of our Hatter’s hat to her!

CHRIS MORGAN
Our monster mash was a non–graveyard smash in New York this fall, as visiting Carrollians were surrounded by scary customers at the Morgan Library. Their Medieval Monsters exhibition was on view, featuring illuminated manuscripts and other monstrous objects. There was also a display of rare Carrollian material in the Reading Room, arranged especially for our meeting, featuring some notable Carrollian monsters.

The meeting began on Friday, September 21, with the first official (that is, under the new name) Maxine and David Schaefer Memorial Reading at PS 347: The American Sign Language and English Lower School in Lower Manhattan. In attendance were about 20 LCSNA members; 55 children from the third, fourth, and fifth grades of the school; and a variety of teachers, staff, interpreters, and volunteers.

The students who attend this school are either deaf or are hearing children of parents who are deaf, and some of the teachers and volunteers are deaf as well. After discussing the history of the Reading and the LCSNA, Ellie Schaefer-Salins began performing the “Mad Tea-Party” chapter as narrator, with Griffin Miller as Alice and the Dormouse, April Lynn James (aka Madison Hatta) as the Mad Hatter, and Stephanie Lovett as the March Hare. Since Ellie is fluent in American Sign Language (ASL), she signed for herself. The interpreters did a wonderful job of finding ways to sign the puns in the story.

On behalf of the LCSNA, Ellie thanked the school’s librarian, Elliot Andreopoulos, for helping to set up the Reading. The LCSNA has now given out free books to grateful children twice a year for the past 21 years, more than 2,000 in total. (Could this have been the 42nd Reading?)

On Saturday morning, we gathered at the sumptuous Morgan Library & Museum. Attendees received a beautiful keepsake from Clare and August Imholtz—“The Mad Gardener’s Song” from *Sylvie and Bruno*, printed by the Crooked Crow Press. August, speaking formally in Latin, then presented outgoing LCSNA president Stephanie Lovett with an elegant drawing of “Queen Stephanie” by Jonathan Dixon, as a token of our appreciation for her tireless efforts on behalf of the Society over the past four years.

Stephanie got us in a monster mood with her extensive disquisition on the topic, noting that monsters are really distorted versions of something we know. Illustrations in the *Alice* books by Tenniel, Rackham, and many others often distort the faces and bodies of characters; grownups in particular are caricatured. This can evoke the Self we fear and repress—and hide from others and ourselves—or perhaps the fabulous Self we haven’t claimed.
Monsters can evoke both fear and pity. We see a classic example in Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein: or The Modern Prometheus*. (Coincidentally, an exhibit about *Frankenstein* is scheduled for the Morgan in late 2018 to mark the 200th anniversary of the book.) Barry Moser’s illustrations of the monster are good evocations of both fear and pity, and *King Kong* comes to mind as well. (*King Kong* is scheduled to open on Broadway in late fall.) Stephanie sees the need to acknowledge both the horror of the abnormal and distorted, and the tragedy of the innocent outsider ultimately too good for this world who dies at the hands of the “normal” people.

A monster can be an unknown and peculiar being who is also marvelous and enchanting, for example the Unicorn and Gryphon from *Looking-Glass*. Love of the wondrous might lead us towards “sacred terrors”; it’s both wonderful and terrible that the world is full of things beyond our comprehension. Religions have a lot to say about this. C. S. Lewis makes the point in the *Narnia* books that Aslan is not a tame lion. So the monstrous—the meeting with a being who renders our norms and preconceptions useless (including our ideas of “good” and “bad”)—might also remind us of our place in the universe and the limits of our understanding. This is true whether we’re in the presence of Cthulhu, Aslan, or something as totally “other” as a real alien being whose intelligence is nothing like our own, such as an octopus.

In the West (though not in all other cultures), the dragon embodies monstrous evil—a robust and perhaps satisfying way to externalize, and so combat and even defeat, the evil things in life. Tenniel tamed the Jabberwock by giving him a waistcoat before he was slain by the beamish boy. Neil Gaiman notes that fairy tales are important because they tell us not that dragons are real, but that dragons can be slain.

Another “monstrous” idea—that a woman is a human being in whom something has gone horribly wrong—occurs in both Aristotle and Aquinas, and is illustrated in the library’s exhibit by a section on the Fallen Woman/Femme Fatale, which showed sirens, Eve, and the like.

We might compare Alice to Lyra in Philip Pullman’s *His Dark Materials* stories. The Fall is good, and necessary to be human. Alice might also be another kind of character, a woman in whom humanity has gone very right instead of very wrong. In Carroll we can sometimes see girls as representing fallen human beings, but there is also the sense that Alice is a mature and knowing person, exactly what people ought to be. Maybe there’s something for us Carollians in contemplating Lyra’s path—that you don’t fall out of your ideal self, but into it.

Monsters can also be border-crossers, transgressors, truth-tellers, and tricksters. When we encounter monsters, wonders, and aliens, we’re dealing with beings who, at least from our perspective, are partway between the natural and the supernatural. They’re liminal, they break boundaries, and they make a mess of our rules.

In his introduction to the catalogue of the Medieval Monsters exhibition, fantasy-ish author China Miéville (whose work has undoubtedly won many Carollian fans) talks about the black box of monsters—the resistance to decoding—which is something we all recognize and celebrate about the *Alice* books, the *Snark*, and other Carroll works. They’re not allegories, nor easy one-to-one parodies—nothing so simple and so ultimately thin and uninteresting.

Carroll’s characters and his world, like these transgressive monsters, are nonbinary and untidy. That makes them all the more upsetting to people who want a tidy world, and all the more delightful to those who are happy that there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio . . .

To embrace them, you have to inquire within. How important are norms to you? Can you understand your own culture as turning people into monsters as a form of social control? Can you welcome outsiders as bringing something you lack? Can you admit you lack something? Can you turn over some control to the monsters? For all of Carroll’s buttoned-down qualities, perhaps we know he could.

Next, Michael Patrick Hearn spoke on “Alice and Other Fabulous Monsters: Concerning Wonderland Beasts and Looking-Glass Creatures within the Context of British History and Their Own Time.” Michael is a scholar of children’s books and their illustration, and a founding member of the LCSNA. He noted a similarity between the hidden landscape of a child’s mind in Barrie’s *Peter and Wendy* (the novelization of his famous play) and the map of Alice’s mind described by Carroll in *Under Ground* and *Looking-Glass*. While Barrie’s descriptive map of Neverland was exciting and often confusing, Carroll’s map included
far more unusual creatures and monsters. Hearn pointed out that when Alice meets the Unicorn in TTLG, each sees the other as a “fabulous monster,” and then, having seen each other, they can believe in each other. He also noted that Alice seems completely unflustered by the array of strange creatures she meets, despite the fact that none was particularly nice to her. Well, they were her own inventions!

Hearn reminded us that the Unicorn and the Lion were symbols of Scotland and England respectively, and that the unicorn was widely represented in sacred art—perhaps a fact forgotten or ignored by Carroll who, after all, replaced the passion flower with the tiger lily in the Looking-Glass garden when he learned that the former referred to the Passion of Christ. But the Unicorn and Lion fought not just for a royal title but also for a sporting title—as the White King remarked, they had each been down eighty-seven times. This might also bring to mind Tenniel’s famous Punch cartoons of the Conservative and Liberal sparring of those battling British Parliamentarians William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli.

To Hearn it is evident that Carroll depended heavily on Tenniel to depict his monsters, not giving much by way of descriptions. Carroll at one point suggests to the reader that “If you don’t know what a Gryphon is, look at the picture.” And the same goes for most of the characters and other fabulous monsters. Hearn speculates that Carroll might not have included the Gryphon if he had been aware that, being both aerial and terrestrial, it was a medieval symbol of Christ.

Hearn noted the wonderful visual puns in the illustrations of the Mock Turtle, the Rocking-horse-fly, the Bread-and-butter-fly, and the Snap-dragon-fly. These must nearly have illustrated themselves. But the dreaded Jabberwock “with eyes of flame” was totally left to Tenniel to portray. His depiction was so frightening that Carroll even polled thirty mothers of his child friends as to their opinion if the drawing was “too terrible a monster, and likely to harm nervous and imaginative children.” Their consensus was to keep it in the book but remove it as the frontispiece.

Hearn also noted the fabulous human monsters in Alice’s dreams. Not only “weird and uncanny” but also compared to a “grotesque monster,” the Hatter is, of course, a bit mad. Tweedledum and Tweedledee resemble Tenniel’s John Bull in Punch, and even Disney’s vision of the Queen of Hearts is true to Carroll’s description of her as “a sort of ungovernable passion—a blind and aimless Fury.” She is not based, as is sometimes thought, on Queen Victoria; more likely she was a take-off on Elizabeth I, just as famous for her beheadings as was her father, Henry VIII.

Hearn concluded his talk speaking of Alice herself as the Unicorn declared her: “a fabulous monster” from his point of view. After all, Alice had grown to monstrous heights. And when she shrank to just three inches, all common creatures—mice, puppies, caterpillars, fish, frog, and rabbits—were of monstrous size to her.

Our next speaker was the ever effervescent Cindy Watter, erstwhile LCSNA secretary and vice president, who gave us a talk entitled “Phantasmagoria Through the Looking-Glass” about Carroll’s long narrative poem—discussed for the first time in our 44-year history! In it, a little ghost appears in a man’s home one night, and after consuming all his host’s food and drink and telling his life story—which includes a taxonomy of ghosts and the quotidiana of haunting—realizes he has been in the wrong house all along. He decamps, leaving the deflated tenant of the house, our narrator, just a bit lonesome for the odd little creature.

Having taught Advanced Placement English Literature with brilliant success for decades in the Napa, California, public school system (some former students were in the audience for her talk), Cindy began by asking volunteers to read aloud the first canto of the poem, one stanza per person. She then analyzed the poem for structure, meter, and other qualities just as she would do with her AP students.

The poem is set up in seven cantos. The rhyme scheme is A B A A B, which Carroll maintains for 150 verses. The dominant meter is iambic tetrameter, with its da-DA da-DA da-DA da-DA rhythm. But not all da-DAs are equal: there are differences in stress length. These differences keep the cantos from sounding too sing-songy. “Phastasmagoria” has a very strict form, a wonderful contrast to its lighthearted subject matter.

The opening stanza, which begins “One winter night, at half-past nine, / Cold, tired, and cross, and muddy,” reminds us of Poe. Temporal concepts are mentioned four times—“One winter night,” “half-
past nine,” “too late to dine,” “was waiting.” Time’s winged chariot does not stand still; in fact there is the sense of being too late for something. Such references abound throughout the poem, including the speaker wondering if any of it happened at all, or if it was simply a dream, which is a classic Carrollian conceit—“‘What’s this?’ I wondered. ‘Have I slept? Or can I have been drinking?’”

The first five lines actually make one long sentence; the litany of detail—“cold, tired, and cross, and muddy,” “too late to dine”—implies frustration, partially assuaged by the supper waiting in the study. The cozy words “come home” are undercut by “too late to dine.” The repetition of “and” adds to the tone of “as if that weren’t enough!”; it acts as an intensifier.

The repetition of “white and wavy” (the description of the little ghost’s appearance) in Canto One ensures that the reader understands how visually unfamiliar is the situation. Repetition is also a mnemonic device that creates expectations that can be fulfilled—or not. It has an incantatory quality. There is more than visual detail—we have gustatory, auditory, olfactory, and tactile as well. And we have the so bizarre it can’t be described: “There was a strangeness in the room” just as the little ghost is introduced. Aside from sounding a lot like Emily Dickinson, this line creates suspense, curiosity, and the sense of an ineffable oddness. Cindy said that, after reading it aloud for about the forty-second time, she noticed a few things that she hadn’t paid attention to before: The little ghost has the ability to be in two places at once, apparently, and by the end of Canto One, he grows “more white,” both of which are impossible—which is the whole point.

The first canto alone contains many of the preoccupations of the Alice books—a lively interest in food and drink (including a criticism of “bad wine”), a creature who can appear and disappear (think Cheshire Cat), class-consciousness (the host only lives in a one-ghost house), etiquette, the number 42, a tendency for the characters to order each other about, an alternative universe and the disorientation resulting from discovering it, and, somehow, an acceptance of the genuinely weird. Cindy particularly likes the host’s concern about feeding a creature who is actually translucent.

Later in the poem there are mentions of Guy Fawkes, incidents of violence (throwing a bottle, assaulting a host), allusions to literature (Hamlet), wordplay (“Knight Mayor” for “nightmare”) and puns, twisted logic, an inability to do simple arithmetic, and a discussion of how to address ghostly nobility—“Your Royal Whiteness”—which is a bit unnerving (!). These tidbits will be familiar to readers of the Alice books.

You might think that a ghost was a strange subject for Lewis Carroll, but, according to Martin Gardner and others, Carroll was fascinated by the paranormal. He believed in psychokinesis and extrasensory perception—but not in ghosts as revenants. He was an early member of the Society for Psychical Research, and after his death, the catalogue for the auction of his possessions lists books about the supernatural, fairy-tales, folk tales, ghost stories, magic and magicians (such as Baring-Gould’s Book of Were-Wolves), and many books on dreams, including Jean Ingelow’s A Story of Doom and Other Poems, and many more.

What makes this ghost story unusual? Ghosts are supposed have returned from the dead. The light-hearted chatterbox of “Phantasmagoria” doesn’t have a tragic or thrilling backstory—a ghost like this is simply something that old houses should have. His mother is a Fairy and his father is a Brownie. The mother favors nurture over nature, and has managed to raise her various progeny as a Pixy, two Fays, a Banshee, a Fetch, a Kelpie, a Poltergeist, a Ghoul, Trolls, a Double, an Elf, a Phantom (the visiting ghost), and a Leprechaun. Cindy showed slides of various ghosts. Just as in Victorian England, there is a class structure, with Spectres at the top. They are tall and willowy, and apparently you have to be born into that status. To Cindy, they look like eighteenth-century aristocrats waiting to have their hair powdered.

She next turned to bibliography: The first edition (1869) lacked illustrations, and was published under the title of Phantasmagoria and Other Poems. This collection of verse, Carroll’s first, parodies such nineteenth-century stalwarts as Wordsworth, Swinburne, and Tennyson. “Hiawatha’s Photographing,” the most famous in the collection, is a send-up of Longfellow.

Carroll’s exacting nature when it came to the production and promotion of his books is well known. Still, it is quite funny to read Alexander Macmillan’s plea, “I wish you would let me advertise it as by the author of Alice.” Won’t you?” Carroll objected to having
this on the title page, but he consented to any other advertisement Macmillan wished. Carroll also had a plan to include a satirical poem about Oxford in a special edition for local readers, to be distinguished by an “O” on the binding. Macmillan responded in a tone of refined exasperation, “There is no end to the perplexities your proposed scheme would cause,” and suggested Carroll have it printed separately. In the end, there was a loose flyleaf advertisement for *Alice* tipped into *Phantasmagoria*, and a similar ad for *Phantasmagoria* tipped into *Alice*. Carroll finally decided to publish the Oxford poem in *Phantasmagoria*—no special edition. The book sold well. According to Edward Wakeling, Carroll had 600 copies printed for the first edition (January 1869), and a second edition of 1,000 copies came out in the same year.

The book’s cover, chosen by Carroll, is adorned with a “Celestial Phantasmagoria”: the Crab Nebula on the front and Donati’s Comet on the back. Macmillan persuaded Carroll to forego the red of *Wonderland* because those “skyey objects seem so homeless without the blue.”

When Lewis Carroll approached A. B. Frost in 1878 for what was to be a reissue of the book, now to be called *Rhyme? and Reason?*, he was a best-selling author looking for an illustrator. Nevertheless, he excused himself for taking the liberty of writing to a stranger. Carroll modestly described himself as “the writer of a little book (*Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*)” and asked if Frost would be able to do “a few pictures.” With his typical precision, he added the dimensions and requested “about the same amount of finish as Tenniel’s drawings usually have.” Frost was at the time an up-and-coming young American illustrator, who would go on to do Joel Chandler Harris’s *Uncle Remus* tales, Carroll’s *A Tangled Tale*, and a book by Mark Twain, among many others.

Cindy quoted several passages from the correspondence between author and illustrator. In January 1879, Carroll wrote:

> As to the “little ghost,” . . . [m]y idea of him is of a little old man, dressed in a long frockcoat, long flowered-waistcoat, silk stockings, buckles—in fact a sort of Charles I style: with an anxious frightened look (except in the later part of the poem, when he has recovered his confidence, where he should wear an impudent grin) . . .

Later Carroll got into deeper discussion about one specific picture, when the narrator imagines the little ghost at the correct home, bothering the host at 3 a.m., and perhaps not coming out too well from the encounter. He objected to Frost’s drawing, saying it was more suitable for a portrayal of Bill Sykes killing Nancy in *Oliver Twist*, and he proposed a gentler substitute.

Frost wrote back, in accord, “I agree with you that the warming-pan man is a savage looking individual and I will draw him again as you suggest.”

The Dalziel brothers did the woodblock engraving, as they had done for the *Alice* books, and the final production was a felicitous junction of art and literature. “Phantasmagoria” remains a highly enjoyable work that shows Lewis Carroll’s sense of incongruous comedy, as well as his poetic talent. The shift from the eerie to the downright silly is brilliant, and the Victorian reader must have enjoyed the satirical take on the popular ghost story subgenre. “Literature,” Cindy concluded, “is the best way to communicate with the dead.”

After an excellent buffet lunch in the library, the redoubtable Adam Gopnik gave a talk entitled “If I Believe in You, Will You Believe in Me?” He announced that “What I tell you three times is true,” and pointed out that this was the third time he had spoken before us. (We didn’t need a reminder, as he has been one of our most popular guests.)

Gopnik’s talk on monsters was “a taxonomy through history.” He said there were four kinds of monsters. The first type is the Classical Monster. “It is not an evil being, but a challenging face of the divine.” The *Odyssey* features multiple alternative faces of the divine: Cyclops is the son of Poseidon; the centaur is a hybrid monster, but also a teacher. “Monstrousness equals insight.” This type of monster is a composite allegory of the divine—it comes from Olympus. There is something scary “up there.”

On the other hand, the second type, the Medieval/Christian Monster, is the scary thing “out there.” It is on the margins of our attention and mind, out-
side civilization. It is so far outside the common experience, it is apocalyptic. It is the vehicle of the absolute other; the word could be applied to a social outsider.

The greatest example of the third type, the Romantic Monster, is, of course, Frankenstein. The true monster is the scientist, whose creation is “a reflection of his deepest self.” It is “the part of ourselves that we don’t want to accept.” This category includes Jekyll/Hyde and Dracula, with their “insinuations into erotic consciousness.” These monsters are “in there.”

The final category, the Modern Monster, is less sharply defined. It is “terrifying, all around.” For example, in H. P. Lovecraft, the monster is the mood, not a creature. Horror movies have this idea: when the monster is killed, it somehow has new life. (He noted a similar plot device in Beowulf: When the monster is destroyed, something worse appears—his mother!) This monster is all-pervasive, “the void as monster.”

Gopnik discussed the paranoia of the Cold War, when monsters were everywhere you looked (e.g., Inversion of the Body Snatchers). This was also a major preoccupation of Philip K. Dick, who gave us the idea of reality itself as the monster. We can also see this in the Matrix films. “Violence never goes away.” It is a permanent condition with the Modern Monster.

Next, Gopnik asked, “Can we find all types of monsters in Carroll’s work?” The answer, of course, is “yes.” The Classical Monster is self-evident here, with the Gryphon and the Mock Turtle, which exemplify the “missmashed marriage of two things.” They are “fully rational creatures, incorporated into the world.” What they are not are “disruptors, explicators, teachers.” Examples of Carroll’s Medieval Monsters include the Jabberwock and the Snark. Both stories are classic quest stories, although they mock the solemnity of quest tales, which a hundred years later return in Tolkien. (Gopnik quoted Philip Larkin’s take on the Lord of the Rings trilogy: “I don’t mind reading [them]; I hate having to pretend they’re interesting.”) Are they nonsense? No, “Edward Lear engages in nonsense. ‘Jabberwocky’ is not nonsense; it is explained to us fully.” Gopnik called it NEWsense, or words and grammar we are not accustomed to.

“Nonsense is meant to comment on the opacity of language.” He added that “The Mad Gardener’s Song” from Sylvie and Bruno, meant to be a surreal juxtaposition, is very like Lear’s idea of nonsense.

The Romantic Monsters of Carroll are the Walrus and the Carpenter. They aren’t monstrous in the sense of the Jabberwock, but they are moral monsters, as one realizes as the poem develops. They are an allusion to the indignant romantic imagination, with its allegory of capitalism. “I weep for you . . . I deeply sympathize,” says the Walrus, who is compared, by Gopnik, to the “good liberal.” (This got a big laugh.)

As for the Modern Carrollian Monster, Gopnik said he had left out the most significant so far, the Boojum. He calls it Carroll’s “most original and potent monster.” Carroll created a monster that could be “an avatar for an even worse monster that cannot even be depicted. The idea that there is another monster out there—what, where, you don’t know; the only thing you know is that it’s fatal—is the description of dread, a modern emotion. The Hunting of the Snark can be read in a Freudian interpretation, but it is more accurately trying to name a nameless dread. The Boojum is the embodiment of that dread.”

Gopnik discussed the Alice/Unicorn interaction, referring to the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas, who said we arrive at humanity when we look at the Other—we look outside—and we see ourselves. All of us live inside the prison of ourselves; everything that comes from outside is monstrous/the “Other.” The ethical injunction is to choose to see that “Other” as an outward image of our own selves. How do we reconcile the seemingly monstrous outside ourselves with the “normal” within ourselves? Gopnik closed with, “If you believe in me, I’ll believe in you” is the beginning of ethical awareness.”

In the Q&A afterward, someone asked if Alice was the monster, and he answered, “Yes and no. She becomes her relative stature, literally and figuratively; her ascendance to majesty is also literally fragmenting her as a human being.” However, she represents the common sense of a child. “Every man identifies with Hamlet, the disinherit—...
discussing the qualities of Tenniel’s post-pub drawings, Demakos gave a demonstration of how he studied the images by aligning the three main components—the drawing, the tracing, and the print—in Photoshop and repeatedly flipping them back and forth to identify differences. He thus developed his three proofs for demonstrating that the tracings were used to create the drawings. In essence, Figure 6 from last issue’s article (Father William and the Eel) along with Figure 6 (the Wonderland frontispiece) in this issue’s have come to life. Readers are referred to Matt’s article herein, and Part One in KL 100, for a full treatment.

Part two of Matt’s presentation was a discussion of “The Mystery of the Morgan’s Framed Five.” The Morgan holds a set of five preliminary drawings given to the library by Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., in 1987. In Matt’s provenances of all the Alice preliminary drawings, the set occupied the largest gap in his research—a vast unknown. Fortunately, librarian Elizabeth Fuller at the Rosenbach library told him that Houghton’s papers were kept in Corning, New York. There he examined files kept by the Corning Glass firm (once the Houghton family business). He found forty or so documents relating to the drawings, one being a “chatty” letter. He noted that such discoveries are rare: One is usually satisfied with an invoice, a date, a price, and, if lucky, a previous owner’s name. In 1931, the drawings were bought by the Maggs Brothers at the estate auction of Frederick Louis Lucas, but promptly sold to the distraught underbidder, Alwin J. Scheuer, the writer of the chatty letter. Scheuer sold them to a New York collector, but a couple of years later (1933), Scheuer was acting as the collector’s agent in the sale to Houghton. The coincidences between these drawings and the post-publication drawings at the Berg are discussed in Matt’s article in this issue.

Last was a discussion of “The Jabberwock, With Eyes of Flame,” examining the creation of the beast not from Carroll’s point of view, but from Tenniel’s. Matt is currently working on a paper about Tenniel’s working method for drawing on the wood. His study of the Jabberwock is only the beginning of his research, but it poses a good starting point, since all the major parts are extant. They are:

- **The Rosenbach’s Drawing.** This pencil drawing of the Jabberwock from the Rosenbach Library was once tipped into a book first owned by Stuart M. Samuel, but later removed for conservation reasons. It contains a startling use of china-white ink. Instead of drawing the “eyes of flame” with a pencil, Tenniel drew them with china-white ink over previously drawn lines—likely on purpose, knowing it would be the technique he would apply as well on the block.

- **The Vineyard’s Tracing.** This tracing comes from a copy of Looking-Glass once owned by Harold Hartley, which contains many tracings, a few drawings, and a couple of touched (i.e., hand-corrected) proofs. Matt pointed out the many differences between the tracing and the drawing. On the tracing, Tenniel makes the claws hairy (as opposed to bony), lowers the boy, adds a bowtie, adds a collar, adds more buttons, and squares out the creature’s lower jaw, making it “appear more burbling.” He also closes the foremost claw, rounds out the tail, shortens the boy’s skirt, and arches his sword farther back. Lastly, Tenniel seems to show the cheeks and eye socket of the boy, instead of masking the face with hair, as on the drawing.

- **The British Library’s Woodblock.** Tenniel next drew on this block—the standard procedure—but that image was destroyed in the cutting. The block, or “Jabberblock,” is striking in its inky black and gleaming white. The word “wells” was stamped on the side, the name of the firm that supplied the Dalziel brothers with the blocks. Matt received special permission from Macmillan, the owner of the woodblock (housed at the British Library), to have it photographed and shown.

- **The British Museum’s State Proof.** Matt then compared what he called “the well-known print” for the block. In truth, it was actually a state proof and a rarity not previously printed. The proof, from an album of prints purchased from Gilbert Dalziel, has shorter “eyes of flame” lines emanating from the beast’s eyes, darker lower teeth, and a darker trunk behind the beast’s lower
Following the talks, we adjourned to the Morgan’s Reading Room, where Maria Molestina-Kurlat, Head of Reader Services at the Morgan, and Carolyn Vega, now Berg Collection Curator at NYPL, gave us a guided tour of some fascinating Carrollian items, many from the Library’s Houghton collection. Some had a monster theme. (Carolyn also had organized the Morgan’s Alice150 exhibition in 2015.)

Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. read Alice at school and, in 1925, bought a first (1865) edition of Alice for $225 (equivalent to $3,200 today). Because he lacked the money, he talked his father into writing a check. He had a remarkable professional career, serving as vice president of the Morgan’s board, and president of the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, and Steuben Glass. He was also curator of rare books at the Library of Congress and—last but not least—a member of the LCSNA. In the 1930s, he acquired much significant Carroll material. In 1981 and 1982, he placed his collection of 900 works on deposit at the Morgan, and it became a formal gift to the library after his death.

*The Morgan’s Touched Proof.* This proof comes from an enlarged copy of *Looking-Glass* once owned by Cecil Sebag-Montefiore. (As previously noted, a touched proof is one that has been hand-corrected.) The proofs show Tenniel marking up the prints with china-white or china-red ink and adding hand-written notations. In the case of the Jabberwock, Tenniel adds white lines emanating from the creature’s eyes (as he did on the drawing), extending them, and even informing the cutter to do more than he “scratched.” He also whitens the creature’s two lower teeth and a tree trunk behind his lower foot, perhaps to make the beast appear more airborne and less grounded.

Curiously, out of the eleven main differences between the drawing and the tracing, only four appear on the print. If the tracing comes after the drawing, as we are often told, this poses a problem, because we should see a clearer development from one piece to the next.

![Carolyn Vega points something out to an excited onlooker.](image)
The Morgan had a Carroll collection prior to Houghton’s donation, and continues to acquire Carroll material to this day. In 2015, they obtained important drawings and proofs by Tenniel, some of which were on display for us in the Reading room. Some highlights of the special exhibit were:

- A Through the Looking-Glass first edition rebound by a collector. Interleaved with the pages are the proofs for the illustrations with Tenniel’s notes. Carolyn opened the volume to the Jabberwock illustration, with a list of corrections to be made to the block.
- A true first of Wonderland, rebound in 1898, with Houghton’s bookplate.
- A remarkable letter from Carroll to Furniss regarding an illustration in Sylvie and Bruno. Carroll insisted that Furniss draw an albatross turning into a postage stamp. When Furniss demurred, Carroll proved him wrong by sending such a drawing in a letter! See page 53.
- A 2015 Canadian portfolio of the Furniss illustrations for Alice.
- Tenniel’s preparatory drawings, including post-publication drawings of the Duchess and Alice going through the looking-glass.
- Hand-colored Nursery Alice proofs, paired with the original drawings.
- A Carroll letter to the Dalziel brothers.
- The Rackham Alice, with watercolors painted therein by Rackham.
- A Wonderland Biscuit tin. (To Carroll’s surprise, it was sold empty)
- A Wonderland postage stamp case. (Funded by Carroll, since Macmillan wouldn’t print it.)

Next, we received a guided tour of the Library’s Medieval Monster exhibit, drawn from the library’s remarkable collection of illuminated manuscripts and related items. This major exhibition was the first of its kind in North America, and it explored the complex social role of monsters in the Middle Ages. The library’s website notes:

Monsters have captivated the imagination of medieval men and women, just as they continue to fascinate us today.

The exhibit explored the complex social role of monsters in the Middle Ages. Medieval Monsters had three sections: “Terrors” explored how monsters enhanced the aura of those in power, be they rulers, knights, or saints. . . . “Aliens” demonstrated how marginalized groups in European societies—such as Jews, Muslims, women, the poor, and the disabled—were further alienated by being figured as monstrous. The final section, “Wonders,” considered a group of strange beauties and frightful anomalies that populated the medieval world. . . . These fantastic beings were meant to inspire a sense of marvel and awe in their viewers.

A sense of marvel and awe was indeed embedded in all who attended this fine fall meeting.

Our thanks to the LCSNA members who generously contributed to this report: August Imholtz, Jr., Clare Imholtz, Stephanie Lovett, Ellie Schaefer-Salins, Robert Stek, Mark Burstein, and Cindy Watter.
"FOR TO KNOW YOUR HISTORY"

For the history of the Tenniel drawings and tracings at the Berg, we must travel out of the city 270 miles to the north—"road trip!"—to St. Lawrence University, Owen D. Young’s alma mater. The library, named after the man, holds about twenty-six boxes related to his book collecting habits. The boxes contain about 118 folders altogether, with many folders holding upwards of one hundred pages. Once we order our findings chronologically—after three days of rummaging—we find that the first item of concern is a packing list of goods from Walter T. Spencer, a bookseller, dated September 30, 1924, totaling £6,523–15s (about a half-million dollars today!). The items are mostly Thackeray, but with some Dickens, Cruikshank, De Quincy, and Carroll thrown in, along with this telling entry: “Tenniel | 17 Drawings to Alice in Wonderland | ND. (1865) | 170.” This not only tells us what Young paid for the drawings (£170 is about $12,700 today, or about $750 for each drawing) but also that he, and perhaps Spencer, believed them to be prepublication.

Young, the chairman of both General Electric and The Radio Corporation of America (which he founded), bought the goods from Spencer when he was in London for a conference that resulted in the Dawes Plan, essentially, a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, concerning Germany’s reparations for their actions in the Great War. It was here, on this trip, and especially in his visits to Spencer’s shop, that Young turned a corner with his book collecting, as can be seen by the value of the packing list.

Spencer’s shop was disorganized and dusty, a crowded, disheveled mess—in other words, a book lover’s paradise. Young’s wife, who accompanied him on his trip, wrote home about how Spencer casually pulled out a Robert Burns poem—“O Scots what hae with Wallace bled,” as she styled it, adding “the original manuscript, stained and darned across the centre with zigzag stitches, but all there!” She told her daughter that the booksman knew Stevenson, Tennyson, and Browning, and that the old man also “knew Lewis Carroll well—and Tenniel who did the pictures—and we’re bringing home a first edition with seventeen of the original Tenniel drawings—exquisite things.” (Despite the wording, the drawings were not tipped into a book, nor do they show any signs of having once been so. In fact, several show signs of once being framed.)

There is little space to delve into the Young–Spencer relationship. Suffice it to say that Young knew Spencer was a rascal and warned others of his character. Despite this, they struck up a friendship, writing touching letters after family tragedies. And they came to an understanding on how to do business with each other. Once Young and Spencer accidentally found “first editions of Pope—one of them very rare—and best of all, a copy of Dr. Johnson’s ‘London’... Spencer and I got up and danced around the room, and no winners at any form of gambling were ever more hilarious.”

Young also did business with Charles J. Sawyer. An invoice contracted in September was for a copy of an 1866 Alice, with an original drawing, for £95 ($7,100 today) and a case for £6–6s ($470), along with a first edition Looking-Glass for £6–10s ($490) and a case for £5 ($370). The drawing was the Berg’s non-reverse Duchess in the Kitchen (see Part I, Figure 1). In December, Sawyer wrote Young in New York, “I think you will agree with me that Messrs. Riviere have made very handsome cases for the ‘Carrolls,’ and as the present proprietor of Riviere’s, Mr. Calkin, is a nephew of Sir John Tenniel, I thought it would be rather nice if we put a note from him in the case with the drawing.” Calkin’s note, still in the box, dated November 13, reads: “In my judgement this drawing of the illustration on p. 81 of the first edition of Alice in Wonderland is the genuine production of my uncle John Tenniel / Arthur E. Calkin.” (Is Calkin’s use of the words “genuine production” a calculated move to avoid dating the drawing?)

But somehow the plans were changed, and a new invoice was drawn up on December 24. The drawing was removed from the book—seemingly never even being tipped in—and put into its own solander case, and the two books were put into a double solander case, made to look like two volumes. The volume of Wonderland still has “with original drawing” written in pencil on the inside cover, despite its no longer...
being there. The book (and likely the drawing) was once owned by the Rt. Hon. Charles George Milnes Gaskell; it has his bookplate, though the book itself is inscribed “M M G / 1866.”

In early January 1925, Young thanked Sawyer for the Calkin letter, adding, “I now have quite a large number of drawings and I intend to put them in the case with yours.” This, of course, did not happen. Perhaps Young didn’t at first know the case had on the spine, and in caps: “Original / Drawing / By / John Tenniel / Page 81.”

In February, Young wrote Spencer, “On the whole my interest in Lewis Carroll has increased rather than diminished, and association items of his would also please me.” Sure enough, a long list of goods with prices was sent, dated March 2, and it included three more drawings (Father William Balancing an Eel on His Nose [see Part I, Figure 6], the Two Frog Footmen, and the reversed Duchess in the Kitchen). Added to the previous seventeen, these make up the twenty drawings now in the Berg. But below these three, Spencer added: “The 18 following drawings are the ones that Sir John Tenniel actually made for the Engraver, so that he could fix them on boxwood and cut his engraving out, and so of course destroy the drawings. But for some unknown reason the engraver has not done that.”

These were, of course, not drawings but tracings, and Spencer itemized each one with the page number. He also referred to them in a letter: “You will notice that I have sent you a very wonderful lot of Tenniel Drawings to ‘Alice in Wonderland’, that I have just been able to purchase direct from the Family those that he made for the Engraver to place on the Boxwood so that he could make the Engraving more accurately, you will notice for some unknown reason the Engraver has never used [them], you will see they are very beautiful” (Figure 1).

Ignorance was a boon to Spencer’s purse. He obviously had a lucrative idea of the process of wood engraving and quite advantageously believed that tracings were, by the very nature of the process, ruined after use. Hence, being considered prepublication, the routine tracings were priced the same as the “exquisite
things.” Young bit, and the tracings (post-publication tracings), along with the drawings, were invoiced three days later as “21 | Drawings by Sir John Tenniel | 1864 | 210” (or about $16,000 today).

At this time in our chronology, Young, quite pleased with his new obsession, organized a show of the myriad goods he collected, along with contributions from others. It took place in the old Cole Reading Room in Herring Library at St. Lawrence University, and ran for three months in the summer of 1925 (Figure 2). The show included many Carroll first editions, and letters, such as the one to May Parrish in which he says, “For the qualities I like best in children are (1) pride (2) ill temper (3) laziness + deceitfulness.” And of course, Young showed off his Tenniel creations, described in the catalogue as: “Original pencil sketches for ‘Alice in Wonderland,’ signed with monogram; together with tracings made by the artist for the engraver.”12 Young—regrettably—was schooled at Spencer Elementary.

In December, Brentano’s sent Young a letter stating that they had bought an item from the recent Rev. Isaac Dooman sale, an 1866 version of Wonderland with two original drawings. An auction catalogue in the Berg, with penciled annotations, shows that Brentano’s paid $510 for the item ($7,000). The entry itself shows that it was bound by Riviere and that it was “A superb copy, enhanced by the insertion of two of the Original Drawings by Tenniel, one being the Frontispiece,13 and the other the Gryphon and the Mock Turtle” (Part I, Figure 1 shows the frontispiece). It was invoiced six days after the letter—in other words, our man bit again—and was combined with a special edition of Dickens’s Our Mutual Friend, the two selling for a total of $2,100 ($28,800).14 (Dooman had the book for less than two years. It was in an Ernest Dressel North catalogue in December 1923, priced $750.)15

Oddly enough, the post-publication drawing of Alice Dancing the Lobster Quadrille with the Mock Turtle and the Gryphon is a reverse image (like the box of twenty) on thin paper (like the box of twenty) and with wide margins (like the box of twenty). It seems to be a long-lost runaway son. No other post-publication drawings, whether in a library, museum, or private collection, seem to have these three qualities. But Owen D. Young ended up, in three separate purchases, from two different sellers, with all twenty-one such drawings.

It is not the scope of this project to delve into how, in 1929, Owen D. Young secured that most coveted of prizes: an 1865 Alice; how the crash of that year hampered his collecting; how he lent the drawings (and many other goods) to the 1932 Lewis Carroll Exhibition at Columbia University;16 how in 1941, to settle his debts, he sold a half-share of his collection to Alan Berg, who donated the entirety to The New York Public Library; or how, in 2015, two drawings went missing after being returned by the Morgan Library for their Alice150 show.
It is the scope of this paper, however, to turn our eyes further into the past and discuss the prehistory of these drawings, especially the twenty drawings and eighteen tracings that hide away in their fragile red morocco solander home, once a worry for no one. What is the origin of these forgotten drawings before Young got his innocent hands and Spencer his oily hands upon them?

In 1895 John Tenniel had a show at The Fine Art Society (Figure 3). Frankie Morris says that it, along with his show there in 1900, was “doubtless for the purpose of augmenting his retirement funds.” Rodney Engen writes that it was “not to earn needed money,” but “Following a year after his knighthood, it was hoped they [his drawings] would help to explain why he had achieved this singular honour.” Nonetheless, the show’s 177 lots consisted mostly of Punch or Punch Almanack drawings. But there were a few lots from book illustrations, such as lots 23, 67, 160, and 168, all of which had the same short description: “Five Sketches for ‘Alice in Wonderland.’” If you have done your math homework, you know that adds up to exactly twenty drawings.

Several arguments support the conclusion that these 1895 drawings (unnamed in the catalogue) are one and the same as the Young drawings. First, if Engen is correct, prepublication sketches—some of which look rather lame, in all honesty—would hardly justify his knighthood. Second, eighty percent of the other lots were from the 1890s and only one percent from the 1860s. The show was about the new. Third, one newspaper, writing about the show, singled out one of the Wonderland drawings, Father William Balancing the Eel on his Nose,20 and it is indeed part of the Young twenty. Fourth, the description of the drawings in The Illustrated London News suggests that the drawings had a fineness, not a sketchiness, about them: “while in the sketches for ‘Alice in Wonderland’ he shows not only a complete mastery of childish grace and simplicity, but an insight into child life which his colleague ‘Dicky’ Doyle might envy.” The phrase “complete mastery” does not apply well to Tenniel’s preliminary drawings: one does not envy a sketchy preliminary.21 And last, not only do the numbers add up, but it simply feels right. Tenniel does not seem to have been in the habit of doing such a large quantity of post-publication drawings for one collector. But here he had a reason to do so—he had a show.

It should also be pointed out that though Marion Speilman describes Tenniel as completing old sketches as commissions,22 it is E. J. Miliken, in his preface to the 1895 catalogue, who informs us that Tenniel also recreated illustrations wholly from scratch. “The earlier drawings, as has been explained, do not exist,” Milliken wrote, referring to the drawings on wood, “save in cases where the artist, from his original sketches and artistic memoranda, with the aid of the wood-cut as printed in the pages of Punch, has reproduced approximately the original pencil drawings. This Sir John Tenniel has done in a consid-
erable number of instances, illustrations of which will be found on these walls.”

It is doubtful that Tenniel needed to refer to his “original sketches” or his “artistic memoranda” (whatever that may mean). It is also amusing that Milliken avoided mentioning Tenniel’s habit of tracing, perhaps seen, as it has in the history of art, as a lowly practice. But most importantly for us, if Tenniel created wholly new drawings of his Punch illustrations for this show, as Milliken indicates, why couldn’t he have done the same for the Wonderland drawings in the same show?

It should not trouble us that some newspapers printed some contrary evidence. For example, one newspaper mentioned that one should not lose the opportunity of seeing, “the very earliest idea of Bill the Lizard, the Mock Turtle, the Queen of Hearts, and the Hatter and the March Hare.”

It is true that Bill the Lizard is not in our twenty drawings. But it is also true that the article reads as if it were simply reviewing the catalogue, which happened to be published the same day as the article and indeed the day before the official opening. The reviewer simply listed characters from the story that came to mind and assumed (perhaps reasonably) that “sketches for” meant preliminary drawings.

At least two other newspapers referred to the Wonderland drawings as “original” or “originals.” Although the reporters seem to have visited the show, they likewise should not trouble us. These drawings have confused collectors and serious scholars for years, as we have already indicated above and will see in the next section. To give just one example for now: In the Berg copy of the Bronson Winthrop auction catalogue, there appears a note written by a curator in preparation for the sale, outlining a bidding strategy. It reads: “The Winthrop Tenniel s are probably not the original drawing for the 1st ed. for the following reasons … 3) They are retouched in color where the orig ones in the Collection are in pencil without color leading to the suspicion that these drawings of Winthrop were copies of the originals made by Tenniel.”

The Berg curator erroneously believed the Young twenty were from 1864-65.

To figure out who bought the drawings, we must take a side trip to the Fine Art Society in England—a long swim, but doable—who still have their “Sales Book” for 1895. As it turns out, the four lots of Wonderland drawings were bought by two men related to Marion Spielmann, the man who interviewed Tenniel for his History of “Punch.” The last three Wonderland lots were bought by Louis Samuel Montagu (1860–1930) for £26–5, or five guineas each. He almost certainly knew Montagu, both having relations to the well-known Goldsmid family. He was a barrister, Cambridge alumnus, Trinity College, and was described in 1886 as being “largely engaged in education and other labours among the working classes.” Upon his death, he owned five preliminary drawings for Wonderland and four Tenniel drawings for The Ingoldsby Legends, along with many collectable books, including Carroll’s copy of Dickens’s A Tale of Two Cities, a copy of Wonderland with Tenniel’s and Carroll’s signatures (the latter in purple), a copy of Adventures d’Alice au pays des merveilles with only the artist’s signature, and many non-Carroll-related rarities, including books, watercolors and letters. His Tenniel drawings were kept in his billiard room, the ones for Alice in a single oak frame. But, like Montagu, he died without his post-publication drawings. In fact, Owen D. Young purchased them before both men died.

Readers may have noticed some coincidences concerning the twenty post-publication drawings from 1895 and the twenty-five preliminary drawings from 1899. We know they are two different sets owing to existing ledger books that show their separate purchases. Yet both sets do contain twenty drawings for Wonderland, and both sets were divided into units of five. Note how Montagu originally bought fifteen Wonderland post-publication drawings but ended up (if we include his cousin’s five) with only and exactly fifteen preliminaries. Note as well that Lucas originally bought five post-publication drawings that were likely in a single frame (as Montagu’s were stated as being) but had only and exactly five preliminaries in a single frame when he died.

The following scenario may justify these arithmetic congruities. First, suppose the two men believed that they were buying preliminary drawings in the 1895 Fine Art Society sale. After all, the drawings had a reverse orientation, many with study-like doodles; they were surrounded by some true preliminary drawings; and they were not helpfully detailed in the catalogue. Then, after finding out their true
origin, the men returned them. This may have been done on friendly terms. In 1898, Montagu bought a Christmas gift for a man named “Brown,” who may have been Ernest Brown (Figure 5), the man who ran the 1895 show. Next, the men purchased the true preliminary drawings, each obtaining the same number, except that Montagu allowed his cousin to take five from his allotted fifteen. Indeed, Montagu’s account book shows him buying what is likely the drawings a few weeks after Brown’s Christmas gift. Lastly, Montagu bound his new drawings into an unbound copy of *Wonderland* he had purchased the previous July,29 and Lucas framed his into a single frame, perhaps the same one that held his old post-publication drawings.

This also explains away the portlier coincidence that the post-publication drawings and tracings ended up in the same box. Young had no idea that the tracings were used to create the drawings, that there was a strong link between them, yet they ended up housed in the same box—a grand reunion, but one unknown to the organizer. Hence, it is likely that the post-publication drawings went back to Tenniel, who combined them with the tracings. At some later date, perhaps after Tenniel’s death, they were sold as one set to Spencer, who, being a bit of a rascal, obscured their origin—not by lying outright, but by simply giving the tracings’ origins and keeping mum about the drawings’ origins, allowing Young to assume two different provenances. Although Spencer became friendly with Young, they were not quite dancing partners at this stage of their relationship.

**“I’M NOT MYSELF, YOU SEE”**

In April 1912, Harcourt Amory wrote that Calkin “had no doubt about the genuineness of the 2 Bristol Board drawings of the *Fish + Frog* and *Alice + Flamingo* as their appearance indicates: besides T. always had bristol [sic] board sheets about, and mounted drawings upon them. Finished drawings (like the two I have) can be more nicely made on the hard surface of the board.”30 The letter is found in some uncatalogued folders at Harvard—for we have taken another, but still not our last, trip out of the city to the north. The collection will help us show the confusion experienced by collectors, librarians, curators, and cataloguers, regarding the true nature of Tenniel’s post-publication drawings. Amory, whose family donated his collection to Harvard, was interested in collecting Carroll to the exclusion of anything else, unlike the more comprehensive Owen D. Young. That Amory brought a couple of his post-publication drawings to Calkin shows that he had some concern about the drawings. Calkin may even have divulged that they were *replicas*. This is illustrated in a letter the collector wrote to the dealer E. D. North three years later. “Can you tell me whether these are the originals used by the Dalziels,” he asked, “or perhaps re-drawn by Tenniel at the request of some one?”31 Note that, like Spencer, he believed, incorrectly, that engravers in the 1860s usually had a paper copy besides the one on the wood.

Despite Amory’s possible knowledge that Tenniel created post-publication work, Flora V. Livingston, who itemized Harcourt Amory’s collection for Harvard in 1932, evidently came across no document that properly demarcated the preliminary sketches and the post-publication drawings. Her catalog of the collection simply lists them as “Pencil Drawings On Bristol Board,”32 a noncommittal stance that most readers likely interpreted as meaning they were pre-publication. Privately, she did suppose some to be post-publication, as a letter from Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. implies. He wrote back to Livingston stating that her “explanation strengthens what I had suspected, that many of these were done at a later date by Tenniel for his friends,”33 showing confusion for some time on his part as well.

With these letters available and likely seen, Eleonor M. Garvey and W. H. Bond, in their 1978 book
on Tenniel’s illustrations in the Harcourt Amory Collection, surprisingly take, again, the noncommittal stance, referring to each drawing as a “finished pencil drawing” or, as in the introduction, a “finished study.”34 The latter smacks of being pre-publication. Justin G. Schiller took them to task and wrote quite adamantly in his review of the book and in his “Census” that all of the finished drawings were created after publication.35 Sixteen years later, Frankie Morris threw her support to Garvey and Bond, claiming that the Harvard drawings on board were used as guides for drawing on the wood.36 Treacherous waters these! And we will soon sail deeper into those troughs.

Were dealers the cause of the confusion? It’s an interesting question. In the 1912 letter, Amory said that Calkin described the dealer Ernest Brown as “always very secretive + an auctioneer.”37 Note how the coded word secretive (read duplicitous) smears booksellers and how the conjunction and even smears auctioneers. Brown, as stated above, was a manager at the Fine Art Society when Tenniel had his 1895 exhibition, one that may have had post-publication drawings displayed as if preliminary—drawings that were perhaps returned (if the theory above is correct) by two confused men. But what of Calkin himself? He authenticated post-publication drawings without acknowledging their true origin. His use of the term “genuine production” when authenticating Young’s non-reverse Duchess drawing (quoted in the previous section) is suspicious.

Documents at Harvard show Spencer to be “secretive” as well. When asked whether a drawing (current whereabouts unknown) was post-publication or not—one containing elements of both Wonderland and Looking-Glass—he still argued, and tortuously, that the drawing was created before the first book. The receiver of this drivel noted in the margins that Looking-Glass “was not thought of until Alice had become popular.”38

And one wonders how innocent Tenniel himself was. Earlier we imagined the first collectors (now known to be Montagu and Lucas) being innocently amused with the reverse orientation of the drawings and with the faux doodles. Curiously, both of these characteristics are too convenient for dealers to pass the drawings off as anything but post-publication. These qualities make them appear more sketch-like, preliminary, more developmental. Schiller wrote that buyers expected drawings to be in reverse; for example, John Leech, a Dickens illustrator, often drew in reverse. Spencer even used the reverse orientation of some Phiz drawings for two of Dickens’s books as “proof positive” that the drawings were pre-publication, “used by the Engraver, who naturally reverses them in the Engraving of them.”39

These all-too-convenient elements lead to one uncomfortable question: Was Tenniel complaisant in this deceit? Did he willingly give his drawings for the 1895 exhibition an ambiguous look? If so, knowing the artist’s generosity, he probably saw it as doing the dealer a favor. In other words, he may have been playing the game for a hoot, rather than for an extra buck. Then again, he did not usually sketch in reverse, as must have been shown by the other drawings in the exhibition, and the doodles are simply too programmed, too perfect, and too regular—everything is too regular—for these drawings to be passed off as pre-publication, drawings created over months. He also dated several post-publication drawings.

To finish out our trip to Harvard, we should discuss their many “post-pub” tracings—to use the hip campus shorthand. They have four on grayish tan paper which are debatable, a topic for another time. They have thirteen on ribbed brown paper that are dubious. Many are rendered with either cross-hatching or dark shaded areas, not Tenniel’s usual habit, and one has an old plug, which fell out many years later, traced—a smoking gun, if there ever was one. But the one tracing they have on smooth white tracing paper, of the Frog Footmen, is genuine and was used to create Harvard’s own post-pub drawing of the same. They also have four tracings on flat brown paper, like the Berg’s, and they too seem legitimate. The one of Alice holding back the curtain was used to create their post-pub of the same. The other two, of Alice in the armchair and the first drawing of her going through the mirror (both for Looking-Glass), could have been used to create the post-pubs in the collection; it remains unclear at this time. But it is beyond a doubt that the tracing of the second of the three walrus drawings is genuine. It was not used for anything at Harvard, though; it was used to create the Berg’s own Walrus post-pub! As we will soon see, this is not the only cross-collection tracing—drawing link we can make.

“ONCE I WAS A REAL TURTLE”

I met Justin Schiller one bright September day in 2017 in Kingston, New York—yet another road trip to the north, and proof, along with Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and even St. Lawrence, that the best place to study John Tenniel is here on the East Coast of the United States. We spoke of all things Tenniel, first in Justin’s home and then in a French bistro, the lovely Le Canard Enchaine. He recommended the onion soup, and rightfully so. Justin runs Battledore Ltd. with his partner, Dennis M. V. David, who joined us for lunch. The company specializes in Maurice Sendak, children’s books in general, and (hopefully unrelated) political propaganda, especially of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. If you want a poster of Mao or
Max, you now know whom to call. Justin is not only a dealer but a collector as well. In fact, his personal collection once included an 1865 Alice with ten original drawings and an 1872 Looking-Glass with thirty-five tracings, three drawings, and two corrected proofs.

I had a list of topics to discuss with Justin, but chief among them was something I found in the Berg’s book-box with the twenty drawings and eighteen tracings—something I purposely failed to mention in the first part of this paper. In truth, this very writing is an argument for its removal. To wit: it is a letter from Justin to William L. Joyce of The New York Public Library, written on December 31, 1984, stating that the eighteen tracings in the box “are forgeries.”

At the time, Justin did not believe that Tenniel drew on the wood for Wonderland, and he deduced—and correctly so—that the tracings were “in direct conflict with the finished preliminaries.” 41 This is a keen observation and one that is actually quoted from his book published five years later. Justin simply created a false dichotomy: the drawings are either for the block or they are forgeries. There was, I explained to him, at least one other alternative.

Before we met I planned to shock him with another grand revelation. In 1990 Justin donated a tracing of Wonderland’s frontispiece to the Morgan Library, stating quite openly that it was a forgery. Since the library had the original preliminary of the illustration, he thought it would be a good chance for scholars to educate themselves about Tenniel forgeries. I knew that the tracing was actually genuine, though; it was used to create the post-pub currently in the Berg. The match is even stronger than the match described earlier for Father William. There were many omissions and many strong deviations.

“Do you remember,” I asked, “donating the tracing of the frontispiece to the Morgan?”
I could not jog his memory, and there went my grand revelation. Although in the end Justin seemed to have accepted my arguments about the tracing, and all the tracings in general, I allowed him the time needed to absorb this new concept by moving on to other topics.

There is little need to present Justin’s arguments in full, as he never made a direct statement against the true nature of the tracings. But I would be remiss if I did not mention that he was working in a different era and that he was a pioneer on the subject, boldly confessing that he had the “inability to grasp the technical processes involved of transferring these drawings onto wood,” a plucky statement to make in his essay’s first paragraph. Unlike scholars today, he did not have JSTOR, a searchable database of scholarly articles; an iPhone camera, an invaluable tool now allowed in most research libraries; Photoshop; email; or library catalogues online. And Schiller himself, no doubt, anticipated articles such as this one when he wrote the closing lines of that first paragraph, where he wished to “leave the more formal discussions to future scholarship.”

But there is another scholar who has raised the subject of authenticity, and not about the tracings either, but about the drawings themselves. To be fair, she does not make a direct statement about any of the Berg’s post-pubs, but she does make statements that indirectly challenge their authenticity. She is none other than the highly respected and aforementioned Frankie Morris, a Tenniel biographer and a diligent, knowledgeable researcher, to say the least.

Morris questions why Tenniel would “vary from the direction [draw in reverse] in which his Alice cuts were known to the public,” and concludes that Tenniel’s finished drawings were done “as guides for his drawing on the block,” supporting this with the claim that Tenniel “had made a set of finished designs [finished drawings] in his sketch copy of his 1861 Lalla Rookh.”

As already mentioned here, Tenniel may have created the images in reverse to demonstrate what he drew on the block or to make them more curious, more amusing—in short, to make them more collectible. And as also already shown, two of Harvard’s ten Wonderland drawings (which Morris believes genuine and therefore guides for the block) have brown paper tracings associated with them, and Tenniel did not seem to use this type of paper (brown) even several years later when he was working on Looking-Glass. Also, if Tenniel could do such a fine finished drawing on a piece of paper—complete with cross-hatching, clean and sharp—why wouldn’t he simply do it on the block of wood in the first place? And why would he do this needless task ten times over? As for Lalla Rookh, I have seen the sketch copy at the Morgan, and it does not contain finished drawings. As Tenniel notes, in what Morris actually quotes in her article, the “Finished drawings” are on the woodblocks, and the “original designs” are the “sketches” in the book. The three most important aspects of this paper were my ability (1) to see the drawings and tracings in person, (2) to photograph them, and (3) to eventually place those photographs along with the final illustrations into Photoshop for analysis. Flicking the images back and forth was an informative experience. If Morris had been able to do the same, I doubt she would have made some of her claims. Once you hold the board depicting the Dormouse in the teapot and the White Rabbit as a herald (Part I, Figure 8) in your own hands, its essence as a creation for another, as a gift or commission, is obvious.

In conclusion, I am quite disappointed that I have found no indubitable link between the Fine Art Society drawings and the Berg’s drawings. There is plenty of corroborative evidence, yes, but still, that one weak link between the two first buyers (Montagu and Lucas) and the dealer Spencer allows a modicum of doubt to creep through my being. My failure to find a definitive link will quell my ego for a long while yet. But as to their authenticity, I have no doubt that these twenty drawings and eighteen tracings, wrapped in silk-covered chemises, couched in a red moiré silk lining, housed in a red morocco solander case, and secreted away in some shadowy corner of the New York Public Library, are—breathe a deep sigh—real turtles!

Endnotes

1. Packing List, September 30, 1924, Owen D. Young Papers, 1874–1962 MSS. COLL. NO. 087 (hereafter Young Papers), Box 257, Folder 455, The Owen D. Young Library, St. Lawrence University, pp. 2 and 9. The document shows a column for dutiable goods and non-dutiable goods. Evidently, Young had to pay duty for work he ordered Spencer to do, such as binding and the creation of cases. These drawings were brought in loose, the book-box by the New York firm Stikeman and Co. being made at some later date. The Stikeman invoice was not found, but others from the company do survive in other folders.


4. Josephine Edmonds Young to Josephine Young, October 4, 1924, in Case and Case, Owen D. Young and American Enterprise, p. 407. She also recounted that they are bringing home Spencer’s book (Forty Years in My Bookshop) which does give a seemingly accurate account
of Carroll exploring his shelves. The word “exquisite,” which I used in the first half of this article (KL: 100: 27b) to describe the drawings before finding this quotation, stands as an example of their effect on those who see the originals.

1 Young to W. A. White, July 20, 1926, Young Papers, Box 257, folder 455B; Young to Tice & Lynch (Law Firm), December 21, 1928, ibid., Box 256, Folder 455E; and Young to Howard C. Levis, August 3 and 6, 1927, in Case and Case, Owen D. Young, p. 408.

2 Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd. invoice, December 9, 1924, Young Papers, Box 254, Folder 451; Sawyer to Young, December 9, 1924, ibid.

3 Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd., invoice, December 24, 192[4], ibid. (The invoice page is dated December 24, but the item is sub-dated November 14, 1924.)

4 See the Berg’s copy of C. L. Dodgson, Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland (London: Macmillan, 1866).

5 Young to Sawyer, January 9, 1925, ibid.

6 Young to Spencer, February 17, 1925, Young Papers, Box 257, Folder 455C.

7 Spencer to Young, Hand-Written Price List, Young Papers, Box 257, Folder 455, p. 6; Spencer to Young, March 5, 1925, ibid.

8 Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original Manuscripts and Printed Books at St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, From 6 June to 31 August, 1925 (Mount Vernon, NY: William Edwin Rudge, 1925), p. 18. The Carroll letter is dated February 18, 1879, and is quoted from a version typed up for the exhibition (Box 999).


10 Brentano’s Invoice, December 22, 1925, Young Papers, Box 235, Folder 418.


12 The catalogue entry read “eighteen pencil drawings” with no mention of tracings. But there is a document that shows that Young sent “18 pencil drawings and 19 tracings” (Young Papers, Box 243, folder 439L), despite the fact that he only had eighteen tracings! Perhaps he sent only the matching sets (with the “19” being a typo). The confusion may be explained in a letter J. Enrique Zanetti, who ran the exhibition, wrote to A. S. W. Rosenbach on October 22, 1931: “The first hitch has occurred in our plans. Mr. Owen Young is unable, owing to the pressure of business engagements and the fact that he no longer has a librarian, to let us have the items of his collection in time for our catalog.” See Zanetti, J. Enrique Correspondence, 1931, I:186:28, Rosenbach Museum & Library.


14 “Three Exhibitions,” The Standard (London), April 2, 1895, p. 3.

15 Art Notes, The Illustrated London News, April 6, 1895, p. 428. The writer was likely referring to the drawing of Alice watching the White Rabbit scurry away, which does contain a certain amount of “childhood grace.”

16 Spielmann, The History of “Punch” (London: Cassell, 1895), p. 464. It has never been pointed out before, but Ernest Brown, who was a manager at The Fine Art Society at this time and who may have been the principal organizer of Tenniel’s exhibition, may just be the “enthusiastic admirer” the artist mentions in the oft-quoted paragraph. The word “enthusiastic” better describes a business partner, and a co-seller than a mere buyer.


18 London Correspondence, Birmingham Daily Post, March 30, 1895.

19 “A Tenniel Exhibition,” The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, April 1, 1895; and “Sir John Tenniel’s Drawings,” The Graphic (London), April 6, 1895.


22 Louis Samuel Montagu’s Account book, 1898–1900, MS 385 A4000 5/7, University of Southampton, Highfield, England, pp. 9 and 29. Thanks to Lara Nelson, the archivist, and Catherine Richards who graciously volunteered to rummage through the archives on my behalf. It’s a comfort to know that they have been thoroughly and thoughtfully explored.

23 The Times [London], “Biographies of Candidates,” July 8, 1886, p. 10.

24 15, Westbourne Terrace…, auction catalogue. June 8–10, 1931, A. Martin French. The Tenniel drawings for Wonderland were lot 418. For the oak frame, see Alvin J. Scheuer to Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., November 25, 1932, Arthur Amory Houghton, Jr., Papers, Box 3, Folder 18, Corning Incorporated, Corning, New York. The drawings were once owned by Houghton, who gifted them to the Morgan Library.

25 On July 14, 1898, Montagu bought the unbound 1865 Wonderland for £30: “Tregaskis (Alice in Wonderland) 30.” On January 11, 1899, he likely bought the ten drawings: “Fine Art Society 30 [13] 10.” Helena Anderson informs me that the sales books for the current show at the Fine Art Society do not show Montagu purchasing anything from the current exhibition. Hence, it is very likely that this entry refers to the Tenniel drawings. And finally, on February 23, 1899, Montagu paid for the binding of his 1865 Alice with ten drawings: “Riviere (binding of Alice) 3 [6] 6.”

26 Harcourt Amory to his brother? (Frederick?), April 25, 1912, in MS Eng 718.15 (16), folder 1, The Harcourt Amory Collection, Harvard. To see the two images, see Eleanor M. Garvey and W. H. Bond, Tenniel’s Alice: Drawings by Sir John Tenniel for Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass
(Cambridge: Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library, 1978), pp. 29 and 35. The two images have about the same presentation as Figure 8 in Part I.

Amory to E. D. North, October 12, 1915, in MS Eng 718.15 (16), The Harcourt Amory Collection. The comment may show that Calkin educated him about the drawings. By “original” he may be referring to legitimate sketches or may naively be suggesting that some finished drawings were created by Tenniel for the Dalziels as a guide.


Garvey and Bond, Tenniel’s Alice, pp. 9, 14–60 passim.


Amory to his brother? (Frederick?), April 25, 1912.

Walter T. Spencer to Mr. Chase, April 21, 1911, MS Eng 718.15 (13), The Harcourt Amory Collection. The memorandum was addressed to “Mr. Chase” and sent to Bartlett & Co.

Spencer to Young, February 9, 1925, Young Papers.

At first, Tenniel forgot to take the bite out of the Hatter’s teacup in the drawing of him standing (p. 170). It was fixed with a plug—a hole drilled, a dowel inserted, and a drawing completed and engraved. But over the years the dowel began to slip out, and this can be seen on several later impressions. Even the last two Annotated Alice books reprint the drawing with the plug missing.

Schiller, “Census,” p. 66.

Frankie Morris, “The Alice Drawings”: p. 12b; 13b; n3, 14b–15a. Morris’s reverse comment is made directly about post-publication drawings that appear as inscriptions in books. But the reverse nature of some of Harvard’s Looking-Glass drawings seems to give her pause as well (see n3).


In defense of Morris, in several cases the Garvey and Bond book splits a pair of drawings that appear on the same side of a single board (as in Figure 8, Part I) into two separate images, even placing them pages apart. Holding these presentations in your hand and seeing that one is complete and the other is intentionally left incomplete gives one the sense that they were done as gifts, not as a part of some process (see Part I, Figure 8, for an example). The book also prints the drawings too heavy, giving Tenniel’s pencil an inky feel.

Thomas Moore, Lalla Rookh: An Oriental Romance, illustrated by John Tenniel [sketch copy] (London: Longman, Geen, Longman, and Roberts, 1861). Morris may have seen a catalogue for the “Sketch Copy” which misleadingly used the word “finished,” describing the drawings as “69 beautifully finished original pencil drawings.” But they resemble Tenniel’s value studies for the Alice books, having sketchy shading (not clean cross-hatching), china-white ink, and broad differences between them and the final image. In short, they show development—a quality absent from his true finished drawings. See Illustrated Catalogue of Autograph Letters, Literary Ms., Presentation Books, and Sir John Tenniel’s Original Drawings to Lalla Rookh (London, Henry Sotheran, 1902), lot 503, p. 87.
Much has been published about the merits and flaws of Walt Disney's animated feature *Alice in Wonderland* (hereafter referred to as *AiW*), released in 1951. The story had been a favorite of Disney's since he was a child, and early in his career as a producer of animated films, he was convinced that animation was the ideal medium to tell the story in a way that simply hadn't been captured in theatrical plays and live-action films. He imagined the “magic” of the story, with its hallucinations, wondrous settings, and wacky characters brought to life with a vivacity and richness that only animation could offer.

Early development of *AiW* churned along at the Disney Studio for years. Illustrator David Hall had created a veritable truckload of bold sketches that had been made into a test reel, but the treatment was deemed too ugly (an approach Disney did not want to repeat after Paramount's gloomy and grotesque 1933 adaptation). Aldous Huxley was hired to write a screen treatment in which he mixed an animated Alice with a rather serious, live-action story about Lewis Carroll in Oxford. Various Disney “story men” tackled the challenge of changing the episodic meanderings of Alice through a dreamscape by trying to create a more emotional plot structure. Alice, they feared, wasn’t a very interesting main character if all she did was meet a bunch of weirdoes, get frustrated, and then wake up.

Here then was the dilemma of how to move forward. The “story” of Alice’s adventures wasn’t just a sketchy fairy tale or fable, like those Disney had adapted into *Snow White and The Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Cinderella* (1950)—adaptations in which Disney greatly expanded the storytelling with far more developed characters, original dialogue, operetta-style songs, extended sequences of physical humor, dramatic mood-establishing shots, and so on. These trademarks famously hallmarkled the Disney style: reinventing simple old tales with huge enhancements, bringing a familiar classic to detailed life on a grand scale never imagined by such folk-tale scribes as the Brothers Grimm. Critics were not unanimous in praising Disney’s reinvention of these popular folk-tales into cartoonish musicals, but no one could argue with the success of *Snow White* at the box office.

Lewis Carroll’s stories, however, weren’t sketchy folk-tales. *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* (hereafter referred to as *Wonderland* and *Looking-Glass*) are elaborate novellas in which Alice’s escapades are specifically described from one moment to the next. Everything that Alice and her new friends do or say is fully documented in narrative and dialogue. The qualities of the books, however, did not translate easily to the stage or to film. Disney and his artists knew they couldn’t repeat the mistakes of “faithful” stage or film translations; those simply weren’t satisfying. Walt stated at story meetings at the Studio that his writers couldn’t veer very far away from the original stories’ narrative essence and spirit, or the public would reject the film; and yet, their adaptation would have to include the typical hallmarks of a Disney cartoon: action, color, music, and humor.

Disney’s goal was essentially to reinvent the story without changing it too much: to shake off the dusty Victorian puns and archaic jokes, fill the production with songs as if it were a Broadway musical, lavishly depict Wonderland with deep colors and artsy stylization, and subtly modernize the heroine without making her seem too modern. This approach was extraordinarily risky. It relied on expanding Wonderland’s visual potential as well as the story’s fantastical physical possibilities—while ditching almost all of the books’ uber-famous dialogue and traditional quaintness. This, Disney hoped, would create a film that people would recognize as “the” *AiW* . . . and possibly acknowledge as an improvement on a book that might seem creakily old-fashioned in the middle of the twentieth century.

The film was not a success—initially. Disney famously regretted the project after its failure to find favor with audiences and critics. The film was not re-released to theaters again during Disney’s lifetime. He allowed it to be shown on television—and shortened—a clear demotion of the picture to a low status among Disney features. Following Walt Disney’s death in 1966, the unusually psychedelic film became a wildly popular 16mm rental with a growing reputa-
tion as a cultish art-house film perfect for recreational drug users.

Acknowledging the film’s new audience, the Disney Studio finally rereleased the film to theaters in 1974 and 1982, and then onto home video, whose audiences showed no disdain for the once-demoted Disney cartoon feature. For years, *AiW* topped the charts in sales and rentals in the home-video market. So, ultimately, Disney’s adaptation was successful, insofar as popularity with its audience was concerned. It may have been ahead of its time—a typical issue with many great works of art. But how does it endure as an adaptation of *Wonderland*, in a world where new generations create fresh interpretations of Carroll’s tales every year?

The essential question is, how well does Disney’s version capture the spirit of *Wonderland*? Compared to other adaptations, the 1951 effort does so remarkably well, considering how little of Carroll’s dialogue survived into the final screenplay. The story follows the original tale, roughly but with surprising faithfulness. A bored little girl follows a nervous rabbit down a rabbit-hole. She falls a great distance, but floats comfortably through the air, entering a gently surreal realm that’s a drastic change from the markedly realistic opening scenes. The sudden shift in style—the appearance of a clothed, talking rabbit and the fact that the little girl isn’t falling, screaming, to her demise down an abandoned well—signals the audience that we’ve entered a fantasy. If one is unfamiliar with the story, one would naturally assume that Alice has fallen asleep, and we are now watching her dream. We know that dreams are irrational and frustrating but can also be funny. For the next hour we will (hopefully) be amused by silly characters, situations, and musical numbers, until Alice finally wakes up (Figure 1).

Again, this is a staggeringly risky framework on which to hang a movie. No wonder other adaptations make Alice a young adult so that there can be romance, conflict, sympathy, challenge, and triumph. But if a filmmaker wants to truly capture the spirit of the original story, Alice must be a child, and there must be neither plot nor a moral to the story.

Let’s break the adaptation down by sequence, and look at its strengths and flaws more specifically.

The opening credits appear on cards that depict all of Wonderland’s iconic characters. But why is that? No other Disney film ever did something as seemingly unnecessary as show the audience what the characters look like before the movie begins. There was a powerful reason for this. The audience, for the most part, knew the characters from the books, and they knew what they looked like, largely as a result of the fame of John Tenniel’s illustrations. Disney had boldly redesigned all the characters, and he knew that the audience might find the new character designs shocking. These opening-credit images deliberately depict the redesigned characters drawn in the style of John Tenniel, with lots of thin black lines creating cross-hatched shading reminiscent of nineteenth-century woodblock engravings (Figure 2). This hybrid was meant to introduce the new look of the old characters without causing heart attacks. The audience is gently tricked into thinking that the characters have always looked this way—and thus we are better prepared to welcome their later appearance onscreen.

Figure 1. A “fan card” mailed to fans who wrote to the studio requesting artwork from Alice in Wonderland.

Figure 2. Mad Hatter and March Hare, Disney à la Tenniel.
The song “Alice in Wonderland” plays under the opening credits, and it’s probably the one aspect of the film that feels dated to the 1950s. It’s a pleasant but humdrum song, sung by a large vocal ensemble in a lethargic manner popular at the time. The lyrics are cringe-worthy and uninspired, getting the film off to a hesitant start.

The opening shot of a lovely riverbank with butterflies and buzzing bees is surprisingly flat. Disney’s famed multiplane camera, specifically designed for such important establishing shots, had been moth-balled by the studio as an expensive non-necessity. Instead, the various layers of artwork (foreground, middle ground, background) are simply pressed together and slid past the camera at varying speeds. Everything’s in focus and the effect is ordinary. Nothing impressive here to win over the audience in the first all-important seconds of the film.

We float along until we see a young woman in formal Victorian dress and bonnet, reading beneath a large oak tree. The colors are vivid, and it’s important to note that audiences accustomed to typical screen entertainment in 1951 were probably dazzled by the intensity of the bright colors onscreen in the cartoon. It’s almost blinding, and meant to be. We assume this woman is Alice’s mother or governess, but later, the end credits confirm that it’s Alice’s sister. She is certainly older and more stern than we’d expect a sister to be, but she’s within the realm of plausibility. She reads a dry bit of English history aloud—a quote familiar to fans of Wonderland. Instantly we’re aware that the dialogue of this film is different from the book’s—things have been altered, and we should expect more of the same.

Alice appears, sitting above her sister on the branch of the giant oak and playing with her cat, Dinah. (This makes a radical statement: No proper Victorian girl would be allowed to climb a tree.) While Dinah isn’t present at the beginning of Wonderland, Alice does talk to her cats at the opening of Looking-Glass, so Dinah is a welcome addition here. Alice is bored by her sister’s history lesson, so she decides to tell Dinah how she’d prefer to live in a world where everything is nonsensical. This kind of pre-dreaming is completely unnecessary—the book needed no such set-up to entice Alice to follow her curiosity. But the monologue introduces a song: “In a World of My Own.” Alice sings to Dinah that she’d like animals to wear clothes and live in little houses, and flowers to talk to her. This flimsy song blatantly tries to capture the longing expressed by Dorothy when she sings “Over the Rainbow” at the beginning of The Wizard of Oz. But “World of My Own” is clunky lyrically and unimpressive musically.

Alice’s desire to converse with her cat is undermined by the fact that Dinah seems to understand and react to everything Alice says. Apparently they can already communicate perfectly well, so why does Alice desire more? By far the coolest thing in this sequence happens when Alice lies down in a field of daisies: The daisies ripple in long rows as if being blown by the wind—a fabulously elaborate detail.

At this point, only a few minutes in, our attention may already be wandering. The presentation is bright and tuneful but it’s a bit tedious, as some may find a little girl daydreaming with her cat a subject devoid of general interest. Perhaps the writers wanted the audience to feel a bit bored, to empathize with Alice. At any rate, the pace and writing seem to be misfiring.

Enter the White Rabbit, dressed in a waistcoat and jacket and whistling merrily as he waddles down the path. This is not the dignified, albeit nervous, creature depicted by John Tenniel, but an adorably squat little cartoon, appealing in a Disney way, but not at all what traditionalists would expect. The background music surges forward; the Rabbit croaks out (rather than actually singing) a little rhyme about being late “for a very important date.” He ignores Alice and pops down a rabbit-hole. Curious Alice follows, amusingly bidding goodbye to Dinah as she slips and plunges rather calmly down a deep, dark hole in the earth.

Alice’s fall is slowed by her skirt inflating like a parachute, a cute way to explain the gentleness of her descent. Some of her monologue is familiar, but the fall is mostly depicted visually. The surreal architecture of the rabbit-hole looks like a melting painting by Salvador Dalí. Items float around with their own unique gravity or lack thereof. The iconic plunge into Wonderland is dreamy, mysterious, and effective. Alice lands not on a pile of dry leaves, but upside-down, on her head—a perfectly appropriate, topsy-turvy touch. (Young Kathryn Beaumont, who provided Alice’s voice, was also a live-action model for the animators to study [Figure 3].) Next she’s confronted by a series of closed doors, each within the other—a detail stolen from the Paramount film.

Finally Alice is in the Long Hall, only now it’s a boxy chamber with only one tiny door. The scene that follows is very faithful to the book, except that Alice now has a talking Doorknob to converse with. This new character feels completely appropriate, and his conversation with Alice sounds surprisingly Carrollian. The writers are scoring big points here: As originally written, the scene in the Long Hall goes on and on, but here Alice’s predicaments are swift and funny. Before you know it, she’s swimming in a pool of her own tears. The “pool” is more like a raging river or ocean; its strong current actually pulls tiny Alice, who is clinging for her life inside the Drink Me bottle, right through the Doorknob’s keyhole mouth (Figure 4).
So far so good. The directors are clearly taking advantage of the elements of Alice’s strange dream to push the action along with a lot of gusto, which is fun. We meet the Dodo, floating merrily and singing a hornpipe, and before you can say “Bob’s your uncle,” a bunch of random fish and birds are running around in a big circle, singing a jolly “Caucus Race” song. However, fans of the book may miss a long scene in which an oversensitive Mouse bores the locals with a dull history lesson and confuses Alice with his long “tale,” until Alice finally frightens everyone away by mentioning how skilled Dinah is at capturing birds and mice. All that dialogue—that long, droll, mostly static scene—has been disposed of in favor of a brisk musical number.

Now we’re catching on to the style of Disney’s adaptation. Focus on action, music, pretty art, and visual jokes, and keep the pace moving briskly. Cut long conversations and dull characters. This is not your grandmother’s Wonderland.

Alice next encounters Tweedledum and Tweedledee—one of several moments when this screenplay alters the structure of the books. Here a chapter from Looking-Glass has been inserted into the narrative of Wonderland. (One might suddenly wonder: If the chapters of Wonderland were rearranged into any variety of random orders, how much difference would it make?)

The twin brothers are not introduced by the nursery rhyme that explains their existence, so we have no idea who they are; nor does it seem important. As they introduce themselves to Alice, they break out of their static poses and begin to dance about as if they were a pair of rubbery, water-filled balloons, squeaking and honking every time their round bodies bounce or squish. It’s fun and silly, but a bit shocking to those used to the more sedentary nature of Alice’s original adventures. (This is vital preparation for the unexpectedly wild action coming up later in the movie.)

Disney’s animators were clearly doing everything in their powers to utilize the broad, unlimited scope of the art of animation to visually interpret the craziness of Wonderland.

The twins begin to recite “The Walrus and the Carpenter,” and the scene whisks us to a seaside, where the sun is shining in the middle of the night, and the titular characters stroll along the beach in search of Oysters to devour. Not only does the famous poem’s narrative take a back seat to the many visual jokes on display, but the poem has been completely rewritten, to better fit the meter of the music. Again, the viewer must question the point of all this: The thrust of Alice’s journey has been completely interrupted by a meaningless recitation of nonsense—the essence of which has been translated into an amusing cartoon, while the words of the renowned poem (which the public had been reciting by heart for eighty years) have been casually altered, as if no one would notice. Disney and his team must have had tremendous faith in the conceptual ideas intrinsic to Carroll’s nonsense to so brazenly reinterpret it, in hopes that their new version would be as enjoyable as the original (Figure 5).

At the end of the segment, there’s a blackout—the lights literally fade to black, as they might on-
stage—again suggesting that the various segments of the movie could conceivably be rearranged if desired.

Next Alice re-encounters the White Rabbit, who mistakes her for his housemaid Mary Ann and sends her to fetch a pair of gloves from his cottage. In a scene remarkably faithful to the book, Alice heedlessly eats something in hopes of returning to her normal size, then grows enormous while inside the Rabbit’s house, thus destroying it. Animation serves this scene remarkably well, especially when one notices how cleverly the thatched roof imitates Alice’s blond hair when she looks out the upstairs window (Figures 6 and 7). Bill the Lizard makes a winning cameo before being shot out the chimney, and Pat the Gardener has been wisely changed out for the Dodo, a funny, already established character who brings much humorous bumbling to the action. There’s even a song (“We’ll Smoke the Blighter Out”) since Disney’s mandate was to insert a musical number into each sequence in the tradition of a Broadway show. It’s all breathlessly fast and fun.

Alice escapes by becoming tinier than ever, and as she wanders away from the cottage, she becomes lost in a forest of grass where the flowers talk to her, and, of course, perform a musical number, “All in the Golden Afternoon” (no thematic relation to Carroll’s poem). Here, an interpolated scene from Looking-Glass has been much improved upon—not only with an impressive array of colorful and clever visual gags, but with amusing dialogue that quite outshines Lewis Carroll’s original puns. This scene is dazzlingly beautiful and marvelously fun to watch—easily one of the highlights of the picture—and a perfect example of how Disney’s artists were inspired by Carroll’s ideas to create a scene that genuinely improves upon the source material.

Alice’s next encounter, with a haughty, hookah-smoking Caterpillar, not only remains surprisingly authentic to Carroll’s dialogue, but is brilliantly enhanced by the clever animation of colorful smoke rings that form meaningful shapes (Figure 8). The Caterpillar’s many arms and legs also provide some
entertaining—he's one of the film's most memorable creations.

Alice is directed to seek the Rabbit at the home of the Mad Hatter. What she finds, instead, is a wildly surreal tea-party set in a garden lit with festive Chinese lanterns. At a mammoth, curving table covered with hundreds of eccentrically shaped teapots, the Mad Hatter and his friends—a shrieking March Hare and a sleepy Dormouse—are celebrating an Un-birthday party, as they do every day (cleverly exploiting an idea from the Humpty Dumpty chapter of Looking-Glass). They explain this to Alice (with a song, and minimal dialogue by Carroll) while behaving with relentless rudeness. They run crazily about the table, smashing the crockery, offering Alice tea but never allowing her to drink, and creating an exhausting number of visual gags. Finally the White Rabbit enters the scene, but before Alice can ask him why he's perpetually late, the Mad Hatter seizes the Rabbit's watch and promptly destroys it—all while the madness of the action intensifies into an astonishing degree of chaos.

If you thought the original Mad Tea Party was chaotic because the Hatter made personal remarks and the March Hare upset the milk jug, you'd better fasten your seat belt for this one.

As Alice leaves, she complains (as she does in the book), "That was the stupidest tea-party I've ever
been to in all my life.” The line gets a big laugh in theaters because it’s such an absurd understatement; if Alice were the Mad Hatter’s neighbor, rather than a little girl having a bad dream, she’d probably be calling the police.

At this point in the original story, Alice finds herself back in the Long Hall, where she’s able to finally gain access to the beautiful garden she’d been hoping to find. But Disney changed Alice’s motivation; instead of seeking the cool fountains and pretty flowers of a lush garden, this Alice is only interested in the White Rabbit’s destination. Now, thanks to the intensity of Wonderland’s relentless confusion—and even though “a world of nonsense” is precisely what she’d always hoped to live in—Alice is annoyed and frustrated, and she’s ready to go home. She finds herself lost in another dark forest, this time surrounded by lots of odd, unhelpful creatures. Unable to find a way home, Alice sadly chastises herself for misbehaving, and has a good cry.

This is a strange change of pace for a movie that thus far has maintained a nonstop stream of color, music, action, and whimsy. Rather than have Alice frightened by a mysterious Jabberwock—yet another silly monster who, like Wonderland’s other denizens, was to be more frustrating than threatening (Figure 9)—Disney decided that what his Alice needed instead was a moment to make her more sympathetic. Alice blubbers her way through a song called “Very Good Advice,” after which the Cheshire Cat pretends to help by showing her the way out of the forest. This segment may want us to feel sorry for Alice’s self-inflicted predicament, but the scene is so suddenly dark and quiet and slow that we can’t help reflecting, “What is this whole movie about, anyway?”

It’s no secret that Alice is asleep on a riverbank, having a bad dream, being watched over by her sister, and not in a predicament at all. It’s not like watching The Wizard of Oz, where Dorothy feels that she’s really been transported to a genuinely terrifying place, and that she might die if she doesn’t find real solutions to her problems. While it’s true that we may be terrified by the seeming realness of our own nightmares, Alice’s remorse for having wished herself into an annoying dreamscape does not naturally generate any sympathy. This movie’s glaring lack of character development makes this scene profoundly awkward; Alice has been consistently opaque thus far, and steadfastly, absurdly non-reactive to the outrageous lunatics she encounters. So why should we feel any sympathy for Alice? It’s her own fault that she craved to live in a world of nonsense. She knew she was wrong to follow that rabbit, because “curiosity often leads to trouble.” Rather than sympathy, the audience is more likely to feel Alice is getting what she deserves. And all the relentless madness she’s been subjected to has not only frustrated Alice, but the audience as well. We’ve been positively barraged with nonstop gags.
This is the moment when we understand why Walt Disney realized he might have made a mistake by making this film. The original story has a gentle whimsy that makes us laugh, but we know not to take it seriously. Disney, in updating it with dazzling animation, fresh jokes, lilting tunes, and loud, gyrating characters, blew Alice’s little dream way out of proportion. The film carries itself along with tremendous pace and cleverness, but at this point, we realize that the lack of a real plot and sympathetic characters has rendered this charming story into what one critic called “a loud-mouthed Vaudeville show.”

But at least it’s a good one!

The animators jump quickly back in the saddle, having Alice help a crew of singing/dancing playing-card gardeners paint some roses red. Gallons of paint splash wildly in all directions, until the whole pack of cards marches out and performs a dazzling, surreal dance—the kind of show Disney artists perfected in similarly hallucinatory scenes in *Dumbo* and *The Three Caballeros*. Then the villain of the show finally appears: the insanely furious Queen of Hearts, performed at top roaring volume by the versatile Verna Felton (who’d voiced Cinderella’s Fairy Godmother the year before). Alice bravely holds her own during a brilliantly directed croquet game. But the Cheshire Cat, proving himself to be genuinely evil, trips up the Queen and deliberately implicates Alice. She’s sent to a Kafka-esque nightmare of a courtroom for sentencing, when suddenly—

Hey, what happened to the Gryphon and the Mock Turtle?? Sorry, folks, apparently they were too boring for this movie. Dustbin (Figure 10).

Rather than allow Alice to wake up from her terrible nightmare too quickly, Disney decided to force Alice to retrace her steps through a much scarier, weirder Wonderland in order to get home. This unnecessary final burst of creativity is the film’s last chance to impress us with the animators’ unique talents. All proportions and colors are tweaked and disturbing and Dali-esque, with poor Alice running from her assailants, gasping for air, and pounding on the little door, praying for an escape from the terrifying hell she’s created (Figure 11).³

Then, finally, it all spins into a blur. Alice, sleeping benignly in the shade of the oak tree, awakens from her little nap. There’s no reflection on the bizarre visions she’s endured; unlike Dorothy Gale, she isn’t all the wiser and full of homely homilies. Alice merely picks up her cat and follows her sister home for tea. As if her adventures in Wonderland weren’t frustrating enough for the audience, now we’re...
even more frustrated, because there’s no concluding thought that helps us to understand why this story was important. Did Alice learn her lesson? Is she more enlightened now, more prepared to transition from childhood to adolescence? Did her dream contain any sort of meaning? Or was Disney just hoping to distract us from the workaday world with an hour-and-a-quarter of meaningless whimsy, capitalizing on the fame of Carroll’s book to sell enough tickets to cover production costs?

You decide: Is this cartoon a fun reinterpretation that sticks closely enough to the book, or is it a rude travesty that replaces revered moments in the classic with bright colors and shiny tunes? It calls into question: What does one like about Wonderland? Is it the wild dream-adventures of a little girl, or is it the way in which the story is told, with its wry, witty narrator commenting on Alice’s confusion? Many would argue that it’s the latter that makes the stories wonderful, and that an adaptation that dispenses with the witty narration in favor of action and music is failing to understand the value of Lewis Carroll’s story.

On the other hand, Disney’s faithful-on-its-own-terms version does a surprisingly good job of making the other aspects of the adventure entertaining in a wholly different way. The film is, in fact, a completely revolutionary retelling—one that dares to tell you that the things you thought you liked about Wonderland aren’t all that important—and Disney is clearly hoping that you like his movie better than that dusty old book. It’s outrageous. How dare Disney?! Shocking!

This was the almost unanimous voice of critics around the world in 1951. But in the decades since the film’s disastrous first release, audiences have decided that Disney’s radical reinvention of Wonderland is satisfying in a way in which Lewis Carroll himself might have approved. It’s entertaining in a light, funny, charming way. Carroll did that with words, and Disney did it with colorful art, whimsical songs, and characters that are very, very mad indeed.

Regardless of the film’s shortcomings (especially if one imagines it as a unique creation not related to previously existing books, plays, movies, etc.), it managed ultimately to resonate with audiences. It inspired and continues to inspire Disney merchandise, theme-park attractions, and spin-offs of every form. Despite what Disney thought about its disappointing initial reception, he was right about one thing: Carroll’s story contains an essence that transcends its original format. It can be reinvented, reinterpreted, and reimagined in an infinite number of ways. Not all ways will be appealing to all audiences, but Alice, and Wonderland, are robust, and will continue to be with us forever, in an endless variety of shapes.

Walt Disney gets the ultimate credit for proving this to be true. Prior to 1951, Alice’s adventures in print, onstage, and on film had never been as profoundly reinvented—no one had been bold enough. The critical shockwaves were discouraging but temporary; within a few decades, Wonderland was being adapted far more freely into musicals, television specials, ballets, and videogames, thanks to ballsy pioneer Walt Disney, who had paved the way for other artists to feel comfortable shaking off the shackles of strictly faithful adaptation.

Endnotes

1 There were six Wonderland feature films made before 1949, all live action with the exception of Lou Bunin’s marionette version (with a live Alice).
2 Disney did make a Mickey Mouse cartoon called Through the Mirror in 1936, in which Mickey falls asleep, has a dream, dances like Fred Astaire, and tangles with assorted Carroll characters.
3 Hall’s illustrations can be seen in a Wonderland published by Methuen and Little Simon (Simon and Schuster) in 1986.
5 Dalí himself was in the Disney Studio at this time, working on Destino. See the Introduction to Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland: The 150th Anniversary Deluxe Edition Illustrated by Salvador Dalí (Princeton University Press, 2015) for further details.
Of all of my favorite literature and reference works, only the *Annotated Alice* itself fits the bill for both. But today, how much more useful would it be if it were online and had web links?!

Back in May of 2012, James Welsch inaugurated the G.A.H.! (*Gardner’s Annotations Hyperlinked*) project on the Society’s blog, and completed a few enticing annotations before moving on to other things. Yet great ideas will linger, as has his plan to “employ the mighty power of the Internet to illuminate, investigate, and of course provide links for the footnotes from *The Annotated Alice*.” Such a format is, of course, one possible avenue. An ideal alternative, although it would require permission from the Gardner Estate and the publisher, would be to post the book to a website, link all the current annotations therein, and eventually allow other (juried) links.

In the meantime, I have compiled a few thoughts and done some fun research to ante up several further suggestions. As Mark Burstein put it in his Preface to the 150th Anniversary Deluxe Edition, “Avant la lettre, [Gardner] was a great believer in crowd-sourcing and was generous in crediting his many correspondents when they gave him insights, facts, or interesting theories to explore.” I first wrote to Gardner back in 1993, and he took the time to respond, writing that he was “intrigued” and “delighted” by my findings (what a sweetie!) and hoped to include some of them in a future *AA*. But the mother lode of source material still overflows with rich veins. And while nothing can ever replace our favorite hardcopy editions, that “mighty power of the Internet” simply awaits being harnessed to purpose!

*Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*

**CHAPTER II**

p. 27, note 6 mentions the expanding-universe theory, but it could be much simpler. A *fan* makes one cooler, while *gloves* make one warmer. Carroll of course exaggerated for effect, but most solids do expand when heated and contract when they are cooled.

**CHAPTER VI**

p. 69: Leaping through the centuries come our beloved footmen: “It is in the courte as in all ryvers, some fish some frogges.” – John Lyly (1579); “Whereas it is in Courts, as in a pond, Some fish, some frogs.” – John Wolcot (1792).

p. 78: “It would have made a dreadfully ugly child: but it makes a rather handsome pig. I think.”

This is a brilliant example of Shakespeare’s “[T]here is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.” Alice specifies, “I think,” though that is often implied as a given. Here, Carroll makes a point of including it as if to flag it “opinion.” Carroll took a great interest in Shakespeare for children, not just imparting the words but the wisdom of them, the meaning, the lesson, the logic behind everything. And because the scene itself appeared with the Macmillan edition, rather than on the picnic itself or the first time ’round in *Under Ground*, CLD also did have the time to include whatever he himself really valued or thought every child might need, to navigate Life. In addition, we have a sweet name connection! As the Duchess’s earlier reference to her “little boy” parallels the diminutive suffix (morpheme) “-let,”–i.e., “boy-let,” as in “piglet” or “booklet”—it seems entirely à propos that the guiding principle for Alice’s pig baby remark appears in Act II Scene ii of Shakespeare’s play *Hamlet*.

**CHAPTER VII**

p. 85: “It was the best butter,” as though that were enough recommendation to suit every purpose—making the reply funny enough on its own! But besides having the dreaded crumbs in, it may have grown mad itself. In a 1625 satire by Ben Jonson, *Staple of News* II.i., we read “So butter answer my expectation, and be not mad butter;—if it be, It shall both July and December see.” “Mad butter” is explained in John Ray’s *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1678): “Butter is said to be mad twice a year; once in summer . . . when it is too thin and fluid; and once in winter . . . when it is too hard and difficult to spread.”
**Chapter IV**

p. 220: “And this was odd, because, you know, / They hadn’t any feet.”

The underside of the bodies of mollusks (such as oysters) are themselves considered by scientists a single “foot.”

“Why the sea is boiling hot”: “. . . foams . . . as in the salt sea the waters boil with the mastering might of the winds.” – Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* (On the Nature of Things), Book III, line 490; “He [Leviathan] maketh the deep to boil like a pot.” – Job 41:31 (KJV).

**Chapter V**

p. 228: “Let’s fight till six, and then have dinner.”

Others have perhaps noted the (anachronistic) Christmas Truce of 1914, but it stems from a long-time tradition. “Truce of Gods” in Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable is defined as: “In the Middle Ages, a suspension of private warfare decreed by the Church on certain days or for certain seasons, such as Advent and Lent, and in 1027, hostilities between Saturday night and Monday morning were forbidden, and the Truce of God was reaffirmed and extended by various Councils including the Lateran Council of 1179. It was only partly effective and was eventually superseded by the King’s Peace.”

**Chapter VI**

p. 245: “Some people have no more sense than a baby!”

This is indeed off-the-wall (pun unavoidable) when said by an egg—which is itself but a baby!

p. 247, note 8: Though the *King James Bible* (1611) changed Proverbs 16:18 to: “Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall,” the older *Coverdale Bible* (1555) has: “After a proud stomake there foloweth a fall.” *Stomach* here means temper or disposition (as in, “I don’t have the stomach for this”), but Lewis Carroll applied the proud stomach literally in Humpty Dumpty’s case as well, for *proud* also means slightly protruding or projecting.

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**pp. 86–88, note 5:** “Why is a raven like a writing-desk?”

Answer 1. Because rooks and letters and books should be black and white and red/read all over.

The “rook” as a bird was given the binomial Latin name *Corvus frugilegus* (meaning a raven of the “fruit-gathering” kind) by Carl Linnaeus in 1758, but in the game of chess (with sets customarily either white-and-black or white-and-red), the corner piece or castle tower also carries the “rook” nomenclature.

Answer 2. Because *why* also gives cause.

**pp. 92–93, note 13:** “They were learning to draw . . . all manner of things—everything that begins with an M, such as mouse-traps, and the moon, and memory, and muchness. . . .”

Not only treacle from the well, but the list of things *drawn* includes many manners of things, including *manner* itself, deriving from “of the hand.” And drawing (upon or from) memory. The draw of gravity itself holds the “moon” in its orbit, and the old Pagan ritual was to “draw down the moon.” A mouse-trap generally draws mice, attracted by bait, and then it draws shut. And when a dormouse tells of it, it draws our attention as well.

While “much of a muchness” has been drawn from the past (crediting the phrase’s origin to a 1727 play by Sir John Vanbrugh and Colley Cibber, *The Provok’d Husband*), it describes a close similarity, hence, becoming a tie—or a draw!

**Chapter X**

p. 115, note 17: “French, music, and washing—extra.”

To children, not only would the idea of paying extra for washing itself be a cause of great mirth—paying extra for bubbles of air, extra for such an annoyance, extra to make something else disappear, never mind the idea of washing under the sea—but between 1712 and 1862 (the date all our wondrous *Adventures* began), England taxed soap with the declaration that it was a frivolous luxury of the aristocracy, so washing would have been indeed extra costly before then, not just as a service, but also the soap itself.

See Timelines of History (http://timelines.ws/countries/GB_C.HTML), for 1798.

**Through the Looking-Glass**

**Chapter III**

**pp. 201–202:** “His time is worth a thousand pounds a minute!” . . . “Language is worth a thousand pounds a word!”

“There is the same difference between their tongues as between the hour and the minute hand; one goes ten times as fast, and the other signifies ten times as much.” – Sydney Smith (1771–1845).
p. 251: “The question is . . . whether you can make words mean so many different things.”

“[I]n the English language, with educated adults using about 2,000 words in daily conversation . . . the 500 most frequently used words [have] some 14,000 dictionary meanings.” – Wallace V. Schmidt, et al., Communicating Globally: Intercultural Communication and International Business (Sage, 2007).

“The question is . . . which is to be master — that’s all.”

“To wrest and torture words to comply with his extravagant Wit.” – Edward Hyde Clarendon, A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr. Hobbes’s Book, Entitled Leviathan (1676); “Words are so to be understood, that they worke somewhat, and be not idle and frivolous.” — Sir Francis Bacon, The Elements of Common Lawes (1596).

CHAPTER IX

p. 307: “I wo’n’t be introduced to the pudding, please.”

“I know him not though I should meet him in my dish.” – William Walker, Paræmiologia Anglo-Latina (1672); “We will have hog’s cheek, and a dish of tripes, and a society of puddings . . . a society of puddings? Did you mark that well-used metaphor?” – Robert Greene, The Tragical Reign of Selimus (1594).

p. 309: “. . . every poem was about fishes in some way. Do you know why they’re so fond of fishes, all about here?”

“Soup and fish explain half the emotions of human life.” – Sydney Smith.

Liana Finck, The New Yorker, August 6&13, 2018
When *Knight Letter* 100 arrived, I enjoyed reading the report of the panel discussion "On Translating Whimsy and Nonsense in East Asian Languages and Cultures" featuring Rebecca Corbet, Satoko Shimizu, and Kerim Yasar. I am very glad that members of the LCSNA know that in Japan Alice is very popular, that quite a lot of editions of the *Alice* books have been published in Japan, and how much we Japanese like the *Alice* stories and Lewis Carroll himself.

In the special Alice150 *Knight Letter* is a report on the panel “Alice in Japanese Popular Culture” by Asuka Toritamari and Shinichi Kinoshita (*KL* 95:22). In their presentation, they said that the Disney animation came out in Japan in 1953 in a subtitled version, and did not do well. Its re-release in 1973 in a dubbed version triggered the Alice boom, establishing her once and for all with the name “Alice” (or Arisu), a pinafore, blonde hair, and a headband. I would like to add some more information relating to Alice in Japan, particularly in the early days.

The play *Alice in Wonderland* was performed in Japan while Carroll was still alive. According to the preface of *Alice in Wonderland: A Play* by Emily Prime Delafield (Dodd, Mead & Company, 1898), it “was performed by English children in Japan in 1890.”

Alice Liddell herself collected many foreign editions of the *Alice* books during her life, including four *Wonderlands* in Japanese. (The Sotheby’s catalogue *Lewis Carroll’s Alice* [London, 6 June 2001], says five, but one of them is a Chinese edition.) Three of them are signed “Alice Pleasance Hargreaves,” but one of them went missing on its way to Tokyo from London, so now only two signed copies survive.

The *Alice in Wonderland* produced by Paramount Pictures in 1933 and featuring an all-star cast was shown in Japan in 1934. Gary Cooper (the White Knight) and Cary Grant (the Mock Turtle) were featured, and those actors are still very popular here in Japan. The movie, taken up in many media, also had an impact on the Japanese public. For example, Charlotte Henry (Alice) was featured on the cover of *Star*, a Japanese movie magazine that March.

In 1910, *Lewis Carroll* by Belle Moses was published (D. Appleton and Company). She wrote, “Whether the Chinese or the Japanese have discovered this funny little dream-child we cannot tell, but perhaps in time she may journey there and amuse the little maids with the jet-black hair. . . . Perhaps she may even stir them to laughter.” Belle Moses would have been surprised at the fact that Japan has since those days produced a great many “editions, issues, and reprints” of the *Alice* books, the most in any language according to *Alice in a World of Wonderlands*!

As Mark Burstein pointed out (*KL* 100:8), “Hello Kitty” was named for Alice’s cat in *Through the Looking-Glass* in 1974. So all you completist collectors out there will now have to buy the vast range of merchandise associated with this brand!

During the Second International Lewis Carroll Conference in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1994, four Japanese delegates announced that they would be founding the Lewis Carroll Society of Japan. Today, we have an annual convention (in late fall), regular meetings (in January, March, May, and September in Tokyo), a summer party in July in Tokyo, and a Christmas party in Tokyo. The Society maintains a website (http://lcsj.sakura.ne.jp/index-e.html is the English version) and produces a quarterly newsletter called *The Looking-Glass Letter* and an annual journal written in Japanese and English, *Mischmasch.*
As Anne Clark Amor, one of the delegates at that original conference, wrote a dozen years later in “A Tale Begun” (*Mischmasch* no.8, 2006):

We can be certain that he [Dodgson] would have derived great satisfaction if he could have known that one day his books would be translated into Japanese, and that Japanese children of all ages from one to a hundred would love Alice as much as English children.

Surely it would have delighted him to know that the Lewis Carroll Society of Japan has flourished since 1994, and that people from around the world unite with Japanese scholars to read and contribute in *Mischmasch*, their journal dedicated to the life and works of Lewis Carroll.

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**References**

*Alice in a World of Wonderlands: The Translations of Lewis Carroll's Masterpiece*, Jon Lindseth, general editor, and Alan Tannenbaum, technical editor (Oak Knoll/LCSNA 2015). As with other languages, there are essays, back-translations, and a bibliography. Adriana Peliano, in her essay “Alice: Illustrated by a World of Artists” has chosen 42 artists, among whom four are Japanese: Takako Hirai, Kuniyoshi Kaneko, Yayoi Kusama, and Mari Shimizu.


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Bruce Eric Kaplan in *The New Yorker*, January 22, 2018

*He only likes me when it's through the looking glass.*
I enjoyed Mark Burstein’s demolition of the popular (but groundless) supposition that the Caterpillar’s mushroom could be an *Amanita muscaria* (“Of the Mushroom,” *KL* 100:19). I would disagree, though, with the suggestion that it might be *Marasmius oreades* (the fairy ring mushroom), in spite of the delightful appropriateness of its English name. The stem and the cap in both Carroll’s and Tenniel’s depictions look to me too thick for the thin-bodied *Marasmius oreades*. The photograph accompanying the article shows the typical fairy ring skininess well. (While I’m not a mushroom expert, I have a long acquaintance with the commoner edible mushrooms, and over the years have gathered and eaten many fairy rings.)

It’s curious to note that at one point the songwriters for Disney’s 1951 *Alice in Wonderland* were thinking in terms of hallucinogenic traits for the Caterpillar, although they were thinking of the hookah, not a possible *Amanita muscaria* mushroom.

When I bought the 2010 “2-Disc Special Edition” DVD of Disney’s 1951 *Alice in Wonderland*, I was surprised to find that a section among the “extras,” on songs composed for the movie but not used in it, included a song called “Dream Caravan” (“My dream caravan has a thousand beautiful dreams,” etc.). It was intended to be sung by the Caterpillar, and on the DVD was sung by the composers, Mack David, Jerry Livingston, and Al Hoffman, in a demonstration tape they made in July 1948—except that what they composed was only the arrangement and the verse lyrics. The melody and the chorus/ostinato are a Jewish folksong, “Zum Gali Gali.” The chorus/ostinato is the nonsense syllables of the title (pronounced “zoom golly golly”), and the traditional words to it are (in Hebrew) “The pioneer was made for work / and work was made for the pioneer.” Various Internet sites can supply the melody and words, but I didn’t find a site with any information on the song’s background. I asked Cantor Barry Abelson of Temple Israel in Minneapolis, who told me that the song became popular among Jewish settlers in Palestine in the 1920s, but its composer and date of composition are unknown.

I suppose that David/Livingston/Hoffman were asked to come up with something Middle Eastern for the Caterpillar, on the theory that someone who smokes a hookah must be Middle Eastern—but that ought to be Middle Eastern in the sense of, say, Egyptian or Turkish, not in the sense of Israeli. I don’t know if the tune of “Zum Gali Gali” could have been influenced at all by Arabian music. To me it sounds entirely Jewish, and not at all Arabian/Middle Eastern, unlike the song that the Caterpillar wound up with in the movie eventually, “A-E-I-O-U” (by Oliver
Wallace and Ted Sears), which does sound to me like (Arab) Middle Eastern music. I would think that the combination of “dreams” and smoking a hookah would have sounded too much like drug addiction for the composers to have seriously intended “Dream Caravan” for inclusion in the movie, at least, not once they’d stopped to think about it. I wonder if the composers were indulging in a little pro-Israeli fervor in their “Dream Caravan,” considering that Israel’s independence was declared in May 1948, and all three composers were Jewish. David and Livingston, ne Levinson, are so identified in Wikipedia entries on them; Hoffman is not specifically so identified, but the Wikipedia entry says he was born in Minsk, and a German name in Russia generally meant a Jewish family. The trio composed “The Unbirthday Song” for Alice, and other songs for Disney, receiving an Academy Award nomination for “Bibbidi-Bobbidi-Boo” in Cinderella. Together, in collaboration with others, or individually, they wrote music or lyrics for many songs. Mack David is probably best known for writing the English-language lyrics to Edith Piaf’s “La Vie en Rose,” and Hoffman and Livingston, in collaboration with Milton Drake, for the “novelty” (sounds-like-nonsense-but-isn’t) song “Mairzy Doats.”

Ruth Berman

The “Sic, Sic, Sic” column (KL 100:43), takes Guillermo Martinez, author of the award-winning and enjoyable mystery The Oxford Murders, to task for allowing one of his characters to refer to Carroll’s second Alice book as “Alice Through the Looking Glass.” I thought that a bit harsh, as the variant title (I believe) has long been used widely in colloquial parlance. So wherever on earth could Martinez (or his translator, Sonia Soto) have gotten the idea that “Alice Through the Looking Glass” is an acceptable rendering of the sacred title? To check, I searched the HathiTrust Digital Library (hathitrust.org). Ignoring anything after 1960, I found 5,037 hits for “Alice Through the Looking Glass.” I examined a sample of the books and articles found in the search, selecting only those occurrences that actually referred to the title of Carroll’s book, and not, for example, to adaptations. Well, it seems he might have gotten the idea from R. L. Green, who, in his 1954 edition of Carroll’s diaries, transcribes the entry on November 1, 1871, as “Alice Through the Looking-glass is printing off rapidly.” Edward Wakeling informs me that Carroll actually wrote “Alice” and beneath that “Looking glass,” but how was Martinez to know? (Regardless, Carroll was never fussy as to titles in his letters and journals.) So Martinez is in good company. But I can name several other well-known writers, Carrollians, even presidents who misremembered the title. More or less in chronological order, they include:

- Isa Bowman, one of Carroll’s closest child/actress friends, in her The Story of Lewis Carroll (1899).
- Biographer Belle Moses uses this title throughout her Lewis Carroll in Wonderland and at Home (1910).
- Theodore Roosevelt in “A Zoological Trip through Africa,” a lecture he gave in 1911.
- Woodrow Wilson, in a speech at the National Press Club in 1914.
- Langford Reed, anthropologist, in A Book of Nonsense Verse (1926).
- Belle-letrist Walter de la Mare uses this title repeatedly in his essay “Lewis Carroll” in The Eighteen-Eighties: Essays by Fellows of the Royal Society of Literature (1930).
- Maurice Hutton, who translated “The Walrus and the Carpenter” and other Carroll poems into Greek, in The Sisters Jest and Earnest (1930).

They are all deceased, and it is too late to rap their knuckles.

Clare Imholtz

A follow-up to my comments [KLs 86:25, 87:33] about Mark Burstein’s article “Am I Blue?” on the color of Alice’s dress [KL 85:27]: it just occurred to me that she is wearing a red dress on the covers of both Wonderland and Looking-Glass of the Macmillan People’s Editions of 1887! Yoshiyuki Momma

LCS Japan

I recently realized that the poem “Lines Written by a Bear of Very Little Brain” from Chapter Seven of Winnie-the-Pooh has a number of striking similarities to Humpty Dumpty’s poem about the fish: On Monday, when the sun is hot I wonder to myself a lot: Now is it true, or is it not, That what is which and which is what? On Tuesday, when it hails and snows The feeling on me grows and grows That hardly anybody knows If those are these or these are those. On Wednesday, when the sky is blue,
And I have nothing else to do,
I sometimes wonder if it’s true
That who is what and what is who.
On Thursday, when it starts to freeze
And hoar-frost twinkles on the trees,
How very readily one sees
That these are whose—but whose are these?
On Friday—

Pooh is here interrupted by Kanga. The similarities include the identical meter, and four stanzas in Milne’s (cf. the first four couplets in Carroll’s) constructed by mentioning a time, what the environment is like, then proceeding to discuss an activity. They also both end abruptly in the middle of a sentence, although for different reasons. The Pooh poem also contains similarities to the “Evidence” poem from the trial scene in Alice’s Adventures, having some very cryptic and mysterious lines that bring to mind Carroll’s poem’s many confusing pronouns. We know Milne knew of Carroll’s work, so the question is whether the similarities were deliberate or unconscious.

Fred Scher

Years later, as an adult, I realized that what my little sister had confided to me in a quiet voice in that wind cave was indeed true. Alice really does exist in the world. The March Hare, the Mad Hatter, the Cheshire Cat—they all really exist.


Who, for instance, would have thought that [Pooh illustrator Ernest Shepard] would have cared for Tenniel, whose hard outline was so very different from his own “lost and found” line? But Tenniel appealed because of his relentless imagination, which made grotesque fancies as solid as realities.


“The Grin Without the Cat: Bacon and Freud in the 1960s”
Martin Gayford, chapter title in Modernists & Mavericks: Bacon, Freud, Hockney & the London Painters, Thames & Hudson, London, 2018

We are reminded that the term “mad as a hatter” has its basis in the mental and physical health problems caused by mercuric nitrate used in the felting process of hat-making in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, the 1873 beaver fur hat made by the London hatters Lincoln Bennett & Co included in the exhibition is contained in a sealed bag, as it is still too toxic to handle.

Rebecca Arnold, “Fashion Victims,” The Times Literary Supplement, June 8, 2018

Interviewer: You have called Lewis Carroll a surrealist, and his name suggests the kind of jabberwocky which you use occasionally . . .

Henry Miller: Yes, yes, of course Lewis Carroll is a writer I love. I would give my right arm to have written his books, or to be able to come anywhere near doing what he did. When I finish my project, if I continue writing, I would love to write sheer nonsense.


It was awful—like Alice and the pool of tears, many of them mine.

Initially, she used Bible excerpts, but *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* came to seem more congenial.  
*Judith Thurman, “Maltese for Beginners,” The New Yorker, September 3, 2018*

In general, the book is full of Humpty-Dumptyesque pro-nouncements on what words mean, or unsupported generalizations about particular texts or genres, or sly digs at "the modern academic world."  
*Judith Jesch, reviewing Laughing Shall I Die by Tom Shippey, Times Literary Supplement online, August 21, 2018*

Lewis Carroll’s satires of the absurdity of Victorian rules and authorities were an important inspiration for [Pogo cartoonist Walt] Kelly’s ridicule of McCarthyism in the 1950s.  
*Thomas Andrae, introduction to Walt Kelly’s The Adventures of Peter Wheat, Volume One, Hermes Press, Wilmington, Pennsylvania, 2017*

The proportions of her house were so preposterous that I felt I had shrunk to a hundredth of my size, like Alice after she drank the potion in Wonderland.  

“It’s a beautiful day for plogging.” Neither James Joyce nor Lewis Carroll said that. Alex Bourney did, in a thick French accent, on a recent Sunday morning at the entrance to Prospect Park in Brooklyn.  
*Do-Gooders Dept., “One Man’s Trash,” The New Yorker, August 20, 2018*

[Penelope Fitzgerald’s] grandfather at Corpus enjoyed hearing the jokes made by the author of *Alice in Wonderland*: “He knows a man whose feet are so large that he has to put his trousers on over his head.” . . .  
*Percy Lee, Penelope Fitzgerald: A Life, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2014*

When I was little my first favorite book was *Alice in Wonderland*, and the main attractor was Sir John Tenniel’s cross-hatched illustrations, and I wanted to be able to do that.  
*Cartoonist/painter/set designer Gary Panter (Jimbo, Pee-wee’s Playhouse), interviewed in The New York Times, July 25, 2007*

It was at this age [nine] that I began giving puppet shows for other kids in the neighborhood, devoured books on ventriloquism, went around proclaiming—to no one in particular— “Off with their heads!”  
*Alexander Theroux, The Grammar of Rock, Fantagraphics, Seattle, 2013*

I store books in my head with half-visualised mnemonics. The *Alice* books sit apart as a kind of cubic cat’s-craddle of brightly coloured threads red, white, black, grass-green. I now also think of the impossible buildings and worlds in the drawings of M. C. Escher.  
*A. S. Byatt, “There’s Something about Alice,” The Guardian, Feb. 26, 2010*

Amanda Craig [. . .] has sat on several literary prize committees [. . .]. If all must have prizes she is happy to hand them out. . . . (What makes her noteworthy is that in three decades of writing and serving on prize committees, she has never received one.)  
*From the Times Literary Supplement, NB column, by D.H.*

Apparently you follow the rabbit through a hole and you emerge in a wonderland where suddenly countries throughout the world are queuing up to give us trading advantages and access to their markets. . . . No doubt somewhere there is a Hatter holding a tea party with a dormouse.  
*Ken Clarke, M.P., in a speech in the House of Commons on Prime Minister Theresa May’s Brexit strategy*
As outgoing president, I want to extend my deepest personal gratitude, and the gratitude of the LCSNA, to the 2016–2018 Board of Directors. Thanks to their support, wisdom, dedication, and hard work over the past two years, we’ve held wonderful gatherings in San Francisco, Delaware, Los Angeles, and New York; celebrated the 100th *Knight Letter*; published Carroll’s uncollected verse; reached the verge of completing the decades-long pamphlets project; revised the constitution and furthered our governance; and spent time with and given books to scores of children. Most of these directors in fact were also the 2014–2016 Board, and so were also responsible for meetings in Austin and Maryland, and the gala week of exhibitions and events for Alice150 in New York!

Ninety-times-nine thanks go out to Linda Cassady, vice president; Sandra Lee Parker, secretary; Ken Salins, treasurer; previous officers Mark Burstein, Andrew Sellon, Cindy Watter, Clare Imholtz, and Fran Abeles; elected directors Matt Crandall, Matt Demakos, Griffin Miller, and Ellie Schaefer-Salins; and appointed directors Wendy Crandall and Alan Tannenbaum. We are also grateful to our Advisory Board: Joel Birenbaum, Angelica Carpenter, Edward Guiliano, August Imholtz, and Charlie Lovett.

The LCSNA is greatly indebted to you all!

At our board meeting in New York, a new Constitution was adopted, which you can read by clicking “Constitution” under the “About Us” tab on our website. Under the new structure, officers—who were subsequently approved at the general meeting for a two-year period—are automatically to serve also on the board of directors. They are Linda Cassady, president; Amy Plummer, vice president; Ken Salins, treasurer (incumbent); and Sandra Lee Parker, secretary (incumbent). Six directors were afterwards elected to the board by the officers: Edward Guiliano, Arnold Hirshon, Clare Imholtz, April James, Linda Gray-Moin, and Alan Tannenbaum. Also serving will be Mark Burstein as publications chairman (*Knight Letter* and books) and Heather Simmons as communications director (administrator/manager of our social media presence—website, blog, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram). Chris Morgan will continue as *Knight Letter* editor, and Edward Guiliano is spearheading a redesign and updating of our website. Our future looks glorious!

Speaking of which, our Spring 2019 meeting (March 8 and 9) is shaping up nicely and will take place in gorgeous San Diego, California, at the Central branch of the San Diego Public Library on Friday, and the next day in the National Center for the Study of Children’s Literature (NCSCIL) at San Diego State University (SDSU).

Our host at SDSU will be Dr. Joseph Thomas, director of the NCSCIL. There will be exhibits on Edward Gorey and Carrolliana, and talks by award-winning children’s author Kathleen Krull (*One Fun Day with Lewis Carroll*, etc.), Dr. Thomas on Shel Silverstein and his poem “Alice,” Dr. Edward Guiliano on “For All Those ‘Curiouser and Curiouser’ about a Man and His Alices,” and Dr. Philip Serrato on “It’s Not Easy Being a Girl in Heteropatriarchy: On Female Coalition and Mentorship (or the Lack Thereof) in Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland.”

San Diego is such a beautiful, sunny location, just 20 miles from Mexico, that you might consider staying a couple of extra days!
the history of Disney Alice records begins long before Disney’s film Alice in Wonderland was released in 1951, and in fact the first records are not even Disney recordings! In 1944 Ginger Rogers was looking to star in a combo live-action and animation adaptation of Alice for Disney, and recorded a collection of songs on the Decca label to further that objective (Figure 1). I’m sure many (if not all) of you have seen this large set of 78 RPM records featuring Ginger Rogers, unaware that it was part of a not-so-subtle campaign to get that film made. Disney even provided the cover art for the album, as can be seen at the base of the mushroom.

The set exists in several formats and designs, beginning with the large 78 RPM set with the familiar purple-ish blue cover (complete with companion booklet and full-sized songbook), which was issued in 1944. The set was reissued in 1949 as a 78 RPM set with an unusual orange-ish cover with a small inset picture of the image from the large set (Figure 2). This same weird orange cover was used on a 33½ RPM LP also issued in 1949, as well as a 45 RPM set issued in 1950. One presumes that these reissues came about to capitalize on the soon-to-be released Disney film and all the publicity it was garnering at the time.

As that film was never made, our next stop is 1951, when the Disney Alice film was released. Since Disney did not have their own record label at the time (and wouldn’t until the late 1950s), Disney released records on pretty much every label there was. From children’s records to pop songs, their vast catalogue of material was spread far and wide across the record industry.

Most of the children’s records were released on the RCA label, because Walt Disney released his films through that studio during this time period. And here begins a series of firsts that the Alice records hold in the world of Disney records. First number 1: Alice was the first film to issue its official storyteller record simultaneously in all three popular formats (78, 45, and 33⅓). First number 2: Alice was the first (and only) Disney storyteller to use a new large book format rather than the familiar album format. First number 3: Alice was the first film to issue the storyteller records in a complete format and multipart formats. More firsts to come later, but let’s look at these RCA storyteller records in detail.

The large complete storyteller record, called the “Little Nipper Giant Storybook Record Album” (could they not come up with a shorter name?), is shown in Figure 3. It was issued in 78, 45, and 33⅓ RPM formats. The records were located on the inside covers in special paper sleeves that were pasted to the covers. The 78 version almost always has significant
damage to these sleeves because the records are so heavy. The 45 version records are much smaller and lighter, so these sleeves are almost always intact. The 33⅓ version has a single record that is about the same size and weight as a 78, so the single sleeve on the inside front cover is almost always quite distressed too. So the moral is: If you are looking for a very nice copy, go for a 45 set.

As I mentioned previously, RCA released the Alice storyteller as a multipart issue, too—three parts to be exact, in both 78 RPM and 45 RPM formats. The three parts are: “Alice and the White Rabbit,” “Alice and the Mad Tea Party,” and “Alice and the Trial” (Figure 4). The 45 RPM records in these sets (and the complete record, above) are a very cool translucent yellow vinyl (I love colored vinyl). All of these singles have a gatefold sleeve that opens up to some pretty nice art illustrating the story segments as told on the single.

Interestingly, all the RCA storyteller records have some of the original cast from the film recreating their roles, but with all new recordings, not snippets of the actual soundtrack. Hard to imagine that they would go to the expense of re-recording dialogue . . . something I’m sure they would never do now, unless they used an alternate cast. Some of the alternate cast on this recording are . . . interesting. I must say that I find the Doorknob particularly annoying . . . but I love the name of the vocal quartet: Three Beaus and a Peep! Quintessentially 1950s!

As you can tell, RCA Victor (along with every other licensee) was going all out for the Alice release, creating an entirely new format for its storytellers and issuing it in multiple speeds simultaneously. They even created a special mini catalogue exclusively to promote the Alice release. During this period, they would print small catalogues that were sent to the record shops to be given away to customers, to advertise current and upcoming releases. This Alice catalogue (Figure 5) has a gatefold cover, with gatefolds on both front and back covers, the back cover featuring the Queen of Hearts holding an RCA herald. The front gatefold advertises the large storyteller record in all three speeds, and the inside cover advertises the three storyteller singles in two speeds (78 RPM and 45 RPM). The first page has some art and photos of
the original cast members on the records. The rest of the interior pages feature other RCA titles available at the time. These special catalogues are not commonly found.

As we continue with our journey into children’s records, we must talk about the various titles released under the Golden imprint (Figure 6). Little Golden Records were made for many years by Simon & Schuster—before and after Alice—the vast majority being non-Disney titles. In fact, the first Alice LGR was only the eighteenth Disney title in the LGR series. Shortly before the film was released, the Alice series of Little Golden Records was introduced on yellow vinyl (plastic really, these things are almost indestructible) in 78 RPM but in a smaller size, which sometimes leads people to believe they are 45 RPM. As with most other Alice items from the original release, S&S went all out on this set, and produced eight records for the series (the most for any Disney film), each with full-color cover art.

Over the years it has become clear that some of these records are much scarcer than others. In my experience, RD22 (“All in a Golden Afternoon”) is the hardest to find of the set, followed closely by RD23 (“Alice in Wonderland Meets the Caterpillar and the Cheshire Cat”). My assumption is that these titles just weren’t as popular with kids and they got thrown out more frequently than the others. All of the titles are difficult to find with their paper sleeves in any kind of decent condition; these were kids’ records, after all, and while the records themselves were designed to suffer a great deal of abuse, the sleeves are just paper.

Figure 6. Full Set of Eight Little Golden Records
Which brings us to the final First for the *Alice* records, First number 4: *Alice* was the first title to launch a new format of Golden records—Big Golden Records. These records are possibly the rarest of all the *Alice* records, and for years no one believed that they even existed because I had no physical evidence, only a single reference in a single printed ad. Years later I discovered a Simon & Schuster Golden Book catalogue from Fall 1951 (Figure 7) that actually pictured these elusive recordings, and years after that I finally found them. They are Big Golden Record DBR-1, “Six Songs from Alice in Wonderland, Part 1” and Big Golden Record DBR-2 “Six Songs from Alice in Wonderland, Part 2.” The recordings themselves (Figure 8) are nothing special, just a rehash of the same titles on the Little Golden Records, but the format is different. The size of a standard 78 RPM record, with illustrated labels, and not too interesting sleeves, these must have been short lived indeed, for though there are literally hundreds of LGRs, there are only a tiny number of titles in the BGR series.

And that does it for Part 1 of the domestic Disney *Alice* records. Part 2 will look at pop recordings of *Alice* songs and a few oddities as well. Till next time!
Although Max Ernst (1891–1976) is certainly a name quite well-known in the art world, he is the subject of this issue’s column because I have come to realize that the word “arcane” in the title “means just what I choose it to mean.” For the purposes of this column it means: “his or her books are not that easy to find, even with the power of the Internet.” (A fortuitous exception occurred last issue, when a publisher reprinted—in English yet!—the work of the subject of an already written column shortly before we went to press.)

It is not within the province of this article to provide a disquisition on the well-known influence of Carroll on the surrealists; that has been done often enough elsewhere.¹ Nor will it be a definitive biography of Herr Ernst, but rather it will emphasize his Carrollian book illustration, which consists of L’âge d’Or [Golden Age] Snark, Logique sans peine ([Symbolic Logic, Volume I], Hermann, 1966), and two fine-press, oversize editions by Manus Presse: the Snark (1968, 130 copies) and a macédoine called Lewis Carrolls [sic] Wunderhorn (1970, 1000 copies).

Ernst also created oil paintings (e.g., Alice in 1939; Alice in 1941; Pour les amis d’Alice, 1957; and Alice envoie un message aux poissons, 1964) and lithographs on Carrollian themes, which one can find listed on Mark Richards’s fine surrealism site.² (By the by, did you know for whose work the term “surrealism” was coined? None other than Pablo Picasso!)³

Max Ernst was born in Germany, but lived at one time or another in France, Southeast Asia, New York, and Arizona. Calling him, as Wiki does, “a painter, sculptor, graphic artist, and poet, a primary pioneer of the Dada movement and surrealism” doesn’t begin to describe his contribution to the arts. His experiments in collage, frottage (taking a rubbing from an uneven surface), décalcomanie (using a glass sheet or paper to flatten still-wet paint on the canvas), gratte (scrapping off layers of paint on canvases placed on various textured surfaces), and objects applied to paintings are considered breakthroughs. He could paint marvelously in a (sur)realistic or a completely abstract style, and anything in between. A close friend of Hans Arp, Paul Klee, and André Breton, when he lived in New York in the Forties, he embarked on experiments with splashing paint through a hole in the bottom of a can suspended by strings above a horizontal canvas, which undoubtedly inspired Jackson Pollock’s drip paintings. The surrealist’s surrealist, his relation with the others in that group was often rocky, with his being expelled from the movement at least twice, the second time for the unforgivable crime of winning the Grand Prize at the 1954 Venice Biennale.

The L’Âge d’Or [Golden Age] Snark,⁴ a small gem issued in a numbered edition of 750, translated into French and published by Henri Parisot, is illustrated with eight black-and-white etchings; a deluxe limited edition of 25 also has one color etching of the Bellman, signed and numbered. Some of these have a pressure test etching colored in blue and gray-brown; my “H.C.” (hors commerce) copy has what appears to be a page that is “a perfect and absolute blank,” but a closer inspection in the right light reveals it to be an uncolored version of the etching, that is, an uncolored pressure test. They are delightful, cartoony compositions, inhabiting the space somewhere between the figurative and the abstract.

Of all the works of Dodgson/Carroll for a surrealista to choose to illustrate, one would think Symbolic Logic, Volume I, would be near the bottom of the list. But surrealists are full of surprises, and it is a tribute to Carroll that he used such imaginative examples in his syllogisms and lessons that they could be so playfully pictured in a sober book about logic. Jean Gattégnos’s preface resolves the irony well. The illustrations themselves tend to depict human characters rather primitively, with collaged-in geometric or scientific drawings floating about.

The Manus Press Snark, a fine exemplar of the bookmaker’s art, contains nineteen original lithographs in colors. Some of the figures were taken from Ernst’s earlier Snark, but reworked and repurposed. The color illustrations from the first part of the book (in English) are repeated—but as black-and-white negatives!—in the second part, a German translation by Klaus Reichert. The text is offset-printed on fine Arches paper, with ragged edges, and unbound
in loose quires inside a blue cloth portfolio, with a slipcase.

*Wunderhorn* is in English and German, with translations by Max Ernst, Christian Enzensberger, and Klaus Reichert. The sections are: *Kinderstube*, some of Carroll’s juvenilia, i.e., early poems and letters; *Fröhliche [Happy] Logik*, the introduction, selections, and syllogisms from *Symbolic Logic; Aberwitz und Fünf-Uhr-Tee* [Lunacy and Five O’Clock Tea], the Tea-Party chapter of *Wonderland; “What the Tortoise Said to Achilles,”* an 1895 article by Carroll for the journal *Mind;* and a *Nachwort [Afterword]* by Werner Spies. The 36 lithographs Ernst provides are mostly single colors, with a few multiple, again sometimes based on his earlier drawings for these titles, and often including geometric figures. The book itself came out as a slipcased hardcover, and also in a deluxe edition with a separate portfolio of the illustrations.

Some of Ernst’s drawings for these titles can also be found as cover art to various Flammarion editions of Carroll’s works in French.

His last name may mean “serious,” but Max was anything but that in his quirky, droll take on Carroll’s texts. Ernst only ever illustrated one chapter of *Wonderland*, and one can only fantasize about what he would have produced had he taken on the entire novel.

As those ‘70’s Coca-Cola ads might say, “It’s surreal thing!”

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**Endnotes**


2. LewisCarrollResources.net/surrealism.

3. The first appearance of the term *surrealisme* in print was in Apollinaire’s program notes for the Satie/Cocteau piece *Parade* for the Ballets Russes, with set design and costumes by Picasso. Although he never formally aligned himself with Breton’s group, he painted in that style from 1917 to 1935, and had many works displayed in surrealist exhibitions.

4. It is possible that the publisher’s imprint name refers to the famed 1930 surrealist film of the same name by Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí, in which Ernst made a cameo appearance.
Doug Howick, a genial and erudite figure in international Snark-hunting circles, passed away June 1, 2018, in Melbourne, Australia. Born in Twickenham, London, on April 9, 1935, and raised near Guildford in the English countryside, he emigrated to Australia in 1957 to pursue a career in entomology, specializing in the control of termites in Australian forestry. He became a major figure in the industry, not only in Australia but also Asia and Oceania, authoring over 60 scientific papers and helming various trade magazines and associations.

His Snark hunt proper began in 1972 when he joined the Concatenated Order of Hoo-Hoo, a fraternal order of lumber and forestry professionals, founded in Arkansas in 1892 and now active in most English-speaking countries. Doug was intrigued by the odd nomenclature of the various Hoo-Hoo executive officers, including Snark, Bojum (sic), and Jabberwock. One of the Order’s founding members, William E. Barns, was a devotee of the poem, and soon Doug was himself infatuated with Snark hunting, focusing in particular on Snark illustrations.

Over the years Doug amassed a fine collection of illustrated Snarks (84 editions as of 2009) and all manner of Snark adaptations and ephemera. Until poor health intervened, he curated a partial catalogue of illustrated Snarks on the Internet (still online as of this time, http://photobucket.com/snarkillustration) to share some of his collection with fellow enthusiasts.

Charles Douglas Howick
April 9, 1935 — June 1, 2018

Remembered by Mahendra Singh

He was a member of the LCSNA and contributed several “snarticles” (his proprietary portmanteau) to the Knight Letter: an essay on the Tichborne Claimant (“The Hunting of the Butcher,” KL 82:18), a fine survey of the Bellman’s Blank Map (“Beware of Greeks Bearing Snarks?,” KL 87:44), a history of the Carrollian-themed Guinness beer advertising campaigns of the last century (“My Goodness—My Snark,” KL 91:8), deceptive online practices (“That eBay Snark May Be a Boojum,” KL 91:13), and several reviews of various Snark editions (KL 89:34 and 98:43).

Doug also maintained a lively and highly entertaining correspondence on all things Snarkish with fellow Snark hunters all over the world. His encyclopedic knowledge and genial wit made his Snarkish observations particularly memorable; this author in particular will be forever indebted to Doug for the unstinting advice and support he so generously gave to his own Snark hunt several years ago.

Doug made several visits to North America, during one of which he visited Mark Burstein, who recalls, “I met Doug in the fall of 2014, when we spent a delightful afternoon poring over the Snarks in my collection. His enthusiasm for discovering the few he had not seen before was quite enchanting.”

Doug is survived by his wife, Sigrid, his son, Charles, and three grandchildren. He was a true scholar of the Snark and a fine connoisseur of the Carrollian spirit of humor. He will be sorely missed by his fellow Snark hunters.
The Australian artist Charles Blackman died just days after his ninetieth birthday. He was most renowned for the 46 paintings in his 1956 Alice in Wonderland series.

Blackman left school at thirteen and worked as an illustrator on the Sydney Sun. He attended a few night classes at East Sydney Technical College, but was largely self-taught. In 1951, he married the writer Barbara Patterson. A few years later, as her eyesight began to deteriorate, they would listen to a “talking book” of Alice in Wonderland read by BBC announcer Robin Holmes, which became the inspiration for the series, which was done in tempera, oil, and enamel paint on Swedish hardboard, during days while he was working at night in an East Melbourne café.

The paintings were later used to illustrate an edition of Wonderland published by A. H. & A.W. Reed of New South Wales in 1982.

Blackman was part of a radical set of artists in postwar Melbourne calling themselves Antipodeans. They were influential in the Australian art scene through the 1950s and 60s, largely through their rejection of the growing trend in abstraction and expressionism in art, and their advocating of the figurative model.

The centerpiece of the Wonderland series, a nine-foot-wide work called Alice’s Journey, sold for AUD $1.02 million (US $750,000) at Sotheby’s in 2006 (KL 77:42), and the four-foot-wide Mad Hatter’s Tea Party realized AUD $1.5 million last year. In 2007, The National Gallery of Victoria put on a gala fiftieth-anniversary traveling exhibition of the works, accompanied by a fine catalogue written by curator Geoffrey Smith and Felicity Moore. Then in 1988, Blackman illustrated Nadine Amadio’s Alice in RainforestLand (Watermark Press), a pro-conservation pastiche, with black-and-white drawings.

As Smith put it (quoting the artist as well): “In these eccentric compositions—with their bold colours and highly imaginative use of iconic motifs from Lewis Carroll’s fantastic journey into the imagination—Blackman produces challenging images that are simultaneously amusing and psychologically disturbing. ‘What Alice releases in us is anything can happen! She allowed me to paint in a totally different style. That anything is allowable.’”

Blackman lived mainly in Sydney and Melbourne, with stints in London and Paris. He was also a set designer for ballet, and a founder of a school for young artists. In 1977, he was awarded the Order of the British Empire for services to art and culture.

He had six children—most of them artists and musicians—one of whom, Auguste, continues producing his own interpretations of Wonderland to this day.
In his lapidary book *On Reflection*, surveying the multifold history of reflections in paintings, Jonathan Miller engages with the puzzle of Lewis Carroll’s description of Alice entering the Looking-Glass world through the mantelpiece mirror, as follows:

“...it is impossible to get ... close to a mirror without meeting yourself coming in the opposite direction.

It is this encounter that Lewis Carroll (1871) leaves so artfully undescribed when he smuggles his drowsy heroine from her bedroom into its reflected counterpart on the other side of the mirror. Alice, you will remember, amuses herself by entertaining the improbable ... idea that the reflected room is an actual one and that, by pretending that the glass has softened to let her through, she can visit the looking-glass house. So far so good. What the author conveniently forgets to mention is the perplexing and indeed indescribable shemozzle that would have occurred when Alice met herself coming in the opposite direction. In fact, considering how observant Lewis Carroll allows her to be about all the other contents of the looking-glass room, it is decidedly odd that she fails to notice the fact that it is occupied by someone who looks and acts just like her. ... If the reflected room is sufficiently actual to allow the real Alice to visit it, she has no reason to believe that its reflected occupant is any less actual. But if both Alices are actual, how are we meant to visualize their collision? It is all very well to pretend that the glass which separates them can soften, but that won’t do when it comes to getting through each other because, if one Alice politely softens in deference to her twin, the courtesy will be symmetrically reciprocated, leaving no Alices at all. End of story.” [1]

Though Miller’s conclusion is definitively stated as “End of story,” much more can be said in defense of Carroll’s whimsy. Soft mirrors are not entirely a fictional concept, but exist in the form of the surface of reflective liquids, such as water or even the mercury that is used for the reflective backing of mirrors.

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**Figure 1.** “Alice passing through the looking-glass” by John Tenniel
Thus, rather than envisaging the softening of the mirror as its disappearance into the mist, we can imagine Alice sliding through a (vertical) watery surface into a world as foreign as the deep ocean is to land-dwellers.

We can even imagine that, if she slid through sideways, there would be a point where the outside half matched the reflected half, giving the impression of a whole Alice from the combination of the real and reflected halves. Thus, rather than having a collision with herself, as in Miller’s conception, the two half-Alices would merge into a single self before reappearing fully in the Looking-Glass world. In this way, the literalist could resolve the puzzle of Alice meeting herself in the middle of the mirror, and envisage a smooth transition from one world to the other. It is perhaps notable that, although Tenniel’s illustration shows Alice facing herself as she first views the Looking-Glass world, he has her emerging into it in a three-quarter pose that could be viewed as approximating the requisite sideways plunge into the mirror pool.

Not only does Miller not end the story at the end of the above quote (instead dilating on a conjecture about her awareness of the “other Alice” during her mirror adventures), he also takes on the issue of mirror reversal that Carroll discussed with another Alice (his distant cousin Alice Raikes) while writing the book. Her account of the encounter with Lewis Carroll (in her house at 95 Onslow Square) concludes as follows:

‘Now,’ he said, giving me an orange, ‘first tell me which hand you have got that in.’ ‘The right,’ I said. ‘Now,’ he said, ‘go and stand before that glass, and tell me which hand the little girl you see there has got it in.’ After some perplexed contemplation, I said, ‘The left hand.’ ‘Exactly,’ he said, ‘and how do you explain that?’ I couldn’t explain it, but seeing that some solution was expected, I ventured, ‘If I was on the other side of the glass, wouldn’t the orange still be in my right hand? ’I remember his laugh. ‘Well done, little Alice,’ he said. ‘The best answer I’ve had yet.’

What was so good about her answer? It is that the problem involves the concept of mental rotation of her body image into the mirror to align with the mirror image. As Miller correctly points out, what is actually reversed in the mirror is the front-back dimension (as she faces the mirror) of the three-dimensional image of herself. If it were not reversed, she would see her back in the mirror (in the manner of Magritte’s painting La reproduction interdite (of a man viewing his own back in a mirror). This title is usually translated “Not to be reproduced”; not only is this literally incorrect, but viewed in the present context it is clear that a much better translation would be: “The forbidden reproduction (or copy).” In other words, this is the form of copy that is forbidden by the laws of reflection. If it were allowed—if there were no front/back reversal—the orange would remain in the “same” hand of the reflection as of the original.

However, when the image is front-back reversed, Alice Raikes is performing the mental rotation of aligning her imagined self-image with the three-dimensional mirror image. To do so, she is literally required to invert her self-image front/back, which could in principle be done by folding herself inside out (like pushing a glove through its own entry-hole). If actual front/back inversion had been the manipulation of her body image that she envisaged, the right hand could have been said to remain the right hand of the inside-out “self.” This is therefore not the form of transformation she envisaged.

Another way to achieve the front-back reversal would be to rotate herself vertically so that the head of the reflection lined up opposite her feet, and vice versa (assuming that she is standing vertically), which would again keep the right hand of the reflection opposite her right hand, and the left, left. Although this head-to-foot alignment would obviously not form a usable match, it is instructive as to the underlying implications of Tenniel’s actual solution for her, which was for her to rotate herself horizontally through the mirror so that the right hand lined up opposite her left hand, and vice versa. Given the symmetry of the human body, such a horizontal rotation produces an apparent match that few of us question, matching head to head, hand to hand, foot to foot. However, placing the orange in one hand makes it evident that the horizontal rotation is formally just as much of a mismatch as the vertical rotation, since the hand holding the orange is Alice’s right hand but the completely opposite hand of the reflection. It is only the symmetry of the body that allows the match of all three aspects through rotation: front/back and up/down and hand/hand, though with the left/right reversal that seems so puzzling.

As Miller puts it, “The mirror image of ourselves is identical to

![Figure 2. La Reproduction Interdite by Rene Magritte (1937)](image-url)
our actual appearance with one obvious exception: it’s facing the opposite direction . . . If we could—but obviously we can’t—get in back of our own reflection, our right hand would be behind the reflection’s left. And that’s all there is to it.”

But by stating it so baldly, he is missing the point that we can only attempt this match-up after having performed the mental rotation of the 3D body image into the position of best match in the first place. If we were shaped like a coin, for example, performing the same notional rotation into a position behind the mirror would make it obvious that the head was not matching, because it was facing the wrong direction, since typical coins have no axis of mirror symmetry, as illustrated. (It is not clear what is making the Queen so glum in this particular portrait, however.)

Much of this ground is covered in Martin Gardner’s excellent *The Ambidextrous Universe*, in which he clearly emphasizes the fact that the geometry of the plane mirror is front to back, and espouses a mental projection view of its perception as a left-right reversal, stating: “No matter how the mirror turns your world, you imagine yourself inside the turned world and you see that the left and right sides have been exchanged.” He is, however, somewhat ambivalent (!) about the ultimate explanation, concluding unsatisfyingly: “Because we ourselves are bilaterally symmetric, we find it convenient to call it a left-right reversal. It is just a manner of speaking, a convention in the use of words.” In this statement, Gardner seems to pull back from fully endorsing the mental rotation explanation argued here, which is that, although no match is possible for the mirror image of a fully asymmetric body, the presence of a (left-right) axis of symmetry allows us to use mental rotation to find an effective match between the original and the reflection. Making such a match necessarily implies a reversal along that symmetry axis, which is a left-right reversal in the case of the human body, regardless of its orientation relative to the mirror.

As the Butcher said of the Jubjub bird in *The Hunting of the Snark*, the reflection of one’s body image in a mirror could perhaps be said to have the property of:

Still keeping one principal object in view—
To preserve its symmetrical shape.

**References**


**Endnotes**

1  pp. 119–120

2  Much was said about related mirror and handedness issues by Martin Gardner in his venerable *The Annotated Alice*, but he did not address the mirror image anomalies discussed by Miller.

3  Carroll/Gardner, p. 166

4  p. 91

5  p. 31
This article is about a panel cartoon that ran in Hearst newspapers in the early part of the twentieth century. It is not about books with the identical title, such as those by "Loris Carllew" (Eveleigh Nash, 1910), Bernard Benson (Minstrel Publishing Company, 1978), or the recent louche, ageusiatic retelling of the tale by Steve McCaffery (BookThug, 2015).

Ohioan Frederick Burr Opper (1857–1937) was one of the great pioneers of American newspaper comic strips, best known for *Happy Hooligan* and *Alphonse and Gaston*. His characters infiltrated magazine gag cartoons and covers, political cartoons, and comic strips for over sixty years. *Happy Hooligan*, featuring a tramp with a little tin can hat, appeared in William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal* from 1900 until 1932. It was collected into books and adapted into six live-action shorts (1900–03) and more than fifty animated cartoons (1915 onwards). As an indicator of its popularity, on Happy’s thirtieth “birthday,” Opper threw a party whose guests included President Hoover and former President Coolidge, among other notables.

He published many of his own books, but also illustrated books by others, including Mark Twain (*Sketches, New and Old*, 1899). He also worked for *Puck* for eighteen years. (A March 7, 1894, *Puck* cartoon of his satirizing the rise of sensationalism in journalism included the term “fake news”!) Opper drew significant political cartoons supporting Hearst’s campaign against the “trusts,” most notably the series *Alice in Plunderland*, featuring a girl with the label “The Common People” on her dress and, occasionally, a ribbon saying “Alice” in her pigtail, witnessing the peculiar goings-on of American and international politics. The first cartoon of Opper’s with this title I could find online was from 1903, the last 1922. Many references were drawn from Carroll’s works: the Jabberwock, the Snark, pigs with wings, the Red and White Knights, parodies of “‘Tis the Voice of the Lobster,” “Jabberwocky,” and the like. Other cartoonists then took over, producing strips or panels that appeared sporadically in Hearst papers through 1931.

Thanks to Michael Everson for starting this quest and to Michael Patrick Hearn for supplying many examples.
“THE MAD GARDENER’S SONG”
IN CLASSICAL GREEK

COLIN LEACH

The Mad Gardener verses, running like a Greek chorus throughout Sylvie and Bruno and into Sylvie and Bruno Concluded, represent the final flowering of the poetic genius that was Lewis Carroll. In Knight Letter 81, we published Latin versions of some of those verses in a translation by Dr. Judith Hallett, and now in this issue, thanks to Professor Colin Leach, we have brilliant Classical Greek versions of all nine stanzas of “The Mad Gardener’s Song.”

Professor Leach, born in 1933, was educated at Shrewsbury School and Brasenose College, Oxford, of which he was a Fellow for two years. After a period in the City of London, he returned to Oxford as a Fellow of Pembroke College and, later, a lecturer in Classics at University College, Oxford. As an undergraduate he won the Ireland, Craven, de Paravicini, and Passmore Edwards scholarships; the Gaisford Prizes for Greek Prose and Greek Verse; and the Chancellor’s Prize for Latin Verse. He has composed Latin and Greek verses from the age of 14.

(The classicist and headmaster of Shrewsbury Benjamin Hall Kennedy [1804–1889] did more than any other headmaster to further Greek verse composition in the British public schools. One wag quipped that the dust in the Sixth Form [twelfth grade] of Shrewsbury School, when analyzed, was found to consist entirely of Greek particles. The distinguished classical scholar and socialist John William Mackail once said, “Latin and Greek are not dead languages; they have merely ceased to be mortal,” and what wonderful immortality they still enjoy.)

August A. Imholtz, Jr.
became very intrigued with my first glance at the curious image in Carroll’s letter to Harry Furniss about Sylvie and Bruno’s imaginary imaginative adventure (below), which was on exhibit at the Morgan. What I see in Carroll’s drawing is a compromise, seeking to illustrate the impossible, following a “certain zest in trying impossibilities,” as he himself puts it (the full text of the letter can be read in *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators*, p. 169).

Comparing Carroll’s and Furniss’s pictures is understandable; the endnote by the editors says that “Furniss must have thought beyond his means.” Carroll’s drawing achieves the metamorphosis between the bird and the stamp, at the same time simultaneous and successive. The vibrant lines around the drawing can suggest both the light of the magic lamp and the mysterious state of the hybrid creature. Furniss, in his drawing, depicts all the elements as separate; the albatross seems to be carrying the postage like a postman, losing the dream quality of Carroll’s draft. This unsuspected encounter resembles the famous chance meeting on a dissecting table of a sewing machine and an umbrella that emigrated from Lautréamont’s poetic novel *The Songs of Maldoror* to surrealistic poetry and collage. Max Ernst appropriated the image as a creative concept of a chance meeting of two distant realities on an unfamiliar plane. What about a stamp, an albatross, and a lamp? Their blending gives Carroll’s picture the aura of travels into alternative realities (“psychical states,” as Carroll called them in the Preface to *Sylvie & Bruno Concluded*) and surrealistic states of consciousness.

I also couldn’t avoid daydreaming a similarity with alchemical iconography, full of deep symbolism, turning Carroll’s lamp into a magical vessel where transmutations occur as the albatross turns into the birds that mediate the journey of souls between the earthly realm and the heavenly world. Queen Victoria in the stamp points to the Royal Marriage, an alchemical archetype marked by the union of the Spirit (male, Sun) and Matter (female, Moon). And here I must stop, facing the dizziness of the unconscious, inexhaustible work of condensations and displacements, following the zest for impossibilities that dives into the universe of dreams and other dimensions, where everything is potentially something curiourser and curiourser, even curiourser.
The name *Shaltay-Boltay* was first applied to Humpty Dumpty by the famous Russian children’s poet Samuil Marshak (1887–1964) in 1923, in his Russian translation of the *Humpty Dumpty* nursery rhyme. This poem was a part of Marshak’s first published book, a collection of translations, Dom, kotoryi postroil Dzhek (A House That Jack Built), with wonderful illustrations by Vladimir Konashevich, which is still being reprinted today.

Marshak’s *Shaltay-Boltay* translation was incorporated by Nina Demurova in both versions of her translation of *Looking-Glass* (1967, 1978), which has enjoyed multiple reprints since. Marshak himself never published translations of Lewis Carroll’s prose (although a manuscript translation of the first two pages of *Wonderland* exists in his archive); however, he translated some of Carroll’s verse, including “Father William” and “Lobster Quadrille,” which Demurova incorporated in her *Wonderland*.

“Shaltay-Boltay,” as Marshak called Humpty Dumpty in 1923, is an old Russian expression for “an empty talk, useless chattering,” a definition found in modern Russian dictionaries since the nineteenth century (Vladimir Dahl dictionary). The second part of this expression coincides with a second-person (bol’tay) form of the Russian verb bol’tat’, which has two meanings: “to babble, to chatter” and “to shake.” (Both come together in an idiomatic expression bol’tat’ yazkom, “to waggle one’s tongue.” Bol’tay also can reflect the egg nature of the character, since a derived word boltun’ya means “an omelette.” Shaltay has no Russian translation. (Interestingly, Shaltay-Boltay is also the name of a modern Russian hacktivist group.)

The expression *shaltay-boltay* (or shaltay-boltay) first appeared in literature in 1856, originally referring to a special slang dialect used by the Kuban Cossacks to communicate with the Adygs (non-Russian natives of the North Caucasus). In the North Caucasus, the expression came to mean “foreign speech.” In Siberian and Orenburg dialects, according to the Dahl dictionary, it means “babble, empty talk.” It was used with this meaning in some Russian classical literature before 1923, for example in stories by Anton Chekhov and Maxim Gorky (in the latter, it is used by a non-Russian Muslim ethnic character). In Velimir Khlebnikov’s long poem *Tiran bez T* (1922), the expression *shaltay-boltay* is used by a Persian character, also with the meaning “empty talk.” This type of paired, rhyming words was specifically noted by the famous linguist Roman Jacobson; in his 1921 article about Khlebnikov, the form *shaltay-boltay* is listed among other such expressions (Raboty po poetike, Moscow; Progress, 1987, p. 315).

Turkic languages have similar expressions, sometimes also meaning “empty talk.” The Russian language, over centuries of contact with various Turkic tribes, adopted thousands of Turkic lexical elements; see, for example, *Slovar’ turkizmov v russkom yazyke* (A Dictionary of Turkisms in the Russian Language) by E. N. Shapova, 1976. The name Shaltay-Boltay includes a potent rhyme and reduplication common to the Turkisms in Russian. The choice of the name was possibly affected by a Turkic-influenced Russian dialect of the North Caucasus (Ekaterinodar, Kuban), where Marshak lived in the early 1920s.

A very curious Shaltay-Boltay–related story exists, once quoted by Marshak himself, possibly the only instance where this nursery rhyme character is connected to Marxism.

In 1958, a Russian reader asked Marshak how to explain to a four-year old goddaughter what Shaltay-Boltay means. In his reply (published first in Voprosy literatury, 1966, 9), Marshak recalled a letter “from Friedrich Engels to Karl Marx” that mentions a Humptian motif of a fallen monarchy, implying that the original poem had revolutionary connotations and might have had something to do with the French revolution. (Interestingly, although it is often claimed that the nursery rhyme has earlier origins, starting from the fall of Richard III, the earliest recorded version was indeed published only in 1797, in Samuel Arnold’s *Juvenile Amusements*.)

Marshak was, however, mistaken in that Engels’ letter (dated 4 December 1893) was addressed not to Marx but to the known socialist Karl Kautsky. Discussing reforms in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Engels predicts the eventual, Humpty-Dumptian “great fall” of Franz Joseph’s monarchy. Engels quoted the four-line ditty in English, but for some reason he felt that it was also necessary to render the Mother Goose ditty for Kautsky into Latin, a puerile exercise of which several versions are documented (it is unclear whether the translation belongs to Engels himself or he recalls it from his school days). The letter, translated from the German, says:

. . . the fact that Franz Joseph has given his blessing to this particular piece of electoral reform which he has, indeed, declared to be his very own work, rules out
Once and for all the possibility of Austria continuing as before. Now it’s

**Humpti in muro sedebat, Dumptius alto,**

**Humptius de muro Dumptius, heu! ceedit**

Nec equites regis, nee agmina cuncta tyranni

Humpti te Dumpti restitue queunt.

or:

Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall.

Humpty Dumpty had a great fall.

All the King’s horses and all the King’s men

Cannot put Humpty together again.

This letter was first published in German in the book *Aus der Frühezeit des Marxismus: Engels Briefwechsel mit Kautsky* (Prague, 1935). When it was later translated into Russian in the collection of Marx’s and Engels’ works, the English lines were given in Marshak’s translation, but without acknowledgement of the translator. Incidentally, in Mikhail Bulgakov’s famous *The Heart of a Dog* (1925), a satirical novel banned under the Soviet regime, “the Engels-Kautsky correspondence” is a political book read by a dog-turned-man, the Wellsian character Sharikov.

There are other Russian *Looking-Glass* translations, which used different names for Humpty Dumpty. In the very first Russian *Looking-Glass*, by V. Azov (Vladimir Ashkenazi) (1924; verse translation by Tatiana Shchepkina-Kupernik), Humpty Dumpty is a Russian nursery’s “roly-poly toy,” *Vani’ka-Vstan’ka* (“Jonny-Get-Up”), an egg-shaped doll with a weight in the bottom. A modern roly-poly won’t easily break, but traditional dolls were crafted from a blown egg. Other, more recent translators chose identifiably egg-themed names. Alexander Shcherbakov (1969) invented a *Pustik-Dutik* (“Empty-Blown”), while Leonid Yakhnin (1992) used a *Zheltok-Bel-tok* (“Eggyolk-Eggwhite”), slightly deforming the correct form, *belok* (“eggwhite”), to provide better phonetics.

Dmitri Yermolovich (2017) used *Shalyai-Valyai* (“sloppy, inaccurate”), another Turkism sometimes listed as synonymous to *shaltay-boltay*, compare to Turkish *şöyle böyle* (“mediocre”). This expression, however, is more directly connected to a *Van’ka-Vstan’ka* toy, through the idiom *valyat’ duraka* (“to be idle, to do nothing important,” literally, to “pull down a fool”), another name for this toy being *Nevalyashka* (“Can’t-Pull-Me-Down”).

Finally, an odd Russian *Looking-Glass* was recently published, together with *Wonderland* (Moscow: Eksmo, February 2016). The anonymous editor heavily changed Azov’s 1924 text, including many character names; some were changed quite ingeniously. In this version, Humpty Dumpty became a *Bolvanchik* (“a little idiot, a statue,” from *bolvan*, “an idol, a statue,”) which has a more common modern derogatory meaning of “a dumb-head, an idiot.” Buddha statues or pagan idols were called *bolvans;* and when Russians were baptized in the tenth century, they burned wooden *bolvans* of their pagan gods. This strange name partially works with Humpty’s potential to be broken—not as an egg, but as a fragile porcelain doll. A *kitaiskiy [Chinese] bolvanchik* in Russian is a porcelain figurine with a nodding head. The 2016 editor surely knew that a very similar invented word, *Bolvanschik*, was used by Demurova (1967, 1978) for the Hatter in her *Wonderland* translations. She justified it by making the Hatter “a blockhead” (*obolvansilis*) as he was working with wooden hat blocks (*bolvanki*).

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**“THE TIME HAS COME, THE WALRUS SAID, TO TALK OF MANY THINGS”**

Byron Sewell

I recently purchased a copy of Susan Orlean’s fascinating book *The Orchid Thief* (NY: Random House, 1998) at a West Virginia public library book sale for 50¢. As an avid book collector, I was enticed by the beautiful dust jacket (by Robbin Schiff and Lisa Charles Watson) and the fact that it was a first edition in unread condition. At first I was amazed that people could actually be so obsessed with collecting delicate plants that they were willing to wait seven years to see the first bloom emerge from a seed that they had planted. As I was reading I came across a paragraph that reminded me of myself (on pp. 53–54):

Collecting can be a sort of love sickness. If you collect living things, you are pursuing something imperfectable [sic], because if you manage to find and possess the living things you want, there is no guarantee they won’t die or change. A few years ago, thirty thousand orchids belonging to a man in Palm Beach all died. He blamed methane fumes from a nearby sewage station... Beauty can be painfully tantalizing, but orchids are not simply beautiful. Many of them are strange looking or bizarre, and all of them are ugly when they aren’t flowering... The botanical complexity of orchids and their mutability makes them perhaps the most compelling and maddening of all collectible living things. There are thousands and thousands of orchid species. New orchids are being created in laboratories or being discovered every day, and others are nearly unfindable because they exist in tiny numbers in remote places. In a sense, then, the number of orchid species on the
planet is uncountable because it is constantly changing. To desire orchids is to have a desire that will never be, can never be, fully requited. A collector who wants one of every orchid species on earth will certainly die before even coming close.

That sounds a lot like collecting Lewis Carroll books. To recognize that, consider Jon Lindseth’s recent monumental effort of producing Alice in a World of Wonderlands. He and his large staff of contributors gave it a magnificent try, but there is no doubt that they missed many of them, and new ones are published every day (or perhaps every week; for example, Michael Everson of Evertype and Victor Fet keep cranking out another translation in yet another obscure Siberian dialect). I found the same difficulty in my own ten-year effort to simply list the American editions of Alice published up to 1960 in Much of a Muchness. I have no doubt that this will be true of Lindseth’s current monumental effort to expand Muchness’s minor effort by listing all of the Alice in the English language worldwide. Even The Lewis Carroll Handbook needs updating. Despite the efforts of Mark Burstein, Alan Tannenbaum, and myself to list all of the comic books with Alice or Carrollian content in Pictures and Conversations: Lewis Carroll in the Comics, An Annotated International Bibliography, it is now badly outdated, in part because of Zenescope’s dizzying production of Alice-inspired comics with multitudes of variant covers of scantily clad and buxom Alices, and the like.

As many of you may know, I am a relentless parodist, so let me pretend that Orlean’s paragraph dealt with Carrollian books instead of orchids:

Collecting Carrollian books can be a sort of love sickness (a subspecies of bibliomania); it can be addictive and even contagious. If you are silly enough to try to be an Alice completist, you are pursuing “the impossible dream,” no matter how wealthy you may be, because there are simply too many Alicean or other Carrollian books (to say nothing of Alicean ephemera). In some cases there are only one or two known surviving copies, and those are often unreachable, since they are permanently institutionalized. Only a very wealthy collector can even hope to own an 1865 Alice, because they appear on the market only rarely. It might be hundreds of years before another is discovered somewhere in a bank vault or a jungle. There are only two known surviving copies of the first Russian edition of Alice (a third copy is assumed to have been stolen from a Russian library by an “Alicean Thief.” Beauty can be painfully tantalizing (think of the plethora of stunningly illustrated French and Russian translations of Alice), but Carrollian books are not simply beautiful. Many of them are strange looking or bizarre, and many of them are ugly or even pornographic. If you were a completist you would need them anyway. The linguistic and artistic complexity of Carrollian books and their mutability (parodying, editing, etc.) makes them perhaps the most compelling and maddening of all collectible things. There are thousands and thousands of Carrollian books and ephemera. Edward Waking’s personal collection recently went past 25,000, and that number is probably low, because he catalogues some things (such as letters) as a single group, not individually. New Carrollian editions are being created, illustrated, and translated almost daily around the world (to say nothing of “printings” and revised editions of the same book). Like orchids, many Alicean books are in a sense hybrids (any time a new translation uses Tenniel illustrations instead depicting characters in local costumes, it is in a sense a hybrid). Print-on-demand now makes it possible for almost anyone to create his
or her own editions (something my brother Nathan and I do with some regularity for the fun of it). Many early translations are nearly unfindable, because they exist in tiny numbers in remote places (how many editions in the major languages of India do you have in your collection?). In a sense, then, the number of Alice and other Carrollian works is uncountable, because it is constantly changing and expanding (like a benign, but aggressive, bibliographical tumor). To desire a collection of every Alice book (or even Snarks, etc.) is to have a desire that will probably never be fully requited. You might think that it should be possible for Snarks, but I must warn you that over the decades I have created various Snarks in very limited editions for private distribution. A collector who wants one of every Alician (much less Carrollian) book on earth will certainly die before even coming close.

WELL DONE, WHEE LDON
Choreographer Christopher Wheeldon’s exuberant 2011 setting of Alice for the Royal Ballet was filmed at the Royal Opera House and has now become available on Blu-ray (truly gorgeous sound and picture) from Opus Arte; it has been previously released on regular DVD. The ballet has garnered well-deserved very positive reviews as it traveled around the globe (including the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion in Los Angeles in October 2012; the Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C., in January, 2013; and last year in Australia). Carrollians are cautioned not to miss it: delightfully tuneful music, colorful costumes, exhilarating classical choreography, truly magical effects and video projections, and the more you know about CLD and LC’s tale, the more nuances and references you’ll get, particularly in the frame story set in Oxford. Spoiler alert: it’s quite faithful to his life and works, save for the addition of a romanza between Alice (portrayed by Lauren Cuthbertson, then in her late twenties) and a young lad who becomes the Knave of Hearts, which is actually not as disturbing as it sounds. The production also gets a tad dark and scary at times, perhaps not suitable for the youngest viewers. Nonetheless, our highest recommendation!
Looking at either of Maggie Taylor’s Alice books is like going to a museum. It’s wise to examine one picture in detail, perhaps take a cursory glance at many to which one will return on another visit, then leave, one’s head filled with ideas.

At first sight, one would almost think these digital collages are remarkable paintings: there is little of the hard-edged, mechanical look of so much computer artwork. A brief discussion of Taylor’s technique by Thomas W. Southall, including all too few of her original sources, follows the text.

Tenniel created a straightforward world. Taylor’s is deceptively serene, so profoundly quiet that its surrealistic elements seem almost ordinary. Here the pictures do more than simply illustrate the familiar incidents in this particular artist’s particular style. Her images are filled with subtle detail: The White Knight’s precautions were wiser than we thought. The watery reflections of an elegantly dressed duck and a flower-crowned white sheep, drifting in a boat, are Alice and the White Queen. Did Humpty Dumpty use a chair to climb on the wall? A peculiar animal in the Lion and the Unicorn chapter may be a false note, or it might be a tribute to Sendak’s Wild Things. Because our heroine’s features are based on a variety of Victorian photos, she not only changes from image to image, but (as do other characters) often seems to be turning aside for a moment from the action to gaze at the reader, perhaps to have a photographic portrait taken. After all, Alice was a “tourist” in Looking-Glass Land; this could be an album of her travels. But why is the mutable Alice holding the white kitten when Dinah is washing it? Who cares? The delightful checkerboard pattern of Alice’s chair outweighs pedantry.

The weight of its high-quality paper and its large format do require a flat surface for enjoying this edition. Fortunately, it is well-bound and opens easily. Despite a few fussy details and a misstep or two (the silver type is pretty but hard to read, and the black type on a silver background is a bit much), the design is elegant overall. Two strong rectangles of type, in a clean, smallish sans-serif face, make a welcome contrast to the sumptuous full-bleed images—to which the words almost become captions. Listening to a recorded text while slowly turning the pages might be a good approach to this version of Looking-Glass, perhaps more satisfying to contemplate than read.
a handsome whole. Text and pictures are printed in a dark sepia. A creamy yellow background sets off each image from the thick off-white paper. Sewell has not squared off the bottoms of the drawings, adding a touch of liveliness to the whole. The typography, which incorporates a suitable ornament on the chapter openers, suggests the original period of the Snark without being weighty. The book is enclosed in a maroon slip case, with a print elegantly placed in its front. Sewell’s note gives a fascinating glimpse into his process, and Edward Wakeling contributes an informative foreword.

Basing his images on what is known of Wonderland and Looking-Glass creatures, Chris Riddell (who also wrote introductions to the Puffin Classic editions of their 2008 Wonderland and 2010 Looking-Glass), boldly drew three species of Snark in his Snark for all ages, published in 2016. The lugubrious, beaked and feathered, presumably common Snark (Snarkus vulgaris?)—which also fills the endpapers—and the worried, furred, and toothed Boojum variety (Snarkus boojumus?) share the moplike shape and bird feet of the Borogove. The dynamic Snark of the Barrister’s dream (Snarkus imaginatus?) is almost Seuss-like. All three are blue. (Is the Snarks’ blue a nod to the “B” that begins the names of the hunters?) The terrifying Jabjub bird is clearly descended from Tyrannosaurus rex via the dodo, while the brownish-orange “strange, creepy creatures” that fill a spread and the red and yellow crocodile-like Bandersnatch are significantly not blue.

Exuberant color and the simple line drawings that fill the pages or margins are well paced and well placed. Even in a jostling crowd, every well-characterized figure is easy to find. The small, comfortable format makes the book a pleasure to hold. Its italic typeface gives the text surprising urgency rather than being irritating. The edges are cheerfully gilded, and there is a pretty red ribbon to mark one’s place.

Riddell’s bright palette, pervaded with Snark blue, is subtly augmented with rich blacks, and does not diminish the sense of a slowly looming threat. And the dizzying, delightful twist in the very last picture fits perfectly, opening up the story in a way even Carroll might never have imagined.
claim, and one that leads us into our next layer of critique.

Sometimes a baker—or author—can get too big for his or her britches. This can come to light via too many ingredients or an excess of tricks or finery. Unfortunately, within this text, not only do we have delusions of grandeur regarding the book’s place in history, we are constantly running into rapidly changing fonts and text sizes, lackluster stock images, and a general vibe of chaos. It’s bewildering to begin with, and rapidly becomes tiring, like a cake with too many tiers. There’s a need for calm and quiet, for a breath to occur before taking the next bite. But even after hundreds of pages in (no, we’re not even at Alice’s new adventures yet!), the author is simultaneously making excuses for his (somehow both) rambunctious and “too picky” word choices and quibbling with readers, saying that if they don’t like the words, “That’s your problem, don’t read them.” One thing I never felt with Carroll: He didn’t find it necessary to provoke his audience into reading his work. With this type of invitation, you’re losing your audience and not exactly inspiring repeat customers. One doesn’t sense that an editor was present when this book was sent off to be e-published, and it’s a shame, as that would have contributed to a more balanced and fulfilling “bake.”

All of this, dear reader, is before we even get to the “plot.” What this really boils down to is that it’s hard to discern a plot of any type other than a gargantuan preamble to a sticky-sweet and erratic “third novella.” Say what you will about Carroll’s sense of whimsy and bending of the rules, but he still held dear the importance of getting to the point. By the time we get to the actual “Alice tale,” we’re so exhausted by the preamble that the story feels cloying. It’s the same rambling and argumentative voice, but with Alice thrown in here and there, with a “who, li’l ol’ me?” I honestly can’t divine much of what occurs in it, despite multiple readings that only left me feeling more lost each time. Alice appears to be traveling to the moon, and beyond that . . . to my mind, Carroll would find himself hard-pressed to see any flattering mimicry. Imagine a celebrity impersonator who drank too much before performing, becoming loud and chaotic—someone that you’d rather just left the room. I wish that this author had taken the time to reread or taste his own creation; perhaps then we would have been granted a semblance of a story.

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“Alicious, twostreams twines-traines, through alluring glass or alas in jumboland?”

Finnegans Wake, Book 3, Chapter 3

“. . . as a taste for a storik’s forty-tooth, that is to stay, to listen out, ony twenny minnies moe . . .

Finnegans Wake, Book 1, Chapter 7

This issue’s cover, a fantasia on the number 42, is the work of the inimitable John Vernon Lord. We Carrollians have been trebly blessed in having his witty and superbly rendered illustrations to The Non-sense Verse of Edward Lear (Jonathan Cape, 1984) and his own very popular children’s book The Giant Jam Sandwich, which has been in print since 1972. He was the head of the School of Design and is now professor emeritus of illustration at the University of Brighton, and erstwhile chair of the Graphic Design Board of the Council for National Academic Awards.

Some of Lord’s illustrations to Finnegans Wake feature Alice and/or Humpty Dumpty, both of whom figure prominently in Joyce’s opus (Humpty particularly so). You can read more, er, Joyce-Carroll notes (my apologies to the novelist) in Ann Buki’s “Lewis Carroll in Finnegans Wake” in Lewis Carroll Observed (Clarkson N. Potter, 1982), and Lord discusses his FW pictures and process in exquisite detail in “The Pixilated Doodler” in the Journal of Illustration 3, no. 1 (2016).

Lord says, “I think the Alice books were rather appropriate preludes to working on Finnegans Wake, since they are both dreams and are also littered with puns, portmanteau words, and invented words.”

Wonderland: Catalog of the Exhibition

The Australian Centre for the Moving Image

Rose Owens

I am, as many of you likely are, a big ol’ museum fan. I love going to a big or small, short or tall building that houses works of art, cinema, and all manner of
treasures. There’s nothing quite like dipping inside and basking in the glory of a well-executed museum exhibition. So many museums, so little time, however, and it is sad but true that, more often than not, one has to live vicariously through others’ experiences, walking through galleries in someone else’s shoes.

But, dear reader, fear not! For though it is now well past October 7, 2018, and the Wonderland exhibition at The Australian Centre for the Moving Image (ACMI) has since closed, you are in luck! Fortunately, the good people behind this show of Alice and her many film reincarnations have blessed us with a truly gorgeous and enjoyable exhibition catalogue that made this reader feel as though she was attending the show in the flesh.

The book is beautifully designed, with excellent full-color illustrations, madcap Saul Bass–esque intertitle pages, and perfectly selected film stills. Cunningly, the page numbers travel in descending order, truly taking you down the rabbit hole as you go. On top of all this, it is also chock-a-block with an almost perfect selection of essays. We are treated to wise words on the filmography of Alice, as well as the cultural-societal impact these depictions had on the public at large. It’s truly a wonderful read, and one that kept me shouting aloud to my boyfriend, “Oh wow, that essay was so good!”

Some standout essays for me:

“All Mimsy Were the Borogoves” by Samm Deighan, portrays Alice as a giallo (Italian thriller or horror film or literature) heroine. But of course! Deighan reveals Alice’s influence on that genre, a unique viewpoint for those of us who have only seen the “dark side of Wonderland” via British and U.S. adaptations. Now we just need a Francesco Barilli film festival!

“Dream Logic,” by Sarah Tutton, is an interview with Jan Švankmajer, director of Něco z Alekky (Alice). I found the content only fairly interesting, but I kept reading because of Švankmajer’s crotchety refusal to directly answer the questions put to him by Tutton. The director comes off as an ornery and bizarre character from Wonderland himself, and it’s a zany joy to read.

The only off-key note for me in this delightful tome was the essay by director and visual effects pioneer Douglas Trumbull, entitled “Perception and Illusion.” In this essay, he lists all of Dodgson’s physical and mental ailments, and suggests how those would have affected the writings of Lewis Carroll. Despite its interesting thesis, the essay swiftly devolves into Trumbull’s name-dropping of Stanley Kubrick and tooting his own special-effects horn, while lambasting Tenniel’s illustrations for being too “limiting” in comparison to Trumbull’s own imagination. He ends by saying that if Dodgson had only lived in our time, he would have been a great “movie writer, producer, director, cinematographer, and visual effects wizard,” and that Trumbull wishes he could have met him. Sappy “meeting your heroes” aside, the essay felt like a puff piece for Trumbull’s genius, and not a very convincing one at that.

Over all, this is a beautiful book that truly enthralled me. I am envious of the glorious experience that the Crandalls had when at the ACMI (KL 100:57), but this exhibition catalogue is a pretty darn good substitute. If only all museums took such care and pride in their shows and associated catalogues . . . (See p. 64.)

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**EVERTYPE**

Since our last issue, four titles have been released by Evertype press:


- De Aventure Alisu in Mirviziland, Wonderland translated into Uropi by Bertrand Carette and Joël Landais (ISBN 978-1-78201-221-4). Uropi is a constructed language created in 1986 and regulated by Joël Landais, based on Indo-European roots and aimed at being used as an international auxiliary language.

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**Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland:**


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**Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland:**


ART & ILLUSTRATION
Mahendra Singh, erstwhile editor of this very journal, is a world-renowned illustrator whose Carrollian work can be seen in the color frontispiece to The Annotated Alice: 150th Anniversary Deluxe Edition and in his superbly rendered, surreal, and wildly witty graphic novel of The Hunting of the Snark (Melville Press, 2010), enthusiastically reviewed by Stephanie in KL 85:47. Examples of his Snark work can be found in KL 81 (the cover; p. 4, wherein is given an account of the work, then in progress; and p. 36). We'd like you to know that the original art for Snark pages is available and quite reasonably priced. Contact him at mahendra373@hotmail.com.

ARTICLES & ACADEMIA

“How Arthur Rackham’s 1907 Drawings for Alice in Wonderland Revolutionized the Carroll Classic, the Technology of Book Art, and the Economics of Illustration” by Maria Popova was posted to Brain Pickings on February 1, 2016, but just came to our attention.

BOOKS
Victorian Giants: The Birth of Art Photography by Phillip Prodger (National Portrait Gallery, 2018) explores the work of Oscar Rejlander, Julia Margaret Cameron, Lady Clementina Hawarden, and Lewis Carroll. As we all know, “Lewis Carroll” never took a photograph in his life; he left that up to the Rev. C. L. Dodgson, but I understand marketing and won’t quibble too much with the title. It might have been noted by HRH The Duchess of Cambridge, who wrote the introduction, as her undergraduate thesis at University and a fine illustrator as well, has previously published Wonderland, Looking-Glass, and The Snark in bilingual editions, which he discussed in “As You Translate, So Shall You Draw” (KL 97:11–22), and “Drawing the Looking-Glass Country” (KL 99:11–15). A new hardcover collection, Все вдохновляюще (All the Masterpieces), contains those three books, 32 of his color plates, “Phantasmagoria” (in a new translation), “The Three Voices,” “The Lang Coortin,” “Hiawatha’s Photography,” “The Mad Gardener’s Song,” and Carroll’s limericks, all annotated. The book is entirely in Russian. You can order directly from the publisher on eBay.

He Thought He Saw, written and illustrated by Byron Sewell (Boojum Run Press, 2018) with a preface by August A. Imholtz, Jr., incorporates two novellas, the eponymous one and a second, “Darkling Light, Starless Night,” both “riifs” on the Sylvie and Bruno diptych. In the first, a somewhat mentally unbalanced Dodgson is befuddled by verses of the “Mad Gardener’s Song” becoming literally true before his eyes; in the second, a Southern book collector runs into Sylvie and Bruno, now called Alison and Zeus, the latter a 400-pound elf in overalls, after going through a portal into another dimension that leads to a strip club in South Charleston. Dodgson makes a cameo in the first chapter, and Byron himself appears as a character.

Lewis Carroll’s Alice in Wonderland, retold by Mandy Archer, art by Annabel Tempest (Gibbs Smith, 2018) is the latest in their “Baby-
Li" series for the three-to-five-year-old set, joining *Moby-Dick, Jane Eyre*, and other classics improbably reduced to a thousand or so words. Not to be confused with their *Alice in Wonderland: A Colors Primer*, which came out in 2012, aimed at even younger children.

*They Drew as They Pleased Vol. 4: The Hidden Art of Disney's Mid-century Era* by Didier Ghez (Chronicle Books, 2018) explores creators such as Mary Blair in her work on the 1951 *Alice* film.

*Alice in Brexitland* (Ebury Press, 2017) by Leavis Carroll (Lucien Young) is a satirical take, wherein Alice meets such characters as Humpty Trumpty, perched on a wall he wants the Mexicans to pay for, and the terrifying Queen of Heartlessness, who’ll take off your head if you dare question her plan for Brexit.

*The Formal Center in Literature: Explorations from Poe to the Present* by Richard Kopley (University of Rochester Press/Camden House, 2018) “concerns the framed center in selected literary works of the 19th to 21st centuries. Such a center involves a critical passage bracketed by two halves of a text that feature language and/or plot that mirror each other.” As we all know, the main narratives of both *AAiW* and *TiLG* are contained within frame stories. This academic treatise contains the chapter “The Mythological Centers of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice* Books,” which, among other things, discusses the Ouroboros, and attempts to answer Martin Gardner’s query, “Why did Alice think Humpty Dumpty was Dinah?” (*AAiW* p. 318, note 2) along the way.

**EVENTS, EXHIBITS, & PLACES**

The phenomenal *Wonderland* exhibition on various aspects of Alice’s adventures in films at ACMI (Australian Centre for the Moving Image) was reported on by Matt Crandall in our last issue (*KL* 100:57). What we neglected to mention was how fantastic their catalog is. Published by Thames & Hudson as an oversize hardcover, it is sumptuously illustrated, superbly designed, and contains many enlightening essays. The fine price of at $65 is somewhat dampened by the shipping (at $88), a total of us $111. Most highly recommended! And you get a free tote bag. See review on p. 61.

Ok, it’s taken us a while to notice it, but in the summer of 2014, a project by the National Literacy Trust (UK) scattered fifty book-shaped benches across London for the summer, each dedicated to an iconic London-related author or character (although that criterion is rather loosely interpreted, as it includes such ringers as Dr. Seuss). *Through the Looking-Glass* was drawn by Ralph Steadman. The benches were auctioned off that October.

The Caroline County (Maryland) Public Library asked the LCSNA to participate in their annual Literary Evening on Saturday, Oct. 20, all about Lewis Carroll, with readings and performances and an Alice quilt contest by child and adult participants. Clare and August Imholtz represented us and spoke about collecting *Alice*.

A “Magic, Mystery & Math: Alice in the Garden” puzzle party took place in the Botanical Gardens of Clemson University in South Carolina, October 21, 2018, in association with the international Celebration of Mind events in or near Martin Gardner’s birthday.

Two companion exhibits will take place at the Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books in the Toronto Public Library. “Alice Opens the Door” runs Nov. 17 to Jan. 27, and “Alice Adjacent: Lewis Carroll and His Victorian World” runs Dec. 8 to Mar. 2.

A superb retrospective of original art, the latest stop on The Ralph Steadman America Tour that originated at The Cartoon Museum, London, opened at the Haight Street Art Center in San Francisco (CA) on Nov. 6, and runs through Jan. 20. Ralph participated in an illustrated “gallery conversation” with the curator, Anita O’Brien, at the opening reception. The original drawings for several *Alice* and one *Snark* picture were on display.

**INTERNET & TECHNOLOGY**

As reported by *USAToday* on August 23, thanks to the New York Public Library’s InstaNovels project, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* “went viral on Instagram this week, spruced up for the digital age as a colorful, animated Instagram Story that leads into the complete text of the 1865 novel. The #InstaNovels project is an attempt to remind younger Internet users about libraries and to plug its free e-book program and popular podcasts. Some 39,673 people opened up *Alice* and stayed with it to the end.”

Unintentionally marking the 156th anniversary of the boat trip, on July 4, 2018, the *Times Literary Supplement* online published “Lewis Carroll’s Adventures in Russia” by Mark Davies, and two days later followed up with “The TLS Map of Writers’ Homes” by Roderick Nieuwenhuis, listing Dodgson’s
birthplace in Daresbury; the rectory in Croft; and The Chestnuts, Guildford, but, oddly enough, not Christ Church, Oxford, where he spent most of his life.

Clé de Peau Beauté, a global skincare product line, has made a sweet commercial featuring the White Rabbit for the holiday season, with the tagline "Turn the key to a world of fantastical discovery. Unlock Wonderland." If you view it on smartphone through a VR viewer, you have the option of seeing it in 3D!

An e-blast from Brewster Kahle and the Internet Archive began “It’s the oldest rule in the book”: Do you ever wonder who said it first and who has quoted it since? The answers to these questions are now at your fingertips with Open Library’s new Full Text Search feature.” As the answer, their algorithm brings up Emily Prime Delafield’s Alice in Wonderland: A Play (1898), but still … https://openlibrary.org.

MOVIES & TELEVISION
Humboldt County, part of California’s “Emerald Triangle,” so called as it’s the largest (legal!) cannabis-producing region in the U.S., has adopted Our Girl in a series of posters and TV commercials boosting tourism under the rubric of “Follow the Magic.” Well, it involves a blonde (probably in her twenties) in a blue dress inveighing us to “Follow me!”; possible references (“Have a cookie!”); and sometimes a stylized White Rabbit in the print ads. On July 7, a segment of The Misadventures of Romesh Ranganathan, a British television show hosted by the eponymous comedian/actor, featured the work of micro-miniaturist sculptor Willard Wigan, who first came to our attention in 2016 when he made the news by accidentally inhaling Alice as he was making his Tea-Party. The table and all its guests fit within the eye of a small needle.

Face Off is an American reality television game show on the Syfy cable network in which groups of makeup artists compete against each other to create prostheses such as are found in science fiction and horror films. The grand finale of the thirteenth (and final) season, called Face Off: Battle Royale, has something of interest. As one viewer put it, “Episodes 9 and 10 (originally aired July 31 and August 7) were called ’Through the Looking Glass’ Parts I and II. The challenge was for three teams to create makeup and costuming for new characters from ’lost’ chapters of Through the Looking-Glass. Scripts were provided, and a short movie was then filmed using the contestants’ character designs. Whoever came up with the new characters seems to have been channeling Oz, not Wonderland. There was a person of porcelain, a person of tin, a lollipop girl, a ginger general—all that was missing was a cowardly lion.”

In Michael Crichton’s novels Jurassic Park and Lost World—but only in the first of Spielberg’s Jurassic films—Dr. Lewis Dodgson (played by Cameron Thor) is one of the villains. His one and only scene with sub-villain Dennis Nedry has become a popular Internet meme, particularly the line, “Dodgson! Dodgson! We’ve got Dodgson here!” According to Elizabeth Trembley’s Michael Crichton: A Critical Companion (Greenwood Press, 1996), the character’s name was intentionally derived from Our Man’s.

MUSIC
Donald Fagen and Walter Becker, founders of the band Steely Dan, set the Mock Turtle’s Song to a rock beat as one of a number of demo songs recorded before they formed the band in 1972. It’s never appeared on a Steely Dan studio album, but they have performed it live and it can be found on a number of compilations of outtake and demos by the duo, including Found Studio Tracks, released in 2007, and, of course, on YouTube. Wiki tells us that the poem has also been set to music by the punk rock band Feederz on their 1986 album Teachers in Space, The Four Postmen on their 1997 album Looking for Grandpa, and, of course, by contemporary classical composer György Ligeti in his Nonsense Madrigals (1988/93; KL 78:32).

On September 22, 2017, Australian electronic dance music DJ, producer, and singer Alison Wonderland (née Alexandra Sholler, 1986) was named New Artist of the Year at the inaugural EM [Electronic Music] Awards livestreamed from Los Angeles in 360 on Twitter. I am not sure what the Rev. C. L. Dodgson would have made of the previous sentence.

PERFORMING ARTS
Chilean-born global citizen Max Sir is an artist, painter, playwright, theater director, actor, writer, and photographer who has exhibited in New York, Moscow, Berlin, Costa Rica, Washington DC, London, Athens, Paris, and Prague, among other cities. The world of Alice is a crucial part of his oeuvre. His Alicia comprises a theatrical piece, a series of 144 paintings, fine art prints, and a forthcoming graphic novel, art book, and clothing line. The play was conceived, directed, and co-written (with partner Natalia Miranda Guzman) by Sir, and
had its world premiere in 2017 at Teatro Espressivo in Costa Rica. The paintings (in various configurations) can currently be seen in London at Chilean Embassy and the Parallax Art Fair, after touring Europe (Berlin, Prague, Athens, Paris, and London). Some of them were shown at Comic Con Ukraine in Kiev in September.

**Things**


Or if you prefer, *Alan Bennett Reads Childhood Classics: The Wind in the Willows; Alice in Wonderland; Through the Looking Glass; Winnie-the-Pooh; The House at Pooh Corner* is available on CD and Audible (BBC Worldwide), although they are not at all unabridged, as the advertising makes it seem.

Erotica retailer Doc Johnson, of the Wonderland™ Mini Massagers and Plugs fame (*KL 90:50*) has added “Kinky Kat” and “Heavenly Heart” C-Rings to this collection. But the bigger question is: how did he manage to get a trademark on “WonderLand”?

Jan Padover’s Prospero Art (prospero-art.com) has Alician products galore: decks of playing cards with quotes (*KL 81:50*); an embossed collector tin box, a poster, and a jigsaw puzzle (*KL 85:58*); not to mention many other fine products heralding everything from Shakespearean insults to chickens. They have just released a deck of “Toker” playing cards for stoners, with witty sayings and drawings on every card, including the 9 of Diamonds, “Alice in Blunterland” (a “blunt” is a hollowed-out cigar filled with weed).

Ludo, a strategy board game, now comes in an Alice theme as “The Wonderful Tea-Party Ludo Pachisi” (Parcheesi) made by House of Marbles, featuring a colored Tenniel cover and drawings on the board itself. Ages four and up.

Talking Tables’ “Truly Alice” line includes a Mad Hatter Party Photobooth Prop Kit, Party Cups, Napkins, Plates, and Scene Setter Signs. Also check out ASVP Shop’s Alice in Wonderland Party Vintage Style Arrow Signs, Mad Hatter’s Tea Party Props Pack, Playing Cards, and Bunting. All at Amazon.

The Vermont Country Store’ latest catalog lists women’s pajamas with b&w Tenniel drawings on a toile print for $130.
The first panel is a play on the cover of Alice (red with gold imprints).