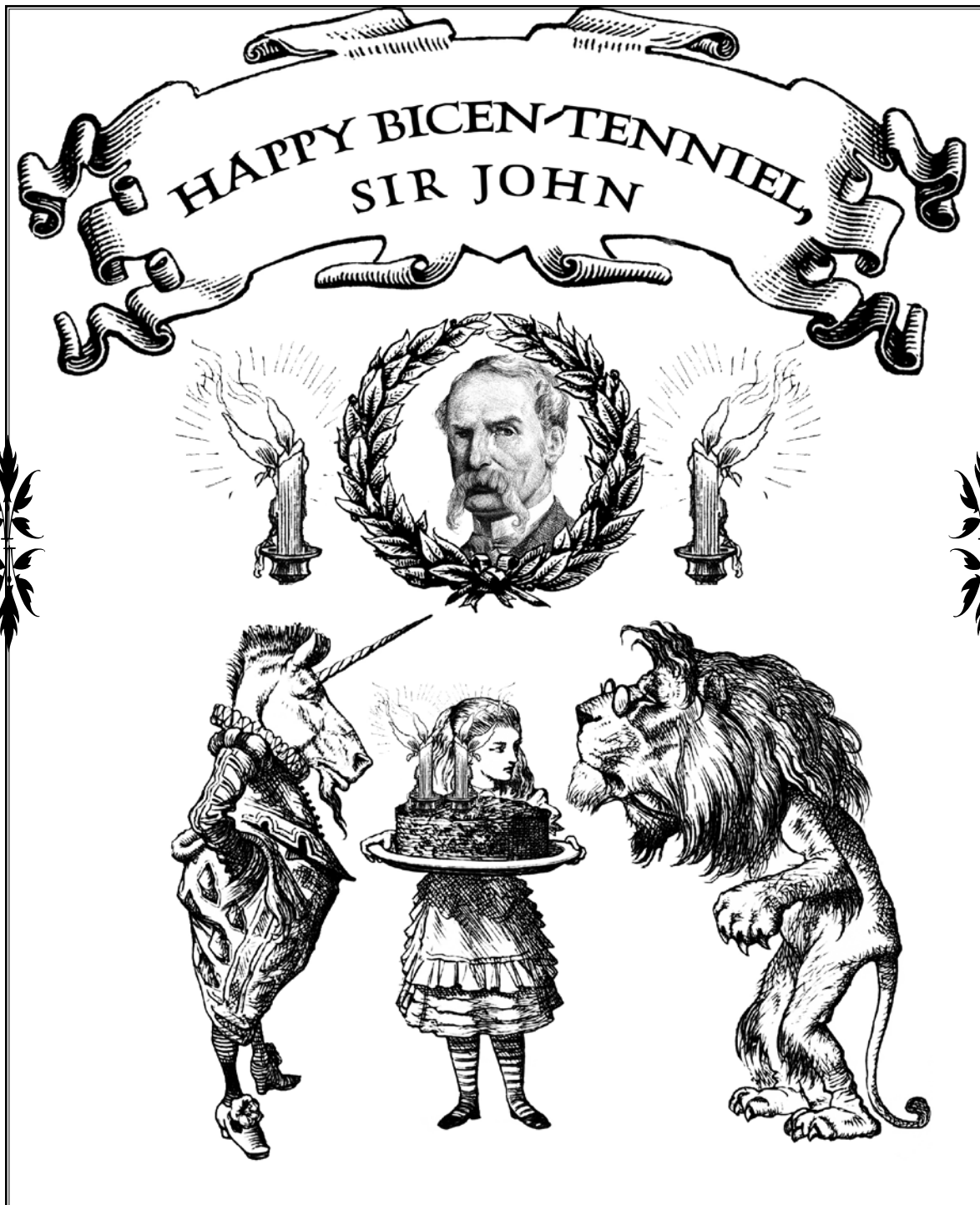


Knight Letter

The Lewis Carroll Society of North America



The *Knight Letter* is the official magazine of the Lewis Carroll Society of North America, a literary society whose purpose is to encourage study and appreciation of the life, work, times, and influence of Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson), and is in affiliation with the Fales Library, New York University.
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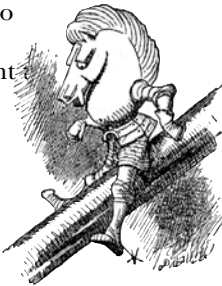
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As we all know, an infestation of Boojums earlier this year caused the postponement of our spring meeting until October 2–4. It’s still scheduled to be held at the Kelvin Smith Library of Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. (See our website for updates.)

Because of the postponement, there are no meeting reports in this issue, but the *Knight Letter* endures, and we’re pleased to offer a physical rather than just a virtual issue. Now more than ever, we invite you to immerse yourself in Lewis Carroll’s world.

This year marks the 200th birthday of Sir John Tenniel. To celebrate, Matt Demakos presents “Sketch—Trace—Draw,” the first of a two-part article about Tenniel’s working practices, showing how he got from initial inspiration to finished artwork. (Tenniel’s extensive life-long output is all the more remarkable given that he eventually went blind in his right eye after a fencing accident at age twenty.)

Sadly, we have two In Memoriam pages in this issue, for our treasurer and long-time supporter of the LCSNA, Ken Salins, and for

the multi-talented Sir Jonathan Miller. Also in this issue, Carroll collector David Holcomb discusses his remarkable album of cartes de visite photographs, some by Lewis Carroll or Julia Margaret Cameron. Eric Gerlach analyzes the possible connections between Aristotle and the *Alice/Snark* books, and Dayna Nuhn reports on advertisements that use Alice to sell cereal, microfilm, and mini-positioners and test probes for semiconductors, among other strange uses.

We discuss Balbus in *A Tangled Tale*; the banning of a Finnish edition of *Alice* in 1962, and some weird Dutch editions. Also, tucked into this issue is our latest “TumTum Tree” newsletter, conducted by Django Lohmann, with puzzles for the young and young-at-heart.

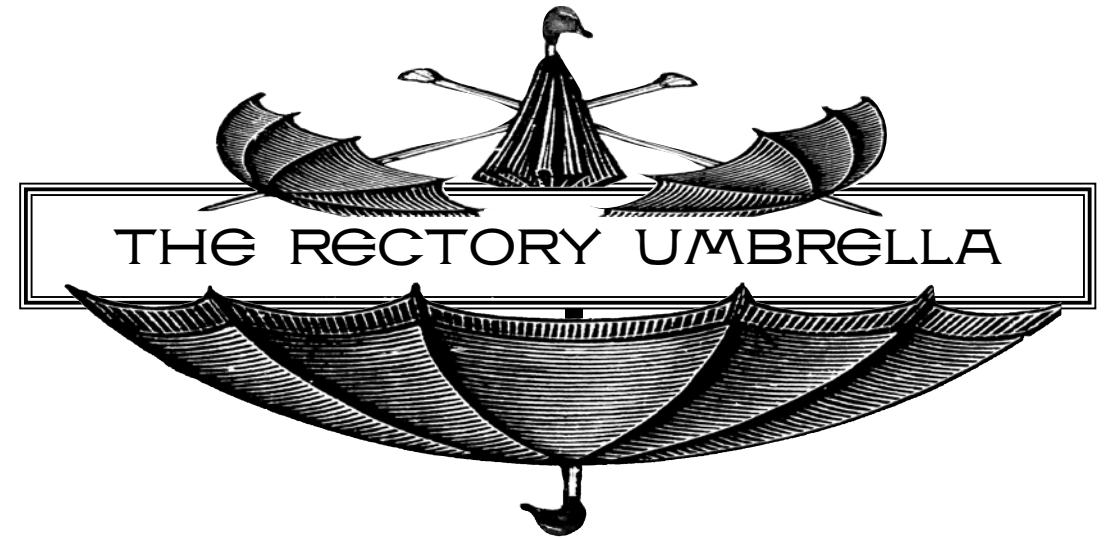
When I wrote “Rereading Alice” for this issue, it was before everything in the world changed. Fortunately, Carroll hasn’t changed. Rereading his eight or nine (or more) wise words can comfort us as we first charm the Boojums with smiles and soap (washing twice, of course), and

then pursue them with sharp forks and—most importantly—hope.

CHRIS MORGAN



“Alice said nothing: she had sat down with her face in her hands, wondering if anything would ever happen in a natural way again.”
— illustration by Honor C. Appleton, 1936



SKETCH—TRACE—DRAW

From Tenniel’s Hands to Carroll’s Eyes, Part I

MATTHEW DEMAKOS

Long ago, in the final years of the nineteenth century, the son of a prosperous banker created a special copy of a classic story. He combined the author’s own loose sheets for its publication, had from a book dealer, with ten of the artist’s original sketches, had from an art dealer. To enhance the volume’s gravitas, he not only bound it handsomely in brown levant morocco, with gilded floral leaves in a repeating pattern, but asked the artist himself to script his authentication and autograph onto the half title. But, as he well knew, the original sketches in his cherished creation did not number ten, as has been so often claimed through the years. Counting the loose sketches on the back of two of the main ten, they actually numbered twelve. But, likely unknown to him, one of those loose sketches—unadvertised, uncelebrated, forgotten—may very well have been the first sketch John Tenniel ever drew for Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures* in Wonderland.¹

But before picking his pencil up to scribble this ghostly form of Alice down (Figure 1), before beginning the *physical* aspect of his method for working on the *Alice* books—the subject of this article—Tenniel would have had to have settled on the subject and the treatment of that subject, along with its size. And for *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, his new commission, there was an interesting wrinkle: the author himself was also in the process of illustrating the story, more

specifically, the manuscript version known as *Alice’s Adventures Under Ground*.

It could be argued that Tenniel ended up basing many of his illustrations on Carroll’s own amateur illustrations. About fifteen to nineteen of his illustrations (depending on your political leanings) depict the same scene, and about five to ten give them the same treatment. It could be claimed, in fact, that about five are very nearly the same. Considering the similar manner in which the Father William poem was treated as a whole—four drawings, four equal rectangular borders—and the similar placement of the scene where the Rabbit falls into the cucumber frame (Figure 2), it would be difficult to claim that the professional completely ignored the amateur.

Then again, it could be argued that not the book, but Carroll himself was the chief influence. In fact, Tenniel consented to illustrate the book after reading from the manuscript in April 1864, which was five full months *before* Carroll even finished the pictures.² And Tenniel himself only began the book six months after reading it, working from greatly revised and pictureless galleys, not from the original and perhaps forgotten manuscript. In actuality, Tenniel left unillustrated eighteen of the thirty-seven scenes Carroll illustrated for *Under Ground*. Therefore, it is more likely that the illustrations in *Under Ground* had mostly an *indirect* influence on the artist. In other words, the similari-

ties likely derive from coincidence, the obviousness of the scenes to choose, and the meetings and letters between Tenniel and the creator of the *Under Ground* illustrations themselves.

That Tenniel was given the freedom to choose his subjects is shown in a letter he penned to Carroll in March 1865, likely written when about half the illustrations were completed. “Could you manage to let me have the text of ‘A Mad Tea-party’ for a day or two?” he wrote, referring to a completely new chapter Carroll had added to the text. “There is much more in it than my copy contains. The subjects I have selected from it are—The Hatter asking the riddle, which will do equally well for any other question that he may ask, and can go anywhere; and—The March Hare and the Hatter, putting the Dormouse into the tea-pot.”³ It is perhaps telling that when so few letters survive between the two men, one of those few verifies Tenniel’s lead in the matter of subject. In fact, in the collected letters to Carroll’s illustrators, there are at least seven such statements, in which Carroll defers to his illustrators in the choice of subject. “These are merely suggested subjects,” he wrote to A. B. Frost, “I shall be quite content if you reject them, and choose other passages to illustrate.” Even before Carroll met Tenniel, he wrote to Tom Taylor, “If he should be willing to undertake them, I would send him the book to look over, not that he should at all follow my pictures, but simply to give him an idea of the sort of thing I want.”⁴

This freedom also extends to the treatment of the chosen subjects. In at least fifteen of the same collected letters, Carroll shows a laissez-faire attitude to the handling of the subject. “I think an artist should be left free as to his treatment of a theme,” he wrote Linley Sambourne, “the writer only retaining a *veto*, in case the result should be hopelessly at variance with his meaning.” “But that is an artistic point, which I leave to you,” he wrote many years later to Harry Furniss, and on another matter in the same letter, “I leave it to you.”⁵ As a case in point, both books have an illustration for the scene of the rabbit passing Alice in the hall, the finished illustration for Figure 1. But they are treated rather differently. In Carroll’s, Alice leans down on the ground, and in Tenniel’s, she leans up against the wall. In Carroll’s, she stares into the rabbit’s eyes, and in Tenniel’s, she stares at his back. And though Carroll’s drawing may have a dollop of femininity in it, Tenniel pours it on in his version, as only a talented hand can do.

Although Carroll and Tenniel worked out the number of drawings—and no doubt the sizes—when they met in person, Tenniel very likely decided on the size of many of the illustrations on his own, as the letter above regarding the Mad-Tea Party implies. There are illustration plans for both books in Carroll’s hand, but the sizes there, unaltered and cleanly written, are

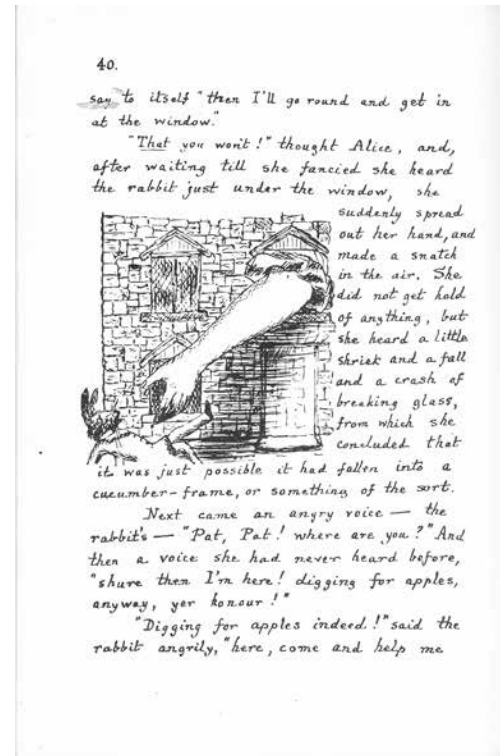


Figure 1. The Eleventh Sketch, John Tenniel, sketch, 105 x 80 mm, from a private collection.

probably reactions to Tenniel rather than predetermined decisions.⁶ “These suggestions as to sizes are merely *tentative*,” Carroll wrote to Furniss. “If you prefer other sizes, please say so.”⁷ If he treated Furniss this way, no doubt Tenniel was treated similarly.

It is also highly unlikely that Carroll, as a matter of course, approved Tenniel’s sketches before he transferred them onto the wood. It is well-known that Carroll did loathe the amount of crinoline in Alice’s dress, Tenniel having to change it years later for *The Nursery* “Alice.” By the time Carroll began to see proofs, it was likely too late to alter the amount. Also, the Hatter’s teacup needed a plug⁸ to put some bite into it, not just in one drawing, but in two. Clearly both were cut before Carroll saw either one, showing as well that he did not necessarily approve sketches. Even in the later book, when Carroll had more clout than before, Tenniel sent not one but five drawings to be cut with Alice wearing a chess-piece dress. All five had to be plugged, almost certainly at Carroll’s request. One such plug proves the point, but five cement it—Carroll as a matter of course did not sign off on sketches.⁹

Thus, as far as subject, treatment, and size are concerned, Tenniel likely had more freedom than is usually assumed, with Carroll being an influence, no doubt, but just that, an influence. Given the lack of letters to Tenniel, we have been forced to apply



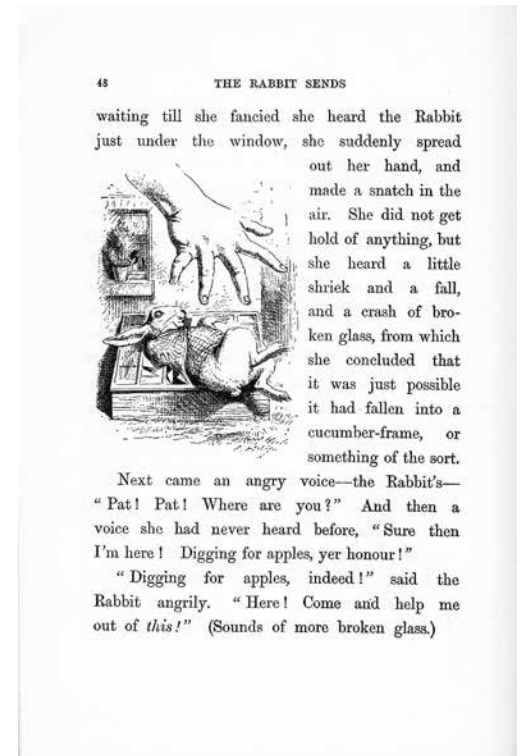
Figures 2a and 2b. Pages from *Under Ground* (Figure 2a) and *Wonderland* (Figure 2b). Some scholars believe Tenniel was influenced by Carroll’s drawings. The similarities between the two books are sometimes striking, as shown in the page design here. The page designs for two other pages, the ones where Alice holds the flamingo (or the ostrich), are also curiously alike. Despite these similarities, along with a host of other details, the issue of whether *Under Ground* influenced Tenniel is actually “*compliplex*.”

Carroll’s habits with other illustrators to him. Though there is a certain amount of weakness in this method, remember, Carroll was the younger, more inexperienced of the two, and Tenniel, with his fame, was the one with the upper hand. So, if the older Carroll, famous and with more sway, deferred to the expertise of lesser illustrators later in his life, he likely treated Tenniel with even more deference earlier in his life.

Despite this, however, Tenniel probably had no problem satisfying his author in many details.

Carroll’s nephew, who was writing in the context of the letters between the two men—many now lost—wrote that his uncle “was no easy man to work with” and that “he was constantly giving... directions.” Collingwood only gives us two examples of Carroll’s remonstrations. The first, “Don’t give Alice so much crinoline,” if written during the creation of *Wonderland*, shows Tenniel having the upper hand; if written later, it shows Carroll’s influence on *Looking-Glass*. The second, however, “The White Knight must not have whiskers; he must not be made to look old,”¹⁰ is undeniable proof that Tenniel was no puppet illustrator.

With these preliminaries out of the way, we can now begin our discussion of Tenniel’s process for the *Alice* books, and to a lesser degree, of other works.



This article covers Tenniel’s first process, **SKETCH**, where he sketches out his design. We will show the many difficulties that arise when we try to reach conclusions regarding his usual practice. In part two, we’ll discuss **TRACE**, where he traces and further develops the design on tracing paper, and where we will rack our brains over some troubling facts. Then, in **DRAW**, where he rubs the tracing onto the wood and further develops the design, we will challenge some scholars’ dubious declarations of what he laid on the wood.

An additional online article entitled “**CUT—PROOF—PRINT**” will be available later this year, and will complete our investigation of Tenniel’s working methods. As is evident, it will also have three parts. In **CUT**, we will leave Tenniel behind, perhaps off riding, and discuss the engravers’ contributions, or lack of contributions, to the illustrations. In **PROOF**, we will bring Tenniel back as he tweaks his illustrations whilst giving the engravers a few *cutting* remarks. And in the last section, **PRINT**, we will show the oft-overlooked importance of the printing process, the bane of both Carroll and Tenniel, the latter being more involved than often portrayed. We’ll have more information about “**CUT—PROOF—PRINT**” in the next *Knight Letter*.



Figures 3a and 3b. Thistle (left) and The Hatter Standing (right), John Tenniel, sketches, 86 × 146 mm and 65 × 52.4 mm, from the Huntington Art Gallery, Sketchbook II, 70.59.1 and 70.59.92. These two drawings appear in a sketchbook with many non-Alice sketches. The thistle may be a study for the illustration of the Big Puppy. The looseness in the sketch of the Hatter is an anomaly in Tenniel's sketching.

SKETCH

One day John Tenniel once again shunned his studio and settled himself down in a chair in his study, what he called “my den.” He felt more comfortable when surrounded by antique armor, horse bronzes, animal casts, stocked bookshelves, and whatever lay in the several oak cabinets. He unhinged the floral brass clasp securing the pages in his little hand-sized black sketchbook, which, appropriately enough, had something close to a woodgrain design embossed on its full leather cover. Laying the book on his handy drawing board, he flipped past a sketch of a bathing machine, a cracked bell, a young girl with a dodo, and two cherubs blowing bubbles around a large cannon. After coming to the first blank page (with some old sketch hastily and ineffectively erased), he drew a rectangle with his straightedge, not a neat one with perfect ninety-degree angles—never a neat one—but a rectangle nonetheless. With a pencil in his hand and an image in his mind's eye, he . . . well, there was an interruption. Perhaps it was a ring at the door. Was it Swain's boy? or was it the author from Oxford with whom he was collaborating? Whatever the interruption was, it will never be known, and whatever image lay in his mind's eye, it will never be known either—for the rectangle remains empty to this day.¹¹

Notebooks such as this one, now at Harvard, inform us how Tenniel physically began his sketches. They contain not only empty rectangles, but sketches abandoned at all different stages of creation, with or without borders. There are rectangles filled with light outlines of a form, some with a bit more definition and several with full dimensional details. In truth, however, conclusions drawn from them are either too obvious, speculative, or mundane. Suffice it to say that Tenniel often enough began by drawing a rectangle, as should be expected. In his chosen artform, wood engraving,

the artist had to draw the image the exact size of the final print, so reining himself in to a restricted size from the get-go greatly eased his labor. The sketchbook and others like it (see Figures 3a and 3b) also attest to the fact that he did not begin in a classical manner, lightly drawing proportional forms, creating a nude, and draping the nude. “I never learned drawing, except in so far as attending a school and being allowed to teach myself,” Tenniel once told an interviewer. “I attended the Royal Academy Schools after becoming a probationer, but soon left in utter disgust of there being no teaching.”¹² By contrast, Henry Holiday, the illustrator of Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark*, was classically trained. Hence, from his early sketches we can observe that the Bellman was indeed circumcised, a notable and critical fact that, owing to Tenniel's lack of training, must remain a mystery for the Hatter.

Tenniel drew his sketches on various paper types. For *Alice*, some are clearly torn from notebooks, as seen by the jagged edges. But many, owing to the way they are bound in association copies of the books, are squared off, obliterating their origin. To illustrate his seemingly carefree attitude about paper, his sketches for *Aesop's Fables* (1848) used various papers, even one with a bluish tint. Likewise, a set of sketches for *Wonderland*, once sold to a single collector, had three different paper types, a notable number considering that the set included just five sketches.¹³

Tenniel's sketches are usually solely in pencil. He occasionally used china white ink to emphasize light, as can be seen in a sketch for *Lalla Rookh* and more famously on the Jabberwock, to highlight the creature's “eyes of flame.” He did not seem to use ink often (judging from his extant artwork), although about eleven of the sketches for *Wonderland* have brown ink over pencil.



Figures 4a and 4b. The Railway Carriage (above) and Alice Tipping Over the Jury Box (right), Tenniel, sketches, 76.5 × 82.5 mm and 168 × 119 mm, both from Harvard, *EC85. D6645.865a.1866a and MS Eng 718.6 (12). These two scenes show that Tenniel's sketches could either be rather coarse (the railway carriage) or surprisingly fine (the jury box image). Most sketches, however, fall somewhere between these two treatments.

This may raise some eyebrows, as no other extant sketches are known to have any type of ink on them. However, in his second sketch for the scene where Alice meets the Blue Caterpillar, there is oddly only a minor touch of brown ink; apparently, Tenniel abandoned the idea of “enhancing” the whole. It seems unlikely that a forger would have created what is essentially a blotch, an unsightly obliteration, on the sketch. The same sketch—in fine, firm, and clear pencil—also attests to the fact that Tenniel did not add the ink to conceal any fault with the initial graphite application. Although these brown-inkers are also borderless, unlike almost all of the other *Wonderland* sketches, and many other Tenniel sketches, their provenance seems sound, and they are indeed accepted here as genuine.¹⁴

Broadly speaking, Tenniel's extant Alice sketches could be put into three categories: element studies, rough studies, and full studies. Element studies are drawings that help him with the full study, such as the sketch of the lone Dodo (drawn on the page before Alice and the Dodo in the Harvard sketchbook), and the sketch for the thistle for the Big Puppy (Figure 3a). Whether the latter was for *Wonderland* may be debatable, but the dating of the other sketches in the notebook make it a strong possibility.¹⁵ Rough studies include rough attempts or abandoned attempts of the full image. For *Wonderland*, they include the first sketch of Alice and the Dodo, the Hatter standing (Figure 3b), and the aforementioned study of Alice watching the White Rabbit scurry away; for *Looking-Glass*, there are the chessboard fields and Alice in the



railway car (Figure 4a). Full studies (or what Frankie Morris terms “value studies”) have tighter lines and tighter shading, sometimes even cross-hatching, though noticeably looser than what Tenniel would lay on the wood. They represent a vast majority of the sketches, and include, for example, the scenes where the Dormouse is being squeezed into the teapot, where Alice is trapped in the house, and where Tweedledum attempts to pull out his hair. Some are looser than others, such as the scene where Alice swims alone, where she holds the bottle, and where Hatta sits dejected in prison. Yet others are more accomplished, such as the scene where the boy meets the Jabberwock, where Alice stares at the flamingo, and especially where she tips over the jury box (Figure 4b).

For about eight of the ninety-two *Alice* illustrations, Tenniel created two or more known or once-known sketches. When Alice is growing tall, she at first measures 133 millimeters high, but measures 128 in the revised sketch. Since she ends up measuring only 122 for the print, she is actually shrinking!¹⁶ The other changes between the two sketches are minor; for example, Tenniel shuffled her feet from an unpoetic parallel position to a more dimensional splayed position, enlarged her eyes, removed the bow from her dress, and greatly improved her face (which was odd enough in the first to greatly question his authorship). The first sketch of the Blue Caterpillar on the mushroom is a tad amateurish—Alice herself even appears too young. For the second attempt, which is



Figures 5a and 5b. *Alice and the Little Door*, Tenniel, sketches, 64 × 69 mm and 78 × 68 mm, from *The Rosenbach Museum and Library*, 1954.0180 (left), and *Harvard, Harcourt Amory Collection*, MS Eng 718.6 (right). Only a few subjects have more than one extant sketch, but it could be reasoned that it was Tenniel's usual practice for *Wonderland*.



Figure 6. *The White Rabbit* (actual size), Tenniel, sketch, 76 × 52 mm, from *The Rosenbach Museum and Library*, 1954.0183. Tenniel further developed the White Rabbit on a subsequent sketch with brown ink, making him thinner and seemingly older.

very close to the final even in the background details, Tenniel reversed the image, which was an oddly uncomfortable composition in its original orientation. He also tilted the mushroom a tad toward the viewer, removed the windswept appearance of Alice's dress, and stood Alice more clearly on her tip-toes, which greatly enhanced the effect of the scene. When Alice finds the little door, she at first pulled the curtain away at the top, dragging the rings around the curtain rod toward her. For the second attempt, the rings and rods are omitted, allowing Alice to lower her arm to gently *droop* the curtain aside, a more inquisitive gesture—again, greatly enhancing the effect. Her legs are brought together as well, and the door is also more obscured, making it (and appropriately so) more theatrical (Figure 5b). Lastly, when the White Rabbit looks at his watch in the first sketch (Figure 6), he stands straighter but appears chubbier. In the revision, he leans more forward and loses some weight, perhaps to alleviate some unintended cutesiness in the original.

Tenniel never verbally explained his method for the *Alice* books—or for any of his bookwork, for that matter—leaving us to understand it only through observations like the above. However, he did describe his method for his weekly *Punch* cartoons when he was crunched for time and on a weekly schedule. “Well, I get my subject on Wednesday night,” he told an interviewer, “I think it out carefully on Thursday, and make my rough sketch. On Friday morning I begin, and stick to it all day, with my nose well down on the block. By means of tracing-paper—on which

I make such alterations of composition and action I may consider necessary—I transfer my design to the wood and draw on that. The first sketch I may, and often do, complete later on as a commission.”¹⁷ This account appears in the middle of a thick four-paragraph quotation that is undoubtedly not verbatim, and likely greatly authored by Marion Spielmann, the interviewer. But there is little reason to doubt it.

There are two accounts of Tenniel's process for the *Alice* books that *almost* come from the artist himself. The first is a letter written on Tenniel's behalf by a brother-in-law. “At the time the drawings were made,” he explained to the collector Harcourt Amory, “the final drawing had to be done on the block, and the tracings were taken to transfer the drawing to the block from the original sketch.” Unfortunately, this lack of more specific details is also present in the second letter, written by an art dealer Tenniel knew. Both simply rehash the *Punch* “sketch—trace—draw” scenario.¹⁸

This lack of a verbal description means we have to speculate when answering two important questions: (1.) How many sketches did Tenniel usually do for each illustration? and (2.) Did he, as he did for *Punch*, only complete some sketches after the publication of the books?

Speaking of *Wonderland* only, three of the eleven or so sketches that have brown ink on them have a companion pencil-only sketch. In all three cases, the brown-inkers are the later sketch, being closer to the final design. But since all eleven of the brown-inkers have no borders—borders that are used to confine the artist to a given size and that always appear on the pencil-only sketches—it is most likely that all the brown-inkers once had earlier, now lost, pencil-only sketches. This implies that, as a rule, Tenniel did two sketches each for *Wonderland*, even for the ten illustrations that have no extant sketches.

The primitiveness of some of *Wonderland*'s pencil-only sketches, when compared to the brown-inkers, can be readily seen. The characters in the background of the scene where the Dodo hands Alice the thimble, for example, are quite different in the sketch than in the final print. Alice swimming with the mouse is also quite different from the final illustration. But the differences in some pencil-only sketches are more difficult to see unless they are overlapped with the final image. Only after doing this with the frontispiece, for example, can we see that Tenniel further developed the image.

Of the fifty illustrations in *Looking-Glass*, only one has more than one full sketch: the scene where Alice enters the looking-glass. This may suggest that Tenniel used the *Punch* “sketch—trace—draw” method; after all, he was pressed for time, agreeing to illustrate for Carroll despite a heavy work load.¹⁹ Then again, several of the sketches are very loose, such as the railway scene and the chessboard landscape, suggesting



Figure 7. *The Big Puppy*, Tenniel, sketch, 105 × 90 mm, from *The Surrey Heritage Centre*, LC/3. This is the only sketch to date not listed by Schiller in his “Census of Tenniel's Alice Artwork.” Mark and Catherine Richards found it in the archives of the Surrey Heritage Centre in 2018. Tenniel authenticated the sketch, as he often did, writing on a separate sheet: “‘The Big Puppy.’ / Original sketch for / ‘Alice in Wonderland.’ / John Tenniel.” The Big Puppy and Alice appear somewhat similar in the final print, with only the background being different. The sketch shows that Tenniel, no doubt, found his drawings were more natural if he allowed his pencil (and his mind) to be free when crafting his backgrounds, especially foliage, rather than adhering religiously to some previous sketch or tracing.

that fuller, tighter sketches must have once existed. Unfortunately, it only takes the discovery of one previously unrecorded extra-illustrated copy of *Looking-Glass* (one, say, with ten or so original pencil sketches tipped in) to throw off the balance and redefine how Tenniel worked. Hence, as with *Wonderland*, it may be possible, despite the evidence, that he created at least two sketches for each illustration in *Looking-Glass*.

The answer to the second difficulty—whether Tenniel completed sketches only after the books were published—may lie in the many sketches he left behind for his other books, found in museums and libraries across the United States. Simply put, none of these bookwork sketches appears to have the same unfinished appearance as do the unfinished *Punch* sketches currently in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Hence, it seems most likely that Tenniel completed his non-*Punch* sketches before tracing them.²⁰

Lastly, Tenniel worked with great economy. Once he chose a subject, he seems to have carried it out, never abandoning it, only altering the treatment from

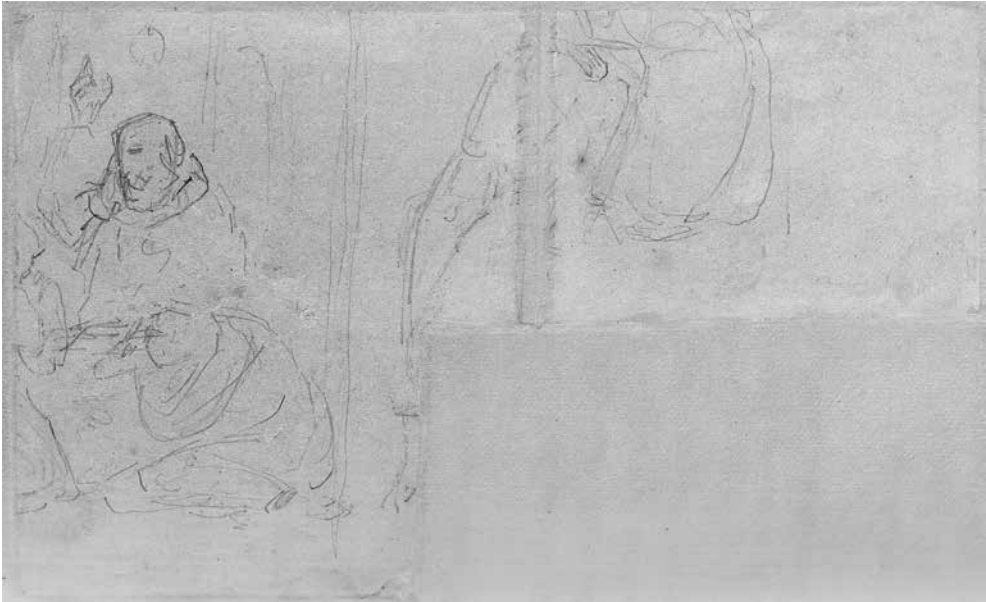


Figure 8. *Alice Sleeping on Her Sister's Lap*, Tenniel, sketch, 90 × 130 mm, from a private collection. This scribble is found on the back of the sketch of Alice meeting the Cheshire Cat. It likely illustrates the scene when Alice “found herself lying on the bank, with her head in the lap of her sister, who was gently brushing away some dead leaves that had fluttered down from the trees on to her face.” The sister’s right hand may be brushing away a leaf above her head, or the hand may be a leaf itself, being that there seems to be another right hand on her cheek, as described in the text. Alice is not only resting her head on her sister’s lap, as written, but also, as written later, has her “tiny hands”—as imagined by her sister—“once again . . . clasped upon her knee.” The right half may represent a winged Morpheus, the Greek god of sleep and dreams, casually observing, perhaps intended to appear translucent. The line that separates the two halves of the scrawl may indicate that the god was yet another illustration, a forty-fourth! It’s possible as well that the god was an idea for the title page, with the other half being the frontispiece. Lastly, a quarter of a girl appears on the other side of the older sister, perhaps an awake Alice, suggesting that the scrawl may have begun as a headpiece for chapter one (a scene Carroll himself illustrated for *Under Ground*). An open book—no doubt without “pictures or conversations”—does appear to be face down on the sister’s lap. (Image is actual size.)

time to time. No one has ever unearthed any unused subjects in his output for the two *Alice* books. There is no lost sketch of Alice entering the door in the tree, of a little glass box with a cake in it, or of the cook testifying with her pepper-box, causing all to sneeze.²¹ No such extra image has ever been discovered—that is, until now. On the back of the sketch where Alice meets the Cheshire Cat, in the book owned by the prosperous banker, there is a twelfth sketch, as mentioned in the opening paragraph (Figure 8). It was described in a later auction catalogue as being “apparently unrelated to the *Alice* cycle of illustrations.”²² But it likely illustrates—if it is turned on its side—the lines at the end of the book where Alice “found herself lying on the bank, with her head in the lap of her sister, who was gently brushing away some dead leaves that had fluttered down from the trees on to her face.”²³ Hence, unbeknownst to the prosperous banker, his sketches may have contained, in one way

or another, a first and a last for Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*.

We’ll conclude our discussion of Tenniel’s working methods in the next issue of the *Knight Letter*.

Endnotes

- ¹ The banker is Louis Samuel Montagu, the Second Baron of Swaythling. A most generous description of this association copy of the book is found in the auction catalogue *Lewis Carroll and Alice: The Private Collection of Justin G. Schiller*, Christie’s New York, December 9, 1998, lot 38, pp. 67–81. Only the ten main sketches are shown. The concept that the said sketch (found on the back of one of the main sketches) is the first sketch is only light-heartedly suggested here but is, nonetheless, based on a close reading of Carroll’s diary; see Lewis Carroll, October 12 and 28, 1864, in *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson*, vol. 5 (Luton, Beds: The Lewis Carroll Society, 1899), pp. 16 and 22. Tenniel did draw a figure that looks like Alice (with her face obstructed) for the cover of *Punch*, vol. 46 (binding

six volumes for the first half of 1864). It was likely drawn at the end of June, more than two months after consenting to draw for Carroll, but three months or so before he begins actual work on *Wonderland*. Whether he was drawing her in earnest or appropriated her (at, dare I say, Carroll’s suggestion) is unknown.

- ² Carroll, April 5, Wakeling, *Diaries*, vol. 4, p. 284; September 13, and October 12, 1864, Wakeling, *Diaries*, vol. 5, pp. 9 and 16. That Tenniel read from the *Under Ground* manuscript is assumed from a letter written earlier; see Carroll to Taylor, December 20, 1863, *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, edited by Morton N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 62.
- ³ Tenniel to Carroll, March 8, 1865, in *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators: Collaborations & Correspondence, 1865–1898*, edited by Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 12–14.
- ⁴ Carroll to Frost, August 5, 1884, in *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators*, p. 90; Carroll to Taylor, December 20, 1863, in Cohen, *The Letters*, p. 62.
- ⁵ Carroll to Lindsey Sambourne, June 10, 1874; and Carroll to Furniss, October 6, 1893, in *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators*, pp. 221 and 333.
- ⁶ See *The Lewis Carroll Handbook*, edited by Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, revised and augmented by Roger Lancelyn Green, now further revised by Denis Crutch (Kent: Dawson & Sons, 1979), plate X; Edward Wakeling, “The Illustration Plan for *Through the Looking-Glass, Jabberwocky* 21 (1992).
- ⁷ Carroll to Furniss, August 11, 1890, in *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators*, p. 197. See also Carroll to Thomson, July 16, 1885. For more examples of Carroll’s attitude about subject, treatment, and size, see “The Unguided Hand” in Matthew Demakos, “To Seek It With Thimbles: Brief Essays on Lewis Carroll—Part II,” in *Knight Letter* (Winter 2008), Volume II, Issue II, number 81, pp. 10–11.
- ⁸ Plugs will be discussed in another section. They are costly changes in the wood blocks where a section is removed, replaced, redrawn, and re-engraved.
- ⁹ Carroll did insist on seeing sketches before A. B. Frost created the final illustration. But that was a different ballgame—Frost was in the States, and Carroll thought the time they were wasting pathetic. See Carroll to Frost, April 12, 1878, *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators*, p. 44.
- ¹⁰ Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll (Rev. C. L. Dodgson)* (New York, The Century Co., 1899), p. 130.
- ¹¹ This fantasy is based on Francis Burnand’s and John Bernard Partridge’s descriptions of visiting Tenniel, see “Sir John Tenniel,” *Supplement to “Punch,”* March 4, 1914, pp. 10 and 15; and the sketchbook catalogued as Tenniel, *Sketchbook, ca. 1865*, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Eng 718.17 (not part of the Harcourt Amory Collection).
- ¹² Marion H. Spielmann, *The History of “Punch”* (London: Cassell and Company, 1995), p. 461.
- ¹³ See the association copy of Thomas James, *Aesop’s Fables: A New Version, Chiefly from Original Sources* (London: John Murray, 1848), New York Public Library, Print Collection, MEM T311a. The five sketches are the ones donated to the Morgan by Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. Their history will be told in a future article.

- ¹⁴ The majority of the brown inkers are in The Harcourt Amory Collection, Harvard. Harcourt Amory bought them from N. J. Bartlett & Co., Boston, in May 1919.
- ¹⁵ Tenniel, Sketchbook II, p. 92, Huntington Art Gallery, 70.59.92. The same sketchbook has a very loose sketch of the Hatter on page 1. The various locations for the other sketches are found in “A Short-Title Index...” by Justin G. Schiller in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland: An 1865 Printing Re-Described and Newly Identified...* (Kingston, New York: *The Jabberwock*, 1990).
- ¹⁶ Thanks to Marta Rudolph for measuring her Alice sketch head to toe.
- ¹⁷ Marion H. Spielmann, “Our Graphic Humourists: Sir John Tenniel” in *The Magazine of Art* (March 1995), p. 202; repeated with slight alterations in Marion H. Spielmann, *The History of “Punch,”* pp. 463–4.
- ¹⁸ See Bernard Green to Harcourt Amory, May 19, 1911, and Ernest Brown to Harcourt Amory or to N. J. Bartlett & Co., May 25, 1911, both Harvard University, Harcourt Amory Collection, MS Eng 718.15. The letter from Ernest Brown, the art dealer, may be a fair copy written out by an employee of N. J. Bartlett; it is frustratingly unclear.
- ¹⁹ Lewis Carroll, April 8, 1868, Wakeling, *Diaries*, p. 20; Carroll to Alexander Macmillan, July 3, 1868, *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan*, edited by Morton N. Cohen and Anita Gandolfo (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 66.
- ²⁰ See the images in the Victoria & Albert Museum with the museum numbers: SD.1020, SD.1021, SD.1024, SD.1026, SD.1027, SD.1028, SD.1030. All are available in high detail in their online catalogue.
- ²¹ The large sketch titled “Pawns” in the Rosenbach is most likely a study for the busy illustration on page 14 where the Red King and Queen are conversing in the foreground.
- ²² *Lewis Carroll and Alice: The Private Collection of Justin G. Schiller*, p. 76.
- ²³ Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (London, Macmillan, 1866), p. 189.



John Tenniel's first contribution to Punch, November 15, 1850

A Remarkable Album of Miscellaneous Cartes de Visite

DAVID HOLCOMB

Thirty years ago, I purchased an album of *cartes de visite* (CdV)¹ photographs at a National Stereoscopic Association photo show in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. It turns out that this CdV album would become the most important find in my forty years of collecting historic images. When I opened the album, three small, unsecured, and unmounted albumen photos nearly fell to the floor. I recognized two of them as the work of Julia Margaret Cameron. As I then looked through the album, I recognized members of the royal family, who are typically included in many collections of English *cartes*. There were also photos I took to be those of the family and friends of whoever assembled the album. The handwritten names “Liddell,” “Hatch,” “Kitchin,” and “Drury” meant nothing to me at the time. But the names “Cameron,” “Carroll,” and “Rejlander” certainly did, and I purchased the album for \$400.

Helmut Gernsheim might have described my album as follows:²

[A] Size 7¾ × 6¼ inches, bound in dark red morocco leather, apparently put together by a person unknown who was inspired by

and who then resolved to duplicate a Lewis Carroll photograph album. No inscription, no index, pages not numbered, some pages contain identification as to sitter and photographer. Contains 15 *cartes de visite*, 1 by Lewis Carroll, 4 of the Liddell family with two that are autographed and 3 miscellaneous sized photographs. Among the portraits of important people are Princess Charlotte (3), Princess Beatrice (3), Queen Victoria’s youngest sons as photographed by W. & D. Downey, and Prince Leopold. All are portraits, with some exquisite photographs of children, three early studies by or of Julia Margaret Cameron, two empty openings identified as by Rejlander, and fragments of other photographs by an unknown photographer mounted on the back of several of the *cartes*.³

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

Lewis Carroll and Julia Margret Cameron were both accomplished amateur photographers who produced

their best work in the 1860s. They both took photographs of the famous, and both remained, on the whole, uninfluenced by the work of professional photographers, who often churned out *cartes* and cabinet cards in their thousands.⁴ Yet for all that, they could not be more different in their approach to photography.

In June of 1864, Carroll first saw examples of Cameron’s work at the Photographic Society exhibition. His entry into his diary was to the point: “I did not admire Mrs. Cameron’s large heads taken out of focus.”⁵ But during a visit to Freshwater, Isle of Wight, in late July, he “called on Mrs. Cameron, who begged I bring over my pictures in the evening. She showed me her pictures, some very beautiful.”⁶ Some were indeed very beautiful, but he later complained that “hers are all taken purposely out of focus—some *are* very picturesque—some merely hideous. However she talks of them as if they were triumphs in art.” Lewis Carroll also viewed himself as an artist, but in contrast to Cameron’s photographs, his were pristine, with attention to detail and without any blemish that might detract from their aesthetic and beauty.⁷

The subjects from her large prints that Cameron selected to reduce are varied. Portraits of famous men, including the musician Joseph Joachim and Dean Henry George Liddell, are well represented, while famous women are less so. Children are another favored subject. Many of those photos were probably made for the albums she created for family and friends. Among the prints of children are those of the Liddell family, including Alice, Edith, and Lorina. Alice Liddell appears in at least seventeen Cameron photos. Most are just of her, but a few include her sisters. In addition, Cameron took seven photos

of Edith, two of Henry George in April 1865, and ten of Lorina.⁸

I devoted some time to the Cameron images in order to establish, at least to my mind, the reliability of the written identification and the credibility of whoever created this album. I do believe that the creator of the album demonstrated a deep knowledge of nineteenth-century English photographers in general and of the work of both Julia Margaret Cameron and Lewis Carroll in the early years of the careers.

LEWIS CARROLL

In 2014, I turned my attention to the Carroll-related photographs in my long-neglected album. Unlike the time when I purchased the album in 1988, now I had instant information at my fingertips in the form of Google and the Internet. I started entering the names of those identified in the album: Henry Liddell, Lorina H. Liddell, Harry Liddell, “Oda” Liddell, George W. Kitchin, Ethel Hatch, and Emmie Drury. Once I completed an initial search, I knew there were connections between my *cartes* and Lewis Carroll’s photography.

I also began doing image searches via Google and, more recently, TinEye, on the names of those identified in the album. I found no results for my specific images of Emily, Harry, Rhoda, or George Kitchin. It is possible that none of these *cartes* has been published. Edward Wakeling noted that he thought he had seen the Rhoda CdV in one of the Carroll albums, but I am not sure that the photos in those albums have been made public. It is also possible that one or more may be previously unknown; Mr. Wakeling will most certainly have better knowledge than the search engines. In the end it may not



Figure 1. Ethel Charlotte Hatch,
by Lewis Carroll



Figure 2. Ethel Hatch as a Turk,
by Lewis Carroll



Figure 3. “Oda” Liddell,
photographer unknown



Figure 4. “Harry” Liddell,
photographer unknown

be important other than for “bragging” rights. Wake-ling was able to definitely identify one of my *cartes* as an original Lewis Carroll image of Ethel Hatch. He asked if I would send him a high-definition scan of the front and back for inclusion in his upcoming book containing every known photograph by Lewis Carroll.⁹ I happily contributed to that effort. He also ruled out the possibility that any of the other images were original Lewis Carroll photographs. Still, he concluded that “your album needs to be researched carefully. This is an important find.”

Figure 1 shows this photo of Ethel Hatch (IN-2181)¹⁰ taken by Lewis Carroll in his Tom Quad Studio at Christ Church, Oxford (above his rooms) in July 1873. There are no diary entries that mention this specific photograph, but on July 30, 1873, he wrote: “Beatrice was sent over again, and I took two more photos like yesterday, and two in South Sea Island costume (borrowed from the Ashmolean Museum).” Beatrice Hatch was Ethel’s older sister. Carroll took seven photographs of Ethel in total, including a CdV of Ethel dressed as a Turk (IN-2473, Figure 2).

The CdV format did not come into common use in England until sometime in 1860, the earliest date that the photo of “Oda” (Rhoda Caroline Anne Liddell, b. 1859) shown in Figure 3 could reasonably have been taken. I have found no photos of Rhoda as a child with which to compare it. In fact, there seem to be precious few photographs of Rhoda at any age or in any format that have been published. To my eye Oda appears to be about three years old, dating the CdV to about 1862. There is no photographer’s imprint.

Though Carroll had a clear preference for girls, he also enjoyed the company of his male child-friends. One such boy was Alice’s older brother, Harry (Edward Henry Liddell, b. 1847; Figure 4). The CdVs of Rhoda and Harry Liddell were almost certainly taken by the same photographer, because the carpet, base-board, column, and even the pose are identical. So are the rather austere furnishings of the studio. If Oda is indeed around three years of age, these CdVs date to about 1862, perhaps just before Harry left for school.

The image of Dean Henry Liddell (Figure 5) was taken by Camille Silvy, though there is no back mark. By comparing the lattice window and the distinctive chair to other known Silvy photographs, a definitive attribution can be made.¹¹ In the summer of 1859, Silvy moved to London where he took over a studio in Bayswater.¹² By the spring of 1867, Camille Silvy was taking the last of his *carte* photographs as he returned to Paris to promote his patented photographic apparatus for recording battlefields.¹³

Though Dean Henry Liddell was the titular head of the family, the true power within the four walls of the Deanery resided with his wife, Lorina Hannah (née Reeve) Liddell (Figure 6). Within months of her arrival in Oxford, life revolved around Lorina. To gain her favor was to rise socially, and to cross her was to suffer a social execution.¹⁴ The photograph of Lorina was taken by Silvy, possibly at same time that her husband’s photo was taken. A nearly identical Silvy photograph using the same mirror and a similar pose is dated 1860.¹⁵ The start and end dates of Silvy’s studio in England date the photo to the early or mid-1860s.

While about half of the *cartes* in my album are mass-produced images of the royals, with back marks identifying the photographers and the studios, the Liddell *cartes* are not. These photos were purchased as unmounted albumen prints lacking any identifying information. The *cartes* were then mounted on cardboard to make them easy to handle and view, and to allow them to be placed in an album. The standard CdV photo measures $2\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and was then mounted to a finished size of approximately $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ inches,¹⁶ but these *cartes* were mounted on cardboard measuring $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which facilitates the addition of autographs. (Lewis Carroll himself was a great collector of both CdVs and autographs.)¹⁷ The autographs themselves appear to be authentic, based on comparison to existing examples of the Liddells’ signatures.¹⁸ The acquisition by the album’s creator of these family photographs, personalized by the signatures, suggests close and familiar contact with the Liddell family. This status is strengthened by the additional acquisition of the personal photos of two of the Liddell children, Rhoda and Harry.

Carroll took four photos of Emily “Emmie” Drury (b. 1864). The first two were group photographs of all three Drury sisters: Emmie, Isabella, and Mary (IN-1752, IN-1923). The third was of Emmie, taken in July of 1870 in London (IN-1922). The last photo of Emmie was taken some four years later in June 1874 (IN-2275); Dodgson’s diary entry for June 22, 1874: “On the 16th (Tu) Mrs. Drury brought her three girls and Mrs. Sampson, for the day. I photographed and fed them, and treated them to the Horticultural fete.” He took the second photograph of Emmie when she was ten.¹⁹ The image in my CdV album of Miss Drury

(Figure 7) was identified by the inscription on the album page.

Starting in 1854, George Kitchin (Figure 8) was an examiner in Mathematics at Christ Church, during which time he and Charles Dodgson became good friends, and both served on the Mathematics faculty. After a brief absence, he returned to Oxford, where he served in the position of censor and renewed his friendship with Charles.²⁰ Like Henry Liddell, George Kitchin was a very accomplished man now often reduced to a footnote to his daughter’s fame. His daughter Alexandra (b.1864), known as “Xie,” became Carroll’s favorite photographic subject. Fortunately, George Kitchin is also remembered today as the author of the majestic Anglican hymn *Lift High the Cross*.

Lewis Carroll took four photographs of George Kitchin, not as many as were taken of his daughter Xie (at least 25), but still a significant number.²¹ The *carte* of G. W. Kitchin found in my album does not turn up in any online search. This photo is possibly previously unpublished. Like many of the other *cartes* in the album, this is most likely a family photo, not one that would have been offered for sale in the commercial marketplace.

There is one final aspect to these personal *cartes* that might yield additional information about the identity of the album’s creator and his or her possible connection with Lewis Carroll. The cardboard on which these photos are mounted was reused mounts of other photos. These larger photos were trimmed to a size that would fit into the slots in a *cartes de visite* album. Of the four *cartes* glued to a mount previously used for a larger image, three yield identified pho-



Figure 5. Henry George Liddell
by Camille Silvy



Figure 6. Lorina Liddell
by Camille Silvy



Figure 7. “Emmie” Drury,
photographer unknown



Figure 8. George W. Kitchin,
photographer unknown

tographs. I have tried various spellings of the names on the mounts, searched the indexes of several Lewis Carroll books, and done online searches on the names with association to Oxford, Christ Church, or Lewis Carroll, all without success.

The Lewis Carroll-connected *cartes de visite* from my album, excepting the Ethel Hatch *carte*, were obtained by their original owners as unmounted albumens. These were then mounted to card stock, some of which had previously been used for other photos. In all cases, these *cartes* were almost certainly family keepsakes not commercially available, and their circulation was limited to family and friends. The circle of friends and family was also likely limited to those associated with Christ Church, Oxford, during the 1860s. It follows that whoever created this album must have had access to, and possibly have been part of, the circle of Carroll's friends and acquaintances at Christ Church.

“The next question is ‘Who in the world am I?’ Ah, that’s the great puzzle!”

Endnotes

¹ Newhall, Beaumont, *The History of Photography*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1964, 49. The name *carte de visite* refers to the similarity to the common visiting card at the time in 1854, and the method was patented in France by Adolphe-Eugene Disderi. The *carte* was composed of a small photograph pasted on a mount measuring 4 by 2½ inches.

² Gernsheim, Helmut, *Lewis Carroll Photographer*, New York: Chanticleer, 1949, 97–100.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Carroll, Lewis, Edited and Supplemented by Green, Roger Lancelyn, *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll, In Two*

Volumes, Volume I, New York: Oxford University Press, 1954, 217.

⁶ Ibid., 221

⁷ Taylor, Roger and Wakeling, Edward, *Lewis Carroll Photographer*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002, 83.

⁸ Ibid., Cox, multiple pages.

⁹ Wakeling, Edward, *The Photographs of Lewis Carroll, A Catalogue Raisonné*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015, 238–239.

¹⁰ IN- numbers refer to their entries in Wakeling’s book, above.

¹¹ Haworth-Booth, Mark. *Photographer of Modern Life, Camille Silvy*, Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010, 136. This same photograph appears in other publications, one of which attributed the photo to the Hills and Saunders photographers, Oxford. It is highly likely that the renowned studio of Hills and Saunders simply copied the lush photograph of Dean Liddell taken by Silvy and reproduced it on their own mount stock, which included the imprint of their studio in Oxford. This was common practice at the time, and copyrights were weak if not nonexistent in this context.

¹² Ibid., 34.

¹³ Ibid., 142.

¹⁴ Leach, Karoline, *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild: the Myth and Reality of Lewis Carroll*, London: Peter Owen, 2009, 227.

¹⁵ Ibid., 44.

¹⁶ Taft, Robert, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History 1839–1889*, New York: Dover Publications, 1964, 139.

¹⁷ Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll Photographer*, 97–100.

¹⁸ Ibid., Sothebys, *Lewis Carroll’s Alice*, 128.

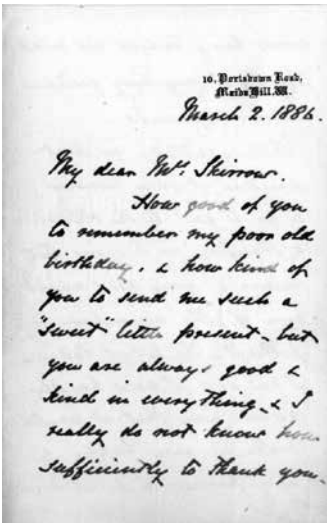
¹⁹ Ibid., Nickel, 168.

²⁰ Wakeling, Edward, *Lewis Carroll: the Man and His Circle*, London: I.B. Tauris, London, 2015, 90.

²¹ Ibid., Wakeling, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, 74–5. The images are IN-0395, IN-0503, IN-0984, IN-1449, and IN-2054.



The young, unmustached Tenniel (not from the CdV album)



Letter from Tenniel to a Mrs. Skirrow. “How good of you to remember my poor old birthday.”

Aristotle’s Categories and The Order of Wonderland

ERIC GERLACH

Many have hunted for hidden meanings in Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, *Through the Looking-Glass*, and *The Hunting of the Snark*, though Carroll refused to say much about what they mean and suggested that we can find our own meanings in them.

I believe Carroll wrote these three texts as stories children would enjoy and remember—but they can also illustrate forms of logic. Carroll published *The Game of Logic* and *Symbolic Logic*, after the *Alice* books appeared, to further teach logical forms, while mocking our all-too-human ways. I now use *Wonderland* to teach the order of Aristotle’s *Categories*, which are central to understanding the history of philosophy. My students say it works as a mnemonic device. I’ll show how the *Categories* fit *Wonderland*, chapter by chapter, and close with parallels to *Looking Glass* and *Snark*.

In his *Categories*, Aristotle lists ten types of truth that can be stated in words about particular things:

- Substance**, the material being of this or that thing.
- Quantity**, the number or amount of a thing.
- Quality**, an aspect of a thing such as “good” or “green.”
- Relations**, the interaction of a thing with others.
- Space**, the place a thing is in, and takes up.
- Time**, the duration of a thing and the things it involves.
- Position**, the situation of a thing with other things.
- State**, the current status of a thing in terms of itself.
- Action**, what a thing does to itself or other things.
- Passion**, what moves a living thing to this or that action.

Aristotle begins with the highest of the ten, *substance*—truth and being itself—and proceeds, only somewhat systematically in his own stated order, to illustrate many but not all of the ten. He leaves the last few (including lowly *passion*) largely unillustrated, saying that we can easily find examples of these for

ourselves in life. If we examine Aristotle’s list of ten categories *in reverse order*, going from lowest to highest (like a text read backwards in a looking-glass), we have: *passion*, *action*, *state*, *position*, *time*, *space*, *relations*, *quality*, *quantity*, and *substance*. This inverted list fits the order of events and characters Alice encounters in both of her adventures, chapter by chapter. First I’ll list the correspondence of the characters to the categories, then follow with further explanation.

In *Wonderland*, fitted to Aristotle’s categories in order from least to most important (see the accompanying chart), the White Rabbit is *passion*, the Mouse is *action*, the Dodo is *state*, the Rabbit’s House is *position*, the Caterpillar is *time* (you may recall that the Mad Hatter says time isn’t an *it*, but a *him*, as in *someone*), the Cheshire Cat is *space*, the Duchess is *relations*, the Mad Tea Party is *quality*, the Queen’s garden is *quantity*, and the King’s Trial is *substance*. *Space* shares space and a chapter with *relations* in the middle: the Cheshire Cat in the House of the Duchess. The last few chapters are about *substance*, or lack thereof, from the Mock Turtle to the Trial of Tarts.

As *Wonderland* opens, Alice is full of *passion*, but frustrated in many ways. She is bored and wants to join in some activity with her sister, but is not interested in a book without pictures or conversations. She considers weaving a daisy-chain as the White Rabbit runs by, worried and late. Passion bonds us. Aristotle said we share passion with beasts, but *we* use language and logic. This is why Alice is amazed by the Rabbit. She follows, burning with curiosity, without a thought of how to get back. The hole dips and she falls in without time to think. It is too dark to see. She falls past diagrams, maps, and empty containers—forms sadly empty of substance, such as a jar without marmalade. While falling, she worries about killing someone below, about what antipodal “others” will think, and if her cat will miss her. She follows the Rabbit into a frustrating hall of locked doors, and can’t solve the problem of the golden key. She cries, then commands herself to stop crying *this minute*, with no patience for herself and too passionate to follow her own advice.

Alice struggles with *action* in many ways as she meets the Mouse. She considers the useless *action* of sending Christmas presents to her feet. She can’t re-

CHAPTER	WONDERLAND	LOOKING-GLASS
1: Passion – Motive	White Rabbit & Golden Key	Black Kitten & Looking-Glass
2: Action – Activity	Mouse & Pool of Tears	Flowers & Red Queen
3: State – Status	Dodo & Caucus Race	Train, Gnat, & Fawn
4: Position – Situation	White Rabbit’s House & Puppy	Crow, Tweedledum & -Dee
5: Time/Space – Duration	Caterpillar (Time)	White Queen (Time) & Sheep (Space)
6: Relations – Interaction	Duchess (Relations) & Cheshire Cat (Space)	Humpty Dumpty (Relations)
7: Quality – Aspect	March Hare & Mad Hatter	Haigha, Hatta, Lion, & Unicorn
8: Quantity – Amount	Queen of Hearts & Croquet	Red & White Knights
9: Substance – Material	Kind Duchess, Gryphon, & Mock Turtle	Red & White Queens & Banquet
10: Substance	Lobster Quadrille	Red Queen
11: Substance	King of Hearts & Trial	Black Kitten
12: End	Alice & Ending	Alice & Ending

member who she is, so she tries to act as others can’t, but when she tries to recite, a piece about a busy bee gathering nectar warps into a poem about a crocodile welcoming fish swimming into its jaws. Alice says she won’t return if others want her back, but then cries and wishes they would come find her. She falls into her tears, sees a mouse swimming, and speaks to him of cats and dogs, expressing her passion but not thinking of his. So he reacts and swims away. She calls out again with concern, and this time he reacts by turning and swimming back to her. They agree to swim to shore together, joined by many others who follow their action, swimming in their wake.

Reaching a steady *state* on the shore, the *party assembles* on the bank, and Alice feels she has known them all her life. The Mouse tells a dry tale about Wil-

liam the Conqueror, state patriarch. Alice isn’t dried by the stately story, and the Dodo solemnly moves to adjourn the meeting and adopt another motion. They run the Caucus-Race in a circle without explaining what they are doing, and the Dodo says the shape doesn’t matter. They ask him who has won and sit in suspense, so *he* has clearly won them over as their leader. He decrees *everyone* has won, and all get prizes from Alice’s pocket. The Dodo symbolically (and *thimbolically*) gives her a thimble, a formality that has no effect, like giving gifts to one’s feet. Adding death to taxes, the Mouse recites a poem about a dog who is judge, jury, and executioner (all the positions of state justice) to explain why he fears larger creatures. Alice frightens the animals off, but some make polite excuses.

The Rabbit returns, still worried about superiors of *position*, and mistakes Alice for his subordinate servant Mary Ann, ordering her into his house to fetch his things. She accepts the order and fills his entire house, occupying the entire position available. Aristotle’s examples of position include sitting and lying down, and Alice does both uncomfortably. She considers how much her position has changed, and thinks her story should be put in a book—the position she is in for *us*. She wonders if she will ever be in the position of old woman, and hates the thought of remaining in the position of a child with lessons forever. The Rabbit calls for Bill the Lizard, his lowly servant who is digging for apples, trying to find something of value in too low a place—just as his master does with him, as Bill fails to eject Alice after they position him on top of the house with ladders lashed together. Alice says she wouldn’t want to be in Bill’s position, shrinks, and runs into the woods, where she finds herself in the opposite position, scared of a monstrous, happy puppy. She looks above the mushroom and sees the Caterpillar.

The Caterpillar and Alice look at each other *for some time* in silence. He asks her who she is. Alice says she knew this morning but has changed so much since then that she doesn’t know. The Caterpillar isn’t confused by change, and asks again who she is. This brings them back to where they started, like the hoo-kah and smoke circling over his head. Alice says he ought to say who he is *first*. He asks her why. She turns to leave; he asks her to return and *keep her temper*. She swallows her anger and waits *several minutes* for him to speak. He asks her to speak instead and recite *Old Father William*, a poem about an elder who looks to the future and gives wisdom to a youth. But Alice’s Father William is a fat fool who stands on his head, argues with his wife, balances eels on his nose, and tries to sell the youth medicinal oils. The Caterpillar tells her it is wrong *from beginning to end*, its entire duration. Alice waits patiently for him to say something as he leaves. He rewards her with the mushroom that solves her problems of size. Patience is a virtue that pays off with perspective, and later a golden key. Alice then meets an impatient pigeon who attacks her, defends its young, and has no time to hatch eggs, watch for serpents, and get sleep, since the highest tree in the woods is not safe. Alice feels for her, says she is young too, but eats eggs. The Pigeon makes the hasty judgment that little girls are like serpents, and has no time to further relate to or feel for little girls.

Alice watches *space* get intertwined in *relation* as the Queen’s Fish-Footman from the larger sea tangles wigs with the Duchess’s Frog-Footman of the smaller pond. The Frog tells Alice her knocking is useless, not mentioning the door is unlocked. In the house are the Cheshire Cat, who speaks of this way or that way

in *space*, and the Duchess, who is abusive and neglectful—in charge, but terrible at *relations*. The Cat and Duchess share the same chapter without speaking to each other, and the Cat is the only one in the Duchess’s house who smiles. The sharp-chinned Duchess is divisive, like the Pigeon with serpents, but worse. She thinks her baby sneezes to displease her, and she pays no attention to the Cook, who fills her house with pepper and throws everything but the sink. The Duchess fears the Queen, but boxes her ears and gets arrested. Concerning *relations*, Aristotle says beauty might not be completely relative, because something could exist such that nothing is uglier. Unfortunately, the illustration of the Duchess is just such a portrait. When Alice takes the baby outside, it turns into an ugly pig and Alice relates to it differently and abandons it in the woods.

The Cheshire Cat appears in a tree, enticing and intimidating, the side Alice loves and the side the Mouse fears—like a baby or a pig, a pet or a predator, and we sit and see on one branch or the other. The Cat cares as little about where Alice goes in space as the Caterpillar does about how much she changes in time. Both have lessons for Alice: *patience* and *perspective*. At Oxford, Carroll missed his family in Cheshire, so some part of his mind was there while the rest of him was elsewhere. The Cat translocates without moving, and partially appears, just as we see only part of space at any time. In the illustration of the Cat’s grinning head above the argument in the croquet-ground, he is both figure and ground, the overall understanding *and* particular positions. He vanishes but returns twice, first to ask what happened to the baby, then to ask if Alice said *pig* or *fig*. This shows he is forgetful: a master of space but not of time.

Aristotle’s first examples of poor *quality* are rudeness and madness, both on full display at the Mad Tea Party. The Hare and Hatter lean on the Dormouse as he sleeps, and tell Alice there is no room for her at their table. The Hare uncivilly offers her nonexistent wine, and the Hatter suggests a haircut, which Alice says is too personal. He then asks her a riddle with no answer, and the party baselessly claim Alice doesn’t say what she means, with each substitution further from what she meant. This shows that the Hare and Hatter are bad with particulars and universals. The Hare used the best butter, but the Hatter’s watch is still broken, as the best isn’t best if misused, and time stands still for them. So neither improves. The Hatter says *perhaps* Alice hasn’t spoken to time, but she has spoken to the Caterpillar.

The Hatter and the Hare ignore the fate they’ve laid for themselves, and would rather listen to the Dormouse’s story about sisters who are



sick and stuck in a well. Alice leaves what she says is the *stupidest, worst* tea party ever.

Alice solves the hall of locked doors with the golden key and sees *quantities* painting white roses red, the two, five, and seven of spades. The two gets between the five and seven in an argument, and they fall on their faces as the ten of clubs, ten of diamonds, and ten of hearts walk by in pairs, followed by the royalty. Neither the Queen nor Knave knows who Alice is, because she doesn't have a number or class. The Knave smiles silently so he won't lose his head, and the Queen *casually tosses* her head, much as she would his. Alice reassures herself they're all merely symbolic. The Queen calls for Alice's head. Alice contradicts her and nothing happens. To the Queen, her cards are completely dispensable, forms without individuality, so she is giddy when they bow up and down—as Alice was with the Cheshire Cat—their numbers and classes appearing and disappearing. Alice puts the cards in a flower pot, and their executioners act as

if they've simply vanished. (Carroll and other logicians of his day were seeking rules and foundations for mathematics and logic. A lawless croquet game, where the equipment doesn't behave and there are no orderly turns, is also like politics and British history.) Alice thinks of escaping. The Cheshire Cat appears and asks her how she is *getting on*. While Alice waits for his ears to appear, the others argue over whether they can behead him before they can resume the game, seeking to remove place from ideal procedure.

At this point there should be *substance*, but instead Alice and the Duchess trade false morals. We learn there are no actual executions and meet two liars who *lack substance* entirely: the Gryphon, a myth we are told we have likely not seen, and the Mock Turtle, who is neither tortoise of the land nor turtle of the sea. The Gryphon tells Alice that the fake Turtle's tears are all an act, but then joins in his story and both pretend to sob. The Mock Turtle speaks in a deep, *hollow* tone. When Alice notes that a tortoise

couldn't teach in the sea, the Gryphon shames her. The Mock Turtle says they studied ambition, distraction, uglification, and derision, and the pair use all four on Alice. The Gryphon claims he's studied, but speaks with a lower-class accent and covers for the Mock Turtle when Alice questions how much lessons can lessen. The pair dance the Lobster-Quadrille, shout and scream with delight, then drop the passion suddenly, showing it's an act. Alice tells the two her dream so far. The dream is not true, but she thinks it is. They interrupt at "Old Father William," as curious and backwards as could be to them, completely backwards from their seat in the tree, because they *say what they don't mean* while Alice *didn't say what she meant to say*. Alice tries to recite another poem. She speaks of a lobster who talks bravely when the tide is low, but changes his tune when the tide is high, and of a Panther who feeds on substance, while an Owl gets the empty dish. The Mock Turtle sings of beautiful soup we should buy, with no description of what substance goes into it—false advertising.

The Gryphon takes Alice to the King of Hearts' court to see the trial over who stole the sweet *substance* of tarts. Carroll holds the interests of children with sweet treats, such as marmalade, jam, tarts, plum-pudding, and bridecake. The King, like substance itself, includes everything that exists, including all useful and useless evidence and testimony, all good and bad things and people. The King and Queen sit over all animals and cards, actual individuals and symbolic classes. The Rabbit has a trumpet in one hand and a parchment in the other for gathering and dividing, and the large dish of tarts sits in the very middle of the court. Alice identifies the king by his wig, which he wears under his crown, one substance sitting uncomfortably on another. The Hatter, the first witness, carries a teacup and buttered bread, and the doubly-covered King asks the Hatter to remove his hat. Alice grows into a giant as the Hatter insists he is a *poor man* three times and argues with the Hare in court. The Cook, the second witness, carries her pepper-box, and the all-inclusive King gives himself a headache trying to cross-examine her. Alice says they haven't had any solid, substantive evidence or testimony yet, and is called to the stand, the largest substance in the room.

Announcing she is here and present, Alice knocks over the animals of the jury, but feels for them and patiently helps, even though many are quite backwards and will stay that way. She says she knows nothing about these formalities. The King says this is *very* important, and Alice contradicts him, saying what she knows doesn't *matter*. The King orders Alice out of his court, much as Aristotle says substance can't sustain contradiction. The Rabbit interrupts with evidence: a letter with no markings on the outside that holds

a poem empty of direct references—form empty of content. Alice bets money the poem is meaningless, but the King fits individuals from his court trial into it. Alice assures herself they are cardboard, not real. The Queen wants the sentence before the verdict, i.e., to know the quantity or form of punishment before we know if it applies to the actual case. Alice contradicts her, says they're all a pack of cards, and ends the trial and her dream. She finds herself in the lap of her sister, who listens to her and kisses her forehead. Alice shares her dream, and her sister dreams that Alice passes the dream from living child to child.

Carroll followed *Wonderland* with the sequel *Through the Looking-Glass*. The two texts clearly mirror each other in many ways. I believe that *Looking-Glass* fits Aristotle's list of categories as well. In both books the first chapters are about *passion* without the satisfaction of *action*; the second chapters are about *action* without a state of destination; the third about *state* with confused positions; and the fourth about *positions* that lack relations with perspective. The fifth and sixth chapters are about *time*, *space*, and *relations* interwoven, *space* being mixed with *relations* in *Wonderland* (the Cheshire Cat in the house of the Duchess), and with *time* in *Looking-Glass* (the White Queen turning into the Sheep). The seventh chapters are about quality of *relations*, and the eighth about *quantity* and *relations*, with the executive fury of the Queen of Hearts mirrored by the gentle inventiveness of the White Knight. The remaining chapters are about *substance*, or lack thereof. If so, the Black Kitten is *passion*, the Red Queen is *action*, the Train is *state*, and Tweedledum and Tweedledee are *position*. The White Queen is *time*, sharing space with the Sheep, who is *space*; Humpty Dumpty is *relations*, the Lion and Unicorn are *quality*, the White Knight is *quantity*, and the Queens' banquet is *substance*.

In *Looking-Glass*, the Black Kitten attacks the yarn with *passion*, Alice threatens and kisses her, and threatens her nurse like a hyena. The White Queen rushes to her screaming baby, Alice moves the pen of the King, and we hear of the dreaded Jabberwock. *Action* is much like a corkscrew, circling while pushing forward. The corkscrew path keeps turning Alice back, but she pushes on toward the flowers, who can't move or act as Alice can, and so criticize her for being different. They say the tree can bark, but it can't act to protect them from danger. The Red Queen criticizes everything Alice does, and Alice sees they are all playing chess. They run as fast as they can to stay in place, with biscuits that make matters worse. The *state* is reflected by the train, which moves in a line rather than a circle like the Caucus-Race. The passengers talk together in slogans, like the public mind. An insect who tells jokes that Alice ignores shows her the rich Dragonfly, who is made of plum-pudding and brandy,

Aristotle Contemplating a Bust of Homer



Painting: Rembrandt van Rijn, 1653; Bust: Richard Becker, 2012; Concept: Mark Burstein; Digital collage: Adriana Peliano

and the poor Bread-and-Butterfly, who always fails to find enough to eat, and dies. When Alice meets the Tweedle twins, they offer her opposed *positions* in logic, contrariwise, and tell her their longest story to keep her out in the woods, the story of the Walrus and Carpenter, who mislead and eat the young oysters.

The White Queen remembers whatever happens both ways in *time*. She acts like a child and says her shawl is out of *temper*, and doesn't see a problem with jam days other than today. The Latin pun on *iam* is about *now* in the future and past tenses. She tells Alice to consider how she's grown over her life, how far she's come this day, and what time it is right now, to distract herself, since nobody can do two things *at the same time*. She runs ahead of Alice into the next *space*. As Alice joins her, the White Queen turns into the Sheep, knitting something out of herself, and tells Alice she can look this way or that but can't look all around herself at once. In the Sheep's shop things flow about so, such that when Alice tries to grasp a bright thing that looks sometimes *like a doll* and sometimes *like a work-box*—a toy with serious compartments—it keeps sliding away. The shop turns into a river and back into a shop, with the space changing locations. The White Queen says she can't put things in people's hands herself, as place doesn't *place* things itself in our hands for us.

Humpty Dumpty, like the Duchess, is terrible at *relations*. He is so ignorant of others that he is unaware he's an egg. He perches dangerously, expecting all the King's men to save him if he falls. He treats conversation like a competitive game, and thinks words mean only what he says they mean. He orders fish to do as he wishes, but won't listen to them and moves to kill them with a corkscrew in hand, leaving things hanging, like him, without further development. When he falls, the White King sends his horses and men, an act of noble and caring *quality*. He praises Alice's eyes when she sees nobody on the road. Unlike at the Tea Party, his messengers Haigha and Hatta overextend themselves for others and overact with Anglo-Saxon attitudes. Hatta overeats, and the Lion and Unicorn over-fight, knocking each other down 87 times each. They see the White Queen running by. The King says you can't stop her, like time. The Unicorn and Alice agree to believe in each other, and they all share plum-pudding.



The White Knight produces an endless *quantity* of useless ideas. He wears an upside-down box on his back such that everything falls out, like a jar without marmalade, or an ideal category or quantity. He has a hive with no bees and a mouse trap but no problems with mice, and he constantly falls off his horse. His cleverest idea is a pudding that has never been cooked, so the proof isn't in the pudding. The Queens introduce Alice to pudding at the banquet, and test her about sums that begin with strange quantities but progress into *substance*, such as dividing bread with a knife and taking a bone from a dog. The banquet and dream end with the guests and food trading places, and Alice shakes the dream Queen into a real Kitten.

If Aristotle's categories fit the plotting of Alice's adventures, it is not impossible that the *Snark* works like a logic puzzle, and each of the ten characters whose job titles start with B could stand for a type of being. In his *Game of Logic*, Carroll listed *buns*, *babies*, *beetles*, and *battledores* (an early badminton racket) as examples of things. The Bellman looks like Father Time, and carries a school bell for lessons. In Carroll's introduction he says his work shows he is incapable of nonsense, and this brief *but instructive* poem *includes precise arithmetic truth and natural history*, both of which apply to Aristotle's categories. The best candidates for these categories are: the Bellman is *time*; the Boots is *place*; the Maker of Bonnets and Hoods is *position*, birth and death; the Barrister who dreams of the pig's trial is *relations*; the Broker who values the goods is *quality*; the Billiard-Marker who chalks his own nose is *action*; the Banker is *state*; the Beaver who knits lace is *passion*; the Butcher who carves things up, dresses formally for the fight, and teaches the Beaver addition is *quantity*; and the Baker who leaves everything on the beach, wears many layers, bakes bride-cake, doesn't lie, forgets his specific name, and fades away, vanishing without a trace in the end, is *substance*.

Thanks to Martin Gardner and W. W. Bartley III; Edward Guiliano, Mark Burstein, and Christopher Morgan; and to my students for their continuous patience and perspective.

For more about how forms of logic fit the work of Lewis Carroll, please visit: <https://ericgerlach.com>.

Rereading Alice

CHRIS MORGAN

"Whatever the process is of renewing one's experience of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, Through the Looking-Glass, and The Hunting of the Snark, the sensation is neither that of rereading nor of reading as though for the first time. Lewis Carroll is Shakespearean to the degree that his writing has become a kind of Scripture for us."

—Harold Bloom¹

I first read *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* when I was eleven. It took a whole day, and I emerged from its strange, appealing foreign country feeling both satisfied and perplexed: so many new ideas, strange poems, odd creatures, and dark, unsettling images. I missed many of the subtle references, but no matter. Later, after reading Martin Gardner's indispensable *The Annotated Alice*, I immediately reread the *Alice* books, and that has become a lifelong habit for me.

Why do people reread books? For pleasure and comfort, many say—for that special nostalgic fix one gets from revisiting a known quantity. This is particularly true of titles read when young, now etched into our memories. Writer David Colard says simply: "Re-reading as a refuge? Why not?"²

Things are never quite that simple, though. Books don't change over time, but we do—as does our understanding of them. Collard notes that "Our first reading of any book connects us to the author and to other readers past and present; but subsequent readings connect us not only to them but to our younger selves." Another reason for rereading, nearly too obvious to mention, is that we often forget much of what we've read as children, even if we think otherwise. In that regard, Anatole Broyard says:

Rereading a book is not a question of paying homage to the book, but of doing it justice.

... Talk to someone who's read a book once and see how well he remembers it. Of course responses will vary, but you'll find in many cases that only the main outlines survive. Beautiful sentences, heartbreaking scenes, gestures that sum up the history of our struggle to tame our instincts and civilize ourselves—are either missed or forgotten. Not necessarily because people are careless readers, but because a good or great book is a very subtle, intricate and demanding experience.³



Cynthia Ozick has an intriguing theory: "You read the first time for rediscovery: an encounter with the confirming emotions. But you reread for discovery: You go to the known to figure out the workings of the unknown, the why of the familiar how."⁴ That may explain why I regularly reread S. J. Perelman's *The Most of S. J. Perelman*, trying to discover how (and why) his perfect prose, through some alchemy, makes me laugh every time. No luck so far, but the laughter helps. Rereading as a refuge, indeed.

After a lifetime of teaching literature, Patricia Meyer Spacks spent a year rereading dozens of novels: childhood favorites, fiction

she read as a child but never reread, great books she was supposed to have read frequently, but didn't, and so on. She chronicles the journey in her book *On Rereading*. With frequent rereading, she says, a work comes to inhabit the deep recesses of the brain, letting us yield ourselves to the text in a way impossible on the first reading:

The rereader customarily feels less pressure. She can allow herself a state of suspended attention comparable to Keats's "negative capability," a condition of receptivity devoid, as the poet says, of irritable reaching after fact and reason—of irritable reaching after any-

thing at all. . . . I reread *Alice in Wonderland*, having read it often before (although not for a long time), and recapture the delight of my original readings, with the kind of freshness I associate primarily with reading something for the first time. But that delight has an overlay—an enrichment, in fact—of new insight. Thinking now of Alice’s inwardness and its effect on the narrative I understand part of the reason the book gives me such pleasure.⁵

Strong books are endlessly rereadable: One time through is never enough. They reveal their secrets gradually. Emily Dickinson’s test of poetry is that it makes your hair stand on end. One’s hair can stand on end repeatedly with the best poetry and prose. Denis Donoghue says, “Do I confess to decadence by saying that when I keep going back to a book, the lure is its style? . . . I have no distaste for periwigs and other flourishes, even for flourishes of dismalness and gone enchantments: Beckett, Nabokov, Proust, Pater.”⁶

The late Harold Bloom (who endlessly reread Shakespeare) says, “Emerson remarked that what we recognize in any work of genius are our own rejected thoughts, returning to us with a certain alienated majesty. That seems the pragmatic meaning of the transference of power that rereading strong books can bring.” And the *Alice* books are strong, indeed: a perfect blending of logic and nonsense with an unflappable (well, mostly unflappable) heroine who takes all the madness Wonderland can produce. Add the sheer power of Carroll’s writing and you have books that say something new each time. Carroll is so original, says Bloom, that “He transmutes every possible source into an alchemical gold instantly recognizable as unique to him.”⁷

The *Alice* books are richly epigrammatic, rewarding rereaders with many bon mots sometimes missed on first reading. Indeed, Carroll is one of the most frequently quoted writers in English literature. Googling “Down the rabbit hole,” for example, yields 14,000,000 hits. Our Serendipity column has run for twenty-five years in the *Knight Letter*, citing references to the *Alice* books in fiction and nonfiction—and there are no signs of running out of material. Once beyond the usual quotation suspects (“Off with his head!” “We’re all mad here,” etc.) the intrepid reader will find much else to delight:

“I can repeat poetry as well as other folk if it comes to that—” “Oh, it needn’t come to that!” Alice hastily said.

“Contrariwise,” continued Tweedledee, “if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be: but as it isn’t, it ain’t. That’s logic.”

“It’s as large as life and twice as natural!”

“With a name like yours, you might be any shape, almost.”

The *Alice* books have a certain intimacy, as if Carroll were writing directly to you. And like the best letters, they’re endlessly rereadable. He perfected that ability writing over 60,000 letters, and they reveal a true master of the form. There’s never a wasted word. Ann Bernays notes: “As a nitpicky writing teacher, I looked for wasted words [in *Wonderland*], but I couldn’t find any, not even in the internal dialogues that Alice conducts with herself.”⁸

Wonderland and *Looking-Glass* are less plot-driven than many great classics. One could argue that *Looking-Glass* has the more structured plot, since it’s based on moves in a chess game. But though the traditional rules are obeyed, the sequence of turns is not. In some ways the *Alice* books are more like a series of connected episodes with their own mini story arcs. Carroll somehow manages to blend them into grand journeys that forever change Alice. And we change, too, with each revisit.

The marvelous Alberto Manguel gets the last word:

The intimate sense of kinship established so many years ago with my first *Alice* hasn’t weakened; every time I reread her, the bonds strengthen in very private and unexpected ways. I know bits of her by heart. My children (my eldest daughter is, of course, called Alice) tell me to shut up when I burst, yet again, into the mournful strains of “The Walrus and the Carpenter.” And for almost every new experience, I find a premonitory or nostalgic echo in her pages, telling me once again, “This is what lies ahead of you” or “You have been here before.”⁹

Endnotes

- ¹ Bloom, Harold, *Lewis Carroll: Modern Critical Reviews*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987. p.1.
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- ³ Broyard, Anatole, “About Books, Rereading, and Other Excesses,” *The New York Times*, www.nytimes.com/1985/03/03/books/about-books-rereading-and-other-excesses.html.
- ⁴ “The Pleasures of Rereading,” *The New York Times*, June 12, 1983.
- ⁵ Sparks, Patricia Meyer, *On Rereading*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 2014. p. 46.
- ⁶ “The Pleasures of Rereading.”
- ⁷ Bloom, Harold, *Genius: A Mosaic of One Hundred Exemplary Creative Minds*. New York: Warner Books, 2002. p. 742.
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Pro Balbo, or a Further Plea for an Annotated *A Tangled Tale*

AUGUST A. IMHOLTZ, JR.

Mark Richards is quite correct (*KL* 103:42) in pointing out that *A Tangled Tale* is both a quintessentially Carrollian work and one that has been unduly neglected, not only in the cascade of annotated texts published over the past seven decades but also in much of the secondary critical literature on Carroll as well. In order to take a very small step to redress that situation, let’s begin with a few observations on Balbus (the “nickname, given to their tutor by the two boys, Hugh and Lambert” in *A Tangled Tale*). First we shall consider some historical persons of that name; second, the etymology and meaning of the word; third, the use of the name in classical pedagogy in late nineteenth-century England, and finally, an intriguing occurrence of a “Balbus” in an early sixteenth-century historical chronicle.

BALBUS

Richards notes that “the character [Balbus] is almost certainly named after Lucius Cornelius Balbus, a Spanish-born Roman soldier and politician.” There were, however, two high-ranking and very influential Romans by that name in the first century BCE. Lucius Cornelius Balbus (the Older), born in Spain, was granted Roman citizenship by Pompey for his service against the rebel Sertorius in Spain. He befriended Julius Caesar as well as Pompey, and was instrumental in creating the first Triumvirate (Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus). Cicero defended him in his speech *Pro Balbo* against the charge of having illegally accepted Roman citizenship without obtaining the consent of his native city.

His nephew, Lucius Cornelius Balbus (the Younger), served under Julius Caesar in the Roman Civil War (49–45 BCE), led successful military campaigns for Caesar and his successor, and built a grand theater in the Campus Martius in Rome.

ETYMOLOGY & MEANING

The adjective *balbus*, -a, -um is the Latin word for “stammering.” It was derived from the Greek βαμβαίνω meaning “to stammer” and is related to Bulgarian *blabo*’л’е, *bolból’е*, “chatter”; Lithuanian *balbāsyti*, “prattle”; Serbo-Croatian *blābositi*, “stammer”;

Russian *bolobólit’*, “chatter, twaddle”; Czech *beblati*, “stammer”; Latin *babulus*, “babblers”; New High German *babbeln*, “prattle”; English “babble”; Norwegian *bable*, “rant”; Swedish *babbla*, “babble”; Old Icelandic *babba*, “to kid.”¹

It was not uncommon for the third name, the cognomen, of Romans often to be a rather unflattering reference to a physical characteristic or practice. For example, Calvus means “bald,” Brutus means “stupid,” Cicero means “chickpea,” Caligula means “little boots” from his practice of wearing his father’s boots, and so on.

LATIN EXERCISE BOOK

“Balbus,” as Richards said, paraphrasing Carroll, “is a nickname, given to their tutor by the two boys, Hugh and Lambert, after the hero of their Latin exercise book.”

A very popular Latin textbook was *Gradatim, An Easy Latin Translation Book for Beginners* by H. R. Heatley and H. N. Kingdon (Rivingtons, 1880). Lesson #21 in the book explains the use of the relative pronoun *quis* and illustrates it with a mention of Balbus: *Video murum, quem Balbus aedificavit*. Translation: I see the wall, which Balbus built. Every schoolboy who studied Latin in the last decades of the nineteenth century would have been familiar with Balbus and his wall.

Carroll introduces Balbus in Knot 2, which was first published in April 1881 of *The Monthly Packet*, more than a year after the first edition of the *Gradatim*.

There is also the famous monologue by Marriott Edgar (1880–1951), which begins:

I’ll tell you the story of Balbus,
You know, him as builded a wall;
I’ll tell you the reason he built it,
And the place where it happened an’ all.

Although it attests to the familiarity of Balbus and his wall, unfortunately it was published long after *A Tangled Tale*.

Also probably of doubtful relevance to Carroll’s tale is the case of Balbus Blaesus. “A certain Balbus Blaesus stuttered so severely that the Romans exhibited him in a locked cage, and people would pass

coins to him in return for stuttering.” That would have been quite at odds with Carroll’s sensibilities.²

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE

Finally, and perhaps coincidentally intriguing, we find in the *New Cronycles of England & France* by Robert Fabyan (c.1470–1513) the following text:

Capitulum. C.lxxiiii.

Lowys the seconde of that name, and sone of Charlys the Bawled, beganne his reygne ouer the Frenshemen in the yere of our Lorde. viii. C. lxxviii. and the. vi. yere of Aluredus, than kynge of the more parte of Englande. This was named Lodowycus Balbus, whiche is to meane Lewys ye Stamerer, for somoche as he had an enpedyment in his tunge.

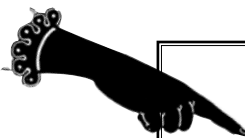


POP QUIZ

Off the top of your head, quick:

Whom did the Queen of Hearts order beheaded?

Answer on p. 48



Goodbye, PO Box . . . Hello, New York!!!

Please use our new address for all postal mail:

LEWIS CARROLL SOCIETY OF NORTH AMERICA

2578 BROADWAY #556

NEW YORK, NY 10025-8844



That is “Lewis the Stammerer,” and “Lodowycus” reminds one of Dodgson’s own Latinization, “Ludovicus.”

Scholars could profitably continue untangling both the literary allusions and the mathematic puzzles in Carroll’s *A Tangled Tale*, which Mark Richards has begun.

Endnotes

¹ Pokorny, Julius *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1959).

² Shell, Marc. *Stutter*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009) p. 21. This reference is very suspicious. Prof. Shell did not respond to a query about the source of it. It seems perhaps to have been a kind of Roman “urban legend.”

**Banning Poor Alice, or,
Outlaw Fairy Tales in Finland**

MARKUS LÄNG

Alice’s *Adventures in Wonderland* has often appeared on lists of banned books. The first instance was allegedly in China, where the first translation was published in 1922. The book is said to have been banned in the 1930s there because talking animals belittle human beings. This canard was thoroughly debunked by Sen Wong (*KL* 89:16) and Mark Burstein and Zongxin Feng (*KL* 94:10).¹ Still, like a true urban legend, the story keeps popping up, even in Finnish newspapers.

However, an actual occasion of banning the distribution of an edition of *Alice* did occur in 1962 in Finland, and it was a totally different case, fully justified, as I’m sure you will agree.

BANNED

Sometime in 1961, a Finnish company called Kynäbaari Oy set about publishing a collection of books they labeled “Luxus” (luxury), meant for young readers. This book series included eight classic novels, printed in the Netherlands and illustrated in color: *Alice in Wonderland* (Liisa Ihmemaassa) by “L. Carroll,” *Little Women* by “Louise Alcott,” *Tom Sawyer* by Mark Twain, *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, and so on. All the novels were forced into a length of 112–114 pages, in rather a Procrustean way, and all include eight color illustrations, in some volumes credited to B. J. Brienen (1903–1972). They had all been translated from an identical series in the French language, although the novels were originally written in English or German.² Originally, that series of “adaptations,” apparently totaling up to twenty to thirty titles during the 1960s, was first published in Dutch by Mulder & Zoon

(as *Junior Star Pocket*, and in French translation as *Série Mulder Junior*), printed in the Netherlands, and widely distributed in France, Holland, Belgium, and Canada, as shown by the attorney Aleksander Kaspi at court.³ The article “Dutch Treats?” on p. 29 goes into detail on these Dutch editions.

Unfortunately, the quality of the Finnish language used in these books was clumsy and awful, to put it politely. The translations were very poor, inaccurate, and incompetent, and the contents of the books were abridged and changed. Not only was the name of the translator missing from the books, but it went unmentioned that the books were heavily shortened and modified. The buyers of these books could very well feel cheated because the books *appeared* to be complete and accurate renderings of the original classics. *Caveat emptor!*

From a legal point of view, this could be interpreted as a consumer protection issue. However, according to the laws of Finland, this is first and foremost a copyright issue—specifically in cases where the author has passed, even if the copyright has already ceased and the novels in question have entered the public domain. The Finnish Copyright Act has a section that may be called the Classics Protection Paragraph (53 §), and this law became effective September 1, 1961.

In the Nordic countries it was customary to draft important legislation jointly, and that applied also to the copyright acts of these countries in the 1930s–1950s. So there is a similar paragraph, for instance, in the Copyright Act of Sweden (51 §), with the Academy of Sweden as the empowered authority for literary matters.

According to the paragraph in question, the Finnish Ministry of Education has the authority



to ban the import and distribution of works of literature and art when the output publicly offends “educational interests” (or violates “the interests of the cultivation of the mind,”⁴ if we translate it from the imposing Swedish-language text of the Finnish act, which here happens to coincide with the Swedish act: *kränker den andliga odlingens intressen*), provided that the author is dead, that is, cannot defend his or her rights. A seizure is not possible, however.

The poor literary quality of the “Luxus” books became apparent in Finland when Timo Tiusanen, a scholar of literature, reviewed the book series in the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* on March 18, 1962. He concentrated on the poor quality of *Tom Sawyer*. “No, this [edition] is an assassination on the book.” He also noted the inauthentic fairy tale added to the beginning of *Alice in Wonderland*. Tiusanen appealed to the general public so that nobody would order or buy these “fraudulent” books. On April 19, Tiusanen introduced the book series for discussion at a meeting of IBBY Finland,⁵ and the publication was strongly disapproved of.

Subsequently, in 1962–1963, the case was closely followed up by *Helsingin Sanomat*, where Tiusanen worked as a journalist. I presume that the unsigned news articles were also mostly written by him. However, he then left the newspaper, and no further articles about the case could be found.

In other papers, this case seems to be mentioned rarely. In the magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti*, July 14, 1962, Helle Kannila, a renowned librarian, disapproved of the ban, arguing that substandard books were unfortunately rather common and thus the ministry was tilting at windmills. Tiusanen published a long and critical rejoinder in *Helsingin Sanomat*, July 18.

Another actual and more widely discussed case of a banned book at the time concerned *The Tropic of Cancer* by Henry Miller. It was banned—only in Finnish translation, not in Swedish⁶—on the basis of obscenity, and that ground also enabled seizure. (The ban was also disapproved of by Tiusanen.)

The Ministry of Education took action on the “Luxus” books, asked for a pronouncement from the State Literary Board, and prohibited the import and distribution of those books on May 11, 1962.

THE FIRST APPEAL

The Kynäbaari company, however, did not accept this, and demanded at the Helsinki Town Court that the prohibition be repealed. This was successful. The Town Court did agree that the novels were adapted and that it would have been appropriate to mention in the books that the publications were abridged and altered, but they concluded that neglecting to do this did not offend educational interests in the sense and

extent alluded to in the Copyright Act. Therefore, on January 29, 1963, the ban was abated, and the state of Finland was to pay for the legal costs of Kynäbaari, 500 marks (about us\$780 in today’s money).

As both parties took the case to the Helsinki Court of Appeal, the verdict did not gain legal force. At the Court of Appeal, the books were examined in detail, and it was noted that the translated versions differed considerably from the original novels; for instance, *Tom Sawyer* contained only circa 85 pages of the original 255, and *The Last of the Mohicans* only contained 75 pages of 560. *Alice in Wonderland* retained some 5/6 of the original number of pages and none of the poems. Further, it had ten pages of text added in the beginning and two at the end that are not present in the original work—inauthentic expansions, very silly in fact. Also the contents and the style of several of the novels were changed so essentially that they could not be considered translations anymore, but rather altered and abridged summaries—essentially forgeries—that *somewhat* resembled the original novels. This is not surprising when you take an English book, adapt it into Dutch, translate it into French, and from there into Finnish: the inaccuracies just keep piling up.

THE ADD-ONS

Two very odd additions to this *Alice* were first concocted by a Dutch translator, Henri van Hoorn, a pseudonym of Hans Petrus van den Aardweg, in an unillustrated 1937 edition published by “Goede Lectuur” (Good Reader). They were perpetuated in the Dutch Mulder edition, and preserved in Mulder’s French and Kynäbaari’s Finnish ones. The eight color illustrations appear in all of them. The extra fables are moral, didactic, and bumptious, and do not resemble Lewis Carroll’s style or aesthetic, but rather wreck them. Here is a short summary of the expansions:

When Alice is sitting with her sister, the latter reads her a fairy tale called “A Peculiar Princess” from the book she is holding. (An illustration from this faux tale is used as the frontispiece of the Mulder editions.) In it, a king had a daughter who mocked and laughed at everybody; because of that, she was avoided, and no prince wanted to marry her. The king was worried because nobody was able to correct the bad behavior of the princess. Then a humble dwarf arrived at the court and promised the king to cure the princess.

The next day, the dwarf came to the royal garden and started to laugh at the princess before she could laugh at him. She was infuriated: a dwarf was laughing at her! She tried to find out what was so ridiculous about her, but in vain. The next night, she hardly could sleep.

On the following day, the dwarf laughed at her again. The princess started to weep and appealed to the dwarf: “Don’t you understand how awful it is when someone laughs at you?” The dwarf pointed out that this is exactly what the princess did. So she promised to mend her ways.

Then the dwarf was miraculously changed into a handsome prince. He had been bewitched, and to regain his form, he had to cure someone suffering from a serious character fault. So they married and lived happily ever after.

At this point, the White Rabbit appears.

At the end of the book, an epilogue or a coda is tagged on, in which all the characters from the story appear to Alice’s sister and talk to her. The “author” then explains, with examples, how other children visit their own Wonderlands. No “Man of the Department of Writers” section (see p. 30), however, is present in this edition.

FURTHER APPEALS

Because the books in question did not state that they were abridgments or adaptations and because the literary value of the publications was considerably lower than that of the original works, the Court of Appeal vacated the decree of the Town Court and ruled on October 14, 1964, that the importing and distribution of the books in question was to be prohibited, as originally ordered by the Ministry of Education. The state was not liable for the legal costs of Kynäbaari. The only exemption from the ban was *Robin Hood*, written by a “Tsylla Täti” (“Aunt Tsylla,” a Finnish version of van den Aardweg’s pen name, derived from the French “Tsylla Tante”),⁷ because it could not be shown that this anonymous author was dead.

After that, the Kynäbaari company appealed to the Supreme Court of Finland, and the case was accepted. The verdict of the Court of Appeal was upheld (4–1), and it was made public on February 6, 1967. Although several novels were involved, this particular

precedent, KKO 1967-II-10, is commonly known as “the *Alice in Wonderland* case” in Finnish coursebooks on intellectual property law.

TODAY

I might add, sadly, that this has been the only case in Finland in which the Classics Protection Paragraph has ever been put into effect, and it was almost sixty years ago.⁸ The paragraph still remains technically in force, but currently the Finnish Ministry of Education is not willing to enforce it because that might also deter entrepreneurs from publishing (the so-called “chilling effect”) and thus restrict their freedom of speech and protection of their property (monetary investments).

The Kynäbaari company still exists, nowadays amalgamated under the name Wulff Liikelaskenta Oy.

Due to its suppression, copies of the banned Finnish edition are nearly impossible to find. Three are known to exist: one at the National Library of Finland, one at the University of Turku Library, and one recently added to The Burstein Collection.

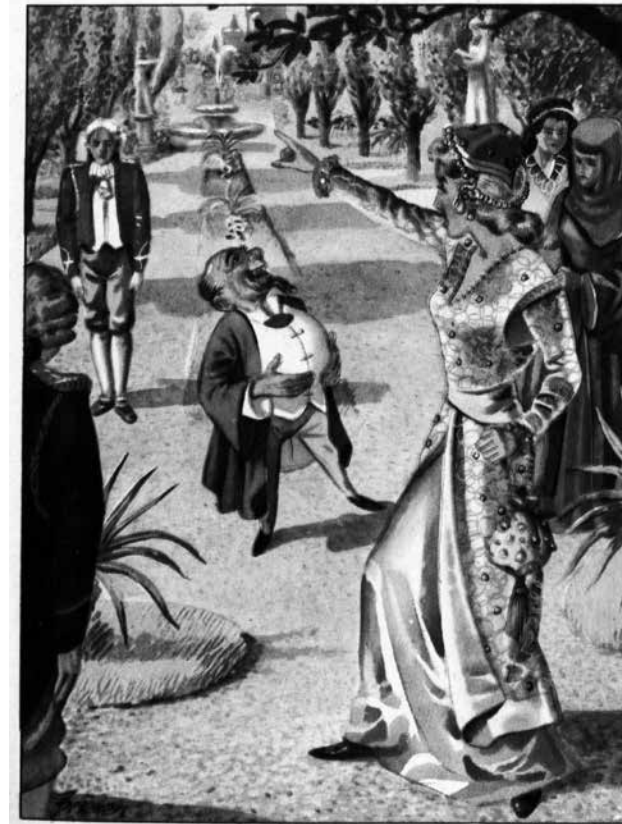
Contrariwise, the Dutch and French editions are inexpensive and relatively easy to obtain.

Dramatis Personae sub Specie Æternitatis

Armi Hosia (1909–1992), teacher, politician, Minister of Education 1962–1963, agreed to proceed to the Court of Appeal with the case.

Helle Kannila (1896–1972), prime developer of Finnish librarianship, introduced the Dewey Decimal Classification to Finland.

Aleksander Kaspi (1903–1982), attorney-at-law, represented Kynäbaari at court. According to him, the ban was an attack against freedom of speech, and literary persons should not decide such a case at all.



“A Peculiar Princess”

T. M. Kivimäki (1886–1968), lawyer, professor, Prime Minister of Finland 1932–1936, Kynäbaari’s expert witness in the case. According to him, fairy tale books scarcely represent the great achievements of world literature.

Yrjö Kivimies (1899–1980), writer, the State’s expert witness in the case. According to him, it is not merely the English who think that *Alice in Wonderland* belongs to world literature.

Ragnar Meinander (1918–1989), lawyer and department head at the Ministry of Education, active in realizing the ban, represented the State at court.

Timo Tiusanen (1936–1985), journalist, literature and theater scholar, and professor, wrote his PhD thesis on Eugene O’Neill in 1968.

[The picture of “A Peculiar Princess” goes proudly into my cache of the oddest Wonderland illustrations in my collection, which currently includes a trio of baby ducks, a “perfect” horse, a hatless Hatter, and a gecko on a unicycle. –Ed. (MB)]



Endnotes

- ¹ The esteemed Carrollian scholar Howard Chang holds a dissenting view and argues that the Chinese ban did, in fact, exist (KL 98:18).
- ² The *Heidi* books by Johanna Spyri.
- ³ *Alice in a World of Wonderlands* does not list the French one.
- ⁴ There is an unofficial English translation of the Finnish act published by the Finnish Ministry of Justice. In it, the section is called “Protection of Classics” and the offender “violates cultural interests.” In most cases concerning the legislation of Finland, Swedish-language texts are translations of the Finnish-language ones, but in this particular case, the clumsy Finnish wording (*menetellään julkisesti sivistyksellisiä etuja loukkaavalla tavalla*) is translated from Swedish.
- ⁵ International Board on Books for Young People. The Finnish branch had been founded in 1957.
- ⁶ Finland is a bilingual country—both Finnish and Swedish are official national languages—so the Miller ban and seizure gave Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns an indecently unequal treatment.
- ⁷ The French version *Robin des Bois* was authored by “Tsylla Tante,” and a French-language Mulder edition of *David Copperfield* was adapted by a “Laurent Tsylla.”
- ⁸ Some bans have been issued in Denmark and Norway, and one case is currently in process in Sweden—if the action is accepted by a court in that country.

Dutch Treats?

HENRI RUIZENAAR

Somewhere around 1937, a somewhat weird edition of *Alice in Wonderland* was published in Dutch (the title is identical in English). The city, Amsterdam, was given, but the publisher was not named; given the spelling throughout the book, it must certainly date from the years before the Second World War. The title page states that it was retold by Henri van Hoorn, and that it is from the A-series of “Goede Lectuur” (Good Reading). It contains no illustrations and has 113 pages. On the front cover (Figure 1) you can see a girl, a fairy or elf, and a castle in the background, probably drawn by the Spanish cartoonist Juan Pérez del Muro (1895–1949).

The editor/adaptor was, in fact, Henricus Petrus van den Aardweg (1899–1971), a Dutch journalist, poet, and prose writer. He initially worked in the publishing trade, later becoming a journalist and correspondent for various newspapers in Paris and Rome, and also an adviser to publishing companies, probably including Mulder & Zoon (Mulder and Son) of Amsterdam. Van den Aardweg wrote a lot of children’s literature, based often on historical figures and events. He used many pseudonyms, such as Annie Aalders, Henriëtte van Hoorn, Henri van Hoorn, Johanna van Munching, and Annie van Munching.

The most curious thing about this badly published book (shoddily bound, poorly printed, and dismally translated) is that van den Aardweg invented a nine-page fairy tale entitled “A Peculiar Princess,” which he inserted into the beginning of Alice’s story, as if it were from the book her sister was reading. He added another at the end of the book when her sister fell asleep and dreamed about Wonderland, in which she had conversations with some of the characters. (The stories are summarized in Markus Lång’s article, page 26.)

In 1952, under the pseudonym Henriëtte van Hoorn, he re-adapted *Alice in Wonderland* for Dutch youth. The fairy tale has been omitted, but a Chapter 14 of 22 pages was added with the title “Postscript,” in which Alice later tries to write down her adventures in Wonderland. In this chapter the editor tries in vain to mimic Carroll’s writing style (Figure 2). At least four different (unillustrated) editions exist that only differ in the title page, attributed to either “Publications A. van Gelder, Antwerp” or “Goede Lectuur, Amsterdam/Rotterdam.”

Around 1954, under the pseudonym Johanna van Munching (in Belgium) or Annie van Munching (Netherlands), van den Aardweg told/adapted *Alice*



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

in *Wonderland* again. Both the fairy tale and the adventures of Alice's sister return, but also at the end of the book is a new chapter, "Man van de schrijverij" (Man of the Department of Writers)," in which this man asks Alice's sister to write down the book *Alice in Wonderland* (Figure 3). There is one black-and-white illustration, and the publisher is listed as either "A. van Gelder, Antwerpen" or "Goede kinderlectuur, Amsterdam/Rotterdam."

In 1955, another unillustrated Dutch *Alice in Wonderland* appeared, published by Herman Troukens, Hofstade/Mechelen (Belgium), in which the fairy tale and the dream of Alice's sister are again included—and in the last two chapters a gnome, Weetal, and again the "man van de schrijverij" are added. No translator is mentioned, but we are definitively dealing with van den Aardweg again (Figure 4).

About 1960, two editions appeared under the pseudonym of Henriëtte van Hoorn, in which the faux fairy tale is only mentioned casually, but the adventures of Alice's sister are discussed again (Figure 5 & 6). Each book contains only one black-and-white picture, and was published by Jeugdland, Heemstede, Holland. The edition shown in Figure 6 contains only the first six (of twelve) chapters of the one shown in Figure 5.

Around the same time, three more editions appeared with the same textual content. The first was a hardcover in two variants (one with dustjacket, Figure 7 and 8, and one without, Figure 9), sporting eight color illustrations, published by Mulder & Zoon, Amsterdam. The second, a softcover (Figure 10) with

three different back covers but the same illustrations, was published by Van Holkema & Warendorf N.V., Amsterdam, and printed by Mulder & Zoon. The third edition was a softcover with one black-and-white illustration (Figure 11); although printed anonymously, according to The Royal Library in The Hague (Koninklijke Bibliotheek), the illustrator is B. J. Bienen (1903–1972). A color illustration of a princess and a midget is used as the frontispiece (see page 27), bewildering anyone who picks up this book for the first time wondering what it is doing in *Alice*.

In all of these three, the "The Peculiar Princess" fairy tale returns, as well as Alice's sister's extensive dream about Wonderland, and, as an encore, a visit from a certain Mr. Walls, who asks Alice to write down her adventures. This time the editor/adaptor is credited as Ankie van den Aardweg. But this is only mentioned in the softcover with the eight illustrations (Figure 10), which also states on the title page that the original writer was Louise Alcott (sic!).

In 1966, the last translation/adaption in this form appeared (Figure 12). The fairy tale is only named, Alice's sister experiences her Wonderland, and Mr. Walls morphs into a Mr. Moore. It was published by Jongland, Heemstede, Holland, with three black-and-white pictures.

It is clear that Henricus van den Aardweg was the villainous instigator of the translation/adaption of all of these pitiful *Alice in Wonderlands*, of which one (shown in Figure 10) was simultaneously translated into French and Finnish and afterwards banned in Finland.



Figure 7

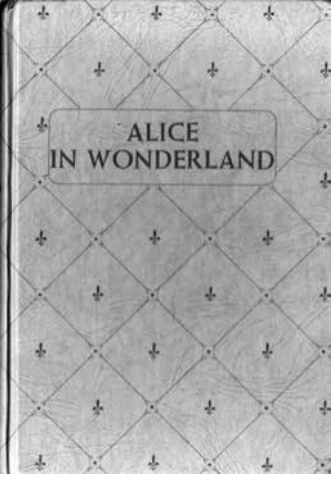


Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 4



Figure 5



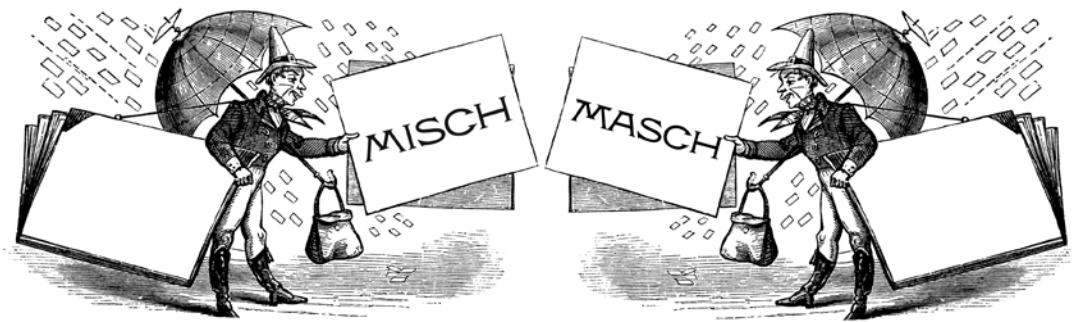
Figure 6



Figure 11



Figure 12



Leaves from The Deanery Garden



Like Mark Burstein (see “Arcane Illustrators: Jean-Michel Folon,” *KL* 103:35), I have long been a fan of Folon’s highly original illustrations. I wonder if any other illustrator has given Alice such an amazingly long, full head of hair. His Pool of Tears, Cheshire Cat, and Father William are strikingly executed, but I must admit I am not fond of his illustration of “Alice in the room”: her head and hair protrude horrifically (and together resemble an Idaho potato), while the rest of her has not grown at all and could surely wriggle out the door.

I can add a bit of information to Mark’s excellent article. In addition to the two Scott Foresman and Co. textbooks that Mark mentions, there is a third: the scarcer Macbeth edition of *England in Literature*, published in 1976, which like the 1973 *Three Centuries of English Literature*, contains the full text of *AAIW* and all six of Folon’s illustrations. One of these *AAIW* illustrations also appeared in Scott

Foresman’s 1975 Literary Catalogue (the illustration for May).

The Imholtz collection includes a small print (about 147 × 103 mm) of Folon’s Hatter (shown as just a huge hat, rather like Alice’s huge hair, atop small thin legs), hurrying away from the court. The print is mounted on a slightly larger card by a firm called Artext Prints in Greenwich, CT. In very small type, on the back of the print, is the following:

Folon / Le chapelier de Alice / Alice’s hatter / Der Hutmacher
Aquarelle pour Les aventures d’Alice au pays des merveilles / 1972 Aquarelle für Alice im Wunderland
NOUVELLES IMAGES éditeurs / CP 132 /
© Alice éditions
printed in France

Apparently this is the only Folon *AAIW* illustration included in the curiously named “Alice éditions.” Its 1972 date, along with the fact that no earlier printings are

known, suggests that it was around that time that his illustrations were done. The copyright belongs to Alice éditions, which has sold so many non-Alician Folon prints, but the fact that none of the other five Folon *AAIW* illustrations are known to have been published by Alice éditions lends support to Mark’s conjecture that they may have been a commission from Scott Foresman.

Clare Imholtz

We should not overlook the subtle foreshadowing in the early chapters of *TTLG*. The White Queen’s affinity for water, albeit demonstrated during her incarnation as a sheep, is a subtle but often overlooked parallel to the lengthy washing received by the white kitten. So is her final appearance in a soup tureen, while her royal cousin the Red Queen, who has returned to her very good height of three inches (a factor of forty-two), runs in circles, staying more

or less in one place with a great deal of activity—just as the black kitten played with Alice’s ball of yarn.

In a sense we are all crashing to death from the top story of our birth to the flat stones of the churchyard and wondering with an immortal Alice in Wonderland at the patterns of the passing wall. The capacity to wonder at trifles no matter the imminent peril, these asides of the spirit, these footnotes in the volume of life, are the highest forms of consciousness, and it is in this childish speculative state of mind, so distant from commonsense and its logic, that we know the world to be good.

Vladimir Nabokov, “The Creative Writer,” *NeMLA Bulletin* 4 no. 1, January 1942, often reprinted

The movie [*Kind Hearts and Coronets*] is famed for many reasons, eight of them being the characters played by Alec Guinness. Think of the Cheshire Cat leaving eight separate smiles in the air.

Anthony Lane, “Murder Most Fun,” *The New Yorker*, December 2, 2019

A baton and the score of Mahler’s *Fifth Symphony* were placed in [Leonard Bernstein’s] coffin alongside the body. In his pocket were a lucky penny and a piece of amber. The children added a copy of *Alice in Wonderland*.

Humphrey Burton, Leonard Bernstein, *Doubleday*, 1994. [“Bernstein” is the German word for “amber” if you were wondering about that.]

And note the differences in the chaotic ends of each of Alice’s journeys. In *AAIW*, the entire pack of cards, presumably led by the Queen of Hearts, unites to

attack her, despite the potential of myriad card games. In *TTLG*, the orderly world of chess, bound by one set of rules, dissolves completely, its Queens run mad.

Andrew Ogus



And then it was but a moment to the time when she should vocabulate *avatque vali* to Billy—a broth of a beamish boy. . . .

Gilbert Sorrentino, *Crystal Vision*, North Point Press, 1981 [*ave atque vale* = L. hail and farewell; the character speaking is known for his malapropisms]

Unfortunately, in the last two decades we’ve experienced an onslaught of such twisted logic that if Alice were visiting America, she might think she’d never left Wonderland.

Ronald Reagan, “Remarks at a Candle-Lighting Ceremony for Prayer in Schools,” *September 25, 1982*

The view that the fundamental principles of logic consist solely of the law of identity was held by Leibniz, Drobisch, Uberweg, and Tweedledee.

Philip Jourdain, *The Philosophy of Mr. B*tr*nd R*ss*ll*, Allen & Unwin, 1918

The mom read in a lively manner so I kept listening and realized that I had never read Lewis Carroll and thought I might like to. His quirky world was unexpected, mysterious, and more fun than the one I lived in where the Yanks were now a losing team and rats suddenly bored me.

Laurel Brett, *The Schrödinger Girl*, Kaylie Jones Books, 2020

“Excuse me,” a lady in an oddly childlike pale blue dress and white knee socks says and then Zachary realizes she’s talking to him. “Have you seen the cat around here by any chance?” she asks.

Zachary guesses her to be a brunette Alice of the Wonderland variety until she is joined by another lady in an identical ensemble and then it is obvious, if slightly disconcerting, that they are the twins from *The Shining*.

Erin Morgenstern, *The Starless Sea*, *Doubleday*, 2019

Children don’t read “genres”; they read stories. Below a certain age, they don’t distinguish between “true” and “not true,” because they see no reason that a white rabbit shouldn’t possess a pocket watch, that whales shouldn’t talk, or that sentient beings shouldn’t live on other planets and travel around in spaceships.

Margaret Atwood, “The Spider Woman,” *The New Yorker*, June 4 & 11, 2012

✱

The process of adapting a play into an opera is a little like forcing the original text to drink a concoction out of *Alice in Wonderland*: some aspects of it will shrink or evaporate, others are magnified to unrecognizable dimensions, and the whole thing falls through music's rabbit hole into a parallel world where very different laws apply.

Matthew Aucoin, "Making Shakespeare Sing," The New York Review of Books, December 19, 2019

✱

Thanks to her copies of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Peter Pan*, Red's nights were always a bit too vivid. Talia Hibbert, Get a Life, Chloe Brown, Avon, 2019

✱

Now I could see the creature more clearly: a tight, leatherlike skin with scalloped edges like the wings of some Jurassic Jabberwock: an inverted bowl animated by an ancient clockwork evil. Alan Bradley, The Golden Tresses of the Dead, Random House, 2019

✱

Mr. William [Ewart Gladstone]'s fame and glory added to their name. However, even though all of England and most of the rest

of the world acknowledged his accomplishments, his nephews, Walter and Richard, like Tweedledum and Tweedledee, were "contrariwise" in their opinions.

[and]
"There seems to be something wrong with my watch," he said. "Could you suggest some way to make it go?"

I said, "I know a good way of getting it done quickly. Take the watch to the stillroom and have one of the maids pour hot butter in it." Frederick John Gorst, Of Carriages and Kings, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956

✱

The absolutism of these Cheshire-cat dogmas seemed funny, or maybe valiant. Barbara Kingsolver, Unsheltered, Harper, 2018

✱

He wanted me to read to him, but we couldn't find a single book in the house, except my Bible, which of course he didn't want. In the end I recited "Jabberwocky." It made him laugh. "Snicker-snack!" he said, and thought it very funny. Sarah Perry, The Essex Serpent, Serpent's Tail, 2016

✱

"Well, there's Mr. Boomschmidt, here, and there's William F. Bean,

and there's Bannister, Mr. Camphor's butler, and there's Walter R. Brooks who I'm told is writing another volume of his monumental work on the history of the Bean Farm. And there's an old school friend, Mr. Arthur Bandersnatch."

Walter R. Brooks, Freddy and the Baseball Team from Mars, Knopf, 1955

✱

The cover of *Pleasure of Ruins* was similarly disorienting: the gleaming carved and fallen architrave of an exotic but long vanished marble pavilion, again assailed by invasive greenery, and reclining on top of it, two turbaned figures with enormous moustaches, one smoking a hookah like the caterpillar in *Alice in Wonderland*. Both images spoke of change and decay, of strange subversions of power, of life's surprising mutability.

Sarah Lonsdale, "Light Caught Bending: Returning to Rose Macaulay's *Potterism*," Times Literary Supplement, March 20, 2020

✱

The mere reading of the books presents a formidable difficulty, for most of them are out of print and all of them are fat. Dorothy L. Sayers, "Once on the rue de Jérusalem," Times Literary Supplement, November 2, 1935

A special "Sic, Sic, Sic" lifetime achievement award goes to Oxford University Press (of all publishers!) for their compendium of "facts" under the heading "Lewis Carroll" at the back of their "Children's Classics" edition of *Wonderland / Looking-Glass* (2014). We might forgive them for referring to the Liddell children as "daughters of a friend," and we can overlook their referring to the long-defunct Lewis Carroll Society of New Zealand. Granted, we may be mystified by the statement "The sequel to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was originally called *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*." ("Originally"? Did it change? In point of fact, it was first called *Looking-Glass House / And What Alice Saw There*.) But



the triple-whammy of "Lewis Carroll's wife was called Alice, and he gave her a copy of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as a Christmas present in 1864" is in a class by itself. Way to go, Oxford.

✱

This version of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* includes a biography of the author Lewis Carroll at the

end of the book. This includes her life before and after the release of the book. Amazon ad for edition "annotated" by Chris Chundamala

✱

Alice in Wonderland and *Pocahontas in the Mirror*: 150th Anniversary Deluxe Annotation Commemorative Edition Google Translate rendering of the title of the Japanese edition

✱

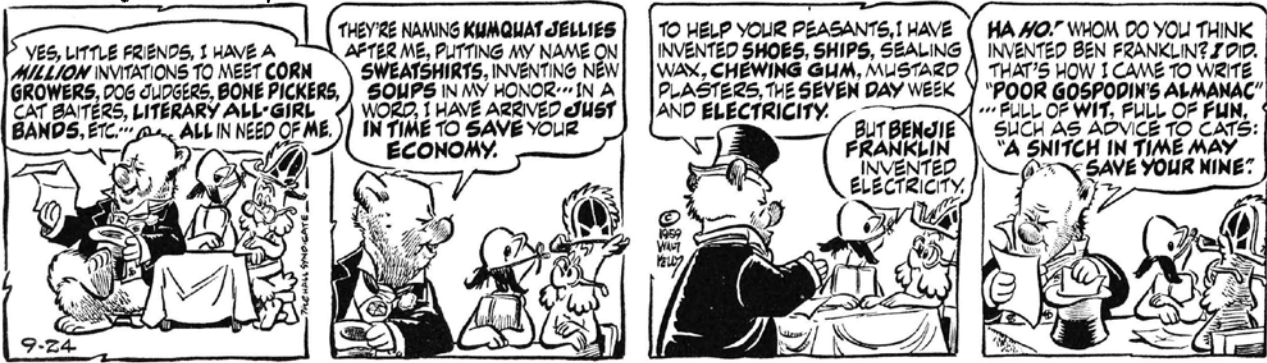
Let students know: Lewis Carroll is the pseudonym (pen name) for Charles Lutwidge Dawson (1832–1898). Brochure for the Hampstead (NH) Stage Company's "Riddles and Crafty Poetry in *Alice in Wonderland*" workshop

Said Gardner to Carroll, 'Come, let us not quarrel 'bout Wonderland logic Or Looking Glass lore. I'm a man without malice: I'll annotate Alice. Yes, I'll wake up the dormouse And tell it the score. I'll translate the Jabberwock, Show why the turtles mock, Tame the Mad Hatter, And analyse chess. I'll garnish and season your rhyme with my reason, And we two'll give Alice a new party dress.



Uncredited poem on the back of a 1965 Penguin UK paperback edition of *The Annotated Alice*.

Walt Kelly, Pogo, September 24, 1959



Ravings from the Writing Desk

OF LINDA CASSADY

“Well!” thought Alice to herself, “after such a fall as this, I shall think nothing of tumbling down stairs!”

We last met in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania in October 2019. Three months later, in January 2020, the *Knight Letter* carried news of the Spring 2020 Meeting, to be held in the Kelvin Smith Library at Case Western Reserve University, in Cleveland, Ohio. Our host was to be Arnold Hirshon, associate provost, university librarian, and LCSNA Board member, and preparations were mostly complete. But then in mid-March you heard that the meeting had been canceled. Fifty to sixty Carrollians were already registered.

“Dear, dear! How queer everything is to-day!
And yesterday things went on just as usual.
I wonder if I’ve been changed in the night?”

The Spring Meeting became the Fall Meeting scheduled for this coming October 2020, at the same venue. We have planned the same program at the same location, but must now face the fact that even that timing might not be possible. Like you, I wonder how else Covid-19 will change the LCSNA. We meet to exchange ideas and share expertise about Lewis Carroll’s works, listen to speakers, and socialize. Most would not include our Society meetings as an “essential business,” although, I feel that—like the performing arts, museums, and other organizations and societies—we are one of the measures of humanity. As many around us have switched to digital technologies for information and communication, what is the LCSNA doing? My raving below is “a long and a sad tale!” ending in a call for volunteers and for donations we need in order to thrive.

THE OCEAN-MAP

I needed direction during this confinement, so I turned to the absolutely blank maritime Ocean-Chart (aka the Bellman’s Map) in *The Hunting of the Snark*. It provided opportunity for my voyage and some relief from lassitude. Or was that latitude?

How did we take a voyage during Covid? We sailed there digitally, like everyone else, including

universities and schools. The University of Southern California seminar course *English 499: Alice Through the Looking-Glass*, co-taught by my husband George and Dr. Devin Griffiths, went online in a matter of days.

A significant component of the course involved weekly selections from the USC Carroll Collection for assignments, physical handling of rare source material, comparison of media, teaching book history, and browsing. When the University closed, forward movement was no longer possible. Grounded. The Covid crisis has forced increased, often total, reliance on online sources of information and education—much of which has not become available. George had to drop his participation in the course after spring break. This seemed to send our goals for the seminar “off course.” Time on his hands, he joined a series of webinars, sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of America, to learn about “image interoperability”—the ability to prepare digital images so they can be viewed any-time and anyplace—and about Mirador, a software viewer that lets students and scholars assemble, manipulate, and annotate thousands of images from dozens of universities and museums around the world. The direction for the Fall course, irrespective of the online or on-campus question, includes work to build an index and viewer of the available digitized Carrollian materials in these collections. This could be a terrific resource for our members on the LCSNA site!

LCSNA SOCIAL MEDIA

The LCSNA has increased communication with you through updates on the website, Facebook, and Twitter. Heather Simmons is the LCSNA member who ensures that you hear from us frequently through social media. Below you will find her bio and a report on her activities.

They very soon came upon a Gryphon, lying fast asleep in the sun. (If you don’t know what a Gryphon is, look at the picture.) “Up, lazy thing!” said the Queen, “and take this young lady to see the Mock Turtle, and to hear his history.”

AMONG THE HEATHER BRIGHT

Heather first read *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* when she was seven years old. She was convinced that nothing in the world could ever make more sense than this magical book. Countless readings and years later, she is still convinced of the inherent wisdom in this story of supposed nonsense. When, as a teenager, she became aware of Alice Liddell, and Charles Dodgson vs. Lewis Carroll, she became all the more entranced. On July 4, 2015, Heather launched the *Alice Is Everywhere* website, followed by the “New & Noteworthy” (according to iTunes) “Alice Is Everywhere” podcast in February of the next year. Her goal is simple: to evangelize the source material of the *Alice* characters and stories that everyone seems familiar with, but few seem to have actually read.

Heather grew up in Western New York and moved to Los Angeles after graduating from Boston University, to be close to the Cassady Collection at USC (just kidding!). She actually moved to Los Angeles because she has a film degree, but being close to the Cassady Collection is a nice perk! Between sporadic acting jobs and videogame work, Heather has carved out a career in the field of Internet search engines. She lives with her husband, Matt, who, like most LCSNA spouses, knows far more about Lewis Carroll than he ever wanted to.

SOCIAL MEDIA

Facebook: www.facebook.com/LCSNA/
From March 2019 to March 2020, followers of our Facebook site grew by 35% (from 940 to 1521). The “likes” on the site during this period grew from 944 to 1440. It’s terrific that more folks are finding interesting and helpful material.

Twitter: twitter.com/AliceAmerica
After clean-up of the site last year, we increased viewership by almost 20%, from 695 to 888 followers.

Instagram: www.instagram.com/lewiscarrollssocietyamerica/
I bet you didn’t know we reach Carroll lovers through Instagram! We currently have about 150 followers. We use this site to increase our audience more broadly and for cross-promotion with other social media channels.

There are other oft-unacknowledged volunteers who are busy in the background: Chris Morgan manages the *Knight Letter*; Mark Burstein writes the LCSNA website blog (and works with Chris and Andrew Ogus on the *Knight Letter*); and Edward Guiliano and I are the website administrators.

LCSNA: www.lcsna.org

With the Spring Meeting canceled, a new Media page was recently added to the website. The page contains links to presentations from 2016 and 2017 and a particularly special interview with Morton Cohen by Edward Guiliano. Our goal is to provide additional materials from past meetings and look toward placing digital recordings and other electronic materials on the site in the future. One of our goals is to record all future meeting presentations.

CALL FOR ACTION

We are asking for a volunteer (or volunteers) to run with a list of ideas for expanding—i.e., reviewing and revising—the resource pages of our site with Society-owned materials, scholarly works, and other materials. This project includes providing the website administrators with a proposal to move forward with a members-only section. Please contact Edward Guiliano (edwardg@nyit.edu) or me (linda.cassady@gmail.com) if interested.

A MOMENT FOR M WORDS

Membership: Membership in the Society has been said to be in the range of 300–325. The current number of *paid* members is actually 166. In order to continue producing fine publications, sponsoring meetings, and communicating through the website and other activities, we need your support.

It would be spectacular if those of you who forgot to renew, or don’t remember if you did, would renew or send Sandra Parker (secretary@lewiscarroll.org) an email, if you are uncertain. Please consider supporting at the Sustaining Members level.

Meetings: The LCSNA Fall 2020 Meeting is scheduled to be held in Cleveland, OH, October 2–4. The Spring 2021 Meeting is scheduled to be in Los Angeles at the University of Southern California. The Fall 2021 Meeting is scheduled to be at the University of Florida.

Money: There are many needy organizations at this time. Our Society has not raised our membership dues in over 13 years. Our meetings are free and open to the public. Please make a donation to the LCSNA via our website.

Farewell until we can do this:

“You can’t think how glad I am to see you again, you dear old thing!” said the Duchess, as she tucked her arm affectionately into Alice’s, and they walked off together.

ALL MUST HAVE PRIZES

Collecting Dodos

DANIEL ROVER SINGER



Consider the dodo: a large, relatively heavy, flightless bird with a uniquely distinguishable beak and an overall presence that seems both dignified and clumsy. I said “seems” though very few human beings were able to meet a living dodo in person, as its population was accidentally destroyed within a few decades of people invading its ecological paradise of a habitat, the isolated island of Mauritius. Last seen around 1662, the dodo might have been entirely forgotten—save for a few seventeenth-century recipes detailing how to make a savory dodo stew—if it hadn’t been for a few descriptions, artistic renderings, and an intriguing skeleton in the Oxford University Museum of Natural History that gave the odd bird an almost mythical status.

The dodo became a poster child for the very concept of the manmade extinction of a species, and its distinctive features inspired the imaginations of the world. Humanity experienced the collective guilt of knowing that people could inadvertently and irrevocably destroy something wonderful.

The dodo appealed to the imagination of writer Lewis Carroll, who created a wildly imaginative dream-tale in which a little girl, magically reduced in size to a few inches tall, encounters a pompous Dodo with human characteristics (functional human hands and the ability to speak English). The Dodo’s appearance in the bestselling *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* launched the extinct bird to new heights of global fame.

I hadn’t given dodos much thought until I read *The Annotated Alice* at age thirteen. A sudden Lewis Carroll superfan, I promptly collected whatever Carrollian books I could afford. My library increased modestly while I was a starving artist, but at 28 I began getting regular paychecks and a small disposable income. I’d also acquired a partner, Kent, who dragged me to swap-meets every Sunday—a sort of religion for Kent, who referred to it as “worshipping at the Church of the Better Bargain.” I wasn’t wild about collecting things for the sake of owning more things, but since it was an activity that Kent and I shared, I

figured I might as well choose a category of things to hunt for as we spent countless hours examining second-hand objects culled from the bowels of every attic, basement, and garage in Southern California.

I bought several hundred Alice collectibles over the next few years (not just at swap-meets—Kent trained me to hit the brakes whenever passing a sign that said “Antiques” or “Collectibles”). But Alice tchotchkes eventually proved too broad a subject—and the available display space proved too limited—so I decided to narrow my gaze. It’s hard to argue for owning a vast collection of things that are shut away in boxes taking up massive amounts of storage space. I winnowed my search to more specific topics. One of these topics was the dodo bird.

Why dodos? Because they’re rare. Because there are too many rabbits with pocket-watches, too many smiling cats, too many pretty girls wearing pinafores. It was far more fun to walk up to vendors and ask the eccentric question, “Got any dodo birds?” just to watch their perplexed reactions. Besides, there is something about the oddly shaped, doomed creature that captured my imagination as it must have captured Lewis Carroll’s. (Also: Collecting

something peculiar gives your friends something to shop for on your birthday, or unbirthday, as the case may be.)

One more thought about collecting as a hobby. I collected things during the 1990s, before the advent of eBay. There was a certain adventure in the pursuit of a precious item amidst the mountains of flotsam that filled second-hand stores. Once eBay became a Thing, and one could type the word “dodo” into a search window, the challenge was gone. One could blithely spend all of one’s money on endless amounts of stuff from the comfort of one’s armchair—stuff that will probably end up stored in boxes and forgotten. So at the turn of the last century, I stopped collecting.

I have since sold off thousands of dollars’ worth of Alice toys, but today I went to my Archive (as I

call my garden shed) and dusted off the bin marked dodos. Unpacking its contents, I smiled at the sheer joy of this collection’s eccentricity as it spilled onto my dining room table. I’m so glad I never felt “ready” to sell my dodos. They’re delightful! Nothing extraordinarily rare or valuable, but if they bring me joy, well, isn’t that what the fun of owning cool things is truly about? I’m already thinking, “What a shame these have to be stored in a box! Isn’t there somewhere I can display them?” (Not at the moment.)

I’ve got a gorgeous silk necktie decorated with dodos on a field of flowering vines from the U. of Oxford Collection—most of these things probably came from gift shops in Oxford, where the dodo is practically the town mascot. I have ceramic figurines, cloth and composite Christmas-tree ornaments, rubber stamps, stuffed “plush” toys, silver charms for bracelets, china plates, a felt finger-puppet, prints, postcards, paperbacks, wooden key fobs, badges, and tiles. Though many represent the creature as an actual bird, I prefer versions that clearly indicate the character from Wonderland, with its surreal, cuffed wrists peeking out from under its wings (courtesy of Sir John Tenniel’s illustrations), walking stick in one hand, thimble in the other.

Favorites: a large, cotton throw-pillow with the dodo’s image overlapped in a very modern graphic style; a tiny, sterling-silver figurine atop a tiny, cylindrical pillbox (in which I could theoretically carry hallucinogens); a three-inch square needlepoint cushion “kit” (meaning you had to complete the needlepoint yourself! *Note to self: I do not have the patience for needlepoint; I wanted to kill myself long before it was finished*); a tea-towel with a wonderfully aboriginal-looking graphic; and, finally, an original sculpture of Disney’s Dodo (from the 1951 animated cartoon, where he sports a pigtail and tricorn hat) that I created myself from Sculpey modeling clay when I was 29. I even own a hand-painted animation cel of the Dodo from the Disney cartoon—probably the most valuable item in the collection, but unfortunately, one of the most fragile.



A friend once bought me a ceramic mug by the artist Jim Rumph in the shape of a gnarled tree trunk with a squat bird (a fat kookaburra?) perched atop the handle. Inside the mug is an unhappy man whose head is splashed with bird poop courtesy of the rude kookaburra. While I appreciated my friend’s thoughtfulness, I had to point out that what he thought was a “dodo bird mug” was actually marketed as a “Doo-doo Bird Mug.” *Caveat emptor!*

A glance at eBay today indicates that dodo collectors can instantly purchase reproduction skeletons and beaks; currency from Mauritius; jewel-encrusted pins; pajamas, boxer shorts, tablecloths, pillows, and bedsheets emblazoned with dodo prints; masks and mugs and prints and toys and sculptures galore. But I don’t plan to add more items to my collection. Wait a moment, that lamp with a carved wooden dodo base is only . . . how much? Perhaps I’ll send an enquiry.

There is speculation that some dodos survived extinction, or that perhaps their species could be scientifically recreated someday from surviving DNA. Meanwhile, the awkwardly majestic dodo lives on in legends . . . and collectibles. I’ll bet they have terrific stuff at the airport gift shop in Mauritius, but it’s awfully far away.

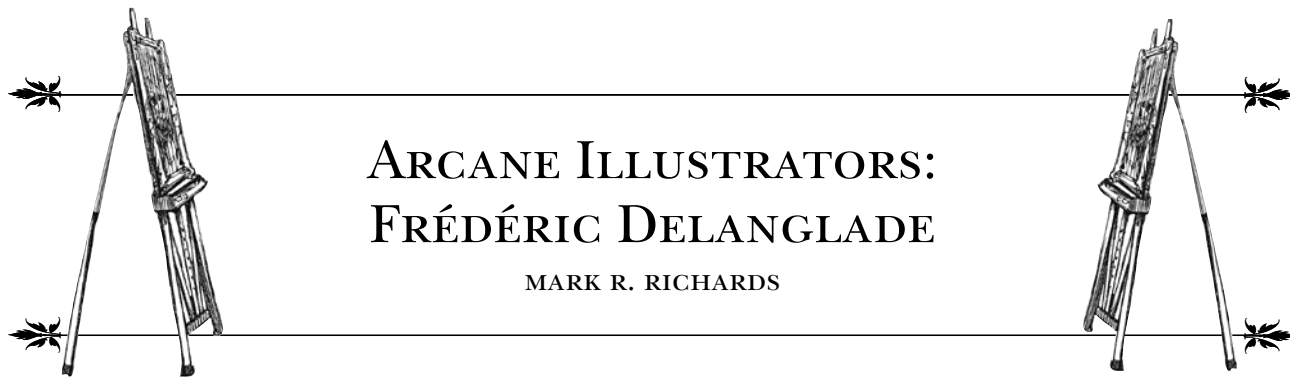
Does your collection have a specific focus to make the hunt more difficult, the acquisition more satisfying? If so, I hope it provides you with as much joy as my dodos bring me.

The Dodo used to walk around,
And take the sun and air.
The sun yet warms his native ground –
The Dodo is not there!

The voice which used to squawk and squeak
Is now for ever dumb –
Yet may you see his bones and beak
All in the Mu-se-um.

Hilaire Belloc, 1896





ARCANE ILLUSTRATORS: FRÉDÉRIC DELANGLADE

MARK R. RICHARDS

Although he never achieved the public notoriety of his fellow surrealists, Frédéric Delanglade (1907–1970) was, nonetheless, an important and influential member of the group.

Delanglade trained in psychiatry in Paris in the early 1930s and maintained a scientific interest in the subject, particularly with reference to dreaming, throughout his life. Around 1932 or 1933, Delanglade exhibited at the avant-garde “Salon des Surindépendants” which drew the attention of surrealism’s *de facto* leader, André Breton. Consequently, he exhibited alongside other surrealist artists and collaborated with many of them.

Delanglade cannot be truly described as an “illustrator” in the conventional sense, but the artworks of his *À Lys* series are significant examples of the influence of Carroll’s *Alice* books on a surrealist artist. Here, Delanglade’s dreamlike images, which often comprise sinewy, organic shapes, are complemented by minor, sometimes obscure, Carrollian references. This is not Alice’s Wonderland, it is Delanglade’s, and the works, though rarely seen, are fascinating.

The thirteen drawings and supplementary illuminations of this series were produced between 1941 and 1958 and have been published in three formats, in 1948, 1958, and 1963.

In 1948, six of the drawings were printed, in a reduced size, as unbound plates in *Alice au Pays des Merveilles*, the seventh book in a series titled *Les Essais*, limited to ninety numbered copies. In addition to Delanglade’s drawings, the publication comprises ten essays on diverse aspects of art and literature, but these are not related to Carroll or his works.

In 1958, twelve lithographs were produced for an elaborate publication titled *À Lys*, edited by Joseph Foret. Only thirteen copies of the book were published, although an unknown number of extra copies of the lithographs were printed, and at least one extra, unnumbered, copy of the book exists. The full title of the work is “À LYS ET 12 POÈMES MAGIQUES SUR L’ŒUVRES D’ART / DIVAGATION ONIRIQUE / À PARTIR D’ALICE AU PAYS DES MERVEILLES DE LEWIS CARROLL.” The twelve lithographs, twelve poems, and twelve short essays are supplemented by further drawings and small illuminations in the text. The essays

and poems, “dreamlike wanderings,” mostly refer to Carroll and his works, although loosely and not exclusively. The lithographs were printed by Claude Jobin, in eight colors, and measured approximately 32.5 by 41 cm.

Copy A of the edition is housed in a wooden box along with the thirteen original drawings (measuring 76 by 56 cm), four suites of the twelve lithographs on different papers, and the poems hand-written on parchment. Copies B and C, also housed in wooden boxes, include the twelve lithographs (hand-tinted), two additional suites on different papers, and an original gouache by Delanglade. The ten numbered copies (which include the twelve lithographs on Japon Nacré paper tipped into the book) also have two additional suites on different papers.

À Lys was republished in a special edition of 1000 copies, for distribution at an Art and Culture exposition in Geneva in 1963. Of these, 450 were bound in metallic paper. The book included all the material of the original edition, but with the images from the lithographs printed in black, presumably using the same printing technique as for the text. Minor additions in this version include the only one of the thirteen drawings (white rabbits) that appears not to have been made into a lithograph and was not included in the 1958 edition. This is the incarnation of Delanglade’s work that is most familiar to Carroll researchers and collectors, as copies are readily available and are often found with hand-drawn sketches and dedications by the artist. Although the drawings are sharply printed, they have none of the depth or vivacity of the lithographs. There are some discrepancies between information given in this 1963 printing and the colophon of the 1958 edition.

One further “printing” of the lithographs is worthy of note. In 1958, the twelve lithographs were printed onto silk squares from which a dress was made by “Madelle.” The 1963 edition of *À Lys* included a photograph of the dress being modeled by “Josyane,” lying in front of a copy of the book, although neither model nor dressmaker is identified. At least one other press photograph of the dress exists.

Two other, minor, Carroll connections need to be made. In 1941, while Delanglade was staying in Mar-

seilles in an attempt to leave France, he is believed to have worked with Breton and other surrealists to produce the deck of cards referred to as the “Jeu de Marseilles,” one of which features Alice. Several sources claim that Delanglade redrew or at least altered slightly the drawings submitted by the other artists, to produce a consistent set of designs. Curiously, when published, this work was credited to “Robert” Delanglade. I would be interested to hear from anyone who can resolve this mystery.

In 1942, Delanglade moved to Rodez in France, staying at an asylum run by his friend Gaston Ferdière. Here he was able to spend time with poet and dramatist Antonin Artaud, on whom he claimed to have had some influence. Artaud will be known to Carroll scholars as the author of *L’arve et l’aume*, a bizarre reworking of the “Humpty Dumpty” chapter of *Through the Looking-Glass*. Artaud, shortly thereafter, claimed that *he* was the original author and that Carroll had plagiarized *his* work! There is no evidence to

suggest that Delanglade was, in any way, responsible for Artaud’s interest in Carroll. Indeed, Delanglade might have acquired his interest in Carroll from Ferdière while in Rodez. Notes in the 1963 edition of *À Lys* give 1941 as the year in which Delanglade started the series of drawings. That would be consistent with his spending time with other *Alice*-inspired artists in Marseilles. But it seems possible, if not likely, that *Alice* was somehow in the air in Rodez, and Delanglade’s interest developed at that time.

Although Delanglade is relatively uncelebrated as an artist and he plays only a minor part in the history of *Alice*-inspired art, the fact that someone with a training in psychiatry and a lifelong interest in the study of the mind should spend so much time on producing the work he did is surely an interesting comment on the deeper significance of the *Alice* books.

For further images of Delanglade’s work, visit <http://lewiscarrollresources.net/surrealism>.





HERE SHE GROWS AGAIN, PART 2

When Alice visits Wonderland, she grows and shrinks several times. Over the years, a diverse range of companies used this aspect of her adventure to promote their products. In the last *Knight Letter*, I focused on ads from Western Electric (1925) and IBM (1967). They were technology-based and concentrated on the miniaturization of their respective products’ tiny components that claimed increased quality and efficiency and offered big advantages for the consumer. In this installment, I chose advertisements with a wider range of products and a couple of natural pairings.

In 1922, Post Toasties ran an advertisement featuring Alice (Figure 1). Its headline read, “Alice, in all Wonderland[,] found nothing so delicious as Post Toasties.”



Figure 1

Everybody knows the wonderful story of Alice, and how she took a drink that made her grow into a teeny, weeny girl. And then how she ate the cake that has “EAT ME” written on it with currants, and grew into a great, big giantess, so tall she could scarcely see her own feet.

In the delightful and fanciful story of “Alice in Wonderland,” that was very wonderful food[,] you must admit. But not nearly so wonderful as Post Toasties are *actually*.

I’m not sure you can “grow” into a teeny, weeny girl, but Post Toasties took Alice’s growth and connected it to healthy eating, which in turn contributes to children’s growth. These “delicious, crisp, and satisfying corn flakes help little boys and girls grow *just the way they would like to grow*.”

The illustration is in color and shows a 1920s-style Alice with her long blonde hair held back with a black band. She’s wearing a blue dress under a scalloped, white pinafore with red polka dots, and black shoes. Alice is so small that she fits under a table and is shown reaching down for the Post Toasties box. When she eats the cereal, Alice will grow just the right amount. Behind her is a small door labeled “Entrance to Garden.” The addition of the door and table to the illustration is a nice reference to the story.

Food and drink play a large part in her adventures, making this advertisement an inspired pairing. While the ad is aimed at parents, who buy the groceries (and who are presumably as familiar with the book as their children), the use of Alice in a colorful, fun illustration would hopefully make the cereal more attractive to children too.

A 1946 advertisement from the York Microstat Corporation (Figure 2) explained “How Mr. Carroll solved this space problem”:

Alice was much too big to fit in Wonderland. So, Lewis Carroll, the author, solved this space problem by making her drink a shrinking potion labeled ‘drink me’. Simple as that.

It’s unusual for an *Alice*-themed ad to mention Lewis Carroll, making this one a little different. The picture for the advertisement, inspired by and adapted



Figure 2

from the Tenniel illustrations, shows an Alice who has grown too big to attend the tea party taking place beside her. Although York Microstat does not have a shrinking potion, they do claim to have the solution for a company with a large volume of files and a small storage space. Their technology, Microfilm-by-Microstat, will reverse that situation by reducing the size of paper records and freeing up valuable room.

The use of *Alice in Wonderland* gave the company a creative way for their customers to visualize what the product could accomplish.

In 1949, Bambury Fashions (winter outerwear) featured an advertisement (Figure 3) noting that their clothing “grows along with every little girl.” It reads:

They wear longer because ADD-A-YEAR-HEMS actually add more than a full size to every coat and legging and insure seasons more wear. If your little girl is like Alice who just grew and grew . . . then ask to see Bam-bury Fashions . . . the coats and leggings that grow along with every little girl.

The bottom right of the ad features a copy of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, open to the title page, and there’s a Tenniel illustration behind each child. On the left is the “normal” sized Alice with the “Drink Me” bottle, and on the right is the “large” Alice with the long neck.

It was a natural choice to compare Alice growing larger with little girls who get bigger too, and need clothing that will grow with them.

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company was a steel manufacturer in Ohio. They ran an unusual ad



Figure 3

in 1952 (Figure 4) that shows a traditionally dressed Alice (except for the addition of a wide-brimmed straw hat tied around her neck and resting on her back) in the White Rabbit’s house. She has grown until her head is pressing against the ceiling. There is an “eat me” cake with utensils on the floor in front of her. A confused-looking White Rabbit is standing by the door.

This ad is different as it doesn’t promote a product, but instead takes a political stand (many of Alice’s experiences could be compared to political situations). In the ad, Alice asks, “I wonder what happened to me!” The text begins:

Alice in Wonderland ate the magic cake and grew until she was more than nine feet tall. Our National bureaucracy also seems to have partaken of the magic cake of power.

The copy criticizes the rapidly increasing number of civil servants being hired at all levels of government. These new employees are swelling the payrolls, the copywriter notes, with their salaries eating up a big portion of the budget. This larger number of bureaucrats also allows the government to exercise excessive control over the lives of individuals. The ad concludes by saying “Where will it all end? . . . When enough patriotic men and women demand that the Washington Wonderland start shrinking back to reasonable proportions.”

In 1962, Kulicke and Soffa ran an ad featuring a Tenniel-inspired Alice and a Hatter examining an extended telescope (Figure 5). Alice says, “Oh, how I wish I could shut up like a telescope! I think I could, if only I knew how to begin.” In the ad, Alice is standing

on a mushroom (which makes some sense), while the Hatter is seated on a turtle (which does not). The copy notes:

For you see, so many out-of-the-way things had happened lately, that Alice had begun to think that very few things indeed were really impossible. What a ball Alice could have today! One sip from the 'Drink Me' bottle, and she's up there waving at the astronauts as they go by! One nibble at a bit of cake, and she's playing hop-scotch on a miniature printed circuit. . . . If people were small enough, we reasoned, they'd have no trouble working with tiny things. So, we're going to hire a chemist to formulate an 'Alice cake'. (We'll also put him to work on a 'Drink Me' liquid to bring your employees back to normal size at quitting time.)



"I wonder what happened to me !", said Alice

ALICE in Wonderland ate the magic cake and grew until she was more than nine feet tall. Our National bureaucracy also seems to have partaken of the magic cake of power. Bureaus in our government have grown in number and scope until their activities now control, to a great extent, the lives of all individual Americans. Department after department adds more and more people--state, justice, commerce, treasury--not to mention those sprawling emergency born agencies of price control, N.P.A. and other alphabetical subdivisions. The number of employees of our federal, state and local governments continues to grow. During many recent months, personnel was added to the federal payroll at the rate of 1,500 daily. What is the reason for this mushrooming? The Korean War? Threat of war in Europe, Southeast Asia, or the Middle East? Obviously not! A glance at the federal budget gives the answer. The estimated cost of all governmental functions for the fiscal year 1952 is in excess of 70 billions of dollars, an increase of 26 billions, or approximately 60% more than last year. When will it end? Only you, the individual citizen, who carries the bureaucratic load on his back, can stop it. It will end when enough patriotic men and women demand from congress that the Washington Wonderland startshrinking back to reasonable proportions.

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company
General Offices--Youngstown 1, Ohio
Export Offices--500 Fifth Avenue, New York
MANUFACTURERS OF CARBON ALLOY AND YOLOX STEELS

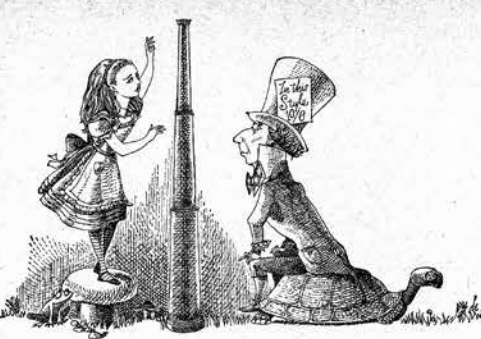
YOUR SCRAP IS NEEDED

The steel industry is using all its resources to produce more steel, but it needs your help and needs it now. Turn in your scrap, through your regular sources, at the earliest possible moment!

Figure 4

While the world still waits for those inventions, Kulicke and Soffa solved the problem by using "micromanipulation," meaning that they manufactured a large assortment of precision devices, enabling people to work easily on small objects.

Many companies have taken creative inspiration from Alice's changes in size to promote their products, each in a unique way. I think the most successful of these ads are the ones that manage to incorporate both the growing and the shrinking that Alice experiences while in Wonderland.



"Oh, how I wish I could shut up like a telescope! I think I could, if only I knew how to begin."

For you see, so many out-of-the-way things had happened lately, that Alice had begun to think that very few things indeed were really impossible. What a ball Alice could have today! One sip from the "Drink Me" bottle, and she's up there waving at the astronauts as they go by! One nibble at a bit of cake, and she's playing hop-scotch on a miniature printed circuit! All of which brings us, in a rather circuitous manner, to our principal topic, "Micromanipulation . . . how to produce and assemble things that get smaller, smaller, and smaller . . . easier, easier, and easier".

If people were small enough, we reasoned, they'd have no trouble working with tiny things. So, we're going to hire a chemist to formulate an 'Alice cake'. (We'll also put him to work on a "Drink Me" liquid to bring your employees back to normal size at quitting time.)

But while you are waiting, we have quite an assortment of precision devices to help big people work with tiny things. We've got mini-positioners, scribes, test probes, bonders and assemblers, all designed for fast accurate work with midget widgets . . . that is microinch widgets.

Transistor, semiconductor and microcircuit manufacturers acclaim K & S products because they're precise and easy-to-use . . . So if you, too, are miniature-minded, send for our complete catalog today. By so doing, you'll get your name on our mailing list and as soon as that "cake" is ready, you'll be among the first to know!

KULICKE and SOFFA
MANUFACTURING COMPANY, INC.
401 NORTH BROAD ST. • PHILADELPHIA 6, PA. • 215 WALnut 5-4270

Figure 5

In Memoriam

Kenneth S. Salins

October 4, 1960 — January 5, 2020

*Remembered by
August A. Imholtz, Jr.*



Ken had a genuinely welcoming and big broad smile, as all who met him for the first time or knew him for decades could attest. And it was indeed decades ago that Clare and I first met Ken at the home of his in-laws, David and Maxine Schaefer. That may even have been before Ken and Ellie (Ellen Schaefer) were married. After Maxine's death in 1996, Ellie Schaefer-Salins inherited her mother's Alice-related teapot collection, and Ken became Ellie's enthusiastic supporter as she expanded the collection from a few dozen teapots to over 200 items, surely the largest such collection in the world.

Trained as a mathematician like his father, Ken majored in information systems and data architecture at the University of Maryland and then worked in that field for the rest of his life. He loved watching baseball and playing and coaching softball. And he loved to perform card tricks, the underlying logic of which appealed to his mathematical mind, just as it surely did to Lewis Carroll's. He also wrote an article in *The Carrollian* (No. 5, Spring 2000) on "Carroll's Mathematics," in which he offered an algebraic solution to the problem of why Alice's multiplication table in the "Pool of Tears" chapter would never get to 20.

Ken, with Ellie and other members of the Schaefer family, helped organize the LCSNA

meetings held in the greater Washington, DC, area in 1983, 1991, and 2016. Over the years, as children grew up, and family obligations changed, Ken was able to attend more LCSNA meetings outside of Maryland.

Upon the retirement of our long-time treasurer, Dr. Francine Abeles, in 2014, Ken graciously took on that job. He had not sought it out, but he thought that he should do it, since Lewis Carroll had been so much a part of the Schaefer family's life, and of his, too.

There were quite a number of Carrollian coincidences in Ken's life, starting with his birthday, October 6 (i.e., 10/6). Ken lived in Carroll Hall when he was a student at the University of Maryland, and Ken and Ellie had dated and been married for 42 years!

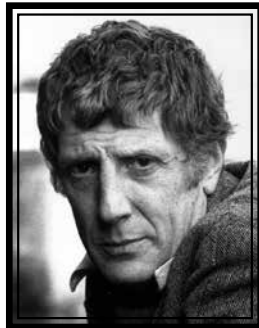
Clare and I last saw Ken at our Fall 2019 meeting at the University of Pennsylvania's Van Pelt Library. Over lunch on Friday with program organizer April James, Ellie, and Clare and me, Ken noticed that nobody had any baklava, so he got up from the table and came back a few moments later with more than enough baklava for everyone. That was the kind of generous and thoughtful person Ken was. He dearly loved his wife, Ellie, daughters Lena and Eva, son Mickey, grandson Jacob, and daughter-in-law Aimee. He will be deeply missed.

In Memoriam

As a collector and maven of the world of the *Alice* books, I am often asked, “What’s the best movie version?” After all, “Alice on the Screen,” in the 150th Anniversary Edition of *The Annotated Alice*, lists twelve feature films, ten made-for-TV movies or series, and two direct-to-DVD productions. My answer is always the same, “There’s only one that’s even watchable: Jonathan Miller’s 1966 BBC teleplay.” With a star-studded cast including Sir John Gielgud (Mock Turtle), Sir Michael Redgrave (Caterpillar), Peter Sellers (King of Hearts), Peter Cook (Hatter), Sir Malcolm Muggeridge (Gryphon), Wilfrid Brambell (White Rabbit), Alan Bennett (Mouse), Leo McKern (Duchess), and even a young, uncredited Eric Idle (a Caucus Racer), it captures, as no other does, the particularly British streak of madness and wit tapped into by a young clergyman on a trip up a river on a summer’s day.

It’s not perfect: Anne-Marie Mallik (Alice) was thirteen, inexperienced, and rather dour in her only acting appearance ever. The soundtrack by Ravi Shankar has little, if any-

Sir Jonathan Miller, CBE
July 21, 1934 — November 27, 2019
Remembered by Mark Burstein



thing, to do with the film. Costuming is minimal, and special effects nonexistent. The Cheshire Cat is played by . . . a cat. It’s in black-and-white. Yet somehow it manages to capture the *spirit* of Wonderland as no other film has even come close to doing. When British critics carped at its blatantly adult orientation, Miller replied that the story was *about* children, not for them.

It is thoroughly beyond the scope of this short piece to catalogue Miller’s lifetime of enormous accomplishments, from *Beyond the Fringe* (with Dudley Moore, Alan Bennett, and Peter Cook), through his directing and dramaturgy of musicals and many an opera (perhaps most famously a *Rigoletto* set in Little Italy and a *Mikado* set in an English resort hotel) and play (BBC’s 1980 *The Taming of the Shrew* with John Cleese a particular highlight for this writer), to his many scholarly books, often related to his medical degree.

His *Alice* production, originally for BBC’s *The Wednesday Play* series, is available on DVD and can be streamed from DailyMotion.com.



Peter Sellers, Anne-Marie Mallik, Alison Leggatt, and Wilfrid Brambell in Miller’s Alice in Wonderland

A SLICK COVER-UP Mark Burstein

Grace Slick (née Wing) was a patient of my father, Sandor, from the mid-1960s throughout the ’70s. This was due to Marty Balin (née Buchwald), who began seeing him professionally when he was a student at SF State, shortly before founding the Jefferson Airplane in 1965. When Grace joined the group the next year, she too began seeing Sandor. He was known not just as a superb physician and diagnostician but as someone completely nonjudgmental when it came to the hippie lifestyle and drug culture. Although he was portrayed extremely inaccurately as a “Dr. Feelgood” type by Joe Hagan in *Sticky Fingers: The Life and Times of Jann Wenner and Rolling Stone Magazine* (Knopf, 2017), the coterie of rock-star patients Sandor developed over the years (usually recommended to him by one or another of the Airplane) was solely due to his medical skills, not his prescription pad.

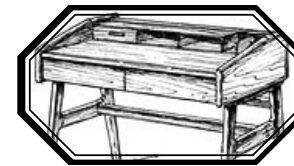
Grace, knowing of his Alice fondness, several times discussed with him the genesis of “White Rabbit,” which she wrote while still a member of her first band, the short-lived Great Society, but did not record until she moved over to the Airplane. She has admitted in print that she sat down at the piano in her Marin county home during an acid trip and wrote the song, but what she has not said to the public is that it was based solely on her having watched the Disney movie, also on acid, as she had never read the book.

Somewhat disturbingly, Slick has claimed in interviews in recent years that *Alice in Wonderland* was “often read to her as a child and remained a vivid memory well into [her] adulthood,” a revisionist history completely at odds with what she told her doctor at the time.

The conflating of the two Alice books for the song’s subject matter is not problematic, but perhaps



Carrollian Notes



the Disney-on-LSD connection explains how someone who claims to have had great familiarity with the books could speak of “the White Knight talking backwards” or the Dormouse saying “Feed your head.” And just when did Alice ever take a pill? Tucked into our copy of *Aspects of Alice* is a note from Grace on pink paper calling the song a “paraphrase” of the books—a more than liberal use of the term.

Come to think of it, the Dormouse’s tale featured Elsie, Lacie, and Tillie, whose first syllables—El, Lac(e), Ti—sound very much like “LSD,” and did Carroll not say, “Differentiating once, we get L.S.D., a function of great value” in “The Dynamics of a Parti-cle”? But I digress. . . .

In later years, her “spin-doctoring” of the song and of her relation to Alice has gone off the charts. She claims—with a straight face—that “the composition was supposed to be a slap to parents who read their children such novels and then wondered why their children later used drugs.” Uh-huh. This was the woman who famously attempted to slip some acid into Nixon’s tea in 1970.

Grace now lives in Malibu, making much of her livelihood painting and selling prints and other merch, often of scenes from the Alice books. One, White Rabbit in Wonderland, features Timothy Leary as The Mad Hatter and Richard Alpert (Ram Dass) as The Caterpillar.

And if you go chasing rabbits . . .

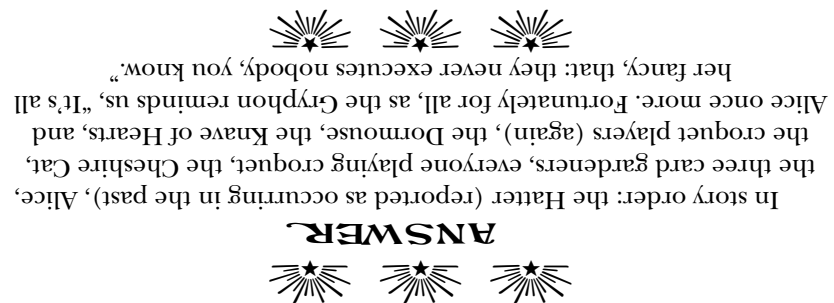
“BE WHAT YOU WOULD SEEM TO BE”

A Facebook post from a used bookstore in Oregon on January 25 caused an initial flurry of excitement. The owner had just bought “the receipt in which Charles Dodgson ‘Lewis Carroll’ purchases John Tenniel’s illustrations for 20 pounds. Signed by both in the magistrate court of Oxford, March 7, 1870. In a frame. Originally owned by the famous mathemation [sic] and Lewis Carroll scholar Martin Gardner.”

Two things immediately caused one particular cognoscente to become suspicious: One, the receipt had been signed “Lewis Carroll,” which C. L. Dodgson never would have done on a legal document, and two, Gardner was in no way a Carroll collector; he was famed for giving away most everything he got. Further investigation found that even though the seller of the faux document was, in fact, Gardner’s relative, he was currently under investigation by the local police in connection with some forged sports memorabilia, also said to have belonged to Gardner, who was not exactly what you’d call a sports nut. The matter is now in police hands.

BUT, ... WHY?

Kevin Fallon, a 30-year-old New Yorker, was arrested on April 11 after police found three pipe bombs in his apartment. According to court documents, Fallon allegedly sent a group text message to friends and family members on April 9, threatening to blow up the *Alice in Wonderland* sculpture in Central Park. Fallon’s motive for allegedly seeking to harm the sculpture remains unclear. He was arraigned on charges of making a terroristic threat and criminal possession of a weapon, and awaits a court hearing on July 13.



because Bernard is in New York, which is so teeming with vitality he has a hard time believing anything, even the dread Pork Pie Gang, can harm it:

There were people everywhere going about their day. Cars zooming by; men and women walking fast, carrying packages and bags; window washers working on tall buildings; and construction workers digging deep underground.

Bernard knew this same motion and commotion was happening on every street and every block, not just in one small corner of the city—New York was filled with busy people and animals, each one with their own life. Maybe New York was too big for anyone to stop it.

As I write this on April 5, 2020, I can only think, “I hope so.”

Bernard Pepperlin is a highly enjoyable children’s book (recommended for the 8-to-12 set), and as the reading level is much easier than that of Carroll’s originals, it might inspire a child to read them. It offers life lessons about bravery and friendship, and leaves us with the faith that no matter what else happens, cockroaches will inherit the earth.

—*—
The Tenniel Illustrations to the “Alice” Books: Second Edition
Michael Hancher
Ohio State University Press, 2019
ISBN 978-0814214114
Matt Demakos

I was but a mouse trembling down to the end of my tail. A scholarly cat recently added new chapters to his old book, I had just learned, chapters that will evidently cover the same subject as my soon-to-be published paper!

Have I been made superfluous? Have I been Wallaced by this Darwin?

The first version of Michael Hancher’s *The Tenniel Illustrations to the “Alice” Books* was published in 1985 when I was still in college. The thorough research, copious illustrations, and helpful footnotes showed me what real scholarship was.

The original book had twelve chapters, all of which appear slightly updated in the new version. In the opening chapter, Hancher argued that “Tenniel renewed in the *Alice* books imagery that was already established in *Punch*.” He illustrated, for example, how the Tweedles evolved from Tenniel’s depiction of a young John Bull. He showed the connection between the White Queen and the Pope, between Humpty Dumpty and the Gigantic Gooseberry, and even between one mouth and another—both gaped for oysters. Hancher may have at times overplayed the relationship by stating how one illustration “is a recasting of” or “derives from” or is “a prototype for” the other, but the connections are worth noting whether coincidence or not. They do show that “Victorian readers,” as he wrote, “would find much of Alice’s strange world to be reassuringly familiar.”

In the next chapter, Hancher addressed the possibility that Tenniel eventually saw every one of Carroll’s illustrations in *Under Ground*, even though they were incomplete when Carroll first sent him the book.

“It is very likely,” he wrote, “that Tenniel did indeed see the Carroll illustrations, and, furthermore, that they helped shape his drawings for the book.” But he admitted as well that “this agreement between Tenniel’s and Carroll’s illustrations could result just from Carroll’s authority over both projects.”

He pushes the former and I push the latter view in my paper (published in this very issue, p. 1).

The following seven chapters took on specific illustrations or characters, and a further three included perhaps the most memorable chapter, concerning the perfect placement of the illustrations within the text. These twelve chapters all appeared in an oversized landscape-oriented book with notes at the end.

The new version adds six chapters and has a friendlier format: flipped to portrait orientation, shrunk to letter-size, and with notes brought forward and into the margins. The first three new chapters are titled “Engraving,” “Electrotyping,” and “Printing.” These chapters are awfully close to my chapter titles for the second half of my article (to be published online by the Society): “Cut,” “Proof,” and “Print.” Hancher covers Tenniel’s proofing habits in “Engraving,” and I cover electrotyping in “Print,” so we overlap even more than the titles suggest.

I am delighted to say that I need not have trembled down to the end of my tail. Despite the shared subjects, Hancher’s chapters complement rather than compete with mine. Hancher covers the full story of the original woodblocks, which I ignore, and gives only a few hints about the engravers’ accuracy, which I explore . . . endlessly. Though Hancher gives a healthy account of proofing, he attacks the process intermittently and Tenniel’s habits anecdotally, whereas I attack the process more directly and Tenniel’s practices more thoroughly. Somewhat surprisingly, he gives a *full* chapter, the longest chapter in the book, to the complicated subject of making the electrotype, which I ignore . . . endlessly. In truth, I made it a sidebar, and I found his exhaustive discussion enlightening. Lastly, in “Printing,” Hancher digs deep into the history of the scholarship on the 1865 and the 1866 editions of *Wonderland*. Again, I mostly pass on the scholars of yesteryear and

emphasize the importance of the overlay—how it is made and why—which Hancher addresses only in passing. He also does not add his own investigative study into the differences between the two printings, which I do.

In the final three new chapters, Hancher discusses the coloring of Tenniel’s illustrations, by Tenniel himself and others; the re-engravings created by Bruno Rollitz; and the concept of “looking” in the *Alice* books, a perfect closing chapter, being short, insightful, and provocative.

There are only two criticisms I find worth mentioning. First, the book is inconsistent concerning the wood-engraving process and Tenniel’s process specifically. Statements made in some chapters contradict statements made in others. Further, I take exception to the number of times Hancher implies that the Dalziels were involved with the details of the illustration. When discussing the White Rabbit’s change of clothing, for example, he declares, “Tenniel or Dalziel forgot what the Rabbit was wearing.” The engraver’s name can be left out in such instances, I hope to show.

Second, many of the illustrations are carelessly reproduced, appearing as if *rotten*, a term printers use for decaying lines (e.g., Alice on the front cover), or muddy (e.g., the three talking queens).

Though the illustrations are said to be derived from a set of

books that Carroll at first thought to call “The *Cheap* Edition” (emphasis added), the problem seems to have been compounded at some stage. Some illustrations are also oddly enlarged, a concept that does Hancher’s subject no favors, especially in his cross-hatching, which only becomes unrefined, coarse. (It is only practical, naturally, to reduce Tenniel’s large *Punch* cuts, though doing so over-emphasizes the engravers’ skill.)

These criticisms do little to threaten the value of this publication. Hancher’s older essays have withstood the test of time, and his new ones, no doubt, will as well.

—*—
AAIW / TTLG
Illustrated by MinaLima
Harper Design, 2019
ISBN-13: 978-0062936615
Andrew Ogus

Londoner Miraphora Mina and Rio de Janeiro’s Eduardo Lima form the team of MinaLima, film designers who left no drawer unfilled in the *Harry Potter* or *Fantastic Beasts* series—even if no one, including the actors, saw the



Hilary Price, Rhymes with Orange, December 17, 2019



ART & ILLUSTRATION

Larissa Averbug is a Brazilian graphic designer and researcher in children's literature, finishing up her PhD at Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) in the Arts & Design Department. She has been studying Lewis Carroll and Alice since receiving her master's degree in 2011, and she is presently a visiting PhD researcher at Queen Mary University of London, under the supervision of Professor Kiera Vaclavik. "The Wasp in a Wig Challenge" is part of her research, for a thesis entitled "The Multiple Faces of Alice: An Irreversible Creative Dynamic." "The intent is to investigate, in practice, the creative thinking of contemporary visual artists from distinct media through a ludic experiment. This creative exercise with the artists takes place as a sort of a game and should embrace interactions among the most engaged artists. The idea is proposing the following challenge: to produce an image, in any media, of the Wasp in a Wig, from the 'lost' episode from *Through the Looking-Glass*. This challenge is now being materialized through mailing letters with an invitation. Depending on the circumstances, this creative exercise could result in an exhibition and a book for collectors." If you are an artist who would be interested in participating, contact Larissa at larissaverbug@gmail.com, and she will send you a formal invitation in the mail. The late, acclaimed (and occasionally controversial) Australian photographer Polixeni Papapetrou did two series of interest to Carrollians (*KL* 72:43): *Wonderland*, in which she used her daughter, Olympia, as Alice in illustrations to the book; and *Dreamchild*, in which she re-created some of Dodgson's photographs. "Mini Monographs," a series of



small books from Thames and Hudson edited by Natalie King, includes an inexpensive but very lovely color selection of work in Papapetrou's eponymous hardcover; four photos from each of these series are included. Very nicely printed and, as a bonus, her other photographs are equally outstanding.

Collectors of fine-press editions will be interested to hear that a stunning new printing of "Jabberwocky" is available from the Solmentes Press in Iowa. British ex-pat David Esslemont illustrates each line of the poem with a linocut, with the calligraphic text printed in reverse on the opposite page. The edition includes thirty regular copies in pastepaper boards, with a leather spine, presented in a cloth-covered drop-back box for \$1800.



ARTICLES & ACADEMIA

Dr. Amanda Lastoria of Simon Fraser University in British Columbia has earned North America's first PhD in Publishing. Her thesis was called "The material evolution of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: How book design and production values impact the markets for and the meanings of

the text." A version of one chapter, "Lewis Carroll, Art Director: Recovering the Design and Production Rationales for Victorian Editions of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*," was published by the journal *Book History* (vol. 19, 2019). Her thesis is likely to be published in book form. Attendees at our Spring 2017 meeting in San Francisco will remember her fascinating talk, "Art Directing Alice: Recovering Carroll's Creative Process." Congratulations, Amanda!

Cultural journalist Silvia Hopenhayn presented a four-session course at MALBA (Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires) during the month of January. Titled "Las dos Alicias de Lewis Carroll," it covered "the notions of identity, time, sleep, growth, and language provided by Lewis Carroll's novels, and their impact on [James] Joyce, [Argentine writer Julio] Cortázar, and [Argentine poet Alejandra] Pizarnik, among others."

An Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies (INCS) "Green Conference" at USC, March 5–8, featured a panel of Carrollian scholars called "Alice and Her Scientific Methodologies." Talks were "'She Ought to Have Wondered': Wonder and Ecological Knowledge in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*," Megan O'Donnell, University of Delaware; "Alice in the Anthropocene," Natasha von Seelen, Duke University; and

"Kingdoms and Orders: Nature and Imperialism in Victorian Animal Fantasy," Carolyn Sigler, University of Minnesota Duluth.

BOOKS

The 150th Anniversary Deluxe Edition of *The Annotated Alice* has just been published by Aki Shobo in Japanese, translated by Hiroshi Takayama. Although smaller and thicker in format, all in black-and-white, and missing a few of the illustrations, I'm sure all collectors will want it. It joins translations in Chinese and Spanish. An Italian one is in the works for this fall.

The Nonsense of Kant and Lewis Carroll: Unexpected Essays on Philosophy, Art, Life, and Death by Ben-Ami Scharfstein (University of Chicago Press, 2014) is named after the first essay, which is the only one to discuss Carroll.

Steven Slater, whose rock opera *Spring Awakening* won eight Tonys and a Grammy, was the co-writer and lyricist of the musical *Alice by Heart* (*KL* 102:42). His first book is an eponymous YA novelization of the *Alice* show (Razorbill, 2020). Taking place simultaneously in London during the Blitz and in Wonderland, the book is illustrated with the Tenniel drawings and the occasional photograph.

Alice in Puzzleland (Carlton Books, 2019)—not to be confused with Raymond Smullyan's identically titled work (Morrow, 1982) or the *Ladies' Home Journal* column (*KL* 100:66)—is a simple mash-up of two previous works: Richard Wolfrik Galland's *Lewis Carroll's Puzzles in Wonderland* (Carlton/Metro, 2013; *KL* 91:43) aka *Alice's Puzzles in Wonderland* (Metro, 2016) and Jason Ward's *Alice's Puzzles Through the Looking-Glass* (Carlton 2016). The puzzles themselves are divided into sections named "Easy," "Curious," and "Harder," and solutions are provided. Some are Carroll's puzzles, some just "inspired by"

(i.e., adapted to fit) a Wonderland or Looking-Glass motif. The book itself is rather handsome.

If you didn't happen to have \$90 to spare but still wanted to read Edward Guiliano's fine *Lewis Carroll: Worlds of His Alices*, you are now in luck, as it is scheduled for release in paperback on May 30, 2020.

Rachel Vorona Cote's *Too Much: How Victorian Constraints Still Bind Women Today* (Grand Central Publishing, 2020) "braids cultural criticism, theory, and storytelling together in her exploration of how culture grinds away our bodies, souls, and sexualities, forcing us into smaller lives than we desire." She discusses Carroll at length, saying he "betrays even deeper cultural anxiety about exuberant or overly demonstrative feminine behavior in his children's stories. ... Carroll's narrator fastens his sights on the little girl stumbling through this dizzyingly monochromatic world: it is her unruly body that concerns him and that, consequently, propels the narrative." Her precis of the book is available on LongReads.com.

The paperback version of *Curiouser: On the Queerness of Children* (Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2004) sports a chimerical Alice on the cover, with antelope horns, butterfly wings, and a dragon's tale.

COMICS & GRAPHIC NOVELS

The DC Universe released issue 9 of *Shazam!*, which contains the ninth chapter of "Shazam! and the Seven Magic Lands." This time they visit a mash-up of Oz and Wonderland called "The WOZenderlands," with a villainous, toothy Cheshire Cat and a hatchet-wielding White Rabbit lurking on the cover. (Due to © issues, *Shazam!* is the new name of the superhero formerly known as Captain Marvel.)

Writer Derek Fridolfs and artist Dustin Nguyen's *Batman Tales: Once Upon a Crime* (DC, 2120) contains four fairy tale–based stories for the 8-to-12-year-old set. The third tale in this paperback is "Alfred in Wonderland," wherein the famed butler inadvertently drinks some "mind-altering" tea and relives many of Alice's adventures. Cameos by major Batman characters, including the Cheshire Catwoman, Jokerwacky, and the like, are fun to spot. The storyline includes characters, scenes, and sayings from *Looking-Glass* and both Disney movies.

EVENTS, EXHIBITS & PLACES

Escape Hunt, which has several branches throughout the UK, provides themed escape rooms, one of which is "Alice in Puzzleland."

The Hong Kong Ballet production of choreographer/director Septime Webre's *ALICE (in wonderland)* is scheduled to take place June 16 at Wolf Trap (Vienna, VA). Let's hope.

Kiki Smith's *Pool of Tears II*, an etching based on Carroll's drawing for *Under Ground*, was displayed as part of her *I Am a Wanderer* exhibit (Sept. 28, 2019–Jan. 19, 2020) at the Modern Art Oxford gallery.

INTERNET & TECHNOLOGY

On February 28, the True Bicentennial (Sir John's 200th birthday), the good folks at Google Doodle honored him by making it the day's theme. Although the occasion was similarly honored on our blog, we believe they may have a marginally higher readership, so welcomed the mutual celebration. Sadly, rather than displaying a Tenniel illustration, their art director, Matthew Cruickshank, took it upon himself to draw one in a style resembling JT's.

At 9:15 pm (Greenwich Mean Time) on January 2, BBC Radio 4 Extra rebroadcast a 45-minute adaptation of “The Hunting of the Snark,” directed by Charlotte Riches, narrated by actor Tony Richardson, and with music and songs composed by Katie Chatburn. First broadcast on BBC Radio 4 in December 2015, it was available for online listening for the rest of the month of January. (The last time the BBC did “The Snark” was in December of 1963, with Sir Alec Guinness doing the honors.) Ten days later, on January 12, their “Book of the Week” was Robert Douglas-Fairhurst’s *The Story of Alice* (KL 95:50), read by Simon Russell Beale in five parts.

Carroll biographer Florence Becker Lennon (1895–1984) recorded an interview with an elderly Ethel Hatch (1869–1975), who, along with her sisters Beatrice and Evelyn, were child-friends and photographic models of C. L. Dodgson. The interview was taped sometime, as Harvard’s HOLLIS catalog so helpfully states, “between 1950 and 1969.” Historian and photographer Helmut Gernsheim (1913–1995) was also present, and had a few words to say. On May 19, 2015, Christina Davis wrote about her “discovery” of a recording of the talk in an article called “Rabbit Ears: On a Radio Interview with a Child-Friend of Lewis Carroll’s” on *Stylus: The Poetry Room Blog*, and included a transcription of the tape. It is not known if the interview was ever aired.

“20 Artists’ Visions of Alice in Wonderland From the Last 155 Years” by Emily Temple on Grove Atlantic’s online site “Literary Hub” was published on Alice’s 155th birthday. (The fictional Alice, that is, as *Wonderland* was published in 1865; Mrs. Hargreaves would be observing her 168th.) Since it did celebrate the books’ inspiring “creative work of just

about every genre,” I suppose one cannot quarrel with their including a painting by Max Ernst and a screenprint by Peter Blake. Naturally, a list like this will engender any number of opinions, but for me, she has done very well with the highlights, but would someone please tell me what Nick Hewetson (Templar, 1995) is doing in place of Willy Pogany, Ralph Steadman, or Helen Oxenbury? *De gustibus non est disputandum*, I guess.

On Alice’s birthday, the UK online series “Wander: Walks through Beautiful Spaces Accompanied by the World’s Favourite Voices” took on Richard E. Grant and the V&A. He is reading the Tea Party chapter as he wanders through the halls. Some of the art is from the V&A, some not. Spend a delightful 11 minutes in the company of Allegiant General Pryde. (This has nothing to do with the ginormous Alice: Curiouser and Curiouser show at the V&A planned for late June, which will indubitably be postponed.)

✱
MOVIES & TELEVISION

To demonstrate the new “intelligent voice control” feature of the 2020 Mercedes Benz GLE, their television commercial “Wonderland” begins with an English-accented young lady in voice-over reading, “‘Curiouser and curiouser,’ said Alice,” then shows a white rabbit in the snow as the car goes into a tunnel (“The rabbit-hole went straight on like a tunnel for some way. . . .”), next displays a crescent moon (“. . . a grin without a cat”); the cup in the cup holder is labeled “Drink Me,” and later the book’s title is displayed on the dashboard console. We’ll forgive the slight misquote (it should be “cried Alice”).

The abundance of quotes misattributed to Carroll is jaw-dropping,

but all one can do is puncture one bubble at a time. (“Don’t believe everything you read on the Internet” – Albert Einstein.) The fine Snopes.com on January 16 took on “Everyone wants a magical solution for their problem, and everyone refuses to believe in magic,” oft credited online to Our Man. “This quote actually stemmed from a Carroll-inspired character who appeared in a modern television series. *Once Upon a Time*, which originally aired on ABC from 2011 to 2018, was a fantasy series about “a young woman [who] is drawn to a small Maine town and discovers that it’s filled with elements of the fairy tale world. One of the characters who popped up in that series, Jefferson, was clearly based on Carroll’s famous Mad Hatter (from his *Alice* books), and in the episode ‘Hat Trick’ [S1E17, original airdte March 25, 2012], Jefferson delivered the line in question during a debate with Emma Swan about the difference between reality and imagination.”

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MUSIC

London’s Royal Opera House in Covent Garden presented Gerald Barry’s opera *Alice’s Adventures Under Ground* February 3–9, 2020. The ROH website described it as “fun, furious, frantic, and utterly fantastic! The surreal world of Lewis Carroll’s Alice, both in *Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*, is given an extra twist in operatic treatment. At less than an hour for the whole opera, this short, sharp shot of mayhem is ideal as a family treat. Antony McDonald directs and designs this new production—the first ever staging of this musically virtuoso opera—with more than a touch of the Victorian toy theatre.” (It was the “first ever” staging; however, a 2016 concert production took place in LA [reviewed in *KL*

98:39], and the same cast performed it in concert at the Barbican Centre in London later that year; it’s viewable on YouTube.) The ROH performed it fully staged several times a day, including a children’s matinee. A detailed, positive review can be read in the May 2020 issue of *Opera News*.

Markus Lång writes, “I have yet another exotic Carrollian reference from Finland’s Swedish press. On December 18th in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, there was a review by Mats Liljeroos of a contemporary classical recording with music by Perttu Haapanen. Among the works on this CD [Ondine ODE13072, 2019] is Haapanen’s *Flute Concerto* from 2018, played by the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra. The headline reads: ‘*Fascinerande glimtar från en surrealistisk musikalisk spegelvärld*’ (fascinating glimpses of a surrealist, musical, looking-glass world). According to Liljeroos, the *Flute Concerto* is the most convincing composition on this disc. There are many kinds of contrasts present and alternate ways of playing the flute used in this concerto, and he characterizes the work by stating that the totality is ‘like surrealist glimpses of Alice’s looking-glass world where nothing is what it first seems to be.’ I haven’t heard this music, so I cannot estimate how apt the comments are.”



Sir John Tenniel’s last contribution to Punch, January 2, 1901

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PERFORMING ARTS

Eva Le Gallienne and Florida Friebus’s adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland* was presented by the aNoiseWithin theater company in Pasadena, California, in March. After a few performances, the theater went dark due to the virus.

We Players’ *What Alice Found There*, an “immersive theater” production in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, was scheduled for April 10–May 17. The audience was to begin at the Rose Garden and travel with Alice around the Park, by Stow Lake, and end at the Murphy Windmill. We Players specializes in “site-integrated performance events that transform public spaces into realms of participatory theater.” This production, too, could not take place and has been postponed. In its place they have made a podcast called “Wonder Story Time with Friends” on their website.

Dr. April Lynn James wears many different hats—award-winning singer & scholar, librarian, creative educator exploring the intersection of the arts, spirituality, and wellness. The guardian angel of her sense of humor, Madison Hatt, Sonneteer, has written many Alice-related poems, published

under the title “The Twinkle Bat Variations.” You can now hear them as a series of podcasts on SoundCloud, a fine way to while away the time in these curiouser and curiouser times.

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THINGS

Artist Jasmine Becket-Griffith’s take on Alice tends towards the large-eyed, Betty Boop-slash-“kawaii” (cuteness) style of Japanese manga and anime, but with her own brightly colored, somewhat kitschy slant. On her site, Strangeling (and its related Etsy store), one can find her series “Alice in Other Lands,” which features Alice as if in worlds painted by Bosch, Velázquez, Brueghel, da Vinci, Dalí, Fragonard, Bouguereau, and others. Related “merch” is in the form of a 1000-piece jigsaw puzzle, a pocket diary, a coloring book, enamel pins, vinyl dolls, canvas prints, handbags, a diary, and the like.

A removable bookmark on the cover of the “Teddy Addict Pocket Sketchbook”—“small notepad” would be a better description—from Noodoll.com depicts the UK teddy (bear) “addict” Grayson Perry, an artist, writer, and transvestite, in Alice drag, clutching his beloved childhood teddy bear, “Alan Measles.”

