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On the Front Cover:

The White Rabbit from Ralph Steadman's *Alice in Wonderland* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2003) is © 2003 Ralph Steadman and used by permission. See also page 37 in this issue. Mr. Steadman welcomes visitors to www.RalphSteadman.com.



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"She ate a little bit, and said anxiously to herself 'Which way? Which way?' holding her hand on the top of her head to feel which way it was growing..."

e have been just overwhelmed by the universally positive response to our redesign of the *Knight Letter*, and promise to keep on improving things. Designer Andrew Ogus did a magnificent job with the previous issue (and this one!) and will continue in this capacity. We have also doubled our "staff," with the turning over of many editorial responsibilities for the "Rectory Umbrella" section to Matt Demakos. He and I have engaged in a lengthy dialogue in cyberspace to further tighten up the standards of style, language, and practice. We have accepted *The Chicago Manual of Style*, fifteenth edition, as our guide and thus, in contrast to past practices, have "translated" all articles into American spelling, grammar, and punctuation—the only exceptions being when certain material is directly quoted.

We have also collaborated on a style guide. Articles are by and large supplied with endnotes rather than footnotes, and editorial comments are now clearly marked as such. We have also been stricter about the use of abbreviations and shortened titles. Furthermore, we are now officially a periodical, having registered with the National Serials Data Program of the Library of Congress and possess an International Standard Serial Number (ISSN).

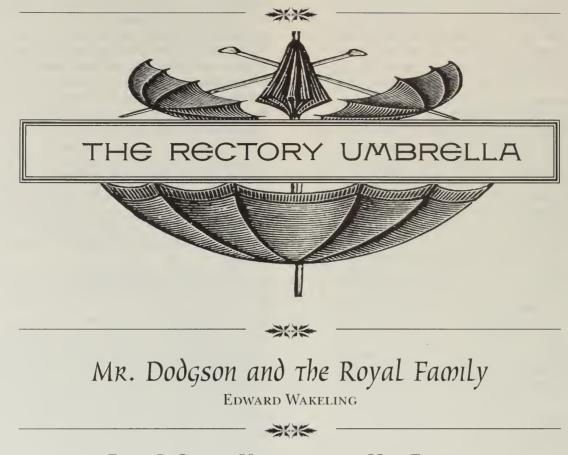
"The Rectory Umbrella" in this issue features the first part of a fine study, "Mr. Dodgson and the Royal Family," by Edward Wakeling, editor of the new multi-volume edition of the *Diaries* being published by the Lewis Carroll Society (UK). Matt Demakos has himself given us a scholarly musing on the authenticity of the "Wasp in the Wig" episode, August Imholtz has contributed an amusing report of our fall meeting, and Clare Imholtz has discovered a previously unknown set of drawings by the venerable Wanda Gág.

Our valued contributors, other than those credited in bylines, include: Earl Abbe, Fran Abeles, Joel Birenbaum, Gary Brockman, Llisa Demetrios Burstein, Sandor Burstein, Angelica Carpenter, Patt Griffin, Armelle Futterman, August Imholtz, Clare Imholtz, Stan Isaacs, Janet Jurist, Devra Kunin, Hugues Lebailly, Charles Lovett, Stephanie Lovett, Dayna McCausland, Lucille Posner, Andrew Sellon, Alan Tannenbaum, Alison Tannenbaum, Edward Wakeling, and Cindy Watter.

Given the current volume of this magazine and its overworked staff, it is most likely that this publication will become officially semiannual.

Ad majorem Carrolli gloriam!

Mark Burstein



PART I: QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER FAMILY

INTRODUCTION

Charles L. Dodgson was acquainted with various members of the Royal Family headed by Queen Victoria, some to a greater and some to a lesser degree. What was his attitude to royalty? How did he come to make their acquaintance? What was their reaction to him? Did Dodgson's personal knowledge of members of the Royal Family influence his writing? I will attempt to answer all these questions and, ultimately, explain Dodgson's relationship with some particular members of the Royal Family, which can only be described as intimate and friendly.

Both of his *Alice* books abound with royalty. They contain kings and queens, royal children, courtiers and extended members of a royal family such as a marchioness (in the original story) and a duchess. Part of this is because Dodgson adopted the games of playing cards and chess to structure his two stories. But the royal members are given key roles; their parts are important and their dialogue is significant and memorable.

"Where do you come from?" said the Red Queen. "And where are you going? Look up, speak nicely, and don't twiddle your fingers all the time."

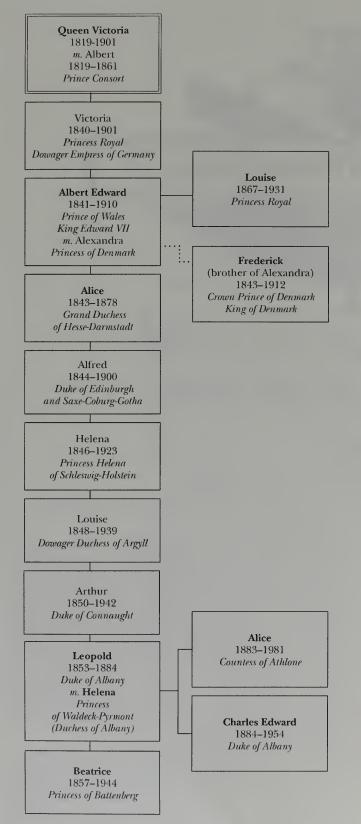
Alice attended to all these directions, and explained, as well as she could, that she had lost her way.

"I don't know what you mean by *your* way," said the Queen: "all the ways about here belong to *me* but why did you come out here at all?" she added in a kinder tone. "Curtsey while you're thinking what to say. It saves time."¹

There is a strong sense that Dodgson is parodying the way that adults instruct children, with an emphasis on "instructing" rather than "talking to." Maybe it's the governess who speaks here. Miss Prickett, governess to the Liddell children—or "Pricks" as the children called her—had a reputation for being very much in control and in charge. Dodgson once described: "The Red Queen . . . as a Fury . . . *her* passion must be cold and calm; she must be formal and strict, yet not unkindly; pedantic to the tenth degree, the concentrated essence of all governesses."² Alice and her sisters may have recognized the parody of the instructions given to them whenever they were introduced to royalty.

Each of the Oxford colleges has assigned to them a "Visitor" (with a capital "V"). This is someone with status. This nominated person pays an official visit to the college to ensure that all is proceeding according to the demands of tradition, protocol, and custom. The Visitor of Christ Church is usually the reigning monarch although on occasions it has been the Lord Chancellor. Queen Victoria was Visitor and made several journeys to Christ Church during her reign, always spending time at the Deanery.

The college was founded by Henry VIII under letters patent dated November 4, 1546. However, the buildings were begun in 1525 when Cardinal Wolsey, then at the height of his power and fame, decided to create the col-



Queen Victoria had nine children and, eventually, nine sons- and daughters-in-law. The members of the Royal Family that Dodgson met or corresponded with are shown in bold type. This chart also shows Frederick, the Crown Prince of Denmark, once photographed by Dodgson, the brother of Princess Alexandra, who married the Prince of Wales. The Queen had many grandchildren, only three of whom are shown above. The two children of Prince Leopold are the subject of part two of this article.

lege under royal license, and to name it Cardinal College. It was projected on a magnificent scale and supported financially by Wolsey from his own private wealth. Cardinal Wolsey fell out of the King's favor in 1529 and all his possessions were forfeited to the Crown, and Cardinal College in its incomplete state was dissolved. But, in 1532, Henry established a new college on the same site, calling it King Henry VIII's College in Oxford. In 1545 the college "Christ Church" was established, combining the academic college with the new Oxford Cathedral which was built on the site to replace the old Cathedral at Osney. The link with the royal household was firmly established and remains to this day. Our present Queen, her sculptured head resting below the great Holbein portrait of Henry VIII in central position at the far end of Hall, is today's Visitor of Christ Church. She makes private visits to the Deanery from time to time.

Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne following the death of her uncle William IV in 1837. Hence, by the time that Dodgson came to Christ Church in 1851 as an undergraduate, the Queen was already the Visitor. Thomas Gaisford was made Dean in 1831 and therefore his appointment was not influenced by the Queen. However, when he died in 1855, the new appointment of Henry Liddell was made by Lord Palmerston with her approval. Liddell was already well-known to the Queen. In 1846 he was appointed Domestic Chaplain to the Prince Consort, and this required him to preach at Windsor in the presence of the Royal Family. He was also appointed Headmaster of Westminster School in the same year, and this brought about Royal patronage.

As an undergraduate, Dodgson was unlikely to meet the Queen, but when he was appointed Mathematical Lecturer in 1855, this position changed. The Liddells frequently entertained members of the University at the Deanery including the Visitor, and Dodgson received invitations to attend. His first meeting with the Royal Family at the Deanery came in 1860. However, he mentions the Queen in his diary for the first time in 1855. On May 17 he wrote: "I hear that Millais' picture of 'The Rescue' in the R. A. [Royal Academy] this year is considered very fine: as also Leighton's picture of Cimabue's Madonna, which the Queen has given 600 guineas for—but it is said to be the poorest exhibition for years."³

THE PRINCE OF WALES AT OXFORD

During the summer of 1858, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert bestowed a special honor on Christ Church—they decided to send the Prince of Wales to Oxford, and Christ Church was the chosen college to which he would be attached. Liddell received a royal summons to meet the Queen at Osborne House to discuss arrangements. Henry Acland, friend and doctor to Liddell, was also summoned; he was to be the Prince of Wales' medical adviser. The Prince matriculated on October 18, 1859. Liddell recorded the ceremony in a letter to his father:

He came down in a royal carriage (not by special train) at about four o'clock. I received him on the platform, and followed him to his house. The Vice-

Chancellor and Proctors then called to pay their respects; then the Mayor and two Aldermen with an address; I standing by and introducing them. Then I went down to Christ Church, where we had the gates shut and all the men drawn up in the Quadrangle. At five he came, and the bells struck up as he entered. He walked to my house between two lines of men, who capped him. I went out to meet him, and as we entered the house there was a spontaneous cheer.⁴

There can be no doubt that Dodgson witnessed this event. Sadly his diaries are missing for this period, so we do not know what he wrote about the occasion. The Prince resided at Frewin Hall for two years, attended Chapel and lectures, and occasionally dined in Hall.

On December 12, 1860, the Queen paid a visit to Oxford, probably to discuss with the Dean the progress of her son at Christ Church. Dodgson was present and he gave a detailed account in his diary of his conversation with the Prince:

He shook hands very graciously, and I began with a sort of apology for having been so importunate about the photograph. He said something of the weather being against it, and I asked if the Americans had victimised him much as a sitter; he said they had, but he did not think they had succeeded well, and I told him of the new American process of taking twelve thousand photographs in an hour. Edith Liddell coming by at the moment, I remarked on the beautiful tableau which the children might make: he assented, and also said, in answer to my question, that he had seen and admired my photographs of them. I then said that I hoped, as I had missed the photograph, he would at least give me his autograph in my album, which he promised to do. Thinking I had better bring the talk to an end, I concluded by saying that, if he would like copies of any of my photographs, I should feel honoured by his accepting them; he thanked me for this, and I then drew back, as he did not seem inclined to pursue the conversation.⁵

By this time, Dodgson had taken a number of photographs of the Liddell children, and clearly the Prince of Wales had already seen some of them, probably in albums at the Deanery. The photograph of the three children on a sofa was taken in the Deanery garden in 1858. Alice and Lorina dressed in Chinese costume and the photograph of Alice and Lorina on a see-saw in the Deanery garden were taken in 1860.

Dodgson's rather bland account of the visit in his diary is in stark contrast to the letter he sent home to his brothers and sisters in which he recounts the same occasion with more candour, not to say a lack of royal respect. "I had never seen her [the Queen] so near before, nor on her feet, and was shocked to find how short, not to say dumpy, and (with all loyalty be it spoken), how *plain* she is." Later in the letter, Dodgson recounted the tale of the Prince's autograph: I wrote a note to General Bruce, asking if I might bring my album to Frewin Hall, and *see* the autograph done, pleading that that would much increase its value in my eyes. He wrote appointing 10 on Saturday, and added that the Prince would at the same time select some of the photographs. I sent over the box of albums, and went at 10. General Bruce joined me in the hall (a sort of morning room), and the Prince came in directly afterwards, and seemed very friendly and more at his ease than he was at the Deanery.... When the box was opened, he looked through the second album, especially admiring the "cherry" group, the Chinese group, and the large one of the 2 Haringtons.

He said he had no time to finish looking through them then, and proposed they should be left, but on my saying (an awful breach of court etiquette, no doubt), that I was expecting some friends that morning to see them (the John Slatters), he fixed on Tuesday (today) to have them sent over again. He consented to give the autograph then, but would not use my gold pen, as I wanted, saying that he wrote best with quill, and went to fetch a good one, with which he signed, adding the place and date at my suggestion. There ends my interview with Royalty.⁶

So, in this first meeting with royalty, and by Dodgson's own hand the Queen is "dumpy" and "plain"—not much loyal respect shown here! His opinion of the Queen was recorded just eighteen months before the invention of Alice's adventures in which a queen plays a prominent part. But more of this later.

We must not assume that Dodgson was anything but a loyal subject of the Queen. He had been brought up to respect both his God and his Sovereign. In this he was certainly steadfast. He was in all respects a true Victorian—he looked up to the Royal Family as a model for society's conduct. He was, himself, socially conscious, coming from the upper middle class of the clergy, the legal profession, and officers of the armed forces. His forebears came from all three of these ranks of society. His own position as a lecturer at Christ Church also held him in that social class. And we must not forget that he said he had a "complete" photographic set of members of the Royal Family, proving his admiration of them.

THE PRINCE OF WALES AND HIS PRINCESS

In 1863 Dodgson had further contact with royalty, and it has been suggested that this occasion influenced him in the writing of *Through the Looking-Glass*. Mavis Batey, the author of *Alice's Adventures in Oxford*,⁷ was the first to realize that *Looking-Glass* contained echoes of the wedding of the Prince and Princess of Wales on March 10, 1863.

Oxford celebrated the wedding with illuminations and a tree-planting ceremony that involved three children important to Dodgson: Lorina, Alice, and Edith Liddell. The event unfolds with the arrival of Dodgson's brother, Edwin, from Rugby School, the day before the wedding, to join in the Oxford celebrations. Dodgson wrote: "Received a note from Alice, asking me to escort her round to see the illuminations tomorrow evening. Goodeve is to act as escort for Ina, and Bigg for Edith."⁸ Louis Arthur Goodeve and Charles Bigg were, like Dodgson, Students of Christ Church, the latter being a tutor. On the day of the wedding, Dodgson recorded:

Edwin and I went into the Broad Walk to see the three Deanery children plant three trees along the Cherwell, in memory of the day, each delivered a short speech over her tree.... we went to the Deanery for the children, and set out. We soon lost the others, and Alice and I with Edwin, took the round of all the principal streets in about two hours, bringing her home by half-past nine. The mob was dense, but well conducted. The fireworks abundant, and some of the illuminations very beautiful. It was delightful to see the thorough abandonment with which Alice enjoyed the whole thing.

The Wedding-day of the Prince of Wales I mark with a white stone.⁹

Was the white stone for the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, or some other activity during the day? I think we can safely assume the latter. The trees planted by the children have not survived; they were destroyed by the devastating outbreak of Dutch elm disease in the 1970s that killed off most of the trees in the Broad Walk.

After the royal wedding, the happy couple toured various parts of the country so that they could be seen by the masses. One visit was to Oxford the following June when the entourage stayed at the Deanery. Dodgson wrote on June 15, 1863:

Went over to the Deanery in the forenoon, and was shown the Royal chamber (most splendidly furnished) and the things for the Bazaar. I noticed also a magnificent Album (for Cartes de Visite) hired from Howell and James, which had been originally made for the maids of honour to give the Royal couple (and has the plume etc. emblazoned on a magnificent onyx); I offered to fill this from my own albums, which I took over to the Deanery, and had an hour or two of work in transferring the pictures.

A search among the royal archives at Windsor Castle has failed to find this album. Maybe it was for show only, and the photographs were subsequently returned to Dodgson after the royal couple left Oxford.

The Prince and Princess arrived the following day on June 16. Dodgson's diary provides the detail from his perspective:

I was up in Bayne's rooms with a number of friends of his.... I had my telescope up there (for the accommodation of which he broke out a pane of one window) and with it we managed to see them wonderfully well, as they stood under the awning opposite, for the Princess to present to the Volunteers their prizes.... The children were selling some white kittens (like Persian) and as Alice did not dare offer hers to the Princess, I volunteered to plead for her, and asked the Prince if the Princess would not like a kitten, on which she turned round and said to me "oh, but I've bought one of those kittens already," (which I record as the only remark *she* is likely ever to make to me). Ina's had been the favoured one. For some while I went about with the children, trying to get their kittens sold, when suddenly the Bazaar was opened, and the place filled with a dense mob.

Dodgson was in the habit of making lengthy diary entries when the events of the day warranted it. This is one such occasion during which he met and spoke to some of the Royals. A few days later, on June 23, Dodgson went back to the Deanery and took "two pictures with dry collodion plates ... one of the bedstead in the Royal room at the Deanery, and the other of the Deanery and Cathedral, from Sandford's rooms. For the latter picture Ina and Alice sat in the windows of the Royal chamber, and have come out very well in the picture." These pictures, taken with a borrowed camera, have not come to light. But why should Dodgson want to photograph the bed that the Prince and Princess of Wales slept in during their honeymoon tour in Oxford?

So what has all this to do with *Through the Looking-Glass*? Well, recall that in the first few paragraphs Alice is saying "Let's pretend we're kings and queens" and goes on to say to her kitten "Let's pretend that you're the Red Queen," leading into the world of chess, the game that bonds the book into a cohesive whole. One can imagine that the Liddell children were all groomed to do and say the right thing when the Prince and Princess of Wales became part of the household for a couple of days, along with the quotation given at the outset. "Speak in French when you can't think of the English for a thing—turn out your toes as you walk—and remember who you are!"¹⁰ was further advice from the Red Queen. One can almost imagine the tone of Miss Prickett or even Mrs. Liddell in these words of instruction.

Illuminations, fireworks, garden fêtes, and great dinners play their part in the visit of the newlyweds to Christ Church and also in Alice's adventures in Looking-Glass Land. An entertainment brought to Oxford after the royal wedding was the "Talking Fish" extravaganza which may have influenced Humpty Dumpty's poem in *Looking-Glass*:

I sent a message to the fish: I told them 'This is what I wish' The little fishes of the sea, They sent an answer back to me. The little fishes' answer was 'We cannot do it, Sir, because—'¹¹

We'll never know if Dodgson saw this "Wondrous Phenomenon" at the Assembly Rooms in Oxford,¹² or whether he took the Liddell children with him, but it does seem an interesting coincidence that the entertainment and the poem take the same most unusual theme.

Mavis Batey points out that the Lion and Unicorn from the royal coat of arms, two other *Looking-Glass* characters, were illuminated on many of the Oxford buildings during the celebrations. Above Canterbury Gate at Christ Church there was a large rotating crown that Alice could easily see from the Deanery. Mavis Batey's book and her sequel, *The Adventures of Alice*,¹³ give more details of the links between fiction and reality.

FREDERICK, THE CROWN PRINCE OF DENMARK

Acquiring a set of professionally produced photographs of the Royal Family was not quite the same as getting them to sit before his own camera, and Dodgson was willing and eager to undertake this task. As we have heard, he was unsuccessful with the Prince of Wales. We can assume that he did not pursue Her Majesty the

Queen with this idea. However, he succeeded in getting the Prince of Wales' brother-in-law to have his photograph taken. Frederick, the Crown Prince of Denmark, was an undergraduate at Christ Church. His sister, Princess Alexandra of Denmark, had married the Prince of Wales in 1863. Another of Dodgson's important photographic sitters was named after the Princess, Alexandra "Xie" Kitchin. Mrs. Kitchin's father was British Consul at Copenhagen, and she herself was a personal friend of Princess Alexandra of Denmark, who became Xie's godmother. The Crown Prince's career at Oxford was interrupted by the outbreak of war between Denmark and Prussia over the Schleswig-Holstein problem. But before Frederick left Oxford, Dodgson succeeded-with the Kitchins' help-in getting him to come and have his photograph taken.

Dodgson recorded the day, November 18, 1863, in his diary:

A memorable day. Kitchin called about half-past 11 to say he would bring the Prince to be photographed at half-past 12 (he had consented some time ago to sit). Went over to Badcocks and had everything ready when they arrived. They staid about half an hour, and I took two negatives of him, a 6 x 5 half-length, and a 10 x 8 full-length. In the intervals he looked over my photographs that are mounted on cards, and he also signed his name in my album, saying as he did so that it was the *first* time he had used his new title. (He is now Crown-Prince, the news of the death of the old king having come on *Monday*.) He conversed pleasantly and sensibly, and is evidently a much brighter specimen of royalty than his brother-in-law.

Clearly, Dodgson was still smarting about the rebuff he received from the Prince of Wales who refused to let him take his photograph. But to say that Frederick was a "much brighter specimen of royalty" was probably tantamount to



Dodgson, [Frederick]. Prince of Denmark, 1863. Albumen print of collodion negative, 20.7 x 16.0 cm. University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Center, Gernsheim Collection.

treason! Of course, it might also be true. Frederick looks relatively intelligent in his academic gown. In the photograph, he stands and is taken full length. In the other, he is seated at a desk. The Prince was very cooperative. The photographic process was time-consuming as the glassplate had to be prepared just prior to the photograph being taken. Since two photographs were taken, there was an interval between the two photographic exposures. Dodgson gains another success in getting the Prince to sign his name in the album; he was just as keen to get autographs as he was to get photographs of royalty (or, for that matter, any celebrity). The glass-plate was developed im-

mediately, but the photographic print was made at a later date and inserted into the album.

Dodgson gave a copy of the "seated" print to the Liddells, and a copy appeared in one of their albums. (This is after the *supposed* split between Dodgson and the Liddell family.)

PRINCESS BEATRICE

We know that the Royal Family had access to the *Alice* books. Dodgson sent a copy of *Wonderland* to Princess Beatrice, Queen Victoria's youngest daughter, on November 22, 1865. Dodgson's diary lists the recipients of presentation copies, and Princess Beatrice was second only to Alice Liddell in that list. Dodgson received the following letter from Lady Augusta Stanley, Lady-in-Waiting to the Royal household, dated December 18, 1865, in response to his presentation copy of *Wonderland* sent to Princess Beatrice:

The Deanery, Westminster Dear Mr. Dodgson,

It seems in consequence of an oversight that Sir Charles Phipps did not write to acknowledge the little book of which Her Majesty was pleased to sanction the presentation to the Princess Beatrice.

He requested me to convey Her acknowledgement to you. I must add, that various members of the Household have added it to their nursery Libraries where it is established as a proven favourite. Yours truly,

Augusta Stanley¹⁴

Dodgson also sent Princess Beatrice copies of the foreign language editions of *Alice*. The Windsor Castle Royal Archive contains a copy of the German *Alice* (1869) with an inscription to the Princess that reads in a rather gushing tone: "Presented to Her Royal Highness, The Princess Beatrice, by Her obedient Servant, the Author." The book bears Princess Beatrice's bookplate and is bound in full leather in green morocco with one decorative and three plain lines of border round each board—not the usual decoration.

A WELL KNOWN ROYAL MYTH

While we are talking about the Royal Family and Queen Victoria in particular, mention must be made of an anecdote that links Dodgson to her. This story, and its denial, was recalled in 1932 by Thomas Banks Strong, Bishop of Oxford. Strong, who knew Dodgson as well as anyone living at the time, said:

The . . . legend, frequently repeated, as to which I am wholly sceptical, is that some one presented a copy of *Alice in Wonderland* to the Queen, who asked to have any future works by the author sent to her, and that he sent her a work on the *Theory of Numbers* or some such subject. I disbelieve this for two reasons. It would have been contrary to Dodgson's whole attitude towards the Throne and to his good manners to put a gibe of this sort upon the Queen. And it was entirely contrary to his attitude towards his books. He always refused to admit to any but specially privileged persons that he was Lewis Carroll.¹⁵

The story is clearly untrue—Dodgson, who indicated that he had seen reports in newspapers about it, denied it in the second edition to *Symbolic Logic: Part 1, Elementary* in a postscript to an advertisement for the other two parts of this projected book. He wrote:

I take this opportunity of giving what publicity I can to my contradiction of a silly story, which has been going the round of the papers, about my having presented certain books to Her Majesty the Queen. It is so constantly repeated, and is such absolute fiction, that I think it worth while to state, once for all, that it is utterly false in every particular: nothing even resembling it has ever occurred.¹⁶

So far, nobody has been able to find the offending rumor printed in any newspaper of the time. The anecdote had probably existed for many years—*Alice* came out in late 1865 and this was followed by *An Elementary Treatise on Determinants* in 1867. Why did Dodgson wait almost thirty years before going into print to deny the story?

For one with great respect for the Queen, it is surprising, therefore, to find him pretending in a letter to the thirteen-year-old Margaret Cunnynghame that he refused to supply the Queen with a photograph of himself. The letter, dated April 7, 1868, includes this paragraph:

But oh, Maggie, how *can* you ask for a better one of me than the one I sent! It is one of the best ever done! Such grace, such dignity, such benevolence, such—as a great secret (please don't repeat it) the *Queen* sent to ask for a copy of it, but as it is against my rule to give in such a case, [I was obliged to answer:] "Mr. Dodgson presents his compliments to Her Majesty, and regrets to say that his rule is never to give his photograph except to *young* ladies." I am told she was annoyed about it, and said, "I'm not so old as all that comes to," and one doesn't like to annoy Queens, but really I couldn't help it, you know.¹⁷ This is, of course, exactly how stories and rumors begin. Another instance of pretence occurred when he fabricated a letter from Queen Victoria to himself and gave it to the Drury sisters, to impress them that the Queen had invited him to Buckingham Palace to attend a gardenparty: "I hope you will be able to come to our Garden Party on Friday afternoon."¹⁸

Morton Cohen, in his introduction to *Interviews and Recollections*, writes: "With effort, a claim could even be made of a distant relationship to Queen Victoria. It [the Dodgson family] was an upper-crust family, steeped in tradition, religious, devoted to serving God, country, and mankind."¹⁹ Cohen does not expand on this genealogical link with the Royal Family. It appears that Dodgson was descended from Matilda de Hoghton, the illegitimate daughter of William the Conqueror.²⁰

However, the link between Alice Liddell and the present Queen, and therefore back to Queen Victoria, is much clearer. In Anne Clark's book *The Real Alice*,²¹ that link is made apparent with a family tree showing the Liddells descended from the family of Lyon, and from this family comes the Bowes-Lyon branch that produced Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes-Lyon, the late Queen Mother.

PRINCE LEOPOLD

One lasting relationship between Dodgson and the Royals came with Queen Victoria's youngest son, Prince Leopold. This began when Leopold was a teenager, and continued after his early death with his wife and children.

The Prince was, by all accounts, strong-willed and intelligent with a great love of life. He was also a hemophiliac and suffered from epilepsy. As such, his youth was very restricted-with few outside influences-and the Queen was very protective towards him. He had a personal tutor named Mr. Shuldham, from Eton, who left to marry in 1866. His replacement was Robinson Duckworth, of rivertrip fame, recommended by Dean Stanley of Westminster and Dean Liddell. Duckworth found a very introverted thirteen-year-old who was emotionally disturbed, immobile and depressed. He set about reconstructing the Prince's life, removing the claustrophobic atmosphere that he had suffered up until then. To broaden the Prince's mind, Duckworth suggested that he collect autographs and signed letters, very much in fashion at the time. He hoped that the Prince would end up corresponding and conversing with some of the important people of his day.

Gradually, the collection began to grow with contributions from Kingsley, Tennyson, Disraeli, Landseer, Longfellow, and many others. Most of the letters began "My dear Duckworth" so it was clear that he was the driving force behind the collection. Duckworth also used his Oxford connections to add to the autographs. One letter pasted into Prince Leopold's album simply says: "Believe me, at 1.30 a.m., sleepily but sincerely yours, C. L. Dodgson."²² Duckworth must have told Dodgson about the Prince's restricted life with the result that in November 1867 Dodgson sent Leopold a bundle of autograph letters for his collection. These letters were sent to Dodgson by such people as George MacDonald, Charlotte Yonge, Henry Liddon, Arthur Hughes, Holman Hunt, and John Tenniel.²³

In July 1867, Duckworth, who had gained the trust of the Queen, was appointed the Prince's Governor. The Queen, in a letter to her eldest daughter, described Duckworth as: "a really most talented and charming person... The only objection I have to him is that he is a clergyman. However, he is enlightened and so free from the usual prejudices of his profession that I feel I must get over my dislike to that. Mr. Duckworth is an excel-

lent preacher and good-looking besides."²⁴ Make of that what you will! To replace Duckworth as tutor, Robert Hawthorn Collins was appointed and would follow him to Oxford and remain a member of the Prince's household for many years. Duckworth left the Royal household in 1870.

Prince Leopold had a burning ambition to attend a university, possibly influenced by Duckworth. Although the Queen was not entirely in favor of the idea, she finally relented, but set stringent rules about his attendance being for study alone, and not for general amusement. At the age of nineteen, on November 27, 1872, Prince Leopold matriculated at Oxford in the Deanery at Christ Church. Bells were rung in the churches in Oxford and also at Christ Church to celebrate the occasion. Dr. Acland, his medical adviser, and Dean Liddell became responsible for the Prince. His own tutor, Collins, was the link between the Prince and the Queen. Acland found a house in St. Giles,



Dodgson, [Prince Leopold, standing], 1875. Albumen print of collodion negative, 17.8 x 12.7 cm. University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Center, Gernsheim Collection.

Wykeham House, to be the Prince's residence. After the matriculation ceremony, Acland and Liddell dined with the Prince at Wykeham House, no doubt to discuss the options for study. Leopold did not select a degree course, but chose a range of lectures to attend including art with John Ruskin and chemistry with Dodgson's friend and colleague, Augustus Vernon Harcourt.²⁵

The following year, Dodgson was seeking a photographic sitting from this latest member of the Royal Family to attend Oxford University. On May 26, 1875, Dodgson recorded his visit to Wykeham House:

I found myself treated as senior guest, and had to sit next to the young host, who was particularly unassuming and genial in manner: I do not wonder at his being so universal a favourite. After lunch, we adjourned to a large tent in the garden, where coffce and cigars were provided. I showed the Prince a few photographs I had taken with me, and after arranging for a sitting on Wednesday next, took my leave.

On June 2, 1875, he added:

The Prince came alone about 11½, and was joined afterwards by Collins. He staid till nearly I, and I

took two photographs of him, but neither was quite free from moving. He looked over a number of photographs, and chose some for me to give him.

One of these photographs shows Leopold standing, the other sitting. They were taken in Dodgson's Tom Quad rooftop studio above his rooms at Christ Church. Leopold signed his name in one of Dodgson's albums.²⁶ Although a little blurred by the Prince's slight movement, the photographs show a self-possessed and confident young man, at ease as an undergraduate.

PRINCESS ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND

Expressly against the Queen's instructions, Leopold began to enjoy the social life that Oxford had to offer. This centered around the Deanery at Christ Church, with Mrs. Liddell prominent in making her home a place of entertainment fit for a Prince. Leopold became acquainted with the Liddell household and the Liddell daughters: in particular, Lorina, Alice, and Edith, now aged 25, 22, and 20 years respectively. He had undergraduate friends too; Aubrey Harcourt, later to become engaged to Edith Liddell, was one of them. In the spring of 1873 Leopold confided to his closest friends that he was in love. He talked of marriage. She was an Oxford girl but her name does not appear in the records kept by the Royal house-

hold. It is likely that the Queen found out, and "was not amused."²⁷

We have a clue to the identity of this maid in Dodgson's squib on the architectural changes that Dean Liddell had set in motion at Christ Church entitled *The Vision of the Three T's*, a dramatic parody of Isaak Walton's *Compleat Angler* (1653). In this, Dodgson mocks Mrs. Liddell, calling her a "King-fisher," no doubt satirizing the frequent visits of the Prince to the Deanery and her wish to make him a royal son-in-law! The Piscator states:

I will say somewhat of the Nobler kinds, and chiefly of the Gold-fish, which is a species highly thought of, and much sought after in these parts, not only by men, but by divers birds, as for example the King-fishers.²⁸

An undergraduate adds to the speculation. John Howe Jenkins wrote a scurrilous piece about life at Oxford at the time, thinly disguising the gossip and the rumor in his dramatic pamphlet called *Cakeless*. Although it was published anonymously, the author's name was discovered, and Jenkins was sent down. He dared to suggest that the Dean and Mrs. Liddell, named Apollo and Diana in the verse play, had been disappointed with the marriage of their eldest daughter, Lorina, to William Baillie Skene, in February 1874, and that they were being more careful with their remaining daughters. He went on to suggest that the potential bridegrooms were Yerbua (Aubrey Harcourt, a friend of the Prince), Rivulus (Lord Brooke, another close friend of the Prince), and Regius (obviously Leopold). He muddled the possible brides, probably because he didn't know the Liddell daughters well enough, but the attack on Mrs. Liddell was entirely transparent.

The name of Leopold's love, by tradition rather than record, was Alice Liddell. Not coming into contact with many young ladies at Oxford, he was certain to find the Liddell sisters an attraction, and Alice-well educated, artistic, musical, and good-looking-especially fetching. Edith Liddell may have already formed an attachment to Aubrey Harcourt although they did not announce their engagement until 1876, two years later. Rhoda was probably too young to be considered at this point, being just fifteen and not as attractive as her older sisters. But it was not to be; the romance between Alice Liddell and Prince Leopold either foundered or was blocked. We will never know for certain what happened. In May 1873, the Queen sent for Leopold, and he traveled to Balmoral. He did not see the Liddells again until December of that year (a possible "cooling off" period), and from then on talk of marriage was over.

There are other clues to a possible romantic link between Alice and Leopold. When Alice married Reginald Hargreaves at Westminster Abbey in September 1880, she wore a pearl horseshoe brooch on her wedding dress given to her by Prince Leopold as a wedding gift. However, the Prince did not attend the wedding.

PRINCESS LOUISE

Dodgson made further contact with Prince Leopold in 1876 when he wished to present a copy of *The Hunting of the Snark* to Princess Louise, the eldest daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales. His letter, dated January 31, explains his problem.

I am hoping to bring out a new child's book this Easter, and that I wish to be allowed the honour of presenting a copy to the Princess of Wales' eldest daughter. I have asked one or two friends, who I thought would be able to obtain this permission, but they assure me that the request, and the gift itself, must go through the hands of a Secretary, or some other official. I should feel that all the poetry of such a gift, as sent by an author to a child, would evaporate in such a process of transmission. I could as easily imagine Othello's defence, "Most potent, grave, and reverend signiors," read out by the Clerk of the Court. If your Royal Highness could either present the book, for me, to the little Princess herself; or get permission for me to send it direct, I should esteem such an honour highly: but if the only available process is that the book should pass through the hands of a Secretary, I had rather not send it at all.²⁹

The Prince replied promising Dodgson to transmit the request to his sister-in-law, the Princess of Wales, on her return from Denmark. "The amount of etiquette with which we are surrounded is indeed very tiresome," the Prince added, "(though, at times, useful), but it is not in my power to diminish it."³⁰ It is not known whether Dodgson ever sent the book to Princess Louise Victoria Alexandra Dagmar, eldest daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Prince Leopold was created Duke of Albany in 1881 and was married to Princess Helene Frederica Augusta Waldeck-Pyrmont in April 1882. Their first child was born in February 1883. Alice Liddell wrote to congratulate the Prince, at the same time inviting him to be godfather to her second son who had been born in January that year. Leopold wrote from Windsor:

Many thanks for your very kind letter of good wishes on the birth of our little girl. The event is, as you can imagine, a source of *great* pleasure to us. It is very good of you asking me to be godfather to your boy, and I shall have great pleasure in being so. Please let me know what his names are to be.... Our child will probably be christened on Easter Monday, we mean to call her Alice.³¹

Alice and Reginald Hargreaves named their second son Leopold Reginald, but he was always known in the family as Rex. The King-fisher wins the day!

Within a year, Leopold was dead of a brain hemorrhage following convulsions after a fall. A few months later, his wife the Duchess of Albany gave birth to a son, named Charles Edward.

Dodgson's friendship with Prince Leopold's widow and her two children, Princess Alice and Prince Charles, is discussed in the second part of this paper, which will appear in the next issue of this magazine.

Based on a talk given to the Lewis Carroll Society (UK) on April 28, 2000. Extracts from Dodgson's diaries and letters are the copyright of the Trustees of the C. L. Dodgson Estate, who have kindly given permission for them to be reproduced in this article.

- ¹ Lewis Carroll, "The Garden of Live Flowers" in *Through the Looking- Glass, And What Alice Found There* (London: Macmillan, 1872), 36.
- ² Lewis Carroll, "Alice' on the Stage," *The Theatre*, n.s., 9 (April 1887): 182.
- ³ Dodgson, May 17, 1855, Edward Wake-ling, ed., Lewis Carroll's Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, 7

 vols. to date (Luton & Clifford, England: The Lewis Carroll Society, 1993–). Unless otherwise noted, all diary entries are from this series. Further reference will only be made for dates that are not given in the main body of this paper. For unpublished entries, the author relies on his copies of the originals housed in the British Library.
 ⁴ Henry Lewis Thompson, *Memoir of Henry George Liddell, D.D., Dean of Christ Church,* Oxford (London: John Murray, 1899), 177.

- ⁵ Dodgson, December 12, 1860, quoted in Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 85–86. Collingwood quotes a portion of the now missing diaries.
- ⁶ Dodgson to his siblings, [December 18, 1860], Morton Cohen, with the assistance of Roger Lancelyn Green, *The Letters of*

Lewis Carroll (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 46.

- ⁷ Mavis Batey, *Alice's Adventures in Oxford* (London: Pitkin Pictorials, 1980), 22–23, 26–27.
- ⁸ Dodgson, March 9, 1863, Diaries, 171.
- ⁹ lbid., March 10, 1863, 172-73.
- ¹⁰ Carroll, "The Garden of Live Flowers" in Looking-Glass, 45.
- ¹¹ Ibid., "Humpty Dumpty," 131–132.
- ¹² Batey, Alice's Adventures in Oxford, 22. The poster advertising "Talking Fish!!!" described the event as a "Wondrous Phenomena."
- ¹³ Mavis Batcy, *The Adventures of Alice: The Story Behind the Stories Lewis Carroll Told* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
- ¹⁴ Lady Augustus Stanley to Dodgson, December 18, 1865, Dodgson Family Collection. Published here for the first time.
- ¹⁵ Thomas Banks Strong, "Mr. Dodgson: Lewis Carroll at Oxford," *Times* (London), January 27, 1932, 11–12. Also collected in Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll: Interviews and Recollections* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989), 38.

- ¹⁶ Lewis Carroll, Symbolic Logic: Part 1, Elementary, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1896), vii. The first edition was published earlier in the same year.
- ¹⁷ Dodgson to Margaret Cunnynghame, April 7, 1868, Cohen, *Letters*, 115–16.
- ¹⁸ Dodgson [as "Victoria R."] to the Drury sisters, June 22, n.y., Private Collection. For a facsimile of this letter, see Cohen, *Letters*, 134–36 n. 2 and 135.
- ¹⁹ Cohen, Interviews and Recollections, p. xvii.
- ²⁰ As it happens, 1 am descended from William the Conqueror's half-brother, made Bishop Wakeling of Winchester in 1070. So, 1'm sure the link is, to say the least, very distant and very tenuous.
- ²¹ Anne Clark, *The Real Alice* (London: Michael Joseph, 1981).
- ²² Dodgson to Robinson Duckworth, n.d., MS Autogr.b.3, f.104, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- ²³ Tenniel to Dodgson, March 8, 1865, Bodleain Library. Also in Edward Wakeling and Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll and His*

Illustrators (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 12–14. In the letter, Tenniel discussed the illustrations in *Wonderland*.

- ²⁴ Charlotte Zcepvat, Prince Leopold, The Untold Story of Queen Victoria's Youngest Son (Stroud [England]: Sutton, 1998), 56–57.
 ²⁵ Ibid., 82–83.
- ²⁶ Dodgson, Photographic Album A(III), Gernsheim Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
- ²⁷ Zeepvat, Prince Leopold, 90.
- ²⁸ [Dodgson], The Vision of the Three T's (Oxford: James Parker, 1873), 9–10. Also reprinted in Edward Wakeling, ed., The Oxford Pamphlets, Leaflets, and Circulars of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, The Pamphlets of Lewis Carroll (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1993), 1:85.
- ²⁹ Dodgson to Prince Leopold, January 31, 1876, Cohen, *Letters*, 241.
- ³⁰ Prince Leopold to Dodgson, February 2, 1876, Cohen, *Letters*, 241 n. 2.
- ³¹ Anne Clark, *The Real Alice*, 193.

HIGH SOCIETY DAYS IN NEW YORK

AUGUST A. IMHOLTZ, JR

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A VISIT TO THE BRYANT PUBLIC LIBRARY

On Friday morning, October 24, 2003 a small band of LCSNA officers and members assembled at the Bryant Library, located on —quite appropriately—Paper Mill Road in Roslyn, New York. We had come to the public library, the oldest on Long Island in continuous use, in order to make a presentation to the Children's Room in honor of Stan Marx, founder of the LCSNA and a longtime supporter. [An LCSNA meeting was held here at the Bryant in October, 1980.—Ed.]

At about eleven o'clock, Ms. Elizabeth McCloat, one of the librarians, welcomed LCSNA President Alan Tannenbaum, Mrs. Diana Marx (Stan's widow), Janet Jurist, Edward Guiliano, David and Mary Schaefer, Edward Wakeling, and me, along with several of Stan's friends from the Long Island Book Club, of which he was the guiding spirit.

After coffee and refreshments and some words of thanks from Ms. McCloat, President Tannenbaum spoke briefly about what Stan had meant to LCSNA and what he must have meant to the library and to the community of Roslyn. Edward Guiliano, who had known Stan in his Carrollian capacity longer than anyone in the room, spoke with great affection of his former friend and colleague—not an academic colleague but truly a colleague as an *anima naturaliter philobiblion*—and how Stan scarcely could have realized back in Princeton in 1974, when the LCSNA first took shape, where things—including today's donation to the library—would lead. Janet Jurist recalled

her long association with Stan, through the LCSNA but first and foremost through the book club at the Bryant Library. David Schaefer shared a few memories of Stan, including an early visit to Arthur Houghton to seek advice on the question of whether the American Carroll society should be independent of its British counterpart. Finally, several of Stan's acquaintances from the town of Roslyn and I offered our observations. Alan thanked Mary Schaefer for suggesting that a memorial of books be made in Stan's honor to the library. We all then trooped down to the Children's Room where the gift, a more-than-two-foot high statue of the White Rabbit, was placed atop a bookcase with a selection of the publications of the LCSNA and a set of Alice books, all bearing a bookplate from the LCSNA commemorating Stan Marx, placed at its feet. We paused for a few photographs and then headed back to Manhattan for the next activity of the day.

THE MAXINE SCHAEFER MEMORIAL READING

In conjunction with the Fall 2003 meeting, the Maxine Schaefer Memorial Outreach Reading took place on a cool Friday afternoon, October 24, at the Dalton School on Manhattan's Upper East Side. The school, first called the Children's University School, was founded by progressive educator Helen Parkhurst in 1919. She originally developed her plan for a new kind of educational experience at a high school in Dalton, Massachusetts,¹ from which the now famous school in New York City took its name. In 1919 she founded her new school in New York and, a





Cindy Watter, Dayna McCausland, and Edward Wakeling in front of the Dalton School.

Above, David Schaefer, August Imholz, and Edward Wakeling examine the scrapbook. Center, the gift to the children's room. (All photos by Alan Tannenbaum)

few years later, expressed her vision of what that school embodied: "Let us think of a school as a social laboratory where pupils themselves are the experimenters, not the victims of an intricate and crystallized system... Let us think of it as a place where community conditions prevail as they prevail in life itself."² The school is located today at 108 East 89th Street.

At two thirty on that cool Friday afternoon, several classes of fourth grade boys and girls assembled in the library on the tenth floor of the Dalton School—buildings, even schools, tend to go straight up in Manhattan. The librarian of the middle school, Ms. Roxanne Feldman, introduced Alan Tannenbaum, who after a few welcoming remarks and expressions of thanks to Ms. Feldman, introduced Ellie Schaefer-Salins. Ellie told the children about the role of her mother, Maxine Schaefer, in the founding of the Society, how she shepherded it through the first twenty years of its existence as the Society's secretary, and how she liked few things more than introducing children, like those in the audience, to Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

Patt Griffin-Miller and Andrew Sellon next gave a spirited dramatic reading of the "Mad Tea-Party" episode in chapter seven of the first *Alice* book. The children, moved by the reading and dramatic skills of our two actors, chuckled at the appropriate moments. Following the performance, Andrew began a discussion with the fourth graders by asking how many had read the book (a lot had) and how many had seen the Disney film (even more). He then asked them how they thought Lewis Carroll had come to write his most famous book. One child said he must have had a dream, which is not all that bad an answer. Andrew and Patt explained the actual origin of the story, including its basis on a real child named Alice and her sisters. This biographical excursus opened a rapid descent into a rabbit hole of questions about Carroll, Alice, and her sisters-especially when they died: Since the class had recently studied E. B. White's fiction and life, they were keen on a pre-postmodern approach to a literary text. Other questions included the following: Why was the Dormouse so tired? (too much sugar in the tea was one answer); What is a Hatter and why is he mad? (Edward Wakeling explained that the mercury used in the making of hats could cause madness); Where is Wonderland? (one child said in their imagination); and finally, there was much discussion about one's favorite characters in the story. Ms. Feldman then brought up Carroll's "The Story of the Three Cats",3 which Andrew read as a kind of encore. At the conclusion of our program, each child received a copy of the Books of Wonder edition of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland with the bookplate commemorating the Maxine Schaefer Children's Outreach Fund. LCSNA members present for the afternoon's events included Alan Tannenbaum, David and Mary Schaefer, Ellie Schaefer-Salins, Janet Jurist, Cindy Watter, Edward Wakeling, Dayna McCausland, and me and my wife, Clare Imholtz.

GENERAL MEETING

At ten forty-five the following morning, members and guests assembled in the original Berol Room of New York University's Fales Library, which, of course, is named for Lewis Carroll collector and university benefactor Alfred C. Berol (who made his fortune manufacturing pencils), to examine a fabulous potpourri of books, ephemera, objets d'art, and the like, which would be auctioned later in the day for the benefit of the LCSNA. Then at eleven forty-five we all strolled through Greenwich Village a few blocks to Ennio & Michael's on LaGuardia Place where we partook of a delightful lunch and the sparkling conversations that always make an LCSNA meeting such an enjoyable social occasion. By one thirty we were back in the Fales, which for those of you who have never visited this remarkable



Above, Joel Birenbaum presides over the auction. Center, Andrew Sellon.



Above, the Bryant Library.

library, is on the third floor of New York University's Elmer Holmes Bobst Library at 70 Washington Square South in New York's Greenwich Village.

President Alan Tannenbaum, after welcoming the audience, thanked Marvin Taylor, Director of the Fales Library and Special Collections, for hosting our meeting and giving us permission in advance to tarry well past the traditional closing hours, should it be necessary. Marvin then welcomed us for at least the third time to NYU (the Society has met here seven previous times) and expressed the library's gratitude for the donation to the Fales of the LCSNA Archives. I, being the Archives Coordinator, next said a few words about them. I read the painfully dry definition of the word "archives" from Sir Hilary Jenkinson's bible of archival library science, A Manual of Archive Administration⁴—a text far drier than even the post-caucus race account of Edwin and Morcar-and assured the LCSNA members that their archives, now safely preserved at NYU, are an exciting record of the first twenty-nine years of a vibrant, living literary society.

Before returning to my chair, I had the sad duty of announcing that Clark Smith, husband of Genevieve B. Smith, had passed away this year on the fourth day of June. Clark, a San Francisco native and a newspaper man throughout his life, was a frequent visitor to our meetings. He and his journalistic animadversions on our follies will be missed by all who had the pleasure of knowing him.

Edward Wakeling, coeditor with Morton N. Cohen of the newly released collection of letters entitled *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators*,⁵ delivered the afternoon's first lecture, which he titled "Lewis Carroll's Artistic Mind's Eye." Edward began by projecting a cavalcade of pictures by the illustrators of Dodgson's books: John Tenniel, Henry Holiday, Arthur Frost, Harry Furniss, and Gertrude Thomson. Fine as their illustrations are (some would say they are "classic") the question arises of "who should claim praise for such magnificent illustrative ideas—the artist or the author?" Dodgson, Edward argued, had a substantial hand in both the subjects and themes for the illustrations. The evidence for such a claim derives from three sources: the diaries, the illustration plans Dodgson drew up for some of his books (particularly those for the *Alice* books), and the letters printed in the newly published collection. These letters to his illustrators reveal that "in virtually all cases, Dodgson had in his mind's eye exactly what was required to illustrate his work."

Dodgson had, however, initially entertained the possibility of illustrating Wonderland himself. Edward cited the well-known verdict of John Ruskin on Dodgson's artistic talents⁶ and added the evidence of the diary entry of July 16, 1863, recounting Carroll's visit to Thomas Combe with his half-length drawing of Alice drawn on wood to be engraved. The arms were "condemned" and Dodgson was told he "must draw from the life."7 Still undeterred, he called on Mr. Jewitt of Camden Town who gave him some further hints and seemed to be willing to cut the blocks Dodgson had drawn. Over the next few months Dodgson associated with the most famous British artists of his day, Arthur Hughes and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, inter alia. Whether on the basis of the opinions of two such "experts" as Ruskin and Combe, or from conversation with his artist friends, Dodgson in the end decided to hire a professional illustrator-one John Tennieł.

Edward pointed out that the story, mentioned by Williams and Madan, that Dodgson recommended Mary Badcock, daughter of Canon Badcock, to Tenniel as the model for Alice, is completely impossible because of the dates of Tenniel's drawings, as well as the *Punch* cover of 1864 on which the girl who would be Alice appears—some months before the supposed Badcock incident.⁸

The course of Dodgson's own development as a draftsman may, however, merit some further attention. Consider

illustration made the when he was thirteen for Useful and Instructive *Poetry*:⁹ "the proportions of the figure look right... and there is some use of perspective"-altogether a not unpromising start. Some seventeen years later when he incorporated his own carefully drawn illustrations into the manuscript of Alice's Adventures under Ground he not only worked hard to get the animals as anatomically correct as he could, but he also learned the art of spacing the illustrations to provide a "visual context for the tale." And yet throughout his life he adopted a rather self-deprecatory view of himself as



Morton Cohen and Edward Wakeling at the Fales.

an artist. He once said to Gertrude Thomson, "I can't draw in the least myself—that's the first qualification for an Art Critic."¹⁰ Furniss was the only artist employed by Dodgson who mocked Dodgson's view of himself as an artist.¹¹

Quoting passages from many of Dodgson's letters to Frost, Thomson and the other artists, Edward continued to show in some detail the constant intervention of Dodgson's mind's eye in the work of the artists' hands, especially wherever "thick ankles" turned up. His talk provided an excellently documented summary of one of the themes running through the letters and was beautifully illustrated. Forty-two illustrations, in fact!

Morton N. Cohen, our second speaker of the afternoon, began by saying how grateful he was to Edward Wakeling for such a lucid lecture and how strongly he agreed with Edward about the unjustly maligned artistic abilities of Charles L. Dodgson.

In the proem to his rhetorically masterful lecture, titled "Facts and Fictions," Cohen suggested that Dodgson reveals himself more in his letters than in his diaries. At first this assertion sounds rather counterintuitive but the letter writer reveals a great deal about himself in what he says and how he says it in a manner we do not find in the daily diary entries. The letters do not give us a new picture of Dodgson but rather broadly substantiate the attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and even prejudices that we have encountered before. Cohen, who quoted about six examples from Dodgson's letters to his illustrators, is especially interested in those throwaway lines that reveal so much about his character. Dodgson's considerate nature, for instance, is revealed in the letter to Frost on February 24, 1885, in which he declines to criticize Frost's Stuff and Nonsense since "The fun turns too exclusively on depicting brutal

violence, terror, and physical pain, and even death, none of which are funny to me."¹²

Cohen then turned to another matter altogether: the views of Dodgson put forth by revisionist critics and by apologists (referring here to the work of Karoline Leach, Hugues Lebailly, and, as discovered later, Edward Wakeling). No one owns the whole truth about anyone else so each biographer must to some extent create a fiction. The historical works of Edward Gibbon and Thomas Carlyle, great though they be, alas, are in the end, fictions. Least desirable and persuasive are those fictions that

wander from the facts or attempt to twist facts to say the opposite of what they document. Cohen has remained silent as these revisionist theories surfaced over the past several years for two main reasons: Some of the assertions were full of distortions, unworthy of reply, and others were contrary to established fact (e.g., that Dodgson used children only in order to pursue their mothers). Nothing these revisionists declared, he seemed to imply, could be further from the truth.

Cohen then decried those apologists, the novelists and critics, who on the other hand say we must look at Victorian attitudes toward children and once we do that we shall see nothing extraordinary about Dodgson's interest in little girls.¹³ Clearly not every Oxford don or Anglican clergyman of the Victorian period spent a substantial part of his life in the company of young female children.

On the controversial matter of the break between Dodgson and the Liddells, Cohen pointed out that before the break on or about June 27, 1863, Dodgson had been seeing the Liddell girls almost every day, and that the break was longer and more serious than the revisionists suggest.¹⁴ On June 25 Dodgson took the girls back from Nuneham by railway, the first documented case of his being alone with the children. He said of this trip, "We had tea under the trees at Nuneham, after which the rest drove home in the carriage (which met them in the park), while Ina, Alice, Edith, and I (mirabile dictu!) walked down to Abingdon-road station, and so home by railway. A pleasant expedition with a very pleasant conclusion."15 But by his own admission, after that he held aloof from the Liddells until December 19, a total of some 174 days, or almost twenty-five weeks. Lorina Liddell, as she wrote Alice later, told Florence Becker Lennon that Dodgson's "manner became too affectionate to you as you grew older

and that mother spoke to him....¹⁶ Here the apologists say Dodgson was only displaying paternal interest.

As for Dodgson's older female friends, he never wrote acrostic poems to them, never made long lists of their names, and never walked long miles with them the way he did with the young girls. He clearly befriended mature females, but not for emotional sustenance, and he never loved them. The revisionists count Dodgson's letters to mature women, but they do not say that most of those letters are about their children. A letter to Enid Stevens's mother was cited as just one example.¹⁷ Likewise, they also make much of the female guests at Guildford without commenting on the bevy of Dodgson's sisters surrounding them.¹⁸

Finally, there is the infamous scrap of paper from the Guildford Muniment Room¹⁹ describing the contents of the famous ripped page. Cohen says that he and Philip Dodgson Jaques, executor of the Dodgson estate at the time, had a good laugh about the assertion by the revisionists that it had been written by Violet Dodgson, Carroll's niece.²⁰ Cohen knows exactly who wrote it and promises to reveal this information in a forthcoming book or article. In the meantime, the information has been deposited for safekeeping in an envelope should anything happen to him before he has the opportunity to explain this matter in print.

"Facts and fictions intermingle in our lives but fictions built on manipulated 'truths,' like those of the Apologists and the Revisionists, will crumble into dust," he said. A short break preceded our fourth LCSNA auction with very spirited bidding under the able and enthusiastic direction of Joel Birenbaum. Some \$2,400 was raised for the society's funds from the books, artifacts, and treasures contributed by members. The auction was held in the original Berol Room but I fear there may have been only a few things that would have interested that discriminating collector. We then moved to the Fales gallery to enjoy wine and cheese and snacks before returning to the library meeting room at about seven o'clock.

Andrew Sellon, Elizabeth London, and Tim Sheahan gave an engrossing and entertaining reading of Andrew's play *Through the Looking-Glass Darkly*, a work in progress, about Dodgson's life. It was sort of a Thornton Wilder "Our Wonderland" with Dodgson, who has just died, flanked by a man and a woman who lead him back through significant events of his life. Sellon's Dodgson comments on what those key events meant, often in his own words (a device also used in Kevin Moore's *Crocodiles and Cream* but richer and more biting) in response to the leading questions of his two mysterious guides. The ending will not be revealed here. It was a brilliant performance by all but especially by Andrew Sellon.

It was after nine o'clock as we wandered, sated, across the Escheresque floor of the library and out onto Washington Square.

¹ See www.dalton.org.

- ² Helen Parkhurst, *Education on the Dalton Plan* (New York: Dutton, 1922), www.dalton.org/AboutDalton/about_ history.shtml.
- ³ In three letters from Carroll to Agnes and Amy Hughes, [?1871], in Stuart Dodgson Collingwood's *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: Unwin, 1898), 420–23; or *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 1:160–162
- ⁴ Hilary Jenkinson, A Manual of Archive Administration (London: Lund, Humphries, 1965), rerg.dstc.edu.au/publications/ fuptrc.html.
- ⁵ Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling, Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators: Collaborations and Correspondence, 1865–1898 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- ⁶ Collingwood, The Life and Letters, 102
- ⁷ Dodgson, July 16, 1863, Edward Wakeling, Lewis Carroll's Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Clifford, England: The Lewis Carroll Society, 1997), 4:220–21.
- ⁸ Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, A Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) (London: Milford, 1931), 22. For the Punch Alice

illustration and the Badcock photograph as well as a full critique, see Michael Hancher, *The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books* (Columbus, Ohio State Press, 1985), 22, 101–2.

- ⁹ The illustration is not in Derek Hudson's 1954 commercial publication of this work.
- ¹⁰ Dodgson to Thomson, [n. d.] in "Lewis Carroll: A Sketch by an Artist-Friend," Gertrude Thomson, *Gentlewoman* (January 29, 1898) reprinted in Cohen and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators*, 321. The original letter is missing.
- ¹¹ Dodgson to Furniss, April 24[?], 1885, in Cohen and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators*, 114.
- ¹² Dodgson to Frost, February 24, 1885, Cohen and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators*, 97.
- ¹³ Hugues Lebailly, "C. L. Dodgson and the Victorian Cult of the Child," *Carrollian*, no. 4 (Autumn 1999).
- ¹⁴ Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, 4:214–15, nn. 227–28. Also see Wakeling, "Mr. Dodgson and the Royal Family" p. 5.
- ¹⁵ Dodgson, June 25, 1863, Wakeling, Lewis Carroll's Diaries, 4:213.
- ¹⁶ Lorina Skene to Alice Hargreaves, May 2, 1930, in Edward Wakeling, "Two Letters

from Lorina to Alice," *Jabberwocky* 21, no. 4, issue 80 (Autumn 1992): 92.

- ¹⁷ Dodgson to Enid Stevens, February 28, 1891, in Morton N. Cohen, *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, 2:825. Enid was born in 1882.
 [To understand the ambiguity in letter counting, see also March 2, 1891; March 9, 1891; April 1, 1891; April 5, 1891; April 16, 1891; April 17, 1891; June 16, 1891; May 5, 1892; May 27, 1892; June 1, 1892; November 16; 1892; April 14, 1893; June 6, 1893; January 26, 1894, restricting the fist to only Mrs. Stevens.]
- ¹⁸ For a prior publication of this criticism, see Donald Rackin, review of *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild*, by Karoline Leach, *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 652.
- ¹⁹ The Dodgson Family Collection of artifacts, family letters and papers, photographs, printed matter and childhood ephemera was on deposit at the Guildford Museum and later the Guildford Muniment Room between 1965 and 1981. The archives were moved to the Surrey History Centre in Woking in 1998.
- ²⁰ Karoline Leach, In the Shadow of the Dreamchild: A New Understanding of Lewis Carroll (London: Peter Owen, 1999), 170–71.

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Still More Contemporary Sylvie and Bruno Reviews

AUGUST A. IMHOLTZ JR. AND CLARE IMHOLTZ

Provide and Bruno books located for this series.

FRANK LESLIE'S POPULAR MONTHLY:

VOL. 29, APRIL 1890

Lewis Carroll's new juvenile treasure-trove, entitled "Sylvie and Bruno" (Macmillan & Co.), is a book rich in amazing conceits and droll speeches, illustrated with forty-six drawings by Harry Furniss, which the author justly pronounces "wonderful." If this work falls short of the sensational success of the same author's "Alice in Wonderland," it is only because the latter was absolutely original, unique, unapproachable. In "Sylvie and Bruno," Mr. Carroll has endeavored to strike out yet another new path, combining all sorts of odd ideas, fragments of dialogue, quotations, perversions, and *dreams*, into an eccentric tale of two little children who flutter back and forth between fairy-land and the world of reality in a charmingly irresponsible fashion. All through the story there pops up, now and again, a kind of crazy Gardener, who chants "in shrill, discordant tones" such stanzas as:

"He thought he saw an Elephant That practiced on a fife: He looked again, and found it was A letter from his wife.

'At length I realize,' he said,

'The bitterness of life.'"

One of the queerest things about the book is a sermonizing preface—evidently written on purpose to be skipped—in

which the author seriously enjoins his young readers never to go to any entertainment where they would be afraid to die: "If the thought of sudden death," he says, "acquires for *you*, a special horror when imagined as happening in a *theatre*, then be very sure the theatre is harmful for *you*, however harmless it may be for others; and that *you* are incurring a deadly peril in going. Be sure the safest rule is that we should not dare to *live* in any scene in which we dare not *die*." Perhaps some of the mad Gardener's remarks have got themselves mixed up with Mr. Carroll's Introduction.

GODEY'S MAGAZINE: VOL. 132, NO. 791, MAY 1, 1896

[Discussing the role of logical reversal in Carroll's nonsense]... In "Sylvie and Bruno" we hear of a little girl so light that it is easier carrying her than not; and later there is a sort of backward feast, in which one hears of unroasting the mutton and giving it to the butcher, re-wrapping the potatoes and giving them back to the gardener to bury; and there is the alligator that walks up its own tail and across its own forehead and down its own nose. If there were more of these incidents "Sylvie and Bruno" would be another success instead of a horrible nondescript with a moralizing, egotistical preface in extremely bad taste, a milk-and-water love story unintelligible to children and deadly dull for their elders, and a tormenting in-mixture of puerility, which must surely be dull for children of any age. Herein, too, Carroll unloads quantities of ghastly and typical British humor, a veritable pun-pudding fairly reeking with italics. It is fortunately relieved from utter ruin by the immortal "Gardener's Song," and a few other traces of pure Carrollesque.



THE AUTHENTIC WASP

MATTHEW DEMAKOS

"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument," Alice objected. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

-Through the Looking-Glass

GLORY

Twenty-five years ago the Lewis Carroll Society held a symposium on the authenticity of "The Wasp in a Wig," an excised episode from *Through the Looking-Glass*. Sotheby's had auctioned the galley sheets to the episode four years before and *The Sunday Telegraph*¹ was the first to have published the piece in full, eight months prior to the symposium. Many of the contributors questioned the authenticity of the sheets and the handwritten markings to omit the section, some declaring the piece a mere forgery. The purpose of this paper is to examine the criticisms afresh, taking advantage of the passing years, new technology, and, especially, two subsequently discovered documents.

The first evidence of the episode came from Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, whose biography of his uncle, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (1899), contained a letter from John Tenniel, dated June 1, 1870:

I think that where the *jump* occurs in the Railway scene you might very well make Alice lay hold of the Goat's *beard* as being the object nearest to her hand—instead of the old lady's hair. The jerk would naturally throw them together.

Don't think me brutal, but I am bound to say that the '*wasp*' chapter doesn't interest me in the least, + I can't see my way to a picture. If you want to shorten the book, I can't help thinking—with all submission—that *there* is your opportunity.

In an agony of haste $[.]^2$

Tenniel may have been reminded of Carroll's desire to shorten the book by remembering his previous thoughts about the railway scene, as indicated in a letter dated a couple of months before:

I would infinitely rather give no opinion as to what would be best left out of the book, but since you put the question point-blank, I am bound to say, supposing excision somewhere to be absolutely necessary, that the Railway scene never *did* strike me as being *very* strong, and that I think it might be sacrificed without much repining; besides, there is no subject down in illustration of it in the condensed list.

Please let me know to what extent you have used, or intend using, the *pruning-knife*; my great fear is that all this indecision and revision will interfere fatally with the progress of the book.³ Since Tenniel's letter linked the two episodes, and the illustrations following the railway scene were of insects like the Wasp—the Rocking-Horse-fly, the Snap-Dragon-fly and the Bread-and-butter-fly—scholars were bound to assume they were in close proximity. In 1947 Roger Lancelyn Green wrote in *The Story of Lewis Carroll*:

and the "wasp" chapter *was* left out—(how one wonders what it was about, and how one envies Tenniel who was perhaps the only person who ever read it!)—which is perhaps why Alice takes such a very short time in getting all the way to the Fourth Square, though to be sure a pawn can jump over a whole square in its first move.⁴

In 1952, Alexander Taylor in The White Knight: A Study of C. L. Dodgson also suggested the episode came in the same place: "Apparently Dodgson meant her to go down among the insects, for Alice decided to go down the other way, which would take her towards them. But at this point Tenniel rebelled and refused to draw a wasp wearing a wig." Taylor also furthered a suggestion made by Collingwood, concluding that an insect so clad "in view of the recent Church trials, was surely not entirely without interest."5 And two years later in 1954, Derek Hudson declared Collingwood's inkling a fact, writing: "Tenniel played a part in shaping the text as well as the illustrations, for it was by his advice that a projected chapter introducing a wasp in the character of a judge or barrister was omitted, and that Alice in the railway carriage was made to catch at the goat's beard which 'seemed to melt away as she touched it.'"6 Likewise, Selwyn Goodacre, in a suppressed paper written before the galleys were announced for auction, surmised that the wasp was one of the looking-glass insects in chapter three.7 Lastly, and quite oddly enough, Rodney Engen writing in 1991, despite the publication of the galleys, believed the railway episode "continued with what is now called the 'Wasp in the Wig' passage."8

Yet, the supposed forger of "Wasp" shunned the intuition of at least two scholars, making three decisions that would later prove clairvoyant. First, he decided not to make his forgery a full chapter. Second, he decided to place his Wasp away from the railway scene and the subsequent insects. Last, he decided to link the section with the White Knight chapter. Naturally, this puzzled the scholars at the symposium.⁹ Why would Carroll place an aged wasp after an aged knight and a song about an aged (aged) man? Raphael Shaberman shrugged "The author of the 'Wasp' chapter seems to have accepted whole-heartedly Oscar Wilde's dictum that 'nothing succeeds like excess'—a dictum that I think would have been decisively rejected by Lewis Carroll."¹⁰

Unbeknownst to these panelists, however, there were at least two documents that supported the three "clairvoyant" points above. In 1992, Edward Wakeling published "The Illustration Plan for Through the Looking-Glass" in Jabberwocky, an article detailing and reproducing a document he found a few years earlier in the Christ Church archives.¹¹ In the congested scribble of this two-page plan (right), below the illustrations named "Battle of 2 knights," "Knight falling" and "Knight singing," the single word "Wasp" appears crossed out, and surrounded by "Knight in ditch" and "Old man on gate."

The other document—reproduced here for the first time—also indicates the episode's location. The Houghton Library at Harvard University houses many rare Carrollian items, such as the early drafts with emendations of the preliminary pages to *Looking-Glass.*¹² On the table of contents page (reproduced on page 18), beneath the chapters titled "The Lion and the Unicorn," and "Check!"—an early title for the Knight chapter—appears a chapter without a title, a

perfect and absolute blank. This is followed by "Queen Alice" and "Waking." Though having no mention of a wasp, the document, without the aid of the illustration plan, supports the supposed forger's placement of the "thirteenth" chapter.

With this time-line of events, a concept developed by Mark Israel,¹³ the suggestion of a forgery becomes nothing more than a conspiracy theory, smacked with insipid improbabilities. Though not the "glory" of the scornful Humpty Dumpty in his epigram, these subsequent finds do force present-day naysayers to continually adjust their story. Certainly, a forger with knowledge of the contents page alone would have headed off his masterpiece with "Chapter X" or, with knowledge of the illustration plan alone, "Chapter IX." But if he was familiar with both documents—a concept to excite only a conspiracy theorist—the globetrotting forger did the next best thing and avoided the issue. Of course, the forger could have been familiar with some extant document depicting certain facts about the episode. However, in almost thirty years of Lewis Car-

E = orden & he electrolyned 8 XE fatricis : Jabberwork _ (full - page]. Alice and have F 1 xE Black Kitten [3×2] (4) 2 xE Alice in ann chair [3' x 21/4 xE Looking - plato 9. xE 00 xE Chefo men in hearth [WX23/4 30 XE 20) 10xE Meeting Red Jenean [23/4 × 11 XE Chefo. board -[31/2× RXE Ru 13 × E Railing - carriage [3/2 × 23/ 70 50 20 4 XE Rocking horac fly -[3x2] 15 X & Drage Dragen fly _[SX2] #5 16 x E Bread & hitter fly 1.3 x 2 35 3 17 XE Alice & Mann. [23/4×3] 22 18 × 5 Pinested + Porcettelee [3] 10 XE Walno & Conpente 2: 29 × 2 26 × 2 MXE Red Ky astern

Lewis Carroll, The Illustration Plan for Through the Looking-Glass. Black and violet ink on paper.

roll studies since the auction of the galleys, no documents have been found to expose the galleys as a mere forgery. That may certainly be the best practical argument for authenticity. If the forger had some unknown piece of Carrolliana, what are the odds that it would *jell* with subsequent finds, and why hasn't *it* been up for auction? Surely, a forger would only concern himself with the present, careless of what might be found several years hence. But to date, nothing has discredited the galleys.

Alas, the questioning of the galleys to "The Wasp in a Wig" continues. As recently as 1998, Hugh Haughton, creating notes for the Penguin Classics edition of the *Alice* stories, warned that "The authenticity of the 'Wasp in a Wig' episode is questionable,"¹⁴ directing readers to the special edition of *Jabberwocky* which detailed the discussion of the Wasp Symposium. No mention is made of the subsequent discovery of the illustration plan, which alone challenged the best criticisms. Was it not made a slippery point in 1992?

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Christ Church, Oxford.

HOARY

Some arguments against the episode, aging with a respectable grayish color, have likely resonated with some longtime Carroll enthusiasts. This section—though somewhat needlessly in the present author's opinion—will present them and dismiss them, but not without a favorable twist towards the end.

One of the most persistent complaints at the Wasp Symposium was that the newly discovered episode seemed too reminiscent of other episodes in *Looking-Glass* and *Wonderland*. To give the reader a fair chance to analyze the strength of these accusations, they are presented in the sidebar (see pages 20 and 21), along with others found outside the symposium. Decidedly, six of the ten are dismissible occurrences—the locks, the English, the rhyme, the dear, the treacle, and the bad hair day—and the remaining four are no stronger than other connections readers have made between certain parts of the *Alice* books. In the Knight chapter alone (a forced limitation as a matter of demonstration), many similar connections can be made. For example, Carroll's use of random words humorously describing a pudding includes the word "sealing-wax," a word prominent in another seemingly miscellaneous list, the Walrus's "Of shoes-and ships-and sealing-wax " Speaking of which, the Walrus's poem and the Knight's song both have lines in them about bodies getting fatter and faces turning blue-"Turning a little blue ..." and "Until his face was blue "15 "The Aged Aged Man" also has a thematic structure comparable to "Father William"¹⁶ (albeit the first version of the White Knight's song was written before "Father William"). Janis Lull, in her essay "The Appliances of Art," even makes a connection between the many items on the Knight's steed and other parts of the Alice books.17 In his Definitive Edition, Gardner annotates only the last connection, the others being, like the connections made from "Wasp," too tedious to detail.

It has been suggested that Carroll appropriated some material from "Wasp" in other chapters.¹⁸ This is doubtful. No phrases beyond those of clichés are reused, and the concepts, like Humpty Dumpty's comment on Alice's face, are decidedly from a different perspective. It is perhaps better to acknowledge that Carroll dwelled on certain things, as many artists do, and had a certain stock of comic devices. He obviously dwelled on

pigs and fatness and indeed fat pigs that could not fly or jump. See Alice's Adventures in Wonderland; Through the Looking-Glass; The Hunting of the Snark; Sylvie and Bruno; Sylvie and Bruno Concluded; Symbolic Logic, Part I; and Symbolic Logic, Part II.¹⁹

Several other issues were raised during the panel discussion. Selwyn Goodacre voiced his concern with the line "look so nice / As they had ventured to expect...", indicating that it should read "They said I did not look *as* nice / As they had ventured to expect."²⁰ However, *Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* states that "up until about a century ago [that is, 1872], *so ... as* was the regular form in negative statements."²¹ Carroll even used the negative "so ... as" construction in two incidences in *Wonderland* and two in *Looking-Glass*:

- "at least not so mad as it was in March."
- "you needn't be so proud as all that."
- "They don't keep this room so tidy as the other "
- "if he didn't eat so many as the Walrus."22

No "as ... as" constructions in the negative context in Carroll's works have been located.

Goodacre also alleged that the Wasp's impromptu poem contains "lines that did not scan."23 In fact, the scansion is flawless. It could be argued, however, that the exact scanning is the cause for concern. In a poem of this length, Carroll often used trochaic substitutions on the first foot, augmenting an iambic line from ~ / ~ / ~ / ~ / to /~~/~/~/. The lack of this mature poetical device, along with the simple stanza form chosen-four lines of four feet each-imbues the poem with singsong, a temperament best avoided. Since Carroll shunned trochaic substitutions in other poems of similar length-"The Willow Tree" (1859), Humpty Dumpty's "A Message to the Fish" (1871), "Matilda Jane" (1893)²⁴—the issue turns into nothing more than pedantic padding.

Later in the discussion,

Veronica Hickie cringed, "I just could not accept that it came after the perfect encounter of Alice with the White Knight.... those two old characters together seemed quite wrong."²⁵ But Carroll's image of the White Knight, a character invented to recite the poem about an "Aged Aged" gate-sitter, was not originally old. He advised Tenniel that "The White Knight must not have whiskers; he must not be made to look old."²⁶ The very deletion of the Wasp may have convinced Carroll to allow Tenniel to portray the knight in his autumn years.

Some members of the panel asserted subjective points to challenge the authenticity of the "Wasp" galleys. These are perhaps best left unexplored, as can be demonstrated by one point voiced by P. F. Walker and another written by Martin Gardner in the first book publication of the episode. Both commentators singled out the Wasp's remark about Alice's eyes: "Then your eyes—they're too much in front, no doubt. One would have done as well as two, if you *must* have them so close—"²⁷ Walker expressed a raucous concern: "what on earth do I do with that 'no doubt'?" On the line "One would have done as well as two…", the panelist added "Carroll was never as obscure as that—ever." On the other hand, Gardner, defending the episode against charges of forgery, singled out this dia-

CONTENTS.

	CHAPT	ER PAGE	
	ſ,	LOOKING-BLASS HOUSE	
	11.	THE GARDEN OF LIVE FLOWERS	
	Ш,	LOOKING-GLASS INSECTS	
	IV.	TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDER	
	v.	LIVING-BACKWARDS	
	VI.	SCENTED RUSHES	
	vii.	HUMPTY-DUMPTY	
	VIII.	THE LION AND THE UNICORN	
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ıx	ALL ALL	QUEEN ALION	
X XI	HE I	WARING it ? toking) y it ? Whose dream work it ?	

The early draft of the Table of Contents for Through the Looking-Glass. Pencil and black and violet ink corrections on paper, 7.5×5 in. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

1889, and even then was not used in the 1897 Alice texts."²⁹ The CD-ROM version of *The Oxford English Dictionary* has numerous examples of "gray", so spelled, by British writers. Keeping with the years 1869 and 1870, the spelling occurs in John Phillips' *Vesuvius*, "ejected blocks of gray lava on Somma"; in Dickens' *Edwin Drood*, "with a buff waistcoat and gray trousers"; and Ruskin's *Queen of the Air*, "Under gray sky, unveined by vermilion or by gold."³⁰ Carroll, who owned all three of these books,³¹ even owned up to the spelling himself in three poems in *Phantasmagoria* (1869), his book nearest the publication of *Looking-Glass*, and in one poem in *Rhyme? and Reason?* (1883). More directly, Carroll himself even hand-printed the "a" spelling in the handwritten "Father William" version in *Alice's Adventures under Ground* (1863).³²

Next Goodacre found the purple handwriting on the galleys ("omit to middle of slip 68–") to be suspect.³³ This is subjective and the present author admittedly is not an expert in the field of graphology. However, it can be pointed out that none of the words nor the individual letters incite concern. Instead of being "forced and ugly," each letter or word can be matched in type to a known Carroll formation. The following table gives the closest

After the completion of the nine-member panel discussion, one member (Denis Crutch) simply introduced the topic, two members (Michael Orlove and Veronica Hickie) argued for caution, heading a bit toward authenticity, three (Raphael Shaberman, P. F. Walker, and Peter Shaw) argued for forgery, and two (Anne Clark and Edward Wakeling) argued for genuineness. The panel would have to wait to hear Selwyn Goodacre's conclusion.

In a paper delivered at the symposium entitled "Considerations of Physical Factors," Goodacre raised several issues, both for and against authenticity. Limiting ourselves to the latter, first, he stated that the "a" spelling of "gray"—seen in the galleys—"did not come in until about match found for some of the letters in the phrase, the last being from galley 68:

" Wasp" The t in omit	Compare ancient	Location Letters	Date [Apr. 12, 1878]	Page 306
The t in omit	Felt	Letters	[? Feb. 1868]	114
to	to	Letters	[1864-67]	72
to	to	Letters	Mar. 25, 1881	412
of	of	Private Coll.	Dec. 23, 1897	
of	of	Private Coll.	Aug. 28, 1892	
S in Slip	She	Letters	Mar. 25, 1881	412
S in Slip	Sep	Private Coll.	Sep. 7, 1892	
S in Slip	see	Private Coll.	Aug. 28, 1992	
Slip	Slip	Letters	[1864-67]	72
6 in 68	(W) / 65	Letters	[1864-67]	72
O in Omit	Oct	Private Coll.	Oct. 31, 1892	

Though the self-crossed "t," the downward scooping linking of the "o" and "f" in "of," and the round top-edge of the "6," are somewhat rarer than other forms, they were each found, and represented in the chart, showing that Carroll did execute them from time to time. The upright "S" in "Slip" is more characteristic, admittedly, of Carroll's hand-printing than of his cursive writing, and can be found ubiquitously in his handwritten *Under Ground* manuscript. The downward angle of the entire phrase perhaps explains the uprightness of the letter, though its threesided-diamond shaped bottom half is entirely Carrollian.

"There are seven changes of punctuation," Goodacre continued, directing his attention to the handwritten corrections. "Two are the addition of a comma before speech: This is very un-Carroll like; in the People's Edition corrections, and the 1897 corrections, he went to considerable pains to remove such commas, they are never added."³⁴ Goodacre is only partly correct. The removals he mentions are probably of commas before quotation marks where quotations do not appear previously in the sentence and where the phrase immediately before the quotation contains the speech indicator without an offsetting commainserted phrase.³⁵ In "Wasp," therefore, Carroll only made *one* such correction, not two:

Alice began with a little scream of laughing [laughter], which she turned into a cough as well as she could: at [could. At] last she managed to say gravely[,] "I can bite anything I want."³⁶

Several facts diminish the point greatly. First, that one correction probably stands against the rule because Carroll split one sentence into two. As can be seen above, and even more so on the facsimile of the galleys, Carroll could have easily missed his previous handwritten edit or made it subsequent to the insertion of the comma, forgetting to consider the comma once again. Second, Carroll's decision to excise these commas was made in 1897, a full thirty-two years after *Wonderland*. Third, the first editions of *Wonderland* and *Looking-Glass* are inconsistent in this regard as well as his handwritten *Under Ground*, making the inconsistent "Wasp" galleys—Carroll misses at least two places to splice in commas similarly³⁷—completely inconsistent as well, and therefore completely consistent with Carroll's work. Fourth, Carroll showed carelessness even in 1897, only beginning such corrections on page 30 of *Wonderland*, missing somewhere between eight and thirteen previous examples. If he felt so strongly about this decision, it seems to have been a revelation midway through the changes in 1897, and if he went to "considerable pains," he would have reviewed the previous pages. In matter of fact, in *Looking-Glass* he only makes three such deletions, missing a total of twenty-two before the first.³⁸

This is not a rebuke of Selwyn Goodacre: He included many pro-authentic comments and, perhaps sensing some weaknesses in the points above, concluded: "that the proofs are genuine," though reserving some criticisms about the handwritten corrections.³⁹ In truth, the only real reason these galleys have been so scrutinized at all is that they were sold anonymously and lack provenance. However, many valuable items are auctioned every year with anonymous owners for myriad reasons. On the other hand, the lack of provenance is of some serious concern; the auction catalogue stated, "The Proofs were bought at the sale of the author's furniture, personal effects, and library, Oxford, 1898, and are apparently unrecorded and unpublished."40 Something is amiss. The facsimile of the auction catalog with handwritten prices by a Carroll relative does not indicate its sale, and for those items not described, the bids hardly cover the value of such a choice item as the "Wasp" galleys. Possibly the "gentleman" selling the item innocently misrepresented a family story and the item could have been bought before the first item was brought to the block. Jeffrey Stern documented such preauction sales, writing in Lewis Carroll, Bibliophile: "Moreover, not only were papers destroyed, but much was sold largely without record even prior to the auction.... Large quantities of Carroll's manuscript mathematical papers were also sold direct (presumably via Wilfred) to Henry T. Gerrans, fellow of Worcester College (now in the Parrish Collection)."41 Nonetheless, the diminished provenance does not itself imply forgery.

Curiously, once placed in a proper historical context, many of the suspicions above actually authenticate the galleys (a twist was promised). The claims of repetition in "Wasp" especially forge a double-edged sword, supporting authenticity via a certain Carrollian habit-the weaker examples becoming stylistic flares and the stronger ones habitual preoccupations. The "gray" spelling validates the document through common sense; a forger would rather avoid skepticism than invite literary pedantry on Victorian spelling habits. Likewise, why incite brows to knit over the appearance of the hand-printed capital "S" amidst cursive writing, though perfectly ubiquitous in Under Ground, when the cursive version must have been as easily available as the other letters rendered? Similar arguments can be drawn for the "comma-before-speech" rule, the "so ... as" rule, and poetic scansion rules, concepts that buzz with genuineness more than sting with cautiousness.

STORY

To understand how *Looking-Glass* once couched the "Wasp" galleys, it is best to understand some preliminary points, mostly drawn from the two documents presented

Several scholars have claimed that the "Wasp" episode contains many borrowings from other episodes in the Alice books, and hence may be a forgery. Here, that you may judge the strength of their argument, are all of their suggested comparisons. When I was young, my ringlets waved "In my youth," said the sage, as he shook his grey locks, And curled and crinkled on my head.... "I kept all my limbs very supple . . . "1 "The face is what one goes by, generally," Alice remarked in "Not with a mouth as small as that," the Wasp persisted. "If you was a-fighting, now-could you get hold of the other one a thoughtful tone. by the back of the neck?" "That's just what I complain of," said Humpty Dumpty. "Your "I'm afraid not," said Alice. face is that same as everybody has-----the two eyes, so-----" "Well, that's because your jaws are too short," the Wasp went (marking their places in the air with his thumb) "nose in the on: "but the top of your head is nice and round." He took off middle, mouth under. It's always the same. Now if you had the his own wig as he spoke, and stretched out one claw towards two eyes on the same side of the nose, for instance-----or the Alice, as if he wished to do the same for her, but she kept out mouth at the top—that would be some help."² of reach, and would not take the hint. So he went on with his criticisms. "Then, your eyes-they're too much in front, no doubt. One would have done as well as two, if you must have them so close-" "En-gulph-ed," Alice repeated, dividing the word in syl-"She's all right again now," said the Red Queen. "Do you know Languages? What's the French for fiddle-de-dee?" lables. "Fiddle-de-dee's not English," Alice replied gravely. "There's no such word in the language!" said the Wasp. "Who ever said it was?" said the Red Queen.³ "It's in the newspaper, though," Alice said a little timidly. They said it did not fit, and so I said to him, I said it plain, It made me look extremely plain: 'Then you must wake them up again.'4 But what was I to do, you know? My ringlets would not grow again. "In coming back," Alice went on reading, "they found a lake "They lived on treacle," said the Dormouse, after thinking a of treacle. The banks of the lake were blue and white, and looked like minute or two.... china. While coming back, they had a sad accident: two of their party The Dormouse again took a minute or two to think about it, were engulphed-" and then said, "It was a treacle-well."... "Treacle," said the Dormouse, without considering at all this time.... "You can draw water out of a water-well," said the Hatter; "so I should think you could draw treacle out of a treacle-well-eh, stupid?"5 H

Borrowings?

in the first section: the illustration plan and the early draft of the table of contents.

The illustration plan,⁴² the only other document known to directly refer to the missing character, written in black and violet ink, appears as a scribbled mess on the inside of a single folded sheet of paper. The roman numerals for the chapter numbers, being squeezed in, and the horizontal black lines separating the chapters, being diverted around the text, were obviously added after the titles Carroll had given the illustrations. These observations and other minute details suggest that Carroll created the document with the illustration titles first, followed by the page numbers, the chapter lines, the chapter numbers, and the illustration numbers. The other elements, such as the sizes of the illustrations, were likely added intermittently. $^{\rm 43}$

At one time, evidenced by the switching of ink colors, the plan ended with the following:

	Wasp	
38	Knight singing.	179
37	Knight falling (Qu: more ?)	170
36	0	
VIII.	Battle of 2 knights.	162





NE



And that is why they do it, **dear**, Because I wear a yellow wig.

"It isn't that kind," Alice hastily explained. "It's to **comb hair** with—your wig's so very rough, you know."

Alice did not like having so many personal remarks made on her, and as the Wasp had quite recovered his spirits, and was getting very talkative, she thought she might safely leave him. "I think I must be going on now," she said. "Good-bye."

"Good-bye, and **thank-ye**," said the Wasp, and Alice tripped **down the hill** again, quite pleased that she had gone back and given a few minutes to making the poor old creature comfortable.

she heard a deep **sigh**, which seemed to come from the wood behind her.

"There's somebody **very unhappy** there," she thought, looking anxiously back to see what was the matter. Something like a very old man (only that his face was more like a wasp) was sitting on the ground, leaning against a tree, all huddled up together, and shivering as if he were very cold.

Something like a **very old man** (only that his face was more like a wasp) was **sitting** on the ground, leaning against **a tree**, all huddled up together, and shivering as if he were very cold....

"They jokes at one. And they worrits one. And then I gets cross...."

We are but older children, **dear**, Who fret to find our bedtime near.⁶

"The brush has got entangled in it!" the Queen said with a sigh. "And I lost the **comb** yesterday."

Alice carefully released the brush, and did her best to get the **hair** into order. "Come, you look rather better now!" she said, after altering most of the pins.⁷

"Of course l'll wait," said Alice: "and **thank you** very much for coming so far—and for the song—I liked it very much."

"I hope so," the Knight said doubtfully: "but you didn't cry so much as I thought you would."

So they shook hands, and then the Knight rode slowly away into the forest. "It won't take long to see him *off*, I expect," Alice said to herself, as she stood watching him....

"I hope it encouraged him," she said, as she turned to run down the hill: "and now for the last brook, and to be a Queen! How grand it sounds!"⁸

The little voice **sighed** deeply: it was *very* **unhappy**, evidently, and Alice would have said something pitying to comfort it, "if it would only sigh like other people!" she thought. But this was such a wonderfully small sigh, that she wouldn't have heard it at all, if it hadn't come *quite* close to her ear. The consequence of this was that it tickled her ear very much, and quite took off her thoughts from the **unhappiness** of the poor little creature.

"I know you are a friend," the little voice went on; "a dear friend, and an old friend. And you won't hurt me, though I *am* an insect."⁹

a **very old** frog, who was **sitting under** a tree, got up and hobbled slowly towards her: he was dressed in bright yellow, and had enormous boots on....

"I **speaks** English, **doesn't** I?" the frog went on.... "Wexes it, you know."¹⁰

This termination with a lone Wasp illustration, lacking the description of the other illustrations, asserts not only that Carroll was at this stage in his layout, but that, lacking page and illustration number, and especially a chapter number, he was at an impasse in his destined masterpiece. He informed Tenniel near the beginning of April 1870 that the book seemed too long, with the illustrator giving his reluctant opinion about the railway scene, and in June, his damnation of "Wasp."⁴⁴ It took Carroll at least three months to exterminate the insect with his violet ink (first used in October of that year)⁴⁵ and another two to complete the book.

Likely created around April 1870, the early draft of the table of contents page for *Looking-Glass*,⁴⁶ a rather less complicated document, contains Carroll's projected chapter titles. Ignoring his handwritten corrections for the moment, the typeset matter, in the same style as the first edition, ended with the following:

 VIII. THE LION AND THE UNICORN

 IX. CHECK!.....

 X.

 XI. QUEEN ALICE.....

 XI. WAKING.....

In combination with the illustration plan, which only whispered an impasse, this trumpets it. Alone, however, the document is ambiguous. Carroll may have created it around the middle of April 1870 when he was designing the sample title pages,⁴⁷ with one of which the document is catalogued. If so-and with Tenniel's "Wasp" letter more than a month hence-the document may only represent an outline with Carroll knowing full well that whatever episode he developed in the empty "X" chapter-a wasp, a harlequin, or Little Jack Horner-it would be followed by "Queen Alice," an obvious direction for his novel, and "Waking," the even more obvious conclusion. On the other hand, the document may have been created when the book was nearly complete and when he was considering Wasp's deletion. Carroll's initial violet markings-without the final scribbled out chapter numbers-shows, four months after Tenniel's letter, that he still had an inclination to retain at least some chapter in that location.

The document was first described in *A Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson* (1931),⁴⁸ oddly listing what the chapters had become—an obvious fact—instead of their more intriguing history. The authors implied that Carroll had eleven chapters and that the "Waking" chapter was split to make the twelve known today. To be more exact, the typesetting shows Carroll initially had twelve chapters and, to retain that number, the amalgamation of two early chapters triggered the division of a later chapter. Likewise, the deletion of "Wasp," illustrated with a scribbling out of the final roman numerals, triggered a further split in the later chapters, as known by the published edition. In short, the document thrice over proves an affinity for the number twelve, betraying the eleven-chapter plan as an uneasy interim.

The illustration plan and Harvard's contents page prove that Tenniel's use of the word "chapter" for the "Wasp" episode was more literal than once perceived. The horizontal line on the illustration plan separating the Wasp and the blank space in the contents page clearly suggest that the insect led off a new chapter, possibly later titled "Worrity! Worrity!" or "The Wasp in a Wig." It should be noted that Collingwood, who had at least one other letter⁴⁹ on the issue, did not object to Tenniel's term. But indeed, as illustrated later, it may have been only a short episode of nine pages and not some full chapter that Tenniel condemned.

If the episode opened a new chapter, the lack of a chapter title, expected on the first discarded galley page, deserves explanation. The truth is printers did not as a matter of rule begin new chapters on fresh galley sheets,⁵⁰ and the title, simply appearing anywhere in the middle of the long page, could have easily been cut away. It most likely appeared with its number above the paragraph beginning with Alice's words: "I hope it encouraged him..."—a concept in accordance with Carroll's loose chapter breaking throughout the novel. Since the opening of the Knight chapter itself refers to the previous chapter's characters, the Lion and the Unicorn, the reference Alice makes to the Knight, a mere "him," is not problematic. Also, her

sentence abruptly changes topics, becoming girlish and flighty: "and now for the last brook, and to be a Queen!" Whatever the strength of this proposition, the illustration plan and the contents page certainly indicate a new chapter, as did Tenniel's letter, and it is highly unlikely that Carroll would have written a thirty-eight-page chapter when the previous chapters did not exceed twenty-five pages.

The illustration plan indicates some concern with keeping the chapters a uniform length. For the first three chapters, Carroll indicates the number of pages, circling the numbers: "24 ... 20 ... 20." For the first chapter, Carroll even scopes out the intervals between illustrations: "4 $\dots 6 \dots 1 \dots 2 \dots 3$." Since both sets of numbers are written in violet ink and the original page numbers were in black ink, it indicates a later concern. As it turns out, before the twenty-eight-page "It's My Own Invention," the chapters' average length was a little more than twenty-two pages, with a maximum variation of no more than three. This is relatively uniform. The chapters in Wonderland average sixteen pages with a maximum variation of two, if the shortest chapter of twelve pages is excluded. On the other hand, the early draft of the contents page shows that the present "Wool and Water" chapter was once two separate chapters (a hint of which may appear on the illustration plan as a short line after the second of the four illustrations). They were likely separated with the paragraph beginning "She looked at the Queen, who seemed to have suddenly wrapped herself up in wool,"51 and thus, eleven pages each. However, the plan does show that the chapters may have originally been longer, and in the end, Carroll did combine them, showing some uneasiness about their brevity. Lastly, the diagonal lines and their colors realigning the chapter numbers indicate that Carroll created the one chapter that became "Wool and Water" before the Wasp's deletion.

The two documents negate the idea that Carroll lengthened the Knight chapter after excising the Wasp or that the same chapter concluded with the episode, making the chapter a long thirty-eight pages. On the illustration plan, Carroll slated in black ink the illustration for the "Knight singing" for page 179. After the deletion of the Wasp, Carroll slated in violet ink the illustration of the "Old man on gate," the very same scene, for page 179. During the Wasp Symposium in 1978, Denis Crutch surmised that the Knight's song essentially took the place of "Wasp."⁵² The illustration plan, with "Knight singing" before "Wasp," makes this highly unlikely. Also, Carroll admitted that his "character of the White Knight was meant to suit the speaker in the poem,"⁵³ proving the song's primacy in conception over that of the whole of the chapter.

Though there are, no doubt, many scenarios to explain how *Looking-Glass* once couched the "Wasp" galleys, two will be explained here, one simple and one a bit more complicated. The simpler explanation is that the nine-page episode was a complete chapter, supported by the short "Living Backwards" and "Scented Rushes," or a mere ninepage sketch to be developed at a later time. The slightly more complicated scenario explains away the anomalous nine pages along with the textual emendations that decidedly do not lengthen nor strengthen the episode. Since the previous chapters averaged from twenty to twenty-five pages, the "Wasp" galleys may have only been the first half of a fuller chapter. In this scenario, once confronted with the character's deletion, Carroll tagged the second half of the chapter onto the following chapter, "Queen Alice," which, in the end, became the longest in the book, thirty pages. The second-longest chapter, "It's My Own Invention," twenty-eight pages, received, as known, one page from "Wasp." If so, there should be some remnant of an old chapter break—like the remnant somewhere in "Wool and Water"—about ten to fifteen pages into the present "Queen Alice" chapter. One such possibility occurs before or between the following two paragraphs:

The snoring got more distinct every minute, and sounded more like a tune: at last she could even make out words, and she listened so eagerly that, when the two great heads suddenly vanished from her lap, she hardly missed them.

She was standing before an arched doorway over which were the words QUEEN ALICE in large letters, and on each side of the arch there was a bell-handle; one was marked "Visitors' Bell," and the other "Servants' Bell."⁵⁴

Notice how the words "Queen Alice," the name of the chapter, are first used here in the text, suggesting as well the vestige of some old chapter break. Also, a "dream dissolve"—the inexplicable appearance and disappearance of people and things—occurs here, a phenomenon that breaks half (four out of eight) of the middle chapters in *Looking-Glass*, or with the suggested "Wool and Water" break, slightly higher (five out of nine). This break would have given the ur-"Wasp" chapter four illustrations in

Epigraph. Lewis Carroll, Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There (London: Macmillan, 1872), 124.

- ¹ Lewis Carroll, "The Wasp in a Wig: Exclusive: The Missing Chapter from Alice" with an accompanying article by Morton Cohen, *Telegraph: Sunday Magazine*, September 4, 1977, 12–21.
- ² Tenniel to Carroll, June 1, 1870, in Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters* of Lewis Carroll (New York: Century, 1899), 147–49.
- ³ Tenniel to Carroll, April 4, 1870, in Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators: Collaborations and Correspondence*, 1865–1898 (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003), 14.
- ⁴ Roger Lancelyn Green, *The Story of Lewis Carroll* (New York: Henry Shuman, 1949, rpt. 1951), 71.
- ⁵ Alexander L. Taylor, *The White Knight: A Study of C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll)* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1952), 138.
- ⁶ Derek Hudson, *Lewis Carroll* (London: Constable, 1954), 179.
- ⁷ Selwyn Goodacre, "The Missing 'Wasp'

Chapter—A Myth Exploded," *Jabberwocky* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1978) (hereafter *Symposium*): 57–58.

- ⁸ Rodney Engen, Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight (Aldershot, Hants, England: Scolar, 1991), 90.
- ⁹ Veronica Hickie and Peter Shaw quoted in "The Sotheby Sale, and First Reactions—Open Discussion" and Raphael Shaberman, "Consideration of Intangible Factors," *Symposium*: 61–62, 65.
- ¹⁰ Shaberman, "Intangible Factors," 65.
- ¹¹ Edward Wakeling, "The Illustration Plan for *Though the Looking-Glass*," *Jabberwocky* 21, no. 2, issue 78 (spring 1992): 32.
- ¹² See note 46.
- ¹³ Mark Israel, email messages to the author.
- ¹⁴ Lewis Carroll, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass, introduction and notes by Hugh Haughton (New York: Penguin Books, 1998, rpt. 2003), 351.
- ¹⁵ Carroll, "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" and "It's My Own Invention" in *Looking-Glass*, 75 and 174, 76 and 178, 77 and 179.

twenty-five pages and the remainder of the book twentyone pages with three to seven illustrations (using the hand-corrected "forty-six" used on one sample title page⁵⁵ and the fifty the book eventually became).

A clue to the above chapter break also appears on the illustration plan. Carroll may have indicated the original breaks by staggering the page numbers, either purposely to organize his thinking, or accidentally, by adding the page numbers as the individual galleys arrived in the post.56 Pages "184 ... 190 ... 198" (once ur-"Wasp") are set off from pages "201 ... 205 ... 211 ... 213" (once ur-"Queen Alice"), with pages "214 ... 218" (once ur-"Waking").57 The long-tailed nines support the concept. They are only used after Carroll completes a chapter, happily occupying the free space below. But when that space will be directly needed-after page "190," for example-Carroll scripts a short-tailed nine. The inconsistent use of parentheses after the "Frog gardener" illustration-"(w x 16)"-and after the "Golden Crown illustration-"(14 lines)"-also indicates a possible time break, and therefore a different galley or chapter's delivery. If so, the "Golden Crown" illustration once belonged to the "Wasp" chapter, which is fact, and the "It was a kitten" illustration once belonged to the eleventh and last chapter.

To conclude, the similarity of the Knight's departure and the Wasp's farewell, a bugaboo to some,⁵⁸ does not appear so repetitive once separated. In truth, Alice's farewell to the Wasp is much shorter than the departure of the Knight, and certainly not as touching. Once split off from the Knight chapter, and possibly lengthened with part of the next chapter, the episode—perfectly fine enough for Carroll to have penned but perfectly weak enough for Tenniel to have condemned—does not appear to be *so* jarring as claimed.

- ¹⁶ Ibid., 177–81; Lewis Carroll, "Advice from a Caterpillar" in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan, 1866), 63–66.
- ¹⁷ Janis Lull, "The Appliances of Art: The Carroll-Tenniel Collaboration in Through the Looking-Glass" in Lewis Carroll: A Celebration; Essays on the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, edited by Edward Guiliano (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1992), 105–8. The relevant section of the essay is presented in Martin Gardner, The Annotated Alice: The Definitive Edition (New York: Norton, 2000), 238 n. 7.
- ¹⁸ Shaberman, "Intangible Factors," 65; Selwyn Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 70.
- ¹⁹ Carroll, "The Mock Turtle's Story" in Wonderland, 135; "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" in Looking-Glass, 76; Lewis Carroll, "The Beaver's Lesson" (illustration) in The Hunting of the Snark: An Agony in Eight Fits (London: Macmillan, 1876), 52; Lewis Carroll, "Peter and Paul" in Sylvie and Bruno (London: Macmillan, 1889), 149; Lewis Carroll, "The Pig-Tale" in Sylvie and Bruno Concluded (London: Macmil-

Ian, 1893), 371–73; Lewis Carroll, Symbolic Logic, edited with annotations and an introduction by William Warren Bartley, III (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1977), 147–58, 180–84, 378–80, 398–99, 410.

- ²⁰ Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60; Lewis Carroll, The Wasp in a Wig: A "Suppressed" Episode of Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There, with a introduction and notes by Martin Gardner (Bath: Macmillan, 1977), 40.
- ²¹ E. Ward Gilman, ed., Webster's Dictionary of English Usage (Springfield, Mass: Merriam-Webster, 1989), 124. The work cites J. J. Lamberts, A Short Introduction to English Usage (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972). Thanks to Mark Israel for confirming suspicions about the negative rule.
- ²² Carroll, "Pig and Pepper" and "The Mock Turtle's Story" in *Wonderland*, 93 and 143; Carroll, "*Looking-Glass* House" and "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" in *Looking-Glass*, 13 and 79.
- ²³ Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60.
- ²⁴ Lewis Carroll, "Willow Tree" (1859) in *Three Sunsets and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 42–43; "Humpty Dumpty" in *Looking-Glass*, 130–34; "Matilda Jane" in *Sylvie and Bruno Concluded*, 76.
- ²⁵ Veronica Hickie, "Open Discussion," 61. Shaw concurred with Hickie, stating "If it really purports to follow the White Knight, it is such a gross error" (ibid., 62).
- ²⁶ Carroll to Tenniel, [n. d.] in Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, 130. See also note 53 in the next section.
- ²⁷ Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40.
- ²⁸ P. F. Walker, "Open Discussion," 62; Gardner, *Wasp in a Wig*, 20.
- ²⁹ Selwyn Goodacre, "Considerations of Physical Factors," Symposium: 73.
- ³⁰ Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), CD-ROM, version 3.0, s.vv. "Davyne," "surtout" and "unveined" respectfully.
- ³¹ Jeffrey Stern, *Lewis Carroll Bibliophile* (Luton, Bedfordshire: White Stone Publishing; The Lewis Carroll Society, 1997), 17, 19 and 25.
- ³² Lewis Carroll, "Phantasmagoria" (canto 7, stanza 4), "The Three Voices" (section 2, stanza 13) and "A Double Acrostic" (stanza 2) in Phantasmagoria (London: Macmillan, 1869), 54, 99 and 110; and Lewis Carroll, "Four Riddles" (poem 3, stanza 2) in Rhyme? and Reason? (London: Macmillan, 1883), 208; and Lewis Carroll, "You Are Old Father William" in Alice's Adventures under Ground (London: Macmillan, 1886 [facsimile, first handwritten, 1863]; reprint, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1964), 55. "Four Riddles" is an expansion of "A Double Acrostic." Thanks to Mark Israel for alerting me of the possible use of "gray" in Phantasmagoria.
- ³³ Goodacre, "Physical Factors," 73.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 74.

- ³⁵ Stanley Godman, "Lewis Carroll's Final Corrections to 'Alice," *Times Literary Supplement*, May 2, 1958, 248. Godman lists the hand-corrections Carroll made in the two *Alice* hooks. Since he only details the three made for *Looking-Glass* and one from *Wonderland*—all four have this rule—and that if this were *not* the rule, there would be hundreds of changes, I assume the rules to be so.
- ³⁶ Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40.
- ³⁷ Ibid., 39. The examples are found on galley 65: "The Wasp said "That's a newfangled name" and "Alice hastily ran her eye down the paper and said 'No "
- ³⁸ Godman, "Final Corrections," 248. The missing twenty-two is an estimation made by the current author. The extensive analysis accomplished with electronic versions of the tales and facsimile editions is too long to present here.
- ³⁹ Goodacre, "Physical Factors," 74. Goodacre also observed that the galleys were numbered ten pages too early. This, however, was not offered as suspicious; the forger could have determined this as easily as Goodacre could have in 1976 and as I can do a tad more easily today with a personal computer. The fact either suggests that Carroll added material-confirmed only partly from the revised page numbers on the illustration plan-or that the galleys changed size. In fact, slips dated May 13, 1882, for Carroll's Euclid I, II (Fales Library, NYU) have two different sizes. The standard Wasp slip, judging from photographs of the original pages obtained by the present owners, has a rather wide top and bottom margin $(2 3/4" \text{ and } 2 \cdot 1/4")$ and a rather short text length (12") when compared to the smaller of the two Euclid galleys having a short top and bottom margin (3/4" and 5/8") and a long text length (15 7/8"). Hence, with the galleys for Looking-Glass being created over a twoyear period-see Diaries from January 12, 1869 to January 13, 1871-and with many other slips from the same period having considerably longer lengths, there is no reason to assume that the earlier slips had similar dimensions.
- ⁴⁰ Catalogue of Children's Books, Drawings and Juvenilia... (London: Sotheby & Co., 1974), 18. Sotheby held the auction on June 3, 1974.
- ⁴¹ Stern, *Bibliophile*, iv.
- ⁴² Lewis Carroll, [Illustration Plan for Looking-Glass], Christ Church Library, Oxford. All is in black ink except: "E = ordered to be electrotyped p. 23" and the "E" before each illustration; the "x" before the "E" for each illustration on the second page; "Frontispiece of Alice and Knight"; the circled 4, 6, 1, 2, 3 (showing illustrations spread) and the adjacent vertical writing; the circled 24, 20, 20 (showing page counts); all illustration sizes on page 2; "Sending message to fish"; "(speak—can't you?"; the line crossing out "Knight sing-

ing" and "Wasp"; everything after the last horizontal line except for maybe the line crossing out the second "39"; the "Lion" and the crossing out of "Unicorn"; the crossing out of "(or else 45)" and "(or else 39)"; the last corrected page number beginning with chapter 2; the page number representing the Jabberwock and beginning with chapter 2; some minor corrections on the illustration sizes for illustrations 2, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22. Thanks to Edward Wakeling for adding colors to my thoughts.

- ¹³ See note 11 for the first publication of the plan, revealing many never-before-known details about *Looking-Glass*, many of which are largely ignored.
- ⁴⁴ See notes 2 and 3.
- ⁴⁵ Warren Weaver, "Ink and Pen Used by Lewis Carroll," *Jabberwocky* 4, no. 1, issue 21 (Winter 1975): 3–4; Lewis Carroll, January 4, 1871, Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson* (Clifford, England: The Lewis Carroll Society, 2001), 6;139.
- ⁴⁶ Lewis Carroll, [Preliminary Pages to Looking-Glass], Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. The table of contents leaflet includes a bastard title ("Looking-Glass House / And What Alice Saw There" corrected in violet ink to the final title) and the dedicatory poem (corrected in black and violet ink). The corrections for the contents page are in violet ink, except the following in pencil: "Looking-Glass House," the deletion of "The Glass Curtain," the page number 1, the bracket, the first three diagonal lines; and the following in black ink: the diagonal leading to the word "Check!" The first penciled diagonal is overwritten in violet (and "Living Backwards" is crossed out in violet). Atop the leaflet in a single sheet is an early 1870 title page with "Through the Looking-Glass / What Alice Found There" corrected in violet ink to the final title and with "Forty-Two" corrected in violet ink to "Forty-Six" illustrations. Incidentally, the missing quotation mark in the first edition for the final title of chapter eight-"It's My Own Invention["]-may indicate that it was a late change. Thanks to Tom Ford for pointing out the pencil markings.
- ⁴⁷ Morton Cohen, *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 85 n. 1.
- ⁴⁸ Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan, A Handbook of the Literature of the Rev. C. L. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) (London: Milford, 1931), 236.
- ⁴⁹ Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, 146. Collingwood quotes Tenniel as saying "a *wasp* in a *wig* is altogether beyond the appliances of art," a comment not found in the facsimile letter, though it could be from the side not reproduced.
- ⁵⁰ Carroll is documented as sending the first chapter of *Looking-Glass* separately

(*Diary*, January 12, 1869), which would have forced a page break if set before other chapters were received. However, it is not known how he proceeded beyond this point. For the lack of page breaks on galleys between chapters, see J. M. Barrie, *The Greenwood Hat*, galley proofs, c. 1937, The Berg Collection, The New York Public Library. Also, see Carroll to Gertrude Thomson, November 12, 1897, in Cohen and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators*, 313. Carroll writes "Printer's proofs are always done on thin cheap paper, and with no 'bringing-up' of pictures, and come out *anyhow*" (Carroll's italics).

- ⁵¹ Carroll, "Wool and Water" in *Looking-Glass*, 101.
- ⁵² Denis Crutch, "A Possible Reconstruction" and "Post Script," Symposium: 77–78, 80.
- ⁵³ Carroll to Reginald Brimley Johnson, May 16, 1893, *Literature* 2, no. 9 (March 5, 1898): 269. Carroll wrote, replying to Johnson, who was editing Samuel Butler for a series on the Aldine Poets: "I have certainly no consciousness of having borrowed the idea of the inventions of the White Knight from anything in 'Hudibras'.... The character of the White Knight was meant to suit the speaker in the poem."
- ⁵⁴ Carroll, "Queen Alice" in *Looking-Glass*, 199.

- ⁵⁵ Carroll, [Preliminary Pages to Looking-Glass].
- ⁵⁶ In his diary entry for January 12, 1869, Carroll showed signs of working chapter by chapter: "Finished and sent off to Macmillan the 1st chapter...."
- ⁵⁷ Ur-"Waking," judging from Harvard's contents page, indeed consisted of the present last three chapters.
- 58 See note 25.

Sidebar:

- ¹ Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40; Carroll, "Advice from a Caterpillar" in Wonderland, 64.
- ² Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60; Carroll, *Wasp in a Wig*, 40; Carroll, "Humpty Dumpty" in *Looking-Glass*, 135–36.
- ³ Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 39; Carroll, "Queen Alice" in Looking-Glass, 193.
- ⁴ Michael Orlove, "Open Discussion," 61; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40; Carroll, "Humpty Dumpty" in Looking-Glass, 133.
- ⁵ Brian Sibley, "For Starters—A 'Suppressed' Course from Queen Alice's Dinner-Party," Symposium: 67; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 39; Carroll, "A Mad Tea-Party" in Wonderland, 106–8. A mention of treacle is also found in "Who Stole the Tarts?" in Wonderland, 174. Sibley may also be referring to the rhyme in "Queen Alice" in Looking-Glass, 203. "Then fill up the glasses with treacle

and ink, / Or anything else that is pleasant to drink...."

- ⁶ Orlove "Open Discussion," 61; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40; Carroll, the prefatory poem in Looking-Glass.
- ⁷ Sibley, "For Starters," 68; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40; Carroll, "Wool and Water" in Looking-Glass, 93–94.
- ⁸ Goodacre, "Open Discussion," 60; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 40; Carroll, "It's My Own Invention" in *Looking-Glass*, 182–83.
- ⁹ Gardner, Wasp in a Wig, 20; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 38; "Looking-Glass Insects" in Looking-Glass, 52–53. Gardner credits Peter Heath with this view.
- ¹⁰ Gardner, Wasp in a Wig, 20; Carroll, Wasp in a Wig, 38–39; "Queen Alice" in Looking-Glass, 200 and 202. This is another point from Peter Heath, who also noted two previous curiosities: Humpty Dumpty's face dialog and the White Queen's bad hair day in chapter 5.

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The Gág Writer

CLARE IMHOLTZ

round 1921, Wanda Gág, the well-known American children's author and graphic artist, wrote and drew a short comic-strip-style parody called *Alice in Blunderland—Part I—Through the Good-Looking Glass.* Unseen for some 70 years, the parody—one panel of it—finally surfaced in a 1994 book about Carroll by Japanese author Yuko Katsura. Curiosity led me to write to both Katsura and Gág scholar Karen Nelson Hoyle. I was never able to find out how Blunderland made its way to Japan, but I had more success in Gág's home state: Dr. Hoyle, the curator of the Kerlan Collection of Children's

Literature at the University of Minnesota, was able to locate the original parody and to provide me with a copy.

Gág was born in New Ulm, Minnesota, in 1893. The eldest of seven, forced to make her own way in life due to her father's early death and her mother's alcoholism, she won scholarships to art schools in Minneapolis and then New York. Her parents were immigrants from Bohemia, but in New York Gág became a true Bohemian in the cultural sense of the word. She believed in free love and lived for her art. Although she struggled economically for many years, Gág eventually achieved substantial success. Today she is remembered mostly for her children's books, the most popular of which, *Millions of Cats*, can still be found in bookstores, having been continuously in print since its publication in 1928.



Alice was in a big room with a beautiful mirror in it. "What a good-looking glass!" she exclaimed, "and since I'm Alice, I suppose 1 must go through it." She climbed up on the mantle piece and took a big step. She went through easily enough, since it was not a glass at all, but a silvery curtain with reflections painted on it.



Alice was so surprised that she forgot to look where she was going. Crash! Splinter! Splash! She had stepped right into a tea-party. The peanut-butter sandwiches flew away — the fragments of broken dishes gathered themselves together and marched off in a huff — and the tea flowed away in little rivulets. "There <u>should</u> be a dormouse and a hare and a hatter around somewhere," said Alice, looking at the wreck—in dismay.



Oh, here's one of them!" she added, as she spied a frightened-looking rabbit on the floor. "Are you the March Hare?" "No," wailed the poor thing. "I'm the Welsh Rabbit!" "Don't you mean Rarebit?" asked Alice. But the rabbit looked so offended that Alice quickly changed the subject. "And where is the Dormouse?" she asked.



It's the Sad Hatter," explained the Welsh Rabbit, "You kicked him off his chair as you came down." At this point the Hatter crawled out of a corner. "Too bad, too bad," he said, looking tearfully at his watch. "Couldn't you have stepped on us a few minutes later? I was about to do a trick!" "I'm very sorry I made such a blunder," said Alice, somewhat ashamed.



A sleepy voice came from under the table. "Here I am," it said. Alice pulled the table cloth aside. "Oh," she said, "I hardly expected you to look so much like furniture!" "Why not? I'm a genuine door-mouse — a front-door mouse. My brother is a back-door mouse, my cousins are cellar-door mice, my uncle —" But he was interrupted by a loud wail.

"Oh, as to that," wept the Sad Hatter, "this is Blunderland, and it was bound to happen sometime. Only my trick was due at four o'clock to-day, and now it's too late. It only works once a month, you know." "Never mind," encouraged the rabbit. "Time flies, and next month will be here in forty winks!" "And forty winks," yawned the Door-mouse, "means a cozy nap. Let's snooze until it gets here."

Blunderland is one of many short works that Gág produced in the early 1920s while trying to keep body and soul together in New York City. According to Karen Hoyle's book-length study,¹ Gág's lover, Earle Humphreys, tried unsuccessfully to sell Blunderland to Woman's Home Companion for its "Jolly Juniors" page. Gág had more success with "Wanda's Wonderland," a series of illustrated stories accompanied by crossword puzzles, which were syndicated to several newspapers. However, despite the title these pieces were not Carrollian in nature.

Alice in Blunderland—Part I—Through the Good-Looking Glass consists of a hand-lettered title page and six small drawings with typewritten text pasted beneath each. Blunderland conflates the two Alice books: her Alice climbs through a silvery curtain/looking glass and finds

Illustrations and captions reprinted with the permission of the Wanda Gág estate in the person of her nephew, Mr. Gary Harm. herself at the Tea Party where she meets the Sad Hatter, the Welsh Rabbit, and the Door-Mouse. The parody is only mildly amusing. Gág's main gag is that Alice has a postmodern awareness of her predecessor's exploits. Nonetheless, it's always nice to see Alice in the hands of another famous illustrator, even briefly. The Sad Tea Party reminds me of the Tea Party in Lisbeth Zwerger's *Alice*. Presumably, there was never a Part II to *Blunderland*. If there had been, I imagine Alice might have fallen down the rabbit hole and landed right on the Tweedles.

¹ Karen Nelson Hoyle, Wanda Gág (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994). Most of the biographical details are drawn from this work.





First, congrats on the new *Knight Letter.* I just received my copy and it's gorgeous—even more of a pleasure to read than usual, with all the elegant and practical visual enhancements. Attractive, playful and clear all at the same time—just the right approach in my book. Well done, and my compliments to you, the designer, and all involved in making it happen.

Andrew Sellon Brooklyn, New York

The only problem I have with the new issue is that people will not be inclined to talk about a "Couple of Things Too Many," read or not (if I may), but of one thing: Andrew Ogus's new layout and design. Write a letter to your feet, Mark, in our eyes you are "opening out like the largest telescope that ever was!" Congratulations!

W.

Matthew Demakos Madison, NJ

The newest issue of the *Knight Letter* looks very much like a journal! Under your editorship, the publication has become quite professional and a desirable vehicle for scholars to write articles on a wide variety of Carroll-connected topics.

Fran Abeles

Union, NJ

Leaves From the Deanery Garden

Herewith adding my voice to the admiring throngs: *Knight Letter* 71 looks fabu!!!!! Our little newsletter is all grown up and has become a magazine! It is so readable and easy to navigate and the graphics are perfect. It's fun and professional but not slickly commercial or bland—still very suitable to us and with a high niftiness factor. Not to mention that the articles and news were all very interesting as well! I would think many members who had never been much involved or interested will be drawn in. Mazel tov!

Stephanie Lovett

Winston-Salem, NC

I think the new *Knight Letter* format is handsome. I like using the titles of the family magazines, and I like the photographs. One can hardly say that the use of photographs violates the spirit of *this* Victorian subject. Best wishes,

Gary Brockman Madison, CT

What a gorgeous new look of the *Knight Letter*! My congratulations to you! Do congratulate Andrew Ogus and Matt Demakos also on my behalf. *Nina Demourova*

Moscow

I wanted to write and tell you how much I liked the new format of *Knight Letter.* The new layout makes it easier to read and there is a nice mix of news and articles. Congratulations!

Dayna McCausland The Lewis Carroll Society of Canada Erin, Ontario, Canada

The new *Knight Letter* is very good ... a nice style and an impressive mixture of content. Well done to you and your team.

X

Mark Richards The Lewis Carroll Society (UK) London

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Issue 71 of *Knight Letter* is an unusually heady feast of articles bursting with ideas, discoveries and illuminations. All of them enriched me, but I'll limit my comments to the two that reveal heretofore unguessed-at patterns connecting familiar Carroll poems with the real world. Though I doubt that either pattern was intended by Carroll, I think he would have been delighted by both of them, and I admire the minds capable of constructing them, like "found art," from previously unlinked curiosities of the Victorian world.

"The Incorruptible Crown": By the simple device of reversing the letters of SNARK, Kate Lyon introduces us to the somber and touching social history of chaplets and dving youth, the deep classical and Victorian backdrop of the deathbed attendance from which Dodgson was taking a break when the Snark entered his thoughts. It reminds me of the medieval Christians' realization that when the Hebrew and Greek scriptures were both translated into Latin, the Eva with which the serpent could be supposed to have hailed Eve was reversed by the Ave with which Gabriel addressed Mary at the Annunciation.

This EVA-AVE link could be seen as the hinge joining two symmetrically contrasting patterns of Fall and Redemption. The serpent's tempting the First Eve to disobedience was countered by the angel's guiding the Second Eve to obedience. In the gardens of Eden and Gethsemane the First Adam and Second Adam respectively vielded to or overcame temptation. By means of one tree came sin; by means of another came salvation. And on and on. Though but an accident of Latin spelling, the EVA-AVE symmetry, once seen, evokes an organizing structure difficult to forget. To me, the SNARK-KRANS symmetry is like that.

"On a Walrus Train of Thought": Lively minds cannot always resist outwitting wit itself. We all know that the joke of the Hatter's riddle is that there is no answer. But the joke was hardly in print before readers—and author were contriving answers, some of them gems. Matthew Demakos seems to have met a challenge exponentially greater, answering the implied riddle "Why are shoes like ships—as well as like sealing-wax, cabbages, kings, the sea, the word *hot*, pigs and wings?

Of course, the joke in the "time has come" stanza of "The Walrus and the Carpenter" is that the Walrus's agendum comprises perversely unlinkable items. So finding a common term for all of them surely demanded uncommon savvy and labor and luck. (The joke of suggesting a string of arbitrary conversational topics was repeated at epic length by Cole Porter in the tongue-testing patter song, "Let's Not Talk About Love," which he wrote for Eve Arden and Danny Kaye, in the 1941 Broadway show *Let's Face It.* The dozens of suggested topics range from "Walküries" to "verbosity," with such issues as "why chickens cross roads," the "synonymy of freedom and autonomy" and Garbo's gunboat shoe size along the way.)

"On a Walrus Train of Thought" is a thrilling excursion. If others have ventured on the same quest, I can't imagine that anyone has done so with Demakos' ingenuity and assiduity, his scholarship, linguistic facility, fearlessness and infectious enthusiasm. While reading. I marveled at the range of arcane subjects he explored, and I enjoyed frequent frissons at the singular coincidences and unexpected parallels he uncovered. He seemed to treat all of literature, culture and nature as a cryptic crossword puzzle he could solve. It is as though he traced the trail of a red clew through a labyrinth that no one else had guessed existed.

Awed by this feat, I would never cavil if some of the connections seem strained or tenuous. Just how far one can skate out on the thinning ice is the measure of this kind of intellectual game. My reservations are not with the treasures and trifles Demakos has assembled for our bedazzlement but with two of his arguments which I find unconvincing and unnecessary:

The Chapter-Heading Argument: Yes, there *is* a typographic resemblance between the cabbages-and-kings list and the dash-stitched topical synopses at the heads of chapters in Victorian books. Surely I'm not the only reader who responded to Demakos' observing this by thinking, "Of course!"

The likeness, however, is limited. Demakos' citation from *Arctic Explorations* is a superb model of a typical synopsis. In each topic heading the initial word and all nouns are capitalized. Headings are separated by long dashes rather than conjunctions. Yet Carroll does not capitalize the Walrus's topics as if they were headings. The Walrus introduces five of his seven topics by the conjunction *and*, precisely as if he were improvising a spoken list. In fact, nothing in the format of the Walrus's famous sentence suggests a chapter synopsis—save the long dashes.

And what of them? Though liberal dashing was undeniably standard in many Victorian chapter headings, it was also common in all the contemporary literary forms pertinent to the Walrus's versified speech: poetry, dialog and serial description (or lists).

The nineteenth century was so tolerant of this punctuation that writers feeling too lazy to wrestle with syntax could often get away with simply stapling non sequiturs together with dashes. Better writers inserted dashes to dramatize patterns of spontaneous thought and speech. Even descriptions and lists came to life when this device was used to indicate the hesitations and natural pauses of a narrator calling to mind the next word or detail.

I found it easier to turn up examples than I expected. The first Victorian novel I snatched from a shelf was Elizabeth Gaskell's 1866 Wives and Daughters. I have never read Mrs. Gaskell's fiction but, in a quick riffle through the 1969 Penguin edition, numerous dashed passages caught my eye. The most succinct instance is this speech on page 528: "'It must be horrible-I think I'm very brave-but I don't think I could have-could have accepted even Roger, with a half-cancelled engagement hanging over me." Handy evidence that Carroll was adept at exactly this trick of punctuating conversation is the second paragraph of Wonderland, chapter ten. In the first volume of poetry I let fall open-a thin volume of Poe's verse-the second poem I looked at ("Coliseum," 1833) offered this Walrus-presaging passage:

But stay! these walls—these ivyclad arcades—

- These mouldering plinths—these sad and blackened shafts—
- These vague entablatures—this crumbling frieze—
- These shattered cornices—this wreck—this ruin—
- These stones—alas! these grey stones—are they all—
- All of the famed, and the colossal left
- By the corrosive Hours to Fate and me?

As I don't understand why Demakos thinks the Oysters' use of the singular *chat* confirms Carroll's chapter-heading intentions, I can't dispute it. (I won't even ask how the Oysters could know the Walrus was talking in dashes, as elsewhere Demakos has the Oysters hearing the dashes only as thought-provoking pauses.) But in my experience speakers of idiomatic English would no more refer to a seven-topic conversation as *chats* than they would refer to a seven-course dinner as *meals*.

The "Randomness" Argument: Suppose that Carroll did not have the word red in mind when selecting the Walrus's proposed talking points. How likely is it that red might be connected to those points purely by accident?

Well, think of ravens and writingdesks, which at first seemed to have nothing in common, then only a few things (such as quills and bills), and then so many things that entire books have been written on the subject. The vast and expanding vocabulary of English is networked with so many crisscrossing connections that lexicographers grow faint trying to record all the relations and distinct uses of even the simplest words. Therefore we would predict that given any two terms in the Walrus's list, there should be so many connections that a few would come readily to mind, and even offer opportunities for wit. (How are shoes like ships? Both travel with their bows foremost. How are ships like sealing-wax? Crests raise ships and are raised in sealing-wax. How is sealingwax like cabbages? Both contain (hold in/include) leaves. How are cabbages like kings? Both may be called Cole; both may lose their heads, etc.) For most pairs, as for the pair in the Hatter's riddle, new answers could probably still be found even after fourteen decades of discoveries.

But what about linking *three* of the terms? Though the field of possible connections would be significantly smaller than for two, and significantly harder to find, and significantly less susceptible to wordplay, we could expect there to be such a field, and possibly an inexhaustible one. And so the trend would continue as we at-

tempted to link four terms, or five, or six, or—in Demakos's case—*nine!*

His achievement staggers me. Yet there is no reason to think that, given enough time and reference books, a clever (and extremely long-lived) scholar could not eventually identify a verbal hub with spokes radiating to all the terms in the Walrus's list. In fact, considering the multitudinous ties among English words, it would be surprising were it otherwise. It would also be surprising if the word *red* were the only connection that could ever be found. Demakos' inventive scenario involving walrus-hunts shows that the connection need not even be a single word. Perhaps some illuminated medieval manuscript of the book of Revelation will be discovered to sport in its margins images of an apocalyptic wax seal's being broken, a wracked ship atilt in a boiling sea, a starving king trading a golden shoe for a withered cabbage—and winged, tusked, fiery-eyed boars dragging the damned into the mouth of hell. Who knows what awaits the seeking eye?

I have approached this step by step to make an important point: Given enough variables with elements in common, and enough shuffling of those variables, coincidences are inevitable. Any given coincidence may be jaw-droppingly rare, though no less a coincidence for all that. Yet Demakos appears to think (and I trust he will forgive me if I've misunderstood him) that what is unlikely cannot also be what he calls "random." True randomness is counterintuitive. Select the *non-random* sequence or sequences of dice faces from the following: 3261545, 5526141, 1111111, 3415434, 6543211, 2541443. As startling as it may be to us non-statisticians, there is no way to tell from the information given which, if any, series were randomly produced. Each of these sequences is *exactly* as likely to be rolled as any other. Though 11111111 comes up with impressive rarity (once in every 279,936 rolls), it is the same impressive rarity with which 3415434—or any order of seven dice-can be expected to appear.

We commonly mislabel patterns as "random" if they are meaningless to us and "nonrandom" if we can read

a meaning into them. Since most possible patterns are gibberish, and to us interchangeable, we consider them qualitatively different from sequences that make sense to us. But they are not. Any given meaningless pattern is exactly as likely or unlikely to occur by chance alone as any given meaningful pattern of the same units. The laws of probability make no distinction between walrus and urslaw. The accidental spelling of red with three blindly drawn anagram tiles is indistinguishable from the same word intentionally spelled. Hence, the only way to know if a certain sequence is random or nonrandom is to know how it was generated. The only way we could know if Carroll intended the Walrus's list to be connected to the term *red* is by some credible record of his saying so. Even evidence that this is the kind of literary hide-and-seek he committed or toyed with elsewhere would make it more plausible.

However, this is not the sort of evidence Demakos presents. To prove that the Walrus's nine words are not just accidentally among the "thousands" of words he estimates are modified by *red*, Demakos selects nine substantive nouns (why, when hot is not a noun?) from scattered works of Dickens-and shows that they do not combine with the word red. This is like determining the randomness of one poker hand by dealing a second hand from another deck, then comparing their properties. The second hand is utterly independent from, and can tell us nothing about the genesis of, the first hand. I'm guessing that what Demakos was after was a sense of just how likely or unlikely the red connection is. But no single test could provide that.

The study of probabilities began when mathematicians painstakingly enumerated every possible permutation of dice-roll, coin-flip, card-deal then tabulated the results. The equivalent investigation in this case might begin with every nine-word set of consecutively appearing nouns (and adjectives?) in all of Carroll's works. Then we would assign someone as tirelessly resourceful as Matt Demakos to score each set for the number of its words (0–9) that connect, however remotely, to the word red. (With moon, sun, sea, sand, cloud, bird, walrus, carpenter and hand, to take nearby samples, the score might be high.) But why only red? It happens to be the first word Demakos unearthed connected to the entire Walrus's list, but he presumably did not set out with that word or color in mind. So for each nine-word set we want to scour the entire vocabulary of the English language to find the word or phrase that connects to the most words in that set.

Were this Herculean enterprise ever accomplished, we would know in what percentage of Carrollian nineword sets all nine words related to a common word or term. We would even know how many of those common words happened to be red. Then, and only then, could we have an accurate sense of how unusual, statistically, Demakos' discovery actually is. But two things would remain unchanged: We would still not know whether Carroll intended the *red* connection, and we would still be charmed and astonished by Demakos' remarkable tour de force.

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Gary Brockman Madison, CT

Somewhat reluctantly I feel I must take issue with Edward Wakeling's commentary notes to my exploratory article, "X Markse the Spot," in the last Knight Letter. I could also take this opportunity to distance myself from the title of this piece. I confess to more than a little surprise at Edward's statement regarding Carroll's relationship with Tyrwhitt. He states that "They [Carroll and Tyrwhitt] had some discussion about 'art' but the impression I get is that Dodgson didn't accept Tyrwhitt's argument." Wakeling implies, apparently, that this was a little more than a transitory relationship. This is wholly misleading, however, and is contradicted by Wakeling himself in the diaries where he states "The two men often discussed social and religious matters" (Diaries, January 7, 1856, 2:11 n.12).

What is particularly surprising is that the context of this diary note is an entry by Carroll regarding his reading of *Alton Locke*, Charles Kingsley's book on the "privations and miseries of the poor..." Carroll was extremely sympathetic to Kingsley's thesis, and the book had a profound effect on him. In this particular case, however, he was comparing Kingsley unfavorably to Paley on the matter of miracles. Carroll (most unusually in such matters) appears to be deferring to Tyrwhitt's reading of Kingsley.

There are a number of points to be raised here, all of which Wakeling is aware of. (I have discussed these matters with him several times and he has appeared to accept the theses involved.) The first is that, at the time of the entry. Carroll was in a marked minority among Oxford clergy in expressing sympathy for Kingsley's writing. Not only was Kingsley deemed a "Chartist," but, perhaps more damning, his Broad Church, neo-Platonist theology was utterly contrary to that of the Oxford establishment of the time. Kingsley, of course, was-with Frederick Dennison Maurice-a founder of the Christian Socialist Movement. Carroll's lifelong admiration of Maurice is now (I hope) wholly accepted. For Carroll to be discussing Kingsley with Tyrwhitt in such circumstances does indicate a level of sympathy and trust that extends beyond mere acquaintanceship. Tyrwhitt, of course, was also a named recipient of a copy of Wonderland-a fact that indicates that the relationship was not merely transient. Indeed, having had the honor and pleasure of seeing the inscribed edition that Carroll sent to Tyrwhitt, I can say that the extended inscription demonstrates the closeness of the relationship. As Wakeling has also seen this inscription, I find it odd that he attempts in this contradictory way to play down their relationshipand deflect the focus from religious and social to "merely" one of common interest in art.

Of course, it was wholly inevitable that Carroll would seek out Tyrwhitt at Oxford, given, as Wakeling notes, that the Tyrwhitts (like the Hudsons) were one of the "great" Northeast families. Carroll's own family's strong Northeast links are well documented. I also note that Tyrwhitt's father was recorder of Chester—another geographic coincidence!

Regarding Wakeling's comments on Marske: He states that "To say that Marske Hall was the only place where the Dodgsons could have stayed is somewhat deceptive. There were other buildings including a school, 52 houses, and a rectory." Well, I'm sorry if this seems "deceptive" to Wakeling-but I was placing my comment in the context of nineteenth-century mores and social relationships. If Mr. Wakeling wishes to consider it likely that Dodgson Sr. would feel it socially appropriate to lodge at any one of the 52 houses, the school, or even the "small" rectory, then I would be most intrigued to hear his arguments in support of such a thesis. If we know anything of Dodgson Sr., it is that he would never either impose himself inappropriately or do anything that would detrimentally affect the dignity and status of himself or his family. The Dodgsons, as we know, were always fully aware of their social position. Of course, should Wakeling's inferred proposition be correct-that is, that Dodgson Sr. was not a guest of the Huttons-why, that makes his reasons for visiting Marske all the more intriguing, and all the more worthy of exploration and explanation. As I submitted my piece in order to stimulate further research, this possibility does have its attractions.

John Tufail London, U.K.

Many thanks for allowing me to read John Tufail's letter and for giving me an opportunity to respond. The substance of his response seems to focus on my comment on his statement that Richard St. John Tyrwhitt "was one of Carroll's closest companions in his early years at Christ Church." Tyrwhitt was at Christ Church from 1845 to 1859, being a student and a tutor. Dodgson does not mention Tyrwhitt in his diaries until 1856, but, of course, their paths may have crossed before this. References to him over a four-year period indicate that the relationship was one of a colleague and friend. When Tyrwhitt takes up the

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position of vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, a post he held from 1858 to 1872, there are no more than half a dozen mentions of him in Dodgson's diaries. In fact, he is mentioned no more than twenty times throughout Dodgson's life, and some of these are indirect references (e.g. meeting him in company with a group of other tutors). Dodgson attended his funeral in 1895. My point was that, in my opinion, he was not one of Dodgson's closest companions in comparison with, say, Bayne, Prout, Kitchin, and others. He did not go for long walks with Tyrwhitt. He did not use Tyrwhitt as a confidant or adviser. Their friendship was relatively short-lived through circumstance, but they remained in contact and met each other a few times over the next thirty years.

To state that Tyrwhitt, being a named recipient of a copy of *Wonderland*, is an argument that indicates the relationship was "not merely transient" is invalid——there are many instances of a child on a train journey becoming a recipient after a single meeting lasting a few hours.

I can add nothing to my point about where people might stay in Marske. I gave a factual report of the buildings in the hamlet. I merely pointed out that residence at Marske Hall is purely speculation, and to say that "the Dodgsons were almost certainly the guests" and "there really wasn't anywhere other than Marske Hall where the Dodgsons could have stayed" is misleading without some concrete evidence.

Edward Wakeling Clifford, UK In working with Matt Demakos's article in this issue, I noted with interest the following tale from the fabulist Phaedrus:

"The Bees had made their honeycombs in a lofty oak, and the lazy drones were calming these as their own. The dispute was brought into court before the wasp as judge; who, being perfectly acquainted with either tribe, propose the following terms for both to meet: 'Your bodily shapes,' said he, "are not unlike, and your color is about the same; hence the case is obviously and or good reason moot. But lest my strict sense of duty go wrong through insufficient knowledge, take these hives and distil your respective productions into the waxen cells, so that from the flavor

In Memoriam

Derek Hudson 1911 – October 31, 2003

We regret to note the passing of Carroll scholar Derek Hudson, author of more than twenty books, editor (*The Times*, *Spectator*, and Oxford University Press) and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Hudson had been a member and keen supporter of the Lewis Carroll Society (UK) from its early days. His excellent biography—*Lewis Carroll* (London: Constable, 1954), revised as *Lewis Carroll, an Illustrated Biography* (London: Book Club Associates, 1976; New York: Clarkson Potter, 1977)—and his essay decrying Freudian interpretations (*Lewis Carroll*, Longmans, 1958) have been invaluable to researchers and a source of great joy to readers.

Hudson's papers relating to Carroll are on deposit in the Surrey History Centre in Woking, England.

Morton Cohen contributes these reminiscences:

When I undertook to edit Lewis Carroll's letters in the early 1960s, Derek Hudson was one of the first persons I approached for insight and help. He was Carroll's most recent biographer and he would certainly have suggestions about people I might approach for copies of Carroll's correspondence. We met for the first time at the English-Speaking Union in Charles Street, London, for lunch. He was a moderately tall man, slender, with white hair and sharp, sparkling eyes. We chatted amiably, and indeed he made a good many suggestions about how I might proceed. It turned out that, at that time, we were virtual neighbors in South Kensington, and he asked me round to his home a number of times. We sat in his study-I recall carved paneled walls-and he showed me all his files and papers connected with his Carroll biography. I remember he had one especially useful notebook with names of people he had interviewed, and, of course, he allowed me to take it away and have it photocopied. Hudson styled himself a professional journalist, but, indeed, he was more than that, having written, in true scholarly mode, more than a dozen books, some about some major journalists, but others ranging from studies of Kensington Palace and Holland House to his autobiography, Writing Between the Lines. He had known and interviewed a number of people who in fact knew Lewis Carroll, and his reports of those meetings were invaluable to me. In his biography of Carroll, he brings forth material that had never appeared in print before. Certainly one of his major contributions was his discovery of "Cakeless," the undergraduate satire of Christ Church, its members, and especially the Liddell family and Lewis Carroll. When it appeared in 1874, it was seen as an outrageous and scandalous piece of writing, and its author was in fact "rusticated." In later life, Derek moved to Hindhead in the south. I visited him there at least once. In more recent times, he lived with his daughter in Guildford.

of the honey and the pattern of the comb, matters now in question, it may be evident who was responsible for these combs.' The drones refused, but the bees were pleased with the proposed test. Then the wasp rendered judgment as follows: 'It is plainly evident who can't have made and who did make the combs; wherefore, I restore the fruit of their labors to the bees.'" ~ translated by Ben



Edwin Perry (Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 1965).

It is likely (though not certain) that Dodgson read Phaedrus as part of his classical studies. Perhaps resonances of this judicial insect helped create the wasp in what might have been a judge's wig?

Andrew Ogus San Francisco

Ravings prom the Writing Desk

OF ALAN TANNENBAUM

**

s you have already read, the New York City meeting at the Fales Library was a success. We owe a great deal of thanks to Marvin Taylor, its director, for allowing us to meet there, and for the help in arranging the hi-tech facilities that we used for the Board of Directors meeting and the main program. Little did I know thirty years ago, when I worked for NYU in the adjoining building helping to plan the information system for the yet-to-be-built Bobst Library, that the Berol Collection within the Fales within the Bobst would house such an important Carroll collection.

Despite the state of travel nowadays, it was gratifying to have more than seventy people in attendance, many of whom traveled from other cities. We had members from all corners of the country. We were very pleased to have some special guests from far away, including our longtime Carrollian friend, scholar, and collector Yoshiyuki Momma from Japan, as well as Mrs. Eiko Okuni, the treasurer of the Lewis Carroll Society of Japan, and Dana McCausland, president of the Lewis Carroll Society of Canada. Edward Wakeling of the Lewis Carroll Society (UK) was one of our featured speakers, so we had coverage from a large portion of the Carrollian world.

As for ravings: Those of you who could not attend missed some outstanding and provocative talks by Edward Wakeling and Morton Cohen, and a performance by professional actor (and LCSNA board member) Andrew Sellon and two of his follow thespians. The auction, with Joel Birenbaum at the hammer, was great fun as well as a successful fund-raiser, and a number of original and special edition books and other bits of Carrolliana were sold to attendees. The extra festivities on the day before, the frabjous lunch and reception on Saturday (thanks, as always, to Janet Jurist for local arrangements), and a small gathering of friends at Alice's Tea Cup for Sunday brunch made it well worth the trip. Please consider attending at least one meeting each year. The *Knight Letter* always has an excellent synopsis, but it can't quite match being there.

We hope to have another superb meeting in the spring, when we meet at the Houghton Library at Harvard, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The meeting is planned for Saturday, May 8. Watch the Society's web site (www.LewisCarroll.org) for updates. 1 am led to believe that we may have some special international visitors, and there is a good chance that the meeting will include an extra day on Friday, so try to reserve both days for being in the Boston area.



"Alice"

Well, I heard she flew down to the Mountain City.

He said, that's not what I heard—I hear she went higher.

She depended on her friends to tell her when to stop it

To make a statement; this is me talking to you.

CHORUS: Like Alice through the looking glass,

She used to know who she was. Call out my name, call out my name, But I get no answer, she prays.

Better run for your life, cried the Mad Hatter.

All right, said Alice, I'm going back To the other side of the mirror; I'm going back.

Oh no, you cannot tell a gypsy, ooh, that she's no longer a member.

Become a deadly weapon now along with everything else

Oh, call my name.

Ooh run for your life said the Mad Hatter

All right, said Alice, I'm going back to the other side of the mirror

This is me talking to you well this is me talking to ya

Alice, Alice...

Stevie Nicks The Other Side Of The Mirror (1989)



Her companions, scattered around the room, also accentuated for the Frenchman's benefit their lascivious attitudes. Sitting, standing, or halfreclining, several of them seemed to be miming the living reproduction of more or less famous works of art: Greuze's *Broken Pitcher* (but in a further state of undress), Edouard Manneret's *Bait*,¹ Fernand Cormon's *Chained Captive*, Alice Liddell as a little beggar girl with her shift in suggestive tatters photographed by the Oxford don Charles Dodgson . . .

> Alain Robbe-Grillet Repetition: A Novel (New York: Grove Press, 2003; Richard Howard, translator)

¹ Manneret is a fictional character, the victim in Robbe-Grillet's 1965 mystery novel La maison de rendez-vous.

"Sunshine"

- I sold my soul for a one night stand
- I followed Alice into Wonderland
- I ate the mushroom and I danced with the queen
- Yeah, we danced in between all the lines
- I followed daylight right into the dark

Took to the Hatter like a walk in the park

But then I met her, yeah, she felt so right

No child of the night, yeah, was she

CHORUS: They called her Sunshine The kind that everybody knows

Yeah yeah, Sunshine

She's finer than a painted rose Yeah yeah, Sunshine, yeah

- I got the karma but it don't come free
- I'll chase that rabbit up the old oak tree

The caterpillar's tryin' to cop a plea But the smoke ain't got nothin' on me

> Aerosmith Just Push Play (2001)

GET FUZZY Darby Conley



Le 2ème Colloque International Lewis Carroll

LAWRENCE GASQUET Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III



n the 17th and 18th of October 2003, the Second International Lewis Carroll Conference¹ took place in France under the direction of Sophie Marret, Jean-Jacques Lecercle, Michel Morel, Isabelle Nières, and Lawrence Gasquet. The symposium was held at the University of Rennes in Brittany, and invited the participants to ponder over "Lewis Carroll & les mythologies de l'enfance" ("Lewis Carroll and the Mythologies of Childhood").

The first day of the conference gave the participants an opportunity to think about the progression from text to reader response, reflected in the following papers:

Jean-Jacques Lecercle (Université de Paris X – Nanterre): "Désir d'Alice"

Sophie Marret (Université de Rennes II): "Les petites filles: de l'inconscient au mythe"

Michel Morel (Université de Nancy II): "La double contrainte dans Alice ou le mythe en état de contrariété"

Isabelle Nières-Chevrel (Université de Rennes II): "Alice dans la mythologie surréaliste"

Two workshops were held in the afternoon: the first was devoted to Carrollian linguistics and reception aesthetics, and included the following participants:

Sakari Katajamäki (University of Helsinki): "Language as a Leading Path: Lewis Carroll's Nonsense and Linguistic Determination"

Sébastien Chapleau (University of Cardiff): "Alice, Critics and/as Children: A Childist Approach to Children's Books"

Stéphane Jousni (Université de Rennes II): "La voix de l'enfance: Joyce ou la révolution du *Portrait*"

The other workshop recontextualized Carroll's productions within the framework of Victorian children's literature or representation:

Virginie Douglas (Université de Rouen): "D'Alice à Harry: mythe et spatialisation du texte dans la littérature britannique contemporaine pour la jeunesse"

Strother Purdy (Marquette University, USA): "Lewis Carroll and the Subversion of the Child Myth"

Jacques Dissard (Université de Paris X – Nanterre): "Alice ou les garçons"

Lydie Malizia & Frank Thibault (Université de Paris III): "Alice, Peter et Miles: la fin de l'innocence"

The first day of the conference ended with a screening and commentary presented by Chiara Lagani, director of the Italian theater troupe *Fanny & Alexander* which had recently presented a play entitled *Alice Vietato > 18 Anni* ("Alice: over eighteen years old not admitted").

The next morning a workshop was held on illustration and photography, with the following program:

Toshiro Nakajima (Konan University, Japan): "The Diptych-like Imagination in Lewis Carroll"

Mikiko Chimori (Osaka Meijo Women's College, Japan): "Modern Japanese Alice Illustrations"

Rosella Mallardi (University of Bari, Italy): "Lewis Carroll's Photographic-Narrative Aesthetics and the Myth of the Child"

John Tufail (University of East London): "The Illuminated *Snark*: Symbol and the Language of Illustration in *The Hunting of the Snark*"

The other workshop pursued the thread of the preceding day, the myths of childhood:

Luiza Palanciuc (EHESS, Paris): "Possible traversée: mythes et stéréotypes de l'enfance chez Lewis Carroll"

Hugues Lebailly (Université Paris I – Tolbiac): "L'amie-enfant carrollienne, mythe et réalité"

Kate Lyon (Whitireia Polytechnic, New Zealand): "Instances of Mythological Symbolism Within the *Alice* Texts"

Pascale Renaud-Grosbras (Rennes): "Lewis Carroll et les psychobiographes: la fondation du mythe ou l'enfance réifiée"

A plenary session was held in the afternoon, dealing with music and photography:

Simon Gallot (Université Lyon II): "Lewis Carroll mis en musique par György Ligeti: 'The Lobster Quadrille'"

Lawrence Gasquet (Université de Bordeaux III): "Lewis Carroll, Writer and Photographer: Clearing Up a Few Myths"

Lindsay Smith (University of Sussex): "Photography, Stammering and the Voice of Infancy"

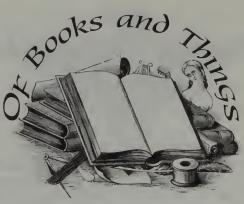
The papers from this conference will be published soon by the University of Rennes II. A volume of the First International Conference which was held in Nancy in 1999 has recently been published by the University of Nancy, with articles in French and English, edited by Professor Michel Morel.²

- ¹ The similarly named First and Second International Lewis Carroll Conferences, which have been held in Oxford, England (1989) and North Carolina (1994), have no formal relation.
- ² Michel Morel, *Lewis Carroll: Jeux et Enjeux Critiques* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2003). €21 from www.amazon.fr.

SEE YOU IN THE FUNNY PAPERS

Pictures and Conversations: Lewis Carroll in the Comics by Byron Sewell, Mark Burstein, and Alan Tannenbaum (Austin: Ivory Door, 2003) is a comprehensive, annotated international bibliography of comic books that contain references to Lewis Carroll and his works or characters, "from the big names to the unknowns-from the far-away to the far-out." The preface, "Comic Sensibilities: Alice in the Funny Papers" by Mark Burstein, provides a survey of the comic medium throughout history and begins the discussion of the appearances of Carroll characters therein: The first ones arrived in 1901, just three years after Dodgson's death and they continue to make appearances to this day. Most everyone you have heard of (Superman, Batman, Casper the Friendly Ghost, the Incredible Hulk, and so forth) has at one time or another been visited by, or has visited, the Alice characters. The bibliography itself is chronological within categories, from Horror and Sci-Fi through Funny Books, Translations, Erotica, and so on. It has two indexes. See www.lvoryDoor.com or write to Alan Tannenbaum, 3801 Greystone Drive, Austin TX 78731. \$20.





IF YOU MEET SABUDA ON THE ROAD

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (New York: Little Simon, 2003). \$25. "Paper engineer" Robert Sabuda has created a most enchanting pop-up book based on the Tenniel illustrations. His ingenuity in the constructions is breathtaking: a Victorian peep show, hidden faces, foil elements, and an astonishing dimensionality taken to new heights for the medium. The volume is on the New York Times best-seller list in the "Children's Picture Books" category and in the "Ten Best Illustrated Children's Books for 2003" in the New York Times Book Review (November 16, 2003). He is also the subject of a biographical article in Chris Hedges' "Public Lives" column in the New York Times, December 9. Here is an e-interview with Robert:

Why did you choose Alice's Adventures? I have always loved the story of Alice since she is up against such terrible odds in a crazy world of mean adults. In fact, I never really got over the fact of just how mean the adults were to her (can you imagine a duchess with such a sharp little chin?) And of course the use of silly language and play on words is wonderful!

How long did the project take? Most pop-up (or "movable" books, as they are traditionally called) take from six months to a year to develop and Alice was no exception. The most challenging part is the design of all the pop-ups! This can take even longer than creating all of the actual artwork that will go on the pops themselves.

Were there special challenges? The story of Alice is so beloved I wanted to make sure that I stayed on a respectful side when creating the book. One of my philosophies in bringing classic tales to the pop-up world is "if it ain't broke, don't fix it!" So I always try to be very respectful to the original creators yet at the same time have the book reflect something of me as an artist.

Are there "hidden" things to look for which we might otherwise miss? The flying cards scene (if I remember correctly) has exactly two decks of cards in it!

How did you first come across Carroll? Do you have an affection for him? I have loved the story of Alice for so long I don't even remember when I was first introduced to it. I'm sure that my mother must have read the story to me and it just became part of the "library in my head." When I grew up I finally had the opportunity to learn more about Carroll and his love of telling stories.

Are you planning to do a Looking-Glass sequel?

I haven't thought about a sequel yet, but one never knows!

Does anything else come to mind? Please just thank everyone in your organization for supporting such nontraditional versions of Alice and let them know that if they would like to find out more about the book (including pictures of the process for making it) to please stop by my website, www.robertsabuda.com.

IN BRIEF

Alice in (Pop-Up) Wonderland by J. Otto Seibold with paper engineering by James Diaz (New York: Orchard, 2003) is an abridgment of the text featuring stylish, sophisticated, colorful, and wildly stylized digitally-rendered illustrations by the best-selling illustrator of Olive, the Other Reindeer; Penguin Dreams; Space Monkey; and the Mr. Lunch series. A very witty volume, it somehow complements Sabuda's.

One Pill Makes You Smaller by Lisa Dierbeck (New York: Farrar, Straus & Gir-

oux, 2003), reviewed in the New York Times on September 7, 2003, is another unfortunate palimpsest on the tale, this time with Alice as an elevenyear-old, oft-molested Manhattanite in the 1970s, living in "a haze of nonsupervision, drugs, rock music, and [her sister] Esmé's boyfriends." One of them is called Rabbit and takes her to an anarchic art camp, a substitute for Wonderland, where she is further seduced into sexual abuse. The title is a misquote of the misbegotten rock song, yet one further remove from authenticity. The author was interviewed on the Leonard Lopate radio show on WNYC in New York on October 3. You can hear it at www.wnyc.org/shows/ lopate/archive.html?month=200310.

Rupert Holmes's mystery thriller Where the Truth Lies (New York: Random House, 2003) is described in a

New York Times review (August 3, 2003) as a "witty analysis of Alice in Wonderland as a neurotic young woman who ingests forbidden substances and wanders through surreal [1970s] landscapes in search of dangerous knowledge and new sensations."

Another Alice, Eh? Alice's Adventures in an Alberta Wonderland, Byron Sewell's "translation" of the Adventures into contemporary Canadian, illumined with his own fine illustrations, was published by the L.C.S. Canada in December, 2002.

Peter Blake by Natalie Rudd in the Tate's "Modern Artists" series (London: Tate Publishing, 2003). This colorful and well-designed volume explores his life and art. Blake (b. 1932) has worked in an astonishing variety of media. Perhaps best known for his cover for Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, Blake was commissioned in the late 1960s to do a suite of eight illustrations for *Looking-Glass*. The book project did not go through, so they were released as prints. You can see all of them (and one he did of the Mad Tea Party), a photo of his Alice model, and a two-page interview about his Carroll obsession in these pages, as well as an in-depth look at his remarkably delightful body of work.

READY, AIM, FIREFLY!

Mark Burstein

Alice in Wonderland Illustrated by Ralph Steadman Published by Firefly Books Ltd. US\$ 29.95 ISBN: 1-55297-754-4 www.fireflybooks.com Our friend George Walker, he of the magnificent Cheshire Cat Press editions of the canon (*KL* 55.6–7, 58.18), has spent the last year in the (virtual) company of Ralph Steadman as Firefly Books, Ltd. of Toronto has just issued a new edition of Wonderland, replete with Mr. Steadman's inspired drawings, some unique to this version. But first, a bit of history of the Steadman illustrations, which, in the present author's opinion, reign supreme as the set of illustrations for adults. There is a very slight drawback in the caricatures and other visual in-jokes being recognizable only by dwellers in the UK.

1967: *Wonderland* published by Dobson Books Ltd., London. Also in Italian by Milano Libri Edizioni.

1972: *Looking-Glass* published by Mac-Gibbon & Kee, Ltd., London.

1972: Wonderland receives the Francis Williams Memorial bequest for the best illustrated book of the previous five years. 1973: Limited series of Wonderland and Looking-Glass intaglio etchings released in editions of 65. Also "White Rabbit" and "Wool on Water" drawings as offset litho

1973: New editions of *Wonderland* and *Looking-Glass* were published simultaneously in New York by Clarkson N. Potter and in Don Mills, Ontario, Canada by General Publishing Company Ltd.

poster prints in edi-

tions of 50.

1975: The *Snark* published by Michael Dempsey in association with Studio Vista Ltd., London, and in America (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1976). Also a set of six etchings in an edition

© 2003 Ralph Steadman

of 65 in sepia and black was published by Bernard Stone.

1977: Verses of Lewis Carroll (Japanese title is "Ruisu Kyaroru Shishu") published in Japanese (Tokyo: Chikuma-Shobo). The slipcase has an illustration from Looking-Glass, and there is an Alice figure in the inside covers.

1977: A "Wasp in a Wig" illustration "after Tenniel," commissioned for the (London) *Sunday Telegraph Magazine*, September 4, 1977, appears in color on the cover. Two more illustrations appear within. Reprinted by *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 1977, *Vrij Nederland*, October 22, 1977 (in Dutch) and (albeit in black and white and reversed in early printings) in the "First American Trade Edition" of the episode (New York: Clarkson N. Potter).

1986: Wonderland, Looking-Glass, Snark, and "Wasp" published in a single volume The Complete Alice & The Hunting of the Snark, simultaneously by Salem House, Topsfield, Massachusetts, and Jonathan Cape (Random House), London. New material included an additional introduction and new illustrations. Published also in French (Paris: Editions Aubier Montaine, 1986) and later in German (Hamburg: Zinnober Vlg., 1992).

1998: My After-Dinner Speech on the Occasion of the Centary Dinner at Christ Church, Oxford on the 14th January 1998, to Celebrate the Life of Lewis Carroll (Luton: White Stone Publishing, The Lewis Carroll Society [UK]). Contains one drawing from Looking-Glass. The talk was retitled "But we'll need some jam," and reprinted sans the Steadman illustration—but with three new ones by Paul Cox—in The Best After-Dinner Stories, selected and introduced by Tim Heald (London: The Folio Society, 2003).

2003: *Wonderland* published by Firefly Books, Toronto and New York. Redesigned by George Walker, with "restored, reformatted, and updated" illustrations and, from the original Dobson edition, hand-carved wooden letters ("Alice" on the cover and chapter numbers). George Walker was interviewed by email about this edition.

Who had the original idea for the Firefly edition and why?

Firefly has published two other books by Steadman, *Tales of the Weirrd* and *Sigmund Freud*. This was just continuing a relationship that was built between the publisher and Mr. Steadman.

How did you get chosen? I'm the in-house designer here at Firefly books so it was just another book that flew my way.

How did you work with Mr. Steadman? I mainly worked with Ralph by email and snail mail.

Were there any added illustrations? That's a tough one to answer because the answer is "Yes and No." Steadman added new illustrations for Alice in the Jonathan Cape edition in 1986 and reworked some of them for ours. He calls the new images "semioriginals." In our edition some of the images have been extracted from the original illustrations. For instance, the picture of the King and Queen for the frontispiece did not appear in any earlier editions, but was an enlargement of a detail from pp. 114-115 in ours. Steadman reworked a photocopy to create the new image. You'll also find that the White Rabbit on p. 121 has had the poem "They told me you had been to her..." added to the paper he is holding. The same image is reversed on the cover, with the poem written backwards (Steadman called this "foreshadowing Through the Looking-Glass"). The Dodo on p. 30 is similarly extracted from pp. 32-33 where it is partially obscured by the inner gutter margins. So you can see the answer is not straightforward.

Were any illustrations recombined from earlier editions?

Yes, we have combined the Jonathan Cape and Dobson editions. The Firefly edition is a combination of the two publications with the new images from the Cape edition and the semioriginal images.

Is Firefly planning to release Looking-Glass? Snark?

There are no plans to publish them. Yet.

Do you have any anecdotes from your working together?

Anecdotes? You bet! When Anna [Steadman] returned the signed copies of the books she wrote on the customs papers "does not contain pornographic material." Of course that told the ever-paranoid customs people to open the box and check out each book for naughty pictures.

Ralph and I did have a great phone conversation when the book was done. He was having a glass of wine and a smoke in his backyard when the first copy of the new book arrived. He called me to say how much he liked what I had done. I was flattered, and then we moved on to talking about art, his new illustrated novel DooDaaa, The Balletic Art of Gavin Twinge [London: Bloomsbury, 2002], how curious the warning pictures on smokes are, and did we have similar warning messages on cigarettes in Canada. I said yes and sent him a bunch with the most gruesome ones I could find. I think he plans to do a series of sketches.

I hate to be clichéd, but what is he like? Steadman is an English gentleman, scholar, and eccentric, an exceptional artist who is gracious and thoughtful. Although I was asked several times to interpret his emails to the publisher, I think that was because his replies were more creative than explanatory. It's the same with most confusing correspondence-like when the Hatter says, "You might just as well say that 'I see what I eat' is the same thing as 'I eat what I see'!"-Steadman saw what he said and said what he saw, yet they may be construed differently. By the way, he identifies himself completely with Carroll, almost to the point of "reincarnation"!

I studied printmaking at art college, so Ralph and I had an immediate shared love of fine printmaking. I sent him some of my wood engravings and he sent me some very cool ephemera he had. It was truly a fun experience!

Mr. Steadman has kindly given us permission to print the copyright images on the front cover of this issue and on the previous page. Please visit him at www.RalphSteadman.com.

A DARK VISION

Larry Hall Alice In Wonderland DVD and VHS, available in U.S. and UK formats

Produced and Directed

by Jonathan Miller

BBC Productions

- First transmitted on December 28, 1966
- Starring Anne Marie Mallik, John Gielgud, Peter Cook, Alan Bennett, Leo McKern, Peter Sellers and Michael Redgrave
- Extras: director's commentary, production stills, *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), and director's biography

Back in the era of peace and love, when the Beatles ruled the airwaves, and Carnaby Street was the center of fashion, a youngish Jonathan Miller decided he'd rather like to make a somewhat surreal version of Lewis Carroll's already somewhat surreal story, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. By the mid-1960s, Miller was well established as a writer, performer, and stage director, who was also a producer and presenter of arts programs for the BBC, and had made two moderately successful art films.

Approaching the then head of the BBC, Sir Hugh Weldon, Miller sought backing for the project. He explained his ideas and mentioned that he thought the production would cost around £28,000 (\$78,400). "No," said Sir Hugh, "It will cost £32,000 (\$89,600) and I suggest you go ahead and make it." And so began the filming of perhaps the most revered of *Alice* adaptations, a version that broke virtually all the conventions and expectations of how Lewis Carroll's story should be made.

Out went the cute animal masks, the cheery songs, and even the pretty little seven-year-old girl in the blue dress. Miller went right back to basics and came up with a dark vision of a serious Alice, a Victorian child living in academic surroundings struggling to understand the adult world and relating her dreams to the people and situations around her. In many ways, this film is about Alice Liddell and is arguably one of only two television productions that have attempted to see her as Carroll saw her. Alice is presented as an older child, perhaps ten to twelve, as she was in real life when *Wonderland* was written.

Anne Marie Mallik was chosen for the role, not for her stage experience. which was zero, or even her acting ability, but because she seemed to epitomize the serious, dark-haired Alice Liddell. Miller had advertised the role but rejected most of the applicants because they were virtually all conventional "cute little girl" types. Then almost out of the blue came a photograph of Anne Marie Mallik, the daughter of a Surrey barrister and with no previous professional acting experience. Miller took one look at her unsmiling, haunted, and almost otherworldly expression and hired her almost immediately.

Miller's cast is impressive. He decided to try for as many theatrical stars as he could, but even he was surprised at the strata of people who were willing to take him on. Among others, there were John Gielgud, Ralph Richardson, Michael Redgrave, Peter Sellers, Leo McKern, and Peter Cook—legends each and every one. Without the restrictions of animal masks, these fine actors could bring a degree of characterization that would otherwise be lost. Hence, the caterpillar becomes an absent-minded don from the university, momentarily surprised to find an inquisitive young girl in his rooms babbling on about size changes and forgetting things. His academic training suggests some recitation might put her mind in order, and of course he has some stern but wise words on the advisability of maintaining an equitable temper. The Gryphon and the Mock Turtle are two retired gentlemen whiling away their golden years, sitting on the beach in conversation, reminiscing and indulging a passion for painting. Miller rarely altered the Carollian dialogue, and the written word was never more natural nor apt than here. Some of the actors improvised around certain stretches of the dialogue but by and large it remained as Carroll wrote it.

The whole film is presented as one long summer day, where everything is overly bright, the hours seem to drag on forever, and there's a general feeling of listlessness. In a scene with the Hatter, the conversation just peters out, the arguments become pointless and everyone just sits there too hot and bothered to move. All the outside scenes are augmented by an insectoid soundtrack, heightened by the use of music composed and played by the world-famous sitar player Ravi Shankar. Miller particularly wanted the background music to suggest a hot dusty day, with insects constantly droning in the background. It has to be said that Shankar's Indian music also carries a suggestion of hallucination, given its association with the Beatles and their psychedelic period.

As much as anything, the film explores the nature of dreaming, in which the dreamer seems to move almost instantly from one situation to another without needing exposition or explanation. To enhance the dreamlike quality, Miller has Alice deliver much of her dialogue as an overdub, as if she were thinking out loud. This is suggested in the original story, where Alice internalizes her exchange with the Duchess at the croquet match, but is much expanded in the film. As in a dream, she often seems to have a conversation inside her head while the rest of her perceived world reacts to what she is thinking.

There's also a whole gamut of servant-heavy culture existing on a level of its own, possessing its own sense of logic-all of us (whether maid, footman, or gardener) have our jobs to do; even if they make no sense, they are expected of us. As John Bird's Frog-Footman says, "Tell you what I'll do for you. Nothing. Of course, I can't do it straight away, I'm a bit busy at the moment." All said with a straight face and believing every word. Ionathan Miller saw in Wonderland the confusion of class differentiationadults must be respected, servants are adults, so why aren't they respected in the same way as uncles?

Apart from the trial scene and a couple of special inserts, there are generally no constructed sets used in the film. It makes excellent use of real locations, which suggests a quintessentially English middle-class environment, with bleached cottage exteriors, fading paint work and rambling roses everywhere. There are Victorian settings in abundance and in great detail, with bric-a-brac cluttered rooms, ornate black-leaded fire grates, heavy curtains, aspidistras growing in glass conservatories, and utilitarian kitchens with stone sinks. Miller actually placed advertisements asking for people to suggest real-life locations that he could use.

Among those chosen was the ruined Chapel at Castle Donnington, where they filmed the caucus race, the derelict Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley near Southampton-through which Alice's initial chase after the White Rabbit takes place-and Sunningdale House and grounds in Hastings. The pictures of Alice walking in the beech woods on a steep-sided valley, soon after the start of the film, were filmed there, as were the later scenes as she wakes up. The house itself has now been demolished, but the cottage within the grounds, which doubled for the White Rabbit's cottage, is still standing.

Miller and his cameraman, Dick Bush, attempted to emulate the photographic style of the Victorian era, and particularly the look of a Dodgson photograph. Hence, all of the film is shot with a short-focus 9mm lens, which creates a dreamlike wide angle of vision in which the whole scene is lit in a very diffuse way and objects appear to foreshorten as they approach the camera. They also appear to diminish quickly and change proportions as they move away, and this is largely how Miller achieved Alice's different sizes. By placing furniture close to the camera and then having Alice move towards or away from it, the effect of her changing size is suggested without using an obvious superimposition or traveling matte technique. The exception to this is in the White Rabbit's bedroom where Alice diminishes in size quite rapidly. This was achieved by the construction of a trick Ames room, which from a fixed viewpoint looks

perfectly square but is actually built with sloping trapezoid walls and floor, taking only a small movement inside the room to give the impression of a drastic change in size.

Similarly, Miller employs very few photographic tricks. An obvious one occurs during the trial scene when Alice stands next to a mirror with her reflection moving independently. This may suggest that she is in the process of waking up and therefore losing her grip on her dream. It may also link to the overall theme of the loss of childhood, where Alice realizes that she is about to step over one of life's thresholds and become a young adult. In fact, Miller uses a quotation from Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" at the end of the film as Alice intones, "The things which I have seen I now can see no more."1

The film was shot on 35mm film stock and in black and white. There was some talk about re-shooting the film in color for the American market, but it was impossible to reassemble the cast, particularly Peter Sellers. In any case, color television sets were rare in the UK in 1966 and color film stock was a needless expense, particularly as most programs were shown a maximum of three times and then often dumped. The BBC is famous for having wiped countless numbers of unique and irreplaceable videotaped performances on the grounds that they didn't have enough storage space and they could save money by reusing the tape. Rather like Leonardo Da Vinci painting over the Mona Lisa rather than buying a new piece of wood. Fortunately, Miller's Alice was shot on film and even the BBC couldn't erase that.

The film negative was lodged with the British Film Institute (BFI), and, apart from a rare repeat of the film on the BBC, there it sat for almost forty years. The value of these unique film and television performances is recognized much more these days and, at last, Miller's *Alice* has been released on VHS tape and on DVD by the BFI in both European and American formats. The film transfer is excellent, both picture and sound are crystal clear without noticeable blemishes.

The DVD has, as we've come to expect in these digital days, a certain number of "extras," and these include a commentary by Miller which is entertaining and informative, if a little rambling. There is also a director's biography and what is described as a "Stills Gallery." Well, three photos in fact. The DVD also includes the 1903 version of *Alice in Wonderland* by Cecil Hepworth (discussed in "Hep, Hep, Hooray," below).

The BFI may have been a bit tardy in releasing this after a nearly fortyyear wait, but a "Well Done!" to them nonetheless.

¹ Wordsworth wrote the line in 1802 and published the whole of the poem, "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," in 1807 in *Poems in Two Volumes.* Incidentally, the first stanza, which ends with the quoted line, begins: "There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream, / The earth, and every common sight, / To me did seem / Apparelled in celestial light, / The glory and the freshness of a dream."

HEP, HEP, HOORAY!

David Schaefer

Cecil Hepworth in his 1951 autobiography describes the making of the very first motion picture version of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The year was 1903.¹

> ...and then we came to a more ambitious effort in Alice in Wonderland. This was the greatest adventure, and we did the whole story in 800 feet [of film]—the longest ever at that time. Every situation was dealt with, with all the accuracy at our command and with reverent fidelity to Tenniel's famous drawings. I had been married about a year and my wife, broken-in to film work, played the part of the White Rabbit. Alice was played by Mabel Clark, the little girl from the cutting room, growing exasperatingly larger and smaller as she does in the book. The beautiful garden was the garden of Mount

Felix, at Walton; the Duchess, the kitchen, the mad tea party, the Cheshire cat, the royal procession—all were there. The painting of the whole pack of cards human size was quite an undertaking and the madly comic trial scene at the end made a suitable and hilarious finale. ~ Cecil Hepworth, *Came the Dawn*

Cecil Hepworth was introduced to motion pictures when he saw Edison "peep show" films being projected through a translucent screen. "This was a modern miracle I shall never forget," he wrote. It was only seven years later that his movie titled *Alice in Wonderland* was filmed.

The Hepworth company was concerned that the paying public might be unwilling to sit through a ten-minute viewing. Therefore, in addition to the ten-minute version, they offered four three-minute excerpts from the film: Alice's Adventures in the Beautiful Garden, The Duchess and her Pig-Baby, The Mad Tea Party, and The Procession of the Pack of Cards.

When my wife Maxine and I inherited my mother's Lewis Carroll book collection in 1967 we decided that we would branch out and collect 16mm versions of motion pictures relating to Lewis Carroll. The prize, of course,

was the very first of these films, Cecil Hepworth's 1903 *Alice*. In 1975 we obtained a copy of the Hepworth film from the British Film Institute, after receiving blessings from the Museum of Modern Art (the BFI demanded it) and the payment of a small royalty to Elizabeth Hepworth, Cecil Hepworth's daughter.

We had been warned that the original was in poor shape, and our copy certainly confirmed this. However, it was in good enough condition to see that it was a charming film. The ability to use so-



A detail of the opening title

phisticated photographic techniques back in 1903 was evident in the scenes of Alice changing size, and the baby turning into a pig.

Because of its poor condition, I made a copy of the film that cut out many damaged frames, converted it so that it could be projected at sound speeds, and added a sound track that had a description of each scene as annotated in the 1903 advertisements for the film. Many of you have seen this version. At a meeting of the Lewis Carroll Society (UK) we projected the film with Elizabeth Hepworth present. This led to a friendship with Ms. Hepworth, who subsequently gave us a great deal of information about her father and about the film.

The 1903 description of the film states "toned and stained in various beautiful colors." What colors? Ms. Hepworth supplied us with the answers: Calm scenes, as when Alice falls asleep, are tinted blue; scenes of action such as in the Duchess's kitchen are tinted red. Other colors used include yellow, brown, and—for the Cheshire cat—violet.

Our Society discussed producing a DVD of the film (complete with the tinting) to celebrate its hundredth birthday. The BFI, however, beat us to the punch by attaching the film to their DVD release of the Jonathan Miller *Alice in Wonderland.*² An interesting commentary by Simon Brown of the BFI accompanies the Hepworth film. It is not tinted and remains in very poor shape, but the motion picture is now available to a much wider audience than ever before.

There have been many technological miracles in the century that produced *Alice*, but still we remain impressed with Hepworth and his skillful use of the "modern miracle" of a century ago.

¹ Cecil Hepworth, *Came the Dawn: Memories of a Film Pioneer* (London: Phoenix House,

1951), 29 and 63.

² The BFI production refers to the film as "directed by Percy Snow," leaving off the Hepworth name (see *KL* 71.38). The American release (by Public Media Inc.) has just taken place.

The LCSNA would like to acknowledge David Schaefer and his keeping the flame alive for so many years and providing so many of us with our first look at this marvel.



The Procession of the Pack of Cards



EXCERPTS FROM THE NEWLY-PUBLISHED

Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators: Collaborations and Correspondence, 1865–1898 Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling

To acknowledge this new scholarly publication, a collection of letters from Carroll to his illustrators, the editors present every word he scripted concerning one chosen illustration along with the Harry Furniss illustration itself. The passage relevant to that illustration has been deliberately excluded to demonstrate that even with a complete ignorance of the subject, Carroll's letters are still an enjoyable read—individually entertaining with their minutiae and together, enriching in their fullness.

The Numbers, enclosed in oblongs, refer to the pages of mounted text already in your hands...

51 "Are not those orchises under the hedge?"

I have tried a sketch, which I enclose: but really my sketches come out so wretchedly bad, that I must try to convey my meaning by descriptions. This picture should contain Arthur and Sylvie. I have drawn Arthur looking sideways, which is a mistake: he ought to be looking *at* the spectator, because the picture represents what the "I" of the book saw, and of course he saw Arthur looking at him, while addressing him. He should seem to be pointing, only, with his stick, and should be quite unconscious that he is really being pulled along by Sylvie. I think she should pull rather harder than I have made her do. And her figure should be semi-transparent, showing dimly whatever is behind her (a gate or rail would do very well), but not quite transparent (see my remarks on the drawing of "Nero holding thief"), as, in that case, she would seem to be behind the rail, instead of in *front* of it." (June 8, 1893)

The paging is at a standstill just now, for want of knowing whether or not there is to be a picture of the invisible (i.e. transparent) Sylvie leading Arthur by pulling his walking-stick. I have suggested such a picture to you (I think in my letter dated June 8) but you have not yet told me whether you think it worth drawing. If you do, and can tell me the proportions of length and width of the picture, I can leave a proper space for it, and can then go on with the paging. I am very anxious to publish, if it be possible, next Christmas. (September 8, 1893)

(93) S. pulling A. along: This looks all right, except that Arthur ought to be looking in the direction in which he is being pulled. If you look at the text, you will see that he thinks he is pointing, at the orchises, with his stick.... I had better tell you the order in which the as-yet-unfinished pictures will be wanted. It is:

93. Orchises

71. Willie's Wife...

(September 30, 1893)

(93) Orchises: This drawing is excellent, in every point but one. And this I must ask you to alter, by giving her a little more skirt floating out in front of her. She does look so very nearly naked, with the dress fitting in to the body and front of the thigh. You must remember the book has to be seen, not only by children, but by their Mothers: and some Mothers are awfully particular! I hope it won't give you much trouble: it seems to me that, by erasing about 1/4inch strip of shadow, the skirt could easily be widened enough to satisfy that exorbitant "Mrs. Grundy." The sketch of this figure, without the drapery, must be quite lovely. I suppose you made one, from the life? You were good enough to say that I might have your "studies" for these pictures. I'm quite looking forwards to possessing this. By the way, how old is your model? And may I have her name and address? My friend, Miss E. G. Thomson, an artist great in "fairies," would be glad to know of her, I'm sure. (October 12, 1893)



"Are not those orchises?" Harry Furniss



Carrollían Notes



FROM THE ANTIPATHIES

"'Please, Ma'am, is this New Zealand or Australia?'" Now we can answer her: both! Kate Lyon has founded the Lewis Carroll Society of New Zealand which, for now, consists of a website (www.lcsnz.org) and an online discussion forum. We, the Lewis Carroll Society of North America, welcome the LCSNZ to the sisterhood of Carroll Societies already thriving in Australia, Canada, Japan, and the UK.

ADDENDA, ERRATA, CORRIGENDA, & ILLUMINATA

A report on A. S. W. Rosenbach's life in the article "Our Kind of Town" (*KL* 71.9) said that the original manuscript of *Alice's Adventures under Ground* was "donated...to the British Library, where it remains on display at the British Museum to this day." Better if it had said "donated...to the Library of the British Museum. Since January 1999, the 'British Library,' formed in 1973, has exhibited the ms. at the John Ritblat (a.k.a. 'Treasures') Gallery in their London St Pancras location."

The article "Crimson Tidings" (*KL* 71.36–38) contained a lengthy quotation from Michel Faber. It was not clear that the final paragraph was the work of the author, Matt Demakos, not Mr. Faber.

In "*Sic, sic, sic*" [*KL* 71.38] it was erroneously stated that the da Vinci exhibition reviewed by Time critic Robert Hughes was at NY-MoMA. It was actually at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Readers who had difficulty in seeing the hidden faces in Carroll's illustration to *Alice's Adventures under Ground* (*KL* 71.43) refered to by Ruth Berman (*KL* 71.8) are directed to the publication of her talk, "Alice as Fairytale and Non-Fairy-tale" in *The Carrollian* 11, Spring 2003, where they are more clearly delineated.

The venerable *Chicago Manual of Style* Fifteenth Edition, in discussing quotation marks (section 11.33), uses the example:

> "Don't be absurd!" said Henry. "To say that 'I mean what I say' is the same as 'I say what I mean' is to be as confused as Alice at the Mad Hatter's tea party. You remember what the Hatter said to her: 'Not the same thing a bit! Why you might just as well say that "I see what I eat" is the same thing as "I eat what I see"!"

Sic, sic, sic

From Julia Margaret Cameron: A Critical Biography (Getty Trust, 2003) by Colin Ford: "In December 1857, not long before Lewis Carroll took up photography, he wrote a parody of Longfellow's narrative poem *Hiawatha*, that included a surprisingly full description of the wet collodion process..." [*Before*?]

"I think I may be in Brigadoon. Or I could be the White Knight napping. If I am napping now, what will happen when I lie down and dream that I am napping? Perhaps I will turn into Jesse Colin Young...The fog thickens. Dare I risk another nap?" asks columnist Jon Carroll in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 5, 2003. [*The White Knight*?]

From *The Gentle Art of Cookery* by Mrs. C. F. Leyel and Miss Olga Hartley

(1925, reprinted by Chatto & Windus, 1983): "French cooks treat vegetables as respectfully as the dormouse did its watch, and use the best butter, which makes a dish of green vegetables scientifically a perfect food, fit to be served as it is in France as a course by itself."

[The dormouse?]

From *The Music of the Primes: Searching to Solve the Greatest Mystery in Mathematics* by Marcus du Sautoy (HarperCollins, 2003): "The Beaver in *The Hunting of the Snark* arrives with 'forty-two boxes, all carefully packed / With his name painted clearly on each'." [*The Beaver*?]

From "End Papers" by Catherine Porter in Antiquarian Book Review, November 2003: "In 2001 Sotheby's won the collection of Alice Liddell and we were introduced to the world of the White Rabbit: Lewis Carroll and his devotees. They were an amazing group of people, dedicated, enthusiastic, often bordering on the eccentric, who knew far more about Carroll than anyone else."

[And exactly whom else were Carroll devotees supposed to know about?]

PICTURING DREAMS

Andrew Sellon

"Dreaming in Pictures: The Photography of Lewis Carroll" The International Center of Photography, New York June to September, 2003 Organized by Douglas R. Nickel "Dreamchild" Polixeni Papapetrou PhotoGraphic Gallery, New York June 14, 2003 through July 13, 2003 Curator: Alison Holland New York-based fans of Dodgson's photography had a rare treat this summer: not one, but two exhibitions celebrating his art and artistry. One was "Dreaming in Pictures" at the International Center of Photography, the exhibition of selected photographs that was shown last year in San Francisco (*KL* 70.2–4).

The other was "Dreamchild," a homage to Dodgson's images and aesthetic by the contemporary photographer Polixeni Papapetrou, which showed all too briefly at the PhotoGraphic Gallery in SoHo. For a few weeks in July, the timing of the exhibitions converged and it was possible to see both in a single day. This, then, was the mission that Patt Griffin, Janet Jurist, and I took upon ourselves one warm, sunny summer Friday.

We decided to view the contemporary exhibition first. After strolling through the Enchanted Forest (a trendy little SoHo gift shop on the same block as the gallery), we remembered our names and purpose,

and located the PhotoGraphic Gallery at 71 Mercer Street. I had already viewed most of the exhibition on the gallery's web site, but still was not fully prepared for the impact of the enormous, roughly 43-inch-square art prints (type "C" photographs) that greeted us as we entered. Curator Alison Holland welcomed us warmly and spent a great deal of time speaking with us about the artist and the giant Dodgson-inspired photographs. Ms. Holland, like the artist, hails from Australia.1 Although it was not explicitly discussed during our conversation, I confess that the image of Ms. Papapetrou, a former lawyer turned photographer, creating these Carrollian works somewhere in Alice's "Antipathies," only added to the Wonderland atmosphere of the exhibition.

It turns out that these ambitious and beautiful photographs are very much a family affair: the model is the artist's little daughter Olympia, the backdrops for some of the paintings (based on painted backgrounds "I restage [Dodgson's] fancy dress photographs as they embody and symbolize the themes that I am fascinated with, namely, the representation of childhood and selfhood and the boundary crossing that occurs in photography through the performative acts which take

place before the camera. It is my interest in the portrayal of childhood emerging from my experience as a mother/artist and my interest in the historical and contemporary representations of the child in art that has partly led me to make this work."

The press packet goes on to state:

"In restaging Dodgson's costume dramas and the four surviving nude photographs, Papapetrou is trying to present a contemporary vision of childhood that portrays Olympia's psychological and physical individuality, but also allows her to remain distinctively child-like. Papapetrou's images don't look exactly like Dodgson's-the miseen-scène has a different

balance of theatrical abstraction and intimacy and Olympia's consciousness of boundary-crossing is sharper and her gaze—in full knowledge of the Victorian exemplars that she rehearses—is more intense, more knowing, more dreamy, more in touch with the reasons for performing in the photographs and with the will of the mother/artist."

With all due respect to those involved, other than the fact that Dodgson was an intimate adult friend rather than an actual parent, I would not grant that Olympia's gaze is any more intense, knowing, dreamy, or

"Olympia as Irene MacDonald," after "It won't come smooth" by C. L. Dodgson (1863). ©2003 Polixeni Papapetron and used by permission.

from some of Dodgson's nude pho-

tographs) are rendered by the artist's husband, and many of the costumes are sewn by the artist's mother. For those who have not yet seen any of Papapetrou's "Dreamchild" photographs, they are mainly restagings of some of Dodgson's better known photographic images; a handful are variations or simply inspired by the originals. One of these last images, that of a little girl asleep by a brook with her hand lying gently on an open book, was actually suggested by the six-year-old model herself as her own tribute to Dodgson's stories. The first question that a Dodgson purist might ask, to quote a certain caterpillar, is "Why?" Here is the artist's reply from her press packet:



"in touch with the reasons for performing" than the gaze of his best models, notably Xie Kitchin and Alice Liddell herself. There's no question that compelling intimacy in a model's gaze is usually dependent on successfully establishing a "naked trust," if you will, between the model and the artist—but if anything, the press statement about Papapetrou's work implic-

itly points up just how remarkable Dodgson's own achievement was in securing that fragile trust from so many child models without actually being the parent.

Regardless, Ms. Papapetrou should be roundly praised for her achievement in these vivid and compelling images. Working in color, and on a scale that Dodgson could never have achieved in his lifetime, the artist succeeds in bringing something of Dodgson's evocative waifs and their peculiar class- and culturecrossing, make-believe magic into the present day. These new works

are lovely to behold, haunting in a Carrollian way, and merit extended viewing. While each of us had a different favorite by the end of our visit, we each wished we could afford to take home at least one. My particular favorite was the artist's version of "It Won't Come Smooth"; it captures the feel of the Dodgson original with great success, but also adds the pleasures of the unique little chair and rug Papapetrou chose for the scene-objects found around the artist's house and combined in a serendipitously perfect composition. The near-life size of these images allows you to feel as if you might be able to converse with these pensive children and half believe it real. The color saturation is magnificent, and each pose is arranged—lighting, backdrop,

costume, props and all—with a meticulousness that Dodgson would have appreciated.

These wonderful images have been produced in extremely limited quantity—only six of each have been printed for U.S. release—and at a starting price of \$2,500, they are not for the financially faint of heart. They are, however, superb.² Annie Coates' blank countenance; the wonderfully androgynous pose of James "Jemmy" Sant, and the elegant composition of the positive and negative space around him; the way Xie Kitchin and her brother George almost become a single being thanks to the artful use of the fabrics in which they are draped. The list could go on and on.

It was also interest-

ing for me, both as

a Carrollian and as a

photographer, to see

bespoke other voices:

the image of Florence

single images that

Maude Terry from

July 17, 1865 looks

almost like a shot by

Julia Margaret Cam-

eron (of all people);

the well-known pose

of Ellen Terry at

the window seems

strongly influenced by

the work of Dodgson's

lesser-known contem-

porary Lady Hawar-

den (whose work he

had a strong fondness

admired⁴ and who

for photographing

1872 image of Julia

Arnold seated bare-

legged on a unmade

reflections); and the



"Flying cards," after the original illustration by John Tenniel. ©2003 Polixeni Papapetron and used by permission.

After our adventures in SoHo-land, we headed to midtown for the exhibition at The International Center for Photography (ICP). Janet had already seen the exhibition in San Francisco so she did not remain with us for the whole visit, but this was a first viewing for Patt and me and we luxuriated in it. Since the exhibition's beautiful hardcover companion volume³ is already widely available and probably sitting on your bookshelf (if not, it should be), I will limit myself to sharing some specific subtle highlights that appealed to me on a leisurely stroll through the gallery: the beautifully chosen angle of Charles Terry's figure in his seated pose, echoed by the line of the fabric piping on his clothing; the palpable longing under

bed is so erotically charged as to be almost shockingly contemporary. While it was disappointing that a number of the prints on display are actually restrikes rather than originals, the exhibition is admirable for the refreshing balance of familiar and unfamiliar images selected.

But in a way, the best part of the "Dreaming in Pictures" exhibition may actually be the virtual photo albums through which you can browse at your leisure. These are page-by-page recreations of three of his own photo albums, rendered exactly as Dodgson himself displayed them. Here, the familiar little girls are seen blended in amongst a healthy assortment of fellow scholars, family, friends, celebrities, and the occasional skeleton or landscape. Intellectually I knew this to be the case, but a picture seen in context is worth more than any amount of words that any scholar or curator might supply. If only these virtual albums could be made available on CD-ROM! There should be prizes for Douglas R. Nickel and all involved with this exhibition. If you have not already seen it, it is still making its way around the country and should not be missed.⁵ Good as the exhibition catalog is, the photographs will speak to you even more vividly and deeply in person.

Editor's comment

Much has been written about the "Dreaming in Pictures" exhibition (*KL* 70.2–4), but a bit of additional information about "Dreamchild" is in order:

At a far remove from literal appropriations analagous to those of Pierre Menard,⁶ Papapetrou's exquisitely theatrical reenactments are creative reimaginings of the tableaux created by Mr. Dodgson, enriched with and informed by our modern worldview.

Born in Melbourne in 1960 of Greek immigrant parents, Papapetrou received a BA/LLB from the University of Melbourne in 1984, received an MA in Media Arts from RMIT University and is "currently two-thirds of the way through a PhD at Monash University that looks at Carroll's photography." She has been widely exhibited in solo and group shows and is particularly known for her studies of Elvis fans ("Elvis Immortal"), fashion and power ("Authority"), drag queens ("Searching for Marilyn"), bodybuilders ("Fallible Archetypes"), and the many aspects of childhood and identity ("Phantomwise").

One of Australia's premier photographers, Papapetrou has been the recipient of many awards in her field. Having once been a corporate lawyer, she now devotes all her time to her art, her marriage (to artist and critic Robert Nelson, the creator of the background paintings used in her photographs), and her two children.

She writes "I am an avid Carroll enthusiast and you may be interested to know that I am currently photographically re-staging the *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* stories based on the illustrations of Sir 46 John Tenniel. Again, my six-year-old daughter Olympia is the model for the work."

Papapetrou's U.S. representative is Alison Holland, 71 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10013, alison@photographicgallery.com; (212) 925-4508. Her Australian representative is the Kalli Rolfe Contemporary Art Gallery, 909 Drummond Street North Carlton, 3054 Melbourne, Australia.; +61 3 9387 6939, +61 3 9380 8869 fax; krolfe@ozemail.com.au.

- ¹ Her lecture on the topic is available on the gallery's web site at www.alison holland.com/lectures/poli_lecture.html.
- ² To see a selection of the images yourself, visit the exhibition at the gallery's web site at www.alisonholland.com/polixeni_ papapetrou.htm. "It's like seeing the offspring of old friends."
- ³ Douglas R. Nickel, Dreaming in Pictures: The Photography of Lewis Carroll (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 2002).
- ⁴ Charles Dodgson, June 23–25, 1864, Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson* (Clifford, England: The Lewis Carroll Society, 2001), 4:314–18.
- ⁵ The exhibition is currently showing at The Art Institute of Chicago and will end its four-city run there in January 2004.
- ⁶ Jorge Luis Borges, "Pierre Menard, autor del Quijote" in *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1941)

THE DODGSON CONDENSATION Francine F. Abeles

For two days, June 29 and 30, 2003, mathematicians and computer scientists gathered at The Institute for Defense Analyses' Center for Communications Research in Princeton, New Jersey, to belatedly honor David P. Robbins on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday (the previous August 12).1 In the early 1980s, Robbins and his associate, Howard Rumsey, took the notion of permutation matrices and generalized it to alternating sign matrices which led the way to the proof of the Alternating Sign Matrix (ASM) conjecture, an extraordinarily difficult problem that took fifteen years to solve. Robbins and Rumsey's study of Dodgson's condensation method for computing determinants led them to invent ASMs.²

Of the six hour-long invited papers, including one by Robbins, two were given by the mathematicians who finally proved the ASM conjecture: Doron Zeilberger ("David Robbins's Art of Guessing") and Greg Kuperberg ("Symmetry Classes of Alternating Sign Matrices"). Robbins' paper, "A Conjecture Concerning Approximate Dodgson Condensation," dealt with the division-by-zero problem in Dodgson's algorithm.

The other three papers were presented by mathematicians whose work is directly connected to the ASM conjecture. George Andrews, who worked on descending plane partitions (DPPs), which Robbins, Rumsey, and William Mills tied to the ASM problem, discussed a related conjecture. Further work by Robbins on DPPs in the form of totally symmetric self-complementary plane partitions (TSSCPPs) deepened the insights that ultimately would lead to the proof of the ASM conjecture. Bill Doran, who provided the first contribution to the TSSCPP problem later solved by Andrews, discussed these themes.

The third paper, given by Jim Propp, described his own current work and that of others who are using Dodgson's condensation method in new ways, particularly asynchronous Dodgson condensation and the octahedron recurrence, and a new analogue of Dodgson condensation (the cube recurrence) the true significance of which, Propp adds, is still unclear. In recent publications, by Sergei Fomin and Andrei Zelevinsky (2002), and David Speyer (2003), asynchronous Dodgson condensation is used in connection with Laurent polynomials.3

In the long breaks between talks, several participants expressed keen interest in knowing more about Dodgson on a personal level, especially about his other mathematical work and his photography. It was an exciting experience for me to be in this setting, knowing that Dodgson began it all in 1866.

- ² See Francine F. Abeles, "Charles L. Dodgson and the Solution of the Alternating Sign Matrix Conjecture," *KL* 62.7–9 for a more complete story.
- ³ See Propp's web site (abel.math.harvard. edu/~propp) for more information.

¹ Sad to report, Dr. Robbins died on September 4, shortly after this celebration.

BOOKS

The wonderfully rich monochrome illustrations to *Wonderland* by Iassen Ghiuselev, originally published in German (Aufbau-Verlag, 2000), are now available in an English-language edition (Verona, NJ: Simply Read, 2003). Ghiuselev's stroke of genius was to create a single drawing in which the entire story can be absorbed in a glance, and from which the individual pictures are culled. ISBN 1894965000. \$30.

Through the Looking-Glass (Ryazan, Russia: Uzorochje, 2003), with illustrations by Tatiana Ianovskaia, a talented Russian émigré now living in Canada, can be ordered directly from the artist. Only 200 were printed. US \$20 for the book; greeting cards are also available. Tatiana Ianovskaia, 25 Black Hawkway, North York, Ontario, Canada M2R 3L5; 416.650-1871; bianovski@sympatico.ca.

The Darkroom: Photography and the Theatre of Desire by Anne Marsh (Melbourne: Macmillan, 2003). The section "Photography and Desire: Nineteenth Century Phantasms and Fantastic Surrealism" contains an essay "Lewis Carroll: Making Desire and (the) Performing Girl" and also discusses Polixeni Papapetrou (see pp. 43–46) in a later essay "The Child and the Archive: History Revisited."

Readers in Wonderland: The Liberating Worlds of Fantasy Fiction From Dorothy to Harry Potter by Deborah O'Keefe (New York & London: Continuum, 2003) considers fantasy fiction published since 1950, along with a few notable older titles. Lewis Carroll and the Alice books are mentioned often.

Kiddie Lit: The Cultural Construction of Children's Literature in America by Beverly Lyon Clark (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003) contains a chapter entitled "The Case of British Fantasy Imports: Alice and Harry in America."



Mirror Mirror: A History of the Human Love Affair with Reflection (New York: Basic Books, 2003) by Mark Pendergrast makes, as one might imagine, much use of Looking-Glass.

In a new children's picture book, *Miss Smith's Incredible Storybook*, written and illustrated by Michael Garland (New York: Dutton, 2003), Wonderland and Oz characters appear. "The illustrations are particularly nice." ~ Angelica Carpenter.

The Effect of Living Backwards by Heidi Julavits (New York: Putnam, 2003) does have a Carrollian title and epigraph; the principal character is named Alice; her sister, Edith; and the terrorist, Bruno, but that's about it.

Prunella's Adventures in Wonderland? Customized Classics will print a paperback for you of Wonderland with any girl's name globally substituted for Alice, including on the cover. They also offer Romeo and Juliet (giving Brad and Helen as an example), Moby Dick ("you" can be Ahab, Ishmael, or even the whale) and similar desecrations of Conan Doyle and Kipling. \$20. www.customizedclassics. com/alice.asp.

Alice in Wonderland and the World Trade Center Disaster: Why the Official Story of 9-11 is a Monumental Lie (Ryde, Isle of Wight, U.K.: Bridge of Love Publications, 2002). Conspiracy nut David Icke thinks the whole thing was a setup.

The 2004 Philosophy & Religion Catalog from Thomson/Wadsworth is illuminated with the Rackham Alice drawings. See philosophy.wad sworth.com.

The Frumious Bandersnatch by Ed McBain (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004) is a police thriller that involves a young pop singer who puts "Jabberwocky" to music and comes to a bad end.



"Alice in Wonderland: A Fashion Fairy Tale," a 25-page spread of haute couture designed by the fashion world's elite,

photographed by Annie Leibovitz and starring the leggy beauty Natalia Vodianova, in *Vogue*, December 2003.

"Philip Conklin Blackburn: An Underappreciated Lewis Carroll Scholar" by Charlie Lovett and "Seeing Photographs in Comfort: The Social Uses of Lewis Carroll's Photograph Albums" by Diane Waggoner in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 62 No. 3, Spring 2001 (but just now published) in an issue dedicated to the memory of Alexander Wainwright.

Elain Ostry's article, "Magical Growth and Moral Lessons; or, How the Conduct Book Informed Victorian and Edwardian Children's Fantasy," in *The Lion and the Unicorn* 27, No. 1, Jan. 2003, pp. 27–56, contains a five-page section on *Wonderland*.

The "Techsploitation" column by Annalee Newitz in the San Francisco Bay Guardian 37, No. 40, July 2-14, 2003, entitled "Sex in the Library," contained some baseless slander about Mr. Dodgson's proclivities, in relation to the writer's youthful discovery of the book of Dodgson's nude photographs of children. Sandor Burstein, past president of the LCSNA, attempted to set her straight in a letter published in the next issue (No. 41, July 9-15). She, in turn, attempted to rebut him by asking if he would dare send a copy through the U.S. mails; apparently she was not aware of the respected place of the book in question-Morton Cohen's Lewis Carroll's Photographs of Nude Children (Philadelphia: Rosenbach,

1978; retitled *Lewis Carroll, Photographer of Children: Four Nude Studies* and published commercially by Clarkson N. Potter in 1979)—in the academic, photographic studies, and Carrollian universes. There the matter was dropped.

Somerset Studio 7, Issue 4, July/Aug 2003. A magazine devoted to "paper arts with rubber stamping and letter-ing-art techniques" featured an *Alice*-themed issue.

"The History of Lewis Carroll's 'The Game of Logic'" by Clare Imholtz in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society* of America 97:2, June 2003.

"The Hunting of the Snark" by Laura Miller in "The Last Word" column, *New York Times Book Review*, October 5, 2003, discussed the website www.believermag.com/snarkwatch, which allows postings about "snarky" (unduly nasty) book reviews.

Children's Literature 31 (the annual of the Modern Language Association Division on Children's Literature and the Children's Literature Association), 2003, contains Jennifer Geer's "All Sorts of Pitfalls and Surprises: Competing Views of Idealized Girlhood in Lewis Carroll's *Alice* Books."

The Sea Fairy: In Celebration of Vintage Illustrated Children's Books, Issue 28, Nov/Dec 2003 contains "A Trip to Oxford" by the editor, Liz Holderman.

"Tools of the Trickster's Trade" by Dustin Eaton in *Parabola: Myth, Tradition, and the Search for Meaning*, Winter 2003, discusses Carroll's use of trickster figures.



The International Children's Digital Library at www.icdlbooks.org is a compilation of digitized picture books from the world's various cultures (imaged page by page, not as text). It has *Wonderland* "retold in words of one syllable" (actually, many words are simply hyphenated) by J. C. Gorham (A.L. Burt, 1905) and also a volume illustrated by Gordon Robinson (S. Gabriel, 1916). The included starter texts of Scan-Soft's *Dragon Naturally Speaking* 7 (speech-to-text software) contain *Wonderland*.

Fans of the Lewis Carroll handwriting and dingbat fonts should know that they're back in cyberspace after a long absence, at www.ezork.com/ carrollfont/.

"Alice in WWWland", a new e-zine at www.aliceinwwwland.com.

"The Hunting of the Snipe," a parody using characters from MTV's "Daria" cartoon. www.outpostdaria.com/fanfic/daria_in_wonder land.txt.

"Alice in Blunderland," an illustrated parody of scientific blunders, from the *New Internationalist*, No. 182, April 1988, at www.newint. org/issue182/simply.htm.

"Alice Doesn't Vote Here Anymore" from *Mother Jones*, March/April 1998. www.motherjones.com/mother_ jones/MA98/lind.html.

A picture of "Alice's Caterpillar" from the Wildwood Farm Nursery and Sculpture Garden in Kenwood, Calif., at www.wildwoodmaples.com/ wildwoodfarm/sculpture/hookah_ large.jpg.

A good portal to the lives of Miss Liddell and Mr. Dodgson in Oxford can be found at www.aliceinoxford.net.

Take a virtual trip through the *Alice in Wonderland* ride at Disneyland (Windows MediaPlayer; audio only): www.disneylandsource.com/fantasy/ alice.html.

A recently founded association of new Lewis Carroll studies known as "Contrariwise," which consists of the "revisionist" critics Pascale Renaud-Grosbras, Hugues Lebailly, Karoline Leach, John Tufail, Mike Leach, and Jenny Woolf, is constructing a scholarly web site devoted to a re-examination of the life and works of C. L. Dodgson. Their URL is www.looking forlewiscarroll.com and it includes sections on the growth of the image, on reprints of some of the original articles that set in motion this re-exploration, and on new writings on this topic. We will be looking at this site in greater depth in the next issue.

CONFERENCES AND LECTURES

The fall meeting of the L.C.S. Canada, September 13, 2003 in Toronto featured a talk by Fernando Soto on "Blake, Carroll, MacDonald, and Metamorphoses: From Worm to ChrysAlice to Sylvie" and a screening of Andy Malcolm and George Pastic's film, now titled "Sincerely Yours, Lewis Carroll" (*KL* 70.3).

An illustrated lecture, "The Art and Flair of Mary Blair," by John Canemaker, the author of the book of the same name (New York: Disney/ Hyperion, 2003) was part of New York MoMA's film program (December 5 and 6). Mary Blair (1911–1978) was not an animator, but a concept artist who "conceptualized costumes, characters, look, color, and interesting ways to get into and out of narrative. ... Her own drawing style, the opposite of Disney's, was flat, anti-realist, faux naïf." Although Disney did not adopt her overall design for his film of Alice in Wonderland, he used several of her conceptions for key sequences.

EXHIBITIONS

Mary Kline-Misol's Alice paintings (KL 66.13 and front cover) were on exhibit in the "Five Women Explore the Figure" show at the Shelley Holzemer Gallery in Minneapolis in August, and others are on permanent rotational display at the ArtHouse in Des Moines. "Kline-Misol discovers Alice in Wonderland imagery in her musings on daily life that incorporate the patterns and textures of the nineteenth-century symbolists and the twentieth-century Nabis Bonnard and Vuillard. Her imagery draws the viewer into a fantasy world at the edge of dream." ~ Wesley Pulkka, visual arts critic for the Albuquerque Journal.

The City of San Francisco (Hon. Willie Brown, proprietor) proclaimed October 24th "Grace Slick Day" in conjunction with the Hotel Monaco's unveiling of two suites: one, in the architectural sense, is a guestroom that has been transformed into an "interactive music shrine" to her days with the Jeffersons (Starship and Airplane), with rates starting at \$239; and two, in the artistic sense, a two-day showing of her "Wonderland Suite" of ten acrylic (*acid*-based!) paintings of the White Rabbit and other characters. www.monacosf.com.

"Alice in Underland" at the Libreria Macondo in Caracas, Venezuela, Oct.–Dec. 2003, "an interdisciplinary exhibit, featuring photos from Rigoberto Rodriguez and texts from the local literary group Texto Sentido, is part of the event 'Mes de la Fotografia Caracas.' The exhibit offers an adult's point of view of Lewis Carroll's texts, and proposes an exquisite game of philosophical eroticism." See www.enterart.com/rigoberto/obras.htm and www.textosentido.org.

The spectacular interactive exhibit from the Children's Discovery Museum of San José (currently at the Minnesota Children's Museum in St. Paul from January through September, 2004) is booked through 2007. However, your local museum can rent it after that. By the way, you can also rent an 18' illuminated White Rabbit inflatable at the same time. Or just visit them interactively at www.cdm.org/p/ viewPage.asp?mlid=153.

"Leonarda da Vinci: The Divine and the Grotesque," drawings from the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, on display from May 9 to November 9 in London at the Queen's Gallery included the red-chalk drawing labeled "The bust of a grotesque old woman (c. 1510-20?)," attributed to Leonardo's pupil Francesco Melzi, as a copy of a lost original by Leonardo. The information plate beside the drawing states that Quentin Massys painted several portraits copying this drawing, including the well-known one at the National Gallery (London) said to have inspired Tenniel's Ugly Duchess. See Hancher's The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), Chapter Four, for the whole story.

PERFORMANCES NOTED

The Stark Ravens Historical Players, a "consortium of talented performers who produce hilarious and highquality musical historical theater specializing in abbreviated classics that are sure to please" won awards at the San Francisco Fringe Festival and the Dickens Fair in 2002 with their *Alice in Wonderland*. The show is temporarily retired, but look for a revival. A tuneful CD is available at www.Starkravens.com.

Jabberwocky, a combined version of Wonderland and Looking-Glass by the We Players in Stanford, CA, May 2003, was an outdoor play in which the audience walked from scene to scene.

The Trials of Alice in Wonderland, a musical by the "TADA!" children's theater troupe (all performers are between 8 and 18), CAP21 Theater, New York City, July and August 2003. In the "Blueprint" emerging directors' summer one-act play series, Eric Powers weighs in on the dark side with Alice: What Is the Fun?, a "deconstruction and updating staged with an eclectic mishmash of music, dance, costumes, and props and featuring a rotation of actors portraying Alice throughout the evening." At the Ontological-Hysteric Theater in New York City, August 2003. A review is online at www.villagevoice.com/ issues/0332/russo.php.

Alice in Wonderland, adapted by Brainerd Duffield, at the Napa Valley (CA) College Theatre, November 15–16.

Alice in Wonderland, written by Joe McDonough and David Kisor, in revival at The Ensemble Theatre of Cincinnati, December 3–28.



AUCTIONS

A live auction at PBA Galleries (Sale 267: July 10, 2003, San Francisco) had a lot of Oz and a number of Carroll titles. Description and prices realized are at www.pbagalleries.com.

Bloomsbury Book Auctions (Sale 464: July 10, 2003, London) had an 1866 *Wonderland* "in the original decorated red cloth, rebacked," estimated at £700–1000, which sold for £3,565 (\$5,935). www.bloomsburybook-auct.com.

Swann Auction galleries (Sale 1981: October 21, 2003, New York) had an auction of nineteenth- and twentieth-century photography. Dodgson's famed 1858 photograph of Edith, Lorina, and Alice Liddell on a daybed went for \$7,000 (estimate was \$10–15,000). www.swanngalleries.com.

Illustration House (Autumn Premier Auction: November 15, 2003, New York) had an Arthur Rackham drawing of the Ace of Clubs executioner. Estimated at \$7–9,000; it sold for \$7,312. www.illustrationhouse.com.

Sotheby's (Sale L03409: December 11, 2003, London) had several inscribed editions, and a set of three letters "apparently unpublished" addressed to the Hardings, in which Dodgson seeks the acquaintance of a young girl he met on the seaside. In the third of them, he admits to being Lewis Carroll. Estimated at £6,000-8000, it did not sell. They also auctioned a folio (#12 of 50) of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland with 42 original copper plate engravings by Didier Mutel (Paris: Didier Mutel, 2002): The illustrations "appear as ghosts of the drawings of John Tenniel, figures liberated from the image of a sweet and pretty little Alice... A combination of Japanese Seki Shu Shi paper and Arches Vellum allows interaction between the traditional and the contemporary through translucent paper. Each page is printed in a specific color and each copy of the book is therefore composed of 550 etched prints superimposed and ordered in a sequence." Estimated at £1,500-2,000, it sold for £2,280 (\$3,979).

MEDIA

Buena Vista Home Entertainment has announced a new two-disc Disney Alice In Wonderland: Masterpiece Edition DVD to be released on January 27(Dodgson's 172nd birthday!) 2004 with a retail price of \$29.99. The disks will be remastered 1.33: 1 full screen transfers with Dolby Digital 5.1 surround tracks, all-new introductions, the "One Hour in Wonderland" (Disney's very first appearance on television, broadcast on Christmas Day, 1952) and "The Fred Waring Show" specials, "An Alice Comedy: Alice's Wonderland" and "Operation Wonderland" featurettes, abandoned concepts, deleted storyboards, song demos, an art gallery, "Virtual Wonderland Party" activities, two sing-alongs, the "Adventures in Wonderland" interactive game, a bonus "Through the Mirror" animated short, and theatrical trailers. It is nearly identical to the Laserdisc release, although lacking some Katherine Beaumont featurettes.

The Simpsons episode 313 "Moe Baby Blues," originally aired May 18, 2003, had bartender Moe Szyslak babysitting Lisa. He looks at the book she is reading. Moe: "Alice in Wonderland? Must be a takeoff from that Alice in Underpants movie I saw."

At the end of the *Alias* episode "Reunion," originally aired October 12, 2003, "Syd" (Jennifer Garner) returns home after many an adventure. Her new romantic interest, CIA agent Eric Weiss, has bought her a present: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, to replace the one ("a favorite") she lost when her apartment burned down. "It's the third edition," he says, "I couldn't afford the first."

On the *Jeopardy* game show (a "Kids' edition") on September 26, 2003, the category was "Classic Literature" and the "answer" was "ANOTHER NAME FOR A MIRROR; ALICE WENT 'THROUGH' ONE." None of the children (Matt, Becca and Josh) rang in. Host Alex Trebek said "*Alice Through the Looking-Glass*," which is not only incorrect (the answer

"in the form of a question" should have been simply "What is 'looking-glass'?") but he even managed to mangle the title of the book! On a later, adult *Jeopardy*, October 17, 2003, one of the "answers" was "IN THE LEWIS CARROLL POEM, 'BEWARE' THIS CREATURE, 'MY SON'." Katie guessed "Jabberwocky." Amazingly, despite hearing Katie's answer and Trebek's reaction, so did Jack! It cost them.

On December 14, HGTV presented an hour-long special about Christmas at the White House. This year's decorations featured children's books. Characters from *Alice* are featured in the State Dining Room: the tea party scene, the Queen of Hearts, and the Tweedles. Also, the pastry chef made marzipan figures of the Hatter and White Rabbit, perhaps for the Blue Room.

The Absolut Vodka ad "Absolut Wonderland" unfortunately is a take on "Winter Wonderland," not ours, though the possibility was intriguing. What would that look like? "Drink me?" See www.absolutad.com.

A short, colorful television commercial for a St. Ives skin care product uses a Wonderland motif.

Black Sabbath's Ozzy Osbourne's little chippy-off-the-old-block, Kelly, was supposed to make her movie debut in a low-budget "contemporary reworking" of Wonderland called "Malice in Sunderland," to be directed by Simon Fellows and scheduled for release in 2004. Mark Byrne of What's The Story (Ireland) and Christian Beutel of MagicWorx (Germany) are co-producing; Bjorg Veland's BV International Pictures (Norway) will distribute. Perhaps the end of civilization; perhaps not. After its announcement in July, little has been heard of it and Mr. Veland recently emailed "THE FILM HAS NOT STARTED YET - WE DO NOT KNOW WHEN-RIGHT NOW THERE IS NO MOVEMENT." Whew.

If you've been looking for Vince Collins' "hysterically obscene" 1982 cel animation *Malice in Wonderland*, it has just come to our attention that you can buy it on a compilation video or DVD called "General Chaos: Uncensored Animation" (1998).

In April, the BBC's "Big Read" asked its audience to nominate their favorite books. Three quarters of a million votes were recorded. Topping the list was, unsurprisingly, *The Lord of the Rings; Wonderland* came in at number 30.

* THINGS

Need a thirty-foot inflatable White Rabbit, Caterpillar, or set of mushrooms? Look no further than www.creatableinflatables.com/ wonderland.htm.

Barnes & Noble (in stores, not via their web site) has a nice set of leather bookends, named "Antique Books," consisting of six books, including *Wonderland*, arranged so that two of the books are actually boxes with hinged lids. "I think they are very well done and I have gotten myself a pair." ~ Alan Tannenbaum

A C. L. Dodgson ALS dated August 9, 1892 and addressed to Florence (most likely Florence Walters or Florence Wilkinson) is \$4,750 from Lion Heart Autographs, 470 Park Avenue South, Penthouse, New York, NY 10016; 212.779-7050; ~7066 fax; www.lion heartautographs.com.

Electronic Courseware Systems' "Adventures in Musicland" is a collection of music games specially created for children and based on Wonderland characters. The CD-ROM (PC and Mac) is \$50 and can be ordered from www.mccormicksnet.com/ adventur.htm.

A six-cassette "Collector Box Set" of Timeless Treasures, consisting of the unabridged *Wonderland*, *Looking-Glass*, *Snark*, and *Phantasmagoria* read by Ralph Cosham, from ESI, PO Box 13789, Arlington TX 76094; 888.578-5798. \$35.

"Kelly" and "Tommy" as "Alice and the Mad Hatter" in the Barbie-dolls Collector Edition. www.barbiecollect ibles.com/showcase/product.asp? type=&subtype=&product_id= 1001845; 800.491-7514.

New in the Disney Winter 2003 catalog "Art & Collectibles" section: an Alice and the Caterpillar "Illuminated Figurine" lamp (\$168); a White Rabbit Big Figurine with a "working pocket watch clock" (\$128) [I count three oxymora or paradoxes in that description!-Ed.]; a Marie Osmond Queen of Hearts Toddler doll in porcelain (\$175); and three new Harmony Kingdom boxes-a Queen of Hearts that opens to reveal a removable hedgehog (\$94), a White Rabbit (\$30), and a Cheshire Cat (\$54) which opens to reveal the words "Twas brillig" etched inside. www.DisneyStore.com; 800.237-5751.

Karen Mortillaro's first four characters in the limited edition (300) bronze sculptures Wonderland series and some new anamorphic sculptural illusions can be seen at www.karenmortillaro.com/gallery/. 7400 Ethel Avenue, North Hollywood, CA 91605; 818.503-9913; LE@karenmortillaro.com.

Alexander Rosenfeld's "Alice in Wonderland," a pen and ink mural, twelve feet long on vellum paper, c. 1935, for sale by the Triggison Gallery. www.triggison.com/rosenfeld/ rosenfeld.html.

Peter Weevers' vignettes from *Wonderland* (New York: Philomel Books, 1989) can be seen at peter.weevers.free.fr/ martgallery.html. A price list can be found at collectalice.home.att. net/weevers.html. Contact him at peter.weevers@free.fr.

Complete set (\$225) of seven miniature reproductions of antique Alice character dolls at www.mysticmolds.com/catalog.html.

"Alice in Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*: The Music Game" CD-ROM (\$20) from www.kidsmusicstage.com. "Cuttingedge, interactive musical entertainment, games, and puzzles" for ages six and up. A fairly pricey Alice doll from R. John Wright (www.rjohnwright.com/ alice.html), the premiere piece in the collection, stands approximately 17" tall and is exquisitely detailed. It retails for approximately \$1475; the White Rabbit (\$675) will be available in March, 2004.

Contrariwise, a comic book by Australian illustrator Paul Rasche containing stories such as "Spuriouser and Spuriouser" and "666 Impossible Things Before Breakfast," is an edgy, often disturbing and possibly offensive look into the mind of the cartoonist. What is never in doubt is his talent and affection for Carroll. Order (Us\$10, including postage) directly from him at paul@odd-sock.com; www.oddsock.com; 205 Smith St., Thornbury, Vic 3071, Australia.

Batman Detective Comics #787 has a Jabberwock cover with the title "Through the Looking Glass" and a major Mad Hatter story called "Mimsy were the Borogoves," jam-packed with Carroll references.

Robert Sabuda offers plush dolls inspired by his pop-up *Wonderland* (p.36). See www.RobertSabuda.com.

Emily the Strange's 2004 calendar contains the illustration "We're all strange here," which you can see in *KL* 70.26.

Alice in Wonderland Art Tatoos designed by Marty Noble, after the Tenniel originals, from Dover. \$1.50.



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