

Lewis Carroll's
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
and Through the Looking Glass

A Publishing History

Zoe Jaques and Eugene Giddens

LEWIS CARROLL'S
ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND
AND THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Emerging in several different versions during the author's lifetime, Lewis Carroll's Alice novels have a publishing history almost as magical and mysterious as the stories themselves. Zoe Jaques and Eugene Giddens offer a detailed and nuanced account of the initial publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass* and investigate how their subsequent transformations through print, illustration, film, song, music videos, and even stamp-cases and biscuit tins affected the reception of these childhood favourites. The authors consider issues related to the orality of the original tale and its impact on subsequent transmission, the differences between the manuscripts and printed editions, and the politics of writing and publishing for children in the 1860s. In addition, they take account of Carroll's own responses to the books' popularity, including his writing of two major adaptations and a significant body of meta-textual commentary, and his reactions to the staging of *Alice in Wonderland*. Attentive to the child reader, how changing notions of childhood identity and needs affected shifting narratives of the story, and the representation of the child's body by various illustrators, the authors also make a significant contribution to childhood studies.

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Lewis Carroll's
*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland
and Through the Looking Glass*
A Publishing History

ZOE JAQUES
Anglia Ruskin University, UK

and

EUGENE GIDDENS
Anglia Ruskin University, UK

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For Alice Elizabeth

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Introduction

Alice through the Ages

On a beautiful summer's day in a tranquil Oxford, Charles Dodgson, Robson Duckworth, and three of their young friends rowed up the River Thames. Dodgson decided to tell the story of a perplexed little girl who ventures into a curious wonderland, and the fantasy of Alice began. Or so it goes ...

A publishing history of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*, by Lewis Carroll (the name that we will use for the author throughout this book), must begin with the oral nature of the tale. An oral story is a live event, spontaneous, adventurous, and performative. Publishing history instead invokes the fixed, the textual, and, often, the dead. Yet it is the living nature of the *Alice* stories that makes them so exciting today. Lewis Carroll's fierce possessiveness over his tales soon gave way to invasions from marketers, profiteers, perverts, and marauders. Carroll's fantasy has inspired all of these groups, as well as five or six generations of children and adults, yet the transition of the tale from an 1862 rowboat to the present has by no means taken a smooth trajectory. When first published the story was seen as strangely appropriate for adults; some reviewers even thought that it was not particularly suitable for children. No one thought that the story addressed girl readers more than boys. At an expensive 7s 6d per copy and only available as a hardbound book, it was first accessible only to the wealthy. Carroll had no interest in selling the book in the United States – he did not care much for the American market – but he did wish to see his work translated into French and German. Little of that initial context applies today, but it discloses how far the text has ventured from Carroll's original intentions.

This book aims to consider the publishing history of Carroll's *Alice* in a broad sense that accords with ideas of the 'sociology of the text', a phrase usefully coined by D. F. McKenzie. McKenzie outlines a scope for texts that 'include[s] verbal, visual, oral, and numeric data, in the form of maps, prints, and music, of archives of recorded sound, of films, videos, and any computer-stored information ...'.¹ Such a range of material is appropriate for a publishing history of Lewis Carroll's famous works, which have been republished in all of these various forms and more. Lewis Carroll's iconic *Alice* novels have a publishing history almost as magical and mysterious as the stories themselves. They emerged in several different versions (both intended and accidental, manuscript and print) during the author's lifetime, and have since undergone hundreds of transformations. At the same time, these transformations are difficult to assemble into a single book, as they occupy very different cultural contexts. The 'sociology' of *Alice*'s textual history,

¹ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.

following McKenzie, becomes useful, for it 'directs us to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption.'² This book is concerned, therefore, not just with the material and immaterial cultural objects that can be called '*Alices*,' but with the stories surrounding their creation and use.

An important consideration behind this broad focus will be: what is *Alice*? Any publishing history of Lewis Carroll's *Alice* works must negotiate the difficulty of what exactly they are, and what to call them. Carroll himself wavered about the titles of both *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*. Moreover, these texts are often reduced in the public mind and in post-Carroll adaptations to 'Alice in Wonderland', a title used long before Disney. Because Carroll himself frequently modified his works, and because adaptations pick and choose material from both books (and often also from Carroll's life), we will use the shortened form of *Alice*, as Carroll himself occasionally did in his letters and diaries. That such a wide body of work can be reduced to a single-word title is indicative of the ways that Carroll's works are both infinitely inflatable and infinitely collapsible. *Alice* has become much larger than Carroll's initial conception for the story, first at the instigation of the author himself, but subsequently because his texts were seen as fruitful sources for adaptation in print, art, music, drama, dance, and film. At the same time, our book largely excludes works that adopt the phrase 'Alice in ...' and yet make no other reference to Carroll's works. It is surprising how often the talismanic properties of *Alice* are used to grab attention, without further explanation or connection to the originals. The contemporary novel *Alice in Bed* by Cathleen Schine or *Alice in Genderland* by Richard J. Novic are examples of this type of marketing.³ Our aim overall, admittedly a somewhat subjective one, has been to include works that make artistically, culturally, or politically interesting uses of *Alice* source material. (One of the strange facts about *Alice* is that it is rarely used to discuss political systems – except in the case of parodies, an oddity given the anti-monarchist or anti-dictator uses to which the texts might be put.)

No previous publishing history of *Alice* has attempted to examine the period from 1862 to the present. Although some areas of this history have been well explored – especially Carroll's initial telling of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, or how he cancelled the first edition of *Wonderland* – some mysteries have remained. No one, to our satisfaction, has yet to come up with a convincing explanation for why John Tenniel and Carroll rejected the printing of the 1865 *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* illustrations. (Some scholars, in fact, have continued to argue that those illustrations are superior, as we discuss in Chapter 1.) In our discussion of this well-known crux, we point to issues of show-through and paper quality being the likely causes for complaint.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

³ C. Schine, *Alice in Bed* (New York: Picador, 1983); R. J. Novic, *Alice in Genderland* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2005).

In Chapters 2 and 3, we analyse Carroll's own adaptations and the earliest unauthorized versions, many of which have received scant attention. We also address wider lacunae in *Alice* studies. The largest perhaps, is the surprising neglect of the visual and illustration history surrounding these texts. Most of the work done so far on this topic has been better suited to the coffee table than the study. Stephanie Lovett Stoffel's *The Art of Alice in Wonderland* (1998), for instance, although lavishly illustrated, contains little analysis.⁴ Graham Ovenden and John Davis's *The Illustrators of 'Alice in Wonderland' and 'Through the Looking Glass'* (1972) has only a 16-page introduction.⁵ More recent texts are similarly appropriate for casual entertainment, but contain little or no discussion.⁶ Such a famous work as *Alice* deserves a scholarly analysis of its illustration history. *Alice* has also been filmed for 110 years – and some of these adaptations have taken over the public imagination about what constitutes the story – yet there is no history of *Alice* on film and television. Our discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 cover these important histories.

Alice scholarship, especially textual and publishing scholarship, has been invigorated by what might be called the tradition of 'gentlemen scholars' and private collectors.⁷ Much of this research has been inspired by a sense of the pleasure of acquisition. As such, it tends to focus on identification and differentiation, producing extraordinarily useful lists of editions, adaptations, and appropriations, and uncovering essential primary source material. Often, such scholarship includes contextual or critical discussion about these works, but usually the main aim is to list and categorize them. Without this important work, our book would have taken multiple decades to write. The bedrock of the early chapters of our publishing history has been the invaluable 1902 biography by Carroll's nephew, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood; the *Lewis Carroll Handbook*, originally compiled by Sidney Herbert Williams and Falconer Madan; and *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan*, an edition of important letters collected by Morton N. Cohen and Anita Gandolfo.⁸ These works, together with *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, edited by Edward Wakeling, make available many of the raw materials that we then subject to further critical study. It is especially significant that so many of Carroll's letters survive, as they permit us to trace his precise

⁴ S. L. Stoffel, *The Art of Alice in Wonderland* (New York: Smithmark, 1998).

⁵ G. Ovenden and J. Davies, *The Illustrators of 'Alice in Wonderland' and 'Through the Looking Glass'* (London: Academy Editions, 1979).

⁶ See L. Sunshine, *All Things Alice* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2004). A partial exception is made by the quirky Tate Liverpool exhibition catalogue *Alice in Wonderland Through the Visual Arts*, (eds) G. Delahunty and C. B. Schulz (London: Tate, 2011).

⁷ Here the *Lewis Carroll Society* needs special mention for producing so much important scholarship. The work of Selwyn Goodacre and Edward Wakeling in particular deserves recognition.

⁸ S. H. Williams, F. Madan, and R. L. Green, *The Lewis Carroll Handbook* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); M. Cohen and A. Gandolfo (eds), *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

dealings with his illustrators, printers, and publishers. Although these letters have been well trodden by biographers of Carroll and critics of *Alice*, we offer new insights into the ways that Carroll was concerned about the quality, dissemination, and marketing of his texts. We also discuss, especially in the final chapters, new material that has not yet been scrutinized by scholars of *Alice*.

The variety of adaptations and publishing methods that have appeared in the past 150 years resist grand narratives. Carroll fastidiously kept control over his *Alice* texts, but even in his lifetime, that control began to slip. The extraordinary flexibility of the episodic books means that they have been an unusually fruitful source for reappropriation. The central trajectory of this book, therefore, will be the movement from authorial control towards new narratives and art forms that are increasingly distant from the originals. Each of our chapters wrestles with this larger movement while investigating individual published works. The progression of this book is broadly chronological up to Chapters 4 and 5, which split to discuss textual and non-textual adaptations. We recognize that readers might come with particular interests that do not necessitate reading this book from cover to cover, and towards that end, each of the following chapters can be read in isolation from the others without great loss of the thread of our argument. We outline each chapter in summary form below.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the initial publication of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*, and covers the period from 1862 to 1875. We argue against the popular conception, encouraged by Carroll's nephew, that the author composed the story in a single day. We trace in detail the process of Carroll's negotiations with Macmillan, and also discuss his dealings with his illustrator, John Tenniel, including the vexed issue of printing quality. The bare-bones history of these changes is interesting enough, but this chapter goes further by investigating the story behind these differences. We investigate, for instance, how the oral nature of the tale as originally told impacts upon its subsequent transmission. Carroll's surprising skill as a marketer of children's texts is revealed, as is his business savvy in dealing with printers and booksellers. We examine how the initial *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* manuscript differs from the resultant printed edition. Importantly, we trace why Carroll and Tenniel were dissatisfied with the initial sheets of *Wonderland*. We also investigate Macmillan's dealings with US publishers. Central to this chapter is a consideration of the politics of writing and publishing for children in the 1860s, including issues of illustration, moral didacticism, and market. The responses of early reviewers are at the heart of this discussion.

Chapter 2 traces the impact the *Alice* novels had for early audiences, and how Carroll responded to the popularity of the books by writing two major adaptations and a significant body of meta-textual commentary. *The Nursery 'Alice'* of 1890, adapted for the very young with some of Tenniel's illustrations, raises important issues about the notion of childhood in the late nineteenth century and the resulting age-dependent mix of didacticism and 'play'. Macmillan must have been exasperated when Carroll objected to the initial print run's 10,000 copies for being

garishly rendered. (Tenniel had hand-coloured a selection of his illustrations for it.) More importantly, Carroll condensed the story to around one-fifth of its length and an analysis of these changes is central to the chapter. The chapter also considers Henry Savile Clarke's stage adaptation *Alice in Wonderland* of 1886 and Lewis Carroll's response to it "'Alice" on the Stage' as published in the *Theatre*. We investigate the product tie-ins that Carroll developed for his works, including his stamp case, instructions on letter writing, and even a biscuit tin. Finally, Carroll's other responses or meta-texts to his tale are considered, including 'To all child-readers of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*' and 'An Easter greeting to every child who loves *Alice*'.

Building upon Carroll's own responses to *Alice's* success, Chapter 3 looks at the explosion of the availability of printed copies, both in English and translation. It considers the ways that *Alice* became first a children's classic, and then a canonical work of literature, 1890–1907. We discuss the major revisions that Carroll made to his work in the 1880s and 1890s, which variously survive in today's editions of the text, but have also prompted editorial conflict regarding the 'definitive' *Alice* text. We further consider the many different formats that Macmillan published around the turn of the century, including for foreign markets. Of especial importance here are the traditions of publishing *Alice* in the United States – in editions authorized by Macmillan and in unauthorized copies. Our book offers the fullest discussion of this significant aspect of the publishing history of *Alice* yet available, and it also identifies the first instances of 'gendering' the texts for girls. The chapter closes with a discussion of the many editions published in 1907, when Macmillan's UK copyright of *Alice* expired – again, a topic that has been insufficiently explored.

Chapter 4 continues by tracing the multifarious ways in which *Alice* has been adapted in various 'textual afterlives' up until the present day. *Alice* has appeared in everything from pop-up books to limited editions to iPad applications, and the fluctuating nature of these reinventions of the book reflect an oscillating interest in marketing editions to adult or child audiences. Much of this discussion considers what paradoxically becomes *missing* from the text, or how far *Alice* can be removed from the originals and maintain a sense of *Aliceness*, as it has been adapted for various audiences over the past 100 years. The chapter therefore focuses on editions, adaptations, and imitations as three levels of removal from Carroll's books. An especially important focus of this chapter is illustration history. The *Alice* books have now been copiously illustrated; we focus on how new illustrations relate to issues of marketing and audience.

One of the most fascinating and immediate elements of the history of *Alice* is its varied body of adaptation for stage, screen, and other media. Chapter 5 therefore considers non-textual afterlives. We discuss the alternative visual and non-visual traditions, such as the many film versions and adaptations in music video. Of particular importance in this chapter is the movement towards 'adult' appropriations of *Alice*, and its uses in non-Western culture. We also investigate the Disneyfication and simplification of *Alice*, and the different ways in which transformations of the text have been gendered.

What Sanjay Sircar has called 'other Alices' might now be taken to conflate towards a meta-*Alice*, a work that of necessity creates intertextual relations amongst many.⁹ We do not attempt to trace *every Alice* book or appropriation.¹⁰ Such a task would be either inappropriately large, or inappropriately dull, or both. On the other hand, we do not, like Will Brooker's *Alice's Adventures: Lewis Carroll in Popular Culture* (2004),¹¹ offer a narrow selection of examples for in-depth analysis. The purpose of our book is to disclose the complex publication history that emerges over 150 years and to investigate how these transformations have impacted upon a wide variety of receptions of this childhood favourite. Our publication history traces the full and surprising journey that *Alice* has taken from its inception to the present day.

⁹ S. Sircar, 'Other Alices and Alternative Wonderlands: An Exercise in Literary History', *Jabberwocky* 13.2 (1984): 23–48.

¹⁰ A useful, but not exhaustive, list of adaptations of *Alice* in print can be found in 'Alice and Her Imitators', *Book and Magazine Collector* 300 (2008): 34–5.

¹¹ W. Brooker, *Lewis Carroll in Popular Culture* (London: Continuum, 2004).

Chapter 1

The Origins of Alice

‘Begin at the beginning ... and go on till you come to the end: then stop’
(The King of Hearts, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*)

The distinctly romantic image of Carroll gently rowing from Oxford to Godstow with Alice (10), Edith (8), and Lorina (13), the three daughters of Henry George Liddell, Dean of Christ Church College, and his colleague Robson Duckworth, offers a vision of casualness that belies a heavy-handed shaping authority. Carroll recalled the moment simply in his diary on 4th July 1862: ‘Duckworth and I made an expedition *up* the river to Godstow with the three Liddells: we had tea on the bank there, and did not reach Ch[r]ist Ch[urch] again till quarter past eight, when we took them on to my rooms to see my collection of micro-photographs, and restored them to the Deanery just before nine.’¹ Interestingly, Carroll does not record his memories of the act of storytelling, so infamously associated with this occasion, until several months later. Not much more is known of the event – how long the story took, or how much it changed, although Carroll did later say a little more about it in his article on “‘*Alice*’ on the Stage”: ‘I distinctly remember ... how, in a desperate attempt to strike out some new line of fairy-lore, I had sent my heroine straight down a rabbit-hole, to begin with, without the least idea what was to happen afterwards.’² This narrative suggests that the tale was created in a flush of spontaneous inspiration, but there is evidence that it was developed over a longer period. An entry for 6th August 1862 notes that ‘In the afternoon Harcourt and I took the three Liddells up to Godstow ... I had to go on with my interminable fairy-tale of “‘*Alice’s Adventures*.”’³ The evolving nature of the story is highlighted by Carroll’s ‘go on with’ and ‘interminable,’ a strange choice of words if the tale had been completed the month before. Alice Liddell later recounted how the story was first told:

I believe the beginning of ‘*Alice*’ was told one summer afternoon when the sun was so burning that we had landed in the meadows down the river, deserting the boat to take refuge in the only bit of shade to be found, which was under a new-made hayrick ... Sometimes to tease us – and perhaps being really tired – Mr. Dodgson would stop suddenly and say, ‘And that’s all till next time.’ ‘Ah, but it is next time,’ would be the exclamation from all three; and after some persuasion

¹ E. Wakeling (ed.), *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson*, 10 vols (Luton: Lewis Carroll Society, 1993–2007), vol. IV, 94–5. Our short title for this work will be *Diaries*.

² Lewis Carroll, “‘*Alice*’ on the Stage’, *Theatre* (1 April 1887), 180.

³ *Diaries*, vol. IV, 115.

the story would start afresh. Another day, perhaps, the story would begin in the boat, and Mr. Dodgson, in the middle of telling a thrilling adventure, would pretend to go fast asleep, to our great dismay.⁴

Alice claims that only 'the beginning of "Alice" was told' and that the story continued 'Another day.' This account is consistent with the August entry in Carroll's diary. It is a common misconception that Carroll completed his tale in a one-off boat journey and then subsequently recorded it for print. Warren Weaver asserts that 'everyone interested in books presumably now knows that the fairy tale was improvised, on 4 July 1862 ...'⁵ Such readings are of course in keeping with the poem that prefaces *Wonderland*:

Thus grew the tale of Wonderland:
 Thus slowly, one by one,
 Its quaint events were hammered out –
 And now the tale is done,
 And home we steer, a merry crew,
 Beneath the setting sun.⁶

The mythology of a complete story being extemporized in a single day – before the return journey to Oxford – certainly adds an element of charm to the origins of *Alice*. Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, Carroll's nephew and biographer, perpetuated the idea that the story was delivered entirely on the little row boat: 'His memory was so good that I believe the story as he wrote it down was almost word for word the same that he had told in the boat.'⁷ But *Wonderland* was not a one-off accident of genius; it would continue to change throughout Carroll's lifetime, up to and even beyond its initial publication. Indeed, the author continued to change the text in minute ways until just before he died.

Shortly after Carroll told his initial version of the story, Alice Liddell requested that he write it down, as he later mentions in an annotation, dated 10th February 1863, of his original 4th July 1862 diary entry: 'On which occasion I told them the fairy-tale of "Alice's Adventures Under Ground," which I undertook to write out for Alice.'⁸ Carroll almost immediately began to outline the story on paper. Catching a train to London with the Liddells the next day, he notes 'headings written out.'⁹ Carroll's companion Duckworth records that 'he afterwards told me that he sat up nearly the whole night, committing to a MS book his recollections

⁴ Quoted in Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1900), 86–7.

⁵ W. Weaver, 'The First Edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: A Census', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 65 (1971): 1.

⁶ L. Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), in *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* (London: Macmillan, 1939), 12.

⁷ Collingwood, *Life and Letters*, 92.

⁸ *Diaries*, vol. IV, 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 96n.

of the drolleries with which he had enlivened the afternoon,’¹⁰ but this account seems fanciful, given Carroll’s entry for 5th July about having only written the headings down. Another diary entry reveals that Carroll seems to have begun to write down the narrative in prose only on 13th November 1862, several months after delivering it in July (and August). Carroll next recounts that the text was completed by February, but that the illustrations, which he was drawing himself, were ‘not yet nearly done’.¹¹ Carroll continued to struggle with his illustrations, as another note of 12th March reveals simply ‘nor yet’.¹² Carroll was unable to perfect the illustrations for several months, as he worked on them in preparation not only for the personal manuscript for Alice Liddell, but for his eventual publication of the expanded story with Macmillan. He finally ‘Finished drawing the pictures in the MS. Copy of “Alice’s Adventures” on 13th September 1864.’¹³ Carroll’s diary, in recording the stages of crafting the book, discloses how meticulous he was about it, and how long it took – over two years – to finalize the presentation copy for the real-life Alice. Such detailed attention to the material text would characterize all of Carroll’s subsequent attempts at disseminating it.

There is evidence from the diary entries that Carroll crafted multiple versions of his gift copy for Alice Liddell, but the only version of this manuscript to survive is the copy that he ultimately gave to her, which is now held in the British Library. This manuscript was ‘finally’ given to Alice on 26th November 1864. The subtitle ‘A Christmas Gift to a Dear Child in Memory of a Summer Day’ neatly highlights the distance between the telling of the tale and it being recorded (or possibly, re-recorded), at some distance. This manuscript was briefly returned to Carroll to be printed as a facsimile by Macmillan in 1886, so it became well known even during the author’s lifetime. (That it was printed also says much about Carroll’s attempts to manage the dissemination of his story, as we discuss in Chapter 3.) Carroll’s manuscript, as must have befitted the river tale, is considerably shorter than *Wonderland* at approximately half the length. It is framed by just four chapters, which loosely concern the White Rabbit and the Pool of Tears, Alice’s growth, her encounter with the Caterpillar, and her time in the Red Queen’s court. These encounters do not differ markedly from their printed versions, except for being generally shorter, but of course they are also less numerous, and Carroll leaves out significant moments from *Wonderland*, such as Alice’s participation in the Mad Hatter’s Tea Party. What is perhaps more interesting is the personal ‘moral’ at the end of *Adventures Under Ground*, which is replicated with changes to just a few words at the end of *Wonderland*. After Alice returns and tells her sister of her dream, her sister has a separate dream herself (which is more of a daydream in *Wonderland*). The dream is of a little boat journey, but it also contains ‘a dream within a dream, as it were’:

¹⁰ Letter from Duckworth to Collingwood, cited in S. D. Collingwood, *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), 358–60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Diaries*, vol. V, 9.

how this same little Alice would, in the after-time, be herself a grown woman: and how she would keep, through her riper years, the simple and loving heart of her childhood: and how she would gather around her other little children, and make *their* eyes bright and eager with many a wonderful tale, perhaps even with these very adventures of the little Alice of long-ago: and how she would feel with all their simple sorrows, and find a pleasure in all their simple joys, remembering her own child-life, and the happy summer days.¹⁴

This deeply personal message from Carroll to Alice, distanced through a double-frame in the manuscript narrative, points to his fondness for Alice in a touching way that perhaps has no place in a printed version for wider circulation amongst other child readers. But in keeping this final paragraph in *Wonderland*, Carroll also establishes a brief moralizing voice for that text, which was famously received as having no moral. His moral here, that childhood is brief, and that adults must give 'simple joys' to children, shapes his own approach to storytelling, of course. It also shows Carroll's understanding that children must grow up, and does not reflect the remorse for that situation that is commonly associated with him. Yet perhaps it is understandable that when *Merryman's Monthly* reprinted the story in 1867 (without Carroll's or Macmillan's consent), they left out this ending.

The physical manuscript is neatly printed in Carroll's distinctively small hand and illustrated with 37 of his own drawings. Carroll takes advantage of the flexibility of manuscript in the mouse's tail/tale, which includes text that slopes and curves in ways that would be difficult to replicate in print. Carroll is notoriously concerned with capitalization and punctuation, so it is interesting to see how he negotiates these issues in the manuscript. The 'white rabbit' is lowercase here, which gives the impression not so much of a character, but of a random and real rabbit. This sense continues as the rabbit does not say much in the manuscript version.

Carroll's representation of Alice through his illustrations is especially interesting. His Alice has darker hair, and she is also visibly more mature than Tenniel's Alice, who herself looks much older than seven. What is perhaps most surprising is that Carroll's Alice looks very different across the illustrations: 'his Alice does not seem to be the same child from picture to picture.'¹⁵ The illustrations are amateurish, and it is easy to see from them why the gift to Alice Liddell was delayed for so long as Carroll strove to make them right. Attesting to these difficulties he attached one of his photographs of Alice, pasted over an attempt at a drawing, at the end of the manuscript. Carroll was a keen amateur photographer, and, perhaps out of exasperation with his illustrations, he finally replaced one with a form of representation at which he was more skilful.¹⁶ Neither photograph nor drawing was reproduced in the facsimile of 1886.

¹⁴ L. Carroll, *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* (London: Macmillan, 1886), 90.

¹⁵ M. P. Hearn, 'Alice's Other Parent: John Tenniel as Lewis Carroll's Illustrator', *American Book Collector* 4.3 (1983): 12.

¹⁶ See M. N. Cohen, 'Alice Under Ground', *Jabberwocky* 7.4 (1978): 83–4.

Illustrating *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Concerns over the quality of illustrations in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* would continue to plague Carroll throughout his lifetime. Carroll decided sometime in 1863 that he wished to have *Alice* printed, and his diary of 2nd July 1863 notes that he received a 'second trial page, larger for "Alice's Adventures"' from Mr Combe, printer at Oxford University Press, which indicates that work towards printing the text came earlier.¹⁷ Clearly this page was satisfactory, and he was encouraged to prepare the book. But, as with the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, Carroll was keen to provide his own illustrations for the printed text.

By 16th July 1863, Carroll had started to experiment with drawing on wood towards the woodblocks for the printed edition: 'Called on Mr. Combe with my first drawing on wood. Mr. Woolner was there, just beginning a bust of Mr. Combe. He looked at the drawing (a half length of the heroine) and condemned the arms, which he says I *must* draw from the life.'¹⁸ Thomas Woolner, a contemporary artist, clearly discouraged Carroll. At least one critic has suggested that it was the technical difficulty of drawing on wood that eventually forced Carroll to seek a professional illustrator,¹⁹ but Carroll's diary instead highlights a steady period of dissatisfaction with his inability to draw Alice, much less the more difficult imaginary creatures that accompany her on her adventures. It was this fantastical element that eventually shaped Carroll's shortlist for potential illustrators. Carroll was impressed by John Tenniel's cartoons for *Punch*, especially his ability to render human-like animals and caricatures. His initial plan was for Tenniel to draw only 'a dozen wood-cuts', as he writes to Tom Taylor on 20th December 1863.²⁰ Carroll first approached Tenniel sometime around 25th January 1864, as attested by his diary entry: 'Called at the "Board of Health" and saw Mr. Tom Taylor ... He also gave me a note of introduction to Mr. Tenniel (to whom he had before applied, for me, about pictures for *Alice's Adventures*)'.²¹ Tenniel was reluctant to accept the commission, however, being busy as a full-time artist for *Punch*. Eventually, on 5th April 1864, the situation reached a seemingly happy conclusion: 'Heard from Tenniell [*sic*] that he consents to draw the pictures for "Alice's Adventures Under Ground."'²² But things were not to prove so simple. On 2nd May Carroll 'Sent Tenniell [*sic*] the first piece of a slip set up for *Alice's Adventures*, from the beginning of Chap. III.'²³ Carroll was not familiar enough

¹⁷ *Diaries*, vol. IV, 217.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 220–21.

¹⁹ Hearn, 'Alice's Other Parent', 11.

²⁰ Cited in M. N. Cohen (ed.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll* (London: Macmillan, 1979), vol. I, 62.

²¹ *Diaries*, vol. IV, 271.

²² *Ibid.*, 284.

²³ *Ibid.*



Fig. 1.1 Carroll's manuscript drawing of Alice in the White Rabbit's House, from the facsimile of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* (London: Macmillan, 1886). Authors' copy.

with Tenniel at this point to spell his name correctly, but over the coming months they would exchange many ideas about the book.

Carroll wrote that 'I hope to get published before Xmas' on 10th June 1864,²⁴ but things proceeded much more slowly, largely owing to the involvement of Tenniel. The author was surprised in visiting Tenniel on 12th October to be shown 'one drawing on wood, the only thing he had, of Alice sitting by the pool of tears, and the rabbit hurrying away'. He goes on to say that 'We discussed the book, and agreed on about 34 pictures.'²⁵ Carroll in fact gave very detailed instructions to Tenniel about the nature of the drawings, and it is little surprise that some of them, in composition at least, are remarkably similar to those found in the *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* manuscript. (Compare the illustrations, mirror imaged, of the enlarged Alice trapped in the White Rabbit's house, for instance [Figures 1.1 and 1.2].)

Hancher has shown that Tenniel desired to use Carroll's own illustrations as his initial influence: 'Altogether, then, some three-quarters of the Carroll illustrations synchronize more or less closely with the Tenniel illustrations.'²⁶ Moreover, the number of illustrations and the importance of their placement on the page demanded that the author and illustrator worked closely together even on those images that were not first modelled by Carroll's own drawings. Hearn notes that 'Carroll sent his artist a detailed list of all the subjects to be illustrated, noting also their exact dimensions and placements upon the book's pages. Through correspondence and frequent visits to the artist's studio, the author oversaw every step of the art's

²⁴ *Letters*, vol. I, 65.

²⁵ October 12, 1864. *Diaries*, vol. V, 16.

²⁶ Michael Hancher, *The Tenniel Illustrations to the 'Alice' Books* (n.p.: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 28.