

Christ Church Library, Carroll Collection

Digitised image notes and captions by Edward Wakeling

Carroll Sketches

C1-C6, C10-C14

Introductory Notes:

Within a few years of publication, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* became a best-seller that has never been out of print. Dodgson was keen to exploit the market, and in February 1869 he began to suggest a cheaper version to his publisher. He wrote to Alexander Macmillan saying that "My feeling is that the present price puts the book entirely out of the reach of many thousands of children of the middle classes, who might, I think, enjoy it." He went on to say "I should be much obliged if you would make a rough calculation whether you could (by printing on cheaper paper, but keeping to *toned* unless white is decidedly cheaper, by putting more into a page, limiting the pictures to 10 or 12 of the best, and printing these separately...having the edges sprinkled red instead of gilt, and the cover plain red, with no gilding on it except the title) sell the book for (say) half-a-crown, and yet make a profit if there were a good demand for it." Nothing immediately came of this idea.

However, some years later, Macmillan and Company came up with a more extensive plan. They were printing popular books in a series that sold for only sixpence a copy, and they were expecting to sell 150,000 copies of *Tom Brown's School Days*, making a modest profit on the sales. Frederick Macmillan, Alexander Macmillan's nephew, wrote to Dodgson on 10 February 1882 saying "We have been casting about for other books to follow it, and it has naturally occurred to us that *Alice's Adventures* issued at such a price would be certain of a wide circulation. Are you willing to consider this? If so we would agree to pay you a sum down (£200) for the right to print a hundred thousand copies, with liberty to print say 50,000 more at the same rate of £2 per 1000 copies. The margin of profit on each copy is of course very small and it is only by printing a large number and getting an immediate sale that we can make anything out of it. The sale may however be considered as an entirely additional one and only acting as an advertisement to the regular edition" (see Carroll-C10_r). Initially, Dodgson was worried about the effect on the sales of the full-price edition, but Macmillan reassured him that in his experience the cheaper edition would not affect sales of the 6s. edition.

In the end, Dodgson accepted a half-way position, and the People's Edition was published in 1887 costing 2s. 6d. per copy. This retained the text and illustrations as before, but it was printed on cheaper paper and used cheaper materials for the binding.

The idea of a 6d. edition was not forgotten by Macmillan and Company, and immediately after Dodgson's death in 1898, they issued such an edition.

Individual Images:

Carroll-C1_r

This is a financial account headed "Estimates etc. for proposed 6*d.* edition of Alice's Adventures," dated March 1882. The calculations, all in Dodgson's hand (the violet ink has faded), give the income generated by 50,000 copies initially, and for a further 50,000 copies if they were wanted, taking into account the cost of materials and the likely profits shared between him and his publisher, Macmillan and Company. He shows that Macmillan's offer of £200 for the first 50,000 is a shortfall in the profit they were likely to make, and that even with a 1*d.* royalty, he would still be better off. In April, Macmillan sent Dodgson their own calculations, contesting some of his figures, and including costs for advertising and book-dealer discounts. The proposal did not go ahead. In the end Macmillan found that the cheap editions, although initially popular, lost public interest within a few months.

Carroll-C1_v

The verso of the printed accounting sheet is un-used

Carroll-C2_r

This is a second financial account written by Dodgson headed "Estimates for proposed cheap 'Alice'," dated 13 March 1882. Dodgson calculates that the second 50,000 would save £31 since the type-setting has already been done. He suggests he would accept £200 for the first 50,000 and £225 for the second 50,000 copies.

Carroll-C2_v

This is blank

Carroll-C3_r

Sheet in Dodgson's hand headed "Estimates" and dated April 1882. Dodgson compares the costs of printing 100,000 copies of the 6*d.* edition of *Alice* by Macmillan and printing using the University Press (Clarendon Press), showing that the latter is more economical. For the comparison, Dodgson consulted Bartholomew Price (1818-1898), Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. Price's reply is shown in Carroll-C14_r.

Carroll-C3_v

Dodgson recycled paper he had used for other purposes. In this case, the verso of the sheet shows two draft manuscript stanzas from Dodgson's poem,

“Phantasmagoria.” The stanzas come from the first canto entitled “The Trysting” with slight variations to the final printed version in the first edition of *Phantasmagoria* dated January 1869. The first word of the first stanza (tenth in the poem) has been changed from “Your” to “The,” and the “G” in “Ghost” is not capitalised. The second stanza (the eleventh in the poem) is unchanged apart from minor changes to the punctuation.

Carroll-C4_r

A sheet in Dodgson’s hand headed “Cost of 2000 Alices” dated 23 March 1882. He compares the cost between “London” and “Orpington” (probably the locations of the printers for Macmillan and the Clarendon Presses). There is a mathematical equation, $11x + 5y = 132 + 50$, where x has been substituted by 12 and y for 10 – the purpose is unknown.

Carroll-C4_v

The recycled sheet shows three more draft stanzas from Dodgson’s poem “Phantasmagoria” also from the first canto. In the first stanza (the first in the poem) “winter” has been changed to “wintry” in the printed version. The other two stanzas (the second and third in the poem) are unchanged.

Carroll-C5_r

The sheet shows further comparisons between “London” and “Orpington” showing higher book-seller costs with the London edition – a bone of contention with Dodgson. Also on the sheet is part of a “logic-tree” showing how the various numbered theorems of Euclid’s first book, are linked. A complete diagram is included as the frontispiece in *Euclid and His Modern Rivals* (1879).

Carroll-C5_v

This sheet includes a continuation of the “logic-tree” that shows the logical sequence of theorems in Euclid’s first book. There are small modifications in the printed version used in *Euclid and His Modern Rivals*.

Carroll-C6_r

This sheet is headed “Rev. C. L. D. in Acct. with Macmillan & Co.” and dated 2 March 1882. In the document, Dodgson accounts for the sale of 2000 copies of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* listing all the costs for his publisher and his own profit, noting in particular that the book-sellers get the lion’s share of the profits. There ensued a lengthy correspondence between author and publisher on the procedures carried out by publishers with the book trade, and although Dodgson was keen to “go public” with his claims, Macmillan and Company urged caution suggesting that such negotiations should remain a private matter.

Carroll-C6_v

This sheet is un-used

Carroll-C10_r

Letter from Macmillan and Company to Dodgson dated 10 February 1882 with Dodgson's correspondence number 38956. The letter, written by Frederick Macmillan (nephew of Alexander Macmillan, who later took over as head of the company), is transcribed here:

29 & 30, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C., London
February 10, 1882

Dear Mr. Dodgson,

You may possibly have seen an announcement of our 6d. Edition of *Tom Brown's School Days*. We are preparing it to meet a demand there seems to be for good books at very cheap prices and as we have already received orders for over a hundred thousand copies it seems likely to prove a success. Our idea is to print a certain number (in this case 150,000) which we may reasonably hope to sell very soon, and then to let the edition go out of print. It will thus we believe act as an advertisement both of the book itself and of good literature in general by going into quarters hitherto unreachd, and as its existence is only to be temporary will not injure the sales of the regular editions.

We have been casting about for other books to follow it, and it has naturally occurred to us that *Alice's Adventures* issued at such a price would be certain of a wide circulation. Are you willing to consider this? If so we would agree to pay you a sum down (£200) for the right to print a hundred thousand copies, with liberty to print say 50,000 more at the same rate of £2 per 1000 copies. The margin of profit on each copy is of course very small and it is only by printing a large number and getting an immediate sale that we can make anything out of it. The sale may however be considered as an entirely additional one and only acting as an advertisement to the regular edition.

I send you by this post a proof sheet of the *Tom Brown* that you may judge of the kind of thing it is to be. I am

Yours very truly,
Frederick Macmillan

The Rev. C. L. Dodgson,
Christ Church, Oxford.

Dodgson replied the following day, but his letter is missing.

Carroll-C10_v

Continuation of the letter (see Carroll-C10_r above).

Carroll-C11_r

Letter from George Lillie Craik (1837-1905), business partner at Macmillan and Company, to Dodgson, dated 10 March 1882, with Dodgson's correspondence number 39291. The letter says:

29 & 30, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C., London
March 10, 1882

Dear Mr. Dodgson,

I thought you would understand from my letter that *all* the charges are at cost price. There would be a saving of £31 in the second 50,000 – because we should have the type to print from ready without setting up.

Yours very truly,
George Lillie Craik

Dodgson replied the same day, but his letter is missing.

Carroll-C11_v

This is blank

Carroll-C12_r

Letter from George Lillie Craik to Dodgson, dated 11 March 1882, with Dodgson's correspondence number 39301. The letter says:

29 & 30, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, W.C., London
March 11, 1882

Dear Mr. Dodgson,

I think we may take the sixpenny *Tom Brown* experience in replying to your enquiries of yesterday. We may be said to give 10% on about one half – 6½% on about a quarter and 5% on the other quarter.

All buyers have 13 as 12 and I believe I may cautiously {?} say we shall not receive 6*d.* for a single copy.

Yours very truly,
George Lillie Craik

The word “cautiously” is a guess. Dodgson's reply is missing.

Carroll-C12_v

This is blank

Carroll-C13_r

Letter from George Lillie Craik to Dodgson, dated 18 April 1882, with Dodgson's correspondence number 39763. The letter says:

29 & 30, Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London
April 18, 1882

Dear Mr. Dodgson,

We are quite willing to publish the *6d. Alice* on the terms you propose. The arrangement is a very usual one with us and has the advantage of making simple accounts.

It would be best to publish in the autumn. This enables time for Christmas but we ought to begin preparation of the book soon. I rather like the last page I sent you which brought the whole into 48 pages, but I think a narrower column would look better. If you leave it to us we will do the best we can for you.

I am glad you are satisfied with the explanation which Mr. Macmillan took pains to make clear. I would still urge your coming calling by for I think we could in talk tell you things that would interest you and perhaps modify your present view of the situation.

We will put the Euclid in hand whenever you send it. We are taking the publication on the usual commission terms.

Yours very truly,
George Lillie Craik

Dodgson's reply is missing, and he does not mention any visit to the Offices of Macmillan and Company in the following few weeks.

Carroll-C13_v

The letter from George Lillie Craik in Carroll-C13_r continues.

Carroll-C14_r

Letter from Bartholomew Price at the Clarendon Press to Dodgson, dated 9 March 1882, with Dodgson's correspondence number 39273. The letter says:

Secretary's Room, Clarendon Press, Oxford
March 9, 1882

My dear Dodgson,

We have been very carefully into the question of costs etc. of the large edition in quarto of your Book which you ask for. The composition is but a small matter: the most important are the paper and the Press Work, and mainly the former of these

two. Acting on your instructions on the matter of charges, with discount and deferred payment due with paper of the quality you have sent, the price we could print and deliver in London covered and sewn the first 50,000 at two pence per copy: and the second 50,000 at one and seven eighths of a penny per copy. If we could use paper of the same quality as is used in some of their *6d.* etc. books, the price would probably be lower: but for that purpose we should have a perusal interview with a Paper Maker, and we have not at present done so.

I return the specimen page as you requested.

Yours ever truly,
Bartholomew Price

Dodgson's reply is missing.

Carroll-C14_v

This is blank

Carroll-illustration-positions_C7_4

This is Dodgson's illustration plan for *Through the Looking-Glass*. In June 1988, I gave a talk to the Lewis Carroll Society on my discovery of this manuscript in Christ Church Library (it had not been identified before), and the talk was written up as an article published in the Society's journal, *Jabberwocky*, in the Spring 1992 issue (volume 21, number 2), of which this is an extract, with a few modifications.

In a letter to Alexander Macmillan, his publisher, dated 24 August 1866, Dodgson mentions a "floating idea of writing a sort of sequel to *Alice*" (*Macmillan Letters*, p. 44). With nothing more than a brief outline in his mind, he set about securing the services of an illustrator, a procedure he was to adopt for future illustrated publications. Obviously, Tenniel was the best choice to give continuity to the illustrations, but Tenniel declined in the first instance due to pressures of work. In desperation, Dodgson tried other well-known illustrators of the day. His diary records an approach to another *Punch* illustrator, Richard Doyle, in January 1867; he writes: "we left the matter unsettled for the present" (*Diary 5*, p. 192), and the matter remained unsettled. In January, 1868, he notes in his diary that he has added a few pages to the new book. At this stage, it is unlikely that he had sufficient material to produce an outline for the illustration plan. Some of the poems, "Jabberwocky" (first stanza, 1856) and "The Aged Aged Man" (originally "Upon the Lonely Moor," 1856) were written well before the idea for *Looking-Glass* took shape, but these alone would not provide a sufficient basis for the plan.

In April 1868, thanks to an introduction by George MacDonald, Dodgson approached Sir Noël Paton with a view that he might illustrate the new book for him, but the artist was too ill to undertake it. In a letter to Mrs. MacDonald on 19 May, he writes: "Many thanks also to Mr. MacDonald for the trouble he has taken,

even though in vain, in my behalf. If he is writing again to Sir Noël Paton, I should like to send my thanks to him for his kind expressions, much as I am disappointed by his declining the task. I shall try my luck again with Mr. Tenniel, and if he fails me, I really don't know what to do. Doyle isn't good enough (look at any of his later pictures) and Arthur Hughes has not, so far as I know, any turn for grotesque. However I haven't *quite* given up hope in Tenniel yet." (*Letters*, pp. 119-20).

A few weeks later, on 2 June, in a letter to Macmillan, the subject of illustration is raised again: "With regard to my unfortunate *Alice II* both Tenniel and Noël Paton appear to be hopeless. Have you seen the pictures in *Fun* signed 'Bab'? The artist's name, I am told is [W. S.] Gilbert: his power in grotesque is extraordinary - but I have seen no symptoms of his being able to draw anything pretty and graceful. I should be very glad if you would ascertain (without directly communicating with *him*, so as to commit me in any way) whether he *has* such a power. If so, I think he would do. Some of his pictures are full of fun." (*Macmillan Letters*, p. 63). Macmillan sent a copy of Gilbert's *Fairy-Tales* to Dodgson, who ruled him out as an illustrator for his new book because Gilbert appeared to draw *only* grotesques. However, later in June 1868, Tenniel finally agreed to do the pictures, "at such spare times as he could find" (*Diary 6*, p. 37).

An incident on 17 August 1868, confirms the idea of Alice making a journey into *Looking-Glass House*, a title Dodgson was using at this time for the new *Alice* book. The idea came from a chance meeting with Alice Raikes on a visit to Dodgson's uncle Skeffington Lutwidge in London. She lived next door, and Dodgson invited her to "see something rather puzzling": the effect of holding an orange in the right-hand as viewed in a tall mirror. In her solution to the puzzle, Alice Raikes suggests that if she was on the other side of the mirror, the orange would remain in her right-hand, and not be in the left-hand as shown by her reflection. Dodgson was impressed with her answer, and recorded later that it had given him the idea for *Looking-Glass*. The chess-game ingredient of the book had been present long before this. Dodgson played chess with Alice Liddell and her sisters and, no doubt, invented chess-stories to amuse them which he later included in the book. The chess framework of the story is somewhat unconventional, but the moves of the chess pieces are legitimate even though the White side appears to get a number of consecutive moves.

The first chapter of *Looking-Glass* was completed and sent to Macmillan on 12 January 1869 for setting up in type. Dodgson went to see Tenniel during April 1869, but he recorded that Tenniel had not yet begun drawing for *Looking-Glass*. Nine months later, on a further visit to Tenniel in January 1870, Dodgson records that he saw the rough sketches of about ten pictures for *Looking-Glass*. Hence, this illustration plan dates from around this time, or possibly a few months later in March 1870 when Dodgson made another visit to Tenniel. On 12 March, Dodgson and Tenniel had a two hour discussion at which about thirty pictures were planned; three had already been sent to the engravers. The illustration plan shows an original thirty-eight numbered illustrations, together with the "Jabberwock" frontispiece and "Wasp" illustration, indicated in black ink; subsequent numbering and changes are in violet ink. Warren Weaver dates the change from black to violet ink sometime in October 1870. From this fact, we can deduce that the illustration plan was begun before October 1870, but probably not before January 1870,

although he may have had plans for some of the illustrations as early as January 1869.

During April 1870, Macmillan sent Dodgson some trial pages for consideration. The previous month, the title chosen for the book was *Behind the Looking-Glass and what Alice saw there*. Other titles considered include *Looking-Glass World*. These early title pages also indicate Dodgson's intention of having forty-two illustrations in the new book to match the number of illustrations in *Wonderland* (see *Handbook*, between pp. 164 and 165).

During the first six months of 1870 progress with the illustrations appears to have been slow. Dodgson was visited in his rooms at Christ Church by the children of Lord Salisbury on 25 June, and he took the opportunity to show them the first seven completed illustrations for *Through the Looking-Glass*, the title which he had now settled on for the sequel to *Wonderland*. The title had been suggested to him by his good friend, and companion on the Russian Journey, Dr. Henry Parry Liddon.

Dodgson completed the manuscript for *Looking-Glass* on 4 January 1871, and nine days later he recorded, "Received from Clay slips reaching to the end of the text of the *Looking-Glass*. Nothing now remains to be printed but the verses at the end. The volume has cost me, I think, more trouble than the first, and *ought* to be equal to it in every way." Two days later, on 15 January, he "sent the slips off to Tenniel: it all now depends upon him, whether we get the book out by Easter or not." (*Diary 6*, p. 140). The Easter publication date was too optimistic; Tenniel had still not supplied any more illustrations by March of that year.

We now come to the first significant change which was made to the book, and the outcome is clearly registered on the illustration plan. Dodgson intended the illustration of the "Jabberwock" to be the frontispiece of the new book, but when he received Tenniel's illustration, he was concerned whether the picture might be too frightening for young children. In order to resolve the matter, he printed a circular and sent it to some friends to seek their views. A copy of the surviving circular, which was sent with a letter addressed to Mrs. Barry dated 15 February 1871, contains the following message:

I am sending you, with this, a print of the proposed frontispiece for *Through the Looking-Glass*. It has been suggested to me that it is too terrible a monster, and likely to alarm nervous and imaginative children; and that at any rate we had better begin the book with a pleasanter subject.

So I am submitting the question to a number of friends, for which purpose I have had copies of the frontispiece printed off.

We have three courses open to us:

- (1) To retain it as the frontispiece.
- (2) To transfer it to its proper place in the book, (where the ballad occurs which it is intended to illustrate) and substitute a new frontispiece.
- (3) To omit it altogether.

The last-named course would be a great sacrifice of the time and trouble which the picture has cost, and it would be a pity to adopt it unless it is really necessary.

I should be grateful to have your opinion, (tested by exhibiting the picture to any children you think fit), as to which of these courses is the best.

(*Handbook*, p. 61). The number of copies of the circulars Dodgson had printed and

distributed is not known, but his biographer, Stuart Dodgson Collingwood suggests that about thirty of his married lady friends were consulted (*The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll*, p. 142). However as the illustration plan indicates, the "Jabberwock" with its caption, "Came Whiffing..." was moved to p.23, and "Alice and Knight" replaces the picture as frontispiece. The original title is in black ink, and the caption, the new page number, and the substituted title are in violet ink. On 25 April 1871, Dodgson notes, "*Through the Looking-Glass* yet lingers on, though the text is ready, but I have only received 27 pictures as yet." (*Diary 6*, pp. 145-6). If the pictures were drawn in the order indicated on the plan, and it is worth pointing out that there is no evidence to suggest that this was the adopted scheme, then this would complete the illustrations as far as Chapter V, "Wool and Water." In May, Tenniel wrote to Dodgson saying that he hoped to have the pictures ready by July, but in August the delay was still evident; Dodgson wrote back to Tenniel with the decision that there was not sufficient time to get the book out by Michaelmas, and he stated that it would have to come out as a Christmas book instead.

The book commenced printing in October 1871, and Dodgson received five proof sheets on 1 November. On 21 November, he noted, "Sent authority to Clay to electrotype all the rest of the *Looking-Glass*: this was by telegraph. I afterwards sent two corrections by post. So ends *my* part of the work. It now depends on the printers and binders whether we get it out by Christmas" (*Diary 6*, p. 188). From this diary entry, we can assume that Tenniel had completed his part of the work; the fifty illustrations for the book. Also, we can assume that all the changes which took place during the evolution of *Looking-Glass* had, at last, been settled by this date. Dodgson received the first complete copy of *Looking-Glass* on 6 December 1871.

As you will see, the illustration plan indicates eight Chapters initially outlined for *Looking-Glass*, shown by Roman numerals, each sub-divided by a horizontal black line across the page. The titles of the pictures for each Chapter are listed and consecutively numbered. After Chapter VIII, the "Wasp" title appears as a single illustration, written in black ink, possibly as one of the final pictures for the story. All subsequent writing, including the number 39 which appears next to the "Wasp," is in violet ink; so too is the crossing-out of the "Wasp" title. This indicates that the decision to omit the "Wasp" episode took place after October 1870. This fits in with Tenniel's letter, dated 1 June 1870, suggesting that Dodgson might consider dropping this part of the story. The letter is preceded by Tenniel's sketch for the "Railway-carriage" picture, which Dodgson listed as the first illustration for Chapter III, numbered 13 on the plan. The section of the letter referring to the "Wasp" picture states: "Don't think me brutal, but I am bound to say that the 'wasp' chapter doesn't interest me in the least, and 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." (*Life and Letters*, pp. 148-9). In another letter noted by Collingwood, Tenniel re-states his problem that: "a *wasp* in a *wig* is beyond the appliances of art." (*Life and Letters*, p. 146).

These letters pose a question; did Dodgson suggest to Tenniel that his manuscript for *Looking-Glass* was too long? A letter from Tenniel to Dodgson dated 4 April with no year has recently been pointed out to me by Mrs. Frankie Morris. The watermark of the letter is for 1868. In it, Tenniel writes: "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." (*Illustrators*, p. 14). A more probable date for this letter is 1870, and this fits well with the letter reproduced by Collingwood in *Life and Letters*, except that the "Wasp" episode has been chosen for "excision" rather than the "Railway scene" which forms part of Chapter III. The letter also provides evidence that another "condensed" illustration list existed which Tenniel used. The two lists vary in as much as five illustrations are scheduled for Chapter III on the surviving plan; "Railway-carriage," "Rocking horse fly," "Snap dragon fly," "Bread and butter fly," and "Alice and Fawn."

Dodgson's desire to reduce the book in some way does not fit the actual outcome. If the reason was based on his thinking that the book was too long, he eventually increased the size of the book quite considerably. More likely, his reason for suggesting a reduction to Tenniel was to remove below-standard material. Up to the time of the decision to remove the "Wasp" episode, the illustration plan reveals that the book had, at most, nine Chapters and 40 pictures in outline. Dodgson clearly had in mind at least 42 illustrations as already indicated by some of his early printed title pages. As a result of deleting the "Wasp" section, Dodgson added more material than he had originally intended for the book. The plan reveals at least another 39 pages (the pagination for the proposed new pictures indicates pp. 179-218) and another 11 illustrations were added. This does not support the argument that the book was too long in Dodgson's mind. There are two possible reasons for Dodgson deleting the "Wasp" section; either he agreed with Tenniel's view that the text was not up to the standard of the rest of the book, or he bowed to Tenniel's difficulty in finding a suitable picture. Now that the galley-slips for the "Wasp" section have come to light, we can make up our own mind about the quality of the text. These galleys are numbered 63 to 68; 11 lines of the first slip, the whole of slips 64 to 67, and 14 lines of slip 68. A rough calculation, based on the fact that a full galley-slip appears to contain 49 lines, and the final book has on average 22 lines per page, gives approximately 140 pages of text prior to the "Wasp" episode. Allowing space for illustrations and Chapter-ends, this fits with the pagination of 179 for the "Wasp" illustration indicated on the plan.

Another point is clear; the White Knight is not a substitute for the Wasp, both were originally planned to be part of *Looking-Glass*. Dodgson may have used some of his ideas for the personality of the Wasp when he expanded Chapter VIII, "It's my own invention," in which the White Knight is the main character. Alice's parting from the White Knight is a poignant episode in the story. She waves her handkerchief to encourage him and waits until he is out of sight. Then she turns to run down the hill. In the "Wasp" episode, Alice is pleased that she has devoted some time with the poor old creature to make him comfortable before tripping on down the hill. There are parallels here; Dodgson may have identified himself with the Wasp character, in much the same way as he did with the Dodo in *Wonderland*, and when this part of the story was removed, he transferred his identification to the White Knight, and took the opportunity to make the final farewell with Alice both

significant and seriously-minded with elements of sadness at Alice's departure. From this moment on, Alice becomes a Queen, a metaphor for her approach to adulthood, which was, without doubt, the reason for the end of his real-life child-friendship with Alice Liddell. His alternative frontispiece, replacing "Jabberwock" with "Alice and [White] Knight," may have been chosen to further emphasize the personal importance of this episode.

The expansion of the book gave Dodgson the chance to match the numbers of Chapters with *Wonderland*; there are twelve in both books. Some early proof sheets for *Looking-Glass*, printed in 1870, and now in the Huntington Library, Los Angeles, indicate that the book originally had 11 Chapters. Later, Chapter X, "Waking" was divided into two Chapters; Chapter X, "Shaking" and Chapter XI, "Waking." In both cases, these Chapters are no more than a page and an illustration, hence keeping the book to a reasonable length, and not increasing the number of illustrations which had already exceeded *Wonderland* by eight. Dodgson had intended the illustrations for Chapters X and XI to form a dissolving view. According to the illustration plan, they were to be placed back-to-back on the same sheet forming pp. 213 and 214, so that when the page was turned, the Red Queen became the black kitten. Obviously, Tenniel did not realise the significance of this result, and drew both characters in the same orientation, with Alice's hands reaching from right to left of the page. Hence, Dodgson was not able to use the notion of the dissolving view, and, instead, had to place both illustrations on left-hand pages to maintain the effect.

Dodgson's other dissolving view did materialise. This occurs as Alice enters Looking-Glass House on pp. 11 and 12; Tenniel has drawn the second picture as a reflection of the first which the illustration plan reveals was Dodgson's intention. However, some details are not reflected. The number of hanging tassels is not accurately matched in both illustrations. Also, Alice's hair-ribbon is tied with a bow on her left in the reflection on p. 12; it is drawn likewise in the illustration on p. 5, prior to her going through the looking-glass. Clearly, it should now appear to be tied on her right, unless it was Dodgson's decision that Alice would not be reflected, but keep her initial orientation throughout her dream in Looking-Glass House. Tenniel drew facial features on the clock and vase in the reflected picture, giving a foretaste of animated objects which occur as the story unfolds. Following the spirit of the illustration, Tenniel reversed his monogram for the reflected picture, yet the engraver's mark is unchanged.

The plan shows that some other illustrations, apart from the "Wasp," were not carried out. Humpty Dumpty's recitation in Chapter VI has one illustration; originally titled as "Filling the Kettle," but replaced by "Sending message to fish." There is no obvious reason for this change. The "Knight singing" in Chapter VIII is omitted altogether. No evidence exists to determine whether the decisions for these changes were made by Dodgson alone, or in consultation with Tenniel, but the latter is likely; recall that Dodgson spent two hours talking with Tenniel about the illustrations on 12 March 1870.

The "Knight on poker," in Chapter I, appears to be a late addition to the list of illustrations; the numbering of all subsequent pictures has been changed as a result, and the title has been written in the space between "King being dusted" and "Talking flowers." The page numbers have been altered by more than the space

required for this new illustration, so there is a possibility that the text was expanded at this point of the story.

In Chapter V, the White Queen loses her shawl and flies after it. Dodgson's title for an illustration is "W. Queen after shawl" but this has been amended to "W. Queen being made neat." A possible reason for this change is the nearness of the first incident to the beginning of the Chapter; it occurs in the first sentence, which would make the illustration a chapter-heading. Dodgson may have decided that he wanted an illustration within the text. Alternatively, the White Queen is a more docile character, and a picture of her flying through the air would be too similar to the Red Queen doing likewise, as in Chapter II, p. 41.

Another change to the title of a picture occurs in Chapter VII. Dodgson has written "Alice introduced to Unicorn," but the "Unicorn" has been crossed out and changed to "Lion," which more aptly fits the text. Suggestions have been made that Tenniel modelled the Unicorn on Disraeli and the Lion on Gladstone, but as a *Punch* illustrator, such similarities may have been drawn subconsciously by the artist.

The page numbers for the illustrations were calculated by Dodgson in advance; he determined the amount of space that a picture would need by allocating a number of lines to each. For some pictures, the number of lines is indicated in this plan as, for example, "w x 10," which means "width of page plus 10 lines of text." The sizes of the illustrations numbered 23 onwards are given in violet ink, showing that these were added later. The alterations to the sizes of the illustrations clearly affected the predicted page numbers, and changes have been made on more than one occasion; some changes in black ink, others in violet ink, indicating a possible time-lapse between alterations of several months.

Some of the proposed illustrations do not coincide exactly with the text as intended. For example, in Chapter VII, the title of the picture is, "Figures of Lion and Unicorn." Underneath this, Dodgson has added in parenthesis in violet ink, "Speak, can't you?" which occurs half-way down the text on p. 147, yet the illustration appears on the next page. Dodgson may have experienced problems in fitting the pictures on appropriate pages once the text and illustrations had been completed, and minor adjustments may have been made at the latter stages when setting up the book for printing.

Dodgson chose to have two shaped-illustrations in the book. These are indicated on the plan. The first is "Humpty Dumpty" in Chapter VI, to which Dodgson has added the note "shaking hands?" and also "piece out," to indicate the shape he required (see p. 118). The other is from Chapter IX, titled "Scene" to which Dodgson has added the note, "page with corner out" (see p. 212).

According to the *dramatis personae* given at the beginning of the book, the White Rooks are none other than Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Tenniel, in his illustration for "Chessmen in hearth" in Chapter I, has included the figures of the White Rooks, but they are conventional chess-pieces rather than the characters as indicated by Dodgson. The mismatch does not appear to have been noticed by either Dodgson or Tenniel. Likewise, the Bishops are drawn conventionally, and do not suggest the various characters they become within the story. Also in Chapter 1, the illustration of "King being dusted" appears (p. 17), and the text says (p. 19): "The King was saying, 'I assure you, my dear, I turned cold to the very ends of my whiskers!' To

which the Queen replied, 'You haven't got any whiskers,.'" On inspection, you will see that Tenniel has drawn, very clearly, a King *with* a moustache. Martin Gardner has pointed out to me that "whiskers" in Victorian times meant hair on the cheek rather than on the upper-lip, so perhaps Tenniel got it right.

In Chapter II, two of the illustrations, "Chess board" and "Running" are indicated in the plan as having alternative positions within the text. The first illustration is given the page-number 38, and added in parenthesis is "or else 45"; likewise, the second is given page-number 41, "or else 39." In both cases the alternative page-number, written in black ink, is crossed out in violet ink. In the book, the page-numbers of these illustrations coincide with the choice made here.

According to Collingwood, Tenniel was specifically asked by Dodgson not to make the White Knight too old, nor should he have whiskers (*Life and Letters*, p. 130). Yet, in all the illustrations of the White Knight, he looks decidedly old and has a magnificent moustache (see comment above by Martin Gardner). Suggestions have been made that Tenniel modelled the White Knight on his *Punch* colleague, Horace "Ponny" Mayhew (*The History of Punch*, M. H. Spielmann, 1895, p. 329), but he denied that this was the case. The figure looks like a self-portrait of Tenniel, but in old age, significantly after he had drawn this image.

Collingwood also suggests that Tenniel was advised by Dodgson, "Don't give Alice so much crinoline." (*Life and Letters*, p. 130). In *Looking-Glass*, Alice has changed her costume; she now wears a striped dress and striped full-length stockings. When she becomes Queen, just prior to Chapter IX, she changes her costume to a mature evening-dress which befits her new status, and she also gains a necklace of pearls. When the adventure is revealed as a "dream" in Chapter XII, she reverts to her previous costume. Whether she has too much crinoline is left to the reader to decide. Obviously, Dodgson did not object to the final appearance of Alice in these illustrations.

On 30 November 1871, Dodgson recorded: "Heard from Macmillan that they already have orders for 7,500 *Looking-Glasses* (they printed 9,000), and are at once going to print 6,000 more!" (*Diary 6*, pp. 189-90). All copies of the first edition appear to contain the date 1872 on the title page.

References:

- Jabberwocky*, *The Journal of the Lewis Carroll Society*, London, The Lewis Carroll Society
Lewis Carroll's Diaries edited by Edward Wakeling, Luton and Clifford, The Lewis Carroll Society, in ten volumes, 1993-2007
Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan edited by Morton N. Cohen and Anita Gandolfo, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987
The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll, by Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1898
The Letters of Lewis Carroll, edited by Morton N. Cohen with the assistance of Roger Lancelyn Green, London, Macmillan, 1979, in two volumes
The Lewis Carroll Handbook, edited by Denis Crutch, Folkestone, Dawson, 1979
Lewis Carroll and His Illustrators, edited by Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling, Macmillan, 2003