

NO FLAPPERS IN WONDERLAND? ILLUSTRATING *ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND* IN THE 1920S*

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ABSTRACT

The social and economic context of the post-war period of the 1920s had a reinvigorating effect on children's literature, the fairy tale, and fantasy genres. Moving beyond their characteristic didactic and moral functions, these narratives began to be seen as safe places in which one could escape from reality and seek refuge in a world of adventure. Illustrations had a significant role in the new development of these genres, stimulating the imagination and helping to create fantastical realms for readers. Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) had already served that purpose in the Victorian era, and editions and versions of the work for a new 1920s generation would present re-interpreted illustrations, ones which were rendered more appropriate for the new context and which reflected some avant-garde tendencies, whilst not overlooking the essence of the original.

KEYWORDS: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Lewis Carroll, illustration, adaptation.

¿NO HAY CHICAS A LA MODA EN EL PAÍS DE LAS MARAVILLAS? ILUSTRANDO
LAS AVENTURAS DE ALICIA EN EL PAÍS DE LAS MARAVILLAS EN LOS AÑOS VEINTE

RESUMEN

El contexto social y económico de posguerra tuvo un efecto revitalizador para la literatura infantil, los cuentos de hadas y la fantasía: ya no se buscaba una función estrictamente didáctica y moralizante, sino que estas narrativas se veían como lugares seguros en los que escapar de la realidad y refugiarse en un mundo lleno de aventuras. La ilustración tuvo un gran papel en el nuevo desarrollo de estos géneros, estimulando la imaginación y creando reinos fantásticos. *Las aventuras de Alicia en el país de las maravillas* de Lewis Carroll (1865) ya había tenido esta función en la época Victoriana y las reediciones y versiones para la nueva generación de la década de 1920 reinterpretaron sus ilustraciones para acercarlas a nuevos públicos sin perder su esencia e incorporando las nuevas tendencias modernistas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Las aventuras de Alicia en el país de las maravillas*, Lewis Carroll, ilustración, adaptación.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25145/j.recaesin.2022.84.11>

REVISTA CANARIA DE ESTUDIOS INGLESES, 84; April 2022, pp. 149-166; ISSN: e-2530-8335





“And what is the use of a book... without pictures or conversations?” (Carroll 1865, 9). Through Alice, Carroll thus expressed just how important he considered illustrations to be in children’s literature. Indeed, the absence of pictures in the book that Alice’s sister was reading to her was one of the reasons why she journeyed into Wonderland. She created the images in her head, dreaming of the landscapes of a strange realm, at first awake, and later asleep, and she loved that world so much that she found a way to see these imaginings come to life. Just like Alice in this scene, many other children have grown up hearing and reading stories with no pictures, but their imaginations have always filled the gaps. However, this is not the case with *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*. Carroll himself stated very clearly how important visual elements were in the book, and these would later be defined by Gérard Genette (1997) as “paratexts”. Indeed, Genette’s theoretical framework will be used in this essay, since for him they are thresholds of interpretation, points at which a reader can decide to enter the work or not (Genette 1997, 2). Hence, illustrations are a key element of the narrative and, even if Sir John Tenniel’s artwork for the original text is the best known and widely celebrated (matched only by Disney’s aesthetics of the 1951 film adaptation). Many artists have worked on later editions and versions of the book, seeking to reach new audiences in an ever-changing society. After the turn of the twentieth century, illustrated children’s literature had gained new popularity, and during the 1920s, the post-war climate and the social and economic malaise of the Great Depression led to the need for children to have fictional places into which they could escape, just as Alice did in her Wonderland. Texts like the *Winnie-the-Pooh* series (A.A. Milne, 1926-1928) appeared at this time, and the popularity of earlier works such as Beatrix Potter’s *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1902) persisted. After its publication, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* quickly became a classic of the genre of children’s literature, and over the years, with new editions and new illustrations, would be adapted to the tendencies and tastes of new generations of readers.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The visual aspect of modern children’s books took shape at the end of the Victorian era, embracing the richly embossed covers of adventure books, evocative line drawings, etchings and, later, photographs, all of which brought far-off places and events to life for children. Technical advances in book and newspaper production dovetailed neatly with a sensibility nurtured on the Pre-Raphaelites, the Arts and Crafts movement, and Art Nouveau (Lerer 2008, 257) in this period.

* This essay was supported by the following funded projects and institutions, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged: Research projects “The animal trope” (PGC-2018-093545-B100), “Migratory Cartographies” PID2019-109582GBI00 “Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness / ERDF-UE, and by the Research Group Modern and Contemporary Literature and Language, CLIN, Universidade da Coruña.

Since the origins of literature, the image has played an important role in the construction of the meaning of literary texts, acting, for example, as a visual support for new concepts and helping to provide a more complete presentation of information. In terms of children's books, illustrations constitute an inherent element, sometimes even a dominant one, and often play a role comparable in importance to the written text itself. The words tell us things that the pictures cannot, but the reverse is also true; also, readers/viewers still need to fill in the gaps that neither words nor illustrations can provide (Sipe 2010, 239). If pictures are present, a book takes a step further than what can be achieved with textual descriptions alone: illustrations guide the reader's imagination, suggesting or even imposing the images that the mind associates with the story. This is a great responsibility for the artist, and consequently illustrations should be conceived of and presented with the combined postulates of aesthetics, psychology, and pedagogy in mind (Mazepa-Domagala 2017, 225-226).

Picture books help very young readers to become accustomed to new words and to build their vocabulary, thus playing a crucial role in establishing the basis for the immediate future, when the child develops their reading skills. Children need visual support, not only in assisting them to understand a text, but also to encourage those too young to read to participate in the act of storytelling as something more than mere listeners: they can look at images to help them follow the story, and even comment on them. Carroll was well aware of this, and in what we might consider the first *Alice* adaptation, *The Nursery Alice* (1890), he produced a simplified version of the story aimed at children up to five years old. In this book, the narrator is given a primary role, entering into dialogue with the reader, encouraging them to look at the illustrations and to make comments and ask questions about these. Moreover, the fact that the adult reader could become more involved in their part in the storytelling process was important in increasing the interest of these older readers in a story that until then had seemingly been addressed only to children. The role of adults as part of the target audience for this kind of literature also implied a change in their perception of children. The stories paid close attention to the poignancy of reality and make-believe in the lives of children, helping them and us to "see the world through the eyes of little ones as they negotiate the tasks of sorting out and mastering a world that often overwhelms and befuddles them, spatially, cognitively, and emotionally" (Zickler 2014, 131-132). Understanding this is an important element in any consideration of the genre, because some reverse processes occurred. At first, children were merely "cultural recyclers" (Carrasco 2006, 295), inheriting adventure books that adults had got tired of; when "children's literature" itself was born, it was considered as too simple for adults, aimed only at younger readers. Yet children's literature evolved into something more complex, and we can still see this today with fairy tales and fantasy in general, when such stories are often addressed to a general reading public and contain deeper meanings than what at first seems to be the case. "Children are only inexperienced. They are not innocent or speechless at all and actually they have their own wisdom to judge something" (Anshori 2016, 245). This implies that children are just beginning to learn about the world that surrounds them, and can make judgements within certain limits, which in turn helps them to understand reality through generating their own ideas to process and



evaluate it. Tales would become a useful format to teach children certain lessons (not only related directly to morals, but also explaining things about animals, nature, and human behaviour, for example). Prior to the emergence of children's literature, young readers had to do this with "literature that was not attuned to their level of understanding, neither in theme nor its language and vocabulary" (Kiefer 2014, 6). In order to tap into children's perceptions and sensibilities more directly, narratives had to be adapted and presented in an appropriate style, although with the content of a story still being universal: "The fairy-story is not then essentially connected with children –though there exist (or existed) a host of them especially made or adapted (according to notions more or less erroneous or foolish) to what was conceived as the needs or measure of children" (Tolkien and Anderson 2008, 189). One way of making a book more attractive to children was to include illustrations. One of the first popular books for children, published in the nineteenth century, was a translation of Grimm's *German Popular Stories* from 1823. The text was illustrated by the English caricaturist George Cruikshank. Until this point, pictures that had appeared in children's books served to underline a moral message or to reinforce a lesson. Cruikshank's drawings were the first that were intended to be entertaining in themselves (Parker 1969, 6). During the nineteenth century, along with the development of children's literature as a genre, texts for children that included pictures became more popular. Developments in printing technology were key here, making possible the mass production of illustrated books at more affordable prices. Thus, the middle classes were now able to enter the world of reading (Hladíková 2014, 20).

Over time, book illustration grew in importance and expanded its functions, going from a mere coadjutant within a text and coming to assume a certain primacy in relation to the written word (Pascolati 2017, 245). Images now served to complete information, to construct landscapes, to define the characters, and to provide emphasis for action. Images became, then, an integral part of the overall narrative. Furthermore, illustrations assumed a notable role in the domestication of reading, not only for children but also for adults. For example, an image can serve to help the reader imagine an animal that they have not seen in real life (this was crucial before the invention of photography); consequently, images became a powerful tool in the fantasy genre, which gained ground after the Victorian era, which had been a period when more didactic and realistic literature for children was seen as the priority. The preferred subjects for fantasy would revolve around what Sheila Egoff called "the imponderables of life": death, resurrection, faith and disbelief, moral courage and moral cowardice, trust and suspicion, as well as more common aspects of everyday life: poverty, cruelty, friendship, and doing one's duty" (1982, 239). So, whereas the main protagonists in Victorian children's books were expected to mature and come to terms with life, just as the intended readers were expected to do, in the following decades readers and writers began to turn towards "more speculative modes of fiction" (Lerer 2008, 255).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Beatrix Potter would emerge as a particularly influential figure. She wrote and illustrated her own books, planning and controlling every aspect of them. This combined role lent her work "an overall feeling of completeness, something that many illustrators of future generations



would admire and strive to achieve” (Parker 1969, 8). Her stories and illustrations described a variety of animals (rabbits, mice, hedgehogs, kittens) with an aesthetic that was familiar and easily relatable for children. Her books were published with cloth covers in a comfortable format (5 × 1 inches) for small hands, and included coloured pictures on every spread. The text was organized to display just one or two simple sentences on each page. Potter would be an inspiration for many subsequent authors, including Roald Dahl.

The fairy tale genre, often misunderstood and only intermittently popular in recent decades, enjoyed a new golden age immediately after the Victorian era, and its illustrators were as varied as the stories themselves. A good example of the renewed popularity of fairy tales at this time, as well as the attention given to the illustrations, was Andrew Lang’s series of coloured fairy books (1889-1913), which combined great scholarship and research, and which has been considered as one of the most wide-ranging series of fairy stories for children (Parker 9). The demand for fairy tales, and the great possibilities for illustrators here, attracted artists like Paul Gauguin, Max Ernst, and Salvador Dalí, who all explored the genre. Indeed, the latter two would both create their own illustrations for *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, in the 1940s and 1960s, respectively.

DRAWING WONDERLAND

As noted above, an illustrator can be considered a co-author of a book and as such a crucial element to it (Mazepa-Domagala 2017, 225). Given the costs of producing, illustrating, and promoting his work, Lewis Carroll chose not to use his own original illustrations for *Alice’s Adventures Underground*, but to employ Sir John Tenniel as illustrator. This decision was a successful one, and the illustrations were praised by both readers and critics. For example, in July 1866, the young readers’ magazine *Aunt Judy’s* published a review in which the artist’s work was commended: “Forty-two illustrations by Tenniel! Why there needs nothing else to sell this book, one would think”. Both Carroll and Tenniel deserve credit here, since the illustrations were the result of an involved understanding that grew between writer and artist. Tenniel not only translated the words into images, but also made them communicate visually the sensations that Alice was experiencing. For example, the initial illustration of the chapter “The Pool of Tears” (Carroll 1865, 16) shows how Alice’s neck has grown disproportionately to the rest of her body, leading the reader to anticipate a sense of claustrophobia, feeling uncomfortable at how the frames and limits of the image are broken (Leitch 2007, 182). This in turn leads to an immersive experience, in which the audience can imagine vividly what the protagonist is experiencing. Furthermore, even if the descriptions are accurate and evocative, the ability to see the characters in images that depict how Lewis Carroll envisaged them provides a more realistic encounter, since the reader is “seeing” the same that Alice sees.

The first visual element that any reader encounters with a book is its cover, a key element in catching the attention of children and potential adult purchasers in



a bookshop or library. This was a complex issue, because the book needed to attract both children and adults, since “many children consume children’s reading and books which are brought and chosen by the adults” (Anshori 2016, 244). Consequently, Carroll was acutely aware of the need to find the best possible means of making the book attractive to this dual market. One of the strategies he evolved was to have a cover of red cloth, since he believed that it would stand out among the other books: “bright red will be the best—not the best, perhaps artistically, but the most attractive to childish eyes” (Carroll, quoted by Susina 2009, 62). Thus, the cover of the first edition was dark red, with details in gold, picturing a small monochrome image of Alice, part of the scene in which she is carrying the baby-pig (from the Duchess’ house) in her arms. To be assured that these decisions about the cover were right, Carroll used focus groups to sound out public opinion on potential covers for *Through the Looking-Glass* and *The Hunting of the Snark*. This approach to marketing is common nowadays, but not during the Victorian era, and thus Carroll took a ground-breaking decision here. With this system, he was able to test out different possible illustrations for the covers, with some thirty families consulted. Indeed, for *Through the Looking-Glass* his initial choice was an image of the Jabberwocky, but after consultation with his focus group he substituted it for one of the White Knight, a less menacing image, since it was noted that the monster might have scared the most easily frightened children (Susina 2009, 62-63).

Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland’s copyright came to an end in 1911, and Tenniel’s illustrations in 1964. Since entering in the public domain, the text has continued to be reproduced, re-edited, and produced in many versions. In some of these editions, the original illustrations have remained, whereas in others new artwork has been included, with publishing houses preferring to establish a specific aesthetic for the text through the use of their own illustrators. In *The Illustrators of Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass*, Graham Ovenden suggests that *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* has in fact been the book with the greatest number of illustrations by other artists (Ovenden 1972, 15). To the hundreds of editions published over more than a century and a half, we must add countless adaptations in concept-art and many other forms of visual representation, such as fan-art. All these versions are products of their time, and can tell us a great deal about the literary and artistic trends and tastes that have influenced them.

CHILDREN’S LITERATURE AFTER THE GREAT WAR

The years after the First World War followed the same tendencies as the immediate end of the Victorian era, but with new limitations when it came to writing and publishing, due to the effects of the war and the economic situation that would ensue toward the end of the 1920s. However, the situation generated new opportunities, with an increase in school attendance by girls, which in turn led to the creation of stories about girls’ boarding schools, a domain that had hitherto had been dominated by narratives featuring boys’ schools. Thus, the target readership began to change: readers were of the same age, but the context was different; these



were “Children of the Depression” (Egoff 1982, 243). Many children had to work after school to supplement their family’s earnings, making them feel that they had an important role in the house. During this time, childhood was beginning to be demarcated as a separate stage of development (Halverson 1999, 238). However, this also meant that leisure time was limited.

Children’s literature is also a phenomenon of social history: “England could be reconstructed entirely from its children’s books” (Hazard 1944, 128). The genre, taken to be “children’s literature” in its own right, was emerging by the turn of the century, with new impulses and characteristics. Thus, while D.H. Lawrence’s work proclaimed themselves to be avowedly “M”, for mature readers only, Edith Nesbit’s books were as clearly categorizable as “C”, for children only (Hughes 1978, 544). After being the recipients of didactic and moral texts for such a long time, and being the secondary readers of adventure novels, children finally had at their disposal books conceived of and written expressly for them.

Fairy tales and fantasy stories were needed as a happy place, a respite from the past horrors of the war and the fears and concerns of the economic and social situation. In fact, sometimes the target readership of these tales would extend beyond children. J.R.R. Tolkien claimed that stories of this kind offered “recovery, escape, consolation” (Tolkien and Anderson 2008, 66), things that during a post-war period were needed even so by an adult audience. This growing demand led not only to new texts but also to re-editions and versions of some classics, leveraging the technical advances in printing and publishing in order to produce quality illustrations. For example, N.C. Wyeth made illustrations for re-editions of books like *Robinson Crusoe* (in 1920). This decade was also the moment of the peak recognition of Walter de la Mare (1873-1956), a genuine children’s poet. His post-Romantic view of childhood was the very opposite of the scientific approach of child psychology at the time (McCorristine 2010, 333). This was especially remarkable during the post-war era, when childhood was beginning to be considered as a separate stage of life, one that deserved its own experiences and treatment, with children not simply taken to be smaller adults, or indeed ignored. De la Mare’s focus on children, writing for them directly, had an impact on the genre of children’s literature (which not only included narrative but also poetry). Indeed, he would have a significant influence on one of the most popular fantasy writers of the century, C.S. Lewis (Nicholson 2011, 582).

Moreover, the values transmitted through these stories had a potentially great impact on the development of a child’s personality on the road to adulthood. Hugh Lofting, the author of the *Doctor Doolittle* books (1920-1948), argued that war-like tendencies arose from the traditional animosities bred into children through miseducation, literature, and folklore (Levstik 1990, 331). Lofting’s stories included reflections on the role that horses played in the war. Presenting animals in this way, and putting words into their mouths (through Doctor Doolittle’s interpretations) was a way of humanizing them, showing that they were also capable of thinking and feeling. In a post-war context, this was an invitation to think about them in situations like a battle, where horses suffered from injuries and stress, and in many cases death. On this issue, A.A. Milne went a step further with *Winnie-the-Pooh*



(1926). This story is not about humanized animals, but rather humanized toy animals. Even if Milne's own country house in Sussex influenced the setting of his stories, it was his son Christopher's nursery toys that were the direct inspiration for creating the characters: the teddy bear that Christopher used to carry around with him was the inspiration for Winnie-the-Pooh, Eeyore was an old stuffed animal whose head had started to sag, Piglet was a present from the Milnes' neighbours, and Kanga and Roo were gifts to the boy from his grandparents. However, for some of these characters, other postmodern feminist readings are also possible, for instance Donna Haraway's "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York 1908-1936" (1984-1985). Indeed, Owl and Rabbit were the only two characters that the writer invented from scratch (Kosik 2018, n.p.). The illustrations by Ernest H. Shepard followed Beatrix Potter's style, with gentle designs and colours, reflecting the softness of the characters and creating a cosy environment.

Hence, we can see how children's literature, fantasy, and fairy tales had transcended their previous didactic and moralizing roles to become mostly a safe place of adventures and storytelling. Carroll, six decades previously, had already pursued the same aim, with stories that did not have any overt moral content, but which were full of *nonsense* and absurd adventures; in the context of the Victorian era, these were accepted it as an exception to the rule, although they still attracted some criticism. Yet the 1920s seemed a promising new scenario for Carroll's work: would Wonderland serve as a refuge and a narrative playground for that generation? The original book was becoming more and more popular with the passing of time, and many publishers put their faith in the story and in their own illustrators to present the text to new readers.

THE ROARING 1920S IN ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND

As noted above, illustration plays an important role when it comes to completing or filling-out the descriptions of characters. In the 1920s, society already had an image of Alice in mind: an 11-year-old blonde girl with pale skin, an innocent and curious expression, and an afternoon dress, preferably blue or yellow. As we will see, whereas some illustrators took the opportunity to adapt the protagonist to the style of the 1920s, many of these original considerations were maintained. Moreover, the first Alice movies (silent) had already been made, and it was during this decade that Walt Disney presented his first work related to the story: *Alice Comedies*, short films for the cinema combining live action for the "real world" and animation for Cartoonland (his adaptation of Wonderland). It would not be until three decades later, in 1951, that Disney premiered the feature film *Alice in Wonderland*, which is still the most popular adaptation, with its aesthetics being the best known, after Tenniel's illustrations. Nevertheless, *Alice Comedies* made its own aesthetic statements, maintaining the little blonde girl (except for a brief period when Alice was played by the actress Margie Gay, who had dark hair in bangs, similar to Alice Liddell, the inspiration for Carroll's work).



The case of *Alice*'s illustrations reflects the combination of the two tendencies: on the one hand, maintaining the Victorian-ness of the protagonist and Tenniel's style in general, with subtle innovations; and on the other hand, adapting the visual part of the book to the new generations. Below we list the illustrators of some of the most popular editions together with their visual decisions in publications following the expiry of the copyright of the text in 1948.

1. CHARLES FOLKARD (1878-1963)

He was previously known for works such as the illustrations of Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1909), *The Children's Shakespeare: Being Stories from the Plays* (1911), Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (1911), *Aesop's Fables* (1912) and *The Arabian Nights* (1913). He entered the gift book market in 1910 with an illustrated edition of David Wyss's *The Swiss Family Robinson*, published by Dent & Sons. His drawings of island flora and fauna reveal a mastery of technique (Dalby 1991, 109). However, before that, he had worked as a conjuror and demonstrated his artistic talent when he began to design the programmes for his own magic shows. He contributed humorous drawings to magazines like *Little Folks* and *Tatler*, and in 1915 created Teddy Tail, a popular cartoon character for the *Daily Mail* that would continue for several decades.

Folkard illustrated a book that compiled the songs and poems of the original text: *Songs from Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass*, with music by Lucy E. Broadwood. It was published by Black in 1921, with a dust jacket, a very important element for Carroll, who had promoted the use of these. The cover shows Alice as larger in size than the other characters that appear in the image. This is a reference not only to the oscillations in her size in the story, but also to her main role as the protagonist. It is the girl whom the reader must pay attention to and follow, Alice is the "Virgil" during the journey through Wonderland. The colour blue predominates in the background, and is also the colour of Alice's dress, which has a style and pattern which is simpler than in the original illustrations by Tenniel, leaving Victorian fashion behind and incorporating details such as a belt. Most noteworthy is that this Alice is wearing a crown and holding a sceptre, thus representing "Queen Alice" as seen at the end of *Through the Looking-Glass*. It could be argued that the target audience is thus either familiar with the story, does not mind knowing the ending beforehand. Since this is a book of poems and songs from the book, the most probable option is the former. The target audience would probably be someone who had already read the book, and hence for whom this would not be their first contact with *Alice*; rather, the book is aimed at those readers interested in complementary materials. We cannot talk about "transmedia" at this stage, since this is only a compendium of the lyrics and melodies, and is still a book. In terms of the illustrations within the book, there are two types:

- Coloured illustrations, with intricate frames in black and white formed by lettering following Tenniel's aesthetics (i.e., the most recognizable for the readers). The images at the centre of pages, in colour, show well-known scenes such



- as the Tea Party. The characters' expressions are subtler or more intense, depending on the desired effect: kindness and naivety in the case of Alice, rudeness, bad manners and rage for the Hatter and the Queen, for example.
- Black and white illustrations on the sheet music pages. These are plainer and some of them show scenes that had not been depicted by Tenniel, for example, the Queen of Hearts cooking tarts. The world-play and the curious elements translated into pictures are still there, with details like a fish with its tale curved forming a question mark.

2. GWYNEDD M. HUDSON (1909-1935)

She was known for her work as a figure painter, illustrator, and poster artist, mostly in the fields of poetry and religious texts. She incorporated the contemporary and innovative art-nouveau style into her illustrations of Carroll's text. According to Zoe Jacques and Eugene Giddens, she had a "highly stylized and individual response to textual moments [and demonstrated an] innovative use of space and perspective" (Jacques and Giddens 2016, 174). Lori Waxman notes that Hudson "envisioned her in a pretty white party frock with ankle socks and dainty shoes" (Waxman 2014, 22). Hudson initially illustrated a limited edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* published by Hodder & Stoughton in 1922, but her work would appear in many versions issued by other publishing houses, such as that by Dodd, Mead & Co. in the same year, and another by Boots in 1927. For each edition, a different image was chosen for the cover. The limited edition by Hodder & Stoughton imitated the original book in its first version, with a red cover and the title and details in gold. In this case, the scene featured does not exist in the original story: it is a composition that represents the silhouettes of some well-known characters (Alice, the Mad Hatter, the White Rabbit, the Caterpillar on his mushroom). A few years after that, in 1928, another edition was published, imitating this previous one but changing the red to baby blue. Later editions by different publishing houses chose different motifs, such as Alice and her kitten Dinah (in the edition by Boots in 1927) with dominant yellow tones, in reference to Alice's original dress, even if the one from these images was in fact white. Hudson's Alice features subdued colours and darker tones, which are "beautiful and slightly menacing at the same time" (Millikan 2011, n. p.). A few years later, further editions would also use her work, and we can find evidence of the increasing popularity of the text in the American edition by The Dial Press in 1935, which features a cover depicting the Mad Hatter and the March Hare during the Tea Party, but not Alice. This suggests that this scene was considered to be so well-known by their readership that they could sell the book even if the protagonist herself did not appear on the cover. That is, by now people knew not only Alice, but also the wider world of Wonderland and its characters. Hudson would go on to illustrate an edition of *Peter Pan and Wendy* (J.M. Barrie, 1904) published in 1931 by Hodder & Stoughton. As an artist she created a mural for the Wolseley Room in Hove, UK, entitled "The Spirit of Agriculture", and in that venue there an exhibition was held of her and her sister's paintings, in 1916.



3. DUDLEY JARRETT

He illustrated the *Alice* edition for Pook Press, in 1925. The cover is baby blue and portrays only Alice. The style is the same as in the illustrations inside the volume. They are pen and ink drawings, intricately done yet highly graphic. These images have very dark or completely white backgrounds. Most of the designs follow Tenniel's aesthetic, but some include new, more intense expressions, their greater expressivity evident in some particular sense, for example, a pleasing one in the Queen's courtesans, or a menacing one for the Cheshire Cat. Jarret was a new illustrator at the time, and would go on to collaborate as an artist in books associated with many canonical writers and topics. His subsequent contributions include: *Making Friends: Story Notes* (Cards produced in 1935), *The Pink Pony* (1951), *Crossed Keys and Crossed Swords* (*With special reference to The New Testament*) (1957), *Samuel Pepys in London* (1958), *A Country Doctor in the Days of Queen Anne* (1959), *British Naval Dress* (1960), *Bath in the Eighteenth Century* (1962), *Ancient Egypt* (1964).

4. A.[DA] L.[EONORA] BOWLEY (1866-1943)

She worked for Raphael Tuck as a postcard illustrator and designer, producing complex and beautifully coloured images (Summavielle n.p.). She used her initials and not her full name as an illustrator, which was significant as a veil to her identity in a patriarchal world. Her drawings can be seen in the *Alice* edition published by Tuck in 1921. The cover (initially framed in red but changed to baby blue in later editions) features the scene at the beginning of the story: Alice chasing the White Rabbit. This reflects the way in which the reader will enter the adventure. Her dress is baby blue and with a light print and a dark belt, as in Charles Folkard illustrations. The images inside include some coloured ones, but the majority are black and white (adapting Tenniel's original drawings to A. L. Bowley's style). Almost every character appears to be younger, even the Mad Hatter, and practically all of them seem dreamy and candid, showing a more pleasant side of Wonderland. The aesthetic is somewhat reminiscent of "kewpies", a brand of dolls and figurines by the cartoonist Rose O'Neill which were very popular toys in the 1920s. The target audience of this book seems to have been younger than the usual one, based on these details, and was probably the same as that for *The Nursery Alice* (children up to five). There was also a 1927 pop-up edition in the "Golden Treasury" series, which included a jigsaw. Ada Leonora Bowley was also the author and illustrator of other books of tales, including *Dame Wiggings of Lee* (1915), *Jack the Beanstalk* (1921), and *Cinderella* (c. 1921).

5. JESSIE MARION KING AND WINIFRED M. ACKROID

Jessie Marion King (cover) and Winifred M. Ackroyd (black & white illustrations) collaborated on the edition published by Collins in 1928. Jessie M. King



(1875-1949) was raised in a strictly religious household in Scotland where she was discouraged from making art, yet she managed to build a successful career as a painter and designer. Her work was rooted in folklore and fairy tales, in that she and her husband, E.A. Taylor, saw art-making as a quasi-magical, deeply spiritual endeavour. In fact, King herself was an ardent believer in fairies, stating that her art came from her inner vision of the unseen world that is hidden within nature (Windling 2011, n.p.). The image of Alice that she designed for the cover is very different from the popular one, especially at that time. Alice has a bob haircut with bangs, is still blonde, but seems like an older girl, indeed a teenager or young adult. The clothes have hints of medieval armoury, including a shield, and in the background we see a convoy of people riding camels in the night. This was a curious choice, since it not only breaks the prevailing norms in terms of illustrations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* but also has nothing to do with the plot. It is likely that only people already familiar with the text would be attracted by such a cover. However, the images within the book, which are black and white, follow the traditional style, with a curly-haired child Alice and the familiar, comfortable images from the story. As an illustrator, King received notable commissions and contributed to books by a number of prominent writers and artists, including Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (189?), Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1900), Edward Fitzgerald's *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayam* (1903), Sebastian Evans' *The High History of the Holy Graal* (1903), William Morris' *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems* (1904), Oscar Wilde's *A House of Pomegranates* (1915), and Rudyard Kipling's *L'habitation forcée* (1921). She was a member of the group of artists known as "The Glasgow Girls," and contributed both to the British art-nouveau style and to the art-deco movement in Paris, where she lived from 1911 to 1928. Thus, the Alice in her cover art is an example of her avant-garde pictorial style.

6. WINIFRED M. ACKROYD

She was the author of *The Classic Book of Nursery Rhymes* (1886), published twenty years after *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* but before *The Nursery Alice* (1890). During the 1920s, she published two books about dolls, *Dolls and How to Make Them* and *More Dolls and How to Make Them*. Her black and white illustrations for the 1928 edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (published by Collins) show that she used the style of her dolls to depict the book's characters, especially Alice. Ackroyd's interior illustrations portray the protagonist as a doll, with a round face, childish expression, and curls, very similar to the ones of the artist's mentioned books.

7. WILLY POGANY (1882-1955)

He was well known for his pen and ink drawings of myths and fables, and was heavily influenced by Chinese and Japanese art and illuminated manuscripts. Of Hungarian origins, he lived in Munich, Paris, London and New York, where he



participated in many Broadway productions as an illustrator. However, he also had a background as a caricaturist (for *Le Rire*, a successful French satirical magazine at that time), and his sense of humour had an interesting impact on the way he interpreted the text of *Alice* and how he created new images for the story. While in London, he contributed illustrations to Frances Jenkins Olcott's *More Tales for the Arabian Nights* (1904). In the USA he produced illustrations for Padraic Colum's *The Children of Odin* (1922), and provided illustrations for the magazine *American Weekly* from 1940 onwards. He illustrated the edition of *Alice* published by Dutton in the USA in 1929. Here we can find the "flapper Alice", with a typical 1920s look, wearing a mini-skirt and a white, short-sleeved shirt with a tie, lending her the aspect of a public school girl, which would be the equivalent status of the original Alice (that is, from the middle-high class, home-schooled, subject to Victorian manners and etiquette) but transported to the first decades of the twentieth century. The cover retains the idea of a brightly coloured cloth (in this case, purple) with details in gold, featuring Alice and the White Rabbit. The illustrations inside are mainly black and white, with one of the most curious elements being the introduction of an anthropomorphized deck of cards, and the portrayal of three types of people (including young girls) with very realistic legs. There was also a large, loose-bound edition, limited to 200 numbered copies, signed by the artist. Pogany was an illustrator for all age groups, and from the early 1920s was well known for his art-nouveau paintings and drawings.

CONCLUSION

The role of illustrations in literature has evolved from that of mere ornamentation to become a substantial part of the narrative. This has always been especially important in children's literature, and in subgenres like fairy tales and fantasy, since illustrations intensify the experience of the reader (or receptor, in the case of children who had not yet learned to read), thus serving to stimulate the imagination. The situation in the 1920s, after a World War and faced with the Great Depression at the end of the decade, encouraged the production of books of this kind, since people (mainly children, but grown-ups too) needed a safe place to escape the realities of the times and to immerse themselves in magical stories. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* had been playing this role since its publication in 1865, and new generations welcomed it. Publishers decided to adapt it to the tendencies and tastes of the 1920s, and this had an impact on the illustrations they produced.

One of the most obvious elements that potentially undergoes changes in adaptations is Alice's dress. The original one, drawn by Tenniel following Carroll's indications, was a faithful reflection of the girl's social position in Victorian society. This essence was often to be maintained, but the style was sometimes presented in a more relaxed way, without crinoline, and with fewer ruffles. One case of complete domestication was Willy Pogany's illustrations, which reflected the same Alice, but now a girl belonging to her class in the 1920s, that is, a girl of the same status



as the original Alice, but reflecting how she would now dress, thus in a way that contemporary readers would recognize.

Besides the question of the dress, illustrators had to choose how grotesque the characters would be. In general, these were exaggerated, and presented as either heroes or villains (this was the classic cinema era, in which audiences were accustomed to this kind of simplification) or, in the case of A.L. Bowley's work, they were softened for a younger audience, who might have been frightened by a menacing Mad Hatter, for example. As noted above, various illustrators in the 1920s presented a highly stylized individual response that reflected the age in which they lived, incorporating art-nouveau aesthetics and drawings that would reflect the notion of the new woman and the fashions of the time.

The growing popularity of the text is reflected in the decisions that publishers made for cover art. While some chose to show Alice falling or following the White Rabbit, mirroring how the reader would initially become drawn into the story, others opted to portray scenes like the Tea Party prior to Alice's arrival, or even situations not directly related to the story (for example, the one by Jessie M. King). Those choices were possible because the target readership was already familiar with the story, perhaps through having already read with the original text or having watched an early adaptation for the cinema or theatre, and would hence recognize key elements immediately. This tendency continued and, if we examine the history of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* from its publication in 1865 to the present day, we can see how the creativity of adaptations and versions continued to grow as the text became ever more popular.

Reviews sent to the author 17/01/2022

Revised paper accepted for publication 20/01/2022



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