The Enchanted Image:

The Transforming Imagination of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*
Through Material Practice and Media Technology

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Abstract

Lewis Carroll's story *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was published as an illustrated book in 1865 and has been represented in film since 1903. Existing literary studies regard the Alice story as a work of children's literature and ignore the materiality of its form. My thesis addresses the question of how the Alice story has been mediated as different images in various forms such as book illustrations, magic lantern presentations, films and stop-motion animations. I argue that these mediations were influenced by contemporaneous material practices and media technologies, and that these mediations, in their various forms, reflected and influenced the public's imagination regarding the Alice story.

My research adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the Alice story, regarding the Alice book as one of many forms through which the story has been presented, and associating literature with other media forms. Chapter One focuses on the illustrations and their relationship to both the literary text and their historical context. Chapter Two brings some magic lantern presentations of the Alice story into discussion with new archival materials, and considers the relationship between the lantern slides, illustration, and cinema. Chapters Three, Four and Five address the images of Alice and Wonderland in cinema, covering photographic images, animation and stop-motion animation. I argue that films provide various images of Alice and Wonderland, and construct new representational relationships between the Alice story, the imagined and reality.

By investigating the material history of the Alice story through the case studies covered in my thesis, I conclude that the transformation of the Alice story, from the 1860s to the present day, is closely related to the development of material practices and media technologies, and is a reflection of common themes in modernity.

Acknowledgements

Introduction: Alice and Wonderland in Changing Times

Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is well-known as a classic of children's literature, a fairy story. Through fantastic themes and elements, the story reflects cultural life in England in the 1860s. The words "Adventures" and "Wonderland" in the title always grasp the public's attention as exploration has been a popular theme and activity throughout history. What are those adventures? Where is Wonderland? Who is Alice? All these questions are embedded in the story and reflected in the reception of the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Its sequel *Through the Looking Glass: and What Alice Found There* shares similar themes, and sometimes the two *Alice* stories are blended in films. However, in this thesis, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is the major work discussed.

The title *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* indicates that "Alice", "adventures", and "Wonderland" are key elements and themes in the story. Nina Auerbach claims that "the dainty child [Alice] carries the threatening kingdom of Wonderland with her."[1] I regard "Alice" and "Wonderland" as clues for deciphering the story. The perfect Alice and Wonderland symbiosis reveals the characteristics of both the heroine and the fantastic world of Alice's dream. Curious, courageous, and self-conscious, Alice's personality speaks through her encounter in Wonderland and reflects the author's imagination of an ideal child. Her experience in an exotic place shows the author's understanding of dreams, language, knowledge, and the relationship between human beings and the world. Through this, the underlying themes of the story have attracted audiences over successive generations.

My thesis emphasises the materiality of the work as well as its historical background, highlighting the distinctions between the "story" and its material forms—such as books, magic lantern slides, and films—and between Lewis Carroll and his real identity Dodgson. I understand *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as an intangible idea or narration rather

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[1] Nina Auerbach, "Alice and Wonderland: A Curious Child", *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, The Victorian Child (Sep. 1973), 31–47, 32.

than a book, which is one of the many material forms of the story. To avoid confusion and misunderstanding, I need to clarify several terms before introducing my project. The term "*Alice* book" in this thesis refers to the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* published in 1865 and "Alice books" means *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*. Accordingly, "*Alice* story" means the story of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and "*Alice* stories" means the stories in the two *Alice* books. The author Lewis Carroll's real name is Charles Lutwidge Dodgson. The pseudonym "Lewis Carroll" is more familiar to people who know the *Alice* stories, while "Charles Lutwidge Dodgson" links this gentleman to the historical reality he lived in. Locating the *Alice* story in its material history, I use the name Charles Lutwidge Dodgson to refer to the author. However, "Carroll" and "Dodgson" are interchangeable in this thesis.

My research looks at several forms of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: book illustrations, magic lantern slides, and films. The material transfiguration of the *Alice* story shows the richness of the story and its flexibility for adaptation into other forms of presentation. The way that the *Alice* story has been told over generations can be seen in the history of the adaptations of the *Alice* book. To make *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* look attractive to its readers, the author Lewis Carroll, or Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, drew some illustrations for the manuscript for *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* and invited John Tenniel to work on the illustrations for the *Alice* book. After the success of the illustrated books in the book market, various images of Alice and Wonderland were produced through various image-making methods. These practices, which relied on material practice and media technology, gave new forms to the Alice story and exemplify how technological innovations in mass communication have contributed to cultural production since the 1860s.

The early reception of the Alice story is shown through the reception of the *Alice* book. This includes the immediate responses such as sales on the market, and reviews from the public. It also manifests in derivatives including the sequel, new editions, adaptations, and appropriations. Because of these new forms of presentation, Alice and Wonderland are constructed and circulated beyond the book industry. These new forms refer to, contradict, and develop the content—the text or the illustrations—of the *Alice*

book. They also convey information about how the story has been received and expressed through materials in different historical contexts. These material presences, I argue, have all influenced people's perceptions of the story. In the popular culture of the twenty-first century, "Alice in Wonderland" is still an important concept and theme that is being repeated and reproduced.

Alice in Modernization: A Lasting Wonderland

If Dodgson's writing gives Alice her temperament and Wonderland its atmosphere, changing material practices and media technologies give Alice visible flesh and body, and construct the landscape in Wonderland. Though Alice seems to stand out against the Wonderland landscape, her response to what she sees and experiences in Wonderland always appears to be out of turn with the occasion. In other words, she seems to be awkward in Wonderland. Wonderland is like a fantastic milieu that shapes Alice's character. As the Cheshire Cat points out, "we're all mad here. I'm mad. You are mad."[2] The Cheshire Cat seems to justify Alice's presence in Wonderland, but actually defines "Wonderland": it is a place full of madness.

"Madness" is not described explicitly as a symptom, but suggested implicitly as a concept or impression. I see this "madness" and Alice's adventures as a series of scenarios showing a complex relationship between Alice and Wonderland that suggests the entanglement of the imaginary and the real in several aspects. The ambiguous relationship between the imaginary and the real is perfectly embodied in Alice's dream. This dream lasts as the story passes through generations. Like Alice's dream, the story did not have a tangible presence until it was materialised as manuscript and books. The ambiguous madness in Wonderland and Alice's ambivalent dream are transformed into other works by using new visual or material languages. Because of variations in material practices and media technologies, the story has been passed on to new generations. It is still attractive to the public, as the images of Alice and Wonderland have become hybrid productions of old and new understandings of the story.

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[2] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 90.

Most of the works that present the *Alice* story aim to create a fantastic Wonderland. Practically, this idea is actualised by using special layout designs for the *Alice* book, and making special costumes, props, and set designs in film-making that use various materials and media technologies. These practices, which materialise Wonderland, are driven by the compulsion to create and exhibit attractions. An enthusiasm for exhibiting was a phenomenon of Victorian England. Richard Daniel Altick regards public nontheatrical entertainments as exhibitions and an important aspect of English popular culture. He observes that:

> While books and magazines proliferated…exhibitions were simultaneously giving practical realisation to Bacon's advocacy of things over words as instruments of knowledge. They were, in fact, an alternative medium to print, reifying the word; through them, the vicarious became the immediate, the theoretical and general became the concrete and specific. They were the occasion for a communal exercise, not restricted to the literature, that was to the life of London society at large what the private practice of purposeful or casual reading was to some members of it.[3]

I suggest that the image is a compromise between literature and exhibition. Images in reading materials, magic lantern readings, and films transform invisible imaginations into the tangible presence of materials. Because images can be representational, they embody more complex meanings than objects in exhibitions. Unlike words or objects, images are intermediate forms that transcend various materials and media. This means that the image offers variety and flexibility when expressing an idea. Such new expressions of the imagination also reveal some referential relationships between the visible and the invisible, the familiar and the unfamiliar, the real and the illusionary, the animate and the inanimate, life and lifelike, material and "material-like". These characteristics of the image are perfect for representing fantastic ideas. The binary oppositions mentioned are also commonly expressed in fantastic works such as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

By showing moving images, film gives Alice and Wonderland new means of revealing its uncanny characteristics. Film technologies were used to realise fantastic ideas in the

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[3] Richard Daniel Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 1.

Alice story. The shrinking and growing of Alice, the disappearing and reappearing Cheshire Cat, the coexistence of talking animals and Alice in Wonderland all become visible in films. More importantly, they all look alive. This imagination of Alice and Wonderland can only become so immediate through the eyes of cinema. There is a wide range of cinematic images of Alice and Wonderland: sometimes they are all in photographic images, sometimes they are all in cartoon, and sometimes Alice appears in photographic images while the Wonderland is a cartoon landscape. This variation gives more space to interpret some of the important themes in the *Alice* story: the self and the other, the familiar and the unfamiliar, life and object, dream and reality.

This growing variety of forms of Alice, her adventures, and the Wonderland landscape show the modernisation of this fantastic Victorian story since the late nineteenth century. This modernisation is both technological and conceptual. The history of telling the *Alice* story in different forms is also a history of the development of image-making technologies since the 1860s. New forms of images are created for new functions. Wood engraving illustrations made it possible to mass produce images; magic lantern slides were used to project static images so that a group of people can look at it simultaneously; and cinema made the images look realistic and fantastic through animation. In addition, the Alice story was merchandised in the twentieth century, and Alice and the figures from Wonderland became icons in consumer society. All these new effects give the *Alice* story a material presence. The material form of the story also changed the content of the story itself. In other words, the increasing availability of methods to retell and present the story democratise not only the image of Alice and Wonderland, but also the way of imagining the world represented in the story.

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland Relocated: Studies on *Alice*

In 2015, the 150-year anniversary of the publication of the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was celebrated by the public. Over the course of the year, a wide range of events were organised by many institutions and organisations, and numerous publications appeared. The celebration also appeared to extend beyond this one special year. Gillian Beer's latest book *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis*

Carroll was published in 2016, and seems to be an echo of this phenomenal celebration in 2015. In this book, Beer sheds new light on the *Alice* books as she explores "some of the contexts within which the books first lived and which they sometimes altered".[4] All the "sideways" explored by Beer are abstract theories or concepts that were known to Dodgson and his contemporaries, and are reflected in the *Alice* books, such as time, space, mathematics, dreams, and social norms. Beer's study tends to relocate the Alice books in a theoretical context and leaves out the material context.

Beer's approach, like most studies that regard *Alice*'s *Adventures in Wonderland* as a classic in children's literature, focuses on the literary text through multiple disciplines including linguistics, philosophy, history, education, and popular culture. In these conventional studies, the *Alice* story is often regarded as ideological or conceptual. There is no doubt about the popularity of the *Alice* story, and the persistent presence and influence of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is seen as a cultural phenomenon. However, few studies associate the *Alice* cultural phenomena with material culture, which has nevertheless accompanied the *Alice* story since its creation in the 1860s, and provided different environments for the *Alice* story to proliferate in other forms.

Compared with the prolific works on the literary aspects of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, few references discuss the images of Alice. Existing studies on the images of the Alice books and films mostly focus on single aspects of the image rather than adopting a perspective that reflects upon the range of materials and forms of the *Alice* story. Michael Hancher's book *The Tenniel Illustrations to the Alice Books*[5] contains a thorough investigation of Tenniel's illustrations. Hancher regards these illustrations as the first interpretation of Carroll's story, and scrutinises Tenniel's illustrations in relation to the text in the *Alice* books, Carroll's illustrations in the manuscript, and Tenniel's other works for *Punch*. Hancher's research focuses on the images in the *Alice* book, and does not touch upon their impact on subsequent visual representations of Alice and

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[4] Gillian Beer, *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis Carroll* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016).
[5] Michael Hancher, *The Tenniel Illustrations to the Alice Books* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985).

Wonderland in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unlike Hancher's focused investigation on Tenniel's illustrations, Will Brooker's survey locates the *Alice* story in popular culture. His book *Alice's Adventures: Lewis Carroll in Popular Cultures* contains two chapters on the biography of Lewis Carroll, and seven chapters discussing various forms of the *Alice* story. Both Hancher and Brooker offer alternative approaches to reading the *Alice* story, highlighting the importance of the pictorial and tangible aspects of this classic children's book.

Hancher and Brooker share similar perspectives regarding the involvement of an individual or individuals in making the Alice story popular and persistent. Hancher emphasises the importance of Tenniel's contribution to the *Alice* books while Brooker claims his agenda is to reflect on "two specific discourses around Carroll and 'Alice'— the books and the Liddell girl."[6] Both highlight the relationship between people and the *Alice* story. However, these specific relationships are only part of the reason that the *Alice* story survived for more than a century and is still attractive to the public.

My approach to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* focuses on some images of Alice and Wonderland to examine the material practices and media technologies involved in materialising the *Alice* story. Whether in manuscript, illustrated books, reading performances, or films, the *Alice* story maintains its intimacy through pictures. Pictures are important parts in the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* and the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. They are also used as a reference and resource for further productions of the *Alice* story: magic lantern readings of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* separate the pictures from the texts; and *Alice* films give more visible representations of the *Alice* story, adding more referential meanings to the images of Alice and Wonderland. Meanwhile, story-telling methods have changed because of these changes in the use of materials and equipment for image-making. My research on the material history of the *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* story is a specific case study, but it also exemplifies how image and imagination are associated at a material level.

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[6] Will Brooker, *Alice's Adventures: Lewis Carroll in Popular Culture* (London: Continuum, 2004). xv.

Research Question, Methodology, and Structure of the Thesis

Focusing on the transformation and development of the images of Alice and Wonderland from 1865 to the present, I ask how images reflect imagination through material practices and media technologies. I will demonstrate that literature, film and many other forms of art are interconnected through one story, and that the Alice story has kept its vigour in material culture. Though this research, I suggest that the transformation of the imagination of *Alice* is a symptom of modernity.

I regard different material forms of the Alice story as primary sources and use several approaches to consider *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Materials that will be discussed in the following chapters include the manuscript (facsimile), the book, devices and prints related to magic lantern presentations, and films. Chapter One focuses on Alice in print, which mainly includes textual analysis of literary texts and relevant references in its historical contexts; Chapter Two brings in valuable archival resources including magic lantern slides and reading materials that have not previously been studied in detail; Chapter Three, Chapter Four and Chapter Five analyse several *Alice* films that have been given little attention.

The thesis contains five chapters. Each chapter discusses one material form of the *Alice* story. These material forms also correspond to specific methods used to present the story. These materials and story-telling methods are discussed respectively in different chapters, although they are closely bound to each other in reality. The case studies discussed include: the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), lantern slides images and lantern reading materials for *Alice in Wonderland* lantern readings, and films including *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), *Alice in Wonderland* (1910), *Alice in Wonderland* (1915), *Alice in Wonderland* (1931), *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), and *Alice* (1988). Although these specific cases appear to be published or released chronologically, the order in which they are discussed should not be understood as a chronological sequence. Some of the texts are mentioned in several chapters. I aim not

to make generalised conclusions, but to use specific case studies to illustrate the relationship between text, image, and understanding.

In Chapter One, the discussion focuses on the illustrations in print, and I suggest that the text–image relationship in the *Alice* book echoes many aspects of popular culture in England in the second half of the nineteenth century. I start with discussions of the cultural background of the making of the *Alice* book such as the production, circulation, and impact of illustrations and illustrated reading materials in the second half of the nineteenth century. I also look at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and associate this event with the *Alice* book through the impact of the Crystal Palace on popular culture. This is followed by discussions on the relationship between illustrated periodicals and visual literacy. Photography is also discussed as one important medium for Dodgson and his contemporaries. From these textual, historical, and biographical perspectives, I understand the illustrations of *Alice* as being embedded in a lively cultural environment where pictures were an important medium for knowledge, amusement, and communication.

In Chapter Two, magic lantern presentations are introduced as an important form for telling the *Alice* story. There are few studies on *Alice* lantern slides, and fewer on Alice lantern readings. I look into different types of lantern performances and lantern slides created for the *Alice* story, approaching lantern slides as a new form of book illustration and lantern reading as a special performance. The discussion covers a spectacular dissolving show presented at The Royal Polytechnic Theatre, which was accompanied by a unique set of lantern slides and extraordinary visual effects. It also touches upon lantern readings using the manufactured lantern slides with reading materials that became more available to the public in the 1870s. The chapter not only investigates the lantern slides that were used in some magic lantern presentations, but also suggests that this form is an intermediate between the book and moving images. It separates visual and verbal information in the performance and shows the intention to display movement in the image. In addition, it fragments the narration, turns the experience of reading and looking into an experience of listening and watching, and turns a private

practice into a public event. All these factors popularised the *Alice* story beyond the book market.

Cinematic images of Alice and Wonderland are discussed in Chapter Three, Chapter Four, and Chapter Five. Some of the earliest Alice films are discussed in Chapter Three, and the Alice films with animations are considered in chapters four and five. The year 1951 is referred to as a special time point in Chapter Three. In this year, Walt Disney Productions released the cartoon feature film *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), which gives an alternative to the photographic image of *Alice* in film history and seems to foreshadow other *Alice* films. There are many studies on Disney film and culture that refer to the Alice cartoon, while not very much research has been done on the other *Alice* films, particularly those early *Alice* films.

In Chapter Three, I look carefully at the image of Alice and Wonderland in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903)*, Alice in Wonderland* (1910), *Alice in Wonderland* (1915), *and Alice in Wonderland* (1931). I regard these cinematic images as photographic and realistic. However, they visualise the imagination of the story by combining a photographic copy of reality with imaginative creation. Though the legacy of Tenniel's illustrations is still visible in some films, its hegemony has been broken by the increasing number of cinematic representations of the *Alice* story. Besides renewing the relationship between image and the story, these films also link the representation to the material reality that is captured by camera. Both the appearances and referential implications of these cinematic images of Alice and Wonderland will be discussed in this chapter.

Another important aspect of Alice and Wonderland in film is that they are presented through movement. The movement of the images creates an impression that the characters in Wonderland move autonomously. However, it is animation that creates these illusionary movements in film. Chapter Four focuses on animation in the Alice films, regarding animation as similar to serial images in photography. The chapter includes two case studies: one is about the animated photographic image of Alice in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), and the other is about the cartoon landscape of Wonderland in *Alice's Wonderland* (1923). Both films imply an interdependence between Alice and

Wonderland, which means that Alice is the Alice in Wonderland and the Wonderland is Alice's Wonderland. In addition, I argue that *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) shows that Walt Disney used the concept of the *Alice* story to promote animated cartoon as a new medium to realise dreams.

Finally, Chapter Five is an examination on the relationship between image, objects, and animation in the *Alice* story and films. It focuses on materiality and the representation of materiality in the story and films by pointing out that the uncanny is an important theme in the story. Two case studies are discussed in this chapter: the stop-motion animations in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), and *Alice* (1988). By using animated puppets, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) constructs a complex Alice image within a tactile Wonderland. However, it is still noticeable that Alice is separated from Wonderland because differences in material are visible. However, in *Alice* (1988), the boundary between life and object is eliminated, and the human–nonhuman relationship suggested in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is perfectly expressed.

Among these forms, the *Alice* book is the most frequently mentioned material throughout the thesis. This is because the book brought the *Alice* story into the public's view, and there is no doubt that Tenniel's illustrations for the *Alice* book had a profound influence on the creation of later Alice images. However, the appearance of the image is only one aspect, and no hierarchy among these forms is suggested in this thesis. These material practices and media technologies contribute equally to enrich the meaning of the *Alice* story in various environments and contexts. This develops a better understanding of how a fantastic story is associated with tangible expressions, and how this has ensured that the story has been well received by successive generations.

Chapter 1. Making the *Alice* Book

Introduction

In the 1860s, before the material practices and media technologies of the twentieth century made the Alice image lively and mobile in cinema, the illustrated book introduced the first Alice image to the public. Embracing John Tenniel's illustrations, the British publisher MacMillan made *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* a success in the book market. It was the best-seller in juvenile literature in 1865.[7] Besides its commercial success in Victorian England, the illustrated *Alice* book demonstrates a certain fashion of publication at that time in Europe, and the illustrated format echoes conventions of including pictures in children's literature. This convention is followed by Lewis Carroll, or Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, in his manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, which was made before the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. I argue that *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* set the model for telling the Alice story—it must come with pictures; thus, the model determines the way of perceiving the Alice story —it is incomplete without pictures.

In other words, I read the Alice story in the light of the fact that the illustrated book as a format played an important role in making the story a well-received work; and I see pictures as a gateway connecting literature to artefact, material, and media technology. Focusing on John Tenniel's illustrations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in print and Dodgson's drawings in the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, I further argue that the use of illustration in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* reflects the media and material history of the 1860s, and the book heralds more visual adaptations of the Alice story in and beyond print.

Revisiting the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in the light of its material form, I assume that the accelerating blend of spectatorship and readership in mid-nineteenth century England resulted in the illustrated book becoming the early form of the story in the public domain; and as a cultural production, the book *Alice's Adventures in*

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[7] Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* [1957] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 389.

Wonderland illustrates its contemporary social and cultural reality, and the illustrated book anticipates the commercial and ideological impacts of its later film adaptations. Based on these assumptions, this chapter focuses on 1) the "pre-history" of the *Alice* book; 2) the use of Tenniel's works in the book; and 3) the impact of the images in the book upon reading and viewing.

The pre-history of the book means the period during which historical conditions developed, from the 1850s until the publication of the book in 1865, including both the social factors and authorial experiences that contributed to choosing the format of the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. I start with an investigation into the historical situation of illustrated books and illustrated periodicals in the 1860s, showing how the wood-engraving and other media technologies influence the format of stories and determined the mediation of ideas in mass communication. I review the illustrations in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* by associating them with both literary texts by Dodgson and his contemporaries. I consider the historical context from several aspects: the illustrated book as an important material entity; illustrations as important elements.

The Illustrated *Alice* Stories and Materialized Imagination

The story of *Alice* had been told by Dodgson in two forms before it was published as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. One was a colloquial story he told the Liddell girls on a boat trip, and the other was in the illustrated manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*. Stuart Dodgson Collingwood refers to a letter from Robinson Duckworth, who was also on the boat trip, to show how the Alice story became the illustrated book.[8] The letter shows that Duckworth believed that Dodgson was not determined to publish the story of *Alice*, until Henry Kingsley, a novelist and brother of Charles Kingsley, suggested the idea of publishing the story to Dodgson and then Dodgson asked Robinson Duckworth for further guidance. Duckworth was also on the boat trip with Dodgson and the Liddell sisters and he was one of the audience that knew the story when it was told

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[8] Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, ed., *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book: A Selection from the Unpublished Writings and Drawings of Lewis Carroll, Together with Reprints from Scarce and Unacknowledged Work* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), 358–60.

before it became the manuscript and the book. Dodgson wrote to Duckworth for suggestions and Duckworth's advice was to persuade Tenniel to illustrate it. Duckworth mentions that Dodgson wrote to him to ask for his "candid opinion whether it was worthy of publication or not, as he himself felt very doubtful."[9] Duckworth writes: "I assured him, that, if only he could induce John Tenniel to illustrate it, the book would be perfectly certain of success."[10]

Duckworth's suggestion was practical and appropriate because it linked the embryonic Alice story to the material and social condition in the 1860s. From the oral form to the manuscript and from the manuscript to the book, Dodgson materialised the story he told the Liddell sisters on the boat trip and eventually made it accessible to generations of readers. Dodgson wanted to entertain his audience and readers and was aware of the importance of both the content and the form of the story. Besides his determination to make the illustrated *Alice* books, some details in the *Alice* stories reveal his fondness for pictures. In the manuscript and in the book, Alice's sister reads a book without pictures. Alice's complaints about the book are that it included no pictures or conversations: "Once or twice she had peeped into the book her sister was reading, but it had no picture or conversation in it, 'and what is the use of a book' thought Alice, 'without pictures or conversations?'"[11] Alice was looking for something that was interesting and attractive at first sight when she saw the book. Alice's expectation for an illustrated book also reveals the narrator's, or Dodgson's, ideas on how to make a good book for children—with pictures and conversations.

It is very difficult to imagine how Dodgson told the story to the Liddell sisters in the first place. How did he start to present his story of the girl's adventure simply using colloquial language? What are the differences between the oral version and the manuscript? To amuse his audience, Dodgson may possibly have used his voice, tones, and body language to add vividness to his narration. In the manuscript, the illustrations were like the effects that he might have tried to make. In contrast to the handwriting, these

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[9] Collingwood, 360.
[10] Collingwood, 360.
[11] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan, 1866), 1-2.

drawings were inserted to impress and amuse Alice Liddell—he gave the illustrated manuscript to Liddell as a Christmas gift in November 1864. When the story was published as a book, as Duckworth predicted, Tenniel's illustrations for the book thoroughly impressed the readers. More importantly, as the illustrations are intimate to the story and immediate as elements in reading materials, they attract the readers and give them a strong impression of the Alice image. These impressions may affect readers' perception of the literature as they give ready-made images of the characters and scenes in the story.

Illustrations are important in both of Dodgson's works—the hand-made manuscript and the book. Like other books and periodicals, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* relied on the pictorial power of the book to be known, seen and widely spread in the 1860s. The increasing influence of pictures not only shows Dodgson's persistent emphasis on images, but also reflects the contemporary rise in pictorial literacy and changes in readers' demands and taste for visual materials. As one of the predominant illustrated books in nineteenth-century England, the *Alice* book is a product of its time and even a prophecy of the age of images in the following two centuries. The changing forms of the Alice story from oral presentation to materialized books and to cinematic presentations explicitly illustrates how images manifest through social imaginations, or *vice versa*.

The blend of literature and pictures is persistent while each form has different developments through time. The text in English editions of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* has few changes while the illustrations vary in number and style. More flexible and adaptive, these illustrations are interpretations of the text embedded in different versions of the same story; and the Alice image in these illustrations gives the reader an immediate impression of the character and the story. In the 1860s, when print was the major communication medium, the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* took advantage of illustrations to create an outstanding Alice image, not just as a literary character, but also as an iconic figure. From drawings to printed illustration, from one single version to numerous versions, the transformation of the Alice story manifested through material practice and media technology, thus, reflecting the development of visual literacy and imagination.

While Carroll is identified as the author of the book, Dodgson was a typical Victorian gentleman who embraced the contemporary culture of his times. He read newspapers and journals and attempted to make a magazine; he went to theatres and galleries and attended social events; he was interested in photography and was one of the prolific Victorian photographers.[12] Dodgson was an amateur photographer before he became the author of the *Alice* book. His interest in producing images preceded his idea of using pictures as part of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* and *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Dodgson took portraits of children in costumes at the time when photography was new in England. His photographs taken in the 1860s, including some portraits of Alice Liddell—the prototype of the Alice character—were unearthed in 1948. These photographic Alice images look different from the Alice in the book, giving another version of the imagined Alice character. However, Dodgson's photographic work before 1865 did not directly contribute to the publication of the *Alice* book, but they clearly demonstrated his admiration of images.

Art historians see Dodgson's photographs as examples of early Victorian photography and see them separately from Dodgson's writing. In contrast, literary studies regard the photographs as useful documents for authorial studies revealing the author's social life, focusing on his relationship with the Liddell family or with his young friends. However, the intrinsic link between Dodgson's photography and Carroll's writing seems to be taken lightly. Seeing photographs and illustrations as Dodgson's visual creation, I understand the two as associated and important evidence showing Dodgson's attention to visual presentation and his awareness of the power of pictures. Some details in the illustrated book and the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* give new light to reconsider the relationship between different types of images that are all relevant to the illustrations in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. For instance, a hand-

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[12] See "A reconstruction of the missing journals, numbered six and seven, for 18 April 1858 to May 1862," in *Lewis Carroll's Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll): The First Complete Version of the Nine Surviving Volumes with Notes and Annotations,* Vol. 4, ed. Edward Weakling (Luton: Lewis Carroll Society, 1993), 10-64.

drawn portrait included in *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* refers to a photographic portrait.[13]

Dodgson illustrated the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* to please Alice Liddell. He similarly followed this format in the *Alice* book to impress readers. Following suggestions from others, he worked with a dependable partner—John Tenniel. Tenniel was one of the established cartoonists working for *Punch*, or *The London Charivari.* The weekly magazine was established in 1841 and known for its cartoons and illustrated news. Tenniel transformed Dodgson's amateur illustrations in *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* into drawings suitable for engraving. The wood-engraving print guaranteed the quality of the illustrations in the *Alice* book and contributed to turning the Alice story into a decent illustrated book. In other words, Tenniel's drawings adapted the Alice story into wood-engraving prints and the wood-engraving illustration made the book adaptable in its social and historical context.

Like many *Punch* cartoons, Tenniel's illustrations for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and its sequel *Through the Looking Glass, And What Alice Found There* have a style combining the realistic and the fantastic. Along with the story, the illustrations in these two *Alice* books became iconic images representing the *Alice* stories and made the image of Alice proliferate into other media, creating an extended market for Alice images beyond the book market. For instance, Tenniel's illustrations were copied to glass lantern slides in the 1870s and the Alice image became the key element in merchandising Alice. Tenniel's Alice icon is also used to promote other products; many *Alice* themed advertisements have emerged since the twentieth century. The consumption of the image has been partly credited to Carroll's work, while Tenniel's illustrations persist and have influenced many adaptations. Tenniel's illustrations perfectly incorporated Dodgson's drawing and Carroll's writing into a solid form that fitted into the popular culture climate in the 1860s.

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[13] *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* encloses a hand-drawn portrait at the end of the text. It is covered by a thin paper with a photograph portrait of the same size of the hand drawn one at the same position. This will be further discussed in Chapter Two. See 77.

The growth of the publishing industry in England by the 1860s made reading not only a leisure and education, but also a form of consumption. Readers were increasingly literate and in an economical position that enabled them to purchase reading materials. Education cost money and leisure was a luxury for the working-class. Though cheap reading materials including newspapers and magazines were available to the public, books—particularly children's books—were targeted at middle-class customers. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was published for the Christmas season and promoted as a gift book for children. In this sense, the research on the material history of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* starts with a middle-class perception of the story, which is different from the circumstances in the twenty-first century when *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is known through *Alice in Wonderland* and received by a wide range of readers.

Tenniel's *Alice* illustrations are also compared with other works he made for *Punch*. Several figures in Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons look like the Alice image and it is unclear if they are the same figure. By referring to the *Alice* illustrations in his *Punch* cartoons, Tenniel introduced the Alice figure to his readers. For Tenniel's admirers, Alice was firstly an image in caricature illustrations on current affairs. The story of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was not necessarily known very well. But importantly, this children's book was introduced to another group of readers and so was interpreted as a work with multiple meanings. Because of Tenniel's illustrations, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was relocated in a larger cultural landscape. Making illustrations for children's literature with an entrenched adult perspective, Tenniel formed and transformed the Alice image and gave it multiple meanings by applying the form, material, and medium he and his contemporaries were used to.

Wood-engraving, the Press and Reading in England: 1850s–1900s

Woodcut was a technique commonly used for image making in Europe from the seventeenth century. In the late eighteenth century, Thomas Bewick's innovation transformed the traditional woodcut into modern wood-engraving. Bewick produced several illustrations for several versions of *Aesop's Fables*; and he illustrated for natural history books, including *A General History of Quadrupeds* and *A History of British Birds*.

These works exemplify how he used metal-engraving tools to cut blocks. The quality of the illustrations was improved because new tools and materials were used that gave more detail to the picture. However, Bewick's innovation not only improved the quality of the illustrations, but also improved wood-engraving into an image-making technology that could be popularised. Though Dodgson worked with Tenniel to draw the illustrations for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the work could not be finished without the engraver—the Brother Dalziel, who were experienced and productive at that time. Tenniel's works were converted by the Dalziel into wood-blocks that could be used in print.[14]

Leo John De Freitas points out that before the introduction of the press, wood engraving had limited influence as it was not highly productive under the apprentice tradition.[15] Until the 1830s and 1840s, as the press in England started to use wood-engraving, more illustrated reading materials were circulated among the reading public. Publishing weekly and monthly, periodicals tremendously increased the amount of printed material and wood-engraving illustrations became mass-produced accordingly. Periodicals in England started to use illustrations in the 1840s and some of the magazines were famous for their illustrations; *Punch*, *or the London Charivari*, and *Illustrated London News* are two examples. *Punch* was established in 1841 and survived until 2002, and "introduced the term 'cartoon'" to the British and "published the comic works of great comic writers and poets."[16] *Illustrated London News* was established in 1842 and was the world's first illustrated weekly magazine, and had a profound influence on the reading public in England. The sale of *Illustrated London News* "reached 130,000 in 1851 after the paper had published drawing of Joseph Paxton's designs for the Crystal Palace [...];"[17] the population of London at that time was 2,362,236.[18] The continuous circulation of illustrated periodicals meant a huge consumption of illustrated reading material among the public. For the readers, pictures became the embodiment

[14] Leo John De Freitas, *Tenniel's Wood-Engraved Illustrations to Alice* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 39.

[15] Freitas, 39.

[16] *Punch* Magazine Cartoon Archive, <http://www.punch.co.uk/about/> (accessed on 4 July 2017).

[17] Christopher Hippert, *Illustrated London News: Social History of Victorian Britain* (London: Angus and Roberston, 1975), 13.

[18] Lee Jackson, "Victorian London-Population," <http://www.victorianlondon.org/population/population.htm> (accessed on 25 October 2017).

of information and amusement, and they can also be a synecdoche of knowledge and taste in the context of material mass culture in the nineteenth century.

The press was the only form of mass media in England before the introduction of tele-communication and was an established industry by the end of the nineteenth century. Reading materials such as books, newspapers, and periodicals were commodities that circulated in the market in large numbers. Eric de Maré points out that the increasing circulation of periodicals in England went along with the development of wood engraving technology.[19] In this context, writers handed their works to publishers to get them published; publishers promoted the book to their customers, which were named as readers. In this sense, the surviving classic literature is not a mere selection depending on its cultural value, it also relies on the material form, which may strengthen the work and increase its impact without being limited by time and language. The illustrated *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is an example.

From another perspective, the book market was part of Victorian commodity culture and consumer society. The press and publishers hired illustrators and engravers to improve the quality of their products to convince customers to buy books or periodicals. In this sense, the press and the book market functioned as a platform connecting literature, visual arts, and other business. The market gave literature more readers. In accordance with the short-cycle production of books and periodicals, some literature was also distributed in serial form with illustrations in periodicals, which contributed to the popularisation of the work and bound reading to continuous purchase and consumption. Charles Dickens' *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1836–1837) is a good example. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was followed by its sequel *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There*. Continuous publication maintained the readers' appetite, and the continuous consumption of the reading material secured the life of the work. Alice's story continues after the first *Alice* book and the text–image model was applied to the new *Alice* book. With fifty new illustrations by Tenniel, the Alice image from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* recurred and developed in

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[19] Eric de Maré, *The Victorian Woodblock Illustrations* (London: The Gordon Frazer Gallery, 1980), 77.

accordance with the new story. The expanded collection of Tenniel's illustrations from the *Alice* books, along with Tenniel's Punch cartoons referring to Alice, strengthened the public's impression of the Alice image. Before the first *Alice* film was released in 1903, the printed Alice illustrations were the major form of the Alice image.

The mass-produced wood-engraved Alice image was a birthmark of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Its influence is prevalent within and beyond the book especially in the time when illustration was an important part of reading materials. Cheap and bold, pictures attracted readers' attention. The impact of the mass produced printed images increased as they are circulated through cheap reading materials in the mid-nineteenth century. The pictures on the front covers may affect the customers' choice and the illustrations can give readers different reading experiences from reading texts.

While wood-engraving technology was improved so that it could be used to produce illustrations in large numbers, other technologies emerged and were applied in the press and publication for reproduction. Hope Kingsley points out that "In the mid-nineteenth century, art reproductions were proliferating as engraving and, increasingly, as photographs."[20] He also suggests that, "By the mid-1850s, photographic reproductions were central to the society's publications; between 1856 and 1878, it produced more than 30 volumes illustrated with albumen prints, carbon prints and photomechanical prints."[21] Combining photography and wood-engraving, the press in England produced a large number of photorealistic or photographic images in reading materials in the second half of the nineteenth century. The involvement of photography in the process of image making in print further strengthened the realistic style in the illustrations.

Considered from another aspect, the fine arts in England happened to share with the emerging photography a tendency towards realism, both technically and thematically. In 1848, the establishment of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood called for a return to abundant detail and intensity and complexity in colours and compositions. In the literary

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[20] Hope Kingsley, *Seduced by Art: Photography Past and Present* (London: National Gallery Publication, 2012), 33.
[21] Kingsley, 35.

and intellectual circles of the 1860s, many poets and writers—such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Charles Dickens—showed their increasing interest in visual arts. It seems that realistic artworks were produced on a huge scale and in various forms from the mid-nineteenth century. Within this cultural climate, artists and writers collaborated and relied on engravers and publishers to promote their works. The predominance of print and the press, and their reliance on illustrations led to a trend of what I call "reading with images." I argue that, this "reading with images" is not only embodied in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, but also implied in the story *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. As I mentioned above, the illustrated book of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a success in the market, and it determined the readers' anticipation of the form of the story.

From a more general view point, the rapid circulation and consumption of periodicals not only accumulated financial capital for the industry but also forged a mechanism of creating, transforming and spreading discourse that can influence people's perception and imagination through their reading. Readers' growing demand for attractive topics and themes in reading materials urged the press and publishers to include more eye-catching elements, such as texts with interesting topics and eye-catching pictures. Though the literary texts filled up most space of the layouts in books and periodicals, texts without pictures were not as competitive as illustrated prints. Lorraine Janzen Kooistra observes that, "illustrated letterpress became part of everyday life for the first mass readership. [...] the illustrations helped sell papers."[22] In this sense, pictures break the literary monotony in mass produced prints, so that reading is combined with viewing. From the viewpoint of the reader, illustrated reading materials call for a new literacy, an ability to understand illustrations and perceive the image–text relationship.

Kooistra also points out that: "Realistic depictions of foreign and domestic life, sporting and theatrical events, popular science, fashion, travel, and celebrities jockeyed for readers' attention with satiric political cartoons and aesthetic illustrations of poetry and

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[22] Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, "Illustration," in *Journalism and Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 104.

fiction."[23] Short stories, sensational fictions, and sketches were some of the popular forms of literature during this time. With regard to subject matter, these stories are often incidents that happened somewhere else at another time, including crimes, encounters with exotic novelty, and spectacular phenomena. The rise of these genres may have been because of the format of the reading material—magazines and journals were eager to catch the eyes of the readers by compiling various content into one issue and so the length of articles was limited; and serialisation made it convenient to use serious topics or stories to develop loyal readers. The popularity may also be because of the condition of reading at that time. Brief and succinct, these texts made reading an easy and convenient practice, especially when journals and magazines were sold in and near stations. In this sense, the content of the print needed to be eye-catching to attract the customers.

Dodgson read periodicals like other typical Victorian readers and he made scrapbooks by selecting interesting articles from the materials he had read.[24] He also edited periodicals for his family. These pieces of evidence reveal Dodgson's engagement with the press and print culture in his times. Dodgson's active engagement with the press and print further proves his awareness of readers' expectations for interesting stories and attractive illustrations when he decided to turn the Alice story into a book. This further shows that his collaboration with Tenniel was not only decisive for the quality of the illustrations, but also for the impact of the work upon the public.

The Crystal Palace, Illustrated Periodicals and Popular Literature
Besides the press and prints, other social activities and events took place in the mid-nineteenth century that influenced ways of seeing, looking, and perceiving the material condition of the time. From the 1850s, scientific discoveries, technological inventions, knowledge updates and innovative policies emerged and led to great changes in artistic creation; new materials and methods for forming and presenting imagination were

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[23] Kooistra, 105.
[24] *Lewis Carroll's Scrapbook* (1855-1870) (Washington: Library of Congress) <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?intldl/carrollbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(lchtml+001003))> (accessed on 25 October 2017). Dodgson participated in editing periodicals such as The *Misch-Masch* and *The Trains* during the 1850s and 1860s.

applied. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (The Great Exhibition) was held in London from May to October 1851. It was an exceptionally large show demonstrating the prosperity of material culture. Photography was introduced as a new technology in scientific studies and it provided new material and texture to pictures and was used as part of image-making practice. As a new medium that bridged scientific devices and amateur cultural practice, photography called for new institutes and spaces for looking at these new pictures. In this sense, it provided new conditions of observing, looking, and image making, and it also challenged the established understanding of the materiality of the image. These two phenomena had a profound influence on Victorian culture as they brought new light to the English perception and imagination of the world.

In 1851, the opening of the Great Exhibition in London highlighted the accelerating development of commodity culture in England. The Crystal Palace, the venue of the Great Exhibition, was an embodiment of the pride of industrial England. With thousands of exhibited products presented inside, the Crystal Palace—a grand glass–steel structure—stood ostentatiously as an assertion of the human power to realize fantastic concepts through construction. Occupying almost fourteen acres in Hyde Park, this massive transparent greenhouse on grassland struck the public who were used to traditional architecture in the city of London, that were often in stone or brick. John Ruskin described how he imagined the contrast on his first hearing about the Crystal Palace:

> There was a strange contrast between the image of that mighty palace, raised so high above the hills on which it is built as to make them seem little else than a basement for its glittering stateliness, and those low larch huts, half hidden beneath their coverts of forest, and scattered like grey stones along the masses of far-away mountain.[25]

He further stressed that the influence of the Crystal Palace on the minds of the working class in England was impossible to estimate. Ruskin's assertion of the invaluable influences of the Crystal Palace seemed to be underdeveloped as his discussion focuses on its impact upon architecture and painting. Looking at a picture of the venue,

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[25] John Ruskin, "The Opening of The Crystal Palace," *The Works of John Ruskin, Vol XII*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), 417.

transparent and flashing, with a touch of a magical and unrealistic atmosphere, this construction appeared like an eye-catching insertion into the original landscape. There is no doubt that the Crystal Palace challenged the conventional impression of architecture, and it is possible that this phenomenal architectural and landscape event also affected the public's vision of other materials.[26]

Ruskin did not see The Crystal Palace as a utilitarian venue, but a work that could be regarded as an architecture in new style. He tried to provoke a discussion on how the contemporary mind would respond to this new form of art. Differing from Ruskin's perspective, Walter Benjamin noticed the inner space of the Crystal Palace. Quoting Hugh Walpole, Benjamin notes:

> Walpole describes the Crystal Palace, with the glass fountain at its centre and the old elms—the latter "looking almost like the lions of the forest caught in a net of glass" (p.307). He describes the booths decorated with expensive carpets, and above all the machines. "There were in the machine-room the 'self-acting mules,' the Jacquard lace machines, the envelope machines, the power looms, the model locomotives, centrifugal pumps, the vertical steam-engines, all of these working like mad, while the thousands nearby, in their high hats and bonnets, sat patiently waiting, passive, unwitting that the Age of Man on this Planet was doomed." Hugh Walpole, *The Fortress* (Hamburg, Paris, and Bologna <1933>), p. 306. [G10,2][27]

Benjamin gives no clear explanation on this note; however, in "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century", he writes about the arcades and the World Exhibition, making connections between the two, although the relationship between the architecture and the event is still underdeveloped in this article. Focusing on Parisian culture, Benjamin does not mention much about the Great Exhibition in London and does not write much on the Crystal Palace.[28]

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[26] More information about the news report on the Great Exhibition see "Reporting the Great Exhibition," in *Journalism and Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 182-202.

[27] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1999), 191.

[28] Walter Benjamin, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Vol 3 1935-1938* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2002), 32-49.

Benjamin observed that various new commodities are shown in arcades, and that the arcades provide a space for hunting for commodities.[29] Inside the Crystal Palace, the latest industrial productions were displayed, and the collection of machines and industrial appliances declared the growing power of industrialization. Seeing the Crystal Palace from the outside, from the inside, or even from pictures in illustrated newspapers, the English in 1851 constructed a Victorian code of looking and of understanding the world. This looking and knowing also projected a new image of the viewer who looks at landscapes, literary texts, theatre, and other forms of arts, and looks for leisure and amusement. The illustrations in print and the press are part of this material culture that entertained the public.

From a perspective distinct from Ruskin's and with ideas closer to Benjamin's note, Thomas Richards argues that the structure of the Crystal Palace played its role as a new form of representation created by the capitalist system and marked the beginning of the era of the spectacle.[30] Richards sees the Crystal Palace as a symbol of the time, while I see this landscape spectacle as echoing changes in other aspects of Victorian cultural life. For example, illustrations in reading materials are like the Crystal Palace in terms of the distinction in visual effects between the illustration and text. Inserting well-crafted pictures and calligrams—texts arranged in special shapes to create images that are relevant to the content—into the text is like creating a stylish architecture such as the Crystal Palace on a verdant landscape. The visual effect of the illustrated print is not the same as the impression that the Crystal Palace brought to the visitors. However, illustrations and works of architecture are similar because they provide a different texture to existing contexts and their integrations into the material contexts are strong expressions of form and concept. In *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the Cat tells Alice that the Hatter and the March Hare are mad, Alice is mad, and it is mad;[31] madness is common in Wonderland and it also manifested in nonsensical conversations. In contrast

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[29] See Benjamin, "Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century."
[30] Thomas Richard, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso, 1991), 3.
[31] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 90.

to the ordinary and the mundane, the Crystal Palace and the Alice story are statements of difference, novelty, and imagination.

The transparent building constructs an imaginative space, where various and novel products exemplified the world's collection of invention and creation. One's wonderful encounter in the fantastic venue could be like the curious experience of Alice when she falls into the rabbit hole. Dodgson himself went to the Crystal Palace in July 1851. In his letter to his sister Elizabeth, he described his experience:

> I think the first impression produced on you when you get inside is one of bewilderment. It looks like a sort of fairyland. As far as you can look in any direction, you see nothing but pillars hung about with shawls, carpets, &c., with long avenues of statues, fountains, canopies, etc., etc., etc. The first thing to be seen on entering is the Crystal Fountain, a most elegant one about thirty feet high at a rough guess, composed entirely of glass and pouring down jets of water from basin to basin; this is in the middle of the centre nave, and from it you can look down to either end, and up both transepts. The centre of the nave mostly consists of a long lane of colossal statues, some most magnificent. The one considered the finest, I believe, is the Amazon and Tiger. She is sitting on horseback, and a tiger has fastened on the neck of the horse in front. You have to go to one side to her face, and the other to see the horse's. The horse's face is really wonderful, expressing terror and pain so exactly, that you almost expect to hear it scream… There are some very ingenious pieces of mechanism. A tree (in the French Compartment) with birds chirping and hopping from branch to branch, exactly like life. The bird jumps across, turns around on the other branch, so as to face back again, settles its head and neck, and then in a few moments jumps back again. A bird standing at the foot of the tree trying to eat a beetle is rather a failure; it never succeeds in getting its head more than a quarter of an inch down, and that in uncomfortable little jerks, as if it was choking. I have to go to the Royal Academy, so must stop: as the subject is quite inexhaustible, there is no hope of ever coming to a regular finish.[32]

In Dodgson's view, the museum was like a "fairyland". But instead of fairies and elves, most things exhibited in the Crystal Palace were manufactured objects, animals, or botanical specimens. It is a fairyland full of the wonder of industrial production. In Alice's Wonderland, there were no fairies and elves either. Before Dodgson submitted the book for publication, when he introduced his story to Tom Taylor for suggestions for naming

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[32] "To His Sister Elizabeth, Spring Gardens, London, July 5, 1851," in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll,* ed. Morton N. Cohen, with assistance of Roger Lancelyn Green Vol.1 (London: Macmillan, 1979), 17-18.

the book, he wrote, "The heroine spends an hour underground, and meets various birds, beasts, etc. (*no fairies*), endowed with speech."[33] It is unclear why Dodgson was determined to exclude fairies in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*; however, Dodgson's choice reflects his interests in science and speech rather than supernatural stories and his intention to use a story without fairies to impress his young readers.

Illustrated Periodicals and Visual Literacy

Animal figures are important components in Dodgson's drawings and Tenniel's illustrations. This was partly because of the development of scientific knowledge, and partly because of the production of illustrations. The publication of *On the Origin of Species* challenged people's knowledge about nature and animals; the new theories in science also affected people's understanding of society, the unknown, and the imagined place or field. In fact, wood-engraving and satirical cartoons in the press—two important factors in Victorian reading culture—were associated with animal figures. Wood engravings were largely used to produce natural history illustrations and many cartoons in periodicals used animal figures as metaphors. Natural history was one of the popular book topics in the nineteenth century, and natural history books often include illustrations. In contrast to the imaginative animal figures in cartoons, natural history illustrations look scientific and realistic. However, the illustrations in Tenniel's illustrations for the *Alice* books are good examples showing how the two different styles were combined.

Besides the content and style, the combination of illustrations and text has an influence on readers' experience of the book as an artefact. The wonderment of seeing an illustration among text is like seeing the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. Both the Crystal Palace and illustrations are new attractions for large numbers of people. Visitors to Hyde Park and readers of illustrated reading material are ready for visual attractions, whether it is a visit to a place or reading a book or magazine. Like the unusual construction of the

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[33] "To Tom Taylor, Christ Church, Oxford, June 10, 1864," in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll,* ed. Morton N. Cohen*,* 65. Tom Taylor is an English dramatist, critic, biographer and the editor of *Punch*.

Crystal Palace, illustrations break the existing order on the page.[34] Readers do not see the illustrations separated from the text; they read the lines of the texts and see the lines in the pictures simultaneously. Their reading is exposed to a constant but complex text–image relationship. The relationship between word and image is unstable because the illustrations in the periodicals and books are scattered in the text and seem to appear randomly, though their size and position are designed and arranged with intention. The pictures distract the reader from reading the literary text and make the reader read the text and look at the illustrations alternately.
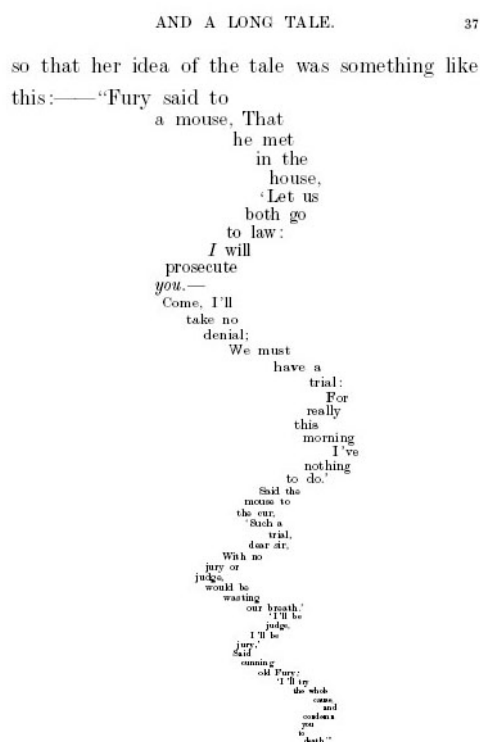
Figure 1. "A Long Tale," illustration in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866), pp. 37.
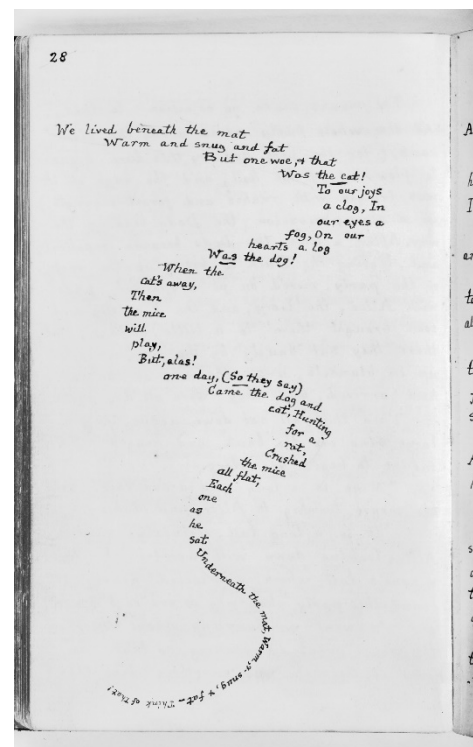
Figure 2. "A Long Tale," illustration in the manuscript (facsimile) *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* [1864] (Dover, 1965), pp. 28.

Both reading and looking are visual experiences, but they involve different information. The literary text of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is full of nonsensical dialogues that read absurdly, and the pictures are attractive components in the book.

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[34] Illustrated texts were not a nineteenth-century invention; illuminated manuscripts in earlier centuries often contained special designs. Different from manuscripts, print were produced in large amounts, so that printed illustrated works were mass produced too. Discussion on illustrated journalism in Nineteenth-Century Britain can be found in Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, "Illustration," in *Journalism and Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

The frames of illustrations interrupt the verbal text on the page and show immediate impressions of the scenes in the story. The illustrations are like intervals; they distract the readers from reading the text and make them take a new pace to follow the story and *see* the scenes. The given imageries of certain scenes can also be shown as calligrams. The long tail in the *Alice* manuscript and *Alice* book are good examples of calligrams (Figure 1. and Figure 2.)

Special signs in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are another type of examples showing how the images appear as intervals in the middle of the text. Figure 3. and Figure 4. each show one page containing the asterisks.
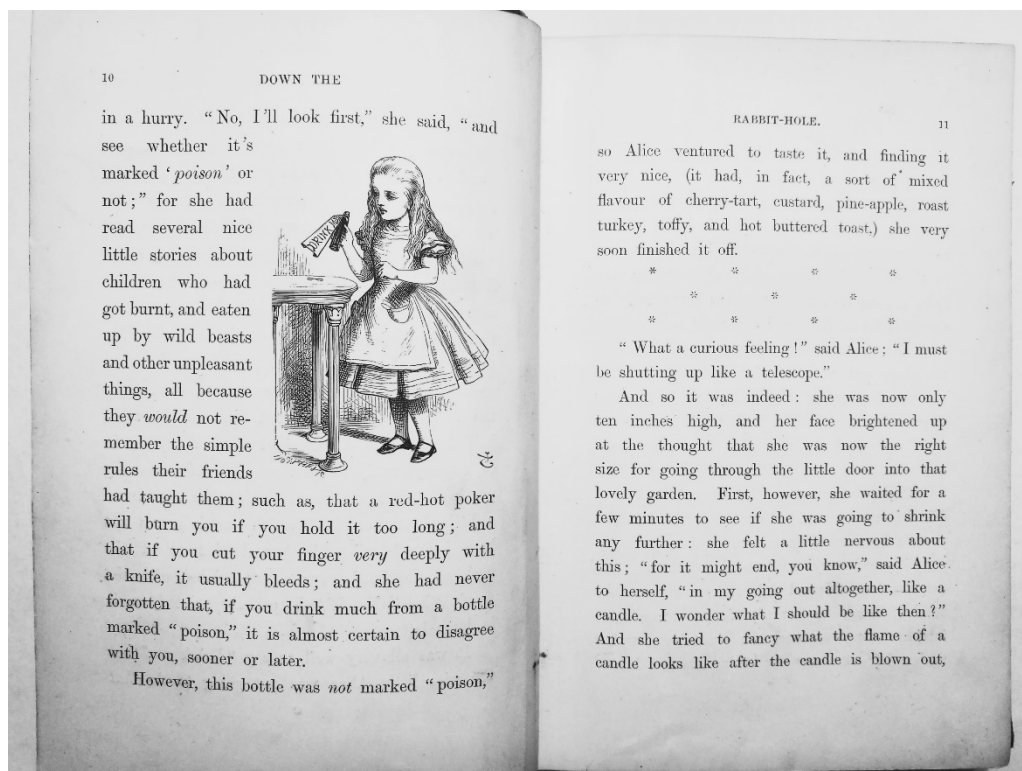
Figure 3. Alice drinks from the DRINK ME bottle; several rows of asterisks indicate that Alice changes her size. Two pages from the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866, pp. 10-11.

Inserted into the verbal text, several rows of asterisks appear to create a special visual effect—they look ambiguous and indicate that something is happening between "[…] she very soon finished it off"[35] and "'What a curious feeling!' said Alice, 'I must be

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[35] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 11.

shutting up like a telescope!'"[36] Readers will see that Alice successfully changes her size as they read the text later: "And so it was indeed: she was now only ten inches high [...]"[37] But before this point, the asterisks seem to obscure their view. This evokes in the reader a sensation of viewing some mist or smoke at the scene. For the readers, their reading is combined with a pseudo theatrical experience. At this point, the lines of asterisks give non-verbal information that is immediate to the reader as they look at the book. Thus, the print page turns into a space for readers to imagine the scene of Alice magically changing her size; and when they move on their sight to the literary text and resume reading the verbal text, the impression of the theatrical effect of Alice changing her size has been imprinted into their minds. By interrupting the verbal text, these images dramatize the scene without showing more details but creating a mysterious theatrical effect. On the one hand, the theatrical effect shows the dramatic scene; on the other hand, it creates a sensational experience for the reader, which is more common in theatre than in the process of reading.
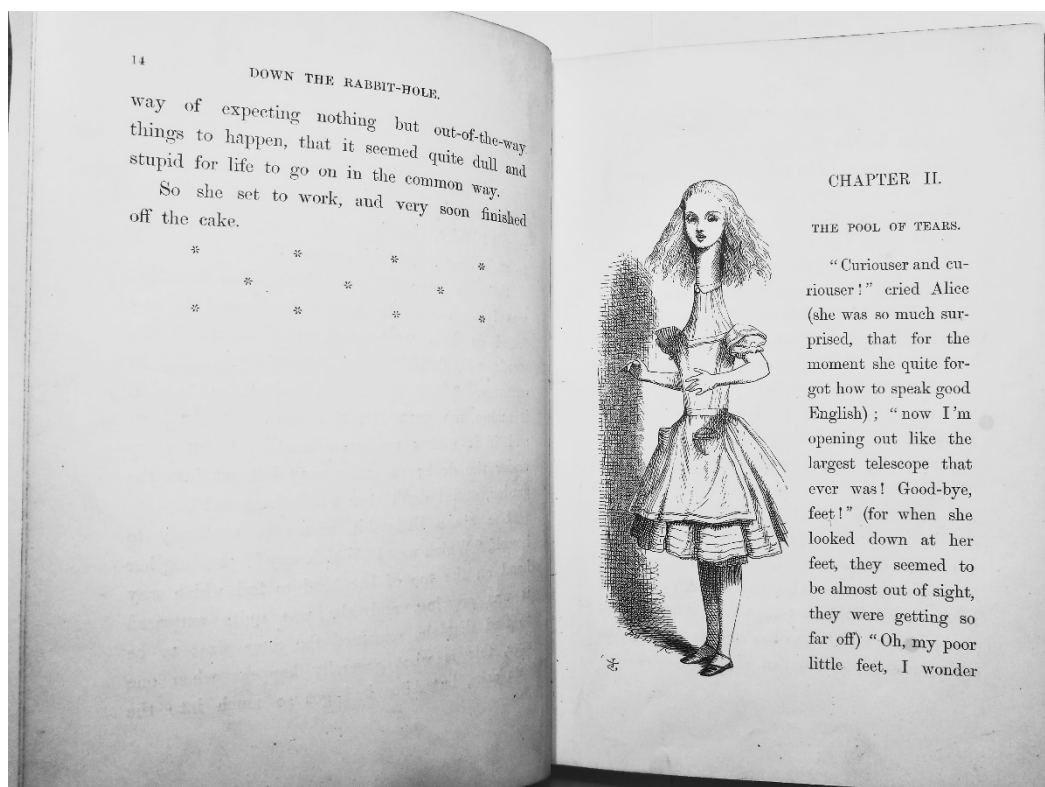
Figure 4. Alice finishes off the cake; several rows of asterisks indicate that Alice changes her size again. Two pages from the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866), pp. 14-15.

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[36] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 11.
[37] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 11.

Illustrations undoubtedly made the texts more attractive, not only for younger readers, but to readers from different knowledge backgrounds because the pictures can seize readers' attention immediately. Responding to the hybrid of words and images in print, a combined reading–viewing practice takes the place of pure reading. Taking the verbal and pictorial information alternatively, readers have various perceptual experiences while they read illustrated reading materials. The pictures come into the readers' eyes from time to time, which gives surprise to the readers, particularly when they read the book for the first time. This combination of text and image seems arbitrary and it adds entertainment to reading and accelerates the reading speed. In this sense, illustration is an important part of fast-reading materials such as magazines because pictures changed the pace of reading and reshaped readers' expectations from reading a book or magazine.

Illustrations in periodicals appeared to supplement verbal texts in nineteenth-century periodicals. They can be generally classified into two categories. The first type is informative and instructive illustrations about new products. Like illustrations in natural history books, theses illustrations function as sources for scientific or pragmatic knowledge. They are educational rather than promotional. The other type is satirical and amusing cartoons. The immediacy of caricatured pictures makes the reading material amusing and attractive. Additionally, mass production and quick circulation distribute articles and images faster and more broadly. Serial publications of one work made reading a continuous consumption and the novelty and amusement of the work is guaranteed by both the content of the text and the look of the illustrations. For writers, thinking about using illustrations as an attraction in the book becomes feasible as illustrations add liveliness and entertainment to the text. Besides *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* other literary works published in the second half of the nineteenth century are good examples, including Beatrix Potter's and Charles Dickens' works.

Used as important elements in print and produced and circulated in industrial mode, illustrations are embodiments of novelty and excitement. The mass-produced pictures give the public a new reading experience, so that these images in books are like the Crystal Palace because they all change the rhythm of the existing narration by breaking

the established visual orders. For readers, pictures and calligrams evoke immediate sensual experience and these sensual experiences are pleasant intervals whilst reading a piece of verbal text. This is like the effect of an extraordinary architecture made as a spectacle. The experience of a book is not just a duration of reading verbal text, but also looking at pictures. The relationship between text and picture become closer in print because of the illustrations, and thus literacy is not only the ability to read and write (literary texts), but an ability to deal with both verbal and pictorial compositions, and the relationship between the two. Readers no longer focus solely on the verbal texts; they tend to spend more time on the illustrations. In this sense, they become spectators in reading illustrated prints.

Interestingly, noticing the rise of illustrated periodicals earlier in the 1840s, William Wordsworth wrote about the change in presentation. He expressed his disappointment and worries about the shrinkage of words in print in "Illustrated Books and Newspapers" (1846):

> Discourse was deemed Man's noblest attribute,
> And written words the glory of his hand;
> Then followed Printing with enlarged command
> For thought -- dominion vast and absolute
> For spreading truth, and making love expand.
> Now prose and verse sunk into disrepute
> Must lackey a dumb Art that best can suit
> The taste of this once-intellectual Land.
> A backward movement surely have we here,
> From manhood, —back to childhood; for the age—
> Back towards caverned life's first rude career.
> Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page!
> Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
> Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage![38]

Regarding discourse as the highest level of human capacity, Wordsworth sees the illustrated periodicals as a "vile abuse of pictured page." By pointing out the "backward movement," he explicitly expressed his belief in the superiority of words over pictures

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[38] William Wordsworth, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth,* ed. Thomas Hutchinson, revised by Ernest De Selincourt (London: Oxford University Press, 1904, 1946), 383.

and his fury about the movement to popularise illustrations in print. He seems to imply this to be "retrogression".

Words and images have been bonded together throughout reading history as literature with illustrations are very common in existing works and documents. However, the commodity culture popularised in the nineteenth century increased the power of pictures. The mutual influence between the mass-market publishing industry and cultural experience of the English working-class provided conditions for further development of visual literacy among the Victorians. Patricia Anderson points out that the "increasingly pictorial character" of a transformed and expanded popular culture.[39] In the context of consumer culture, readers and spectators witnessed the fusion and confrontation between the two levels and were ready for the new form of communication. Meanwhile, in the field of fine arts, Pre-Raphaelite movement tended to emphasize the beauty of details and realistic features in paintings.

Photography, Dodgson and *Alice*

The word "photography" as an English expression first appeared in *Proceedings of the Royal Academy* on March 14th, 1839, by J. Herschel. Dodgson was interested in photography and he took photographs of his friends including Alfred Tennyson and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Having interest in photography and taking photographs, Dodgson also wrote several articles to express his understanding of this new medium. His articles can be found in public journals and his unpublished collections of works. One of Dodgson's scrapbooks included a poem titled "Photography Extraordinary":

> The Milk-and-Water School
> ALAS! She would not hear my prayer!
> Yet it were rash to tear my hair;
> Disfigured, I should be less fair.
>
> She was unwise, I may say blind;
> Once she was lovingly inclined;
> Some circumstance has changed her mind.
>
> The Strong-Minded or Matter-of-Fact School

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[39] Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 2.

Well! So my offer was no go!
She might do worse, I told her so;
She was a fool to answer "No".

However, things are as they stood;
Nor would I have her if I could,
For there are plenty more as good.

The Spasmodic or German School
Firebrands and daggers! Hope hath fled!
To atoms dash the doubly dead!
My brain is fire-my heart is lead!
Her soul is flint, and what am I?
Scorch'd by her fierce, relentless eye,
Nothingness is my destiny![40]

The scrap of paper is taken from *Comic Times*, and the poem was also included in *Mischmasch,* a periodical Dodgson made for his family from 1855 to 1862. It was included in a story in one issue of the familiar magazine in 1855.[41] The story has the same title of the poem. It tells of an experiment of applying "Photography" to the mind: "The recent extraordinary discovery in Photography, as applied to the operations of the mind, has reduced the art of Novel-writing to the merest mechanical labour."[42] The experiment is to use a machine to transcribe thoughts and a young man "who appeared to be of the weakest possible physical and mental powers"[43] is tested in the experiment.

> The machine being in position, and a mesmeric rapport established between the mind of the patient and the object glass, the young man was asked whether he wished to say anything; he feebly replied "Nothing." He was then asked what he was thinking of, and the answer, as before, was "Nothing." The artist on this pronounced him to be in a most satisfactory state, and at once commenced the operation.
>
> After the paper had been exposed for the requisite time, it was removed and submitted to our inspection; we found it to be covered with faint and almost illegible characters. A closer scrutiny revealed the following....[44]

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[40] "Lewis Carroll's Scrapbook (1855-1870)."
[41] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present,* ed. Vicki Goldberg (University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 115.
[42] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," ed. Goldberg, 115.
[43] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," ed. Goldberg, 115.
[44] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," ed. Goldberg, 115.

Each operation in the experiment is provided a short report; and each stanza of the poem is based on one report. In other words, the poem is an obscure abstract of the story. If the poem is read without the story, its satirical style is not clear, and it may read as absurd. Though their titles mentioned photography, the poem and the story were not illustrated. Extracting these stanzas out of the story, the poem gives a sense of absurd style that is commonly shown in his writings. Without being given any clue about photography, or the machine mentioned in the story, one may assume that the poem is about photographs or photography. Reading the poem, readers may be confused: how does the poem relate to photography? Why is it extraordinary?

Photography is not mentioned directly in the poem; in the story, the outputs of the machine are verbal rather than pictorial, which is not true in the actual process of making photographs. Though there are no relevant descriptions of photography, the story shows Dodgson's thoughts on photography as a medium and a way of thinking. The last two paragraphs of the story suggest that the machine in experiment is used as a metaphor to reflect on politics:

> Our friend concluded with various minor experiments, such as working up a passage of Wordsworth into strong, sterling poetry; the same experiment was tried on a passage of Byron, at our request, but the paper came out scorched and blistered all over by the fiery epithets thus produced.
>
> As a concluding remark: could this art be applied (we put the question in the strictest confidence)—could it, we ask, be applied to the speeches in Parliament? It may be but a delusion of our heated imagination, but we will still cling fondly to the idea, and hope against hope.[45]

In the story, photography is a metaphor for interpreting the existing discourse. Dodgson's diary shows that photography was the major recreation in his life and he was a prolific photographer in his time.[46] Before he spent the "golden afternoon" with the

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[45] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," ed. Goldberg, 115.

[46] "A reconstructions of the missing journals, numbered six and seven, for 18 April 1858 to 8 May 1862,"in *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, Vol. 4, ed. Edward Wakeling (London: The Lewis Carroll Society, 2003), 25. Other references on Dodgson's photography see: Lindsay Smith, *Lewis Carroll: Photography on the Move* (London: Reaktion Books: 2015), Roger Taylor, Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer: The Princeton University Library Albums* (Princeton University Press, 2001), and Douglas R. Nickel, *Dreaming in Pictures: The Photography of Lewis Carroll* (Yale University Press, 2002).

Liddell children, Dodgson had photographed the Liddell sisters. Though photography is rarely mentioned in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the name of Lewis Carroll is used by scholars to refer to Dodgson in their research on his photographic works. This phenomenon also shows the impact of Dodgson's identity that has been built through his *Alice* stories.

In the story "Photography Extraordinary", Dodgson depicts photography as a means of manifestation and mediation; he imagines whether this process of manifestation can be adopted in prose writing. He does not put forward any view on the function of this machine, and only refers to it as "for art:" "In the present of the infancy of the art, we forbear from further comment on this wonderful discovery; but the mind reels as it contemplates the stupendous addition thus made to the powers of science." [47] It indicates that Dodgson sees photography's position as between art and science. In the poem, "Photography" as a word only appears in the title but is absent in the reader's vision. Readers may possibly imagine "photography" by trying to see what the absurd language is depicting. In this sense, they rely on language to see the implied picture or scene.

That is what readers do when they read prose that aims to depict certain scenes such as a "sketch". This term is adopted in both writing and drawing, referring to brief and realistic artistic works. Sketch stories became popular in the nineteenth century while sketch drawings are frequently exhibited in studios and galleries throughout time. Photography and sketch drawing were common presentations in the sense that they all aim to capture certain moments. The ephemeral presence is inaccessible to language; it can only be recollected by language when it has already gone. In the story, the presence of the machine is a metaphor for imagination, similar to the absence of photography in the poem inspires readers' imagination. Both give the reader space to imagine photography and to think about its relationship to verse and speech. In this sense, this coincides with the form of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Alice's Adventures*

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[47] Lewis Carroll, "Photography Extraordinary," ed. Goldberg, 118.

Under Ground—the presence of the pictures offers new space for readers to think about the text and imagine an unseen imaginative world.

The story concludes with a satirical statement proposing to apply the machine to Parliament. Dodgson seems to express his tendency to use language in unconventional ways. This may explain why he took the verse out of the essay and made it into a new poem. Dodgson did not intend to be didactic and he devoted himself to making pleasure and amusement for his child readers and friends. His photographic works are mostly portraits, some of which were designed as role playing scenes; his literary works contain many riddles and puns. A more direct proof of this point is Dodgson's description of the Alice story to Tom Taylor, asking him for his suggestions for a proper name for the story: "In spite of your 'morality,' I want something sensational."[48] "Sensational" means to cause great interest and excitement, and Dodgson successfully made the book a sensational work that attracts its readers with pictures and nonsensical conversations.

Conclusion: A Work Born with Images

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland was a successful book before it became a classic of children's literature. The format of the book manifests the material conditions of its historical context. The analysis in this chapter covered several topics: 1) the authorial experience of the material context of remediating the story;[49] 2) the image-making process and media industry; 3) changes in urban landscape in the public's eyes; 4) the social impact of illustrated periodicals; and 5) the emergence of photography and Dodgson's awareness of the power of pictures. Each aspect is interlinked with others and they all contribute to shaping the format of the illustrated book of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. All the historical factors formed a material and historical environment that allowed the *Alice* book to become popular. In other words, the popularity of the *Alice* book was not only because of the content of the story, but may also be because of

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[48] "To Tom Taylor, Christ Church, Oxford, June 10, 1864," in *The Letters of Lewis Carroll,* ed. Morton N. Cohen, 65.

[49] Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin define the term "remediation" as "the representation of one medium in another medium." Different from their focus on the remediation in new digital media, I emphasis the material remediation. See *Remediation: Understanding New Media* by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 45.

its format. Manufactured materials in the mid-nineteenth century shaped the *Alice* book as well as the society it faced to.

Tenniel's illustrations for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass: and What Alice Found There* remediated Dodgson's personal depiction of Alice into an iconic Alice figure in the mass media. This remediation makes the *Alice* image an impressive figure in the book, and exposes it to the environment of the press industry and mass media. The Tenniel illustrations in the book are works that cannot be finished without the contributions of others, including: Dodgson, the author; the Dalziel, the engravers; and Macmillan, the publisher. In this sense, the Alice image is an example of how the cultural industry in the 1860s made a successful product.

From another perspective, the English public in the mid-nineteenth century were expecting new forms of visual attraction on a large scale. The Great Exhibition was a phenomenal event that displayed objects and industrial products to the public and glorified material culture; and the building of the Crystal Palace gave the public a new sense of viewing. The popularity of illustrated periodicals also proved the public's fondness for visual information in fast-reading materials. Mass-produced images were spread widely among the public, which gave the *Alice* book an opportunity to enlarge its readership—adults did not need to read the Alice story in the children's book. They could still see the image of Alice and get a general idea of the Alice story in periodicals such as *Punch*.

In addition, Dodgson's practice of taking photographs and his writings on photography reflect his awareness of the importance of pictures and his thoughts on photography as a medium and technology. After publishing the book, Dodgson took part in adapting the book into a play. Embracing different forms of art and media technologies, Dodgson seems to have positive views on mediating and remediating the Alice story since he drew the illustrations in the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*. Having trust in cartoonist and wood-engraving technologies, Dodgson relied on the influence of the press and advanced image-making technologies to make an Alice image that suited the reading public in his time. The Alice image debuted as illustrations in the book, however,

soon transformed into new presentations. Ongoing transformations continue in the Alice image and bring it to a broader audience in different material and media contexts.

Chapter 2 *Alice* in Magic Lantern Presentations

Introduction

In the history of materializing *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Tenniel's Illustrations are the embryonic form. They were followed by several variations and works by other illustrators. After the book, new material practices and media technologies allowed the picture of *Alice* to be produced in other media and presented in other forms. While *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was still circulated as a book, it was also adapted into live performances. This chapter focuses on the Alice image in magic lantern shows and tries to explain connections between the book illustrations and the magic lantern presentation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Considering the historical and material conditions for magic lantern presentations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, I argue that transferring and transforming the Alice story into magic lantern presentation further promoted the existing Alice image and the *Alice* stories. Comparing the magic lantern presentation with book reading, I examine some lantern slides and lantern reading materials based on the *Alice* book and reflect on the impact of the lantern readings on the *Alice* stories.

The magic lantern slides of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* were produced when magic lanterns became popular several years after the book was published. Some of the slides, which were produced before the first *Alice* film *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1903), are dated as late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.[50] The book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* sold 180,000 copies up to 1898,[51] which shows that the book was still an important medium for circulating the story. However, when the illustrations were transferred onto lantern slides, they gave the Alice image another life. The Alice image was enlarged and projected in lantern presentations, which gives the public new impressions on the character and the story.

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[50] In current preservation and circulation of magic lantern slides, many slides are uncatalogued or catalogued with incomplete information.

[51] Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 389.

These performances are among what Richard Altick refers to as "a great variety of public nontheatrical entertainment.[52] These nontheatrical entertainments, as Altick further points out, "ministered to the same widespread impulses and interests to which print also catered—the desire to be amused or instructed, the indulgency of curiosity and the sheer sense of wonder, sometimes a rudimentary aesthetic sensibility."[53] In Altick's earlier work on the English reading public, *The English Common Reader*, he points out that "the most influential novelty during this period was the growing emphasis upon illustrations."[54] In *The Shows of London*, he explains the popularity of the exhibitions among the uneducated:

> To the uneducated, exhibitions served as surrogates for […] books […]. To both the literate and illiterate, they [the exhibitions] were a primary means by which the mind and imagination could be exercised and daily routine experience given occasional welcome patches of variety and colour.[55]

However, Altick does not see the connections between the book illustrations and the shows and exhibitions. I would argue that there is a connection between the two, and adapting *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* to magic lantern reading is a good example.

Magic lanterns have lenses made of glass and the lantern slides are glass slides. In this sense glass played an important role in the magic lantern culture. Isobel Armstrong states that, "The nineteenth century was the era of glass."[56] She points out that: "In the nineteenth century, glass became a third or middle term: it interposed an almost invisible layer of matter between the seer and the seen—the sheen of a window, the silver glaze of the mirror, the convexity or concavity of the lens."[57] Armstrong quotes Benjamin's words to link the glass culture to modern urban experience and modernity.[58] The glass in urban space seems to be the major part of Armstrong's work, but she only mentioned optical devices, which also benefited from the development of glass making,

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[52] Richard Altick, *The Shows of London* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 1.
[53] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 1.
[54] Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 343.
[55] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 1-2.
[56] Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworld: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28.
[57] Armstrong, 32.
[58] Armstrong, 33.

briefly. With glass slides and devices, magic lanterns played an important part in Victorian life. I argue that magic lantern presentation is an important medium that transformed the image of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

Studies on *Alice* Magic Lantern Shows

The current research on magic lantern slides has been mostly done by historians, archivists, and collectors. Most publications on magic lantern studies are published by the Magic Lantern Society (UK) or members of the society. In an unpublished paper, Phillip Roberts observes that the heterogeneity of magic lanterns is a problem for researchers.[59] I suggest the difficulties are also because of the state of the primary sources. First, magic lantern slides are scattered in different collections and many of them are missing or uncatalogued, so it is impossible to search and study them like published references on record. Second, a magic lantern slide is regarded as an object rather than a text, and it is difficult to get complete details about the publication and circulation of the items, which means it is difficult to know whether they have been projected in public or just kept in a private collection. Third, even though some magic lantern slides survived and are catalogued, the supplementary materials to the slide set are not recorded. In short, studies on magic lantern presentation are based on fragmented materials and limited knowledge and information.

Few existing *Alice* studies have mentioned the magic lantern presentation. Phillip Roberts's unpublished article "Three Magic Lantern Versions of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*"[60] gives some details on several sets of *Alice* lantern slides. His archival research reveals some details of the three sets of lantern slides and he argues that each version shows that "different imperative and resources are negotiated to produce lantern performances suited to particular needs."[61] Roberts' research does not give a detailed analysis of the relationship between the lantern slides and the text; he also

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[59] Phillip Roberts, "Three Magic Lantern Versions of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*" (In the author's possession, 2017), 3.
[60] Roberts, 3.
[61] Roberts, 20.

leaves out the lantern reading materials, which also give information about the magic lantern presentation or exhibition. I will analyse some of the slides used at the Royal Polytechnic Institution by linking the pictures on the lantern slides to both the lantern culture of the 1870s and the text in the illustrated book of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. This will be followed by a discussion on lantern reading materials supposed to accompany a set of lantern slides for lantern readings in the early twentieth century. Two different cases of lantern presentation illustrate the popularity and variety of lantern presentation and show the effect and impact of the new medium on circulating the Alice story.

The purpose of my research on the *Alice* lantern reading presentation is to relocate the magic lantern presentation in relation to the reading experience. It also aims to claim a position for magic lantern presentations in adaptation studies. I argue that this form of telling the Alice story and showing the Alice image was a common practice in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century; it was an alternative to reading and preceded the film adaptation of the *Alice* stories with visual projected images.

It is important to consider the Alice image in magic lantern presentation because it implies several important changes in presentation. First, transferring the pictures from papers to glass is a change in material; it requires lantern equipment as the condition for seeing the pictures. Second, turning the book illustrations of *Alice* into the lantern slides was for a larger audience—both literate and illiterate. In other words, the literacy in reading was replaced by a visual literacy in this new form of story-telling. Third, the magic lantern presentation of the *Alice* stories is an intermediate form which places emphasis on the pictures, but still relies on verbal text in its spoken form. The spoken form turns the verbal text from printed words into invisible sounds, and turns the access to the verbal text from reading into listening. Thus, the audience see the pictures as immediate impressions of the story and have an audial experience of the story. The audience listen to the story while they look at the pictures on the lantern slides, which is a new mode of experiencing *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Fourth, this audio and visual experience of *Alice* takes place in public and is a collective experience.

Though reading an illustrated *Alice* book and going to a lantern reading of the story gives the reader/audience different sensual experiences, Alice keeps her pictorial presence. The proliferation of the illustrations—from books to lantern slides—promotes *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* to the public by showing that the pictures have the potential of material transfiguration. Through the early material and media transformation of the Alice image, one can see that prioritising visibility and immediacy became increasingly important in Victorian entertainment, education, and communication.

The growing circulation of illustrated books and periodicals reflected the public's preference in their reading materials. Other forms of entertainment also demonstrated the public's enthusiasm for visual attractions. Optical devices like the diorama, panorama, and magic lanterns were popular in London in the 1860s. Richard Altick points out that shows and exhibitions were important alternative media giving knowledge and entertainment.[62] Pictures were no longer confined to printed materials, but were also shown in other materials and on various occasions. In many optical entertainments, such as magic lantern shows, pictures were enlarged and projected and shown to the public. Because of the new material and media—glass and optical devices – the public had a new experience of the story in new environments.

Helen Groth observes that Dodgson had a "multifaceted relationship to the way images of Alice were generated in his readers' minds."[63] Groth indicates that the manuscript and the Carroll–Tenniel collaboration are proof of Dodgson's initiative in mediating *Alice* into pictorial presentation, which echoes with the dream motif in the *Alice* stories. She points out that: "His prefaces flirt with a technologically impossible immediacy, pressing against the material limits of the printed page in his earnest desire to communicate with a persistence."[64] Groth mentions George Buckland's *Alice's Adventures, or The Queen of*

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[62] Altick*, The Shows of London,* 1.

[63] Helen Groth, "Dissolving Views: Dreams of Reading Alice," in *Moving Images: Nineteenth Century Reading and Screen Practices* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 127. Groth does not italicize the term "Alice" when she uses it referring to the book or the story.

[64] Groth, *Moving Images,* 127.

Hearts and the Stolen Tarts, a dissolving views adaptation of the Alice story firstly shown at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in 1876, to show that:

> Carroll's parallel engagements with the idea of unconscious networks between minds and the technological networks in which his dreams were transformed into literary commodities that then circulate in an increasingly uncontrollable modern media system.[65]

Believing that "the dynamics of literary mediation preoccupied and frustrated Carroll,"[66] she seems to indicate that the prevalence of *Alice* is because of the dream scenario created in the literary text and further links Carrollian studies with psychical research. Groth argues that Dodgson had an "insistent desire to create a more porous surface between Alice and her readers."[67] I understand this desire as transformed into a practice using magic lantern shows by others who saw the enchantment of Dodgson's story.

Groth's discussion on Buckland's performance is mostly based on Dodgson's correspondences mentioning his attendance at the shows and some press sources. This discussion on Buckland's *Alice* does not directly show that Dodgson had intended to mediate *Alice*. Groth's assumption about the mediation relies on textual references but ignores the material and materiality that are important in mediation. Examining the lantern slides used by Buckland for the 1876 *Alice* performance, Roberts points out some flaws in Groth's study.[68] Giving many important details of these lantern slides, Roberts uses the surviving slides to reconstruct Buckland's *Alice* lantern show and sees Buckland's *Alice* performance as one case showing how the *Alice* slides were merchandised in the lantern slides market. Roberts' archival research highlights the materiality of the lantern slides and he attempts to construct a structural connection between the performance and the book. Roberts also introduces some techniques and effects that might have been involved in the performance and suggests the structure of the play. Roberts's survey reveals some archival information highlighting the importance of the understated magic lantern adaptations of *Alice*, but only marks the starting point of the investigation of the Alice story in magic lantern presentations.

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[65] Groth, *Moving Images,* 129.
[66] Groth, *Moving Images,* 127.
[67] Groth, *Moving Images*, 132.
[68] Roberts, 6.

My research aims to further investigate the magic lantern presentations of *Alice* regarding the magic lantern performances of *Alice* stories as an important intermediate form between print and cinema. I argue that, by combining story-telling and visual attraction, *Alice* magic lantern presentations created a scenario of making the story a dream-like experience, which echoes Dodgson's intention of telling a story of a dream. Buckland's *Alice* performances and other magic lantern presentations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are good examples demonstrating how literary works can be mediated into other media in popular culture and how literature can metamorphose into multimedia performances in the new medial context.

The Dissolving Cat: Alice in Magic Lantern Shows

Before the musical performance *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1888) and the film *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), Buckland's production *Alice's Adventures, or Queen of Hearts and the Stolen Tarts* (1876) was probably the earliest theatrical *Alice* show facing a large audience. It was followed by a second edition *Alice's Adventures, or Wonders in Wonderland* (1876).[69] Combining dissolving views, acting, reading and singing, this hybrid performance embodies and reflects the cultural complexity of its time. Shown with phantasmagorical optical effects, Buckland's performances brought the image of *Alice* into dissolving views—which preceded the moving image in cinema. It promised the proliferation of the image of *Alice* in magic lantern presentations for a broader audience. However, the "broader" and "larger" audience is still limited to a certain group that can afford to go to the performances, like the readers of the first edition of the *Alice* book. The social background of the audience was not much different from where the readers of the *Alice* book were from. In this sense, the Alice story was still circulated among people from the same social class.

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[69] The information about the second Buckland production based on the Alice story can be found in *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme*, No. 176.

As an experienced lecturer, Buckland demonstrated the high quality of the Victorian illustrated lecture. Some press reviews were quoted in the *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme*:

> The Easter piece was… pleasing alike to old and young.. […]—*Times.* Mr. G. Buckland brings the whole performance to a delightful termination with one of his inimitable, fanciful, and spectacular entertainments… full of laughable songs, clever puns, and cleverly adapted nursery rhymes… It is immensely enjoyed. –*Morning Post.* Which the audience seemed especially to appreciate. –*The Hour*. The juvenile audience was highly delighted with the fanciful, musical, and spectacular entertainment, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland. –Echo. The whole was most successfully carried out. –*Daily News*.[70]

This educational and entertaining activity was popular in Britain in the nineteenth century, especially after the 1860s with the popularity of optical devices. Many magic lantern slides with the theme of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are found to be made between the 1870s and the 1910s. Using lantern slides as illustrations in magic lantern readings contributed to popularise *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass.* The following discussion on *Alice* magic lantern shows includes textual analyses and archival research about both Buckland's performance *Alice in Wonderland* and magic lantern readings using manufactured lantern slides. It is based on the examination of rarely discussed materials, including magic lantern slides and lantern reading materials from museums and private collections. The discussion starts with a study of the figure of the Cheshire Cat, a character and image in the book that I see as a metaphor for the practices that dissolve the Alice story into other media.

The Cheshire Cat is one of the most interesting characters in the Alice stories—both *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*. It has been transfigured into various forms in different adaptations in book illustrations and films. However, the Cat is not included in Dodgson's manuscript, either as a literary character or a pictorial figure. When *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was published in 1865, the Cat was introduced to the reader in the book with illustrations. There is no doubt that Dodgson, or Carroll, created the Cat as a literary character; however, Tenniel's

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[70] "Notices of the Press," *in Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme* (London: Royal Polytechnic Institution, 1876), No. 174.

illustrations, as the initial pictorial depiction of the Cat, made the character an iconic figure in the *Alice* stories. Dodgson did not bring up the ideas of the grinning Cat and Mad Hatter's Tea Party when he made *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*; however, his later amendment for publication enriched the earlier story. Thus, the story with those added characters and plots was well-received. The images of the Cat, the Hatter, the White Rabbit and Alice, are referred to frequently in illustrated books and other cultural commodities with the *Alice* theme. They become key elements of the *Alice* stories, and remarkable representatives of the *Alice* theme.
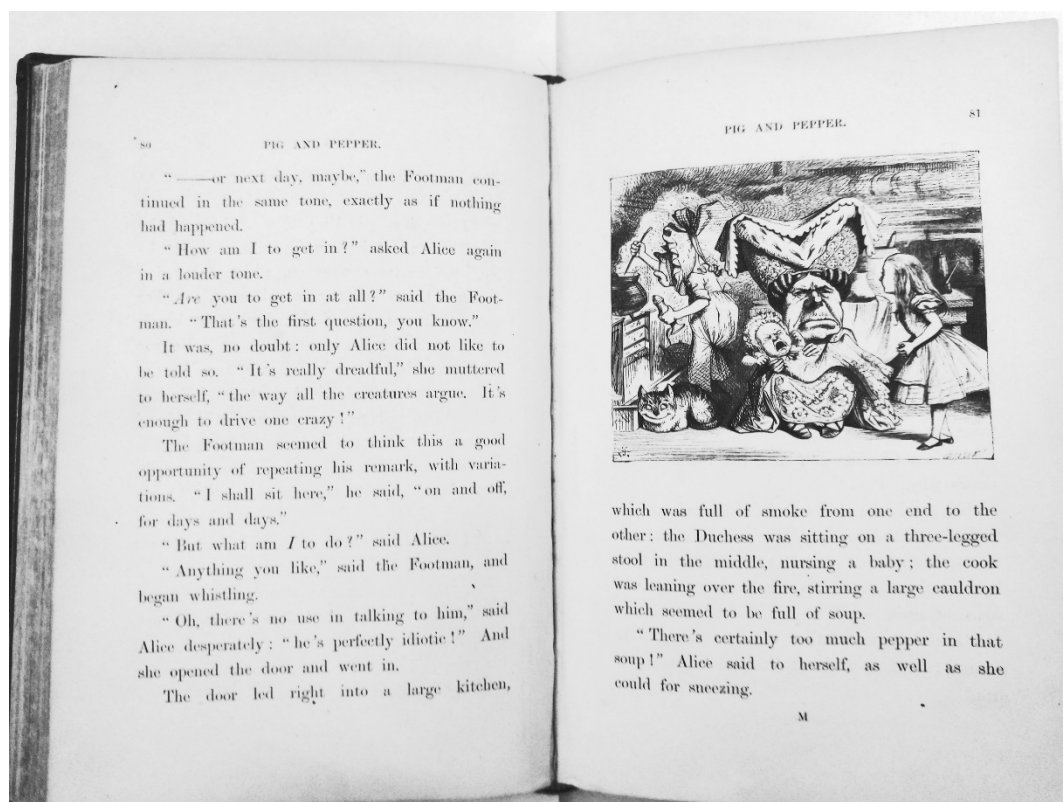
Figure 5. Alice meets the Cheshire Cat and the Duchess in the kitchen. Two pages from the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866), pp. 80-81.

In the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the grinning Cat is introduced in Chapter Six "Pig and Pepper" with illustrations. Reading the chapter, readers first see an illustration (Figure 5.) depicting an interior space and then the literary text under the picture containing a description of the Duchess's kitchen. Turning to the next page, readers will see the narrator's brief description of the Cat and then a conversation between Alice and the Duchess concerning the Cat and its grin:

.... The only two creatures in the kitchen that did not sneeze, were the cook, and a large cat which was lying on the hearth and grinning from ear to ear.

"Please would you tell me," said Alice, a little timidly, for she was not quite sure whether it was good manners for her to speak first, "why your cat grins like that?"

"It's a Cheshire cat," said the Duchess, "and that's why. Pig!"

She said the last word with such sudden violence that Alice quite jumped; but she saw in another moment that it was addressed to the baby, and not to her, so she took courage, and went on again: —

"I didn't know that Cheshire cats always grinned; in fact, I didn't know that cats *could* grin."

"They all can," said the Duchess; "and most of 'em do."

"I don't know any of that do," Alice said very politely, feeling quite pleased to have got into a conversation.

"You don't know much," said the Duchess; "and that's a fact."

Alice did not at all like the tone of this remark, and thought it would be as well to introduce some other subject of conversation. [Italics in original] [71]

The Cat's unusual look is pointed out by Alice at the beginning of her conversation with the Duchess and then the rest of the dialogue contains nothing relevant to the Cat. Nonsensical conversations like this are common in the *Alice* stories and they exist in the verbal text. The contrast between the absence of the Cat in the conversation and its persistent presence in the illustration highlights the nonsensical implications in the scene. Alice asks about the Cat's grin and once the conversation starts, the mysterious grin of the Cat seems to be forgotten by Alice; the questions about the Cat are suspended because they are responded to with answers that seem to be relevant but do not make sense. In other words, the conversation starts with the matter of the Cat's grin, but the topic switches to other matters until the end of the conversation. In contrast, the illustration accompanying the literary text may give the readers an immediate impression of the Cat's grin. Reading the nonsensical conversations in the text, one can see the Cat grinning at the corner of the illustration. The absurdity of the scene in the kitchen could be highlighted through the persistent visualization of the Cat's grin.

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[71] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 82-83.

Consistent to the figure described in the literary text, Tenniel's Cat looks comic and awkward in its setting, like a displaced figure in the frame. In this caricature illustration, Tenniel highlights the mouths of all characters, except Alice who is seen from behind (Figure 5). Almost all the characters show displeased facial expressions: the Duchess looks unsatisfied and grumpy, the baby is crying loudly, and the cook (even in a side portrait) looks sober. All the unhappiness is expressed through their mouths. In contrast, the Cat is "grinning from ear to ear" in the corner, seeming to make a gesture of mockery or ridicule towards the scene. The contrast between the Cat and its surroundings in the illustration gives an immediate impression of the unusual feature of the Cat, though it is not taken as a serious topic in the conversation between Alice and the Duchess.

The verbal and pictorial depiction of the Cat contrast with each other in appearance, but are coherent in meaning as both the depictions create a grotesque and mysterious figure of the Cat. The message from the picture matches perfectly with the absurdity brought by the conversation in the literary text: we do not know the Cat "*could* grin". The Cat figure maintains its mischievousness later in the story. When Alice is not sure about the right way to go, she is "a little startled by seeing the Cheshire Cat sitting on a bough of a tree a few yards off."[72] If Alice still has a question about the Cat in her mind, it might be: how could the Cat appear and vanish? At this point, the Cat looks supernatural: it appears and vanishes several times, and it admits that it is mad. Though the conversation between Alice and the Cat reads nonsensically again, the Cat is a mysterious and striking figure. It appears to have supernatural powers as it can appear and vanish like magic:

> "You'll see me there," said the Cat, and vanished.
> Alice was not much surprised at this, she was getting so well used to queer things happening. While she was still looking at the place where it had been, it suddenly appeared again.
> "By-the-bye, what became of the baby?" said the Cat. "I'd nearly forgotten to ask."
> "It turned into a pig," Alice answered very quietly, just as if the Cat had come back in a natural way.
> "I thought it would," said the Cat, and vanished again.
> Alice waited a little, half expecting to see it again, but it did not appear, and after a minute or two she walked on in the direction in which the March Hare

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[72] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 89.

was said to live. […] As she said this, she looked up, and there was the Cat again, sitting on a branch of a tree.

"Did you say 'pig' or 'fig'?" said the Cat.

"I said 'pig'," replied Alice; "and I wish you wouldn't keep appearing and vanishing so suddenly: you make one quite giddy!"

"All right," said the Cat; and this time it vanished quite slowly, beginning with the end of the tail, and ending with the grin, which remained sometime after the rest of it had gone.

"Well! I've often seen a cat without a grin," thought Alice; "but a grin without a cat! It's the most curious thing I ever saw in my life!"[73]

By appearing, vanishing, reappearing, and vanishing again, the Cat is an unusual cat. The text implies how Alice sees the Cat: "Alice answered very quietly, just as if the Cat had come back in a natural way."[74] This sentence shows that for Alice, as well as for the narrator, the appearance and vanishing of the Cat look unnatural. Alice tries to get used to this unnatural phenomenon and keeps on talking about it in a calm way, though she also regards this phenomenon as strange and curious. She does not raise any questions or show strong reaction to the Cat's appearances and disappearances, but only states that "'I wish you wouldn't keep appearing and vanishing so suddenly: you made one
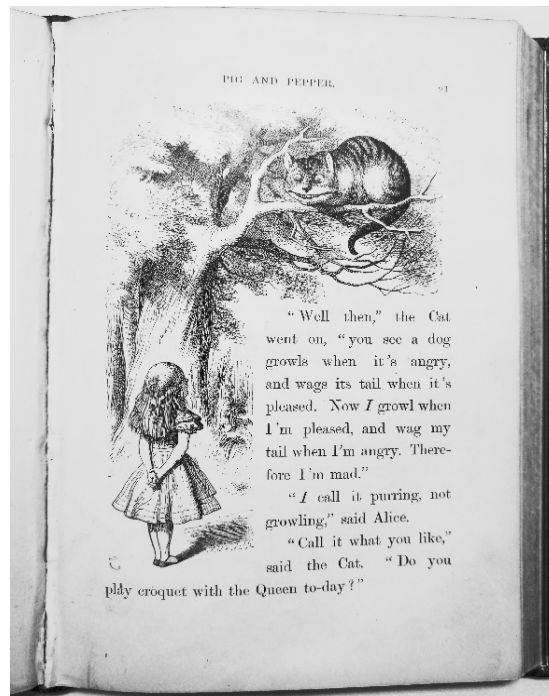
Figure 6. Alice met the Cheshire Cat on a bough, grinning at her. One page from the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866), pp.90-91.

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[73] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 92-94.
[74] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 92.

quite giddy!'"[75] Initially she is not ready to witness this phantasmagorical phenomenon; however, she accepts it as "the most curious thing."

Marina Warner comments that, at this point by showing the dissolving Cat, "Carroll […] introduced cinematic techniques into storytelling."[76] Indeed, it is not only Carroll's words that create this cinematographic effect of the text, but also the presentation of Tenniel's contribution. The visual effect brought by the book highlights Carroll's story-telling, and gives the readers a reading experience that is influenced by the visual elements (Figure 6. and Figure 7). The impact of the illustrations in the Dodgson–Tenniel collaboration is discussed in Chapter One. Warner's argument seems to focus on the text and leaves out the important illustrations. The gesture of turning one page of a book or the gesture of replacing a slide has an uncanny feature, because they make familiar images into unfamiliar images between pages or slides. I argue that it is necessary to reflect on the indication of "transfiguration" both in the verbal text and the pictorial one in this scene if the Cat is regarded as a mark of the author's intention of mediating the world into other forms.
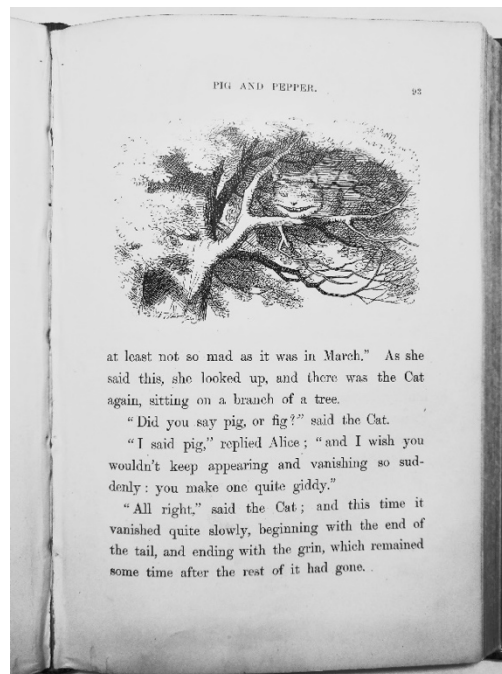
Figure 7. The Cheshire Cat disappear from the bough. One from the book
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (Macmillan, 1866), pp. 92-93.

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[75] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 93.
[76] Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors and Media into the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 153.

Alice's encounter with the Cat sitting on the bough appears like an audience's experience of viewing phantasmagoria or magic lantern shows, which may contain dissolving images. According to Tom Gunning, "'phantasmagoria', the name of a form of popular entertainment that premiered at the end of the eighteenth century became in the nineteenth (and twentieth century) a key term of intellectual and aesthetic discussion."[77] There was a long tradition of performing optical illusions in European culture.[78] Athanasius Kircher's projection of images in the seventeenth century was to demonstrate naturalistic principles (though not to the public). *Phantasmagorie* performed by Étienne-Gaspard Robert, also known as Robertson, in Paris in the eighteenth century, created a phantom of a devil in front of a larger audience. This kind of illusionary spectacle became a popular entertainment throughout Europe. As Gunning notes, "the Phantasmagoria literally took place on the threshold between science and superstition, between Enlightenment and Terror." [79] Since its first appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Britain, phantasmagoria became increasingly important in British cultural activities and they developed into a modernized mechanism to show and demonstrate vision and knowledge by the Victorians.

Exposing the apparatus was inevitable in a magic lantern show. The devices used for entertainment could give a new myth in the performance. The material inventions and technological innovations are tangible, but inconceivable for most of the audience with insufficient knowledge of the trickery. More importantly, these inventions and innovations help to enhance the quality of the visual performance and the viewing experience. In addition, the lanternists present themselves as professionals who have a particular knowledge about the devices. So the lantern presentation was not only a story telling event, but also a demonstration of modern technology. This means that the other

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[77] Tom Gunning, "The Illusion Past and Future: The Phantasmagoria and Its Specters," <http://www.mediaarthistory.org/refresh/Programmatic%20key%20texts/pdfs/Gunning.pdf> (accessed on 28 October 2017).
[78] See *Oxford Compendium of Visual Illusions*, ed. Arthur G. Shapiro and Dejan Todoović, (New York: Oxford University Press), *Europe's Optical Illusion* by Norman Angell (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1909).
[79] Tom Gunning, "The Illusion Past and Future," 3.

reason for the popularity of the lantern presentation might be the popularity of scientific equipment and education. Dodgson's expectation of the *Alice* book to be a fairy tale without fairies fits perfectly with this trend of retelling the fantastic story with scientific discourse, just like the Alice story in magic lantern presentations.

The Royal Polytechnic Institution is a fitting home of *Alice* lantern presentation because it has an established tradition of magic lantern and optical performance before its Alice production. In 1838, the Royal Polytechnic Institution was founded as "an institution for the advancement of the arts and practical science."[80] Mervyn Heard states that, in the mid-nineteenth century, the institution became "the creative home of the Magic Lantern."[81] John Henry Pepper, who joined the Royal Polytechnic Institution in the 1840s, made great efforts to develop the institution into a "new type of museum showing the audience new wonders."[82] Heard writes:

> [I]n its heyday during the 1860s and 70s the delights of the building were available to the public six days a week --Monday to Saturday--from noon until ten at night. Beyond the entrance doors lay the Great Hall where visitors could watch spectacular glassblowing displays, model boats, … Each day there was also a full programme of repeated demonstrations, conjuring displays, concerts and magic lantern performances packed with breath-taking optical effects.[83]

In December 1862, Pepper adapted Charles Dickens's *The Haunted Man* into his show and, in the following year, other stories based on popular stories were put on stage at the Royal Polytechnic Institution. *Beauty and Beast* and *The Ghost!* were on stage in the theatre at the institution in 1863 and 1864.[84] Reading materials such as books and periodicals and entertaining performances were closely associated in the 1860s and

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[80] *Prospectus of an Institution for The Advancement of Arts and Practical Science*, (5 Cavendish Square, and Regent Street, London. 14 Dec 1837). The document is in the "Administrative and Business Records" of Royal Polytechnic Institution at The University of Westminster Archive, <http://archivesearch.westminster.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=RPI%2f2%2f8> (accessed on 29 October 2017), also see Science Museum Group Collection Online <https://collection.sciencemuseum.org.uk/objects/co8035604> (accessed 29 October 2017).
[81] Mervyn Heard, *Phantasmagoria: The Secret Life of the Magic Lantern* (Sussex: The Projection Box, 2006), 226.
[82] Bernard Lightman. *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 196-8.
[83] Mervyn Heard, *Phantasmagoria: The Secret Life of the Magic Lantern* (Sussex: The Projection Box, 2006), 227.
[84] See *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments* (London: Royal Poly Technic Institution, 1863-4).

1870s. Kember suggests that the audience of these visual-oriented performances were also "exposed to a great deal of printed publicity in relation to the exhibits."[85] His argument is that the reading texts might bring the audience "more active, even critical, interpretive strategies."[86] For the audiences, viewing the spectacle was related to their reading: the materials might be the original work that the performances were based on; or they might be promotions or reviews of the productions. Mixing image and verse in reading materials and entertainments were common in Victorian cultural life. While the *Alice* books used illustrations to attract readers, the *Alice* lantern shows created a more complex verse–image relationship to impress the audience.

Magic Lantern Shows in Nineteenth-Century England

A "first Magic Lantern" is mentioned in a poem included in *Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern; or the world Turned Upside Down* by Ann and Jane Taylor, published in 1810 with twenty-four engraving illustrations. Interestingly, Jane Taylor's "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" is referred to by the Hatter as a parody in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.* In the introduction of *Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern*, the poets described the "first Magic Lantern":

> I can't tell the story for truth, but 'tis said,
> That the first Magic Lantern that ever was made,
>   Perplex'd the inventor extremely;
> For houses, and people, and all that he shew'd,
> In spite of his efforts, could only be view'd
>   Upside down, which was very unseemly![87]

The poem tells a story of how the inventor and others respond to the "distorted" image. The inventor creates an inverted image, either deliberately or by "accident". He is confused by the "unseemly" result of the projection, so he decides to bring it to the public. To "pass off the affair," he had no intention of entertaining the audience, but aimed to engage others to help solve his puzzles. However, it turns out that people are pleased by this "original thought" because they are amused by the turned-up-side-down

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[85] Joe Kember, *Marketing Modernity: Victorian Popular Shows and Early Cinema* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), 47.
[86] Kember, 48.
[87] Ann and Jane Taylor, "Introduction" in *Signor Topsy-Turvy's Wonderful Magic Lantern; Or the World Turned Upside Down* (London: Tabart & Co., 1810), 1-3.

image. The end of the poem implies that the disputes on how to display the image help to promote the proliferation of the slides. The audience are content to be amused by the distorted image after all. The incident seems to start with an individual observation or experimentation, and the unexpected discoveries make the confused person resort to a group of people to seek for resolution. The larger audiences seem less concerned about the inventor's question; they enjoy the unusual entertainment. The scenario described in the poem demonstrates the impact of the magic lantern show among the public. The case in the poem indicates that curiosity increased the popularity of the magic lantern show.

When Alice fell down the rabbit hole, she thought: "'How funny it'll seem to come out among the people that walk with their heads downwards! The Antipathies, I think—'"[88] Amusement is important for Alice in the *Alice* book, so is it to the reader, the listener of a story, or a dreamer. This demand for amusement and novelty is shared by the inventor's audience in Taylor's poem. The prioritization of amusement in the *Alice* stories and Taylor's poem reflects the Victorians' enthusiasm for visual leisure and entertainment. Optical devices such as the telescope, kaleidoscope, and magic lantern resulted in new observing techniques, new knowledge and vision. Though the magic lantern presentation did not appear as bewitching and enchanting as the earlier phantasmagoria, the novelties in the materiality and performativity engaged in illustrated lectures and readings still created wonders for the spectators' eyes. Throughout the nineteenth century, people living in big cities were fascinated by various spectacle entertainments such as diorama, panorama, and dissolving views. They were keen on encountering new visions and experience, by taking a train or attending spectacle entertainments.[89] These optical performances offered alternative means for people to "go" sightseeing in other places that were exotic or fantastic. This theme is embodied in the Alice story.

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[88] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 5.
[89] See Lynne Kirby, *Parallel Tracks: The Railroad and Silent Cinema* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

Magic lanterns were also used in schools, churches, and households as accessible philosophical instruments and intellectual toys. Laurent Mannoni states: "The Lantern was never so much in demand, so widely sold, so much *à la mode* as in the second half of the nineteenth century."[90] Mannoni observes that, "the Victorian Britain showed a huge appetite for science and progress and fascination with scientific instruments and spectacle."[91] He suggests that, "Magic Lantern shows were even more popular in Britain than in the rest of Europe, and British lantern manufacturers and exhibitors were far more numerous than their French counterparts."[92] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the British magic lantern industry expanded with the increasing number of manufacturers. Mannoni writes:

> So far as slides were concerned, lanternists at the end of the nineteenth century were spoilt of choice: […] In London the choice was even wider: 150,000 subjects in the catalogue of W.& F. Newton, 200,000 in that of E.G. Wood. The majority of these were photographic slides, but there were also plenty of mass-produced printed subjects, chromolithographs and moving slides.[93]

The popularization of the magic lantern and its proliferation from entertainment to education were mostly due to the manufacture of the lantern equipment and slides. As an industrial product, the magic lantern thoroughly interacted with other media—print, and photography for example. As a popular optical device, it provided new conditions and possibilities for audiences to encounter visions and experiences combining entertainment and education.

The widely used magic lanterns testified to the tendency of combining amusement and pedagogy in cultural life. Joe Kember holds that, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, spectacular entertainment influenced the British illustrated lecturing tradition significantly.[94] To attract audiences for the lectures and other demonstrating events

> [t]he popular lecturers tend to "garnish the information" they conveyed to their audiences with "rhetorical flourishes" and to stress peculiar,

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[90] Laurent Mannoni, *The Great Art of Light and Shadow: Archaeology of Cinema*, Translated and edited by Richard Crangle (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), 264.
[91] Mannoni, 264.
[92] Mannoni, 264.
[93] Mannoni, 288.
[94] Joe Kember, *Marketing Modernity: Victorian Popular Shows and Early Cinema* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009).

sensational, and strange phenomena rather than those that were intrinsically important. The popular lecturers had a "strong propensity for paradox' and sought to 'surprise and astonish his auditors."[95]

The audiences went to theatres for spectacular shows and those who went for public lectures had different expectation for the events. Theatregoers might expect more spectacular visual effects while attendees of lantern lectures might expect informative illustrations. But they shared the same purpose—to see novelty and excitement. In this sense, illustrations in lantern lectures functioned similarly to the wood-engraving illustrations in books. Alice complained about the absence of pictures and conversations when she looked at her sister's book. Dodgson believed that pictures might impress and please Alice Liddell—the particular reader of his handmade copy of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*. He knew that pictures will impress the common reader, particularly young readers like Alice among the public.

Projecting *Alice*

The process of making magic lantern slides retained the practice of drawing and hand-crafting. The images on magic lantern slides in a projection can be regarded as an intermediary between static images on paper (including wood-engraving illustrations) and moving images on screen. These images are both static and movable. As part of the lantern slides as artefacts, the hand-painted, hand-coloured, or printed pictures are displayed as static images. Before the lantern slides are projected, the pictures are static on glass sheets. The fantastic effects of the pictures are sealed in these slides, like genies in the lamp in fairy tales. In projection, the figures on the lantern slides are enlarged and their colours appear different because of the changes in size, and light. In addition, the mechanisms on the slides are activated during the projection. The projection brings out the fantastic effects of the lantern slides and gives the static images a lively appearance. Many magic lantern slides of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* based on the book illustrations are like book illustrations. They embody the process of handcraft as work of art, like the processes of drawing and engraving; and when in projection, they are in a

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[95] Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vii.

mechanical operation and industrial circulation, like the illustrations in the process of printing and publishing. This is a process with two stages: the first stage is to produce the image, and the second to expand their impact.

Dodgson's letters to the publisher Macmillan on March 1, 1876 shows that, before the proposal from the Royal Polytechnic Institution, he already had discussed with Macmillan the prospect of publishing the magic lantern slides for *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.[96] In addition, others had approached Dodgson to discuss the theatrical adaptation of the *Alice* stories before the Royal Polytechnic Institution adapted the *Alice* stories into theatre in 1876. The German Reed Entertainment was founded in 1855 and was regarded as a family-friendly theatre at a time when most theatres in London rarely provided entertainments for younger audiences. Dodgson met Thomas German Reed and Priscilla German Reed in November 1874. Dodgson had discussions with the Reeds on adapting *Alice* in 1875. He wrote in his diary:

> Jan: 29. (F). Heard from Mrs. German Reed, on the subject we talked about on the 13th, the dramatizing of *Alice*. They have no definite idea as yet of undertaking it, but wish to know what my ideas are as to the outlay to be gone to, the terms for right of acting, etc.[97]

Most of the productions by The German Reed Entertainment were musicals before they contacted with Dodgson. If the German Reeds had carried out the adaptation in their new venue in Regent Street, they probably would have adapted the story into an opera or drama. So far there is no evidence showing why the prospective collaboration of Dodgson and the German Reeds did not work out before the *Alice* production was shown at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in April 1876.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the Royal Polytechnic Institution produced a series of fantastic entertainments to attract visitors. Buckland presented *Alice's Adventures, or The Queen of Hearts and the Stolen Tart* at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in 1876, which turned out to be a success. The very first promotion of the performance appeared in the

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[96] Morton N Cohen, Anita Gandolfo, ed., *Lewis Carroll and the House of Macmillan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, first published in 1987, digitally printed version 2007), 122. The letter is addressed to Mr. Macmillan, most likely Alexander Macmillan.
[97] Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diary*, Vol.6 (London: The Lewis Carroll Society, 2003), 379.

programme for the week commencing 20th March 1876, though it was on the last page. It did not mention the title, but only revealed: "An Entirely New Musical and Pictorial Entertainment, By George Buckland."[98] The title "Alice In Wonderland" was added to the previous description three weeks later and this performance was promoted as the headline for the Easter season. More details were given at the end of March by adding a subtitle "or The Queen of Hearts and the Missing Tarts" and describing the performance as an adaptation of "Mr. LEWIS CARROLL's charming Fairy Story" with poems, music, dissolving views, and songs.[99] This process of revealing details gradually built up suspense about the content and form of the performance. In this sense, before the first *Alice* show, the later the information was revealed, the more essential the information was—poem, music, dissolving views are all attractions in Buckland's *Alice*.

Buckland's *Alice* show stayed in the *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainment Programme* throughout the whole Easter season from the end of March to the middle of May and it was on stage from Monday to Saturday both at a quarter past four in the afternoon and at nine o'clock in the evening in the large theatre. There were positive reviews from the press after the show, which were immediately quoted in the following issue of the Programme after the first week of showing *Alice*. A new version was shown at the end of May for Whit Sunday and a partial show of *Alice* to the Royal members visiting the institute on 6th July all marked the achievement of Buckland's work in that year.[100] Seeing Buckland's *Alice*, Dodgson embraced new forms of telling the Alice story. As Groth argues, Dodgson's attendance of Buckland's performance and participation in the musical play of *Alice* made in the 1888 were proof of his openness to the adaptation of *Alice* into other media.[101] In addition, the frequency of Dodgson's attendance shows that he joined other theatregoers to see the *Alice* stories in a new form, and it is very likely that he enjoyed this theatrical experience of his story.

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[98] *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme* No.169 (London: Royal Polytechnic Institution, 1876),16.
[99] *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme* No.170, (London: Royal Polytechnic Institution, 1876), 9.
[100] The details of these repeated shows can be found in *Royal Polytechnic Institution Entertainments Programme* No. 182, 183, 184, 185 (London: Royal Polytechnic Institution, 1876).
[101] Helen Groth, "Dissolving Views: Dreams of Reading Alice," 130-131.

Dodgson's diary shows that he attended Buckland's production on the 17th or 18th of April 1876. Dodgson recalled the performance in his diary on 18th:

> AP: 18. (Tu). Went to the Polytechnic with Caroline and Henrietta to see Mr. G. Buckland's Entertainment *Alice's Adventures*. It lasted about 1¼ hours. A good deal of it was done by dissolving views, extracts from the story being read, or sung to Mr. Boyd's music; but the latter part had a real scene and five performers (Alice, Queen, Knave, Hatter, Rabbit) who acted in dumb show, the speeches being read by Mr. Buckland. The "Alice" was a rather pretty child of about 10 (Martha Wooldridge) who acted simply and gracefully. An interpolated song for the Cat, about a footman and housemaid, was so out of place, that I wrote afterwards to ask Mr. Buckland to omit it.[102]

In this paragraph, Dodgson described the show only mentioning the music as "interpolated". It seems that he was content with most of the show. Another reason for Dodgson to go to this *Alice* show might have been the optical device and theatrical effects used in the show. Dodgson was interested in events related to looking and optical devices and tools. He frequently visited galleries, museums, and theatres; and had interests in photography and other instruments and optical devices. The Brighton Museum and Art Gallery holds a tiny toolbox made by Dodgson.[103] In the theatre, new materials and technologies changed the Alice character and Wonderland into another form. For Dodgson and other audience members, the experience in theatre would be like adventures in Wonderland.

From another perspective, Dodgson's descriptive record shows that Buckland's "Alice" was a hybrid of magic lantern shows, lecturing, theatrical and music performances. Beside his discontent with the song for the Cat, Dodgson did not make further comments on Buckland's work which makes him sound like a calm observer who focused on what devices were used to tell the story. Dodgson's dislike of the interpolated songs lasted until the second run of Buckland's production—*Alice's Adventures*, *or More Adventures in Wonderland*. He wrote in his diary

> June 10. (Sat). Left for a visit to Guildford, going round by London, to see the second edition of Alice at the Polytechnic. […] The new version is the

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[102] Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diary,* Vol. 6, 457.
[103] Dodgson's tool box was made in wood and metal and it includes eight miniature tools, <http://brightonmuseums.org.uk/discover/collections/collection-search/?cblid=BTNRP_R173> (accessed on 25 October 2017).

same except that for the 'footman' song is substituted one about 'a naughty little boy', part of which I must protest against as too horrible to be comic.[104]

The disputes between Dodgson and the Royal Polytechnic Institution on interpolating songs into the play led to the failure of the latter's proposal to make another performance on *Alice* in 1877. Dodgson's reason to refuse was consistent with his previous dissatisfaction about the overdone dramatization. He wrote:

> June 18. (M). Wrote to Mr. Owen, one of the directors of the Polytechnic, in answer to his letter received yesterday, proposing to reproduce Alice: I declined to give leave and explained (1) that I objected to interpolation and meant any future dramatic versions to be the book itself, (2) that I meant to charge a 'royalty', if it were ever to be done again.[105]

Despite the songs that the author of the book disliked, Buckland highlighted the visual effects with optical devices such as lantern slides and phantasmagorical dissolving views. Besides the visual effects, Buckland's work also included "pictures and conversations"— two important elements in a good book in Alice's opinion.

The dissolving views of the Alice story were painted on transparent glass sheets and projected through a magic lantern in the large theatre at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street. Illuminated and projected by the magic lantern, images of *Alice* were shown to the public as a first live representation of the story. In the dissolving views, the pictures of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* broke the limits of static forms of illustration and were transformed into glittering moving pictures on the screen. Because of the new technology, the images of Alice and Wonderland in the magic lantern shows were lively and colourful. Roberts' attempts to reconstruct the structure of Buckland's performance is mostly based on the material of the surviving slides. He suggests that the complexity of the slides shows that Buckland's show was technically sophisticated. He further compares them with two sets of commercial lantern slides to show the impact of the market in deciding the lantern slides production. Roberts' studies

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[104] Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diary,* Vol. 6*,* 465.
[105] Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diary*, Vol. 7, 42-3.

regard the lantern slides as a commodity that reflects the lantern market in the second half of the nineteenth century.[106]

Compared to *Alice* magic lantern slides produced by other manufacturers, the lantern slides used by Buckland were unusual and unique. Despite the spectacular effect described in the newspaper reviews, the slides were uncommon in their size and quality. Painted by W. R. Hill, each of the surviving slides are about 27×31 inches in size. This size stood out from others because 8.3×8.3 inches was the most common format for slides produced since the 1860s or even earlier. These slides demonstrated some refined techniques used in making lantern slides and these unusual lantern slides also prove the scale and sophistication of the magic lantern shows in the Royal Polytechnic institution in the 1870s.

One of those surviving Royal Polytechnic Institution slides show the scene of the Cat sitting on the bough. Roberts discusses the Cat slide briefly and suggests a relationship between the Cheshire Cat book illustrations with dissolving views.[107] Analysing more details on the Royal Polytechnic Institution slide showing the Cheshire Cat sitting on the bough, I argue that this lantern slide echoes the visual effect of the book illustrations and it reflects the audience's expectations for visual attractions. Comparing the Cat image in book illustrations and the absent image of the Cat in the Royal Polytechnic lantern slides, I further argue that this lantern slide shows a disassembled or reassembled picture of the book illustration. Though it was made according to the frame and structure of the book illustration, the mechanics of the lantern slides breaks the book illustration into different elements and rearranges them onto several layers. New materials and technology used in making the Royal Polytechnic Institution lantern slide made the elements in the book illustration into fragments, so that the lantern slide presented a sophisticated version of the book illustration, which is exemplified by this Cheshire Cat slide.

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[106] Roberts, 6.
[107] Roberts, 11. Helen Groth also discusses this referring to Simon During, see Groth, 139.

At the point when Alice witnesses the Cat playing tricks sitting on the bough appearing and vanishing, the book shows a special visual effect by arranging two consecutive illustrations with similar layouts and putting the second picture right underneath the first one. The second picture looks like a copy of the first one, except that the Cat looks lightened in shade. Engaging with the work of Douglas-Fairhurst, who has also written on the topic, Roberts points out that Douglas-Fairhust "does not recognise this as a dissolving view."[108] However, Roberts' own observation is limited to the study of the mechanical design in the lantern slides, leaving the thematic implications of the material and mechanics of these trickeries unaddressed. My analysis is a comparison between the book illustrations and the lantern slide, in terms of both the material conditions and the thematic and cultural implications.

Reading the book, one turns the page of the first illustration to see the second illustration reveal itself. It is in a similar position with the same frame and composition as the previous illustration. The similarities between the two pages create an illusion that the first page has not been turned, or the turning gesture does not function. Thus, the readers may feel confused if they see the Cat is absent in the second illustration. If they miss the point of the dissolving the Cat, they may turn back to the previous page to check if the design is flawed; they may identify the difference between the two pictures and understand the purpose of this special design. This pair of illustrations in the book give an immediate impression of the Cat's presence and absence on the bough. This could attract readers even when they have not read the text. If they look closely while they keep turning the paper back and forth, they will experience how Alice saw the Cat appear and vanish and reappear and disappear. This is also the effect that the dissolving views shown at the Royal Polytechnic Institution were intended to create for the audience.

In the surviving Royal Polytechnic Institution lantern slide of the Cheshire Cat scene, Alice is standing under a big tree but the Cat is not shown in the picture (Figure 8). The missing Cat is probably painted on another slide that will be inserted at a certain point

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[108] Roberts, 11.

during the projection. In this case, the appearance and disappearance of the Cat can be created by controlling the other slides so to create a dissolving figure on the screen. It is not clear how the slides were controlled in the process and the slide containing the Cat figure is not mentioned in any collection so far. In terms of its relationship to the illustrations, this slide shows a frame that is identical to that in Tenniel's illustrations in the *Alice* book, while offering a bigger picture so that the setting is more finely depicted.

Figure 8. Alice's Adventures: Cheshire Cat dissolve, large format slide by W.R. Hill, hand- painted, 1876, National Media Museum, Ref: 1951-305/5.

With the Cat figure missing, this slide looks like the second illustration depicting the disappearance of the Cat in the book. Shown on the screen instead of a piece of paper, the dissolving view of the Cat in theatre was a more overwhelming visual experience for the audience. My assumption that the missing figure of the Cat is on another lantern slide is based on several other slides in this incomplete set. In the current collection, one slide shows the image of the White Rabbit and another shows a group of animals. The White Rabbit and the animals look like they are taken out as parts of the illustrations. Roberts mentions a panoramic lantern slide that is for the introduction of the White Rabbit. He observes: "The slide does not feature a White Rabbit, suggesting that a second lantern would have superimposed the Rabbit over the top."[109] I suggest that the same mechanism may work for the Cheshire Cat scene, which means the Cat and the

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[109] Roberts, 9.

surviving slides need to work together to show the dissolving views of the Cat appearing, disappearing and reappearing.

The Cat is an unstable element in both the book illustrations and the lantern slides. The elements in the illustrations are rearranged by using lantern slides. The projected images on the screen hide the material structural difference between the pictures on the lantern slides and those in the book illustrations. A book illustration is a one-piece work on the page, while the dissolving views contain different layers of pictures. The multiple depth of the picture is presented in one major lantern slide with movable minor attachments; in contrast, it is shown in two separate complete pictures in the book. The dissolving effects in the lantern performance is created by controlling the sophisticated lantern equipment. This is different from seeing the dissolving effect in the book illustrations by turning one page. In addition, the atmosphere in the theatre is different from that of an environment for reading. The lantern performance shows the Alice image in a public and dark space, while the illustrations showing the dissolving effect are seen in lit-up conditions which are often intimate or private.

In the book, the Cat looks like a displaced figure in both Tenniel's illustration and the verbal text. It seems to be an embodiment of mischief. This dissociated Cat image highlights the importance of visibility and movement in understanding the Alice story through the pictorial and verbal texts. The dissolving Cat is a changing image in the book as the readers turn the page. Because of new materials and technologies used in lantern presentation, pictures can be placed in juxtaposition and be edited in the magic lantern presentation. The difference between the dissolving effect in the illustrations and that in the lantern slides also lies in the bodily experience. Turning the pages to see the dissolving effect of the book illustrations is a similar gesture to turning the pages to read the text. This on-going visual effect gives an extra element of entertainment in reading an illustrated book and it highlights the material of the pictures and their presence in the book. This is similar to the effect of the dissolving Cat figure in the *Alice* show at the Royal Polytechnic Institution.

Reading/Listening to *Alice* with Lantern Slides

Besides the unique set of slides made by the Royal Polytechnic Institution, the National Media Museum also has a set of slides published by Macmillan during the 1870s. The slides are catalogued as hand painted and the images on the slides show that they were made from Tenniel's illustrations for the *Alice* book. It is not clear how many sets where produced as this version, but there is no doubt that the manufactured slides enabled the projected *Alice* from the Royal Polytechnic Institution theatre to proliferate into a broader sphere.

Thus, the projection of the Alice story was not limited by time and venue. With the new devices, the images of *Alice* were carried by thousands of transparent lantern slides and spread to thousands of screens throughout the country since the 1870s. At the beginning of the story, Alice "peeped" into the book her sister was reading and was disappointed to find "no pictures or conversations". The lack of visual images in her sister's reading makes Alice restless, "so she was considering in her own mind..."[110] This implies that Alice's contemplation may overlap with her dream. One might imagine that Alice would be more attentive if she went to a magic lantern reading. Because of the magic lantern presentations, new materials, devices, and practices developed a new mode of story-telling: reading the literary text with slide shows. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, it was an alternative way to circulate the *Alice* stories and images.

The popularity of many entertaining shows in England since the mid-nineteenth century demonstrates that the Victorians became increasingly attracted by pictures in their cultural life and more pictures were about to emerge to meet their leisure and educational demands.[111] Because of this demand for visual entertainment, lantern slides were manufactured on a large scale, and the lantern market had started growing from the 1860s. Besides theatres, lantern slides were often projected in public venues like classrooms and community spaces for educational or social activities. Not as spectacular as those ones used in Buckland's theatrical *Alice* show, many other versions

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[110] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 2.
[111] See Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 1-2.

of *Alice* lantern slides were produced before the 1910s. Roberts mentions two sets made by York & Son and W. Butcher & Sons. Most of them were shown in magic lantern readings.

Like many spectacular performances produced at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, Buckland's show presented a fantastic Alice story and demonstrated how scientific devices were used for producing entertainment. Like the illustrated books of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, this type of entertainment was for well-off families in the 1870s. However, when cheaper magic lanterns and lantern slides of *Alice* stories were manufactured and circulated in the market, the *Alice* lantern shows became more accessible to a larger audience. These simpler and cheaper lantern slides enabled the projected *Alice* image to go beyond the theatre as the lantern slides were shown as evening entertainment in neighbourhoods.

Magic lantern readings were popular throughout Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century. Since the 1860s, the magic lantern had been regarded as an optic toy,[112] or a common instrument for amusement and education. Many of the magic lantern lectures or readings were for educational purposes in families, schools, and churches since the middle of the century. For these shows, the topics of the slides were mostly natural history, landscape, or illustrations from books and periodicals. Lantern lectures based on illustrated books and comic journals were more substantial and entertaining while some lectures showing images of botanical, natural history, landscapes, and exotic costumes were informative and scholarly.

Leora Wood Wells claims that Dodgson was interested in viewing magic lantern shows as well as giving them as he mentioned the magic lantern several times in his diary during the 1850s.[113] Whether this claim is true or not, a private note written by Selwyn Blackett, a lanternist, gives important information regarding the *Alice* lantern shows. This memo

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[112] Edward Groom, *The Art of Transparent Painting on Glass for the Magic Lantern* (London: Winsor and Newton, 1863), v.

[113] Leora Wood Wells, "Lewis Carroll in Magic Lantern Land," in *ML Bulletin: Publication of Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada*, Vol. 3 No.4 (Jan 1982), 1.

is found in a signed copy of Carroll's *Hunting of the Snark* from the special collection in Doheny Memorial Library at the University of Southern California. The book was as a gift given from Dodgson to Mabel Blackett in 1876. Selwyn Blackett met Dodgson in 1976 and introduced magic lantern reading as a performance to Dodgson. His memo reads: "In 1876 I paid a visit to Dodgson to ask his consent to my giving a magic lantern reading of 'Alice in Wonderland'. He cordially agreed, and asked me to repeat it at Oxford, for he said that he had never heard it."[114]

Dodgson refers to "dissolving views" in his diary entry (cited earlier), which suggests that he was familiar with how the device of the magic lantern worked. This also suggests that he had seen magic lantern shows before he asked the Blackett to bring the lantern reading of "Alice in Wonderland" to Oxford. According to Blackett, Dodgson said "he had never heard it". To hear a magic lantern reading might be regarded as another experience from watching a magic lantern show like the "Musical and Pictorial Entertainment" at the Royal Polytechnic Institution. Dodgson's response to the proposal shows that he regarded the proposed lantern reading of *Alice in Wonderland* and Buckland's *Alice* shows as two different types of performance though they all used magic lanterns.

Beside the function of the magic lantern, the relationship between the showmen and the spectators adds to the attractiveness and speciality of magic lantern shows. Controlling the projection and knowing the content of the reading material, the lecturer manipulates both the visual and the verbal information during the show. Buckland was an experienced lecturer who worked well with complex magic lantern performances. But this kind of complex and accomplished show needed specialities to perform, so was confined to the theatre at Regent Street in London.

This also proves that the mechanical complexity and dramatic effects in the Royal Polytechnic Institution *Alice* slides were not easily copied to the manufactured standard

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[114] The note is attached in a copy of *Hunting of the Snark* (1876) given from Dodgson with his handwriting of the receiver's name and an acrostic poem mentioned in the note, which was working on Mabel Blackett's name. The book is now at Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California.

Alice slides. The simplified slides were easier to use and less expensive and so were circulated more broadly. The popularity of magic lantern slides and magic lanterns was indeed a modernized version of the traditional phantasmagoria. The technical aspects of lantern presentations reveal how materials and technologies were used pragmatically and scientifically in theatres and created spectacular visual effects to attract numerous consumers. This scientific modification of an optical trick relied on mass produced materials including glass, and raw materials for making lantern equipment; it also relied on popularized knowledge and technology accompanying these devices. Because of the modified lantern equipment, the modern lantern show presents, reflects, and produces new visions and perceptions of the tradition, condition, and future of knowledge and entertainment.

In a magic lantern reading, the slides were the central part of the presentation because the projected pictures were expected by the attendees. The images at a large size and with beautiful colours in projection look different from the mass-produced wood-engraving illustrations in print, even in simple environments like a classroom or living room. Because the lens can enlarge the fine details on the slides through the projection, magic lantern slides require more delicacy in drawing and painting to avoid flaws and defects. To enhance the visual effects, some mechanical techniques were also applied to making the lantern slides. By the 1850s, there were various slides made with different skills and mechanisms to create phantasmagorical views. But none of these were used in the manufactured *Alice* lantern slides. *A Companion to the Improved Phantasmagoria Lantern*[115] published in 1865 includes a catalogue of magic lantern slides. Most of them were illustrations of landscapes and natural history, which were quite common in many catalogues.

Some of the manufactured lantern slides in this catalogue have a dissolving view effect. One set titled "The Chromatrope or Artificial Fireworks" is an example. It is supposed to be a "Circular Painting for Dissolving Views," described as

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[115] (Anonymous,) *A Companion to the Improved Phantasmagoria Lantern, Containing a List of the Subjects; to Which is Added a Description of the Lantern and Copper-plate Sliders, with The Method of Exhibiting the Dissolving Views, with Plates*, 4th edition (London: Carpenter& Westley Opticians, 1850).

These sliders are singularly curious, the effect being very similar to that of the Kaleidoscope. The pictures are produced by very brilliant designs being painted upon glass, and the glasses being made to rotate in different directions, by means of silk bands. An endless variety of changes in the patterns are caused by turning the wheel, sometimes quickly, then slow, backwards and forwards; one of these represents a Fountain throwing up water from a multitude of jets.[116]

As the description shows, the visual effect of the slides would be phantasmagorical, and it might make the audience feel "giddy", a similar feeling that Alice experienced when she saw the Cat dissolving on the bough. Thus, the images in the *Alice* lantern slides could add more liveliness when they are compared to book illustrations. Though these manufactured *Alice* lantern slides do not have these dissolving views, this visual effect was implied in lantern reading presentations as the process of chanting the slides can create some unexpected images on the screen.

Some magic lantern lectures may not necessarily include spectacular dramatization considering their respective content and purpose, but the lecturers still relied on optical effects. The lantern slides used in lantern reading were closely associated with the verbal text. Magic lantern slides are like new static illustrations to the verbal text, which creates a new format of storytelling. They combine the changing slides that offer immediate eye-catching visual attraction for the audience and colloquial story-telling. Different from the lantern performances in theatre, these lantern presentations are lantern readings.

In lantern readings, these visual elements were essential but not dominant because the audience were used to verbal text in reading, so that listening to the lecture during the lantern reading was a common and relaxing activity. In 1833, Francis West, described as an "optical, mathematical, and philosophical instrument maker," mentioned in the introduction to *Fun for the Winter Evening* that the illustrated periodicals could be good resources for slide-makers to paint interesting works. He wrote:

It has been a matter of regret with persons purchasing the magic lantern, or phantasmagoria, that there was no dialogue or story given with the slides. Under these circumstances, and with the permission of the spirited proprietor of *Bell's life in London*, I have offered the following series, and

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[116] *A Companion to the Improved Phantasmagoria Lantern,* 46.

shall continue to paint fresh subjects, as often as they may appear adapted to the purpose in that journal, or any of the comic annual. [Italics in original][117]

This suggests that lantern slides depended on literary text as well; and they could be made as adaptations of literary stories as well as content from periodicals. This shows that even though technologies allowed new media to present images in new ways and provided more options for audiences, reading still played a dominant role in Victorian cultural life while visual elements were used in many presentation forms. Illustrations in print, images shown in performances, verbal discourses in different public reading materials, all mingled and intertwined. Because of the presence of the verbal text in its vocal form, the magic lantern readings were more closely bonded to the established tradition of text reading practice than shows, including panorama, diorama, dissolving views, and theatrical magic lantern performances.

Used in lantern slides, the images from the illustrated books and periodicals were not simple extractions but references to existing reading materials. This means they were still bonded with the verbal texts. As new references, they were used to develop new modes of perceiving the verbal text. As an intermediate form of performance between the traditional theatre and the cinema, magic lantern presentations combined the practices of reading or reciting, which were common in theatres, and image projection, which was later applied in cinema. During the presentation, the verbal texts were received through listening instead of reading, while visual images were screened at a distance, magnified and illuminated, and were replaced by new images from time to time.

If reading verbal text is regarded as a viewing practice, illustrations enrich this experience of reading a book. In traditional reading practice, literacy means to understand the written verbal text, so reading a book has the assumed premise of prioritizing the verbal over the pictorial. But in magic lantern readings, verbal text becomes invisible to the

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[117] Francis West, *Fun for the Winter Evening; Containing Descriptive Dialogues for the Slides and Full Directions of Exhibiting the Phantasmagoria* (London: J. Harris, St. Paul's Churchyard; and Chapple, Paul-Mall, 1833), 5.

viewers. The viewer needs to switch the habit of looking at the verbal text on page into listening to its vocal form. This means that listening to the reading from the lecturer at a lantern reading allows the viewer to focus on pictures without distractions from the verbal text. At this point, the viewer's vision is occupied by the illuminated screen surrounded by darkness, and the viewer's eyes are fully attracted by projected pictures. Verbal text becomes invisible for the viewer but it is presented with the pictures. Thus, projected pictures become the only visual attractions for the viewer, and they are the only visual gateway to the story.

Pictures became more attractive in the performance, but the invisible verbal texts still dominated the practice of storytelling in magic lantern readings. As West mentions, people used to purchase lantern slides just for the pictures and expect them to be projected to the screens.[118] But then they may find that showing the pictures solely was far from enough, verbal narrations were still indispensable. So, the practical concerns in conducting magic lantern show change from technique problems about "how to show the image" to pragmatic matters like "how to use the image". To enhance the performance, the lecturer would show the slides and read the texts accompanying the slideshow. Some manufacturers even provided standard reading materials to match their slide sets.

Richard Crangle observes that "publication of lecture texts appears to have been most commercially viable in the 1880s and 1890s. It seems quite common for readings from this period to have run into several editions, and printer's marks on the covers of some suggest print runs of five hundred to one thousand copies; …Thereafter, duplicated typescript or manuscript seems to have been the norm for lecture text dissemination."[119] Related to but separate from the lantern slides market, the reading texts were largely produced and circulated along with the magic lantern slides. Lantern reading materials seem to be overlooked in magic lantern studies. Few studies on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* have mentioned this type of text. However, I see the lantern reading

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[118] West, 5.

[119] Richard Crangle, "'Next Slide Please': The Lantern Lecture in Britain, 1890-1910," in *The Sounds of Early Cinema,* ed. Richard Abel and Rick Altman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 43.

materials as appropriations of the literary text. They are a special mediation because they transform the visible verbal text into invisible vocal text; they respond to both the book and the lantern slides.

In an illustrated book, the verbal text and pictures are visible to the viewer simultaneously; in contrast, a magic lantern reading separates the two and creates a new sensual approach to the content of the presentation. With the lantern illuminated and the slides projected, the pictures become the main attractions for the eyes while the verbal text becomes invisible and supplementary. These "invisible" reading materials accompanying the lantern slides are made from popular illustrated books or periodicals; they could be either directly copied from the original texts, or with appropriations that make the written texts acoustically attractive to the audience, or combinations of the two. In this sense, the verbal-pictorial text in illustrated books is reconstructed in the lantern reading. The illustrations are extracted and the verbal text is turned into a vocal performance. Accordingly, the established literacy towards the illustrated print is changed into a new capability of dealing with this rearrangement of pictures and text. In this sense, adapting the Alice story into lantern reading presentation is to reconstruct the word-image relationship by reforming the visual and verbal into different materials and forms.

The Magic Lantern Society's Slide Readings Library has one reading material for *Alice in Wonderland* lantern reading presentation. The catalogue information for this lantern reading material shows that it was used for a set of slides made by W. Butcher & Sons, possibly made between 1905 and 1908 (Figure 9).[120] The text looks like an assemblage of descriptions of several lantern slides. It can be divided into parts that refer to the slides respectively. On the one hand, this text refers to a set of lantern slides; on the other hand, it refers to the text and the illustrations in the *Alice* books. Like the colloquial story of Alice's adventures told by Dodgson to the Liddell sisters, this lantern reading turns the text into colloquial narration and combines it with visual representations. The

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[120] Alice in Wonderland: Chapter II—the mad tea party, slide no. 12. Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource, <www.slides.uni.trier.de/slide/index.php?id=5053633> (accessed 28 October 2017).

reading materials such as this *Alice in Wonderland* text is rarely mentioned in current studies including literary studies, adaptation studies, and magic lantern studies. As I mentioned above, text in lantern reading material is a unique and important form reflecting the appropriation of both the verbal text and the illustrations in the *Alice* books. Thus, the verbal text in lantern reading material should be taken as an important part in studies on *Alice* magic lantern presentations.

Figure 9. Alice in Wonderland Chapter II—the Mad Tea Party, standard glass slide, Private collection, Lucerma Magic Lantern Resource.

The design of the W. Butcher & Sons Alice slide set shows both the verbal text and illustrated images have been adapted into this form of presentation (Figure 9). The manufactured lantern slides were circulated in lantern slides market while the book was still on sale. These surviving lantern slides are archives documenting how the Alice story was told before the cinematic representations of Alice in the twentieth century. There are several other sets of lantern slides made during the 1870s have been found, but only one reading material has been catalogued. Other similar materials might exist but are there are rarely mentioned. These reading materials were reference for the lecturers when the lantern reading is in process. They are also important documents and archive giving information about how image and words were worked in this form of performance.

The relationship between the reading material and lantern slides is ambiguous. This Butcher & Sons set is estimated to have been produced in the early twentieth century. It is possible that there might be other versions of reading materials for this set and there are many other lantern reading materials based on the Alice story. This reading material is still worth (re-)examining in terms of its form and content. It is also uncertain how the reading material and lantern slide set were matched. It is possible that part of one reading material can be used for similar slides. This means the text is also fragmented so that it can be edited and replaced. A lantern reading text is a verbal reference for the lecturers in the show and it can be used flexibly. This flexibility indicates that the verbal presentation in the lantern reading was a supplement to the optical performance because it is viable and changeable.

The Butcher & Sons set contains three sub-sets and each sub-set consists of eight slides, so the reading material was composed correspondingly. The *Alice* book was well received since its publication in 1865 and it could be read in various ways. Undoubtedly, magic lantern lectures were one of the common ways to get to know the *Alice* stories. Tenniel's illustrations were ready-made sources for slide manufacturers to work on; Macmillan gave permission to make lantern slides for both *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*. All these conditions made it easier to manufacture the *Alice* lantern slides. Most pictures on the slides are copies or imitations of Tenniel's illustrations. This means that *Alice* was received as something more than a printed book with text and pictures; it was also received in the form of the shared experience of the lantern reading and projected slides. This new form created a new mode of understanding the story, which differed from reading a text in print. While the illustrated book was for the readers who focused on the page, this multimedia lantern reading was for an audience who listened and looked simultaneously.

The reading material for the W. Butcher & Sons set reveals how the "invisible" texts might work with the projected images in a standard magic lantern reading in the early twentieth century. The text is divided into different sections and numbered following the slides. Each section looks like a mixture of syntheses with some quotations from the original book. In general, it is straightforward as a description of the slide. Among these

twenty-four slides, the one depicting the scene with the Cat sitting on the bough is number twelve, almost right in the middle of the presentation:

> And now she saw the Cheshire Cat sitting on the boughs of a tree a few yards off. 'Cheshire Puss,' said Alice respectfully—and the Cat grinned more than ever— 'would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?' 'In that direction,' the Cat said, waving his paw around, 'lives a Hatter, and in that direction,' waving the other paw, 'lives a March Hare.' Visit either you like, they're both mad.' Then it vanished, re-appearing to ask, 'What became of the baby?' 'It turned into a pig,' said Alice. 'I thought it would,' said the Cat, and vanished again. Alice decided to visit the March Hare. 'I've seen Hatters before,' she thought to herself,' and perhaps as this is May the Hare won't be raving mad—at least not so mad as it was March.' As she walked on the Cat appeared, sitting on the branch of a tree. 'Did you say pig or fig,' said the Cat. 'I said pig,' replied Alice, 'and I wish you wouldn't keep on appearing and vanishing so suddenly, you make one quite giddy.' 'All right,' said the Cat, and this time it vanished quite slowly, beginning with the end of the tail, and ending with the grin, which remained sometime after the rest of it had gone. 'Well, I've often seen a cat without a grin,' thought Alice, 'but a grin without a cat! It is the most curious thing I ever saw in all my life!' The house of the March Hare now came in sight; the Chimneys were shaped like ears, and she raised herself to a height of two feet before approaching it.[121]

The text does not look attractive when it is read silently on the page. Most of the sentences are excerpts from the book and are short and concise. Reading it aloud at a medium pace takes about three minutes. The accompanying slide, like the Royal Polytechnic Institution slide of the Cat on the bough, adds an amusing effect to the reading. Different from the Royal Polytechnic Institution slide, this standard set is less complicated since no mechanical design is applied. This Butcher & Sons slide of the Cat shows no dissolving views, though the reading material indicates that the Cat vanished and appeared. In this sense, the Butcher & Sons lantern slides fail to create the dissolving view effect that is shown in the book illustration. Perhaps this static image of the grinning Cat gave the audience more space to imagine the scene when the slides were lit, dimmed, or changed in the projection.

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[121] The lantern reading material is in the Lantern Reading Library for the members of Magic Lantern Society. Only the members have access to the material.
<http://www.magiclantern.org.uk/membersarea/> (first accessed as a member of the society in 2015 to get the material).

A lantern reading using a set of standard magic lantern slides follows an organized structure: one image appears, stays for a while, and is withdrawn from the light; a new image appears, stays for a while, and is withdrawn from the light again; at the same time, the vocal narration is carried on with an average pace. The slide projection and the reading take place simultaneously during a lantern reading; however, the visual and vocal content of the presentation follow two different tempos. The respective temporalities in acoustic and visual expression mark a different intensity in sensory experiences for the audience. This is different from reading an illustrated book. The picture on the slide stays on the screen for minutes then the procession is broken by intervals of changing slides; it looks like it is interrupted by darkness or chaos on the screen. In contrast, reading is a flow of words that take place in their vocal form and our ears are accustomed to the breaks.

Breaks are common between paragraphs, sentences, phrases, and words in verbal expression in written or spoken forms. Pauses are occasionally made for rhetorical purpose. The structures in language—letters compose words, words compose phrases and sentences, and sentences form paragraphs and articles—tolerate the breaks between linguistic units such as words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs. Reading words, sentences and paragraphs is a temporal practice and there are always space between words, sentences and paragraphs. Looking at a picture is a temporal experience in a different manner because the presence of images persists in space. Compared with the break in vocal duration, the break in displaying the image is more noticeable. It means the absence of the image, which might bring uneasiness for the eyes, especially when they are focusing on the image in darkness.

Movement in pictures can bring another sense of temporality and a further challenge to the practice of reading and seeing. Karin Littau regards the spectator's resistance to cinema as an ill effect of the new medium since the eyes were strained.[122] In a lantern reading, if there are no special visual effects in the lantern slides, the movement of

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[122] Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Book, Body and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 49.

images means the change of slides. To the audience, who are not manipulated solely by the image since their acoustic sense is engaged by the presenter's reading, the effect brought by changing slides are less intense than the effect of a film running on the screen. But there is no doubt that the respective temporalities in acoustic and visual expression in lantern readings mark a different intensity of sensory experiences for the audience. This experience is different from the experience of reading an illustrated book.

This inevitable contradiction between the visual and acoustic perception in lantern reading reflects a developing audio-visual experience that has some similarities to the cinematic experience. For the audience, this contradiction in audio-visual presentation may create a condition for imagining the fantastic themes mentioned in the story, such as transfiguring the Cat through dissolving it in different media. The eyes have to adapt to the novelty in the material and so do the other parts of the body, and the mind needs to adjust to the new situation of perceiving. Compared with the agitating effect of cinema, the magic lantern reading came to its audience more gently. Reviews of the live shows in theatres are convenient accounts for knowing how particular performances were received publicly; however, it is hard to see how the numerous lantern shows were received among the anonymous and unrecorded audience in the 1870s.

Crangle points out that the difference between the magic lantern lectures and early cinema is that the former emphasized instruction or education while the latter was conceived as a popular entertainment medium.[123] The emphasis on introducing new vision and knowledge seemed to be the priority in magic lantern readings at that time when cinema became a new entertainment that could give more attractive narrations. By combining the slide projection with vocal reading, the lantern reading creates an intermediate form of presentation between private reading and public viewing. This public performance of the lantern adds to the pedagogic rather than entertaining features of the lantern reading. At a lantern reading, the audience sat in a dark room with the illuminated devices; they were supposed to follow the lecturer by listening and watching. The lecturer read stories and showed images on the screen accordingly. The

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[123] Crangle, "Next Slide Please," 44.

audience has less control of their intention with the medium, however, the idea of passive spectatorship has been interrogated by film theory.[124]

In addition, expecting the projected images in darkness is a different practice and experience from reading an illustrated book or periodical under light. It is difficult to compare the two practices without considering the complexity of the relation between seeing and perceiving. The forms of information conveyed by the materials are different—the illustrations in the book look different from the projected lantern slides and the page in light is a different surface from a flickering screen. The transfigurations due to the material difference come into the audiences' vision and give them a new bodily experience when encountering the image. Crangle points out that it is difficult to say whether it was "the slides [that] 'illustrated' the lectures, or the lectures [that] 'explained' the slides."[125] I would argue that the combination of pictures and text creates a sensual confusion in the audience, who are listeners, spectators, and readers. W.J.T. Mitchell has claimed that there are no "visual media" and all media are mixed media.[126] In this sense, I argue that literacy no longer just means the ability to read and write verbal texts, but can consist of visual and even sensorial practices.

Like combining pictures and text in the illustrated *Alice* book, magic lantern reading gives a parallel presentation of the verbal and the pictorial, giving the audience a more sensational experience. Readers are viewers when they read books with illustrations, and the viewers are listeners when they sit in the dark listening to the reading with a slide show. This sound–image combination in performance is like the phantasmagoria performance as well as film with sound in the 1920s. The major sound in magic lantern readings is the vocal reading of the text, which clearly marks the presenter's participation or a person's presence. The pictures on the slides cannot move automatically, they need to be turned like they are on the pages. Thus, the images in a lantern projection move with the slides, not as rapidly as the cinematographic image.

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[124] See Carrielynn D. Reinhard, ed., *Making Sense of Cinema: Empirical Studies into Film Spectators and Spectatorship* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
[125] Crangle, "Next Slide Please," 43.
[126] W. J. T. Mitchell, "There Are No Visual Media," in *MediaArtHIstories*, ed. Oliver Grau (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), 399.

The slow pace of changing slides shows that each slide is independent in succession and they do not move automatically like the film reels. Unlike the smooth movement of the picture in cinema, the speeds of changing the frame makes a big difference to the effect of displaying pictures. A faster speed creates a giddier effect. The Cat in the printed illustrations takes the slowest pace to dissolve; in this sense, an animated figure of the Cat was planned as early as this.

Conclusion: The Familiar and Unfamiliar Cat

The dissolving Cat is a metaphor for transforming the *Alice* stories in different forms. In this chapter, I have argued that the magic lantern slide used by Buckland created a new type of image that followed the book illustrations but deconstructed them by using hitherto little discussed materials and devices. Magic lantern slides and equipment further popularized the illustrations in the *Alice* books and the *Alice* stories. The new material and media technology allowed the book illustrations to proliferate and to transform. I have shown some new archival materials that either contextualize Dodgson and the Alice story into this magic lantern cultural history or reveal the reception of the lantern performance and presentation as a cultural phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Focusing on the magic lantern presentations, this chapter echoes previous discussions of the book illustrations and encloses several issues that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The question of how the Cat is shown as a dissolving view leads to many questions in this chapter. These questions are also followed by questions about the implications of a dissolving view. The images drawn from the *Alice* books and used in lantern projections may be simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar to its readers and viewers, just like the successive illustrations of the grinning Cheshire Cat in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The practice of turning and replacing matches with the dream–reality confusion and absurdity in the literary text in the book. The uncanny elements in the narration and its various forms make them persistently uncertain and unstable. The fluidities between the familiar and unfamiliar, certain and uncertain, reality and hallucination provide conditions for transformation so that the uncanny becomes a medium to carry out the potential of "becoming". In reverse, media can be regarded as

embodiments of the uncanny by providing the capacity of realising these uncertainties and ambivalences.

Before the nineteenth century, optical devices were made for privileged people to gain new visions and knowledge. Once developed with a projecting apparatus, they became available to and intimate with more audiences. In the nineteenth century, manufactured magic lanterns and lantern slides modernized the older devices for larger audiences; and the modified device and apparatus led to new sensory performances of stories. The older technologies and performances showed to the audience the ambiguous relationships between spirit and body, between the visible and the invisible, while the modern magic lantern popularized the seeing–knowing scheme.

Vision, knowledge, and power were entangled in the nineteenth century lantern performances—as they were in the traditional phantasmagoria—and the enhancing optical media technologies and industries accelerated the modernization of phantasmagoria. Though traditional reading and lecturing still played important roles in narrative performances, the audiences were withdrawn from their previous positions of reading the written words, even with illustrations. Readers were viewers, and optical devices brought them new ways to view and to experience. By the end of the nineteenth century, the public were getting ready to embrace moving pictures. During their first time in the cinema, they would probably feel the same as Alice when she saw the dissolving Cat—giddy, but curiouser and curiouser.

Chapter 3 Early Cinematic Images of Alice and Wonderland Before 1951

Introduction

Book illustrations and theatrical performances in the nineteenth century visualized the Alice story in different forms. Tenniel's illustrations were used as a reference for costume designs for George Buckland's *Alice's Wonderland, Queen of Hearts and the Stolen Tart* (1874) and the musical performance *Alice in Wonderland* (1886). The Alice image in Tenniel's Alice illustrations was dominant in the public domain until the first film based on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* was released in 1903. The costume design in the film was also based on Tenniel's drawings, which gives Alice a similar look to Alice in the book. However, the cinematography gave the Wonderland figures some realistic characteristics including photographic figures, sounds, and movements. This chapter is intended to focus on the impact of the photographic look and the sound in the film, and the next chapter will consider movement as its main topic.

The cinematographic presentation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* looks different from the still and hand-drawn pictures in the book illustrations. Besides the cinematographic camera, various techniques including trick scenes, dramatic costumes, sound, and animation were used in this film and other films based on the *Alice* stories to create fantastic effects. Some of the fantastic effects are shown as ambiguous asterisks in the book and now they are shown explicitly as lively presentations. In this sense, cinematography, as a media technology, highlighted the fantastic effects described in the text by showing them through visual representations.

Many different cinematic versions of cinematographic *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* were produced during the first half of the twentieth century. Though film was their common medium, each of the *Alice* films used different materials for creating the Wonderland landscape and adopted different methods to tell the Alice story. Two silent *Alice* films made in the 1910s, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1915), show several different versions presenting the *Alice* book with cinematography. In the 1920s, Walter Disney produced a series called "Alice Comedies"

by altering *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* into different stories. More than fifty short films were produced with the themes of "Alice's Adventures" or "Alice in Another Place"—including *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), *Alice's Wild West Show* (1924) and *Alice Gets in Dutch* (1924) and many others. By combining animated cartoons and live action, the "Alice Comedy" series cleverly used *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as a concept to introduce the idea of mixing animated drawings with photographic moving pictures. The *Alice* films made in the 1930s followed the tradition of using Tenniel's illustrations as a reference, and added sound recording to the film. In the 1940s, colour and stop-motion animations were used to create the fantastic Wonderland. For example, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) successfully mingled animated puppets and live-action to represent the surreal scenario in the *Alice* stories.

The Alice image was transfigured profoundly by film, and the reproduction of the cinematic Alice image still persists. The history of how the cinematic Alice image is developed and verified shows the development of film technology and industry. In *Alice's Adventures: Lewis Carroll in Popular Culture,* Will Brooker points out an "almost total lack of reference to Alice adaptations".[127] Brooker's research covers five *Alice* films including *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), *Alice in Wonderland* (1966), *Alice in Wonderland* (1985), *Alice* (1988), and *Alice in Wonderland* (1999). Brooker's interests are clear: "What I am interested in is what each production has included, what it has dropped, what it has changed, and what effect this has in giving us a specific vision of Alice and her world. I am also interested in what these five very different productions have in common."[128] Brooker refers to Roland Barthes' essay "Structural Analysis of Narratives" and follows Barthes' "idea of primary, cardinal functions, elements with 'direct consequence for the subsequent development of the story'" to analyse five *Alice* films.

Brooker takes Disney's Alice cartoon as the start of his survey. There are, however, several *Alice* films made before *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) and each of them demonstrates one specific version of the cinematic *Alice*. These under-researched *Alice*

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[127] Will Brooker, *Alice's Adventure: Lewis Carroll in Popular Culture* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 200.
[128] Brooker, 202.

films are also important in showing the narrative composition of the story. The *Alice* films are narrative works that reflect the directors' interpretations of the book, as Brooker points out. They are also, as I will argue, showcases of how the Alice story responded to, or adapted to different material and creative practices so that it can be well received in different contexts. These material or practical adaptations reflect the narrative composition in the book, and they also reflect their cultural environment, which is not discussed in detail by Brooker.

This chapter will discuss several *Alice* films made before *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), including *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910), *Alice in Wonderland* (1915), and *Alice in Wonderland* (1931). I argue that the new photographic and moving Alice images in these early *Alice* films break the hegemony of Tenniel's *Alice* in the public's vision and mark a new mode of understanding the fantastic Wonderland in realistic representations. These films referred to the book illustrations and used cinematic equipment for projection, which was similar but different to magic lantern equipment and slides. In this sense, these early *Alice* films, along with *Alice* book illustrations and lantern presentations, created a new mode of looking at the story in the first half of the twentieth century.

Breaking the Hegemony

Before the cinematic representation of Alice, Tenniel's drawings were the predominant printed images in the public's view. After the 1865 edition, besides several different editions published by Macmillan containing the original illustrations, several other versions of illustrated *Alice* books were published. New illustrations published before the first *Alice* film were Mary Sibree's work for *Alice and Other Fairy Plays for Children*,[129] Blanche McManus's work for the first American alternative edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*,[130] and Peter Newell's work for *Alice in Adventures in Wonderland*.[131] It seems that Tenniel's work was the most widely received among all these works. Because

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[129] Kate Kreiligrath-Kroeker, *Alice and Other Fairy Plays for Children* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1881).
[130] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (New York: M.F Mansfield, 1899).
[131] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901).

of copyright protection, many live performances also needed permission from Carroll and his publisher. For example, the Royal Polytechnic Institution had to ask Macmillan and Dodgson for consent to make hand drawn lantern slides for the *Alice* performance. Those magic lantern slides used by the Royal Polytechnic Institution, as shown in Chapter Two, are based on Tenniel's illustrations. Besides these lantern slides, another example of adherence to Tenniel's work was costume designs by M. Lucien Besche for Henry Savile Clarke's play, which "were inspired by Tenniel."[132]

Unlike magazines, newspapers and printed advertisements full of images in our present time, printed supplementary materials for live performances in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contained few pictures. As the programmes of the Royal Polytechnic Institution exemplified, the promotional material for shows and exhibitions mostly took the form of text, or text with elaborate font design to attract attention. The absence of visual elements in the promotion materials means that readers and theatregoers only read or heard rather than saw information about these spectacular live performances. The live performance as a materialisation and visualisation of the Alice story was concealed in theatre. The prevalence of Tenniel's Alice image in print was not challenged by the theatrical production or their supplementary material in print.

The lively Wonderland figures in theatre were shown only when the performance was on the stage. There was no method to record the performance, so the presentation could be repeated but not recorded or reproduced. Unlike the book illustrations or the lantern slides, the live performance was not for the audience to view repeatedly, unless they could revisit the theatre. The performance could even be a promotion for the book. It is possible that the audience would have liked to have read the book before or after attending the show, for information, or just for an aftertaste.

Tenniel's illustrations even proliferated into a play script and were regarded as an important intertextual connection between publications based on the *Alice* books.

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[132] Charles C. Lovett, *Alice on Stage: A History of the Early Theatrical Production of Alice in Wonderland together with a Checklist of Dramatic Adaptations of Charles Dodgson's Works* (London: Meckler, 1990), 49.

Savile Clarke printed his script as a book after it was shown and repeated in the theatre. Upon the publication of Clarke's play, Dodgson "wrote giving his permission for Savile Clarke to use some of Tenniel's illustrations."[133] The bond between pictures and text in Clarke's script is not as strong as it is in the *Alice* book. The presence of the images in the play script looks more likely to be a reference indicating that the script was faithful to the book, but not an equivalence of the illustrations that closely related to the text in the manuscript and books.

The hegemony of Tenniel's *Alice* drawings lasted until the twentieth century when more new versions of the illustrations came out and, more importantly, film was used to represent the story. In 1903, only five years after the death of Dodgson, the first *Alice* film *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) was released. As the first *Alice* film, *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) followed the fashion of adapting Tenniel's illustrations. The director of this film, Cecil Hepworth, mentioned in his memoir, "Every situation was dealt with all the accuracy at our command and with reverent fidelity, so far as we could manage it, to Tenniel's famous drawings…."[134] Hepworth clearly expressed his intention to keep the consistency between the new cinematic image and the old print image for "fidelity." This fidelity is primarily a visual consistency between the film and the illustration rather than the text. In this sense, the first *Alice* film joined the theatrical performances of the Alice story, highlighting the importance of the book illustrations.

The cinematic materialisations largely relied on the book illustrations, which were regarded as a more convenient source for making visual adaptations of the Alice story. Andrew Higson points out: "What is interesting […] is not merely that a 'famous' source-text was acknowledged, but that the cited authority was less Carroll than Tenniel."[135] Higson holds that "the film is more faithful to the visual detail of Tenniel and Carroll's descriptions than to the verbal detail which is half the fun of the story in book form."[136]

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[133] Lovett, 45.

[134] Cecil M. Hepworth, *Came to Dawn: Memories of A Film Pioneer*, (London: Phenix Publish House, 1951), 63.

[135] Andrew Higson, "Cecil Hepworth, Alice in Wonderland and the Development of the Narrative Film," in *Young and Innocent? The Cinema in Britain 1896-1930*, ed. Andrew Higson (Exeter: University of Exeter Press. 2002), 48.

[136] Higson, 48.

He further refers to this characteristic as "pictorial authenticity, or art-historical realism."[137] In contrast to Higson, Groth sees the film as a mediation of the story responding to the illustrations and other media. She remarks:

> The film's success depended not only on audience recognition of the details of Carroll's plot and Tenniel's illustrations, but also drew upon familiar miscellaneous habits of reading between, as well as skipping and skimming across media, that was required of turn of the century consumers on a daily basis.[138]

Putting *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) into the medial context, Groth suggests a change of "reading habits" but vaguely associates this mediation to a broader historical background.

Higson's study on Hepworth's *Alice* film is thorough but has limitations. Similar to Brooker, Higson focuses on the narrative aspects of the film and regards it as an extraordinary early narrative film in film history. Regarding Hepworth's *Alice* film as one of the early adaptation films, Higson reflects on its length and genre, and he further addresses the association between the film and the source text (both the illustration and the literary text). He recognizes Hepworth's reference to Tenniel's drawings and further connects the visual aspects of the film with the "narrative framework."[139] Higson also regards it as "an admirable case study of how such strategies were developed."[140] By "strategy", Higson means that "use of chase" and "the reliance on an audience's prior knowledge of a story" are "ways of transforming the contingency of the turn-of-the-century film programme—a string of short attractions, many of them non-fiction, related if at all only technically—into the consequentiality of narrative."[141] It is likely that the Alice story was well-known to the Anglophone audience in the twentieth century because various versions of the *Alice* book, lantern slides, and live performances preceded it and were widely circulated. In this sense, the form of the representation

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[137] Higson, 50.

[138] Helen Groth, "Projections of Alice: anachronistic reading and the temporality of mediation," in *Textual Practice*, 26:4 (2012): 680.

[139] Higson, 50.

[140] Higson, 42.

[141] Higson, 42.

rather than the narration would become the major attraction. The film *per se* was an attraction.

Hepworth refers to this first *Alice* film in his memoir, describing it as "a more ambitious effort."[142] He does not describe their ambition directly, but he recalled: "This was the greatest fun and we did the whole story in 800 feet—the longest ever at that time."[143] According to Katherine Groo:

> [W]hen the film was originally released, it was the longest ever made in Britain at just over 800 feet (about twelve minutes). The unusual length of the film ensured that it rarely would have been screened in its entirety. Rather, the film was divided into twelve vignettes (following the structure of the novel), each of which could be hired and screened independently as a part of a variety program.[144]

Groo's remarks affirm that the length of the film was an achievement and reveal how the material condition of the film affected its circulation in the 1900s.

The surviving copy of *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) is held at the British Film Institute (BFI) National Archive. This only surviving print is severely damaged, but preserved, restored and digitalised by the BFI. Similar to magic lantern presentations, this first cinematic (re)presentation of the story can be divided into smaller sections and each section refers to certain illustrations as the essential part of the presentation. Groth noticed that "the structure of the film was indebted to existing commercial magic lantern slide sets of literary texts, illustrating episodes and relying on the supplementary reading of lecturers and audiences."[145] Regarding the work as an artefact as well as a text, Groo argues that the film is "physically and narratively fragmented" and it "didn't retell the tale of Alice, but invited spectators … to recall key scenes from the book."[146] This conclusion is based on an assumption that the audience knew the illustrations well enough. However, it is

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[142] Cecil M. Hepworth, *Came to Dawn: Memories of A Film Pioneer* (London: Phenix Publish House, 1951), 63.
[143] Hepworth, *Came to Dawn*, 63.
[144] Katherine Groo, "Alice in The Archives," in *New Silent Cinema*, ed. Katherine Groo and Paul Flaig (New York: Routledge, 2016), 18.
[145] Groth, "Projection of Alice," 680.
[146] Groth, "Projection of Alice," 680.

possible that some of the audience were attracted by the form rather than the story, so that the references to the illustrations would not be recognised.

Groo further points out that the lack of continuity also manifests in preserving, restoring, and re-circulating the digital archive of the film.[147] The unfinished restoration of the film in the archive leaves the film as a flexible text, or an assemblage of fragments. The Lewis Carroll Society of North America made a video collection called "Alice's Film Adventures Before 1932". This collection is composed of five works made from various archival materials. Some of the works are completed films, some of them are only part of one film. Some of them are syntheses of archival materials from various source, which are shown with marks for the sources.[148] These syntheses show the overlaps and differences between different sources and further reveal the impact of editing in different versions. This means that, in these films, the narration in the *Alice* book is inevitably changed, reduced, and has variations; and all these films are completed, but indefinite. In this sense, the materiality of the damaged copy and edited film add more complexity to the text. The new survey on the materiality of the image also gives new perspectives for archival research.

Figures in these *Alice* films look photographic and are animated. These two characteristics of the images in Wonderland retained the fantastic theme of the Alice story. Thus, looking at the *Alice* films from these two perspectives can add new dimensions to viewing the pictorial transformation of *Alice*. The following discussion will focus on the photographic look of the Alice image in cinema, and Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss the relationship between *Alice* films and animation from two different perspectives.

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[147] Groo, 18.

[148] The film is shown with several signs in the right top corner; each sign represents one source of the image. Sometimes there is only one sign, which means the sequence is from one single source; sometimes several signs appear at the same time, which means that the sequence can be found in more than one source.

Photographic Images

In the second half of the nineteenth century, developments in media and technology led to new methods of making pictures. Besides the camera, photography equipment was popularised with an emerging discourse constructing this technology and its productions into a cultural sphere. Handbooks and articles in periodicals about photography, lantern slides containing photographic images, and lectures and exhibitions about photography all contributed to developing this discursive and material environment for photographic images to become popular among the public. However, the presence of photographs in print and press in England was limited in the 1860s and 1870s, when wood engraving was in its heyday. Many photography handbooks published in the 1860s and 70s still used engraved illustrations for instructions. In the 1890s, illustrated journalism started to use the photograph as a new source image for illustrations.[149]

Though restrained in print, photographic images proliferated into other media in the second half of the nineteenth century. Photographic slides for magic lantern shows were created by the Langenheim brothers in 1850 and were shown at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. The glass lantern slides and lenses of magic lanterns magnified and projected the photographic image on the lantern slides; with special mechanics, the photographic images even can be combined with more complicated visual effects such as dissolving views. By the end of the nineteenth century, photographic images could be made on film strips. In 1895 the Lumiere brothers projected their animated photographic images in Paris.

With the new use of materials, old stories can be transformed into new forms. Helen Groth writes: "The flickering fragmentary form of Cecil M. Hepworth's *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) exemplifies the inevitable anachronisms of cinematic remediation as well as the significant continuities between reading practices in 'the machine age' and early film form." [150] Groth observes that Hepworth's film "drew upon familiar

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[149] For more information on photography and periodicals see: Andrew King, Alex Easley, and John Morton, ed., *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (Routledge, 2016).

[150] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 680.

miscellaneous habits of reading between, as well as skipping and skimming across media, that was required of turn of the century consumers on a daily basis."[151] Groth's arguments relocate this first *Alice* film into a context where reading and magic lantern readings were important ways for consuming the Alice story. She further analyses the structure and form of framing in the film to show that "anachronism … would seem to be a particularly useful conceptual mechanism for unpacking the ways in which the work of writers such as Carroll exemplifies the paradoxical temporality of representation at a transformative moment in media history."[152]

Groth explains the concept "anachronism" by referring to Gillian Rose's idea of seeing it as "the time in which we may not be, and yet we must imagine we will have been."[153] In this sense, Hepworth's film is not the only but one of the many transformative moments that the Alice story had experienced since Dodgson told the story with words when he was on the boat trip with the Liddell sisters. As I showed in Chapters 1 and 2, the visual elements kept encouraging this anachronism, which had been actualized by new material practices and media technologies. The different material forms presenting and representing the Alice story verified the carnal experiences of receiving the story in different times. In this sense, this transformative moment is not a moment for this, Hepworth's *Alice* film, but for the continuous adaptation of the *Alice* stories. My survey on early *Alice* films focuses on their visual form and their relationship to earlier book and lantern illustrations of the story, and emerging new materials and methods of creating pictures.

Alice in Wonderland (1903) was an 800-foot-long film, which runs about twelve minutes long. This material fundamentally transforms the presentation of the story: the picture is prioritised. Despite its reference to book illustrations and lantern slides as sources, cinema transforms the *Alice* image in two aspects: first, it was the first time the Alice story was recorded by a cinematographic camera; second, the film presents a moving picture of the Alice story. The implications are also important. First, the use of the

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[151] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 680.
[152] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 682.
[153] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 686.

camera marginalises the presence of acoustic verbal text and minimizes the impact of verbal text in its written form. Second, the moving figures in the film actualise the imaginative descriptions into illusionary presentations.

Because of these two features, the cinematic *Alice* looks fundamentally different from the static pictures in book illustrations and lantern slides. While the book illustrations and lantern slides kept some traces of hand-made practices, including drawing, engraving, painting, and colouring, the cinematic representations replaced these craft elements with cinematographic technology. Because of these material and technological changes, the cinematic presentation of the story does not need any reading literacy or attentiveness to colloquial narration. The audience only needs to follow the moving images on the screen and make sense of this pictorial presentation. Thus, it was not necessary for the audience to know the *Alice* book, though the book is frequently referred to by the filmmaker.

The photographic moving images were the attractive part of this new form of the Alice story. Compared with book illustrations and lantern slides, the cinematic Alice looks realistic and fantastic simultaneously. Both the realistic and fantastic impressions of the image are due to the look of the figures. More importantly, they are due to the constant changing frame. The look of the figures seems to resemble the reality that can be seen in life. *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), I would argue, marks a rupture in producing the image of Alice by creating animated photographic pictures as a means to represent the story. This film is also an excellent example showing the transference of image-making from manual works to mechanical productions.

Familiar and Unfamiliar: The Photographic *Alice*

Regarding the appearance of the picture in this first filmic representation of the Alice story, I argue that film actualized some imagery and scenes in the story by using photographic images, and did so with limitations because of the predominance of the source pictures and the rudimentary technologies of early filmmaking. Though Hepworth's idea was to maximize the fidelity to the drawings, cinematography fundamentally changed the appearance of the image of Alice and Wonderland. It

created a new code to (re)present the story through a new material and technology. Thus, the new image of Alice became photographic and animated. In this section, I will focus on the photographic appearance of the picture in *Alice in Wonderland* films made in the 1900s, 1910s, and 1930s. *Alice's Adventures* (1923) from the *Alice Comedies* series (1923-1927), containing both live performance and animated cartoons, will be discussed in Chapter 4.[154]

As mentioned before, Dodgson was an active photographer. His photographic practice not only showed his interests in visual representations but also connected to the Alice story before it turned into books. At the end of the published facsimile of Dodgson's manuscript of *Alice's Adventures Underground*, there are two portraits of Alice Liddell— one is a drawing, and the other is a photograph. Each of the pictures gives a front-on image of the girl. The drawing, which looks similar in style to other illustrations in the manuscript, depicts the girl with fine lines, but differentiates her from the other images of Alice with longer hair in the manuscript. The photographic portrait may explain the inconsistency between this illustration and the other illustrations in the manuscript— the drawing seems to be a copy or facsimile of this portrait photograph of Alice Liddell.

In the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*,[155] a photographic image was pasted to a small piece of paper attached to the book. The last drawing in the book is covered by this photograph image. Lifting the transparent paper, on which the photograph is pasted on, one can see the illustration underneath it. These two portraits in different forms are linked to each other by their appearances. The figures in the two portraits look alike and are positioned one above another. The layout of the two portraits looks similar to that of another pair of sequential illustrations in the book—when Alice meets the Cheshire Cat sitting on the bough. Interestingly, both pairs need to be revealed by the reader turning the page. Turning, as a gesture and a process, is an actualization of the Deleuzian idea of "becoming". In the manuscript, through turning, the drawing becomes a photograph, the photograph becomes Alice Liddell, and Alice Liddell becomes Alice in the story; and *vice versa*. The two Cheshire Cat illustrations show one

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[154] See 109.
[155] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* (New York: Dover, 1965).

figure dissolving, while this drawing-and-photo combination shows a more complicated relationship between four figures depicting Alice with ambiguous identities. Turning the page in the book back and forth can create the fantastic effect of the mysterious Cat while turning the paper in the manuscript constructs a complex Alice figure.

While the portraits look identical, the drawing-and-photograph composition in the manuscript creates a trick of revealing an (un)familiar image. Dodgson must have copied the photograph to draw the portrait, but in the manuscript with the hand drawn illustrations, this sole photograph looks unusual and unexpected. Right above the drawing, the photograph implies a material novelty, which may give the reader a surprise, especially when the reader was Alice Liddell, the person who was depicted in those two portraits. The photograph is a realistic representation of Alice Liddell, so it may turn into a reflection of her as if she was looking into a small mirror. Lifting the photograph, she will see the hand drawn copy in which she looks like she does in the rest of the illustrations in the manuscript. This is a process of imagining herself transform in her identity through the changing of the images. She might experience a moment of confusion between the imaginary and the real—she becomes part of the imaginary because the drawing-and-photography trick engages her to become part of the story through the projection of her vision of herself in different materials. At this moment, when Alice Liddell sees herself as the Alice character in the story, the trick of revealing is actually a gesture of engaging.

Even ordinary readers may get a sense of transformation from this arrangement. Comparing the photograph and the drawing, one can see similarities between the two portraits from the girl's hairstyle and dress. Knowing the manuscript with its background, readers may find several images of Alice here: the character Alice in the story (A), the drawn Liddell (DL), the photographed Liddell (PL), and the real girl Liddell (RL). The relationship between these figures is complicated as they all refer to the others in this network and are referred to by the others simultaneously: DL and PL show A; PL is reproduced as DL; RL is the source of A; DL and PL refer to A.

This entanglement of the four Alice images reflects a complex relationship among the real, the realistic, the image, and the imagined. It gives a more complex psychological impact on the readers than the book illustrations in terms of depicting Alice. Lifting the realistic photograph, readers will see the less-realistic drawing underneath. This creates a transition of bodily experience from seeing a mechanical record to a handmade drawing. The point that Dodgson wanted to make by adding this pair of portraits was to introduce Liddell to the story by using the image of her, from a realistic photographic one, to a less realistic drawn one. Putting the two portraits together, Dodgson configured the photograph, a mechanical work, into a handmade, drawn image. He paralleled the two pictorial presentations to make the reader believe the chain of representations can eventually make the fantastic story look convincing. In other words, by using the combination of realistic photographic image and a less realistic hand drawing, Dodgson created a visual pathway to the story, or to the dream of Alice.

Different from this ambiguous Alice image in the manuscript, the Alice character in the book has a consistent look. Different from the frequent metamorphosis scenes in fairy tales, the scenes of changing size in the Alice story do not change the look of the heroine. This echoes Dodgson's decision that the story would not include any fairies, which I mentioned in Chapter One. In her conversation with the Caterpillar, Alice describes her experience in Wonderland as "very confusing" [156] and "doesn't like changing so often."[157] These changes do not alter the identity of Alice in the story. Alice speaks in one voice in all the conversations and is shown as one common image in the illustrations. In other words, the Alice figure is consistent in both literary and pictorial text in the *Alice* book. Thus, the immediate material difference between the two portraits in the manuscript is not included in the *Alice* book. The wood engraving illustrations show Alice as a universal fictional image rather than a reflection of a special reader.

Copying photographs into portraits was a common practice in painting and drawing in the nineteenth century. Most of the optical devices in history, including photography, were used as instruments to observe the world in the first place. Photography was not

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[156] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 60.
[157] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 67.

the first means to show life-like images and such means were helpful for creating realistic art works before the invention of modern camera. Jonathan Crary notes that several instruments, including the phenakistiscope and the stereoscope, were "central components of nineteenth-century 'realism,' of mass visual culture, [which] *preceded* the invention of photography."[158] In *The History of Art*, E. H. Gombrich remarks that, "[i]n the early days this invention [photography] had mainly been used for portraits."[159] Artists used photographs to make their work look real, while Dodgson seems to convert the photographic image into a fictional figure by making a hand-drawn copy. Dodgson wanted to create a fantastic effect by turning a real girl into a protagonist in a story. In this sense, he recognised photography as a realist representation.

Technically, the two Cats differ in ink colour, while the two portraits of Alice look divergent in material because of the image-making technologies. I see this material difference between the two portraits of Liddell as a hint for reconsidering the relationship between the story *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and the photographic form of representation, particularly cinema. Many existing studies on *Alice* films recognize the pictorial references to Tenniel's drawings, but few of them see the material and technological differences and seem to take the photographic images in the film for granted. Discussing *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), Higson points to:

> [The] technical achievements: the quality of its camerawork, the use of dissolves, the colouring of the film ('toned and stained in various beautiful colours'), the mix of exterior location shots and sets, the quality of the costumes, the undemonstrative naturalism of the acting and the use of intertitles.[160]

Higson sees the techniques as cinematic, and does not see the pictorial and material characteristics of this first *Alice* film. His argument is that the film is impressive in both its narrative and technological aspects; however, it is based on a premise that considers the film in film history rather than seeing it as a new pictorial representation responding to the earlier forms of the Alice story.

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[158] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 16-7.
[159] E. H Gombrich, *The Story of Art,* 15th edition (London: Phaidon, 1992), 416.
[160] Higson, 44.

The photographic representation of the character and the landscape looks totally different from the wood-engraved illustrations, providing a new mode of representing as well as of imagining the story. Unlike reading the text and seeing the wood-engraved illustrations, watching the film gives the audience a sense of reality without processing the pictorial figures into actual objects, people, or landscapes. The realist look and the movement of the image convince the audience that it is faithful to reality while the pictorial allusion to the illustration reminds them that this is a story. In this sense, the photographic image allows the audience to see the fictional story through realistic presentation.

Confusing reality and imagination is an embedded theme in the Wonderland story, and this confusion is perfectly expressed through film. Dodgson designed a confusion between the fictional and the real by using the two representative portraits of Liddell in the manuscript. In contrast to this design that integrates the photographic image into the fictional narration, the depiction of Alice and Wonderland in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) links the fictional to reality. The pictorial realism and the narrative fiction work together as a representation to inspire people to think about the story with reality. André Bazin states that: "Photography and the cinema … are discoveries that satisfy, once and for all and in its very essence, our obsession with realism."[161] He believes that: "Photography enjoys a certain advantage in virtue of this transference of reality from the thing to its reproduction."[162] In the *Alice* film, the photographic images are not productions of the illustrations, but the production of the scenes in reality.

Roger Scruton states: "A film is a photograph of a dramatic representation; it is not, because it cannot be, a photographic representation."[163] Scruton argues that the origin of representation in film is not photographic but theatrical, saying that "photography is not a mode of representation."[164] In Scruton's view, the story in the film is the theatrical

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[161] André Bazin, "Ontology of the Photographic Image," in *Classic Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (Sedgwick: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 240.
[162] Bazin, 241.
[163] Roger Scruton, "Photography and Representation," *Critical Inquiry, Vol.7 No.3* (Spring 1981), 577.
[164] Scruton, 577.

dramatization. I argue that the story in the film should not be only understood as a fictional narration, it is also a story between this narration and the material world, and a pictorial presence of the Wonderland, or Alice's dream. The following discussion regards the photographic image in the *Alice* film as a reference to the illustrations in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and also a representation of live acting in reality.

Doming McIver Lopes disagrees with Scruton by arguing that: "When looking at photographs, we literally see the objects they are of, and seeing photographs as photographs engages aesthetic interests that are not engaged by seeing the object they are of."[165] By saying photographs are transparent, Lopes means that we can see through them.[166] The distinction between photography and photographic image is in their quantity and the state of the picture: a photograph is a finished work while a photographic image from a film or a still excerpt from the animated picture is an image in the process of becoming. The photographic image from the film is only a moment of the living photography. A succession of photographic images constructs the animation in film. The appearance of the picture shows the material texture of the imagined reality. The viewers receive visual information about the imagined reality constructed by materials rather than abstract ideas or implications.

Cecil Hepworth, the director of *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), published his book *Animated Photography: The A B C of Cinematograph* in 1897 to introduce how to project "living photography."[167] This indicates that Hepworth recognised the photographic aspect of the film medium. As living photography, early cinema attracted the audience because of its liveliness and the realistic look of the projected image. This attraction was seen as a visual attraction at first, and the narrative in the film was actually an old tradition compared to the material changes in the presentation. André Gaudreault writes: "as Gunning remarks, it is a moment of pure 'visual display' characterized by an implicit acknowledgment of the viewer's presence, a viewer who is directly confronted with an

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[165] Doming McIver Lopes, "The Aesthetics of Photographic Transparency," *Mind*, Vol. 112 (2003): 433.
[166] Lopes, 438.
[167] Cecil Hepworth, *Animated Photography: The A B C of Cinematograph* (London: Hazell, Watson, & Viney Ld. 1897).

exhibitionist display.… As a rule, attractions are momentary, if not instantaneous; …attraction is 'something that appears without either developing a narrative trajectory or a coherent diegetic world.'"[168] Gaudreault and Gunning emphasize the immediacy of the visual effect in early films. In his recent article, Gunning suggests: "Thus, rather than seeing attractions as simply a form of counter-narrative, I have proposed them as a different configuration of spectatorial involvement, an address that can, in fact, interact in complex and varied ways with other forms of involvement."[169] This immediacy and engagement was implemented by the photographic image rather than the narrative in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903).

If the audience knew the story, the novelty of this presentation was definitely because of the media form; if the audience did not know the story, this film could also impress them with the moving photographic image. Through moving photography, the film bridges fictional fantasy and realistic representation. George Méliès recognized the attraction of the photographic images as they were displayed in public, like the lantern slides. He stated that "the kinematograph was employed as a scientific machine before finally being used in the theatre. From the start, it had enormous success, at first because of people's curiosity about animated photographs."[170]

Méliès believed that it was the combination of photographic image and theatrical art that made cinema attractive and popular: "Once the kinematograph was put in the service of theatrical art, its success was triumphal. Since then, this marvellous instrument's popularity has grown with every passing day and has now assumed prodigious proportions."[171] By the time *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) was released, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* had been well received in Britain and the United States through various forms including illustrated books, musical play, and lantern presentations. Film further prioritized visual presence and gave it a realistic look.

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[168] André Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema*, Trans. Timothy Barnard (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press 2008), 50.

[169] Tom Gunning, "Attractions: How They Came into the World," in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*, ed. Wanda Strauven (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 31-40, 37.

[170] George Méliès, "Kinematographic Views (Les Vues cinematographiques)," trans. Stuart Liebman and Timothy Barnard, in *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema*, André Gaudeult, trans. Timothy Barnard (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press 2008), 138.

[171] Méliès, 138.

Groth claims that:

> All these various media formations are governed to a greater or lesser extent by the logic of immediacy, of drawing the reader/viewer up close or projecting them into the same space as Alice, or alternatively, of projecting Alice backwards and forwards across time and space at the will of the reader. The tantalizing prospect of making Alice real therefore, of literally being able to reach out and touch her as if she was there, is inherently anachronistic in its technological utopianism.[172]

Groth regards the mediation of *Alice* as a reflection of the psychological agenda embedded in the Alice story and does not address the material aspects of the mediation. Instead, the readers' will to project the story into different images in their mind is affected by the stimuli they encounter, such as seeing the film or reading the book. In other words, the psychological projection of the Alice story is actualized through materials, pictures in this case. Projecting the Alice story in the mind or through the materials and media not only reflects the relationship between the film and the book, but also between the medium and the reality.

Groth asserts: "The film's success depended not only on audience recognition of the details of Carroll's plot and Tenniel's illustrations but also drew upon familiar miscellaneous habits of reading between, as well as skipping and skimming across media, that was required of turn of the century consumers on a daily basis."[173] This requirement of "miscellaneous habits" was shaped by the coexistence of old and new media and also by people's compulsion to look for something they are familiar with and unfamiliar with at the same time.

The *Alice* film uses some elements from the old forms with new photographic characteristics of the image to create visual attractions. For example, the two black-and-white pictures in Figure. 10. and Figure. 11. have similar structures, compositions, perspectives, and subjects, while the material differences between the two give the viewer two divergent impressions of the scene. Some details are exhibited clearly in the

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[172] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 683.
[173] Groth, "Projections of Alice," 681.

illustration but not so obviously in the photographic image, such as the shining hair and the wood patterns in the door. The illustration picks up some details in the scene and portrays the material property of the subject, which is a common technique in realistic painting and drawing. The damaged surviving film copy cannot show much detail in the frame as was presented originally; however, it is not hard to imagine that the cameras used for film shooting in 1903 may not capture fine details like those shown in the illustrations. The cinematic image does not need these details to be like those in the illustration because the photographic image looks objective enough as a new form of realist representation. Even though it does not show the fine details, viewers are still convinced of the actuality of the "reality" that is presented in the moving and photographic image.

The contrast with regard to their detail reflects different realistic implications of these two pictures. By depicting and even exaggerating or making up some details of the objects, the wood-engraved illustrations constructed a pictorial fiction in an imagined reality. From another approach, the photographic image transforms an imagined reality into an objective record of the actual reality. The actual reality is presented through the illusions of the photographic image rather than narrative fiction.

Figure 10. Alice saw the door behind the curtain. Illustration from the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Macmillan, 1866), pp. 8.

Figure 11. Alice saw the door behind the curtain in *Alice in Wonderland* (Hepworth, 1903).

In the film, the scene is shown as a moment rather than a picture. The relationship of the illustration to the literary text is like a still to the film—they both show one moment in the narration. The similarities between the two images, like that between the two

portraits of Liddell, introduced a new mode of imagining the reality of the Wonderland fantasy. The similar scenes appear as particular moments captured in the on-going processes in which they are embedded. The illustration is a fixed reference seen while reading the literary text, and the specific frames in the reel of the animated photograph are a precise moment referring to the illustration, while the flow of reading is similar to the running of the film, passing through the illustrations. This moment in the film showing Alice lifting the curtain lasts for only a few seconds and looks extraordinary only when it is associated with the book illustrations—otherwise it will not be noticed in the succession of photographic images. The illustration is permanently shown in the book, while the similar view in the film is momentary.

At the very moment when the photographic image perfectly matches with the moment that the illustration captures, viewers of the film—at least some of whom were familiar with the book—would recognize the scene in the photographic image referring to the drawing. The source of the drawing, after all, is still the reality in imagination referring to the actual reality; it looks different from the reality that is represented in a photographic image. The encounter of the two realities is depicted by two media at the moment when Alice lifts the curtain. This creates an uncanny experience: the scene in the film looks familiar to the viewer because it follows the illustration and it looks like a scene in reality either in a theatre or a living room; at the same time, it looks unfamiliar because the texture of the picture looks different from the natural view. The photographic character of the film adds another naturalistic dimension to perceiving the story and creates an experience of seeing familiar content through an unfamiliar form. This playing with familiar content and unfamiliar form brought new photographic versions of Alice and Wonderland. Following *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), two other *Alice* films—*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910) directed by Edwin S. Porter and *Alice in Wonderland* (1915) by W. W. Young—continued referring to the book illustrations and created many scenes constructing momentary déjà vu (Figure 12. and Figure 13). All three films contained trick scenes and dissolving scenes and the latter two used more elaborate dramatic costumes than the first one and created a more fantastic effect. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1915), the artificial effects make the animal figures look as if they are fantastic creatures and their appearances look fantastic even within the naturalistic

settings. In addition, the 52-minute running time allowed the film to elaborate upon the narration, and the narrative seemed more coherent than early productions.

Figure 12. *Alice in Wonderland* (Porter, 1915).

Figure 13. *Alice in Wonderland* (Young, 1915).

Though the Alice story was not supposed to be a conventional fairy tale containing supernatural creatures as Dodgson insisted when he published *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, many films based on the story are categorised as fairy-tale films. Or to be more precise, they are fantastic films with "so-called transformation views" in Méliès's term. Like many Méliès productions, two *Alice* films from the 1920s used theatrical equipment and tricks to enhance the visual attraction. The attractions contained in

those two *Alice* films included not only the incredible visual illusions but also the actualization of the verbal text. The experience of watching these adaptations is similar to seeing a dream come true in reality as an actual incident: one remembers some fragments in one's dream and sees it taking place as an actual event. Seeing both the familiar and the unfamiliar is an experience similar to a dream. In these films, this photographic Alice and Wonderland are both familiar and unfamiliar to the reader/audience. They look more like a dream coming from reality, rather than a representation of the story.

In contrast to the exaggerated visual effects in silent films before the 1930s, the first sound film *Alice in Wonderland* (1931) changes the strategies used to create attractions. Some traces of the legacy of the illustrations are still detectable, and they vaguely indicate a shift from relying on the visual reference to the book illustrations to making different efforts to attract the audience. The sound was designed as the primary attraction in this film, which is explicitly carried out by the twittering birds at the beginning of the film. Walking and talking animals in Wonderland in this film look and sound like human beings, which made the film more fantastic than the silent ones. The vivid speaking characters successfully carried out the literary part of the original text and further dramatized the performance.

Figure 14. *Alice in Wonderland* (Pollard, 1931).

Compared with the figures in the previous silent productions, the costume design in this sound film looks inferior. Ruth Gilbert played the role of Alice at the age of 19, making the character look like a more mature character (Figure 14). This character setting is very different from the book and previous films. The White Rabbit and the Cheshire Cat speak too, but their appearance is less attractive. The sound effect took over from the visual effect and became the new attraction. Though it looks as though it needed more development regarding costume design, the film uses sound to improve the authenticity of the representation. Because this new sensual dimension was added to the cinematic experience of the Alice story, the fantastic reality in Wonderland presented in the film feels more like actual reality.

In addition, the application of sound also had effects on visual display. Besides giving voices to all the characters, the film created a new group of images for the characters without referring to the book illustrations. This sound version of the photographic Alice story leaves behind the tradition of making great efforts to maintain the book illustrations in new forms. From this perspective, the sound of the film is a distraction from the pictorial presence of Alice and frees her from the figure that had been repeated and imitated for more than half a century. The sound also added the realistic feature of the living photographic, enhancing the fantastic effect of the film.

Conclusion: Many New Alices in Cinema

The photographic image is the superficial aspect of the *Alice* film, but has multiple implications. As Higson quotes from the Hepworth catalogue, *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) is "of this well-known tale, the lines of the book have been strictly adhered to, and in nearly every instance Sir John Tenniel's famous illustrations have been reproduced in animated form with remarkable fidelity."[174] These images from the book illustrations have been adapted into film through cinematography, carrying on the "realistic" characteristics of photography and creating multiple images of Alice and Wonderland in the public domain at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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[174] Higson, 48.

Before it was adapted into films, the Alice story was already associated with the photographic image. The photographic portrait attached to *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* was used by Dodgson as an intermediate material to associate different forms of representation and their implications, linking the fictional with the realistic. Inserting the photograph in the manuscript creates an impression that the readers from the real world can enter the fictional sphere through the transformation of the image. From another perspective, in cinema, the fictional story is presented with realistic form; however, the animated photographic image created Alice images that are both familiar and unfamiliar.

In different media and with different materials, these photographic images introduce the Alice story to new spheres of representation. The imaginary realism in wood-engraved illustration was replaced by photographic images in pictures and moving pictures. Because they copy the appearances of the objects in vision, the photographic images are intermediate. They suggest a sophisticated referential relationship between the representation and the represented. Whether bridging the hand-drawn portrait and the representation of Alice Liddell, or associating the Wonderland adventures with the recorded live performance by using cinematography, photographic images are immediate copies of reality. They not only produce material pictures, but also reveal that image-making technology played an important role in creating a pictorial index for both the Alice image in reality and in the imaginary sphere.

In this sense, cinema gives the Alice stories new looks as well as new representational meanings. The photographic pictures reveal a dialectical relationship between the realistic and the fantastic and between the representations and interpretation of the imaginary. Adapted into new material and media, the photographic images of Alice and Wonderland combine the representation of reality and the interpretation of the imagined Wonderland landscape while implying contrast between the two. As in Wonderland, where many things look similar but strange, cinema is a new space for both Alice and the public to form the fantastic with existing ideas and new elements.

Chapter 4 The Wonderland Dream: *Alice* and Animation
Introduction

Following the earlier forms mediating the *Alice* stories—illustrated books and magic lantern shows, for example—film creates new languages and multiple means for showing the fantastic. Besides the photographic feature, the Alice image in film marks a formal transition from static figures to lively ones. Motion, the newly added feature to the Alice image, creates a liveliness of character and fluency of visual representation in narrating the story. In other words, the narrative is mediated by moving pictures and the Alice image is in a different state of being—she moves as a real person. Motion enhanced the realistic features of the photographic image of Alice, which further challenges the established perception of the Alice character and the *Alice* stories.

Early *Alice* films contain photographic images of Alice and Wonderland; they created a more representational perspective to understand the relationship between *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and the real world. While the photographic cinematic representations show new looks, they also give images coherent motion and continuous movement. The new state of the picture registers the Alice image in a new category of representation. The new pictorial representation of the story develops a media epistemology that depends on the materiality of the pictorial rather than the literary form. Since the first *Alice* film—*Alice in Wonderland* (1903)—several different monochromic, moving, and photographic Alice images were produced and shown in cinemas in the UK and the US in the twentieth century. The popularity of adapting the Alice story reflects the reception of *Alice* stories in the film industry. This means Alice became a new product in a new market that further prioritised visual attractions, and relied on the movement of images in film.

This chapter focuses on the animation in *Alice* films, mainly discussing *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), and *Alice's Wonderland* (1923). Before *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), an animated cartoon feature film produced by the Disney company, the Alice characters in films were all acted by real actresses. To create the fantastic Wonderland, most of the actors/actresses playing the characters in Wonderland are dressed in costumes. The "special effects" make Wonderland look different from the real world. Examples include *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910), *Alice in*

Wonderland (1915), and *Alice in Wonderland* (1931). In the 1920s, Disney produced *Alice Comedies* by adapting Alice's adventures into Alice's visits to different places, implying other places such as Wonderland, or dreamland. In *Alice Comedies*, Alice's adventures are all presented as animated cartoons. As shown explicitly in the first film of *Alice Comedies—Alice's Wonderland* (1923)—depicting the Wonderland as a place with a cartoon landscape works well because the animated cartoon is a flexible and organic embodiment of the nonsensical ideas from the book. The model of combining live action and animation is also used in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988), which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The films in this discussion illustrate how animation was used to represent the Alice story, and each of them is an individual case showing the relationship between the represented and the representation through animation. *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) broke the established impressions of Alice by using photographic images while making the Alice image look lively. *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) are two Walt Disney productions, and are different in style and content. Each film shows a particular use of animation: *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) shows an animated photographic image of Alice, and *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) combines live acting with animated cartoon, and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) presents the story completely in animation.

Animation gives life to lifeless figures on the screen to show that Wonderland is a fantastic and uncanny landscape. In these films, moving images create lively representations, which refer to reality and fantasy simultaneously. This double reference gives an impression that the two spheres are similar to each other. In this sense, animation exhibits an imagined realism as well as a realistic imaginary. Because the motion of images refers to motions in reality and in imagination simultaneously, the motions of images in film surpasses the plot of the story and the look of the picture to become the major attraction in cinema. From another perspective, Alice arrived in Wonderland through her dream. Creating a dreamlike scenario, animation allows the audience to share Alice's experience of viewing another world. Like the Alice character, the audience are immersed in the fantastic effects brought by cinema rather than dream.

In most *Alice* films, the distinction between the real and the fantastic is apparent: the appearance of the character and objects indicate their material existence in reality. Like most fantastic films, many of the *Alice* films juxtapose the realistic world and the imaginative Wonderland, showing them as if they coexist in the same space. In other words, the new form includes realistic recording of the surface of the actual world and imaginative construction based on the story. In these *Alice* films showing animations, materials of different kinds and qualities are used in creating the settings that show to the audience the Wonderland landscape. In other words, the imagined Wonderland is composed of concrete materials in the process of producing animation, and the composition is further developed and displayed through the cinematic apparatus. The results of this representation clearly show to the audience how the fantastic can be controlled and managed through material practice and media technology. While live acting is done by actors and actresses, animation is completed by figures, objects, and machines with manual manipulation.

Animation can be seen as a composition, arrangement, and positioning of numerous figures; it synthesizes many figures to make streams of images. This even works with different types of materials in stop motion animations, showing phenomena as if they are real objects while controlling every detail in every positioning of the objects. This contrast between the process and result of animation also suggests new ways of reflecting how images are related to the world. Showing the pictures in motion, the film is an assemblage of images. Within this assemblage, the relationship among individual images, between one and a succession of images, and between the image and the rest of the creation construct a systematic creative work responding to the world that enables the Alice story to go beyond literature and pictures.

Regarding the composition of the Wonderland world, *Alice* films can be categorized into two different types. The first type of film shows a monolithic pictorial texture such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951)—one is full of photographic moving images, the other is composed of animated cartoon figures. Films of the other type are hybrid works of photographic image and drawn figures or puppets in animation. Examples include *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), *Alice* (1988), and *Alice in Wonderland* (2010).

Through cinematic technique and technologies, the Alice image is presented in moving pictures of different forms and various qualities: in pure cinematography, filmmaking with animated cartoons, and cinematography with stop-motion animations. Whether using a camera to shoot live action, or animation technologies to give life to hand drawn pictures or objects, these films all illustrate how cinema creates movements and reveals the embodiment of motion. Various forms of the Alice image in film evoke a series of questions about the relationship between the one and the many, the living and the dead, and the real and the imagined. These questions become explicit in the case of adapting *Alice*, as this group of *Alice* films respond to the *Alice* book.

Movement, Serial images and Animation

Cutting and editing are important in filmmaking. Film historian Stephen Bottomore believes that "From the earliest days, both filmmakers and theorists have recognized the central role of editing in the art of the film."[175] Bottomore further points out that historians ignored the fact that "much of the [editing] work had already been done in the first five years of the cinema's existence."[176] Cutting and editing works to manage and rearrange materials and concepts. From the material perspective, each frame in the film looks like a photographic negative, so that a sequence is a flow of successive photographic images. Seeing serial photographs can also give an illusion of seeing moving images. In making the *Alice* films, this process of structuring and restructuring entangles the interpretation of the story with Tenniel's illustrations and the understanding of imagination in the real world. The dream theme in the story in the book overlaps with the illusionary visual effects in films, connecting the book and films at a conceptual level.

Reflecting on Bergson's philosophy, Gilles Deleuze writes, "cinema does not give us an image to which movement is added, it immediately gives us a movement-image. It does give us a section, but a section which is mobile, not an immobile section + abstraction movement."[177] His focus is Bergson's first chapter in *Matter and Memory* as it provides

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[175] Stephen Bottomore, "Shots in the Dark: The Real Origins of Film Editing," in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: BFI Publishing, 2013), 104.
[176] Bottomore, 104.
[177] Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema I: The Movement-Image* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 3.

the discovery of the movement-image.[178] Based on his understanding of Bergson's theory, Deleuze's discussion of movement in cinema covers certain types of films, but it does not regard early animation as an important demonstration of how movement is embodied. He differentiates cartoon film from cinema as he believes "it does not give [u]s a figure described in a unique moment, but the continuity of the movement which described the figure."[179] The "unique moment," in Deleuze's view, seems to be captured only by the snapshot. Recognizing the particularity of cartoon film, Deleuze seems to ignore the animated cartoons made before the use of cels. Prior to the use of cel, animated cartoons were made by taking photographs of each cartoon picture on paper and blackboard and then using cinematic equipment to make the hand drawings move. The peculiarity of this type of film is due to the transformation from the handmade pictures to filmic animations. The transformation translates messages, showing the appearance of objects into messages and indicating the movement of the objects. These moving images are partly made by handcraft and partly created by mechanical production. This hybrid production differentiates them from cinematographic images and cel animations.

Following the Alice image in the book illustrations, magic lantern slides, and film, coherent motion and movement are added to the previous forms, which differs from Deleuze's understanding of cinema. This is because Deleuze discusses cinema as a medium in a broad sense, while translating the *Alice* stories from literary to visual form is a specific transmedia practice that deals with materials and devices. More importantly, the visual presence has been highlighted in these prior—chronologically speaking—forms of the stories. Therefore, the transfiguration of the *Alice* stories inevitably adds new features to the existing pictures. Different from static photos and drawings, the image in early cinema is accompanied by movements. Further, animation in these early films creates a model that works differently from that used in live action shooting or key-frame cartoon animation. However, at the same time, these kinds of animated pictures depend on cinematographic techniques and technologies. The following section continues to focus on the Alice image with an understanding of the

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[178] Deleuze, 3.
[179] Deleuze, 6.

technique and technology applied to represent and to construct movement in different aspects of film-making.

As I argued in chapter three, filmmakers were aware of the existing Alice image from the book illustrations. However, it is uncertain if this awareness is shared by the audience. Even though the audience may understand the reference to the literary text and the iconic composition in the book illustrations, they can see the intermedial differences in terms of narration and recognize the segmentation of the literary narration embedded in the cinematic representation. Acknowledging the history of media technology's creation and presentation of images in motion helps to fill the gap between seeing the static images and understanding the moving ones.

Chronophotography—capturing moments in several photographs—can be seen as the form in which photography leans towards cinematography. Works by Étienne-Jules Marey and Eadweard Muybridge are examples of how motion and movement were studied in the nineteenth century when devices were only capable of recording moments in movement. The Muybridge sequences do not record motion in real-time, but in fact show moments of motion by marking instances with certain intervals. However, the chronophotographic works differ from cinematographic sequences. In chronophotography, time elapses because the shooting is inconsistent due to the uneven intervals between each shot. During film shooting, the film strip runs simultaneously while the motion takes place. Cinematography records movement continuously within a certain time.

Chronophotography shows the lapse of time by capturing sequential moments of objects in motion, while film purports to show a real-time record of live-action shooting. Trick films make use of this assumption and conceal the edited time and motion in the shooting process. The editing can even happen during the shooting—the camera stopped while props are changed. These tricks create illusions without showing that the "recorded" time has been edited. These artificial interferences with the recording process and the manipulation of recording materials function in similar ways—they all create a vacuum when the objects are changed in their positions or appearances while

the passing of time is not recorded. The distorted time and space presented by cinematic records look as if they are real and genuine, so that the trick works.

Tricks in films also take advantage of the realistic representation in the photographic image in films. These photographic images appear to give a realistic account of the actual world. However, animating the photographic images may deceive the viewer because the discontinuation of the recording of time is not shown in the finished work. Movements in film present a relative rather than a real time. The representation is carried out by the condition of image rather than the momentary look of image. In *Cinema I*, Deleuze discusses the relationship between photographic image and cinematography in his theses on movement by locating the photographic image in a different temporal measurement. In his second thesis, he believes that "the camera would then appear as an exchanger or, rather, as a generalized equivalent of the movements of translation."[180] In fact, besides the camera, film strips and the whole process of making film are all involved in this exchange or translation.

Without differentiating photographic and cinematographic cameras, Deleuze points out the instantaneity of the captures. He says: "in fact, the determining conditions of the cinema are the following: not merely the photo, but the snapshot (the long-exposure photo belongs to the other lineage); the equidistance of snapshots; the transfer of this equidistance on to a framework which constitutes the 'film'; a mechanism for moving on images." [181] Deleuze sees the cinematic image in three different states: with instantaneity, in sequence, and in transformation. Though Deleuze does not explain his idea explicitly, he associates cinema with photography through the states of photographic images by pointing out the state of the photographic image in cinema.

Muybridge's work is a good case that illustrates this point. Some of Muybridge's plates in *Animal Locomotion* have been turned into animation. [182] This transformation demonstrates how still photographs become moving images—the representations of

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[180] Deleuze, 5.
[181] Deleuze, 5.
[182] Eadweard Muybridge, "Simple Examination: Examples of Plates Animated," Eadweard Muybridge Online Archive, <http://www.muybridge.org/Animation/Simple-Animation/> (accessed on 25 October 2017).

certain phases in a movement turn into the representation of a chain of these phases; conversely, it also shows how moving pictures can be made from consecutive still images. Here, the animation creates the movement of images by moving the focal point through the collection of plates. Though the images are still, the viewing gesture becomes an actual movement. This movement of viewing is transferred into an imagined perception of moving objects as one views the photographs arranged in a certain order.

This conceptual animation makes one recognize the position of the still photograph in movement. In this sense, looking at Muybridge's work on the static plates is different from seeing it as a motion picture; looking at film strips is different from watching a projected film. Visualising a motion picture from film strips is a deductive imagination from looking at static pictures; while watching film is to see the animation through the cinematic apparatus. The incompatible materiality between photography and cinematography creates the power of animation and the manipulation of materials in filmmaking. In a broader sense, animation is the manipulation of objects, including pictures, in films to construct life-like movement or to create life-like objects. Laura Mulvey's argument about still and moving images is thus:

> The reality recoded by the photograph relates exclusively to its moment of registration; that is, it represents a moment extracted from the continuity of historical time. However historical the moving image might be, it is bound into an aesthetic structure that (almost always) has a temporal dynamic imposed on it ultimately by editing. The still photograph represents an unattached instant, unequivocally grounded in its indexical relation to the moment of registration. The moving image, on the contrary, cannot escape from duration or from beginnings and ends, or from the patterns that lie between them.[183]

Similar to Muybridge's photographic work, some films depict motion as performative activities. Some early films show the audience a process of creating pictures in public. Filmmakers in the early twentieth century recorded the process of drawing pictures by artists, with particular emphases on the fast speed of drawing—which is called the lightning cartoon act. Malcolm Cook discovers some associations between the lightning

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[183] Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 13.

cartoon act in music hall and the animated cartoon films from 1880 to 1928 in British film history.[184] Cook points out that British animated cartoons have received little attention, while he acknowledges the pervasiveness of Disney cartoons in the field of animation history studies. He proposes, "an alternative critical framework which examines the films from the perspective in which they were made and in the context of what preceded them."[185] My studies on *Alice* films and animations reassert this point and give more detailed and specific case studies.

In a lightning cartoon act, the amazement is the fast speed of drawing a picture. The process of creating a figure in few minutes looks like magic because of the speed of putting together the lines and figures. In a live performance, artists used their skills to impress the audience—for example, the lantern lecturers used interesting stories and lantern slides. When speed drawing is presented in film, artists' performance is still attractive, but it can be edited to create more interesting effects. In many films, the artists are even absent; the process of making the artistic work become the focus. These films often show how lines form figures and figures compose sensible representations of objects. The process of creating representations also developed into cinematic tricks. In these tricks, drawn figures turn into a lively person or an object. In this sense, the artists performing the lightning cartoon act are potential magicians in film. However, it is the editing and camera work used in filmmaking that creates the magical effects. In a film like this, lines, figures, and objects are all in the process of becoming. In this process, motion and movement are expressed through bodies and materials.

In animated cartoon films made in the early twentieth century, figures are often composed of lines of different materials, including lines drawn on paper, pieces of matches, and threads. These materials are useful for making figures because their shapes can be easily changed. Because of the characteristics of the flexible materials, the lines and shapes are transformative: short lines become long lines, and figures change forms. In this sense, animation is a process wherein figures replace existing ones

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[184] Malcolm Cook, "Animating Perception: British cartoons from music hall to the cinema, 1880-1928" (Ph.D. Diss., Birkbeck (University of London, 2013), <http://bbktheses.da.ulcc.ac.uk/28/> (accessed on 25 October 2017).
[185] Cook, 15-6.

and in turn are replaced by another, like a metabolic process. An animation sequence accumulates numerous pictures, but only shows the latest one. This accumulation is both spatial and temporal, so that motion of the figure and movements of the frame can take place.

This accumulation is more visible in stop-motion animations. In stop-motion animation, the cinematographic camera captures the positions of the lines or shapes, and the film strips preserve the visual information. With the film reel running when the film is shown to the audience, the lines appear as if they are faithful records of moving figures or objects. But this is not the case. Filmmaking twists real time into an edited time, particularly in stop-motion animation. The iteration of the figure is expressed through the magical motion and movements, sometimes through the process of giving life to inanimate materials. Examples include *Matches: An Appeal* (1899), *Artistic Creation* (1901), and *Animated Cotton* (1909).

Some of these films, as well as many early *Alice* films, are like the overlooked British animated films mentioned by Cook. They have been ignored and underestimated in their value in several aspects. Cook suggests some ignored connections between the lightning cartoon and the animated film in the early years of cinematic history. He suggests new materials for rethinking what animation is and how to animate pictures in cinema and cinema history. However, Cook's argument can be developed and amended with more particular case studies. In the following part, I re-examine several *Alice* films to illustrate the complicated relationship between the still Alice image and animated films.

My analysis covers two case studies focusing on the relationship between animation and the Alice story in representation. I see *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) as animated photography added movement to transfiguring the Alice story; and I found *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) in *Alice Comedies* (1923 to 1927) an important example showing how animated cartoon is blended with live-acting. In this series, the Disney company used the Alice story as a theme to introduce the new concept of perceiving the cartoon as the dream. These two films are differentiated with films containing stop-motion animation, such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988). These two films will be discussed in next chapter.

Alice in Motion: Animated Alice Image in Different Scenarios

In chapter three, I argued that the multiple cinematic representations of the Alice story challenged the dominating image of Alice from Tenniel's illustration in the public sphere. However, the novelty of these cinematic Alice images also lies in their motion and movements. The moving picture shows Alice and other Wonderland characters as lively figures. In this sense, the audience sees these characters through moving images, among which Alice is as lively as a girl in reality. Film is a method for making the movement of Alice possible. For the audience, understanding this representation of the Alice figure in motion makes them see the narration as visible movements. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, moving pictures were popularised due to the development of the film industry. Accordingly, visual literacy in popular culture started to include the capability of perceiving pictorial movement in addition to the ability of understanding words and images in print. In print, the story flows as verbal text, and the illustrations are intervals interrupting the flow of narration in words. In film, pictures constitute a flow and literary narration turns into supplementary instructions that are inserted as inter-titles or attached as voice-overs. In addition, sound was also introduced into the *Alice* films in the 1930s, adding another perspective for understanding the characters and landscape in Wonderland.

The following discussion sees movement as an essential character of the cinematic Alice image. The technical movements of images carry out the imagined movements. In other words, Alice's movements are shown as moving pictures. The materialized imaginary movements of Alice bring new perceptions of the reality and imagination in representative works. Moving images construct a new immediate imagery of Alice and her story. Thus, human figures in motion are linked to cinematographic representation in *Alice* films. Since the first film adaptation, the Alice image is no longer an abstract imagination of a girl described in the story, or static figures shown in books and lantern slides. Alice is presented as a human figure acted by actual actresses in a different real scenario.

Though the legacy of the illustrations can still be identified in her costume and the setting, Alice's movement is more important as she moves her body and walks throughout the film. Book illustrations are incapable of showing these motion and

movements in visual form; even graphic novels narrate stories with still pictures. The moving figures suggested in illustrated book need to be activated in the readers' mind. Reading literary texts and viewing pictorial representations of the story make readers imagine a moving Alice figure. In motion pictures, the continuity in literary narration and the temporal practice of reading is transformed into pictorial movement. From another perspective, the movement that Alice acquires in this new medium makes her an image with a new quality and character. In films, she is no longer defined by the literary description, but by her gestures and manners as she moves on the screen. The new pictorial representations of Alice create a group of new figures that look similar to living beings. In films, the Alice image is created as life-like images because of her movement represented through the cinematic apparatus. The cinematic Alice images work with movement and animation in film, and also suggest new ways of creating and receiving the relationship between the story and the world.

Alice in Wonderland (1903): A Girl in Her Dream

In the opening scene of *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), a female figure sits on the ground and falls asleep. Then the title shows as "Alice in Wonderland." It is a very short take showing the actress acting the Alice character. However, it is clear that Alice looks different from the previous Alice figures in book illustrations. Following the first shot, a plot summary intertitle appears: "Alice dreams that she sees the White Rabbit and follows him down the Rabbit-hole, into the Hall of Many Doors." After the intertitle, the scene of Alice lying on the ground resumes, but it is followed by a new setting showing Alice in her dream. The White Rabbit enters the frame from the left side. The anthropomorphic figure moves to the centre of the frame, and takes out an object— which is supposed to be a watch—from its coat. When the Rabbit passes by, Alice sits up again and the title disappears. When the Rabbit moves forward, a pit is revealed on the ground in front of it, and the Rabbit steps into it. The camera is not fixed, but only moves slightly to follow the Rabbit entering the hole. Then Alice crawls towards the edge of the pit and falls into it.

This cinematic representation of the first scene is not in accord with the description from the book. In the book, the opening does not suggest that Alice's adventure is a dream;

it emphasizes some details that Alice sees and feels to be strange. Her thinking leads her to go into another state of mind where she still can see, think, and move around:

> So, she was considering, in her own mind (as well as she could, for the hot day made her feel very sleepy and stupid), whether the pleasure of making a daisy-chain would be worth the trouble of getting up and picking the daisies, when suddenly a White Rabbit with pink eyes ran close by her.
>
> There was nothing so *very* remarkable in that; nor did Alice think it so very much out of the way to hear the Rabbit say to itself "oh dear! Oh dear! I shall be too late!" (when she thought it over afterwards it occurred to her that she ought to have wondered at this, but at the time it all seemed quite natural); but, when the Rabbit actually *took a watch out of its waistcoat-pocket*, and looked at it, and then hurried on, Alice started to her feet, for it flashed across her mind she had never before seen a rabbit with either a waistcoat-pocket, of a watch to take out of it, and burning with curiosity, she ran across the field after it, and was just in time to see it pop down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge. [Italics in original] [186]

The moment when Alice "was considering" is invisible in the film and there is no clue in the film showing how her thoughts are associated with her state of consciousness. For the audience, they receive the message from the straightforward pictorial signals and understand what is being shown and the implications in it. The messages in the visual representation are clear: "Alice lies down" means she falls asleep and "Alice sits up" means she comes back to her consciousness—but it is unclear whether the state of awakening is the awareness of the dream or the reality.

As it is Italicised, the phrase "*took a watch out of a waistcoat-pocket*" indicates some special meanings. Whether this italicisation is due to the author's intention or Alice's awareness, the emphasis is the "actual" gesture of the Rabbit. Alice recognizes this unusual gesture—a body movement that looks strange when made by an animal. The Rabbit, with this human gesture and speech, looks unusual. Meanwhile, in the film, the girl with her body language, and later with her voice, is a new Alice figure. There was no moving image of Alice and Wonderland before *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) was released, except in live performances in theatre, which were different from live acting in film. In

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[186] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 2-3.

film, live acting turns into pictures that preserve the liveliness of human figures. Besides giving Alice an embodied figure with gestures, cinema also creates a dream-like representation for this dream-like experience. As a new medium, film successfully confuses the real and the imagined, echoing a theme in the story told in words and pictures in the Alice book.

The major part of this film shows Alice's dream-like experience. It is shown clearly from the beginning that the Wonderland is a dream space. In this space, many things appear strange while the world looks similar to reality. Technically, most of the strange incidents in Wonderland are created using cinematic tricks that change the positions and shapes of figures. Relying on techniques and technologies, cinema constructs an environment that looks like a dream place where curious and confusing incidents can take place. For this particular film, the new material of the Alice figure and the new mode of telling the story construct a different reality that is based on the actual movement of the images. In this sense, watching the film is not only a new experience to follow the narration of the story, but also an observation of Alice as a moving image.

The second scene shows the beginning of the story, when Alice followed the White Rabbit entering the rabbit-hole before she felt she was falling: "The rabbit-hole went straight on like a tunnel for some way, and then dipped suddenly down."[187] Alice feels she is falling "Down, down, down."[188] In the book, this sentence with the repetition of the word "down" appears twice. It clearly tells how Alice falls—"down, down, down"—towards the centre of the earth and into the underground. At this point, she felt sleepy:

> Alice began to get rather sleepy, and was saying to herself, in a dreamy sort of way … She felt that she was dozing off, and had just begun to dream that she was walking hand in hand with Dinah […] and the fall was over.[189]

This falling experience gives Alice a moment of thinking and maybe getting bored at the same time, which is similar to the first occasion where she feels sleepy with her thoughts in the opening scene. Alice's experience seems to tell us a formula for having a dream: a little free thinking and some boredom. This dream creates a combination of some

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[187] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 3.
[188] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 4.
[189] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 6.

rational practices and a desire for novelty. Similarly, cinema can be seen as the result of objective scientific experiments and innovations through which reality is experienced differently.

Regarding the artistic or scientific aspect of cinema, Deleuze sees the essence of cinema as an "industrial art," and he explains that "it was neither an art nor a science."[190] This ambiguity of cinema is perfectly illustrated by early films. Tom Gunning use the term "cinema of attractions" to refer to this type of film that uses illusory effects to impress the spectator.[191] The attractions in the film were not necessarily artistic; novelty was the aesthetic, and scientific innovation could also be attractive to the audience. Like many optical experiments, Muybridge's scientific study of motion has been considered by contemporary artists as a reference for their work.[192] Muybridge's work, similar to many attempts in optical media history, captures natural phenomena and preserves the capture in order to observe them in a different way. Muybridge's plates of locomotion are similar to zoologists' specimens because they are all static samples of moving objects. However, zoologists study the dead bodies of once living beings, that is animals, while Muybridge studies the movement of different bodies—locomotion.

The film portrays Alice's movement in the rabbit-hole as a horizontal instead of a vertical one (Figure 15.). Maybe this is because it was difficult to shoot a scene of falling into a well at that time. This sequence looks like a special perspective for observing Alice in motion. Each frame of the film strip shows a moment of Alice "falling" into the rabbit-hole, and the frames in this shot are a series of photographic images showing the movement of the Alice figure. Like the figures in Muybridge's plates, the figures in this sequence show the movement of Alice. Such movements are expressive in cinematic narration. When seeing this film adaptation, the audience might try to match the visual representation with the content of the book. As a figure in motion, Alice looks as natural

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[190] Deleuze, 7.

[191] Tom Gunning, "Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator, and the Avant-Garde," in *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser, Adam Barker (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 57.

[192] Eadweard Muybridge and Ventura Mozley, *Muybridge's complete human and animal locomotion: all 781 plates from the 1887'Animal locomotion'by Eadweard Muybridge, introduction to the Dover Edition by Ventura Mozley, Vol. 1, containing original volumes 1 & 2: Males (nude), 3 & 4: Females (nude)* (Dover Publications, Incorporated, 1979), vii-xxxv.

and as casual as Muybridge's models under observation, which makes the Alice figure more than a literary figure in representation. She is also a model showing an imagined action in film.

Figure 15. *Alice in Wonderland* (Hepworth, 1903).

If excerpted from the film, this eight-second shot showing the Rabbit and Alice walking can hardly be seen as representing the counterpart in the book, but rather a study on movement. The title of the chapter in the story, "Down the Rabbit-Hole," highlights that this spatial movement is from the top to the bottom. Despite rotating the direction, the record of the two characters' horizontal progress in the rabbit-hole provided a sample showing figures moving from one side to another, which is what Muybridge asked his models to do. Muybridge took photographs when the models were moving. One may imagine, that a print copy of the film strip of this eight-second duration of their progress might show similarity with Muybridge's plates in terms of the composition and perspectives in the frame, and also the composition of the sequence of the series of frames. However, the movement of the film strip stores and presents the movement of the moving figure, which differs from the instant captures in Muybridge's chronophotography (Figure 16).
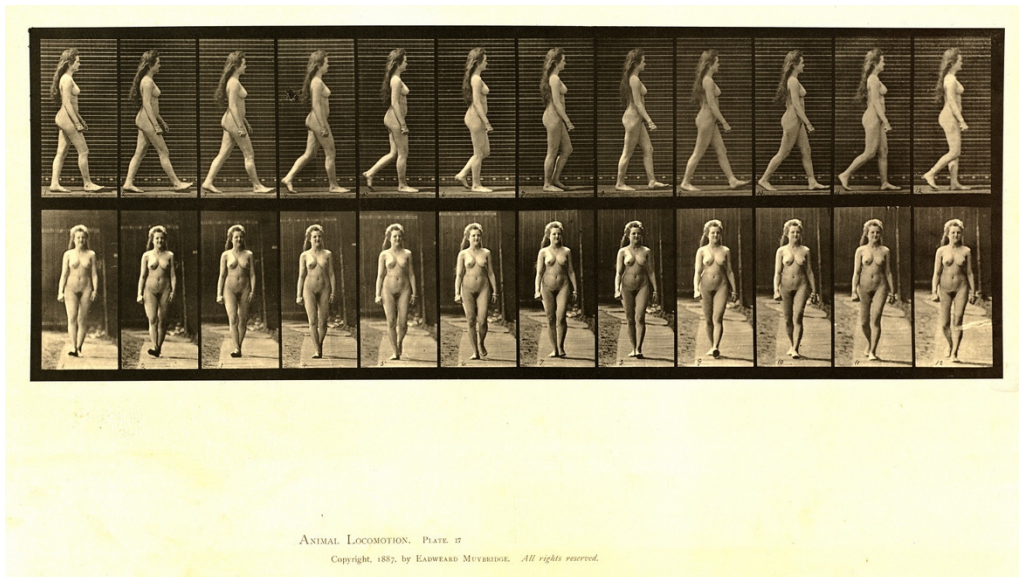
Figure 16. Eadweard Muybridge and Ventura Mozley, *Muybridge's complete human and animal locomotion: all 781 plates from the 1887'Animal locomotion'by Eadweard Muybridge, introduction to the Dover Edition by Ventura Mozley, Vol. 1, containing original volumes 1 & 2: Males (nude), 3 & 4: Females (nude)* (Dover Publications, Incorporated, 1979), pp. vii-xxxv.

After falling into the rabbit-hole, Alice enters the Hall of Many Doors. She walks towards the wall and finds a door, and she changes her size several times. In the literary text, the process is shown as several rows of stars (I discussed this point in chapter one). Alice notices her change:

> "What a curious feeling!' said Alice 'I must be shutting up like a telescope!"
> And so it was indeed: she was now only ten inches high, [...]"[193]

In the film, this curious incident is shown mainly with two types of tricks. The first makes the objects appear and disappear. Objects with sudden appearances and disappearances include the table, the bottle, the cake, and the door. The second shows the process of Alice changing her size, which includes two occasions of shrinking and one of enlarging her size.

The first type of trick is commonly used in many trick films in early cinema. The trick is to stop the camera and resume shooting after removing or replacing objects or people. Tricks like these were used in the creation of several scenes in this film, including scenes of Alice with the baby turning into a pig, Alice with the large dog, and Alice with the dissolving Cheshire Cat. The second type of trick works in a more sophisticated way: it

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[193] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 11.

combines techniques of camera manipulation and montage. The shot of Alice changing her size consists of three sequences: 1) she shrinks after drinking from the bottle, 2) she grows after she eats the cake, and 3) she shrinks when she uses the fan. The first part lasts about eight seconds; the second lasts almost thirteen; and the third lasts up to about sixteen seconds.

Alice's shrinking is shown as superimposing two images: one fixed shot of the hall to provide a still background and one moving image showing Alice getting smaller and smaller. In this sense, this superimposed image consists of two surfaces: a still one depicting the background and a moving one showing a figure in motion in the foreground. Alice gets smaller because she steps backward slowly. This movement is concealed by fixing the background. The image of Alice in perspective is controlled through camera work and editing techniques, resulting in the appearance of the figure of Alice changing her size. The next shot of Alice changing her size lasts longer. Montage is used at the very beginning, and then it is perfectly cut into an actual movement of Alice stepping forward in a similar manner. It is possible that a moving camera and theatrical mechanism were applied as well. The third one contains similar techniques, but Alice sits on the floor at the beginning, which makes the trick look more deceptive than the standing figures.

Changing size in these realistic scenes contradicts the rules of perspective in reality to create fantastic effects. In reality, objects change their size as they move to other positions. Examples are scenes of trains coming into the station from a distance, and that of people running away—figures become bigger and smaller, respectively. The changing size scenes construct a new order in the frame: a figure moves secretly in a still background, adding a new dimension to the surface of the frame. Shrinking, growing, and shrinking again, the figure of Alice stands out from the static background in the frame. Another important feature of this shot is that it creates an illusion of on-going and non-stop process of changing and becoming. From these two aspects, the image of Alice gains her liveliness through movements created by cinematographic technique and technologies.

The rest of the film contains more elements referring to the literary text. Literary allusions are obvious in several scenes including the scene of the Duchess' Kitchen, the scene of Alice with the huge dog, and the scene of Alice with the Cheshire Cat. Though the influence of the illustrations is identifiable, the animated figures demonstrate the characteristics of each figure through motion and body language. Transfigured into cinematographic images, the pictorial representations of Alice and Wonderland are no longer intervals in narration as they are in the illustrated books or magic lantern shows. They become continuous elements and themes in visual narration, looking more persistent. The serial images in successive frames on the film strip construct moving figures in Wonderland that are fundamentally different from the static figures in books and lantern slides. Among these figures in *Alice* films, the Alice images presents the character as if she is *alive* because she moves naturally as a human figure.

In short, this first *Alice* film shows Alice with body language, which makes the image of Alice livelier than those in book illustrations and magic lantern slides. The moving picture shows the continuous movements of the character so that Wonderland becomes a space similar to reality but with some fantastic phenomena. Scenes with fantastic effects in the book are actualized in film through cinematic techniques and technologies. These cinematic images of Alice and Wonderland suggest new ways of seeing the character in visual representations and offer new perspectives on viewing the reality presented in frames. In films, Alice is mediated in moving figures, and she gains an organic feature contrasting with the static photographic texture of the picture. In this sense, the Alice figure differentiates herself from the rest of the frame. However, the story is presented in animated photographs—naturalistic, monochrome, and silent. An Alice figure similar to the one in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) can also be seen in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910) produced by Thomas Edison's Studio. However, cinema not only animates photographic images. Movements added to hand-made figures create more attractive wonders in visual representations.

Alice's Wonderland (1923): The Enchanting Cartoonland
The famous Alice figure in the cartoon feature film *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) has been regarded as one of the iconic Disney characters, and has attracted much attention from the public and scholars. My analysis will focus on *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), an earlier

Disney production in which the Alice story was used as a theme that indicates the power of the animated cartoon. The two Disney *Alice* films are different in form and theme, but they reflect Disney's understanding of the Alice story from different angles. The later feature cartoon film *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) is a showcase carrying the idea embedded in *Alice's Wonderland* (1923).

The story of Walt Disney working on his *Alice* films starts before the Disney Studio was set up. In 1923, Disney produced a one-reel film called *Alice's Wonderland*. Unlike the 1951 cartoon, this film attracts little attention either in studies on Disney or research about Alice adaptations. In fact, this film is an important adaptation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. It shows that animated cartoons in *Alice's Wonderland* construct a new form of Wonderland that had never been shown in film; the film also shows how Disney in his early career introduced animated cartoon as a new form for story telling that took inspiration from the story of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

After *Alice's Wonderland*, Disney created a series of *Alice* films with the theme of "Alice in Wonderland." Including *Alice's Wonderland*, fifty-seven one-reel films about Alice's adventures in another place were produced between 1923 and 1927. As one of Disney's early works, *Alice Comedies* introduced the live-action Alice to a Wonderland of animated cartoon and also promoted animated cartoon as a new means to present fantastic stories. The Alice image witnessed the mingling of the different materialities and textures of filmic pictures in these early animated cartoons.

Alice's Wonderland (1923) tells the story of a curious young girl, Alice, visiting a cartoon studio and having a dream about a place called Cartoonland afterwards. Virginia Davis acted Alice in both the studio and the Cartoonland. The Cartoonland in Alice's dream is presented as an animated cartoon landscape, while the figure of Alice remains photographic. Though the cartoon figures have simple and plain shapes, their movements make them easier to be received by younger audiences, inviting them to enter a world where simple signs represent the dream world.

The opening scene shows Alice standing at the door of a private studio, where she sees an animator—played by Walt Disney—working on an unfinished part of a cartoon. She knocks on the door and gets admission from the animator, and says to him, "I would like

to watch you draw some funnies." Then the animator invites Alice to sit in front of the drawing board. Upon this, Disney points to the board, and a cartoon of a small shed on the board starts to move and changes its shape slightly. Signs are also added to indicate sounds simultaneously coming from the shed. It becomes apparent that a dog is fighting with another animal in the shed. The funny story amuses Alice and three boards come after the first one.

The second board lies on a desk, and some cartoon figures play musical instruments and dance on the desk instead of the surface of the paper. The cartoon figures move in a livelier manner than those on the board. More importantly, these cartoon figures are no longer confined to the piece of paper, and they go beyond the paper and enter the three-dimensional world. For example, the band is located between the board and some other objects on the desk. The board is the platform for moving images drawn on the first board, while the desk becomes the stage for the band and the dancers coming out of the second board. This relocation of the animated cartoon figures breaks the boundary between different surfaces and makes the fantastic animation look real. A similar model of repositioning cartoons can also be seen in the following display of two clips of cartoons. One shows a cartoon mouse successfully driving away a real cat by poking it with its sword and tail; the other shows a cat and a dog in a boxing race with the staff in the studio as the live audience. The interactions between the cartoon figures and the actual animals and people further destroy the border between the artificial movement and the real movement in the cinematic representation.

In these two scenes, figures of people are located in marginal positions, but their presence contributes to the festive atmosphere in the whole picture. When the cartoon mouse fights with the real cat, staff in the studio behind the board are working in a casual manner, laughing, chatting, and walking around. Then they gather to watch the boxing match taking place on the drawing board and become part of the spectacular event. The scene showing people watching the game on the board looks similar to an occasion when people watch games on a TV set in real life. At this point, the audience of the film witnesses the practice of *watching* animated cartoons. In other words, this scene is a demonstration of how the moving images shown on the screen can interact with the audience.

In reality, showing an animated cartoon on one single piece of paper is impossible—except through pop-up books, which can show readers "moving pictures"—and the two-dimensional pictures are not a juxtaposition to the three-dimensional world in the simple way shown in *Alice's Wonderland*. However, Disney's intention of creating a dream-like "reality" is already clear in the first half of this film. Through Alice's visit, Disney tells us several things about animation. First, hand drawn pictures can move as smoothly as animals and people shot by a cinematographer; second, the incredible scenes of moving cartoon figures on or outside of the drawing boards are commonly seen in the cartoon studio; third, people in the studio enjoy their work and would like to introduce fun and entertainment to others. These ideas echo Dodgson's thoughts on his literary work: first, animals and cards can speak and walk like human beings; second, curious things are common in Wonderland as everyone is mad; third, the author intended to amuse his readers with funny speeches and nice pictures. But beyond these agreements with the author, Disney is using moving images to make a statement: the cartoon studio can create incredible phenomena in motion pictures and these unbelievable phenomena can coexist with actual reality, or even become part of it. To elaborate this point, Disney takes the same route as Dodgson's—going to sleep and having a dream.

The practical process of making the figures move on the screen is concealed in both *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). In *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), cartoon figures construct the whole story, replacing photographic pictures to represent a reality-like fantasy rather than the reality. This reality-like fantasy is not only Wonderland because the whole story in representation looks fantastic. *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) shows a cartoon studio while *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), like many other Disney cartoon films, is produced in a cartoon studio, but conceals the secret of making the figures move as if the cartoon figures have life as human actors and actresses do in reality.

The actual practice of making animation is different from the simplified method in the studio that Alice visited in *Alice's Adventure* (1923). In this film, the life-like cartoon seems to look normal to the studio staff, but the secret of animating the cartoons is deliberately concealed. In this sense, the studio is portrayed as a magic space and

animators like Disney and his colleagues are described as magicians creating wonders with ink and paper rather than camera and film strips. This magical work of the animator and the studio is actualized by using techniques and methods that were already being used in filmmaking. Similar tricks were used in many other films with the subject matter of showing artistic creation. Examples include the *Artistic Creation* (1901) by Walter Booth, *Winsor McCay, The Famous Cartoonist of the N.Y. Heralds and His Moving Comics* or *The Little Nemo* (1911), and *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914) by Winsor McCay.

In *Artistic Creation* (1901), the drawings turn into moving figures and eventually become the body parts of a person. Lines turn into life when the artist creates the work. In this case, the artistic creation is also accompanied by changes in materials as the artist starts by drawing pictures but ends up creating life. The artist's performance shows his talent, while the film shows the tricks transforming figures into objects and even body parts. The cinematic representation gives a distance between the artist and the audience. This distance is artificial; it allows a realistic copy of reality, and fantastic imagination can make sense without challenging the reality. This distance also works in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903).

In contrast to Booth and Disney's strategy of concealing the method of making figures move, McCay reveals some of the secrets of creating animation. In the film *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914) McCay is a character who is a cartoonist. He sends his numerous drawings to the Vitagraph Company's moving image camera to make animation, which is clearly shown in the film. McCay and Disney followed similar routes to develop their careers from cartoonist for print media to film-makers, but their works show their different perspectives on animated cartoons. McCay's emphasis in these films about artists is his personal expertise in drawing cartoon figures. He is characterised as a great cartoonist who can complete a challenging task within limited time and present amazing works. He lets the audience know that his task is to draw pictures, and he needs to rely on moving picture cameras to make the figures in his drawings move. In this sense, McCay is a professional cartoonist focusing on working with ink and paper, while Disney and his colleagues in the studio look like magicians.

In these two McCay films, there are other details revealing how animated pictures were made. In *Little Nemo* (1911), the cartoonist's hand is shown in the process of drawing a figure. McCay's films contain elements similar to the transformation in *The Artistic Creation* (1901), showing how skilful the artists are in completing their works. However, McCay locates his creation in a story that makes its creation part of the narrative. Thus, the animated cartoon is part of the cinematic narration.

As artist characters working in film, McCay and Disney have different styles and the atmospheres are different in their workplaces. McCay is a dedicated artist who confines himself in his study and criticises his assistant who makes a mess at his workplace. In contrast, Disney is very relaxed with his colleagues in their studio, welcoming visitors like Alice, and joining Alice to watch the fantastic scenes in animation. From another perspective, the concept of "creation" is more explicit in McCay's films because the presence of the working artists and the hands making the pictures is apparent. Disney has his own strategy—he does not portray the animators as hard-working artists; he shows them as they work to respond to people's curiosity and their demand for fun, as dream-makers. This effectively works to promote the activities relevant to animated cartoons to the audience. However, the animators in Disney's film do not reveal the technical artifice behind the scenes; they promote the illusion as their work. They are the visual elements in the film that create an extraordinary atmosphere in the studio. In this sense, Alice's Wonderland can also be the workplace of the animator, where dreams can be produced.

Before she leaves the studio, Alice looks delighted. Her excitement lasts a long time, until she is back home and ready for bed: "What Alice saw would make any little girl's heart flutter---so that night when the Sandman came-."This intertitle indicates the second part of the story—Alice's dream. A scene in Alice's bedroom is shown as the opening of this part. In contrast to the previous sequences only made by live-action, the dream sequences become a complete animated cartoon picture with the live-action Alice image unchanged. The technical change also marks a switch of space from reality to dream as the setting in the development of the story. Through this change, Disney develops a new relationship: the dream looks like the animated cartoon; the animated cartoon appears like the dream.

The comic style of Alice entering the other place clearly offers the audience entertainment. Alice takes a train to Cartoonland. Upon her arrival, she is warmly welcomed by a group of humanoid animals. A party takes place after a parade to welcome Alice and later Alice performs a dance on a stage. The joyous scene is interrupted by four lions. They had escaped from the zoo and run to the party, chasing Alice to eat her. The chasing scene contrasts to the earlier scenes full of joy. The tension in the dream ends with Alice jumping from a cliff and falling into a valley, after which Alice wakes up in her bed. In the book, Alice falls into the rabbit-hole as she falls asleep, while in the film Alice wakes up as she falls down. In both cases, falling means entering another world, or changing state of mind.

The comic style of *Alice's Wonderland* gives some taste of the nonsense in the *Alice* book. In the book, Wonderland is full of strange conversations, puzzles, and riddles that are all related to language. Lewis Carroll uses these nonsensical linguistic tricks to differentiate Wonderland or the dream-like space from reality. In *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), the distinction between the two is clearly shown by the form of the picture: Wonderland is the Cartoonland, in which Alice alone is not a cartoon figure. The strangeness of Alice's Wonderland is also expressed through the comic look and comic atmosphere, pictorial and amusing.

From another perspective, locating the photographic Alice in cartoon Wonderland is similar to inserting the photograph into the manuscript. However, the Alice character is portrayed as a photographic figure from the beginning of the film. Keeping the Alice figure photographic in the film clearly defines an Alice image that does not change easily. The coexistence of the photographic Alice and the cartoon Wonderland also implies that reality and dreams can overlap in animated cartoons. While *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) is a work introducing and promoting animated cartoons, *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) is a successful production that fits into the idea that Disney conveyed in the earlier *Alice* film.

In *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), two-dimensional drawings make the division between reality and Wonderland explicit. The contrasts between animated photographic images and animated cartoons also shows clearly the division between the realistic and the

fantastic (Figure 17). This helps the younger audience understand the complicated spatial representation in the story. Meanwhile, mixing the photographic Alice image and animated cartoon Wonderland creates a visual myth about making two worlds converge. However, the animated cartoon looks different from the live-acting sequence, suggesting an equation: Wonderland = animation = dream. In *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), as the title indicates, Alice's Wonderland is Cartoonland. The idea of using animated cartoon to create the landscape of strange places becomes a persistent theme in later episodes in the *Alice Comedies.* In this series, each film shows one of Alice's adventures in a different place, and the settings of her adventures are always in the form of animated cartoon. It is clear that the scheme of translating the concept of Wonderland into an animated cartoon landscape has been repeated in this series.

Figure 17. *Alice's Wonderland* (Laugh-O-Gram, 1923).

This new composition of Wonderland and the variation of Wonderland adventures respond to a persistent passion for making and realising the dream in artistic creation. Disney used this film to introduce the wonders of animated cartoon by indicating that it can represent the world in dream. It differentiates the dream world from the realistic photographic copy of reality. If the live-action sequence in the film can be seen as animated photographs, the contrast between the live-acting Alice figure and the cartoon landscape of Wonderland implies a constructed perspective on imagined places. The cartoon figures in Wonderland look simpler and plainer than photographic Alice, which makes Alice stand out in the Wonderland landscape, and also makes the Wonderland

look unlike a realistic copy of the world. After all, the Alice image looks consistent in this film, like the Alice character in the Alice story. These unchanged figures bridge the reality and fantasy in the book and film and may inspire the reader and audience to imagine a space beyond their persistent existence.

The live-action Alice and the cartoon figures look like they are moving on the same surface in the film. This eliminates the distinction in materiality between the live-action Alice image and the cartoon figures. It is interesting to observe their movement simultaneously, in the same way that Muybridge observes human figures. The composition in the frame in this scene looks similar to that in the scene when Alice is in the rabbit-hole in *Alice in Wonderland* (1903). The figures are positioned on one line from left to right. The parallel of the two types of image in the frame suggests the coexistence of Alice and the lions, which could also be metaphorical. They even compete in speed. However, it is not an objective observation of the movement, but using movement to create tension in visual representation.

Alice's Wonderland (1923) was the first production in the series *Alice Comedies*, which has an "Alice in Another-Place" theme. Besides this earlier work relevant to the story in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Disney's *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) mingles the stories of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*. Disney productions based on *Alice* stories all transform the story into new narratives, extracting some episodes from the book and creating new stories about Alice. In other words, the transfiguration of the Alice image and the Wonderland landscape is accompanied by the renewal in narration. Movements in films can be deconstructed into serial images but displayed as animation. In this sense, the story in the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are fragmented when they are mediated into films as new entities—the medium changes both the appearance and the structure of the stories of Alice's adventures.

As the title of the film "Alice's Wonderland" indicates, the relationship between Alice and Wonderland is ambiguous: it seems to suggest that Wonderland "belongs" to Alice; however, the film does not offer any clarification of the identity of Alice nor any explanation of the relationship between Alice and Wonderland. Who is this Alice? Is she

the Alice from the Alice story or a girl whose name happens to share the name with *the Alice* in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*? At least Disney indicates that the Wonderland is imaged by Alice or is a realization of Alice's dream. In this sense, Alice could be the Alice character, or anyone who sees a cartoon or visits the cartoon studio. After all, Disney focuses on constructing the cartoonland landscape and regards Alice as his assistant to show to the audience the cartoon landscape of the Wonderland. In this sense, Alice's identity depends on how the Wonderland is constructed.

Conclusion: Wonderland's Alice

The early *Alice* films present more Alice figures and make the character in the story look lively. In films, both photographic images and hand drawings are able to move. Movements shown in pictures gave a lively impression of both photographic images and animated cartoons. While animated photographic images look more realistic, cinematic tricks add some fantastic effects to the work. The animated cartoon is also used to highlight the difference between reality and Wonderland, looking comic and entertaining. The films discussed in this chapter are examples showing the two types of moving images. *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) shows Alice and Wonderland figures in animated photographic images, while *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) combines animated photographic images and animated cartoon figures to create a fantastic new story of Alice.

Different techniques and technologies are applied in these films to add new characteristics to both the Wonderland and the characters. The whole story is represented in one form of moving image, either as animated photography like *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) or as animated cartoon like *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). Other films are hybrids of animation and live acting to create the Wonderland looks real and fantastic, such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) using animated puppets, and *Alice* (1988) using animated objects to contrast with the realistic depiction of Wonderland.

In these films, Alice is presented in forms of images, persons and objects, and the boundaries between these three substances become unclear. Animated cartoon in films, like illustrations in books and lantern slides in magic lantern performance, give an immediate form of presenting the fantastic. Contrasting to the photographic image

presenting live-actions, animated cartoon shows a plain and simplified version of the world, which is actually a mimesis of reality, like Wonderland. In addition, the Alice character gains new embodiments in cinematic representations. Relying on cinematic technology, film offers various perspectives viewing Alice in the Wonderland landscape. The Alice image is often shown as a realistic live-action image and surrounded by special settings. Animated cartoon offers an alternative to realistic photographic images to represent the Wonderland dream as a wonderful background.

In the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Alice finds Wonderland a curious place, while in the film, Wonderland is mostly presented as another space in forms of theatrical setting or cartoon landscape. In this sense, Alice is defined by her experience in Wonderland. It can also be understood that Alice's experience in Wonderland is represented by lively and sensational effects in cinema. For the audience, their perception of the character is based on their observation of the character moving in the Wonderland landscape. Additionally, the Wonderland landscape is presented as a space that is made of different materials. In short, the Alice figure is constructed *in* Wonderland; she is the outcome of the artificial contrast between the realistic live-action image and the fantastic representation of Wonderland. In this sense, the Alice is "Wonderland's Alice."

Chapter 5 Uncanniness in Wonderland: Object and Animation

In the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Alice is surrounded by animals and objects. Unlike anthropomorphic animal figures, objects in Wonderland keep themselves as things, but with some curious characteristics. Though silent, these objects are expressive and they are transformative. Some of these objects are lively and have their personalities, such as the Queen of Hearts in the pack of cards. Most of the objects are household items but they become extraordinary in Wonderland. Objects are brimming with imagination and potential of transformation in Wonderland and animation can transform non-living things into something that looks lively.

The following investigation aims to explore: 1) how materiality is shown in the book and the films; 2) how animation shows the image of Wonderland as a complex mix of reality and imagination. By looking at objects in the *Alice* book and films from these two perspectives, I argue that the expressive and transformative objects reflect the theme of the uncanny in the *Alice* stories; and stop-motion animation explicitly illustrates how the objects create the uncanny within and beyond the story and the films. These mischievous objects seem to be minor in the story, but they are important in two ways: first, their appearances often suggest a turning point in the story; second, objects in animation attract the audience's attention because life-like objects look unreal.

This chapter includes discussion on some objects in the *Alice* book, the relationship between objects and animation, and analysis of two *Alice* films—*Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988). Objects in the *Alice* stories and films are to be analysed in terms of image, material and medium. By looking at objects from different perspectives, I argue that objects in the *Alice* films transduce matter into imagination, and *vice versa*, which presents not only dreams, but also surrealities that mix dream with reality within and beyond the films. This argument comes from the assumptions and conclusions from analysis of both literature and film texts: 1) the rational purposes of objects are distorted in Wonderland in the book; and the distortion creates "nonsense" in forms of material and matter rather than language and behaviour and 2) objects in stop-motion animation

have material bodies, but the treatments of the material objects create perspectives to imbue the "reality" with fantastic prerequisites.

My discussion starts with an analysis of the White Rabbit image by focusing on the objects that are included in the textual and pictorial descriptions of the rabbit and considering it in relation to Victorian practices of perceiving objects. Then it moves on to the analysis of objects in Wonderland in general, bringing up further discussion on the effects of objects in the Alice story and filmmaking. This will be elaborated through studies of *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988).

The White Rabbit and Objects with Uncanniness

In the book and many films, the adventure in Wonderland starts with Alice's encounter with the White Rabbit, an anthropomorphic animal character guiding Alice to Wonderland. Besides its speech, White Rabbit's clock and waistcoat-jacket are the hints of the following uncanny experience for Alice. The speech, gesture and costume given to the Rabbit are ambivalent and they make the White Rabbit an uncanny figure who leads Alice and the reader into the uncanny Wonderland. The White Rabbit is a metonym of the Wonderland story. Like many other metonyms in the story, this metonym is an embodiment of the fantasy in Wonderland and it is presented as an uncanny phenomenon.

Alice's adventures in Wonderland are experiences of marvelousness and uncanniness. There is no doubt that the curious animals and objects Alice sees in Wonderland are fantastic phenomena for the reader and audience. However, the uncanniness provokes questions about the uncertainty between life and death, existence and non-existence, subjectivity and objectivity. In his essay "The 'Uncanny'", Sigmund Freud points out the doubleness in "unheimlich", the German word for "uncanny". "Unheimlich is in some way or other a sub-species of heimlich."[194] I argue that Alice's adventures consist of

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[194] Sigmund Freud, "The Uncanny," in *The Standard Edition of The Complete Psychological Work of Sigmund Freud Volume XVII* [1955], trans. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1955), 226.

scenarios that Alice feels familiar and unfamiliar at the same time and many characters in Wonderland embody doubleness.

To explain the uncanny, Freud responds to Ernst Jentsch's analysis of E. T. A. Hoffmann's story "Sand-Man." He quotes Jentsch's analysis of E. T. A Hoffmann's sandman and agrees that the uncertainty in characters can create an uncanny effect, although Freud does not emphasize this in his own interpretation of the uncanny.[195] Nicholas Royle points out in his book *The Uncanny* that: "the uncanny is not what Freud (or anyone else) thinks. It has to do with a sense of ourselves as double, split, at odds with ourselves."[196] Royle's remark reinforces the ambivalence in the uncanny and directly associates the uncanny with the complexity of subjectivity. The generated, divided and alienated self comes from the unassured knowledge and uncertain experience of subjectivity and objectivity. The unassured knowledge is mediated in the White Rabbit image. Zoe Jaques sees the Alice story as including a posthuman perspective of understanding the animal and human relationship.[197] Seeing both the animal and objects play important roles in expressing this non-anthropocentric implication in *Alice*, I argue that the objects stand out because of the uncanny feature embodied in them and in Wonderland; and in films, the uncanny objects look more ambivalent because they further translate the concepts of objects into materials.

In *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects*, Bjørnoar Olsen refers to Daniel Miller, Michael Shiffer and Bruno Latour[198] to show that there is a "growing concern with the neglect of things in social science."[199] Olsen argues that "the material components of what we have come to think of as 'social life' have been marginalized— even stigmatized—in the social sciences and philosophy during the twentieth century."[200] In contrast, literary and artistic works have established a more intimate

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[195] Freud, 227.
[196] Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 6.
[197] Zoe Jaques, *Children's Literature and the Posthuman: Animal, Environment, Cyborg* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
[198] Bjørnar Olsen, *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects* (Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2013), 1.
[199] Olsen, 1-2.
[200] Olsen, 2.

relationship with things and objects. Literary scholar Elaine Freedgood has read fictional objects in Victorian novels within their historical background and tried to discover the fugitive meanings of objects in her case studies. Freedgood sees that the "Victorian novel describes, catalogues, quantifies, and in general showers us with things." [201] Recognizing the predominance of realism in the mid-Victorian period, Freedgood describes her reading method as "[a method] involving, initially, a moment of taking them literally, followed by a lengthy metonymic search beyond the covers of the text." [202] Freedgood's aims to find the fugitive meaning of the objects in the Victorian novel. Therefore, the objects in her survey are considered in literary works that are located in historical contexts.

For Freedgood, relocating the fictional objects into their historical background brings new interpretations of the fictional objects: "These objects are then returned to their novelistic homes, so that they can inhabit them with a radiance or resonance of meaning they have not possessed or have not legitimately possessed in previous literary-critical reading." [203] Freedgood's reading enriches the meaning of the fictional objects, but it confines the object in the cage of actual social context. It is because their symbolic meanings are interpreted in their realist contexts—either things in historical narratives or historical narratives with things. Material culture has become one of the popular research topics in Victorian studies. Objects and materials are often regarded as commodities amid the accelerating industrialisation in Victorian time. Freedgood links Victorian material culture with literary studies and she assumes that "critical cultural archives have been preserved, unsuspected, in the things of realism that have been so little or so lightly read." [204] Clearly, Freedgood focuses on the realist aspects of objects and seems to see "the things of realism" as reliable. This could be problematic because the "things of realism" are also created through creation and interpretations. It is important to see that objects in literary works are not of only one kind; they cannot be generalised as "the things of realism," as Freedgood refers to. Objects can be re-

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[201] Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006), 1.
[202] Freedgood, 5.
[203] Freedgood, 6.
[204] Freedgood, 1.

described, re-categorised, re-placed, not only with imagination, but also with imaginative understanding of their material history. This alternative approach to the object changes the meaning of objects and brings new "realities" that link the histories, representations, and re-presentations. Reinvestigating how objects were introduced to Victorian children may help to understand how the objects look so different in Wonderland.

The understanding of the objects in Wonderland adds an alternative approach to objects in literature and broader contexts. I argue that there are alternative perspectives that enable us to see the bonds between the objects and historical perception. Objects are uncertain and indefinite; they can embrace the realistic and imaginative from a surrealist perspective. Even if the objects look supplementary in some cases, the "marginal" position or obscure meanings of objects do not contradict the nature of the objects. They enrich the narration at every level because of the uncanny encounter between them and the viewer. For instance, the waist-coat and the watch of the White Rabbit: the uncanny objects bring more enchantment to the story.

In Tenniel's illustrations, the White Rabbit shows a rabbit wearing clothes and accessories, which is different from those in naturalist illustrations. Alternatively, the image of the White Rabbit can be read as clothes and accessories displayed on an animal model, which also differentiate the illustration from contemporary pictures showing clothes and accessories. In other words, for Victorian readers, naturalistic pictures rarely introduce a rabbit with clothes and the pictures of clothes rarely use animals as models so that the White Rabbit image in the *Alice* book does not belong to either of the two categories. Unlike adult readers who were aware of the caricaturist animal figures in popular magazines, such as *Punch*, young readers didn't see many images of animals dressed as middle-class men in the 1860s. Therefore, the White Rabbit image showed alternative animal figures and also gives a new function to clothes. Different from the adult readers who were used to the caricaturist images in popular culture, the young readers probably shared the same feeling as Alice when they saw the picture and read the text:

> (when she thought it over afterwards, it occurred to her that she ought
> to have wondered at this, but at the time it all seemed quite natural); but
> when the Rabbit actually *took a watch out of its waistcoat-pocket*, and
> looked at it, and then hurried on, Alice started to her feet, for it flashed
> across her mind that she had never seen a rabbit with either a waistcoat-
> pocket, or a watch to take out of it, and burning with curiosity, she ran
> across the field after it, and fortunately was just in the time to see it pop
> down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge. [Italics in original][205]

When the White Rabbit appears, its words and look impress Alice. She takes the White Rabbit as natural in the first place and then thinks it is curious. Between the natural and unnatural, or familiar and unfamiliar, is the uncanny.

The clothes, functioning like costumes, add an uncanny feature to the Rabbit. The waist-coat and the watch, which are supposed to be made for men, seem to be misplaced on an animal figure. However, the Rabbit's speech makes it more similar to a human figure and weakens the absurdity of the misplaced objects. With its unusual appearance, the Rabbit demonstrates a strange convention in Wonderland that applies to both animal and objects. The anthropomorphic Rabbit implies a reconcilement of several binary oppositions: the natural and the cultural, the familiar and the unfamiliar, human and animal. It looks like something between human and animal, not a new species, but an animal with an abnormal look—the distinction between human and animal is still visible, not denied or destroyed. It is an image that shows the uncanniness of Wonderland.

In Wonderland, the animals and objects make the adventure full of ambivalence and uncertainty—what Alice encounters in Wonderland is always something familiar and unfamiliar simultaneously. The uncanny in the story is shown through some details in the illustration—the White Rabbit image contains indications of the uncanny theme of Alice's Wonderland experience. The anthropomorphic rabbit image is important in the book as the rabbit is the first character Alice meets in her adventure, which gives the reader the first impression of fantasy to the reader. Also, the rabbit is an unusual image when it is read in the history of rabbits as characters in stories. Before this White Rabbit in Wonderland was created, the image of rabbits in children's literature rarely came in

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[205] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 2-3.

the form of an anthropomorphic figure with dress or costume. There are anthropomorphic rabbits that can speak in fables, but few of them are wearing clothes. The other well-known image of a rabbit with clothes is Peter Rabbit, which was created by Beatrix Potter in her *Tale of Peter Rabbit*, published in 1902.

Anthropomorphic animal characters were common in folklore, fairy tales and fables as they were in European literature. However, before illustrations became accessible and popular in the nineteenth century, few of these works were illustrated, and not even as explicitly as they are in the *Alice* book. In the 1860s, most of the pictures of rabbits in books are scientific or naturalistic, even in children's books. The images of anthropomorphic animals in the *Alice* books are technically realist but contain caricaturist effects; this is because Tenniel was a cartoonist who combines realistic techniques with comic themes. Because Tenniel's work for *Punch* was well received by the public, some readers see illustrations in the *Alice* books as comic and symbolic. However, Tenniel didn't invent the comic feature of the White Rabbit from scratch; he translated the literary description into a picture and created an image combining a realist style and imaginative configuration.

Investigating the historical background of Victorian material culture helps to understand the symbolic meaning of the objects, but there are risks of interpreting objects with recollected knowledge of their histories. Different from Freedgood, I consider that the knowledge about objects is an important ideological context and it affects the ways of seeing, sensing and understanding objects in literature. Having an idea of how things are discursively created seems to be more helpful in finding out the relationship between the fictional and the actual than investigating the history of the things. How are the things introduced, displayed as themselves? How do these practices influence people's perception of objects in reading and seeing? *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a good case to answer these questions. In the story, objects play crucial roles in the narration; in the film adaptations of the story, the objects are material that link imagination and reality. In both forms, objects in Wonderland are clues to find out how objects are used as instruments to introduce knowledge and to express and inspire imagination. In *Alice* films, the objects fulfil their roles through the tactile experience constructed by audio-

visual representation, which connects them with the tangible reality, with the imagination of Alice as well as that of the audience.

Victorian Object Lessons and Things in Wonderland

Since the mid-nineteenth century, children's books were popular gifts for Christmas. Books were like other items for sale in the market, being regarded as commodities with purchase value and symbolic meaning. The objects, either discoveries in explorations or products of manufacturing are all embodiments of new knowledge. They were also used for educational purpose. The idea of using objects in public education in England came from Johann Heinreich Pestalozzi, a Swiss pedagogue and education reformer. Several influential English educationalists in the nineteenth century, such as Joseph Payne and Elizabeth Mayo, were influenced by Pestalozzi's Romantic educational views. In the 1830s, a series of books about "object lessons" were published with Elizabeth Mayo as the author; in the following decades, other object lesson books were published by other authors in England and in the United States.[206] These books about how to conduct object lessons are manuals for families and teachers in nurseries and primary schools.

Lessons on Objects: Their Origin, Nature, and Uses published in 1839 shows the model of how objects are described, categorized and explained in object lessons. In the introduction, the author Elizabeth Mayo remarks:

> This work consists of five series of lessons, increasing in difficulty as the pupil advances. The order observed in them is the result of some experience, and of several trials, which have produced a strong conviction of the importance and value of a methodical arrangement, and of a very gradual progression. It is therefore recommended that no step in the course should be altogether omitted, though the age and talents of the children must regulate the time bestowed on each.[207]

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[206] See Max E Lilienthal and Robert Allyn, *Things Taught: Systematic Instruction, Composition and Object Lessons* (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1862) and A. S. Welch, *Object, Lessons: Prepared for Teachers of Primary Schools and Primary Classes* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr, Publishers, 1862).
[207] Elizabeth Mayo, *Lessons on Objects: Their Origin, Nature, and Use for Use of Schools and Families* (Haswell, 1839), 20.

This indicates that the objects are carefully curated and they are introduced in certain ways in Victorian object lessons. Considering the children's possible responses, the author also encourages teachers to take children's questions

> The Teacher must be previously well grounded, in order to meet the inquiries, which the active minds of children continually suggest. Their questions will generally point out the best mode of treating a subject, or of leading them to the discovery of any truth.[208]

In Mayo's point of view, children's curiosity helps them to find more knowledge, but she emphasises that the objects are selected and arranged with particular reasons in the first place.

The educational function of objects in the Victorian classroom and the discourse generated in this pedagogical practice reflect the social perception and construction of the relationship between objects and knowledge. Like animals and plants being categorised in natural history books, objects in the Victorian classroom were classified, described and shown with "objectivity". These classifications, descriptions and demonstrations are part of the knowledge of these objects. On the one hand, the Victorians were tentative, and on the other hand they were decisive about the knowledge they delivered through education and mass media.

Though there is no evidence showing that Alice has experienced in any object lessons before she goes to Wonderland, there seems to be an implication that she is aware of what things are supposed to be and how they should be used; she is trying to make sense from what she experiences in Wonderland. Her knowledge comes from her previous experience. Her dialogues with characters in Wonderland—such as the Cheshire Cat, Caterpillar, the Duchess and the Queen–all imply that she was educated. Observant and curious, Alice is aware of the unusual features of the objects because she has some knowledge about these objects and animals before she enters Wonderland. Alice raises questions about these obscure objects, but no one responds to her questions with sensible answers. She is self-reliant dealing with the absurdity in Wonderland. Alice

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[208] Mayo, 20-1.

does not see any authorities in Wonderland, and insists on understanding what she encounters with her own perspectives.

Following the rabbit, Alice enters the rabbit hole, where she sees more objects. Passing through this long passage entering the underground world, Alice loses her orientation. With darkness and having a wall like a well-wall, the rabbit-hole seems to be a space full of uncertainty: "In another moment down went Alice after it, never once considering how in the world she was to get out again."[209] This is both literal and metaphorical. For Alice, the rabbit-hole is a passage of time and space, where she sees objects and reflects:

> Either the well was very deep, or she fell very slowly, for she had plenty of time as she went down to look about her, and to wonder what was going to happen next. First, she tried to look down and make out what she was coming to, but it was too dark to see anything: then she looked at the sides of the well, and noticed that they were filled with cupboards and bookshelves: here and there she saw maps and pictures hung upon pegs. She took down a jar from one of the shelves as she passed; it was labelled "ORANGE MARMALADE," but to her great disappointment it was empty: she did not like to drop the jar for fear of killing somebody underneath, so managed to put it into one of the cupboards as she fell past it.[210]

Although Alice has no clear idea where she is falling into, she sees cupboards and bookshelves fill the space around her. They give an impression of objects that Alice might be familiar with—bookshelves and cupboards in a living room and kitchen in reality. In this sense, the rabbit-hole is a tunnel between the real world and Wonderland, and the objects in this tunnel appear as references to both the real and the imaginative, the familiar and unfamiliar, the known and the unknown.

The darkness in the rabbit-hole may hide some details of the objects. Not everything in the cupboard or on the shelves is listed in the book; only maps, pictures and an empty jar with a label are mentioned in the text. Different from the ambiguous literary text, many *Alice* films show the objects in the rabbit hole more explicitly. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), the rabbit-hole is a black background where Alice and the White Rabbit walk through. The rabbit-hole scenes in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1910)

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[209] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 3.
[210] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 3-4.

and *Alice in Wonderland* (1915) are presented without any details about the setting. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1933), a candle, a plaque sign showing "Home Sweet Home" and a violin imply that the production is aimed at audiences identifying themselves with middle-class domestic values. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), there are some pictures and frames, a globe, a cupboard filled with tea cups and a jar of orange marmalade. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), more objects are added, including a lamp, a mirror, a book, a flower, a vase and some pieces of furniture. In *Alice in Wonderland* (2010), a grand piano, many books, a skull and a bouncy bed are added to the collection.

The objects displayed in these *Alice* works, including the book and the films, reveal the social and historical contexts of each work. Changes in the object collection in the rabbit-hole scene in these *Alice* films reflect how the objects are seen, positioned, replaced and removed from the collection in different historical contexts. The rabbit-hole is not only the entrance to Wonderland; it is also a gallery that exhibits the objects that have been highlighted from the cultural life of the world where Alice comes from. Not only the technology used in filmmaking helps to improve the visibility of the hidden objects in the dark settings, social and cultural factors also have influence on the visibility of the objects. The collection expands in accordance with a growing commercial culture; it is also influenced by the popular culture of the time, including gothic subcultural trends—macabre item such as the skull in *Alice in Wonderland* (2010) is one example. The visibility of objects represents the social order that is transplanted into the Alice story and secretly reveals the cultural implications about the household and domestic life.

Similar to these estranged animals and objects, Alice herself also manifests some strangeness, which makes her think about her body in Wonderland. When her size is changed, she sees herself as if she is looking at something else:

> "Oh, my poor little feet, I wonder who will put on your shoes and stocking for you now, dears? I'm sure *I* sha'n't be able! I shall be a great deal too far off to trouble myself about you: you must manage the best way you can—but I must be kind to them," thought Alice, "or perhaps they won't walk the way I want to go! Let me see: I'll give them a new pair of boots every Christmas."

And she went on planning to herself how she would manage it. "They must go by the carrier," she thought; "and how funny it'll seem, sending presents to one's own feet! And how odd the direction will look!
Alice's Right Foot, Esq.
Hearthrug,
near the Fender,
(with Alice's love) [Italics in original][211]

Alice sees herself as changeable and divisible, which means that she sees herself as an uncertain subject and can be regarded as an object. Alice's attitudes towards herself is rarely represented in *Alice* films, except in Jan Švankmajer's *Alice* (1988), which will be discussed later in this chapter.[212]

In Wonderland, Alice faces these strange objects and strange parts of herself all by herself. In the scene of the many doors, she struggles with taking control of the objects in Wonderland. In this scene, Alice is located among many objects. Objects appear and disappear like they are magical or supernatural and Alice becomes passive because she can't make any sense of it.

> There were doors all around the hall, but they were all locked, and when Alice had been all the way down one side and up the other, trying every door, she walked sadly down the middle, wondering how she was ever to get out again.
>
> Suddenly she came upon a little three-legged table, all made of solid glass; there was nothing on it but a tiny golden key, and Alice's first idea was that this might belong to one of the doors of the hall; but, alas! Either the locks were too large, or the key was too small, but at any rate it would not open any of them. However, on the second time round, she came upon a low curtain she had not noticed before, and behind it was a little door about fifteen inches high: she tried the little golden key in the lock, and to her great delight it fitted![213]

After thinking about it, she is not overwhelmed by the obscure phenomena, but continues her journey and keeps on thinking about these strange things. At this point, Alice is autonomous and is used to the absurdity in Wonderland. Alice's experience of using objects in the hall reflects a common situation for the Victorians who were

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[211] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 15-16.
[212] See 146.
[213] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland,* 7-8.

experiencing a time when there were always new things with new functions. On the one hand, the public were engaged in the mass production of new objects and materials; on the other hand, they needed to adjust their knowledge and their ways of thinking about how to deal with these objects.

In Wonderland, the DRINK ME bottle and the EAT ME cake are like parodies of a bottle of drink and a piece of cake in reality. Conventionally, they are perceived as a bottle of liquid to drink and a piece of cake to eat. However, the instructions attached to the objects in Wonderland suggest the ideas of the objects; they are self-referential. These labels and signs in Wonderland make the objects autonomous objects, which challenges the conventional ways of understanding items. These instructions given by the objects leads Alice to adventures. Therefore, the bottle and the cake are *deus ex machina* in this scene. Even if the words on the labels are added by a person, he or she must stand in the point of view of the objects rather than him/herself. These portrayed autonomous objects are regarded as if they can be autonomous and subjective. These characteristics of the objects manifest the ambiguity of being objects in Wonderland: they can have their own opinion and can express themselves through words.

In another aspect, objects are arranged in special syntactical structures in the *Alice* book, which results in nonsense and playfulness. This makes reading the story a practice of rethinking the relationship between imageries. For example, the riddle "Why is a raven like a writing-desk?" contains two images of an object. This sentence, with a word for animal and a word for object, invites the reader to think about it as a nonsense implying potential and possibilities regarding the relationship between animals, objects and thinking. The question contains a precondition that the raven is like a writing-desk and assumes that there are reasons for this similarity. But the condition is illogical because a raven is hardly like a writing desk, unless any part of the sentence has alternative meanings. Following the riddle, one needs to rethink each part of the sentence to make sense, reflecting on the existing logic and thinking imaginatively. This is a process of looking for alternative explanations for nonsense and of breaking the established knowledge of objects.

In the scene with many doors, Alice follows the objects' words and experiences a bodily change. Her remarks on her transformation reveal the relationship between objects and the human. She says, "'What a curious feeling!' […] 'I must be shutting up like a telescope!'"[214] This response could be regarded as a clue for rethinking the relationship between the human body and objects, particularly optical devices. Alice sees or feels her body changing, and she compares her visual or bodily experience with the construction of a telescope. She imagines herself as an object and projects her sensual experience onto a mechanical device. By thinking herself 'like a telescope," Alice sympathises with objects. In these fantastic moments, the boundary between human body and objects has been illuminated.

Most of the objects in Wonderland are single or of a single pair, which suggests their uniqueness. The cards come in numbers, but there are several ones portrayed as characters. Alice meets individual cards and sees all the cards in the procession in the garden. All the cards are partly anthropomorphic—they have elbows, heads, eyes, but are "oblong and flat, with their hands and feet at the corners."[215] Every card seems to have the capability to walk and talk as an individual human being, like Five, Seven, the Queen, the King and the Knave. They are all anthropomorphic figures. But in the last scene, when Alice points out that they are "nothing but a pack of cards," reclaiming the fact under these imaginative constructions, then the adventures in Wonderland end:

> At this the whole pack rose up into the air, and came flying down upon her; she gave a little scream, half of fright and half of anger, and tried to beat them off, and found herself lying on the bank, with her head in the lap of her sister [...][216]

Alice's assertion redefines the nature of the characters she meets in Wonderland in the end—they are "nothing but a pack of cards!" By saying this, Alice defends herself from the Queen's sentence, and also dismisses the fantastic possibilities embodied in the cards. In other words, objects like the cards are not only the cause of the fantastic experience, but also part of the imagination in Wonderland, or in Alice's dream. The

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[214] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 11.
[215] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 114.
[216] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 188-189.

denial of the absurd functions of the objects means the dismissal of the imaginative experience for Alice, and it also means the end of the story.

The anthropomorphic cards can move around, but many other objects in Wonderland are static. But these static objects have the potential to impose influence on others, such as the bottle with the DRINK ME label. They are autonomous and seem not be under control of any human beings. Characters in Wonderland also have the capacity to change, like Alice and the baby. Wonderland is where transformations often take place and things are able to become something else. The interchanges between human, animal and objects are possible to become each other in Wonderland. To actualize these transformations, many *Alice* films use animation to create the fantastic reality in Wonderland. Animation, which originally means to give life to something, is the perfect form to create the uncanny and the surreal reality implied in the *Alice* stories.

"Curiouser and Curiouser": Objects in Animation

Film restores the materiality of objects through the immediate visualisation of them and provides new perspectives for looking at objects in the literary works they are based on. Animation relies on cinematic techniques to create illusions that show objects moving automatically without human control. In theatre, magicians create the illusions and early short films in early cinema use camerawork and editing to create similar effects. In animations, the Alice story is translated into images that are different from photographic images in earlier *Alice* films. The cinematic images of the animated objects blend the cartoon figure with the photographic images of live action.

Objects in animation before computer-generated-images (CGI) are made of tangible and tactile materials. In contrast, computer-generated-images are the products of using software.[217] Stop-motion animation was not used in *Alice* films until 1949. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), characters in Wonderland are all animated puppets. Watching this new form of Wonderland could be an extraordinary experience, especially when stop-

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[217] The relationship between the real objects and the fictional objects becomes extremely complicated in digital films. See D. N. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press: 2001).

motion was not as common as live action or cartoon and the Alice story had not been made into a feature film or animation film. Based on an analysis of *Alice* films made with animation technique and technology, I argue that stop-motion animation transduces the philosophy of seeing objects in Wonderland into reality. These *Alice* films translate the surreal reality into animated objects in moving images by highlighting the ambivalent materiality of objects. In this sense, the ways of looking at objects and their relationship with the human in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is mediated in the practice of using objects in stop-motion animations.

The stop-motion animation in some *Alice* films, including *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1988), differ from the animated cartoon *Alice in Wonderland* (1951) and digital animation in *Alice in Wonderland* (2010). Because of the objects used in these films, these two stop-motion animations create complexity in their trans-media adaptation of *Alice*. In his article "Chairy Tales: Objects and Materiality in Animation," Paul Wells emphasizes a "specific approach and use" of the object in animation. Wells suggests that "three issues concerning this aspect of what … should be regarded as the shifting technological and matter-based apparatus of animation: first, the meanings and affects of objects and materials actually used in animated films; second, the visual dramaturgy made possible by objects and materials for animation screenwriters; and third, the status, thereafter, of animation process materials as archival objects."[218]

As I argued above, the objects in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* are uncanny imageries that reflect multiple realities. The multiple realities include: 1) the world that Alice lives in before she enters the rabbit-hole, 2) the fantastic material reality in Wonderland, and 3) the socio-cultural realities that are illustrated in the artistic practice. Objects are presented differently and the knowledge of things differs from common sense, which makes the adventures in Wonderland an experience in a counter-reality. This counter-reality is actualized in animation with the hybrid texture of the image.

The term "counter-reality" means that it is a reality different from the reality in actual life or in representations; the idea of "counter reality" that I refer to here is comparable

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[218] Paul Wells, "Chairy Tales: Objects and Materiality in Animation," *Alphaville* Issue 8, (Winter 2014):1.

to the term "third reality" mentioned by Wells. The "third reality" is a concept that Wells borrows from Mark Cotta Vaz: "the first being physical reality; the second the photoreality of perfectly executed visual effects; the third being a completely authentic 'real world' but facilitating fantastical scenarios that foreground animated interventions and stylisation."[219] Wells adds that, "Interestingly, too, this 'third reality' does not wholly embrace complete verisimilitude, sometimes abandoning total imitation for believability and readability in the image."[220] The counter-reality, I suggest, can be seen from a de-anthropocentric perspective. From this post-human perspective, the objects, like animals, have the potential to move as imagery and actual things. The moving objects used and presented in films, with their mediated and immediate fantastic effects, provide more possibilities for intellectual reflections on issues about the substance and materiality of life and about the relationship between humans and the world.

Wells aims "to recover the materiality of the object,"[221] by adopting an approach of "theorisation of the object in animation through the presence and application of the object in other tangible practices, and related processes." In fact, "the materiality of the object" has never been denied in practice and theoretical studies. Object-oriented theories are applied in computer programming and design, and "object-oriented thought" has been discussed by Graham Harman and Levi Bryant in the discipline of philosophy. Marlis Schweitzer and Joanne Zerdy, two scholars in theatre studies, believe that "theatre and performances histories are littered with objects,"[222] giving examples from the props used in performance and the commodities circulated before or after their presence in theatre. Schweitzer and Zerdy, having a similar opinion to Wells, see the complexity in objects with their material presence in different contexts. Different from Harman's metaphysical theory and programming practice, the observations of the objects in theatre and film practices lead the investigation into further explorations about the life of objects in broader cultural and social contexts.

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[219] Wells, 11.
[220] Wells, 11.
[221] Wells, 2.
[222] Marlis Schweitzer, Joanne Zerdy, *Performing Objects and Theatrical Things* (Palgrave McMillan, 2014), 1.

In their book *Performing Objects and Theatrical Things*, Schweitzer and Zerdy start their discussion on objects in theatre performance by mentioning Victorian "object lessons." They distinguish Victorian object lessons from contemporary ones, seeing the differences in the historical contents and in the objectives of the respective lessons. Both Victorian and modern objective lessons are practices of constructing systematic discourse about objects and developing certain knowledge about specific things. The viewers are learners; they learn from the established discourse more than the object *per se*. But these rules in the practical world do not necessarily work in animation and filmmaking. Just as the physical laws can be broken in Wonderland in the book, objects in films and animation can become alive and autonomous as if they gain their life.

It is animation that gives objects life and spirit in films. Cameras record moving objects in live action; they also record the joint work of the manipulation of objects along with the control of the running speed of the film strip. Before the invention of the moving images in magic lantern shows and film screenings, animated objects inhabited fairy tales and fantasies in print. Reading children's literature, H. Joseph Schwarcz sees machine animism as explicitly shown in Hans Christian Andersen's works. Schwarcz points out that:

> From Andersen's stories about animated objects, two main types of children's literature have grown: stories about animated dolls and toy animals; and stories about useful and serviceable objects (tools, gadgets, and machines.)[223]

In these stories, the animated objects are described as fantastic phenomena but at the same time, as a matter of fact, like the White Rabbit wearing his waist-coat and the watch and speaking human language. Schwarcz comments on Andersen's animated objects:

> And yet Andersen's animated man-made objects inhabit a strange land. They are alive, so it seems; they are personified and equipped with human attributes; they are conscious of their existence; they contemplate their experiences and become wiser for doing so; they are very sensitive creatures. On the other hand, though, they are important to man; they are alive, but they are so wrapped up in their narcissistic memories that they never realize that they are not free to act; they strive

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[223] Joseph Schwarcz, "Machine Animism in Modern Children's Literature," *The Literary Quarterly: Information, Communication and Policy*, Vol. 37, no. 1 (Jan., 1967): 80.

for independence but fail to attain it. Their existence is, from man's point of view, a tragic and ridiculous illusion—yet again, they are alive enough to lead their illusory existence.[224]

Schwarcz's description of the animated objects from Andersen's story also applies to the chair in Norman McLaren's *A Chairy Tale* (1957), which is mentioned by Paul Wells in his article. In *A Chairy Tale* (1957), the film translates the description of animated objects in fairy tales from the literary into the visual. The chair has its own personality. Though it is not in anthropomorphic form, its emotion and intelligence are shown through its interaction with the actor. But after, this lively chair looks like an ordinary chair in reality, solid and silent.

The tension between the realistic and fantastic features coexisting in objects is a recurrent theme in surrealist art. Sarane Alexandrian observes that, "The object is an even more typically surrealist creation than the collage."[225] Interestingly, Lewis Carroll is seen by surrealist André Breton as a pioneer "to counteract ruthlessly the depreciation of language."[226] The counteraction is shown more evidently in animations. The following case studies include analyses of *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988). Animated objects in these two *Alice* films will be examined as visual reconstructions of the story and an important medium between cinematic narrations and the actual material world. Each film shows an aspect of using animation to present absurdity and surreality and commonly illustrate the transfiguration of the Alice image and stories through image/object making and media technology. *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) uses animated puppets to create the fantastic landscape of Wonderland—which is like *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) but different from the latter because of the materiality of the puppets. *Alice* (1988) gives life to household items and uses stop-motion animation to show the extraordinary fantasies that emerge from daily life. Though each case shows a different life of objects in filmmaking, they both demonstrate how objects link *Alice* with various realities, dreams and surrealities.

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[224] Schwarcz, 79.
[225] Sarane Alexandrian, *Surrealist Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 140.
[226] André Breton, "On Surrealism in Its Living Works," in *Manifestos of Surrealism* (The University of Michigan Press, 1969), 297-8.

***Alice in Wonderland* (1949): A Complex Alice in a Tactile Wonderland**

The relationship between Alice and Wonderland is mediated in combining live action and animation sequences in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949). In this film, the Alice character has a complex identity and Wonderland is created as a dream. Because of the complicated Alice character, the dream can be registered in different contexts as either Alice's personal experience or a collective imagining of the literary story. The film constructs the life of Alice before she enters Wonderland as a real person and then it turns her into the fictional character when she falls asleep and enters Wonderland. Thus, when she is in Wonderland, Alice has a confused identity: in the Wonderland setting, she could be the character in the book, not referring to the "real" Alice constructed in the earlier part of the film; or she could be the Alice living in Christ Church who imagines herself become the heroine of the story. The representation of Alice in the second part of the film hightens the ambiguity of the Alice character and confuses reality and the dream-like experience. As a visual representation, the film not only shows the Alice story, but also constructs a story about Alice Liddell's life. Thus, the representation of Wonderland in the film is created by using two sources: 1) Alice's (either the fictional or the real one's) dream/memory that implies part of the pre-existing reality shown in the fiction; 2) the fiction's reference to the contextual reality. The represented Wonderland, taking the form of crafted settings and animated puppets, differs from the settings in live action films and embodies the literary fantasies; it further translates the embodiment into another fantasy about objects and technologies. Film cameras capture the texture of the represented landscape and the characters in the crafted Wonderland, and the puppets and materials in filmic images link the fantasies with the tangible and tactile material world.

The production of *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) by Lou Bunin Productions was interrupted by Walt Disney, because Walt Disney Productions was in the process of producing *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). Lou Bunin, the puppeteer and one of the producers of the film, defended *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) at the lawsuit mentioning the differences in material and effects between the two productions. *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) won the lawsuit, but the film was marginalised from the mainstream cinema in the United States and in Europe. Due to Walt Disney's interference in the production of the film, Bunin's

team had to use Ansco instead of Technicolor for the colour film process, which gives the film an unsatisfactory quality in colour—colour in Technicolor films is sharper and clearer than it is in Ansco films. The circulation of the film was also restrained because Disney tried to clear the way for *Alice in Wonderland* (1951). Amy Kaiman, Lou Bunin's daughter, points out that Lou began working on *Alice* in 1946.[227] Years later, the film was released in France in 1949 and in the United States in 1951, and it was rereleased in 1985. Bunin's collaborator Dallas Bower, a British filmmaker, is mostly known for his Shakespearean adaptations and there is not much research about his contribution on *Alice in Wonderland* (1949).

Ignored and underestimated, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) needs revisiting and re-examination on several levels. The hampered production and circulation had a profound influence on the reception of the film. As an adaptation of the Alice story, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) has not been mentioned much when compared to the *Alice* films made by Walt Disney and Jan Švankmajer. Disney successfully turned animation into a phenomenal industry and Švankmajer's *Alice* is regarded as an important work by the Czech Surrealist artist. Both Disney and Švankmajer's works have been well-received while *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) is rarely mentioned. Meanwhile, the Disney Company continues to produce new images of Alice and Wonderland. The Disney company also manufactures the image of Alice from its *Alice* films. Disney adapts the *Alice* stories into entertainment and attractions in its films, and further transforms the film and its contents into commodities and even landscapes, which seem to be far from the image of Alice and Wonderland in Tenniel's illustrations.

In contrast, in Bunin's production, one can see the effort of adding the tangible materiality to the *Alice* story and that of relocating the story into its historical origins. Disney's *Alice* films exclude any historical allusion, while Bunin's production does the opposite. Though Wonderland is a timeless place without any historical reference in the

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[227] Amy Bunin Kaiman, "Lou Bunin's Alice's in Wonderland" Blog, <https://www.blogger.com/blogger.g?blogID=3569301304681053552#publishedposts> (accessed in 2016).
Ansco is a photographic company based in Binghamton, New York, which was founded in 1842 and producing photographic films, papers and cameras.

book, the Alice character has her personal history, which provides reference points for her dream. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), Alice is not only the character in the story but also a person that lives her life. At the beginning of the film, the epigraph introduces the background information about the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and reminds the audience that the characters in the stories are based on real people:

> […] the story was not so simple, because you will see that Lewis Carroll modelled his creatures of Wonderland on the foibles of real people. The Cheshire Cat, it is told, is really a Dean of Oxford; the Queen of Hearts, the Queen; the Mad Hatter, a tailor; the White Rabbit, the Vice-Chancellor, and so on.[228]

The first character that appears is a young man taking a photograph of a building in Christ Church in Oxford; and he is Charles Lutwidge Dodgson. In the film, Dodgson also takes photographs of Alice Liddell and her sisters in the courtyard. This refers to the personal life of the writer of the Alice story, who liked photography and was friends with Alice Liddell and her family. Later, Dodgson's other name Lewis Carroll is introduced by the Queen upon her arrival. Dodson's profession as a mathematics tutor at Christ Church is also mentioned.

The author of the story is disenchanted, as well as the Alice character. She is surrounded by people rather than curious animals and objects, which implies that she lives in a real world rather than a fiction. The film starts with a live action sequence. The setting is in Christ Church, which gives the Alice story a pictorial location. The *mise-en-scène* in this first part of the film is realist until Dodgson tells the Liddell sisters a story on their boat trip, which starts the second part of the film. In the second part, Alice goes into Wonderland and turns into the Alice character in the book—a fictional character having her (day-)dream during a storytelling. Her adventures take place in a setting with pictorial designs and animated puppets and most of the scenes in Wonderland combine the live action of Alice and the artificial setting with painted backdrops rather than naturalistic locations. When Alice wakes up, the mise-en-scène resumes a realist setting. In the film, Alice wakes up as the character in the book, but at the same time, she is still

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[228] *Alice in Wonderland* (1949).

the Alice in Christ Church who knows the author of the Alice story. At this point, the disenchanted Alice in the first part of the film becomes a complicated figure.

Before Dodgson tells the story to Alice and her sisters, the characters are realistic and there are no fantastic elements in the narration. But if one knows the story s/he will notice that this realist setting foreshadows the second part of the film—Alice's adventures in Wonderland. Wonderland is created with handcrafted settings and the characters in Wonderland are all stop-motion characters—except Alice. Like the cartoon landscape in *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), the handcrafted settings and the puppets in *Alice in Wonderland* distinguish the two worlds—the reality and the fantastic Wonderland. But with the presence of material objects as props, Wonderland becomes an actual space where Alice can walk through. In this space, the animated puppets, like the White Rabbit and other animals, all look like living toys, moving and speaking like human characters. This means that Wonderland and the characters are no longer seen only as abstract concepts or graphics, but as an actual space and things.

By creating Wonderland within a historical context, the film shows that adapting a literary story into film is also a process of making a fantasy. Seeing *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as a literary fantasy, the middle part of *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), like many other *Alice* films, visualises the literary text. The visualization is planted in another fantasy that constructs the context of the literary *Alice* and represents the story-telling as a gesture of making fantasy. In the film, Alice's adventures take place in her dream due to the story-telling scenario; because this story-telling results in a dream of adventures, the reconstructed scenario seems to give *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* an origin. The film combines a historical fiction with a literary fantasy, therefore it consists of a reconstruction of the history and a narration. Folding an artificial world into a realist world, the structure of the film mimes the creation of fantasy. Technically, when the day-dream or story-telling takes place, the literary text is transformed into a moving picture showing a live-acting protagonist meeting animated puppets in a setting made of colourful cardboards. The fantastical Wonderland looks more artificial than the rest of the film, so the audience sees the naturalness in the historical construction contrasting with the lack of naturalness in the artificial creation. Different from most

Alice films that can be categorised as fantastic films, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) creates a unique visual representation of how to imagine and to interpret *Alice*.

By confusing the identity of Alice, the film develops a complex scenario for the audience to see the visualised fantasy and the visualisation of the fantasy. In the film, the story of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, a fiction that is based on experience set in a fictional reality, the adventures take place in a dream which happens simultaneously with the story-telling process. The story-telling activity is visualized as a fantasy and it is presented as a fantastic world. In other words, the visualized story-telling practice is an adaptation of the *Alice* book. This adaptation translates the Alice story from literary and pictorial descriptions into material and film technological practices. The material practices create the Wonderland characters and landscapes as concrete objects, and the camera and film further translate them into cinematic images/objects. The concrete objects in front of the camera are things without life, but they are (re)presented in similar ways as the natural recordings of the live action in the rest of the film. The cinematic images/objects of Wonderland are representational in relation to the fiction and fantasy; they are also referential as the audience can read the fantasy in the story through a fantasy embodied in the animated puppets.

For this film, the imaginative interpretation is actualized through material practice and media technology. The puppetry working with the camerawork allows the film to present the Wonderland characters as either solid objects rather than actors and actresses wearing theatrical costumes, or animated toy figures. Technically, animation differs from live action because making animation breaks the time of shooting into small units. The technical differences lead to different perceptions of the materials represented in the film. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) even though the animation gives an illusionary image of the objects that have been shot, it shows the material bodies of the Wonderland characters. I argue that the film translates the fantasy into a sensual experience through the animated puppets and by applying the animated puppets, the film encloses both the cinematic and material adaptation of the Alice story. The film can also be an embodiment of the sensual experience of different materials in the actual world.

Understanding film from a phenomenological perspective, Vivian Sobchack believes that film has a body and cinematic technology plays an important role in giving film its body. She observes that "The film's body matures in its perceptive grasp of the world, in its physical hold upon being, in much the same manner that the human body matures and successfully synopsizes its efforts as the ease of the lived-body, competently realising its intentions in a world inexhaustibly available to its perception and expression."[229] She sees film as "a technologically mediated consciousness of experience, but given to itself, through the praxis of its existentially functional body, as the immediate experience of consciousness."[230] From another perspective, she acknowledges the crucial function of technology in constructing the film's body

> As a systemic 'apparatus,' cinematic technology functions to afford the film a material *instrumentality* for its perceptive and expressive *intention*, and to exist invisibly 'behind' the film's perceptive and expressive activity as the film's ground, as its incarnate and substantial being, as the film's *body*. [Italics in original][231]

Sobchack argues that "The transformations of perception are peculiarly compounded by the various but synoptic cinematic mechanisms."[232] For Sobchack, the "cinematic mechanisms" means the camera and projector and they are two primary organs of the film's body producing the movement.[233] Sobchack believes that "the film's body is to visibly animate perception and expression in existence."[234] In her article "What My Fingers Knew: The Cinesthetic Subject, Or Vision in Flesh," Sobchack points out that "cinema's sensual address and the viewers' 'corporeal material being' have been generally ignored."[235] She proposes a perspective of seeing the cinematic experience as sensual and carnal.[236] Sobchack uses *The Piano* (1993) as an example to explain her argument. Describing her bodily response as a crucial part of her experience of watching

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[229] Vivian Sobchack, *The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience* (Princeton: University of Princeton University, 1992), 168.
[230] Sobchack, *The Address of the Eye*, 168.
[231] Sobshack, *The Address of the Eye,* 171.
[232] Sobshack, *The Address of the Eye,* 183.
[233] Sobshack, *The Address of the Eye,* 206.
[234] Sobshack, *The Address of the Eye,* 205.
[235] Vivien Sobchack, "What My Fingers Knew: The Cinematic Subject, or Vision in the Flesh," in *Carnal Thoughts: Embodiment and Moving Image Culture* (University of California Press, 2004), 55-6.
[236] Sobchack, "What My Fingers Knew," 60.

the film, Sobchack argues that "the prereflective bodily responsiveness is a common place… we see and comprehend and feel films with our entire bodily being, informed by the history and carnal knowledge of our acculturated sensorium."[237] Regarding the cinematic experience of watching *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) as a bodily experience, I argue that the concept of Wonderland in this film is introduced through the bodies of the animated puppets and the landscape of Wonderland; the film is presented as a hybrid body, or an assemblage of material bodies. Stop motion animation, in this case, strengthens the tactile effects of presenting fantasies with solid material objects; and cinematic mechanism plays an important role in animating them.

The walking and talking puppets in Wonderland seem not to give Alice any surprise in the film, while the fantastic movements of the puppets, the mise-en-scène of the Wonderland and the coexistence of the fantastic and the real in one frame may give the audience an experience of seeing fantasy expressed through animation. The film creates the Wonderland as a fantastic space, so that for the viewers, watching the animation part of the film is like perceiving the unnatural or supernatural phenomena in a naturalist context. Sobchack points out the "posthuman" focus in reconsidering animation in the digital era by discussion of *WALL-E* (2008) as an example.[238] Referring to a series of reflections on animation given by other scholars, Sobchack associates animation with automation. She observes an "increased interest in 'the object.'"[239] Regarding "automation" as a relevant topic to the discussion of "animation", Sobchack sees Wall-E as a transitional object and a transitional subject, but at the same time sees it as an anthropomorphic machine character. Technically, WALL-E is a computer-generated figure and it is different from the animated puppets in Wonderland. However, like WALL-E, the animated Wonderland characters show the paradoxical nature of an object's life—simultaneously animate and inanimate. Different from the software-generated characters and mise-en-scène in WALL-E, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) shows a material malleability that is not only presented through movement, but also shows

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[237] Sobchack, "What My Fingers Knew," 63.

[238] Vivien Sobchack, "Animation and Automation, Or, the Incredible Effortfulness of Being," in *Screen 50*, no. 4 (1 December 2009): 375–91.

[239] Sobchack, "Animation and Automation," 382.

through the surfaces of the puppets. Through the cinematic apparatus, the surfaces of the animated puppets are transferred or translated from the surfaces of objects into images on the surfaces of film strips and shown on screens. The tactile feature of the surfaces of the materials is transmitted through the moving image rather than a practical touch. Looking at the animated puppets in the film, one can feel that Wonderland is tangible, which means the fantasy is actualized not only visibly, but also in a tactile manner.

As Bunin stated in the lawsuit to confront Disney, using the animated puppets is a unique technique to present the characters in three dimensions; and it is the first time the Wonderland characters were made of animated puppets. Different from the animated cartoon figures in Disney's films, these puppets have solid material bodies as the actress and actors do. Wonderland, for the audience, looks like a space where material objects and living beings coexist and become interchangeable. Technically, Wonderland is a collage of the crafted puppets and the live action Alice character. Before the three-dimensional puppets are transcribed into filmic images, their bodies are tangible and tactile. The difference between the image of Alice and other Wonderland characters is no longer pictorial but material—the substance of the objects in front of the camera rather than the image on the screen. The Wonderland world acquires its three-dimensional material form through stop-motion animation, which invites the audience to reflect on Wonderland beyond the image on the flat screen. Unlike the transforming cartoon figures in an animated cartoon, the moving puppets in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) add a tactile dimension to the visual fantasy as they are solid materials exposed to cinematography.

The animated puppets in film are different from those in puppet shows, though they all speak, move and are three-dimensional. In puppet shows, the audience sees the moving toys in theatrical settings, which gives the audience expectations of dramatic or fantastic effect of the performance. Theatre as a context gives the performance an innate sensational feature because of the real-time form; while in cinema, the sensational feature of the presentation is expressed through the "representational" images and sounds. In terms of technical aspects, the movements of the puppets are created in

different ways: puppets in theatres are toys manipulated by visible hands, like the lines and shapes in lightning cartoons;[240] but in films, the hands are absent, so the puppets look like they are autonomous moving beings. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), the puppets are regarded as the marks of Wonderland and they are presented with a paradox of movement and stasis. The movement of the puppets, like the movement in the animated cartoons, implies the curious feature of the Wonderland. The stillness of the puppets reveals the material and texture of the puppets in detail. But the moments of the stillness are always ephemeral during the film as the moving image creates a flow of continuous movements. Though the puppets are animated, there are moments when they look still in the frame. These still frames showing the details of the puppets expose the naturalistic surfaces captured by the camera. This stillness is of the image and it is also of the objects, which contrasts to the flow of movements that has been created in and by the film. In the middle of the illusionary movements, the still objects and their photo-real images look like intermittent illusions that the animated objects are inanimate. By this point, the lively puppets *become* objects. This is a reversal of the illusionary effect that moving images aim to create. The preservation of the material surfaces of the objects in the film makes this reversal, which only happens in stop-motion animation films, possible. In stop-motion animation, the puppets are material beings, which are between objects and living beings. With the stop-motion animation, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) gives a tactile fantasy in which the material feature of the characters is redeemed by the tactile effect of the cinematic images of the surfaces of the puppets.

In this film, Alice and the moving puppets coexist in the same frame, which indicates that the human beings and the puppets are alike—they all speak, listen, walk, swim and are dressed in clothes. Puppet animals also have their social activities, like the congregation of animals and the trial held by the royal couple—without any assistance from a human hand.[241] The juxtaposition of the animated puppet and Alice is still superficial in the same way that the photographic Alice is mixed with animated cartoon

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[240] Lightning cartoon is discussed in Chapter Four. See 98.
[241] On these occasions, the Wonderland characters are not seen as animals but as puppets, appearing as objects in front of the camera rather than living beings.

figures in *Alice's Wonderland* (1923). However, the divisions between Alice and the Wonderland figures are visible in the frames in both films. In *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), the contrast between the image is evident—Alice's image is photographic and the cartoon figures are graphic. Though *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) is carefully cut and edited, the edge of the Wonderland is still noticeable. The edges of Wonderland's domain are hidden in the lines between Alice and the Wonderland characters when they are in the same frame. Every time they are in one frame, there must be a line dividing the frame into two parts, Alice on one side and the Wonderland characters in another. These lines are always put in the background: the shadow of the bush when Alice meets the giant dog, the edge of a tree when she sees the Cheshire Cat sitting on the branch, the corner of the building when she sees the messenger.

Divided in the frame, Alice rarely touches the Wonderland characters and this means their bodies are registered differently. One of the few occasions where Alice has tactile contact with a Wonderland character is when she takes the baby from the Duchess. The baby is played by a puppet when it is held by the Duchess; then it is thrown into the sky and falls into Alice's hands. In the *Alice* book the baby turns into a pig, while in the film the baby puppet in motion turns into a puppet thrown into the air and it is eventually replaced by a lively pig. The trick of replacing objects to create a magical effect is a common technique in early cinema, which still works well in this film. Using the live pig to replace a pig puppet and further showing it running on the ground confuse the puppet with a living animal. The transformation of the baby to the pig in the book reads simpler than its representation in the film. The film creates an illusion that Wonderland characters have similar life forms, even though they are animated puppets. However, the life of the Wonderland characters is illusory even before they are shown on the screen. Though they have material bodies, they are not living beings and their images are separated from those of the latter on the film strip. They are puppets under manipulation, so they can't move freely or interact naturally with the living beings in the moving picture because the movements of objects are carefully positioned in the frame to look natural. The tricks in filmmaking make the movements look real, but the edges remind us that even though the puppets can move, the movements are not natural.

In summary, the stop-motion animation in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) shows the paradox of the real and imaginary from two perspectives. Because Wonderland is constructed as a stop-motion animation landscape, the world in this film is presented as a hybrid reality. Correspondingly, the Alice character is created as fictional in two aspects: a historical fictional character and a literary fictional character. The animated mise-en-scène highlights the artificiality in the story and it further evinces the practice of interpreting both the literary story and the historical references. In addition, the cinematic apparatus shows the details of material objects in the stop-motion animation. The solidness of the objects is shown through the image while their liveliness is shown through the movement of the image. Animation gives life to the puppets in Wonderland, but it is not seen as an evident but as a concealed technique. For the audience, the wonder in the Wonderland in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) is that the objects are transformed from still puppets into living things. Viewing the tangible moving puppets, or in fact viewing the moving images of the still puppets, adds inspiration to imagining the Wonderland with empirical perceptions of body and materials. In this sense, the film gives a bodily cinematic experience of seeing the Alice story, and it proposes to understand the Alice character, the Wonderland with bodily perceptions.

Alice (1988): Something from *Alice*/Alice

Different from many Anglophone *Alice* films, the Czech film *Alice* (1988) shows a grotesque and surrealist Wonderland. The stop-motion animation and puppetry are inseparable in creating the grotesqueness and surrealism in the film. The director Jan Švankmajer was trained in performing art and puppetry and worked in theatre. Later he started to work with multimedia and made his first film *The Last Trick of Mr. Schwarcewallde and Mr. Edgar* (1964). *Alice* (1988) is Švankmajer's first feature-length film and it is regarded as one of the best representatives of Czech surrealist films. Peter Hames writes,

> Švankmajer retells Lewis Carroll's story in his own way, [...] A genuine dialogue with his childhood, it evokes an enchanted world of all too tangible objects, both shaped by time and likely to assume unforeseen and alarming functions. [...] Alice herself assumes both a live and a puppet function.[242]

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[242] Peter Hames, *Dark Alchemy: The Cinema of Jan Švankmajer* (London: Wallflower Press, 2008), 38.

Švankmajer creates an Alice story that bridges the fantastic literary story with materials and objects in realities; the surrealist Wonderland looks as real as the natural world in the film and the tactile sensual experience is emphasised by the image and the sound. I argue that the film perfectly embodies the literary story of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and is more rich and open for interpretation than other *Alice* films.

The film's Czech name *Něco z Alenky* means "Something from Alice," which has different meanings from its English translation *Alice* and the book title *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. In this Czech title, both "something" and "Alice" are ambiguous terms. "Something" may refer to the film itself, or it can be a single or collection of things from the literary story, the film, or even the real world. "Something" is a critical concept in Švankmajer's interpretive responses to the *Alice* stories, and *Alice* (1988) is indeed a material fantasy that uses objects to collate different spheres relevant to the audio-visual representation of the dream-like story. In the film, the transformations between live actors, puppets, animated puppets and household items complicate the relationship between "life", "objects" and their representations. Transformations are highlighted—various "living" forms in the film have different material bodies and they seem to be interchangeable. The transformations of the different forms link different spheres in and beyond the representational—domestic items turn into characters or parts of them, and puppets become people and animals, and vice versa. These bodily changes taking place in Wonderland are presented as replacements of materials and objects; and symbolically, they eliminate the boundaries between different categories of things that are presented as natural and real.

Švankmajer says:

> I use object collages (assemblage)… that I always endeavour to make sure that the audience has the feeling of 'everyday reality'. The feeling of something which actually could happen. My ambition is to render the audience's utilitarian habits unstable.[243]

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[243] Hames, *Dark Alchemy*, 118.

Talking about Alice, he states that *Alice* is his subjective interpretation of Carroll[244] and he conceives and reproduces the story as "an infantile dream."[245] While many other *Alice* films translate the literary stories into visual representations in direct and plain ways, Švankmajer makes his *Alice* film grotesque and surprising. He uses multimedia forms to convey his philosophical contemplations of the relationship between life and matter. By creating the world in the film as fantastic and surrealist, he invites his audience to imagine the world in the same ways that Alice experiences Wonderland.

As Roger Cardinal notices, several objects are introduced in an earlier sequence in Alice, and they reappear in later sequences. Cardial points out that "One thing [in the film] seems clear: the treatment of the objects within Wonderland corresponds to the fantastical procedures of dream-work, codified by Sigmund Freud in terms of condensation, contamination, symbolisation and so on."[246] The film emphasises the presence of many objects whether they are shown as an individual object or as part of a collection. Švankmajer admits his obsession with objects. In his article "Cabinets of Wonders: On Creating and Collecting," Švankmajer states that, "For me, obsession is the start of everything, and I invoke her as the most important muse, for her energy is desire. I don't make too much distinction between creating and collecting….The objects of my desire seek me out, not I them, and it is similar with the subjects and objects of my movies."[247] For Švankmajer, objects play an important role in his creation. Cardinal points out that Švankmajer honours the solidity of the material world.[248] Things and objects are one of the major themes in Švankmajer's works, not limited to films but including puppetry and other forms of creation. In his films, Švankmajer adopts puppetry and stop-motion animation to expose and highlight the materiality of objects and materials. His films reveal that transformation is a potential of all matter—including the human body and the object.

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[244] Hames, *Dark Alchemy*, 116.
[245] Hames, *Dark Alchemy*, 114.
[246] Roger Cardinal, "Thinking Through Things: The Presence of Objects in the Early films of Jan Švankmajer," in *Dark Alchemy: The Cinema of Jan Švankmajer* (Peter Hames, 2008), 75.
[247] Jan Švankmajer, "Cabinets of Wonders: On Creating and Collecting," Trans. Gabirel M. Paletz and Ondřej Kálal, in *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Fall 2011), 103-105.
[248] Cardinal, "Thinking Through Things," 76.

Alice reveals Švankmajer's obsession with objects and it shows the transformation of literature into visual experience and tactile imagination. In other words, the surrealist feature of the Alice story is visualized in the world of objects represented by the cinematic apparatus. The obsession with objects and things is a common interest among surrealist groups. In *Obscure Objects of Desire: Surrealism, Fetishism, and Politics*, Johanna Malt takes an approach focusing on objects, finding "a way of engaging with surrealist products as political in themselves, and moving beyond the political alignment of the surrealists as individuals and as a group."[249] The following analysis of *Alice* focuses on objects, but limits the emphasis to material practice, regarding Švankmajer's way of representing Wonderland as sensual and tactile. More importantly, the fluidity of the sensual and the tactile speaks through animated objects in their gathering, transforming, assemblage, and their encounter with Alice—the only human character in the film.

Alice is surrounded by objects. Though there is no indication specifying the setting of the film, many objects in the film have some antiquarian features: there are numerous animal specimens, children's toys, stationary, and prints of illustrations. These objects are like an index of the material world experienced by Alice in the book and her contemporary readers in the 1860s. Though these objects do not precisely refer to Victorian material culture, they seem to transduce the historical background of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* into a material presence in the film because of their antiquarian appearances. In this sense, the scene of Alice sitting in the room introduces objects from the past into the present. This coalition of the past and the present can also be personal memories of Alice. The adventures are in the dream of Alice in the film as they are in the book. The proposal brought by Švankmajer in his *Alice* film is that the dream is touchable and the adventures in Wonderland are a tactile experience.

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[249] Johanna Malt, *Obscure Objects of Desire: Surrealism, Fetishism, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1.

In his book on tactile art, Švankmajer points out that touch has been isolated while speech and visual experience are prioritised.[250] He argues: "From the point of view of scientific positivism, this lack of touch is unforgivable, and as it does not seem possible to jump this identity barrier into the free space of imagination, the preoccupation with touch reverts to the sphere of statistics, concerning itself, in the differential ability of skin."[251] He further proposes to experience the dream with touch:

> When we sleep, dreams develop in our inner vision independently of any real visual perception. In tactile dreams the inner vision's "development" is mediated by touch. [...] with the perception of a tactile object, the immediate tangible object produces associations and analogous images. With such characterizations, the tactile object can become an ideal interpreter of our dreams. Not just a static motif of a dream taken out of context as an inspirational basis of creativity, ...but the entire dream with all the twists of its story. With the experimentation [with the tactile object] that I am offering here, I tried to allow you to experience your dreams once more, and moreover, to make it possible to touch them.[252]

It is clear that Švankmajer translates this idea to his practice of interpreting the dream of Alice.

The film frequently uses close-ups and extreme close-ups to expose details of Alice and the Wonderland characters. The attention to the surfaces of materials in the film distinguishes this film from many other *Alice* films. Compared with *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), which includes puppets in animation, *Alice* (1988) expands the category of moving objects to include ready-made models with things that become parts of assembled models during the process of becoming in the film. One example is when a rabbit in a glass box frees itself from a nail, dresses itself in clothes and feeds itself with sawdust. Another example is the scene when Alice meets the Caterpillar where socks, needles, threads, and a set of false teeth compose the figure of the Caterpillar. The process of the formation and transformation of figures shows how things assemble automatically—which is indeed actualized by the stop-motion animation. Creating these scenes of the assemblage, dismissal, and transformation of objects, Švankmajer shows

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[250] Jan Švankmajer, *Touching and Imagining: An Introduction to Tactile Art* (I.B. Tauris, 2014), 1-2.
[251] Švankmajer, *Touching and Imagining,* 61.
[252] Švankmajer, *Touching and Imagining,* 61.

the potential of one becoming another, singular becoming plural or plural becoming singular, and lifeless becoming life.

This "becoming" feature is also shown on the Alice image. Alice has three appearances: 1) she is acted by a real actress; 2) she is presented as a doll that is animated as if it is a living object; 3) she is a shown as a combination of the actress and the doll. Each appearance has a meaning. The Alice acted by the real actress is an illustration of the common perception of taking Alice as a live girl. Later in the film Alice turns into a doll when she drinks from the bottle and shrinks. Interestingly, this doll containing Alice inside looks like the small doll shown in the previous part of the film. Besides its identical appearance to Alice, the doll moves and walks like a living being. Despite the similarities, the differences between the two images of Alice are apparent—it is not difficult to differentiate the doll and a real person. The two similar but different Alice images convey the statement that Alice is a double, split and interchangeable figure. She could be a person, a doll or a girl in a model—the third appearance of Alice in the film. After she drops into the pot as a doll, she turns into the actress covered in a paper shell in the shape of a girl with two holes that allow her to peer. At first, she seems to be bonded by the covering model, and she is pulled by the animals into a room that looks like a storeroom. She looks at the surroundings through the two holes and eventually tears the shell and gets out of the model that also looks like her. Then she stands in the middle of the room with shelves and piles of things. At first Alice tries to get out of the room but then she is attracted by the objects in glass jars: long bread with nails and clocks soaked in liquid. Then she sees a bird skeleton coming out of an egg like a fledgling, nails growing out of bread like mould, a piece of meat crawling like a big worm and bugs living in a sealed can. Grocery supplies turn into animal-like beings, which further confirms the transformation from objects to living beings as sound and common.

The twists between different appearances of *Alice* show a complex composition of the character. However, having three different forms does not change Alice's character. Though Alice takes different material forms, unlike the Alices in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) which has a complex identity—the historical or the fictional—she is persistently a character who is curious, observant and courageous. Alice doesn't lose her ability to

move when she turns into a doll. She is only Alice in a different size and material; she can still look and move her eyes while she is confined in the girl-shape shell; she is Alice in a different state and position. Meanwhile, as the context of these transformations and transfigurations, Wonderland is no longer simply presented as a place depicted in the literary text, being passive and silent. It is present as a space where Alice emerges out of objects and materials, which are resources for transformation and transfiguration. The Wonderland is also associated with the actual world though the objects people are familiar with in their daily life—food, household items, furniture and even waste. Like the objects surrounding Alice in the living room, these objects from everyday life may recur as uncanny memories of the audience of the film.

In Švankmajer's film, the dream theme complicates the issue because the film is an interpretive creation and it involves multi-media practices. Both aspects make the film sophisticated because the objects are presented as having multiple functions and diverse meanings. With Švankmajer's surrealist view, the film creates a scenario for the viewer to understand the objects challenging utilitarian preoccupations. Švankmajer's film is his interpretation of the story or an interpretation of dreams, but with his material practices, the film asserts an interpretation of objects beyond stories and dreams. Švankmajer's props in the film are like the puppets used in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), having bodies and concrete forms. However, these bodies and forms in *Alice* (1988) are not necessarily anthropomorphic or generated from an anthropocentric perception of the world: some of them are ready-made puppets, while some become parts of a figure as I mentioned above. In this sense, Wonderland challenges the utilitarian perception of objects and materials and the film proposes an imaginative understanding of objects. Unlike the Alice in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), Alice in this film constantly engages with the objects in Wonderland. She experiences Wonderland through her eyes, and other parts of her body though the sense of touch. She is also part of Wonderland, as she becomes one of the curious objects there. Alice's bodily experiences in Wonderland are translated into visual and aural messages, and these messages may arise in the audience's bodily perception of the film.[253]

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[253] Vivien Sobchack's reflections regarding the relationship between bodily perception and cinematic experience were mentioned earlier in this chapter. See 141-142.

The film uses various techniques to highlight the texture and materiality of the shown things. Many long-takes, close-ups and extreme close-ups are used to portray the props and the characters. With no visible dividing line between animated landscape and live action space in the frame, the picture of Wonderland in *Alice* (1988) is more convincing than it is in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) in terms of constructing a fantastic Wonderland by using animation. The elimination of the dividing line may have been due to technical reasons; however, it has metaphorical meanings: no boundaries between the two spheres means no limits for interaction and transformation. This reflects more space for imagination and transfiguration.

The film also uses sound effects to depict the texture of objects and materials. There are always sounds when things are moving or touched which only reflects part of the reality. The sounds of objects in the film are exaggerated and they are like the audio form of close-ups and extreme close-ups. Michel Chion uses the term "point of audition" to refer to this effect.[254] They highlight the movement and texture of the objects and materials, and they add a dramatic grotesque effect to the contrast between animation and live action. For example, in the scene where the rabbit dresses itself, most objects involved in the rabbit's movement have their distinctive sound: the nail, the drawer, the scissors, and the glass box. In the scene where a group of animal skeletons is chasing after Alice, the bones clink and crack, creating a creepy effect which is adds to the grotesque visual effect.

While objects make various sounds, human voice comes alone through a girl's voice. An extreme close-up of a speaking mouth is repeated throughout the film and a girl's voice is the only voiceover. Without giving more details about the story-teller, the film seems to emphasise a story-telling practice. All the conversations between Alice and other characters are in this girl's voice. The voice changes its persona in accordance with the development of the story, and the variation of tones creates an audio theatrical effect. Other sounds are artificial—they always mark the existence of the objects or highlight

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[254] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision,* trans. Walter Murch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

the encounter between Alice and the objects. With this omniscient voice, the whole film is a visualization of the Alice story told by a girl. The mouth in the extreme close-ups looks like the mouth of the actress. Švankmajer again complicates the relationship between the narrator, dreamer, and character as he creates an Alice with multiple roles in this film—she is a character in the story, the narrator of the story, and an observer and explorer of a dream world constructed through the story. Her visual and tactile experience and her speech are interchangeable; she is both narrator and character. In this sense, this Alice is in the story, and she is also with the story.

Like the Alice character, objects in the film look like living beings. Though sometimes silent and still, they look autonomous, and they can transform themselves or make others change figure. Encountering these objects in Wonderland, Alice often is challenged and she is occasionally controlled by the objects. Examples include: every time she tries to open the drawer of the desk, she can't succeed and just pulls out the handle; the White Rabbit puppet always tries to escape from her when she starts a conversation; the jar that she picks up from the shelf is filled with jam and nails; the key to unlock the door of the storage room is sealed in a can; several nails grow out of a piece of bread. From another perspective, upon their encounters with Alice, the objects have their characters and they show their liveliness through visual and auditory messages. The sounds of the objects, as I mentioned above, accompany the girl's story-telling voice in the cinematic narration.

The film starts with an outdoor scene, showing a river and the bank where Alice sits with her sister. She is throwing stones into the river while her sister sits next to her with a book opened on her knees. There is no human voice in this sequence; the only sound made by humans is the sound of the stones that Alice casts into the river. Alice pays no attention to the story that her sister is reading and later she finds that there are pictures in the book. As she turns the pages in the book, her hand is slapped by her sister. Looking annoyed, Alice stares into the camera and a girl's voice emerges to introduce the film: "Alice thought to herself…Now you will see a film…made for children…Perhaps…But I nearly forgot…You must close your eyes…Otherwise…You won't see anything." The

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credits are shown at intervals as the mouth tells these words, then *the film* starts. If the story-teller indicates what follows is *the film*, she actually takes the *film* as the dream.

The setting switches from the outdoor environment into an indoor setting, and a sequence of shots shows a collection of objects in a room. With the movement of the camera, the audience gets a chance to observe the room. The depth of field changes and the shots are cut at different lengths, with a sequence shot followed by a series of cuts in which individual objects are framed. The camera rests on objects and draws our attention to details in them. Many of these objects foreshadow Alice's adventures in Wonderland, while some of them refer to what has already been shown in the earlier outdoor sequence. Two dolls are put together: a taller one with a book open on its knees, and other one with a pile of stones on her dress. The composition of the shot looks identical to the one showing Alice and her sister sitting at the riverbank. This uncanniness of the scene is reassured by the sound of the sequence: the sound of cast stones into water is heard, repeated from the earlier outdoor sequence. The girl who sits by the riverbank picks up several pieces of stones from the doll's knees and casts them into a cup of tea, making the sound.

The repetitive gesture of throwing stones associates the Alice sitting indoors with the one sitting at the riverbank. Divided by the image of the speaking mouth sequence, the two different but similar scenes of throwing stones create an uncanny scenario. The two settings are in contrast: the riverbank is open and organic while the room is enclosed and static; many objects fill the room while natural landscape stretches along the riverbank. This contrast between indoors and outdoors is conventional; however, the film creates the conventional binary opposition at first and then develops a new argument to challenge the convention. While one of the classic Romantic beliefs is that nature inspires imagination, Švankmajer tries to reveal imagination in the man-made world. In the rest of the film, the indoor space turns lively and organic with the man-made materials and objects. The fantastic transformation of objects and the coexistence of curious figures look supernatural and *natural* at the same time.

If this indoor experience is Alice's dream, the doll looking similar to Alice is Alice's projection of herself in her mind and the gesture of throwing the stone reflects her memory of throwing the stones into the river. Through the story, or in the dream, Alice sees herself having several different forms—an imaginative character, a doll, and a girl coming out of the shell of a doll. In this process of story-telling, dreaming or imagination, the image of Alice has been split and reassembled. It is a process of constructing and reconstructing the material Alice, and it is also a process of perceiving the Alice image and reflecting on the previous perceptions of Alice from the viewers' perspective. Alice is objectified, though she still has the essential role in making all these transformations, because it is her story, her dream and her adventure.

In this sense, the title "Something from Alice" can also be understood as something from Alice the girl rather than the Alice story. In other words, "something from Alice" is Alice's creation by using her imagination. This imagination forms story, dream, and even a world. The film is like the story, it is a fantasy and is composed as a dream, as Švankmajer speaks through the mouth of Alice at the beginning of the film. No matter that "Alice" in the title stands for the girl or the story, something is generated from her/it. "Something from Alice" implies that "things" can be active and have initiative. This assumption is implemented by animation technologies in *Alice* (1988). By combining stop-motion animation, puppetry and live performance, the fantasy of Wonderland is embedded in the realistic depiction of materials and objects. The mix of materials, devices, techniques and technologies twists the naturalistic depictions and the mix makes the realistic-fantasy convincing and inspiring. In short, while other *Alice* films use animated cartoons or animated puppets to present a ready-made Alice story, Švankmajer's film also uses the story to create fantastic objects, so to create an imaginative world, or imaginative minds.

Transformation is prevalent in Wonderland in the film, and it proliferates into the actual world because of the naturalistic depiction of Alice's tactile experience of Wonderland. As she sees and touches, the objects become curiouser and curiouser in the field of the imagination. Because the objects are all objects for daily use, it looks like the curious figures in Wonderland are embodied in ordinary groceries. The embodiment starts when

a stuffed rabbit toy becomes the White Rabbit. The rabbit model frees itself from the box and puts on a jacket. Different from the ready-made anthropomorphic figure in the book illustrations and other White Rabbit figures in films, this White Rabbit is a self-developed White Rabbit. It is autonomous and has self-awareness. Though stop-motion animation makes the rabbit move like a living beings, the rough texture of the model still tells its difference from the living rabbit.

The film does not present the animals as living creatures but as objects with spirit. They are clever objects which have their own ways to exist. The rabbit is one example of this kind of self-conscious object. Turning from a stuffed model, it has stuffing in its body. So, every time the rabbit takes out the watch, the sawdust escapes from a hole. The rabbit has its own solution to stop itself from leaking and to keep itself alive—it uses pins to hold the tear (it even stores many pins in its drawer), and it eats more sawdust to fill itself (even licks the small pieces on the watch to keep them). It knows its life and tries to keep itself safe. Another example of objects with spirit are the desks. The desks in Wonderland all come with a drawer, and the drawers all have a handle on them. The rabbit opens the drawer by clapping its hands, but Alice never succeeds in opening it by imitating the rabbit. Even more frustratingly, every time she tries to open the drawer, she pulls the handle off and must find other ways to open the drawer. These interactions between Alice and objects in Wonderland indicate that the objects recognise objects rather than human beings, while human beings don't understand how the objects work. This also supports Švankmajer's argument about expanding the utilitarianism of touch so that the objects can be perceived in imaginative ways.[255]

Challenged by the curious objects in Wonderland, Alice confronts reality with her imagination. Alice gets into Wonderland through things; the drawer in a desk in the middle of an open space works as the rabbit hole in the film. Alice follows the rabbit and sees it vanish into the drawer. She believes that there is something in those drawers even though they frustrate her upon her first attempt. Alice sees the rabbit vanish into the drawer but when she gets to the desk, she can't open it as the rabbit does. When

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[255] Švankmajer, *Touching and Imagining,* 4.

she opens the drawer, it is just an ordinary drawer full of stationery such as a triangular ruler and divider. She is hurt by the divider, but she manages to get into the drawer and walk through a passage and falls further into the rabbit hole—as it is described in the book. The objects continue their roles in the falling of Alice. She is standing in a descending lift and she sees many shelves when the lift passes by different levels. Alice falls as she is carried by a lift, which means even the falling is an artificial process in this Wonderland. This gives an impression that objects are prevalent in Wonderland and may control every aspect.

Opening the drawer marks the entrance of Wonderland. Alice's interactions with the drawers reflect a popular imagining of closed drawers among children. Fantasies about small close spaces like attics, closets and boxes are common topics in children's literature. These spaces are attractive because the inner side is unknown to the outsider and the secret drawer makes the children more curious about it. When Alice tries to find something in the drawer, her Wonderland is not another place but just the drawer; she turns it into a fantastic place. In other words, the wonder lies in those objects and she sees these wonders through her imagination. Another example is the scene when Alice meets the Caterpillar. Before she meets the Caterpillar, Alice sits on two worms so they turn into sock puppets. She picks up the two of them, blows air into them and brings life back to creatures that look like worms and releases them. Alice respects the objects as she sees them as fantastic. Alice's gesture of blowing air into the socks seem to be a metaphor showing that it is Alice's imagination that gives the objects supernatural spirit.

There are more examples in the film showing how Alice sees the magical in ordinary things. Technically, stop-motion animation in this film gives spirit to things that people see in daily life. There is rarely a theatrical feature given to the objects before they are animated. The objects Alice sees are not like the graphic figures in *Alice's Wonderland* (1927) or ready-made puppets in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949)—they are things shown at the beginning of the film. As the story-teller, Alice sees the fantasy in the ordinary things and experiences the characters of the objects. She even adapts herself into the world of objects by turning into a doll. After all, these adventures with objects are set in her own reading experience. At the end of the film, Alice wakes up and finds the rabbit model

missing. This implies that she believes that what she sees is not just a dream. The image of the mouth appears at the end of the film as a closure of the fantasy. In this sense, the film, like the story and the story-telling, are all dream-like fantasies. All the audio-visual experience and tactile imagination are generated from the story and story-telling, as all the *Alice* films are generated from the Alice story. The film clearly shows that the story-telling shapes the fantastic reality, which revives the philosophy in the *Alice* books.

In *Alice* (1988) the Alice image is embodied in solid materials and the Wonderland is created as a space for imagination rather than a space of imagination. In other words, the Wonderland is a source for imagination rather than a result of imagination. By using mixed material practice and media technology, the film further reveals the complexity in understanding fantasy, dream and reality; it also offers a post-human perspective on sense, perception, knowledge, creation and reflection. In the story, Alice's adventures in Wonderland are multi-sensory experiences, thus the tactile sense of Alice should not be ignored. Švankmajer's film perfectly adapts the Alice story into a material reality and creates it as a new material fantasy. With his surrealist understanding of both the story and the world, Švankmajer turns the *Alice* film into a rabbit-hole, which brings the curious explorers to find more curious things and minds in a new space.

Alice in Wonderland (1949) and *Alice* (1988) create two different Alice images in new material realities by using stop-motion animation. The fantasies that they created are not only representations of children's literature, but also experiments in material practice and media technology. The process of making the films, like that of many other *Alice* films, is a process of using imagination and of making the dream come true. It is the awareness of the boundary between the reality and the fantasy that makes the work of creating a fantastic landscape a series of attempts of carrying out imaginative practices and arguments. Between the familiar and unfamiliar, the known and the unknown, the self and the other, Alice finds herself in a dream reflecting the reality. But it is always reality that makes people look for new dreams or new stories. The imagination and the need for imagination is always the force to animate the image and the object. It is what Alice is looking for, and what Alice already has.

Conclusion: Alice Among Objects

Objects are important elements in Wonderland. They are part of animal characters and interact with Alice throughout her adventures. This chapter started with an investigation of the objects that accompany the White Rabbit by relating them to the Victorian perception and knowledge of objects. The objects in Wonderland appear to be expressive and autonomous. They are an important part of the absurd Wonderland that refers to reality simultaneously.

When the Caterpillar asks Alice to explain herself, Alice responds: "'I can't explain *myself*, I'm afraid, Sir,' said Alice, 'because I'm not myself, you see.' [Italics in original]"[256] Alice thinks that she is split in Wonderland and she does not speak for herself. She believes that she is not herself but she refers to herself as she is talking. This confusion could form an infinite loop. This doubleness of Alice has been visualised in *Alice* (1988). Among some grotesque objects, Alice changes between a doll and a girl. Švankmajer's use of stop motion animation perfectly shows the complexity in Alice as well as in Wonderland. Objects in Wonderland, as Švankmajer shows us, have their own characters and always challenge Alice throughout her adventures. However, the surreal reality comes from Alice's imagination in the film. She observes, interacts and creates fantastic objects and becomes part of the imaginary world. In short, Alice's doubleness is visualised through her transformations between the doll and the actress and Wonderland's doubleness is expressed through the animated objects.

Both *Alice* (1988) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) use stop-motion animation to create a complex representation of reality and the fantastic simultaneously. In *Alice in Wonderland* (1949), the historical background of the story is also created as part of the representation. The perception of history is combined with that of fantasy, which may suggest another perspective on viewing Wonderland. More importantly, the animated puppets in *Alice in Wonderland* shows an artificial reality that appears to coexist with our reality. The three-dimensional animation highlights tactile features of Wonderland and Alice, which create an illusion that the fictional story can be tangible. All these

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[256] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 60.

effects are implemented by relying on the innovative use of materials and film technologies.

Conclusion: *Alice*, Adventures and Wonderland

Alice

When Alice falls into the rabbit-hole, she is confused, and thinks to herself: "'Who in the world am I'? Ah, *that's* the great puzzle."[257] She realizes the complexity of her own identity early in her adventures in Wonderland. Similar questions regarding her identity are also raised by other characters in Wonderland, such as the Caterpillar, the Queen and the Cheshire Cat; they all seem to suggest that Alice should reflect on herself. However, these questions of identity do not stop Alice's adventures. She notices that her experience is becoming "curiouser and curiouser;"[258] she has "a curious feeling", and perceives this feeling through her knowledge of objects: "I must be shutting up like a telescope!"[259] Alice has strange encounters with animals and objects in Wonderland. She is relocated in a world where the materiality of humans and objects may be reviewed.

Alice's remarks on her changing size inspired me to take an alternative approach to analysing Alice and her story. In my study, Alice is regarded both as a literary character and an image that can be transfigured in different forms. The Alice character is more abstract than the Alice image; they are different aspects of the girl created by Carroll. The literary character Alice exists in the *Alice* stories while the Alice image can be found in various material forms, such as book illustrations, lantern slides and films. These material forms give Alice visible figures, and the Alice story bodies. They transfigure the Alice image, and give the Alice story particular characteristics responding to emerging image-making practices and media technologies. This has necessitated an approach that combines methods in literary studies with those in cultural history studies and cultural studies in order to shed new light on the Alice story.

Differentiating the Alice story from the *Alice* book, I regard the material forms of the Alice story as an important aspect enriching people's perception of the story. The earlier

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[257] Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 19.
[258] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 15.
[259] Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 11.

material forms containing images of Alice and Wonderland—such as the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Underground,* and the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*—established the close relation between the Alice story and image. Because of the book illustrations, the initial impression given to the public of Alice and Wonderland was simultaneously literary and pictorial. Like other wood engraved illustrations in reading materials circulated in England, John Tenniel's illustrations in the *Alice* book were produced through an industrial process, which allowed the image of Alice to be circulated widely among the reading public. These Alice images in the book illustrations were made for young readers, but they also reached adult readers due to the influence of the illustrator, and the popularity of illustrated periodicals. This means that wood engraving illustrations, an important form for communication in print in the nineteenth century, gave Alice a double life: one as a literary story for children, the other as a cultural product, or a manufactured pictorial item, that can be consumed in the market.

In addition, the illustrations in the *Alice* books transformed Dodgson's personal depiction of Alice in the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* into a designed product of the nineteenth-century book industry. Within this industry, the author, the illustrator, the engraver and the publisher worked together to coin an image of Alice that could be welcomed by the public. More importantly, the illustrations deliver immediate impressions of Alice and Wonderland, giving a different reading experience than a written text. The prevalent expectation for images in print at that time echoes some other aspects of its contemporary culture: the rapid development of image-making technologies including wood engraving and photography, the popularity of mass communication media such as illustrated periodicals, and the opening of the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace. All these aspects mingled and created a material and media context in which the Alice book was embraced. In this context, Alice and Wonderland were not simply characters and settings in a children's story, but themes that might find their home in popular culture.

As I mentioned at the opening of Chapter Two, the book illustrations are only the embryonic form of the materialised Alice story. For decades, Tenniel's illustrations for the *Alice* book were important references for adapting the Alice story into other forms.

The legacy of these illustrations can be found in magic lantern slides, and costume and set designs for plays and films. The similarities between the new works and the book illustrations were regarded as a standard for making faithful representations of the Alice story. The magic lantern slides used in the Polytechnic Institution's performance *Alice's Adventures, or Queen of Hearts and the Stolen Tarts* (1876) mentioned in Chapter Two are examples showing both a reference to the book illustrations and an adumbration of the successive *Alice* films. Another example is the first Alice film *Alice in Wonderland* (1903).

The lantern slides used in the Polytechnic Institution are discussed in detail in Chapter Two. They developed the monochrome book illustrations into colourful illuminations in darkness, which added to the spectacle. Besides these unique lantern slides, manufactured lantern slides were also used in lantern presentations of the Alice story. These manufactured slides were often based on the illustrations in the *Alice* book. Because of these lantern slides, the images of Alice and Wonderland were extracted from the book and carried on sheets of glass. Glass, a material mass manufactured in the nineteenth century, brought many changes to Western society. The transparency of glass allowed the lantern slides, with hand painted or printed images of Alice and Wonderland, to be projected and seen by a group of people simultaneously. Other impacts and implications of magic lantern presentations in the second half of the nineteenth century were closely related to both industrial production, and popular trends in entertainment.

While the text of the Alice story was fragmented in the magic lantern readings, the image became more effective for delivering the story and its themes of wonder and fantasy. The film *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) is discussed in Chapter Three from a perspective focusing on the photographic image of Alice. In this discussion, one photograph of Alice Liddell included in the manuscript of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is also considered as an important image and imagery that is echoed by the photographic images of Alice in cinema. Film creates flexible conditions for creating images of Alice and Wonderland. Because of the new media and technology, the fantastic scenes from the book are visualised as photographic images and look as if they

happen in reality. The photographic images of Alice give the early *Alice* films, which I refer to as films made before 1951, a double reference: they reflect reality through the image, and refer to a fictional world created in the story.

In addition, animation—both the movement of the film strips, and the movement of the figures in film—adds to the fantastic effects of the representation of Alice's adventures and Wonderland. Two films are discussed in Chapter Four to demonstrate how animation creates new features for Alice and Wonderland. The discussion of *Alice in Wonderland* (1903) in this chapter highlighted the implications of the moving images of Alice. On the one hand, she looks like a girl walking in front of the camera, much like a model being photographed; on the other hand, she is experiencing unusual scenes such as falling down the rabbit-hole and changing size. These effects are all realised by relying on the materiality of film strips, camera work and techniques of editing. Unlike *Alice in Wonderland* (1903), which shows the whole story in live action, *Alice's Wonderland* (1923) combines live action with animation, creating a contrast between the Alice character and Wonderland. This design, as I argued, is Walt Disney's strategy to promote animation as a new form of cinematic attraction. In this case, the Alice story has been transformed into a general concept or theme about the fantastic and the imaginary, and is expressed through moving images, which also became an industry in the twentieth century.

I recognised the influence of Walt Disney Studio's production *Alice's in Wonderland* (1951) in popular culture, but did not regard it to be a necessary case study in my current research. Since there are Alice films that have not been discussed as much as Disney's cartoon, I included two films with animations in Chapter Five, focusing on the relationship between objects and the *Alice* films. This is not an analysis of the relationship between objects and the Alice story, which has been addressed by many scholars such as Gillian Beer. Beer touched upon several topics relevant to this theme; however, her work is a literary criticism of the *Alice* books. My study focuses on the relationship between objects and the Alice story in film. This specification gives a material context for a review of the Alice story beyond literature. Meanwhile, a concern with objects differentiates my study from studies on *Alice* films as I try to understand

the *Alice* films through materials rather than theories. Focusing on the objects used in animation, I found that the relationship between Alice, Wonderland and reality is complex in *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice* (1988). Showing animated three-dimensional puppets, *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) makes Wonderland look like a tactile fantasy. The tactile fantasy is integrated with the imagination of Alice in *Alice* (1988) through household items, and shown as a manifestation of some of the world views embedded in the Alice story.

Besides the forms of the Alice story that I have covered, there are many others giving various interpretations of the story. However, each work manifests particular historical conditions for constructing the image of Alice and Wonderland. They show various aspects of the relationship between image and imagination, materials and technologies: how Alice and Wonderland are picked up by different times, and how these materialisations reflect the collective imagination of the fantastic world that has been embedded in the Alice story. In short, beyond her identity as a literary character, Alice lives in these material forms mentioned above. These multiple versions of Alice bring together imagination in various forms: ideas, materials, practices, media, technologies and beyond. This transforming imagination is a Wonderland, a Wonderland in which we see ourselves, like Alice, having curious adventures.

Adventures

Seeing the Alice story in various forms, I compare this research to a journey full of adventures. First of all, it is an exciting exploration of all types of resources: books in libraries and shops, items from museums and private collections, resourceful collectors and their correspondence, exhibitions, conferences and performance. In 2015, the 150-year anniversary of the publication of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, I was living in London, and was almost overwhelmed by numerous consecutive events all with an Alice and Wonderland theme, and all relevant to my research. It struck me how deeply the Alice story is rooted in contemporary popular culture. I felt increasingly intrigued as my research continued, and wondered why Alice and Wonderland have been attractive to people from different generations and throughout the world.

I try to maintain a distance between myself and the rabid enthusiasm of the celebrations of the anniversary of the *Alice* book. I am not an Alice enthusiast—I am curious about the interactions between Alice and reality: how the story is accommodated in different periods when different materials and methods were being used in story-telling; how the various works based on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* keep the enchantment of the Alice story; and how the variations in the material forms of the Alice story reflect certain forms of imagination about both the known and the unknown. These concerns originated from my curiosity about the relationship between image and imagination: how does image affect imagination in reading and understanding a story, an idea or a concept?

The earliest material form of the Alice story, the manuscript *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, contains hand drawn illustrations that project Dodgson's imagination of a fictionalised Alice Liddell. Soon this figure was turned into the Alice character in Tenniel's illustrations for the book *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Tenniel's illustrations for the Alice books were manufactured, like his cartoons for *Punch* magazine, offering the readers a common impression on the Alice story. These illustrations accompany the literary text in the book, but soon they became a synecdoche for the Alice story. This visual synecdoche of *Alice* has been recognised as images in various forms such as cartoon, images on magic lantern slides and figures in films. However, the influence of Tenniel's illustration was diluted by the new attractions created by different materials and technologies.

The cinematic Alice images often look like a real girl, while Wonderland appears unusual. Animations effectively present to the audience the fantasy of the Wonderland. The contrast between the animated landscape and the Alice figure strongly suggests the complex relationship between Alice and Wonderland, the realistic and the fantastic, the familiar and the unfamiliar, subject and object, the human and the non-human. The uncanny is a persistent theme in Alice's adventures, her dream and the story, and it is highlighted in animation, particularly stop-motion animation. In addition, the surrealist effect of stop-motion animation is also consistent with the themes in the Alice story. With the power of the image, film reflects, represents, portrays and moulds a wide range

of Alice images, and visions of the Wonderland landscape. Accordingly, the imagination of Alice and Wonderland are shaped by these changing images.

Materials and technologies also changed the methods of presenting the Alice story. Glass, film strips, actresses, puppets, and objects give Alice and Wonderland new material forms that look different from monochrome pictures on the page. The new images are projected, coloured, and animated; they look realistic and fantastic simultaneously. Sitting in the dark, the audience listens to the Alice story while they see images depicting scenes in the story shown with lights in the magic lantern presentation, or watch the moving images showing photographic images of Alice and characters in Wonderland; this could be an adventure of the senses—viewing and hearing. The spectacle and illusion created by cinema adds to the attractiveness of the visual impression of the Alice story, materialising the fantastic and nonsensical scenes in Wonderland—changing size, appearing and disappearing, changing appearance.

Wonderland

Alice's Wonderland is portrayed as Cartoonland in Disney's film; indeed, it is a space constructed in Alice's dream. This dream is shown as animation in *Alice* (1988), *Alice in Wonderland* (1949) and *Alice's Wonderland* (1923); as live action scenes in which actress and actors need to wear dramatic costumes; as pictures on magic lantern slides in projection; as wood engraving illustrations in books; and as hand-drawn pictures. The Alice story is constantly mediated into the latest materials and media technologies so that it can always reach new and broader audiences in different times.

Each *Alice* work discussed in this study can be regarded as a showcase demonstrating the image-making techniques and media technologies in use at the time. These techniques and technologies are reflections of the innovations that societies achieved to bring imagination into ordinary life. It is clear that the Alice image has become a more visible and identifiable figure, and the Wonderland has become a space of wonder and confusion. This can be understood as a metaphor for one's experience in reality. Marshall Berman mentions a mode of vital experience in *All That is Solid Melt into Air*:

> There is a mode of vital experience—experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils—that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience "modernity." To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we knew, everything we are.… But it [modernity] is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air."[260]

This experience, or "modernity" as Berman refers to it, is manifested in Alice's adventures. There is no definitive image of Alice and Wonderland. The Alice story never stop its metamorphosis. Wonderland is exhibited as a reality in the form of Disney parks and resorts where people can meet cartoon characters, and which realises the idea of Alice's Wonderland as Cartoonland in *Alice's Wonderland* (1903). In 2010, Disney released a 3D film of *Alice in Wonderland* (2010), in which live action is matched with computer-generated images. Its sequel film *Through the Looking Glass* was released in 2016. Within these new forms of the Alice story, Alice's experience in Wonderland has been transformed into experiences of the story in reality. Meanwhile, the experience of imaginary fantasy becomes the experience of materiality. Above all, beyond the materialised Alice and Wonderland, the Alice story has been in the air for decades—like the Cheshire Cat, floating, disappearing, and reappearing.

Wonderland has an uncanny landscape—like the dream and modernity—where wonderful visions may be illusionary. It is also an uncanny metaphor that refers to the dream of Alice, which was written more than one hundred and fifty years ago, but also points to the present and future. Nowadays, computer games, cosplay and smartphone games with Alice and Wonderland themes also transfigure the image of Alice and Wonderland with new designs and agendas. These props, costumes and devices all become convenient access to the Alice story. But Wonderland should be regarded as a synecdoche, a reflection, and a metaphor through which to reconsider dream and reality, subjectivity and objectivity, the familiar and the unfamiliar, the known and the unknown,

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[260] Marshall Berman*, All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* [1982] (London: Verso, 2010), 15.

the human and the non-human. There are always more curious adventures to come in Wonderland.

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