

Animals in Wonderland:  
Nineteenth-Century Children's Book Illustration and the Anthropomorphic Animal

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**Thesis Statement:** Illustrations of anthropomorphized animals in children's literature reflect changes in scientific thought which developed as a result of growth in knowledge and exploration of natural history in nineteenth-century England

## Chapter One:

### Collection and Scholarship of Children's Literature

Alice was beginning to get very tired of sitting by her sister on the bank, and of having nothing to do: once or twice she had peeped into the book her sister was reading, but it had no pictures or conversations in it, "and what is the use of a book," thought Alice, "without pictures or conversations?"<sup>1</sup>

-Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

While Alice's musings might at first seem trivial, or maybe even a bit immature, the young girl's thoughts are actually supported by scientific research. In a 1980 study on the role of illustrations in reading comprehension, educational theorist D. L. Schallart concluded that illustrations accompanying a read text resulted in increased comprehension by the reader.<sup>2</sup> The concept of illustrations or images accompanying children's texts is nothing uncommon to the modern reader, the latter having grown up reading childhood favorites filled with colorful pictures by the likes of Beatrix Potter, Theodor Geisel (Dr. Seuss), Maurice Sendak, and other famed author-illustrators. However, young readers did not always have the luxury of enjoying illustrations along with text. In fact, many characteristics that modern readers associate with children's literature were only fully developed within the last two centuries, and it was not until the mid- seventeenth to early eighteenth century that illustrated children's literature, in its current form, came into existence.

In 1744, at his newly opened book shop of Bible and Crown in London, publisher John Newberry produced *A Little-Pretty Pocket Book*, and with that publication, children's literature

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Linda B. Gambrell and Paula Brooks Jawitz, "Mental Imagery, Text Illustrations, and Children's Story Comprehension and Recall," *Reading Research Quarterly* 28, no.3 (1993): 266.

as we know it today, was born.<sup>3</sup> Literature produced to teach children, such as alphabets, primers, grammar books, and heavy-handed didactic literatures have existed since the early days of printing. However, while these books educated children, little attempt was made to entice young readers with compelling illustrations or typography. It was not until the mid to late seventeenth century that book publishers began to market literature specifically for young children with publishers such as John Newberry and Thomas Boreman rising to the forefront of the rapidly expanding market.<sup>4</sup>

The children's literature market constructed by the likes of Newberry and Boreman evolved over the next two centuries, eventually becoming the widely popular genre readers know today. Modern readers are familiar with illustrated childhood classics, the characters who occupy them, and the themes they carry. One such common theme modern readers are sure to recognize are representations of anthropomorphized animals in children's literature and illustration, a theme that has evolved greatly since its origin. Anthropomorphic animals, or animals depicted with distinctly human characteristics, have existed in children's literature since the earliest of publications.

Since their origins, animals in illustrations of children's literature have exhibited human qualities, and the mid to late nineteenth century saw a significant development in this theme, as characters were depicted as possessing a unique synthesis of both human and animal characteristics. This shift in illustrations of anthropomorphized animals in children's literature

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<sup>3</sup> Margaret Kinnell, "Publishing for Children: 1700-1780," in *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 34.

<sup>4</sup> Gerald Gottlieb, *Early Children's Books and Their Illustrations* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1975), xix.

reflects changes in scientific thought developed as a result of growth in knowledge and exploration of natural history in nineteenth-century England.

A rise in public education led to a natural intellectual curiosity that manifested itself in a period of great exploration, specifically in the field of science. These noticeable changes included shifts in the philosophical and ethical treatment of animals and a strong communal interest in the study of natural history. One of the most significant scientific explorations to come out of the nineteenth century was Charles Darwin's 1859 publication of *The Origin of Species*, which placed animals in a new light and brought about much new thinking and scholarship. In 1847, The London Zoo first opened to the viewing public, signaling a great change in urban dwellers' contact with animals, allowing visitors access to view domesticated animals in a closed and safe environment. Animal-advocates were attempting to change society's philosophical understanding of animals, and in 1822 the first anti-animal cruelty law was passed in England.

These changes in the treatment and thought surrounding animals were reflected in art and illustration of the nineteenth century. Natural history scholar Diana Donald states that, "...in the intellectual life of the Victorian era, the sciences and the arts were not 'two cultures' but one."<sup>5</sup> With the rise of the public school system, a young generation's changing view of and access to animals, the rising popularity of anthropomorphic illustrations of animals can be seen as humankind's newfound desire to not only explore and learn about animals, but also recreate them in his own image.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Diana Donald, "Introduction," in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts*, eds., Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, with Yale University Press, 2009), 1.

<sup>6</sup> Brigid Peppin, *Fantasy: Book Illustration 1860-1920* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), 10.

Scholar Edward Hodnett states that by the early nineteenth century, as a direct result of a steadily urbanizing England, the publishing and selling of all genres of literature was at an all-time high. When the royal prerogative was reduced and Parliament gained power, citizens moved into the cities and towns to work in the new industries, the importance and availability of public education spread, and a literate middle class increased in size. These factors together created a population that demanded an increase in the production of reading material.<sup>7</sup> Book illustration at the time saw many changes, including new development of printing techniques. Innovations in all aspects of book production – presses, type, typesetting, paper, and binding – increased output and reduced costs allowing increased distribution across England.

Book production technology of nineteenth-century London was not the only thing to change. England saw many societal changes, many of which will be addressed in depth in chapter two, including changes in urban living, education, literacy, and changes in perceptions of childhood, all of which greatly affected the treatment and production of children's literature. Perhaps the social change most important to this particular thesis, society's increased exploration and interest in natural history, will be addressed in full in chapter three.

As Britain was quickly transforming into a predominantly urban society, urban middle-to-upper class children were growing up with little experience of nature in its natural state, as housing changed and domesticated animals were growing in popularity, thus changing their views on the purpose and importance of animals. This limited access to wildlife in its natural state coupled with the sheltered existence urban middle-to upper class living afforded created a receptive audience for new, more humanized, depictions of animals.<sup>8</sup> Through these changing

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<sup>7</sup> Edward Hodnet, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* (Aldershot, England: Scholar Press, 1988), 107.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

illustrations of animals in children's literature, the viewer is presented with an illustrated reaction to nineteenth-century cultural and scientific exploration and discoveries.

Nineteenth-century illustrators' anthropomorphic depictions of animals are exhibited through various works, such as those created by Sir John Tenniel, popular *Punch* cartoonist and original illustrator of Lewis Carroll's children's classic *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865). By examining his depictions of the White Rabbit, the Dodo bird and fellow "caucus race" participants, and other animals, Tenniel's illustrated *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* will act as a case study through which to explore the distinct shift in late nineteenth-century English children's book illustration to representations of more anthropomorphized animals.

Characteristics of the depicted animals, including clothing, posture and stance, facial expression, and personality, will be closely examined. The scholarship and study of a topic such as this warrants a strong interdisciplinary understanding of the background, history, and scholarship of each larger field being utilized within the thesis, including historical scholarship and study on the field of children's literature and its illustration.

When looking at children's literature historically and critically, scholars encounter a number of obstacles, the foremost being the casual observer's tendency to question its validity as a subject. As the perceived audience of such literature is children, there is a prevailing assumption that the work must be of lower quality or comprehensive understanding and therefore not worthy of critical study. This trepidation also comes from scholars' inability to agree on the nature of children's literature itself, and the widespread disagreement as to the definition of the genre, thus making constructing its history contentious at best.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Hunt, ed., "Editor's Preface," in *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), ix.

Children's literature collector, Peter Hunt, claims that, when asked to define children's literature, most people take on the universal approach of, "the answer is that we all know what it is, but it is not easy to tell what it is (or what it is not)."<sup>10</sup> If we take the definition at the broadest notion of the term, children's literature could be described as any text written to be read by children. In terms of this definition, children's literature could encompass everything from sixteenth-century chapbooks to twenty-first-century interactive computer-based reading programs. This clearly creates a difficult catalyst for study in that this kind of definition does little to differentiate *Aesop's Fables* from the short stories on the back of a box of sugary cereal.

Another root of the prejudices and inequalities found in the scholarly history and study of children's literature is the seemingly double edged sword of sentimentality. In a sense, sentimentality is one of the greatest promoters of the study of children's literature as adults fondly remember childhood favorites and want to revisit them either with a new generation or through further study. However, sentimentality does not work in favor of critical study of the literature, and has even been called the "bane of all discussions of children's books."<sup>11</sup> Many times, the perceived history of children's literature is dictated by an individual's favorite stories from childhood, but this is of course not representative of the true nature of the subject. When literature is remembered purely based on sentimental reflections, many works treasured in their own time are lost. For example, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* has withstood the test of time, and endured as a classic since its publication in 1865. Other works, popular in their own time, have not been quite so lucky. Charles Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*, published in 1862, was widely popular surrounding its publication and considered a children's classic. However, due to

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> F.J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), xii.

Kingsley's severe criticism of Catholics, Jews, as well as other offenses in the text, the book has since fallen out of popularity, and is frequently forgotten in casual conversations surrounding children's literature. The tendency to only remember or study the classics of children's literature leaves many influential works out of the history of the genre.

The final overarching problem found in the study of children's literature is with the young readers themselves: children. The concept of childhood constantly changes from period to period, culture to culture, even child to child, and the literature designed for these children is going to change as well. Peter Hunt reminds readers that the “the innocent schoolgirl intrigues of Angela Brazil or Enid Blyton in the 1940s were designed for the same age group as the sexually active and angst-ridden teenagers of Judy Blume in the 1970s.”<sup>12</sup> In addition, children are, what Hunt calls, “literary omnivores,” and consistently read works not designed for them, thus adding books that were originally intended for adults to the children's literature canon.

In the introduction to his publication, *Bibliophile in the Nursery*, book collector William Targ discusses the prejudices often held against the scholarly study and collection of children's books, citing a conversation with an unnamed companion who states, “Collecting children's books? Isn't that the first sign of senility, getting ready for one's second childhood? Isn't the adult field a more serious and rewarding one?” Targ responds to his outspoken companion with a quote by Henry Stelle Commanger, “Almost anyone, one is tempted to say, can write a book for adults – and almost everyone does; but it requires a felicitous combination of qualities, intellectual and moral, to write a good book for children.”<sup>13</sup> The path of scholarly study of children's literature continues to be forged, and is still a relatively new study, with the first

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<sup>12</sup> Hunt, *Children's Literature*, ix.

<sup>13</sup> William Targ, *Bibliophile in the Nursery: A Bookman's Treasury of Collectors' Lore on Old and Rare Children's Books* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1957), 12.

publication on the subject appearing just over 80 years ago with F.J. Harvey Darton's 1932 publication of *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*.

In the preface to the third edition of Darton's *Children's Books in England*, published in 1980, Brian Alderson writes of the elements of Darton's life and education that culminated to make the expansive knowledge demonstrated in the book possible. Alderson states that as the great-great-grandson of the founder of a historic children's publishing house and as an experienced writer and publisher himself, Darton's source can never be supplanted, because "it is rooted in an experience and quality of mind that are beyond the attainment of more recent generations."<sup>14</sup> As part of the long lineage of Darton Publishing Houses, founded in 1787, Darton acquired a unique understanding of the historic and modern significances of children's book publishing, allowing him the knowledge to write about children's books and their publishing from their earliest history.

Darton defines children's books as "printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure and not primarily to teach them, not solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quiet."<sup>15</sup> With this definition, Darton excludes from his history all schoolbooks, primers, alphabets, and purely moral or didactic writings. Thus, with his definition, no children's books were published in England before the seventeenth century, and very few even then. While a more in-depth look at children's literature and its origins will be addressed in chapter two, it now suffices to say that publishers did not make it a point to create a book that would allow a

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<sup>14</sup> Brian Alderson, preface to *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. by F.J. Harvey Darton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), ix.

<sup>15</sup> Darton, *Children's Books in England*, 1.

child unmitigated pleasure without the addition of a code of conduct or moral story until the early to mid-eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Darton succeeded in creating a scholarly source that appealed to general audiences, and according to Alderson, for a book so ahead of its time with its serious academic treatment of a subject that had before been regarded as trivial, the publication sold slowly but relatively well. After its initial run of 1,500 copies sold out in 1945, it took another thirteen years for the second edition to be brought back into print in 1958 and, from that point on, *Children's Books in England* remained in the highest place of children's book discussion and scholarship.<sup>17</sup>

The second publication of scholarly history on the subject of children's literature was Mary F. Thwaite's *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading* in 1963. While the original publication was written to serve librarians studying the subject of children's literature for the Final Examination of the Library Association, the revised edition, published in 1972, seems less concerned with the needs of the library student. Instead of looking at bibliographical elements, *From Primer to Pleasure* attempts to provide the reader with a fuller general survey than the first edition; where the source originally spanned time from the mid-seventeenth century to an abrupt end at 1900, the second edition continues on through the outbreak of World War I (1914), which offers itself as a much more satisfactory end date. Thwaite clearly charts early developments in children's books from various forms of adult literature and briefly discusses context of the society from which they sprang, but the greatest asset of *From Primer to Pleasure* is in its bibliographies of children's literature.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., xiii.

At the success of Darton and Thwaite's readable and highly praised scholarly histories, scholars such as Mary V. Jackson have questioned the necessity of additional publications. However in her 1989 publication *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: Children's Literature in England from Its Beginnings to 1839*, Jackson has managed to provide readers with a slightly different exploration of early children's literature than her predecessors. The author herself states, "the basic premise of this interpretive history is that major developments in children's books reflect diverse influences from the adult world and reflect the nearly universal assumption that children were resources to be molded or engineered to needs and specifications determined by a prevailing social standard."<sup>18</sup> In contradiction to both Darton and Thwaite's understood sentiment that children's literature should be made void of the need to instruct or morally guide, Jackson asserts a different idea. She instead argues that because children's books are not created *ex nihilo*, or out of nothing, the idea that literature created for children exists outside of the influence of the adults who teach them is unrealistic. Asserting that children's literature cannot exist outside of adult guidance completely nullifies Darton's proposed definition. Giving special attention to Puritanism and reform movements as expressed in early children's literature, Jackson's publication also serves as one of the first to actively engage with book illustration in the text.

As the 1932 publication of Darton's study of children's literature was the first of its kind, the extended critical study of children's literature is still relatively recent, and if the study of children's literature text is considered new, than the study of the illustrations accompanying those texts is in its infancy. While the study of written children's literature has relatively strong

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<sup>18</sup> Mary V. Jackson, *Engines of Instruction, Mischief, and Magic: Children's Literature in England from Its Beginnings to 1839* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), xi.

and rich historical scholarship, the study of the illustrations accompanying those writings are not studied as strongly or critically, and limitations such as a small number of scholars in the field and its relative “newness” do arise.

When looking at the scope of art history and its critical study, the study of children’s literature illustrations in an art historical context is relatively recent. In fact, it was not until 1975 that an institution even thought of children’s literature illustrations as an appropriate artistic production to display in a museum. Gerald Gottlieb, curator of Early Children’s Books at the Morgan Library, curated and wrote the exhibition catalog for the 1975 exhibition *Early Children’s Books and Their Illustrators*, the first major exhibition on early children’s books ever mounted. Gottlieb’s catalog offers a brief history of what he calls the “flourishing” of children’s books in the mid seventeenth century. Looking at the literature thematically, such as an isolated section on primers and readers, one for grammars and schoolbooks, fairy tales and fables, and others, Gottlieb demonstrates the progression of book illustrations, referencing materials housed in his home institution, the Morgan Library and Museum.

Besides a brief introduction in a 1980 reproduction of Maurice Boutet de Monvel’s *The Story of Joan of Arc*, *Early Children’s Books* is Gottlieb’s only publication. Along with *Early Children’s Books*, Gottlieb also curated the exhibit “Small Mischief: Evil Doings and Odd Disasters in Early Children’s Books” in 1984, for which there was no publication. While Gottlieb’s exhibition and catalogue contribute a great study to children’s literature and their illustrations, the nature of Gottlieb’s work and education did not allow for students or followers to continue on with his research. The same kind of situation arises with John Barr’s 1986 publication, *Illustrated Children’s Books*. As Assistant Keeper of Children’s Literature at the British Library, Barr is certainly appropriate to write such a source. However the researcher

experiences the same issues as Gottlieb in that the studies are not purely art historical, and Barr would have no students to continue his pursued interests. Similarly, independent scholar and painter, Brigid Peppin, has written three books on book illustration including *Fantasy: Book Illustration* (1975), *1860-1920, Fantasy: The Golden Age of Fantastic Illustration* (1975), and *Book Illustrators of the Twentieth Century* (1984). Peppin's publications, besides a brief but informative historical review of illustrated fantasy literature, are almost solely bibliographical entries on popular illustrators with little to no in depth image analysis. After noticing the lack of substantial research done on the part of children's literature illustration, one must forgo the specification of "children's literature" and instead look at English book illustration as a whole. This yields a significantly larger amount of critical results, as many popular illustrators of the time did not solely illustrate children's books, but other genres as well.

In his expansive publication, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* (1988), Edward Hodnett attempts what he calls "the first detailed survey of the past five centuries of book illustration in England."<sup>19</sup> Deriving the work from his 1928 doctoral dissertation in English Literature from Columbia University, Hodnett is quick to point out in his introduction that he approaches the study of book illustration as an independent discipline, and that while it may be considered a subdivision of art history, it should not necessarily be considered as such. Despite his origins in literary theory as opposed to art, Hodnett manages to achieve what those before him could not, going beyond such contemporaries as Simon Houfe and his comparable work, *The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists*. Where Houfe presents extensive bibliographies of novelists and their illustrators and provides a kind of vague formal analysis of illustrations, Hodnett goes one step further and examines how the illustrations work within the

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<sup>19</sup> Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, 2.

context of their accompanying text and how they appropriately (or inappropriately) convey the messages displayed.

While Hodnett divides *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* chronologically, he too falls into the repeating pattern of bibliographic as opposed to thematic entries. With this repeating pattern of bibliographic concentrations throughout the majority of sources listed thus far and a surprising lack of dedicated art historical research to early children's book illustration as a whole, it is clear that to gain any kind of adequate critical scholarly based information on the topic, one must still look further. Focusing on scholarship on the specific early illustrators themselves, such as John Tenniel, provides more in-depth analysis of images and artistic production.

What seems to be a hierarchical ladder of importance with children's literature texts and their illustrations is reflected in more specific examples as well. For example, examining the current research available on the subject of this case study, Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and Sir John Tenniel's accompanying illustrations, the majority of available research on the subject is centered on Carroll and Alice themselves (and a large amount at that), not Tenniel nor his illustrations. The literary world is filled with Carroll scholars, one of the world's foremost being Martin Gardner who in 2000 published a definitive edition of *The Annotated Alice*. Regarded as one of the world's leading experts on Lewis Carroll and his work, Gardner's *Annotated Alice* examines Carroll's text line by line, offering information on Carroll's life and personality, and how those aspects play out in the novel. While Gardner references Tenniel's illustrations and discusses the collaborative relationship of the pair in his texts, it is clear that the purpose of the publication is not to shed light on Tenniel, but to praise Carroll. It was not until the 1985 publication of *The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books* that any one

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source devoted itself entirely to Tenniel and his illustration, addressing the lack of critical research paid to the influential illustrator.

Through the review of literature provided thus far, there are certainly inequalities in research of both children's literature and its illustration. Whereas the illustration of the literature lacks major scholarly study all-around, the literature itself has a more substantial scholarly history. One issue still present however, as referenced early in the chapter, is the lack of a universal definition for children's literature, thus leading to inequalities in scholarship and a failure to unite all research as a unified whole. It is here that one must decide to define his own definition of children's literature lest he be subject to the same follies of sentimentality and/or prejudice.

For the purposes of this thesis, the working definition of children's literature will be a variation of the definition penned by F.J. Harvey Darton, describing children's literature as "printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure and not primarily to teach them, not solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quiet."<sup>20</sup> However a slight alteration to the current definition will include an entire bibliography of books that, while vitally important to the history of children's literature, would be abandoned with the use of Darton's definition as it currently stands. As is true with modern readers today, children do not solely gravitate towards the books designed particularly for them, and often literature originally aimed for an older audience manages to become a childhood favorite. Books such as *The Pilgrims Progress*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Aesop's Fables* are all texts that, while they were not originally intended for the children's literature market, were wholeheartedly adopted by

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<sup>20</sup> Darton, *Children's Books in England*, xii.

it. Therefore, a more appropriate definition of children's literature would be, "printed works adopted by children, produced for no other reason than to bring about spontaneous pleasure."

Targ's earlier discussion of some collector's prejudice against children's literature leads the reader to see the full extent of the importance of a research topic such as this. It seems that many appreciate children's literature, but only to the extent of its sentimentality. This is supported not only by Targ's comments, but by the literature review as outlined thus far. Scholars have difficulty escaping their readers, or sometimes even their own, confining notions of the study of children's literature as simply their own remembrances of personal childhood favorites. In the case of collectors such as Targ, scholars cannot escape having to defend their scholarly interest in the field in the first place.

Where the study of children's literature has its limitations, those are amplified in the study of the illustrations accompanying those texts. As discussed above, very little critical scholarly attention has been devoted to these illustrations, outside of individualized biographical studies of the illustrators themselves. The importance behind the significance of illustrations accompanying young readers' texts is unquestionable, and yet it seems that the inclusion of these illustrations is not considered important. If scholars are aware that the inclusion of illustrations greatly impacts the reception of read text it seems strange that more attention would not be paid to those images and how they are created, perceived, and the original intentions of the illustrators. One can only assume, as outlined above, that our relationship with children's literature and our perceptions of it as nothing more than a fleeting but precious childhood memory keeps us from recognizing these illustrators to the extent of their actual importance.

While the idea of exposing the great importance of illustrations of all early children's literature seems like a worthwhile endeavor, it would prove to be a task much too large to cover

in the subsequent four chapters. This thesis, however, will attempt to examine the children's texts and illustrations through a somewhat narrower lens of natural history. By providing a detailed account of the history of children's literature and its influence in chapter two, the importance of natural history and scientific exploration in nineteenth-century England and its influence on illustration in chapter three, and utilizing Carroll and Tenniel's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* as a case-study for these illustrations in chapter four, one will see an undeniable connection between the popularity of natural history and wildlife and illustration. Chapter five then will propose an extension of the anthropomorphic theme in children's literature by looking at contemporary picturebooks. By following the ever-evolving illustrations of animal and human in children's literature, one will find that the illustrations accompanying key childhood texts of the nineteenth century offer much more than a nice picture, but more importantly offer an understanding supplemental to the text on social understanding and thought of the time.

## Chapter Two:

### Perceptions of Childhood and Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature

First, she dreamed of little Alice herself: – once again the tiny hands were clasped upon her knee, and the bright eager eyes were looking up into hers – she could hear the very tones of her voice, and see that queer little toss of her head, to keep back the wandering hair that would always get into her eyes – and still as she listed, or seemed to listen, the while place around her became alive with the strange creatures of her little sister's dream.<sup>21</sup>

–Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Through Alice's adventures, Carroll presents a childhood filled with curiosity, exploration, and innocence. It is reflective of typical, modern, western society's portrayal of childhood as a time of great exuberance and goodness when education is vital and creativity is encouraged. Today's children's literature reflects this overall positivity, filled with colorful illustrations, eye-catching typography, and stories that captivate readers' attentions and imaginations. However these characteristics have not always been typical of the texts. In fact, for the earliest of children's literature, not only do many not have any type of illustrations, but the text itself is pointedly didactic and devoid of the liveliness modern readers have come to expect from children's books. Unsurprisingly, the noticeable evolution of children's texts corresponds with changing societal views and understandings of childhood development and education throughout the centuries.

According to the seventeenth-century French cleric Pierre de Berulle, childhood “is the most vile and abject state of human nature, after that of death.”<sup>22</sup> This sentiment, while extreme, exhibits the stark difference in perceptions of childhood over time. When looking critically at

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<sup>21</sup> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 190.

<sup>22</sup> Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 9.

children's literature and its history, one must first attempt to understand the social constructions of childhood surrounding the time of the written text.

Alphabet books, fairy tales, fables, and bestiaries were among the earliest texts read by children before the arrival of John Newbery to the publishing scene, thus introducing children's literature to the market. Looking at children's texts and social constructions of childhood side by side, there is clearly a correlation between the themes and evolutions. Most of what young readers took to before 1740 (pre-Newbery) was intended for a communal audience – adults as well as children – while young readers post-Newbery were allotted their very own market with books created and produced specifically for them. A comparative look at the social constructions of childhood, importance placed on education, and the pervasiveness of child labor pre- and post-Newbery will reflect this shift from all inclusive texts for both adults and children to a distinct and popular sub-genre of children's literature.

One major reason for the changes in perception of childhood (and later expansion in the children's book trade) in the eighteenth century was the increasing number of children as a proportion of the population. Low fertility in the seventeenth century meant that the current population was an aging one. This began to change in the following century, and at the same time, inoculations against disease were slowly becoming available and infant death was greatly declining. By 1826, the number of children under fifteen reached its peak at 1,120 for every 1,000 adults.<sup>23</sup> Coinciding with this rise in the child population, was a rapid growth in education provision. In Leicestershire, for example, at least 12 new schools were established between 1700 and 1736 and another 26 received new endowments from local benefactors.<sup>24</sup> These changes in

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<sup>23</sup> Margaret Kinnell, "Publishing for Children: 1700-1780," in *Children's Literature: An Illustrated History*, ed. Peter Hunt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 30.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

education are, understandably, some of the most prevalent to the progression of the children's literature market.

Some of the most impactful literature on tutoring and teaching in the past three hundred years, including John Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1692), ushered in a new educational reform.<sup>25</sup> Early eighteenth-century educator, John Clarke, wrote his praises for Locke stating, "Children are Strangers in the World." They are born without ideas, and what they learn comes to them through their experience. Their "first Acquaintance... is with sensible objects. Those must store the yet empty Cabinet of the Mind with a variety of Ideas." Clarke goes onto say that, given the importance, there should be a "great Variety of Books" on the subject. However, there are few and that in the end there is not one book "of any in our Language that are worth the Perusal but Mr. Locke's."<sup>26</sup> The popularity and effectiveness of Locke's theories is undeniable.

Locke's philosophically grounded theory of education insisted that human beings are not born with innate ideas, but that they instead learn from experiences of the external world. Asserting that pictures, toys, and models can assist in teaching words and concepts, the main goal of education should be to both instruct and delight. Locke promoted raising children's interest in education by esteeming those who did well and shaming those who were reluctant, disapproving of the time-honored method of flogging boys into learning. As opposed to viewing a child as someone to be broken or beaten down, Locke proposed that children should be

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<sup>25</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 23.

<sup>26</sup> Seth Lerer, *Children's Literature: A Reader's History, from Aesop to Harry Potter* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008), 104.

educated to play an important role in an emerging commercial society, and because commercial opportunities were plenty, parents were willing to invest as never before in that education.

Locke's ideas had a massive impact on the treatment of education in England. The eighteenth century led major shifts in the perceptions of childhood, asserting that children "are important in their own right, rather than being merely imperfect adults."<sup>27</sup> Sarah Trimmer, writing in 1802, noted that before Locke's time there were hardly any books for children, but "when the idea of uniting amusement with instruction was once started by... Mr. Locke, books for children were soon produced." Locke's belief that the child is born a blank slate, influenced the representation of knowledge and experience in literary narratives. As perceptions of childhood and education evolved, children's literature did as well, as this change corresponds with the arrival of Newbery in 1740 and the introduction of children's literature to the book market.

If one defines children's literature in the same terms as Harvey Darton, as "printed works produced ostensibly to give children spontaneous pleasure, and not primarily to teach them, nor solely to make them good, nor to keep them profitably quiet," then children's books did not exist in England prior to the seventeenth century, and few even then.<sup>28</sup> There were certainly school books, such as grammars and hornbooks, and guides of conduct, such as courtesy books, but these were solely intended to instruct children, not bring them pleasure.

Most of what the young read, or heard read to them, prior to 1740 was intended for a communal audience of adults and children. These kinds of texts certainly lived on throughout the

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<sup>27</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 23.

<sup>28</sup> F.J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: Five Centuries of Social Life*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

Victorian period as well, and did not simply fall out of existence with the introduction of Newbery. For example, first published as early as 1688, “London Cries” described street merchants, depicting their movements and typical street chants. While not specifically created for children, nearly every publisher of children’s books had this text on his list, and they continued to be published for over two hundred years.<sup>29</sup> Acquainting children with the world around them, “London Cries” illustrated the things and people with whom children would come in daily contact.

It was not until the mid to late eighteenth century that children’s books stood out by themselves as a clear branch of English literature; when authors wrote them and merchants produced them habitually, in quantities and with a frequency which implied that they were meant for a known, considerable, permanent class of readers.<sup>30</sup> The work widely held as the first key publication of children’s literature is John Newbery’s *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* published in 1744, the cover of which is illustrated with a mother or governess teaching a boy and girl with an inscription reading “Delectando monemus. Instruction with Delight.”<sup>31</sup> The expanded title reads, “*A Little Pretty Pocket Book*, intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly; with an agreeable Letter to read from *Jack the Giant Killer* as also a Ball and a Pincushion, the use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good Boy, and Polly a good Girl.”<sup>32</sup>

The most noted difference between Newbery’s publication and past literatures created for children was Newbery’s deliberate attempts to provide amusement before instruction. The

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<sup>29</sup> William Targ, *Bibliophile in the Nursery: A Bookman’s Treasury of Collectors’ Lore on Old and Rare Children’s Books* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing, 1957), 206.

<sup>30</sup> Darton, *Children’s Books in England*, 1.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

majority of the book is occupied with images of children playing games, and rhymes or songs. Publishers did not, however, abandon the didactic tale, as they had to cater to parents and adults purchasing the books, and thus they continued to create books that projected the good virtues parents wished for in their children. Instead, publishers reshaped the book, making a much less formal and artificial publication. Taking on a more human aspect, publishers would emphasize the importance of character building rather than just rational conduct. Often, youthful characters were presented as self-sufficient despite meager beginnings.<sup>33</sup> Newbery's foundation for children's literature continued to be expanded as the popularity and production of children's literature grew throughout the centuries until it was truly at the peak of both production and popularity in the nineteenth century.

The first half of the nineteenth century in England saw a reduction in privilege, license, and the royal prerogative in Britain. As Parliament grew in power, people moved into the cities and towns to work in the new industries, public education took root, and a literate middle class increased in size. By the end of the nineteenth century, the extremity of child labor in England had been regulated and school had become compulsory. All of these circumstances worked together to create a population demanding more reading matter.<sup>34</sup>

The opportunity children had to access and read this newly demanded reading material was greatly expanded with the regulation of child labor laws enforced in the early to mid-nineteenth century. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, authorities in many regions were keen to promote industry precisely because they hoped it would provide a reliable source of employment for women and children living in poverty. The Industrial Revolutions brought on a

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<sup>33</sup> Mary F. Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading*, (Boston: Hornbook, 1963), 93.

<sup>34</sup> Edward Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration* (Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1988), 107.

massive exploitation of child labor in the cotton mills, coal mines, and factories.<sup>35</sup> In 1795 Alexander Hamilton argued that “women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishment, than they otherwise would be.”<sup>36</sup> By early 1830s, one-third to one-half of all laborers were under 21 years old, and by 1836, 30,000 children worked in Lancashire mills alone. The strenuous hours and hard working conditions obviously had great effect on children’s education and literacy. It was around this time that Parliament was pushed to investigate child labor in Britain – an exploration that revealed many horrors to its investigators.<sup>37</sup>

According to Tory M. P. Michael Sadler (1780 – 1835), an early factory reformer, children working in mills and the like were “confined in heated rooms, bathed in perspiration, stunned with the roar of revolving wheels, poisoned with the noxious effluvia of grease and gas” until utterly exhausted they were replaced with new children.<sup>38</sup> Previous attempts at regulation of child labor had been relatively ineffective, with Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802 and the Factory Act of 1819, and it was the Factory Act of 1833 that finally made succeed in early dismantling of child labor practices. The act prohibited employment in the textile industry (except silk mills) of children under nine years of age and obliged employers to secure two hours daily schooling for nine to thirteen year olds (on top of a 48 hour work week). It is estimated that in 1816, children under 13 years of age accounted for 20 percent of the labor force in the cotton industry; that number had fallen to 13.1 percent in 1835 after the implementation of the Factory Act, and other industries reflect these same statistics. By 1901, approximately 17 percent of

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<sup>35</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 131.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>37</sup> Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 29.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 30.

children ages 10 to 14 were employed, and those jobs tended to be of part-time nature in the mills, selling newspapers, or delivering messages, allowing them to attend school.<sup>39</sup>

With a dramatic downturn in child labor in England, children now had something else to occupy their time: compulsory education. Modern western society boasts that childhood ought to be an age for play, education, and a progressive preparation for life as an adult. However, for many it was not until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that those ideals really settled and took effect. Efforts by officials and governments to compel all children into schools have a long history and have faced many cultural obstacles. The city of Weimar, in Saxony, was the first to make attendance at school compulsory, requiring in 1619 that all children aged 6 to 12 be in class for the whole year, the harvest month apart. England would not institute the same kind of law until over two centuries later.<sup>40</sup>

Reformers in continental Europe really began a push for education during the eighteenth century, when officials began to think in terms of a national system of education. Although attendance was greatly hampered in the early decades of the nineteenth century by students' work in the factories or fields, day schools were being provided increasingly for children of the poorer classes. In 1820, Henry Brougham collected information indicating that one in 14 or 15 of the population of England were receiving some kind of education, while in 1803, the ratio had been one in every 23 of the population.<sup>41</sup> Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Britain slowly began taking education out of the hands of the churches and made primary education free

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<sup>39</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 140.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading*, 96.

and compulsory by 1880.<sup>42</sup> After this legislation, school attendance rose from 1 ¼ million students in 1870, to 4 ½ million students in 1890.<sup>43</sup>

Mid to late nineteenth-century Britain saw immense changes in the social construction of childhood through the near elimination of child labor and importance shed on education. Child labor law legislation and compulsory education ensured that most children would experience childhood as modern western society knows it today. They would be allowed to be dependent on their parents and lead, to some extent, a life sheltered from the adult world. In the much quoted words of Viviana A. Zelizer, children became economically “worthless” but emotionally “priceless.”<sup>44</sup>

Keeping in line with the advances in education, or even slightly preceding it, was the public library movement, beginning in 1850. As limited as library services were throughout the nineteenth century, the steady growth of libraries in urban areas allowed many urban children access to free books by the end of the century. The first library solely dedicated to children’s literature was opened in 1882 in Nottingham, and within three years housed over 3000 juvenile books. These kinds of developments in public libraries, offering free access to books to all, and school, increasing literacy rates, had great positive impact on the children’s publishing industry.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to an expansion of the market due to societal changes and innovations, children’s literature and illustration also greatly benefited from technological advances of the nineteenth century. The early decades saw changes in the manufacturing of paper, the

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<sup>42</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 156.

<sup>43</sup> Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading*, 97.

<sup>44</sup> Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 121.

<sup>45</sup> Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure in Reading*, 97.

introduction of the steam-powered press, and lithography; these advances had great effects on book-making and publishing. These and other innovations pertaining to illustration of children's books will be further addressed, in depth, in chapter three.

The steady development of the construction of childhood, expansion of education, and availability of literature, along with numerous technical advances lead to the great state of children's literature in mid to late-nineteenth-century England. This new understanding of childhood development during this time of expansion and industry gave publishers more freedom than ever to publish the content they wanted, as were no longer limited to purely didactic texts as parents were more open and encouraging to reading for pleasure as opposed to strictly reading for knowledge. One theme that publishers were all too eager to expand on was animal stories – or more specifically anthropomorphic animal stories. Early fables and folktales had contained themes of anthropomorphic animals long before children's literature publishers and illustrators adopted it as a favorite; however the environment of late nineteenth-century Britain proved to be most advantageous to the exploration and utilization of the theme. As clearly outlined in the chapter above, authors and publishers of late nineteenth-century English children's books were the first to benefit from an audience of children that were afforded a childhood much like what modern readers know of today. Children were generally allowed the freedom, innocence, and playfulness not given to those before them, making them the perfect audience for the extravagance and fancifulness (without the overt didactic nature present in earlier texts) found in human-like animal depictions, such as those in Sir John Tenniel's depictions of animals in Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. By analyzing the pervasive interest of natural history throughout late nineteenth-century Britain alongside rising popular children's book

illustrations, such as Tenniel's, it becomes clear that the presence of these animals illustrations symbolize much more than simply endearing animals.

### Chapter Three: Natural History and Its Study in Nineteenth-Century England

Alice started to her feet, for it flashed across her mind that she had never before 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 was just in time to see it pop down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge.

In another moment down went Alice after it, never once considering how in the world she was to get out again.<sup>46</sup>

-Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

Alice's childlike curiosity leads her down a rabbit hole and into the magical world of Wonderland. The same kind of innate interest and desire for intellectual exploration and stimulation has led to much more than the fantastical world of Wonderland, but to major intellectual, psychological, and ethical shifts of consciousness and has helped develop ideals held steadfast today. The widespread concentration on these topics ebbs and flows, following cultural interests and fashions of the time, thus allowing certain ideals and topical explorations to emerge in popularity. Some examples of these trends can be found in the nineteenth century's great insurgent interest in natural history, proposed ideas of evolution, the protection of animals, and humans' connection to them.

Along with an increase in education and urban development, the early to mid-nineteenth century saw an unprecedented growth in interest surrounding natural history and its exploration. Nearly all newspapers featured a natural history column filled with discussions of interesting creatures. Men and women flocked to the seaside with jam-jars and natural history books looking

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<sup>46</sup> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 126.

for specimens to add to their collections, and books on the subject were widely popular.<sup>47</sup> The microscope, instead of acting as an instrument of dread in the classroom, became a fashionable form of after-dinner entertainment. Sources tell stories of popular zoologist Sir Richard Owen, who at the height of social success, brought out his microscope after a large dinner gathering with the Prime Minister, and all of the guests gathered to examine the remains of what they had just eaten.<sup>48</sup> This rise in interest of the study of natural history puzzled many, as prior to the early nineteenth century the subject, and its enthusiasts, had been relatively ignored.

Personal friend and colleague of Charles Darwin, and amateur natural historian himself, Charles Kingsley reflected on society's reactions to his boyhood interest in nature before its general popularity in society, stating that he was seen as a "figure of fun, a harmless enthusiast, who went "bug-hunting" simply because he had not the spirit to follow a fox."<sup>49</sup> When public opinion of the study of natural history rose in the mid-nineteenth century, E.P. Thomson favorably stated, "The day has happily passed away in which the votaries of nature were taunted with ridicule, and as addicted to childish fantasies...Natural history has assumed an importance in this country within the last few years, which it had hither to never been thought to possess."<sup>50</sup> The sudden interest in natural history was well appreciated by its longtime advocates; however many enthusiasts were careful to not take the study too seriously for fear that it would lead to doubts about or negations of religion.

Lynn Barber discusses in *The Heyday of Natural History* that in one aspect, spirituality acted as a great supporter of the study of natural history, the study of which allowed one to "look

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<sup>47</sup> Lynn Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1980), 13.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

through Nature up to Nature's God," and "find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in the stones, and good in everything." These quotes, from Pope's *Essay on Man* and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* respectively, could be found in nearly every natural history book published in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The pious saw their communing with nature as a way to explore God's creation and better understand His creatures, despite the newly developing ideas of evolution posing a dangerous threat to creationism and the beliefs of the devout. In order to keep the study of natural history in favor of exploring God's creation and away from challenging the very notion of it, writers tended to air on the side of lightness, making their texts as amusing as possible and sometimes forgoing accuracy.

Early naturalist writers promoted myths such as hedgehogs being capable of rendering cows milk-less, toads living for years enclosed in blocks of stone or coal, underground castles constructed by moles, snails mating by throwing darts at each other, and frogs and fish falling to earth in heavy rain showers. Anecdotes also humanized these animals, with stories about elephants who never forgot, thieving magpies, and vengeful canines. Early writers attempted to bring out, "the human side of science...giving to seemingly dry disquisition and animals of the lowest type, by little touches of pathos and humor, that living and personal interest, to bestow that which is generally the function of the poet."<sup>52</sup> The writings were widely readable, anthropomorphizing, and enjoyable, but not exclusively scientific.

While the prefaces to these writings boasted weighty instruction and learning, they actually read more like trivia, with fascinating facts, bizarre, curious and extraordinary anecdotes, sentimental interludes, long quotations from poets, and personal reminiscence – all

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 18.

ingredients of Victorian light reading. Even the titles themselves suggest subtlety: *Marvels of Pond Life*, *Wonder of the Sea*, *The Romance of Natural History*. Rev. J.G. Wood assured readers that field natural history “is far better than a play, and one gets the fresh air besides.”<sup>53</sup> With statements such as these, the study of natural history is portrayed, by some, as a kind of enjoyable pastime as opposed to serious scientific study.

Many writers and scholars prior had been pious men who, if they saw conflict, surrendered quickly to the side of religion.<sup>54</sup> Lynn Barber goes so far as to say that it was, “only religion in the shape of natural theology that made the study of natural history worthwhile.”<sup>55</sup> In fact, Barber argues that early interest in natural history was no more than “blind curiosity.” If it had been known the degree to which its study would lead to anti-religious views it would not have become nearly as popular.<sup>56</sup> However, what Barber describes as “blind curiosity” did lead to new religion-challenging ideas.

Despite what Barber describes as the pious writers’ fears of religious negation, there were writers who dared to go against Ultimate Design. While many think of Darwin as the first naturalist to wholeheartedly challenge religion, there were others before him who helped pave the way. Geological and biological studies during the nineteenth century increasingly suggested that other hypotheses provided better explanations for creation than Creationism. In 1830, Charles Lyell published his *Principles of Geology*, arguing that uniform and unchanging laws had been and were still transforming the surface of the earth and that therefore the age of the earth had to be in the millions of years. In 1844 Robert Chambers anonymously published

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

*Vestiges of Creation*, proposing a hypothesis which accounts for the appearance of design in the universe without reliance on the presence of a designer. These and other popular geological studies suggested that the earth was considerably older than biblical chronology allowed and that the appearance of the design in the universe could be accounted for without supposing the existence of God.<sup>57</sup>

After publications such as Lyell's and Chamber's, negations of religion became more frequent in natural history sources, especially through the well-known work of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859 and the *Descent of Man* in 1870.<sup>58</sup> In these publications Darwin displays what James Turner calls an "uncompromising materialism," in which he leaves "only the narrowest crevice through which the supernatural might creep back into his revolutionary world."<sup>59</sup> In the introduction to *The Origin of Species*, Darwin writes:

In considering the Origin of Species, it is quite conceivable that a naturalist, reflecting on the mutual affinities of organic beings, on their embryological relations, their geographical distribution, geological succession, and other such facts, might come to the conclusion that each species had not been independently created, but had descended, like varieties, from other species.<sup>60</sup>

This small section in the introduction is really the extent to which Darwin argues man's evolution from animal in *Origin of Species*, which is discussed a decade later in his publication *Descent of Man*. *Origin of Species* instead concentrates on Darwin's theory of natural selection:

As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive; and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary however slightly in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex

<sup>57</sup> Larry K. Uffelman, *Twayne's English Authors Series: Charles Kingsley*, ed. Herbert Saussman (Boston, Twayne Publishing, 1979), 69.

<sup>58</sup> Originally titled *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, the title was shortened for the sixth edition in 1872.

<sup>59</sup> James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 62.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, rev. ed. (1859; repr., New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2004), 12.

and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be naturally selected. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form.<sup>61</sup>

In his study, Darwin argues that populations evolve over time through a process of natural selection, as opposed to being completely created by a divine entity.

Reactions to this kind of thinking can be found in works such as Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*, published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1862 and issued as a volume in 1863.<sup>62</sup> Kingsley attempted to reconcile the nineteenth-century conflict between science and religion by showing continuous development to be the creative principle at work in the world. Through the death, moral growth, and eventual rebirth of the central character, Kingsley links evolution in the physical world to the growth and maturity of the spiritual being.<sup>63</sup>

It seems expected that while thoughts concerning natural history were being challenged at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a change was also occurring in thoughts surrounding animals and their treatment. It was during this time that England instituted a series of animal anti-cruelty laws including, the "Act to Prevent the Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle" in 1822, which prohibited the mistreatment of "Horses, Mares, Geldings, Mules, Asses, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Sheep, and other Cattle."<sup>64</sup> Along with the 1822 Martin Act, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in 1824, which was then named "Royal" in 1840, and animal baiting and fighting contests were banned in 1835.<sup>65</sup> The noticeable shift in the legal representation and treatment of animals did not suddenly appear along with the arrival

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<sup>61</sup> Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, 14.

<sup>62</sup> For a summary of Kingsley's *Water-Babies*, see Appendix A.

<sup>63</sup> Uffelman, *Charles Kingsley*, 70-1.

<sup>64</sup> Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007), 137.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

of the nineteenth century, but can be seen as an evolution of a mindset that began to appear two centuries prior at the time of the Enlightenment.

In *Looking at Animals in Human History*, Linda Kalof looks at the evolution of the philosophical and ethical treatment of animals, beginning in the Age of Enlightenment. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw more philosophical discussion about animals than ever before, due to the rising popularity of vivisection, increasing urbanization and commodification of animals for food and labor, and the availability of print media.<sup>66</sup> Vivisection, or the practice of dissecting animals which were still alive, was a practice justified by the view that animals could not feel pain as this could not exist without understanding, something which animals were believed not to have. Instead, they were thought to exhibit external manifestations of pain, which are purely mechanical responses to stimuli.<sup>67</sup> Vivisection practices peaked in the mid to-late 1660s, when approximately one-third of vivisections performed by the Royal Society took place in front of assembled members; by 1670 vivisections were mostly private events.<sup>68</sup>

This transition of vivisections from public to private events was due to the growing opposition to the practice; there was, according to Keith Thomas, a “new sensibility” afoot. A growing sense of sympathy and connection between humankind and animal began to permeate conversation. The moral concern for animals expanded to include many living beings that had been traditionally regarded as vile or unworthy. In 1764, Voltaire wrote about vivisection and the ‘barbarian’ scientists who practiced live experiments:

This dog, so very superior to man in affection, is seized by some barbarian virtuosos, who nail him down to a table, and dissect him while living, the better to shew you the meseraic veins. All the same organs of sensation which are in yourself you perceive in

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 99.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

him. Now, Machinist, what say you? Answer me: Has Nature created all the springs of feeling in this animal that it may not feel? Has it nerves to be impassible? For shame! charge not Nature with such weakness and inconsistency.<sup>69</sup>

Voltaire's sentiments about animal cruelty were echoed by a number of scientists and artists alike who began to anthropomorphize animal behavior and describe their subjects in a decidedly non-mechanical manner, in order to strengthen the connection between human and animal. For example, poet William Blake's (1757-1827) "The Fly," "Am not I, A fly like thee, or art not thou, A man like me?" By humanizing animals in such a way, advocates hoped to persuade viewers and readers to see animals as more human-like, thus decreasing their willingness to injure or torture the creatures.

The spreading humanitarian concern for animals was aided by what Peter Burke called a "new culture of print" that substantially increased the amount of cheap printed materials available to the public, such as pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, and chapbooks, many of which exhibited the newly popular and reoccurring theme of the human-animal relationship.<sup>70</sup> An example of this depiction of this relationship can be found in William Hogarth's popular series of engravings, *The Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751). In the set of prints, Hogarth depicts the degeneration of a youthful animal-tormentor into a hardened murderer, conveying graphic torture and suffering of animals, and also portraying the idea that animal cruelty eventually leads to cruelty to humans as well.<sup>71</sup>

*The Four Stages* follows the anti-hero, impoverished Tom Nero, as, in the first of four illustrations, the young Tom tortures a dog with an arrow (fig. 3.1). Animal cruelty goes on all around him with a cat being thrown out of a third story window, birds having their eyes gauged

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 129.

out with sticks, and dogs having their tails tied together with rope. In the second illustration, Tom is shown slightly older, savagely beating a carriage horse (fig. 3.2). Hogarth's third illustration depicts Tom's cruelty as having progressed from animals to humans, as he as murders a young servant girl, and has been arrested and is to be hanged for his crime (fig. 3.3). In the final illustration, Tom has been hanged, and his now flayed open body lies on a dissecting table, his heart being eaten by a dog (fig. 3.4).<sup>72</sup>

Hogarth's *Four Stages* is certainly not veiled in its attempts to persuade readers and warn them against the evils of animal abuse; cruelty to animals leads one to enact cruelty on humans and is a vile practice that must be stopped. Tom Nero's disdain for and willingness to harm animals at a young age reflects the fear many adults began to develop in their young children's ability to harm animals. James Turner states, "Presumably little boys have for centuries satisfied their curiosity and their sadistic impulses by tormenting unlucky dogs and cats."<sup>73</sup> Throughout the following centuries, there seems to be a noticeable effort made by publishers to produce content that attempts to dissuade these "sadistic impulses".

In the seventeenth century, John Locke wrote that all children should "be bred up in abhorrence of killing and tormenting any living creature... And indeed, I think people from their cradles should be tender to all sensible creatures."<sup>74</sup> Turner asserts that by the eighteenth century, due to new attitudes toward animals, the influence of Evangelicalism at the end of the century, and changes in child-rearing and notions of "childhood," adults began to decrease this "juvenile barbarity."<sup>75</sup> One of the efforts taken to deter children from animal cruelty was by preaching to

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>73</sup> Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*, 12.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 12.

them in their picture books; John Newberry's 1765 publication *Goody Two-Shoes* is an early example of this not-so-veiled attempt. A variation of *Cinderella*, *Goody Two-Shoes* follows the virtuous young orphan Margery Meanwell as she, despite being so poor she only has one shoe, cares for mistreated and abandoned animals. While her early life is a struggle, she later secures a prosperous job, marries a wealthy widower, and lives a healthy and contented life.

This practice of influencing young children to care for animals as opposed to abusing them is also clear throughout nineteenth-century children's literature, and is especially evident in what Victorian literature specialist Tess Cosslett calls "animal autobiography." In these stories an animal, usually domestic, gives a first-person account of their experiences. One of the most famous of these narratives is Anna Sewall's *Black Beauty*, published in 1877.<sup>76</sup> The purposes of these stories seem to always be to argue better treatment of animals by humans. The extent to which the animals are anthropomorphized is limited in the case of animal autobiography in that the animals' only human quality is its ability to communicate with the reader. Everything else in the story is realistic and without any fantastical elements.

The autobiographies' purpose to influence children's treatment of animals is evidenced throughout the texts. In award – winning American canine equivalent to *Black Beauty*, Marshal Saundier's *Beautiful Joe*,<sup>77</sup> Joe reports his mistress's belief that "if all the boys and girls in the world would rise up and say that there should be no more cruelty to animals, they could put a stop to it."<sup>78</sup> Quotes such as these in the narratives presented in popular nineteenth-century animal autobiographies suggest an explicit attempt to influence children's treatment of animals.

<sup>76</sup> Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 63.

<sup>77</sup> Although this thesis is concerned with British texts, *Beautiful Joe* has been included as it is strongly influenced by Sewell's *Black Beauty* and written as a direct canine equivalent to the text.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 64.

This influence permeates children's literature through more than narrative text; it does so in illustrations as well.

Like nineteenth-century studies in natural history, humankind's strong desire to protect animals can also be related to Darwin and his 1859 and 1870 publications that question animals' connections to humans. Turner states that "this offered obvious new reasons for sympathy with animals; more important, it raised profoundly disturbing questions about people's own animality. Compassion helped to quiet them."<sup>79</sup> It makes sense that widely known and discussed scientific propositions such as Darwin's that vehemently argued that man and animal are essentially the same creature would cause great discussion in the treatment of the latter.

Darwin and his effect on public thought surrounding natural history and treatment of animals greatly influenced the visual arts. Diana Donald states, "...in the life of the Victorian era, the sciences and the arts were not two cultures but one."<sup>80</sup> The study of natural science had not yet reached a level of specialization that would make it inaccessible to laypeople, and thus it permeated all aspects of society.

This interest in displaying animal as human ranged across the visual art spectrum and heavily influenced children's illustrated literature. When looking at the history of illustrated literature and its depiction of anthropomorphic animals, a great shift is evident. An example of this shift can be seen by looking at the classic text, *Aesop's Fables*. The writing of *Aesop's Fables* is credited to slave and storyteller Aesop, believed to have lived in ancient Greece. While

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<sup>79</sup> Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*, 61.

<sup>80</sup> Diana Donald, "Introduction," in *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts*, eds., Diana Donald and Jane Munro (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, with Yale University Press, 2009), 1.

not originally written for young readers, it has not only become one of the most famous historical children's literature texts, but it is also one of the earliest and most frequently illustrated.<sup>81</sup>

The earliest printed edition of *Aesop's* to include illustrations was published by Johann Zanier of Ulm in 1476. By looking at a collection of published editions of *Aesop's*, we see a noticeable evolution in depictions of animals from those depicted as detailed and naturalistic, and then completely anthropomorphized. The anonymous illustrator's woodcuts representing various one-dimensional animals are simple, straightforward, and well-crafted depictions (fig. 3.5). Illustrations such as these slowly evolved into much more detailed and accurate depictions yielding a more true to life image, such as those printed in 1666, based on designs by artist Francis Barlow (fig. 3.6). Almost two hundred years later, in 1857, Charles H. Bennett produced an edition comprised of woodcut print characters with highly detailed animal heads connected to fully formed and clothed human bodies (fig. 3.7). While this illustration wonderfully shows attempts at reconciling humankind and animal, the figure is half man half animal, with clear distinctions between the two. By 1912, however, popular illustrator Arthur Rackham brought human and animal together completely with his colored illustrations of animals which featured nearly completely human characteristics including erect posture, man-made clothing, and opposable thumbs (fig. 5.8).<sup>82</sup> Whereas Bennett produced a figure with the head of animal and body of human, Rackham completely reconciled the two, intertwining characteristics of both human and animal in one figure. These noticeable illustrative shifts to a more humanized animal reflect the discussed tendency to depict animals in the image of man.

<sup>81</sup> Gerald Gottlieb, *Early Children's Books and Their Illustrations* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1975), 6.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

Anthropomorphic depictions of animals in text, image, and discourse were found throughout the early to mid-nineteenth century. Whether it was the result of a pious naturalist trying to explore the natural workings of the world without going so far as to negate religious experience, a follower of Darwin attempting to make connections between humans and animals, or a zealous animal rights advocate trying to instill a sense of commonality between animals and humans for animal safety, these distinctly separate groups went about their mission by anthropomorphizing or humanizing animals in art and literature.

## Chapter Four:

### **Tenniel's Illustrated *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland***

“We’re all mad here. I’m mad. You’re Mad.”

“How do you know I’m mad?” said Alice.

“You must be,” said the Cat, “or you wouldn’t have come here”<sup>83</sup>

-Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*

It is clearly stated throughout the text of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* that it is a story in which animals do not necessarily behave in the way we expect.<sup>84</sup> They talk, carry watches, wear clothing, and worry extensively. Alice interacts with these animals in the same ways one would with humans, and even finds familiarity with them strong enough to make her think she “had known them all her life.”<sup>85</sup> The woodland universe Alice explores in her adventure is at the heart of the story along with its eccentric inhabitants. Animals such as the White Rabbit, the Cheshire Cat, and various other Wonderland dwellers are humanized by Carroll, but the full extent of their anthropomorphification does not come from the text itself but from the accompanying illustrations.

Forty-two expertly crafted wood-cut illustrations were produced along with the 1865 publication of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*. These images, illustrated by John Tenniel and cut onto woodblocks by the famed Brothers Dalziel, serve as a perfect example of a representational reaction to the set of changing attitudes surrounding the ethical treatment of

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<sup>83</sup> Lewis Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 90.

<sup>84</sup> As this thesis is foremost concerned with the Tenniel’s illustration of *Alice*, and not Carroll’s textual creation, a summary of the book has not been included in the body of the paper. Those interested in a detailed summary of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, please see Appendix B.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 29-30.

animals and interest in natural history explored in nineteenth-century England as outlined in the previous chapter. A closer look at Carroll's *Alice*, and specifically Tenniel's representation of *Alice* through illustration, will show that there is much more to the text than eccentric talking woodland animals; the book also presents a serious contemplation of the ethical treatment and representation of animals and a larger reflection of the natural world and our study of it.

Alice herself admits that the words she speaks are nonsensical and it would seem, due to the nature of Carroll's text, that many readers and critics throughout the years would agree with her. The first adjective used to describe Carroll's publication was, in fact, "nonsense." An unsigned review in the *Times*, published on the December, 26 1865, discussed nineteen Christmas books, seven of them children's books, and many containing woodcut illustrations. Of *Alice* the unknown reviewer wrote, "the letterpress... is by Mr. Lewis Carroll, and may be best described as an excellent piece of nonsense."<sup>86</sup> While it might seem easy to label a children's story such as *Alice* with its zany characters, surreal environments, and space and time-bending plot as such, it must quickly be established that Carroll's text is *not* devoid of intellectual value despite what certain critics might call "nonsense."

On the hundred-year anniversary of Carroll's birth, Gilbert K. Chesterton voiced his plea for readers to not take *Alice* too seriously or allow it to be taken in by scholars to become "cold and monumental like a classic tomb."<sup>87</sup>

Poor, poor, little Alice! She has not only been caught and made to do lessons; she has been forced to inflict lessons on others. Alice is now not only a schoolgirl but a schoolmistress. The holiday is over and Dodgson is again a don. There will be lots and lots of examination papers, with questions like: (1) What do you know of the following;

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<sup>86</sup> Michael Hancher, *The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), xv.

<sup>87</sup> Martin Gardner, ed., *The Annotated Alice: Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass* (New York: Norton and Company, 2000), xiii.

mimsy, gimble, haddocks' eyes, treacle-wells, beautiful soup? (2) Record all the moves in the chess game in *Through the Looking-Glass*, and give diagram. (3) Outline the practical policy of the White Knight for dealing with the social problem of green whiskers. (4) Distinguished between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.<sup>88</sup>

Chesterton makes it fairly clear that he sees no room for Carroll's "nonsense" in academia, and this kind of dismissal is too easily found in critiques of *Alice*. However, Martin Gardner, leading scholar of *Alice* and author of the definitive *Annotated Alice* (2000), firmly states that dismissal of Carroll's text based on its quirky and sometimes indecipherable nature is out of the question. Gardner calls *Alice* a "very curious, complicated kind of nonsense, written for British readers of another century," for which modern readers "need to know a great many things that are not part of the text if we wish to capture its full wit and flavor."<sup>89</sup> Written for a very specific audience, the modern reader may easily misunderstand certain references.

With *Alice*, modern young readers face the challenge of attempting to understand a text that was not written specifically for them. Many of the jokes found in the work would only be relevant to residents of Carroll's native Oxford, and some would only even be understandable by Carroll's muse herself, Alice Liddell. As this chapter is devoted to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, it would be impossible to forgo the text's history and origins. However, seeing as this thesis deals directly not with Carroll's text but with Tenniel's interpretation of it through his illustrations, a brief overview will suffice.<sup>90</sup>

Charles Dodgson (as this thesis deals with Dodgson solely as the author of *Alice* he will henceforth be referred to by his pseudonym, Lewis Carroll) teacher of mathematics at Christ

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> For further study on Carroll, refer to two of Carroll's many biographers – Morton N. Cohen's *Lewis Carroll: A Biography* (1995) or Michael Bakewell's *Lewis Carroll: A Biography* (1996).

Church in Oxford and ordained deacon, was a devout, conservative, and some would say, painfully shy man. He made no real contributions to his field of mathematics and seldom preached because of a heavy stammer. According to his many biographers, Carroll was at his best when entertaining young children. He loved to entertain them with games, stories, puppetry and magic tricks, and his most beloved relationships came through his friendships with young girls.<sup>91</sup>

Readers can thank one such relationship for the creation of *Alice*. Carroll's inspiration for the classic story came to him during one of his frequent boat rides on the Thames with Alice Liddell, Carroll's most beloved young friend, and her two sisters. Carroll would entertain the young girls with stories, one of them being *Alice's Adventures Underground*, the story that eventually became what readers today know as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

It is important to understand that Carroll's 'nonsense' is not nearly as random and pointless as it may seem to modern children reading the book.<sup>92</sup> *Alice* was originally meant to be fun and fantastical adventure story for Carroll's beloved friend, but that does not mean it was not written seriously, meant to be read as purely nonsensical, or created void of literary value. Only after this assertion can Carroll's text and Tenniel's accompanying illustrations be used in context of this thesis. *Alice* is not just an accumulation of 'nonsense' but is a text worthy of scholarly study, despite Chesterton's concerns, as are its illustrations.

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<sup>91</sup> One cannot study Lewis Carroll, at even the shallowest of depth, without coming across dissenting opinions on Carroll's relationship with these girls, specifically the young Alice Liddell. There has never been any evidence found suggesting anything but the most innocent of relationships between Carroll and his young friends. For further study on this topic and the debate, please see one of Carroll's recent biographies, Morton N. Cohen's *Lewis Carroll: A Biography* (1995).

<sup>92</sup> Gardner, *The Annotated Alice*, xiv.

Carroll learned of John Tenniel, the first illustrator of *Alice*, through the artist's popular *Punch* sartorial cartoons. John Ruskin wrote of Tenniel in 1884 that he had "much of the largeness and symbolic mystery of the imagination which belong to the great leaders of classic art, in the shadowy masses and sweeping lines of his great compositions, there are tendencies which might have won his adoption into the school of Tintoret..."<sup>93</sup> This is certainly a positive critique coming from the famous art critic, and are reflective of the relative fame Tenniel experienced during his prosperous career as a cartoonist and illustrator.

Tenniel had already made quite a name for himself when it came time to illustrate *Alice*; his viewership, however, consisted of adults as opposed to children. After struggling as an oil painter early in his career, Tenniel eventually turned to book illustration. Contributing illustrations to popular works such as Samuel Carter Hall's *The Book of British Ballads* and Thomas James's version of *Aesop's Fables* (1848), Tenniel gained recognition, was recruited by Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch* magazine, and brought in to replace Richard Doyle. Quickly finding his niche, Tenniel became well known and garnered critical attention and popularity from his political cartoons, and he soon became head illustrator for the magazine where he remained for thirty years.<sup>94</sup>

It was during the height of Tenniel's popularity with *Punch* that Carroll requested he contribute illustrations to *Alice*. In December of 1863, Carroll wrote his playwright friend Tom Taylor, asking him if he knew Tenniel well enough "to say whether he could undertake such a thing as drawing a dozen wood-cuts to illustrate a child's book" and if he would be willing to put the two in contact. Carroll continued, "The reasons for which I ask are that I have written such a

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<sup>93</sup> Morton N. Cohen and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll & His Illustrators: Collaborations & Correspondence, 1865-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 3.

tale for a young friend, and illustrated it in pen and ink. It has been read and liked by so many children, and I have been so often asked to publish it, that I have decided on so doing...If [Mr. Tenniel]...should be willing to undertake [the illustrations]..., I would send him the book to look over, not that he should at all follow my pictures, but simply to give him an idea of the sort of thing I want.”<sup>95</sup> Scholarly opinion varies on the nature of the relationship between the author and illustrator and how well the pair got along. No matter the smoothness of the relationship, the process was an extremely collaborative one, with many meetings and letters sent back and forth between the pair.

To fully understand the importance of *Alice*’s accompanying illustrations, it must first be argued that Tenniel’s original illustrations stand apart from Carroll’s text. The author-illustrator team engaged in an intensely collaborative relationship while working on *Alice*, with Tenniel having complete access to Carroll’s full manuscript, original illustrations, and the author himself. Despite the interconnectedness of the two elements, they are still capable of standing independently of one another, and Tenniel’s illustrations render an extended reading of Carroll’s original text.

Tenniel’s accompanying illustrations add to the text things that had not existed prior, and thus the illustrations, while they were a collaborative effort, are separate from Carroll’s text and worthy of further research. The illustrations especially add to the already textually created anthropomorphic animal, depicting them as more than ‘half man half animal’, or as animal possessing qualities of mans or vice-versa, but man and animal as one being. Tenniel’s desire to

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

make this change in the illustration, can be seen in relation to societal shifts in thinking about natural history and especially Darwin's theory of evolution as discussed in chapter three.

In his concluding paragraph of *The Origin of Species*, Darwin writes the following:

It is interesting to contemplate an entangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us.<sup>96</sup>

Darwin suggests that not only is the world populated by plants, animals, and creatures that are not created by a Divine Presence, but that we are "entangled" and dependent on one another for adaptation and survival. Going on, Darwin writes:

There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.<sup>97</sup>

Darwin's closing arguments undeniably evokes links between humankind and animal, forcing his readers to reconsider their relationship to animals. This reconsideration of the connectedness of man and animal was reflected in illustrations of the time, emerging in a new form of anthropomorphized animals in illustration rising popularity of anthropomorphic illustrations that can be seen as man's newfound desire to not only explore and learn about animals, but also recreate them in his own image.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, rev. ed. (1859; repr., New York: Barnes and Noble Classics, 2004), 384.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Brigid Peppin, *Fantasy: Book Illustration 1860-1920* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), 10.

The idea of man and animal as one and the independent nature of illustration and text in *Alice* can first be seen as soon as the opening drawing of the book, the White Rabbit at the head of chapter one. In the text, Carroll introduces the White Rabbit with the following:

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 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 that she had never before 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 time to see it pop down a large rabbit-hole under the hedge.<sup>99</sup>

Through Carroll's text, the reader understands the anthropomorphication of the rabbit through his clothes, speech, and time piece. The fact that this is no ordinary rabbit is clearly understood, but the degree of anthropomorphication is certainly increased through Tenniel's subsequent illustration.

Tenniel's White Rabbit occupies a space somewhere in between animal and human (fig. 4.1). The "rabbitness of the rabbit" is defined by the meadow, his white fur, absence of trousers, and careful attention paid to anatomy and proportion.<sup>100</sup> The "humanness" of the rabbit is defined by his upright posture, vest and jacket, timepiece, and opposable thumbs. The size of the rabbit is defined in relation to the grass and dandelion pictured behind him, and he in turn looks to be the size of a toddler (larger than the standard rabbit), further separating him from "animal".

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<sup>99</sup> Gardner, *Annotated Alice*, 11.

<sup>100</sup> Rose Lovell-Smith, "The Animals of Wonderland: Tenniel as Carroll's Reader," *Criticism* 45 (Fall 2003):384.

Surprisingly enough, the size of the White Rabbit is something Carroll does not address in the text itself, and all information the reader gets to his size is found in Tenniel's illustrations.

One can not only compare Tenniel's first depiction of the White Rabbit to Carroll's text, but also to his original illustration. In *Alice's Adventures Underground*, Carroll depicted the White Rabbit much differently than Tenniel (Fig. 4.2). The animal is still certainly humanized, but he does not receive the same kind of synthesis of human and animal in Carroll's original depictions. Instead of Tenniel's full rabbit anatomy and proportions, Carroll presents what seems to be a fully formed human body, complete with human feet, legs, and arms, with the head of a rabbit. As opposed to Tenniel's depiction, Carroll illustrates the rabbit as fully clothed (trousers and jacket) so the viewer can only assume that the rabbit possesses the fully formed body of a human, unlike Tenniel's Rabbit who, while he stands upright, has fully formed rabbit legs. The synthesis Tenniel gives the White Rabbit shows him as not fully man nor animal, not half man and half animal, but as one completely proportioned being of both man and animal.

Tenniel's first illustration of the White Rabbit goes further than synthesizing human and animal and adding editorial detail such as the size and proportion. When compared to Carroll's original illustration, one can see that Tenniel managed to completely shift the original focus of the opening chapter. Whereas Tenniel focuses the reader's attention onto the Rabbit and his anthropomorphic nature, Carroll originally intended for the reader to focus on Alice herself and her sister, as his original headpiece illustration depicts Alice and her sister reading a book (fig. 4.3). From this, Tenniel has shifted the attention from Alice and her complete membership to the human family, to the White Rabbit and his confused membership to both the human and animal family, thus dramatically changing the focus of the first chapter from Alice herself, to the animals inhabiting Wonderland.

Looking also at another illustration of the White Rabbit by Tenniel, the reader sees the Rabbit as not only part human, but also as a fearful victim (fig. 4.4). As Alice drinks from unknown potion bottles the second time, she grows at an alarmingly fast rate. At a certain point during her growth spurt, she hears the White Rabbit coming, “she suddenly spread out her hand and made a snatch in the air. She did not get hold of anything but heard a little shriek and a fall, and a crash of broken glass...”<sup>101</sup> The accompanying illustration shows a fearfully large hand reaching into the frame and attempting to grab the terrified White Rabbit. The Rabbit, while still attaining his human qualities of five-fingered hands and jacket, is now lying on the ground with his feet in the air, looking much more animal-like than has yet been depicted. If it were not for the remaining hands and clothing, he could be viewed as fully animal, looking small and terrified against the abnormally large hand.

The text claims that Alice has no need to fear the Rabbit, as she is “a thousand times as large” as him.

“Mary Ann! Mary Ann!” said the voice. “Fetch me my gloves this moment! Then came a little pattering of feet on the stairs. Alice knew it was the Rabbit coming to look for her, and she trembled till she shook the house, quite forgetting that she was now about a thousand times as large as the Rabbit, and had no reason to be afraid of it.<sup>102</sup>

While the text also states that the Rabbit exhibited fear at Alice’s hand the illustrations best depict the terror experienced in the moment. Whereas Tenniel’s early depictions of the White Rabbit show him on the same plane as humankind, this particular illustration exhibits him as victim of humankind while his terrified expression garners the reader’s sympathy.

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<sup>101</sup> Gardner, *Annotated Alice*, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 40.

The idea of fear based on relative size is mentioned earlier in the book as well, in Alice's first personal encounter with the Rabbit. After Alice takes the first of the growing potion, she petitions the Rabbit for help, who "started violently, dropped the white kid-gloves and the fan, and scurried away into the darkness as hard as he could go."<sup>103</sup> Tenniel illustrates the situation, depicting Alice and the Rabbit in a hallway. Assuming that the hallway is of normal size, Alice is roughly double the size of a human, while the Rabbit remains at his "toddler" size determined in the earlier illustration. This illustration, more so than the text, places much importance on relative size, and as Lovell-Smith argues, directs the reader toward a cluster of ideas in which fears and anxieties surrounding survival are connected to images of lesser or greater relative size.<sup>104</sup>

This idea of fear based on relative size is seen again in chapter four when Alice encounters, in her now miniature state, a playful puppy. While the dog only wants to play with Alice, his large size manifests fear in the girl, as the text reads, "...she was terribly frightened all the time at the thought that it might be hungry, in which case it would be very likely to eat her up in spite of all her coaxing."<sup>105</sup> Tenniel's accompanying illustration follows Carroll's text almost perfectly, and is given special significance, as the particularly large depiction takes up an entire page and is completely framed, thus giving an impression of completion and independent significance (fig. 4.5).<sup>106</sup> This particular figure, however, received much criticism. Many commentaries on *Alice*, if they do not ignore the illustration completely, disapprove of its inclusion believing that paying so much attention to the non-talking animals takes away from the

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>104</sup> Lovell-Smith, *Animals of Wonderland*, 384.

<sup>105</sup> Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 55.

<sup>106</sup> Lovell-Smith, *Animals of Wonderland*, 405.

narrative. Dennis Crutch says the illustrated puppy is “an intruder from the ‘real’ world,” and one commentary even called the illustration Carroll’s “most glaring mistake in...*Alice*.<sup>107</sup> This illustration should not be viewed as a mistake, but as a conscious attempt by Tenniel to place the human Alice into the same compromising and fearful position that she herself puts the White Rabbit in with her imposingly large size.

These visual representations of fear based on relative size can be viewed as references back to techniques discussed in chapter three of dissuading the public from abusing animals. By depicting the White Rabbit cowering in fear below the monstrously depicted human hand, the viewer feels a sense of pity for the Rabbit, or maybe even a sense of guilt for the human hand. The idea of fear is clearly also a very humanizing trait that further places the Rabbit into the human world.

This notion of animal belonging to the human and animal family in *Alice* is found in other characters throughout the book as well. For example, the Dodo bird found in chapters two and three of *Alice* also occupies the space between humankind and animal, and contributes to the discussion of Darwin and his theories of natural selection (fig. 4.6). The bird has correct proportions and looks to be almost completely animal until the viewer suddenly notices his barely visible human arms. Created by Carroll as a caricature of himself (his stammer is said to have made him pronounce his name “Do-do-Dodgson”), the Dodo bird is also important in that it is now extinct. The flightless dodo became extinct about 1681, one of the earliest examples of an animal species completely exterminated by humans.<sup>108</sup> Not only does the addition of this

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Gardner, *Annotated Alice*, 27.

particular bird into the story recall Darwin and his theory of natural selection, but it also means that Tenniel would have been forced to adapt his Dodo from natural history illustrated books.

In *The Animals of Wonderland: Tenniel as Carroll's Reader*, Rose Lovell-Smith argues that Tenniel's illustrations are actually presented in the form of a "zany natural history."<sup>109</sup> Lovell-Smith points out that Tenniel connects his illustrations and natural history through a number of stylistic allusions. Utilizing the conventional techniques of realism, he heavily uses cross-hatching and fine lines to suggest light, shade, and solidity of form, for example in the Mock Turtle's shell and flippers, or the crabs' and lobster's claws. Accuracy in anatomy and proportion are clearly important and well executed. Tenniel's grouping of the animals also heavily reflects images found in natural history texts.<sup>110</sup> It is also interesting to look at Tenniel's grouping of animals as compared to Carroll's original illustrated grouping (fig. 4.7). Whereas Tenniel incorporates Alice into the group of animals, sitting at eye level, Carroll has her instead noticeably separate from the group (fig. 4.8).<sup>111</sup>

Another habit of Tenniel's that suggests natural history illustration is his provision of sketchy but realistic and appropriate backgrounds. Many of his illustrations are low to the ground, keeping the viewer on level with the magnified woodland world. For example, in his depiction of Alice and the Caterpillar, the viewer is in the same viewing plane as the Alice, eye-level with the mushroom (fig. 4.9). Tenniel again gives the viewer a clear reminder of Alice's small size with various plants and flowers growing up around her. This kind of technique for understanding the size of a specimen is commonplace in popular natural history illustrations of

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<sup>109</sup> Lovell-Smith, *Animals of Wonderland*, 388.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 391.

the time. Compare this example to an illustration taken from J.G. Wood's *Illustrated History*, in which the viewer is, again, at eye level with the magnified depiction of the world, and is offered a reference for determining the animals' sizes with various known plants (fig. 4.10). Tenniel's point of view, artistic technique, and depictions of the subjects themselves all act as reflections of illustrations that filled popular natural history books of the time.

Through Tenniel's expansions of Carroll's text and clear change in direction from his original illustrated images, it is clear that Tenniel's illustrations work not only as a wonderful complement to Carroll's work, but as a work in and of themselves that managed to change the way in which readers understood the text. Through the incorporation of both physically and emotionally humanized animals and references to natural history, Tenniel created an expansion of Carroll's original text that promoted social interests and changes of the time and helped to make the story the classic as it is known today.

**Chapter Five:**  
**Beyond Wonderland**

Lastly, she pictured to herself how this same little sister of hers would, in the after-time be herself a grown woman; and how she would keep, through all her riper years, the simple and loving heart of her childhood: and how she would gather about her other little children, and make *their* eyes bright and eager with many a strange tale, perhaps even with the dream of Wonderland of long-ago: and how she would feel with all their simple sorrows, and find a pleasure in all their simple joys, remembering her own child-life and the happy summer days.<sup>112</sup>

-Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*

The final words of Carroll's *Alice* attempt to capture the essence of childhood and the magic and overwhelming power of shared stories or "strange tales." As evidenced thus far, these tales have evolved greatly since their origins, and continue to evolve after *Alice* and her nineteenth-century contemporaries. Throughout twentieth-century children's literature, readers can find similar and evolving ideas about humankind's relationship with animals and nature. While themes may remain relatively the same, the style in which they are presented changes with time, and Carroll's and Tenniel's collaborative relationship can be seen as the beginning of a new stage in the history of children's literature.

John Tenniel's illustrations offer readers of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* even more than a Darwinian, natural history-infused, extended reading of Carroll's text. In terms of Tenniel's illustration, Martin Salisbury writes, "They brought in a new kind of presence on the page; the images played a key role in the experience of the book, and subsequently, became

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<sup>112</sup> Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866), 192.

definitive to our reading of it.”<sup>113</sup> Along with the more detailed understanding of human nature of the animals of Wonderland, Tenniel’s illustrations directly involved the text in a relatively new way through its design and layout.

One example of this integration of text and image in *Alice* can be found early on in the book, after Alice eats a piece of cake marked “EAT ME” and begins to grow and open “out like the largest telescope that ever was!”<sup>114</sup> The accompanying illustration shows Alice’s neck elongating, and the text along with it narrows and lengthens (fig. 5.1). The disruption of the layout of the text to reflect the illustration creates a spatial environment in which the synthesis of the two elements forms one complete textual picture. The illustrations are not simply blocked around the text but are fully integrated into it. This happens again in chapter three when Alice mistakenly asks the Mouse to tell her of his “long and sad” *tail* (Mouse was instead referring to a *tale*). As the Mouse recounts his story, the text winds around the page resembling a mouse’s tail (fig. 5.2). Martin Gardner states that this is perhaps the best known English example of emblematic, or figured, verse (poems printed in such a way that they resemble something related to their subject matter).<sup>115</sup> This specific example is not an illustrated one, but incorporates the text into a spatial or design element just the same.

Thoughtful integration, such as the examples found in *Alice*, of text, design, and illustration lead to a new kind of illustration and type of book production. Thus far, this thesis has been concerned with works of illustrated literature, and while *Alice* falls into the category of “illustrated” it also hints at the new upcoming era of children’s literature. This type of production

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<sup>113</sup> Martin Salisbury and Morag Styles, *Children’s Picturebooks: The Art of Visual Storytelling* (London: Laurence King, 2012), 18.

<sup>114</sup> Carroll, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, 13.

<sup>115</sup> Martin Gardner, ed., *The Annotated Alice: Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 34.

is one that most modern readers probably associate with their favorite books from childhood – the picturebook.

Randolph Caldecott is generally acknowledged to be the father of the picturebook. In his book of essays, *Caldecott & Co: Notes on Books and Pictures*, Maurice Sendak, one of the best-known authors of visual literature today, states:

Caldecott's work heralds the beginning of the modern picturebook. He devised an ingenious juxtaposition of picture and word, a counterpoint that never happened before. Words are left out – but the picture says it. Pictures are left out – but the word says it. In short, it is the invention of the picture book.<sup>116</sup>

The picturebook can be seen as the next step in the illustration of children's literature. The lines between author and illustrator and image and text are even further blurred. For a complete reading of the text, the two elements must work together in even more ways than before. Beatrix Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* (1902) provides an excellent early example.<sup>117</sup>

Looking at the opening double-spread of *Peter Rabbit* (image on the left, text on the right), Potter (both author and illustrator) has presented the reader with a fairly simple and straightforward image. In the opening illustration the mother rabbit looks the reader directly in the eye, immediately drawing his attention (fig. 5.3). However, there are contradictions present as the text informs the reader of four little rabbits (Flopsy, Mopsy, Cotton-Tail, and Peter) while there are only three depicted in the image. One might immediately think the tail and back legs peeking from under the tree root to belong to the rabbit immediately to the right of the root. However, noting Potter's close attention to anatomical detail, it is hard to believe she would

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<sup>116</sup> Salisbury and Styles, *Children's Picturebooks*, 16.

<sup>117</sup> Potter's *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* is the story of a misbehaving young rabbit who, against his mother's rules, goes into a neighboring yard to steal from a human's garden and is nearly captured and killed in the process.

allow the rabbit to be so abnormally elongated. So, the reader must assume that the back legs belong to the fourth little rabbit. Coming back to this illustration after a first reading of the story, the reader can safely assume that the hind legs he sees belong to the troublesome Peter, who is exploring his surroundings instead of waiting to take cues from his mother.<sup>118</sup>

Potter also utilizes the layout of the text to bring attention to the discrepancies in the illustration and text, thus forcing readers to question the spread as a whole. Unlike the usual left to right motion of text, the names of the rabbits are listed in a slanted line that leans, like a backslash, from right to left, bringing the eye toward the picture and the puzzle of the four names and three rabbits. Through these examples, the text and image are seen as interconnected in a variety of ways, introducing the subversive nature of Peter and the overall message of the book. *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* exhibits the next stage of children's literature in that, where Tenniel's illustration offered an extended reading of Carroll's text, Potter's text and illustration constantly weave in and out of one another, both necessary for a complete reading.<sup>119</sup>

Through the following decades, the codependency of images and text in picture books becomes stronger, until it today has reached a point to which the story cannot be read without both image and text. One example is, the book by one of the best-known and widely-appreciated author/illustrator's of the late twentieth-century, Maurice Sendak. His *Where the Wild Things Are* is the story of a young mischievous boy who, after being sent to bed without supper, finds

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<sup>118</sup> Maria Nikolajeva and Carole Scott, *How Picturebooks Work* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2001), 30.

<sup>119</sup> It is important to note the difference in the interconnectedness of image and text when "ownership" of the text and illustrations are shared versus when the work is the sole production of one creator. In the case of *Peter Rabbit*, Beatrix Potter worked as both author and illustrator, whereas *Alice* was a collaborative experience between Carroll and Tenniel. Thus, a confident interpretation of Potter's illustration and text as interconnected is somewhat more easily made. However, despite the differences in author/illustrator collaboration, Potter's work nonetheless exhibits a reoccurring trend in picturebooks, whether they are the sole creation of one author/illustrator, or a collaborative process between two or more individuals.

himself in a faraway land of his imagination, as King of the Wild Things. Sendak's first double-spread illustrates young Max donning his wolf suit and constructing a blanket fort by hammering tied blankets into the wall with nails, completely destroying the wall in the process. The illustration on the next spread shows the young boy chasing a terrified lap dog down the steps, seemingly tormenting the animal with a fork. Of these childish and destructive antics, Sendak's text only states "... Max wore his wolf suit and made mischief of one kind and another."<sup>120</sup> Giving the reader hardly any textual guidance to exactly what kind of mischief, the illustration fills in what the text leaves unanswered. This occurs throughout the book, again most noticeably after Max meets the Wild Things and declares, "let the wild rumpus start!"<sup>121</sup> The next three doublespreads are full-color, illustrated images of this "rumpus" as Max and Wild Things run and dance through the forest, howl at the moon, and swing from tree branches (fig 5). The illustrations take the reader on a much more rumpus-filled exploration of the forest than Sendak's text alone.

Without the images, *Where the Wild Things Are*, with its basic text, would read as rather unimaginative and lacking detail. The illustrations of Max in his wolf suit and the memorable and monstrous Wild Things with their "terrible teeth" and "terrible claws" are arguably the most memorable element of the story. The absolute necessity of illustration to complete understanding of the story is the most important and prevalent evolution in the terms of the introduction of the picturebook.

Not only do Potter's and Sendak's works exhibit a new and evolving kind of children's literature, but they also align with themes discussed throughout previous chapters of

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<sup>120</sup> Maurice Sendak, *Where The Wild Things Are* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 1.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 21.

anthropomorphic depictions of animals and an interest in illustrating wildlife and natural history. Especially in the case of Potter, illustrations explore naturalism and the illustration of wildlife and animals. Born into a family with a deep appreciation of and interest in the arts, Potter spent a great amount of her young life both viewing and creating art. While she had an undeniable talent for pencil drawing and watercolor, Potter's true interests lay in the natural sciences. At her childhood home in London, along with her younger brother, Bertram, the two would smuggle animals of all kinds into their nursery to use as models for drawings. The pair even admitted to secretly skinning and boiling dead birds, rabbits, and even a fox, in order to articulate the skeletal structures for anatomical drawings.<sup>122</sup>

Early in her career, Potter created illustrations for greeting cards, but her ultimate goal was to become a naturalist artist, have her works accepted by the leading organization of London scientists, the Linnaean Society, and eventually publish a natural history book. Throughout the 1890s, Potter avidly worked on her study and illustration of plant and animal life, assuring anatomical accuracy by comparing all of her collected and dissected specimens with those at the Natural History Museum in London. The illustrator was not received kindly, Potter herself stating in her journals, "the clerks seem to be all gentlemen and one must not speak to them [...] they take the line of being shocked [and] it is perfectly awful to a shy person."<sup>123</sup> Potter and her work continued to be dismissed by the male – dominated scientific community when in 1896, Potter secured a meeting in which she was allowed to show her studies and drawings to the director of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Kew (fig. 5.4). Of the interview, Potter said the director "seemed pleased with my drawings and a little surprised"; however she reported he "did

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<sup>122</sup> Catherine Golden, "Beatrix Potter: Naturalist Artist," *Woman's Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (1990): 16.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 17.

not address me again,” and “I had once or twice an amusing feeling of being regarded as young” – she was 30.<sup>124</sup>

It was at this point in her career that Potter realized that she was going to continue to be denied opportunities within her field of interest because of her gender, and began exploring other viable ways to both work as an artist and naturalist. Deciding to take the same path as many of her female contemporaries with great artistic talent, Potter turned to book illustration and in 1901 self-published *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*. One year later, Potter contracted with a publishing company, Frederick Warne & Co., and republished *Peter Rabbit* and went on to publish 23 books including *The Tale of Mr. Jeremy Fisher* and *The Tale of Squirrel Nutkin*.

Given Potter’s avid interest in naturalism, her desire to create illustrated natural histories, and the subject matter of her published works, her work can clearly be viewed as an extension of the themes presented throughout this thesis. With Potter’s extensive background and knowledge in natural history and anatomical illustration, her depictions of animals offer great room for discussion, as while they are without doubt true anatomical illustrations they are still distinctly (and yet limitedly) humanized.

Potter allowed her animals to seem endearingly human, yet she refused to stray too far from her scientific background; thus, she worked with an interesting combination of both natural historical and anthropomorphic elements. In a letter to a colleague late in her life Potter wrote of her displeasure with illustrators such as Kenneth Grahame and his overly humanized depiction of Mr. Toad in *The Wind in the Willows* (1908) for he created a “mistake to fly in the face of nature – A frog may wear galoshes; but I don’t hold with toads having beards or wigs!”<sup>125</sup> Besides their

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 19.

narrative story, clothing becomes the only real humanizing quality or trademark for her animal characters. This was the furthest extent to which the author/illustrator would allow her animals to go outside of their natural state.

While Potter certainly refers to her previous work with illustrated natural histories, she also utilizes anthropomorphic details, the animals sometimes appearing in natural poses, sometimes on their hind legs in human poses. However, whether or not the animals engage in human behaviors, such as wearing clothing or utilizing tools or furniture, does not necessarily correspond with their animal/human poses nor do all these features work together consistently. For example, the illustration of Peter trying to get out Mr. McGregor's garden shows an unclothed Peter standing on his hind legs in a position of human grief (fig. 5.5).<sup>126</sup>

Looking back again at the opening scene of *Peter Rabbit*, the illustration is a naturalistic depiction of a seemingly wild rabbit family outside their home in the sand-bank under a tree (fig. 5.3). The accompanying text names the little rabbits, giving three typical pet rabbit names (Flopsy, Mopsy, and Cotton-Tail) and one distinctly human name (Peter), thus immediately challenging the notion that these rabbits are solely animal. This confusion is furthered with the following illustration that shows the rabbit family, this time donning colored cloaks and baskets, Peter already exhibiting his penchant to disobey (fig. 5.6).<sup>127</sup> Potter also continues in the vein of John Tenniel's illustrations with her seeming attempt to garner sympathy for these small animals. In a striking resemblance to Tenniel's image of the human hand descending over terrified White Rabbit (fig. 4.4), Potter illustrates Peter's close brush with human harm (fig. 5.7).

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<sup>126</sup> Tess Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786-1914* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006), 154.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

Much as in chapter three's discussion of Tenniel's synthesis of humankind and animal, these disjunctions between the indicators of humanity blur the lines between the differences in humans and animals. Despite the fact that Potter's animals are clearly living in the human world, oftentimes utilizing man-made tools and living in fear of humans, her constant and unpredictable interchange of natural animal and human characteristics places her animals in a kind of hybrid reality in which animals occupy both human and animal life.

Returning again to Sendak's *Where The Wild Things Are*, the author/illustrator also presents an interestingly synthesized view of human and animal. In this case, however, whereas Tenniel and Potter's illustrations worked to create a creature that had elements of both man and animal, thus blurring the defining lines of groups and in a way creating one being, Sendak creates creatures that seem to be such an extreme culmination of both in that they are neither man nor animal. As Max first arrives to "the place where the wild things are" the reader is struck by the creatures and their appearance, seeming to possess a unique synthesis of qualities from both humans and animals (of all different varieties) (fig. 5.8). The creatures possess a human-like face with two eyes, a nose, a wide set mouth with pointed teeth, and they all possess two arms and legs and are capable of walking on their hind legs, though some walk on all fours. As can be seen in one of the illustrations (fig. 5.7), the creatures are composed of a variety of patterns and characteristics. The far left figure has a set of horns and short clipped hair covers his head, while the figure on the right has hair like that of a human, curly and long past the shoulders. The figure on the left's top half is striped while his bottom half looks as if it could be made of scales; his feet are clawed, but his legs seem to function like those of a human. His partner on the right, however, has legs that look much more bird-like, with short legs close to his body and webbed feet. These qualities put together create something unnatural and unlike anything seen before.

The forest and the Wild Things all exist in Max's imagination, which is the most obvious reason for the bizarre rendering of the creatures, possibly mash-ups of Max's favorite animals

Even Max himself becomes one of these creatures – a Wild Thing. For the entirety of the story, Max wears a wolf suit – a white jumper with clawed feet and hands, pointy ears, and a bushy tail. At one point, when the forest is first growing all around Max and his room, the reader sees him from behind, his face hidden (fig. 5.9). With his hands lifted up in the air and his feet mid-stomp he has the same form as the rest of the Wild Things, and if it were not for the extreme difference in size, the two could be nearly indistinguishable (fig. 5.10). Additionally, as Max is both the King of the group and is earlier in the story called a “wild thing” by his mother, Max is in fact a Wild Thing himself; he and the creatures are one in the same. In this sense the lines between man and animal are completely forgotten and the two groups live together under the title of Wild Thing.

Through the elevation of importance bestowed to the natural sciences, including interest in exploration, increased literature on the subject, changes in the ethical treatment of animals, and the introduction of Darwin and his contemporaries, readership in late nineteenth-century England was primed to see changes in depictions of animals in many different forms. Coupled with the steady rise in acceptance and importance of children's literature and authors' ability to impress upon and mold young reader's minds, children's book illustration quickly became the opportune place to illustrate, promote, and explore the various ideas and thoughts recurring throughout late nineteenth-century. Through illustrators such as John Tenniel, readers can see the effects of the changing attitudes up close through humanized depictions of the White Rabbit and various other animals of Wonderland. The blurring of the lines between what is distinctly human

and distinctly animal begins, and Tenniel's strong interest and influence in natural history is exhibited throughout the illustrations.

After *Alice*, entering into the twentieth century, readers of children's literature are still seeing the effects of these changes in the treatment and representation of animals and wildlife. By attempting to define and explore human's relationship with animals and nature, it seems that at the very base of the exploration is man searching for his place in the larger context of the world. Variances on the themes as exhibited by Tenniel in 1865 such as illustrations by Beatrix Potter and Maurice Sendak show this theme to be an important and recurring one. If the history of the theme of anthropomorphic illustrations of animals in children's literature is any indication, it will continue to be explored and exhibited for centuries to come.

**Appendix A:** Summary of Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*, from Larry K. Uffelman, "The Water-Babies," in *Twayne's English Authors Series: Charles Kingsley*, ed. Herbert Saussman (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 71-3.

At Harthover Place, a grand country house with many game preserves, Tom and his master, Grimes, prepare to sweet the chimneys. A mistreated apprentice and a city boy, Tom is used to neither the country nor the grandeur of Harthover Place. When he becomes lost in the chimneys and descends into the snow-white bedchamber of the squire's daughter Ellie, Tom recognizes for the first time in his life that he is dirty. He is suddenly ashamed and angry.

Frightened when the child awakens, Tom climbs out a window and runs away through the woods. Nearly exhausted, he comes to a hilltop and looks down into a valley where a schoolteacher tends her garden and a clear stream flows near a schoolhouse. Church bells seem to be ringing in the valleys as Tom descends, followed at a distance by a mysterious Irishwoman.

In the valley, Tom falls ill. The schoolteacher feeds him and puts him to bed in a building near the school. In his fevered dream, Tom continues to hear the sound of church bells, and conscious of being dirty, he believes he hears the schoolteacher and the Irishwoman suggesting that he was. Repeating to himself, "I must be clean," Tom walks to the stream. Looking into the water, he sees the Irishwoman, who has disrobed and joined the fairies of the stream. Later, finding Tom's body, the squire and his men mistakenly believe the boy to have drowned. Tom, however, has not died. He has merely shed his earthly husk and been transformed by the fairies into a water-baby. In his new form, Tom forgets his previous existence and, like a child on holiday, revels in the underwater kingdom.

When a storm arises, many of the creatures of the stream begin swimming to the ocean. Tom observes that the salmon, the most gentlemanly fish, are eager to reach the sea. Joining

them, he watches a battle between keepers and poachers and recognizes Grimes as one of the poachers. Tom becomes apprehensive when he sees Grimes fall into the stream and drown; he fears that the fairies will transform Grimes into a water-baby and that he will be troublesome again. Tom, however, swims to the sea, where he feels happy.

Meanwhile, Ellie is walking along the shore with Professor Ptthmllnsprts and arguing about the existence of water-babies. During the course of the debate, they catch Tom, who manages to slip away and return to the water. Ellie falls into the sea and drowns, whereupon she is given wings, by the fairies.

Shortly after his escape from the professor, Tom at great peril, frees a lobster friend from a pot. After performing this altruistic act, Tom discovers that other water-babies had been around him all along, but he had been unable to recognize them. From his new acquaintances, Tom learns that the home of the water-babies is St. Brandon's Isle, the place known to Plato as Atlantis. When he arrives there, Tom finds thousands of water-babies; they are children who have been mistreated or who have died of preventable diseases.

Tom misbehaves and is reprimanded by Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid. On Sunday Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby arrives. She is the sister of Mrs. Bedonbyasyoudid, and she pays special attention to Tom, cuddling him and singing to him as his mother had never done. Being comfortable, however, makes Tom misbehave again. He breaks into Mrs. Doasyouwouldbedoneby's candy chest and eats what he believes to be all of the candy. Tom's naughtiness creates prickles on his body.

When Tom confesses and wishes to be rid of his prickles, the fairies assign Ellie to teach him how to be good. Tom is told that he can go to the beautiful place where Ellie dwells only

after he was located and assisted Mr. Grimes. But Tom is afraid, and fear makes him petulant. The fairies believe that Tom has been in the nursery long enough that he must aid Grimes alone. Consequently, Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid tells Tom the story of the Doasyoulikes, a self-indulgent group who, because they avoided work, suffered reverse evolution: beginning as men, they ended as apes, becoming extinct when the last of them was shot by a hunter.

In order to find Grimes, Tom must seek directions from Mother Carey, a mysterious woman, whose home Tom locates only after a long search, which culminates in a seven day swim under an ice pack. Instructed by Mother Carey, Tom finds Grimes stuffed to the waist in a prison chimney as punishment for the misdeeds of his previous life. Confronted by Tom, Grimes repents and is freed from the chimney. He is sent off to sweet the crater of Mt. Aetna, and Tom is mysteriously reunited with Ellie at St. Brandon's Isle. During his absence he and Ellie have grown up. As they prepare to enter the world, he as a Carlylean captain of industry and she as his helpmate, they gaze into Mother Carey's eyes. They discover that Mother Carey, the Irishwoman, and all the fairies are identical, and that although there is a further mystery written in Mother Carey's eyes, it is too bright to read.

**Appendix B:** Summary of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, based on the 1865 edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll; Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1866).

Alice and her sister sit at the edge of the riverbank on a warm summer day, when she suddenly sees a White Rabbit in a waistcoat running by her. Pulling out a pocket watch, the White Rabbit exclaims that he is late, and jumps down a rabbit hole. The curious Alice follows the White Rabbit and falls down the hole, coming upon a great hallway lined with doors. She finds a small door through which she can see a beautiful garden. Realizing she is too large to fit through the door, Alice finds a bottle marked "DRINK ME" and downs the contents. She shrinks down to the right size to enter the door but realizes she has left the key on the table that is now far above her head. Alice then discovers a cake marked "EAT ME" which causes her to grow to an abnormally tall height and reach the key. Still unable to enter the garden, Alice begins to cry, and her giant tears form a pool at her feet. As she cries, Alice shrinks and falls into the pool of tears; she quickly becomes engulfed and must tread water. While swimming, Alice meets a Mouse who accompanies Alice to shore, where a number of animals stand gathered on a bank. After a "Caucus Race," the animals leave, fearful of Alice and her tales of her cat, Dinah, and Alice is again alone.

Alice sees the White Rabbit again, who, mistaking her for a servant, sends her off to fetch his things. While in the White Rabbit's house, Alice drinks an unmarked bottle of liquid and grows in size, filling up the entire room. The White Rabbit, seeing this, becomes angry, but Alice swats him and his servants away with her giant hand. The animals try to get her out of the house by throwing rocks at her, which turn into cakes when they land. Alice eats one of the cakes, and shrinks back down to a small size. Wandering off into the forest, Alice meets a Caterpillar sitting on a mushroom and smoking a hookah. The Caterpillar and Alice argue, but before the

Caterpillar leaves, he tells Alice that eating different parts of the mushroom will make her grow or shrink. Hearing this, Alice eats a part of the mushroom. Her neck stretches above the trees, and she is attacked by an angry pigeon. Quickly eating another part of the mushroom, Alice shrinks down to a normal height.

Alice later finds the house of the Duchess, and upon entering finds the Duchess nursing a squealing baby that turns out to be a pig. The Duchess is rude to Alice and leaves to play a game of croquet with the Queen. Alice reenters the forest and meets the grinning Cheshire Cat who explains to her that everyone in Wonderland is mad, including Alice herself. Giving directions to the March Hare's house, the Cat fades away to nothing but a floating grin.

Alice travels to the March Hare's house to find the March Hare, the Mad Hatter, and the Dormouse having tea together. She learns that they have wronged Time and are trapped in perpetual tea-time. Alice leaves, having been treated rudely by the group and not invited to tea, and again walks through the forest. Finding a tree with a door in its side, Alice walks through it and finds herself back in the great hall. Eating another piece of mushroom, Alice shrinks to walk through the door and into the garden, finding the Queen of Hearts.

Alice joins the Queen in a strange game of croquet in which the ground is hilly and the mallets and balls are live flamingos and hedgehogs. Throughout the game, the Queen repeatedly calls for the other player's executions. The Cheshire Cat is also present, but during the game he talks rudely to the King of Hearts who orders the Cat to be executed. However the orders can never be taken out, as the Cheshire Cat dissolves his body and is only a head floating in mid-air.

Alice is sent by the Queen, along with the Gryphon, to meet the Mock Turtle and hear his story. Alice and the Mock Turtle both share their stories, and hear an announcement that a trial is

about to begin. Returning to the croquet ground, Alice learns that the Knave of Hearts is on trial for stealing the Queen's tarts. The Mad Hatter and the Cook both take the stand, but speak nothing but nonsense. Evidence in the form of a letter written by Knave is found and interpreted as an admission of guilt on the part of the Knave. Alice argues this and the Queen becomes furious, ordering Alice to be beheaded. However, before anything can be done, Alice grows in size and knocks over the entire army of the Queen's playing cards.

Suddenly, Alice finds herself awoken by her sister, back on the riverbank. Telling her sister of her "curious" dream, Alice goes inside for tea, leaving her sister to ponder the dream and her own childhood.

### Appendix C: Illustrations



Figure 3.1. William Hogarth, *The Four Stages of Cruelty: First Stage of Cruelty*, 1751.



Figure 3.2. William Hogarth, *The Four Stages of Cruelty: Second Stage of Cruelty*, 1751.

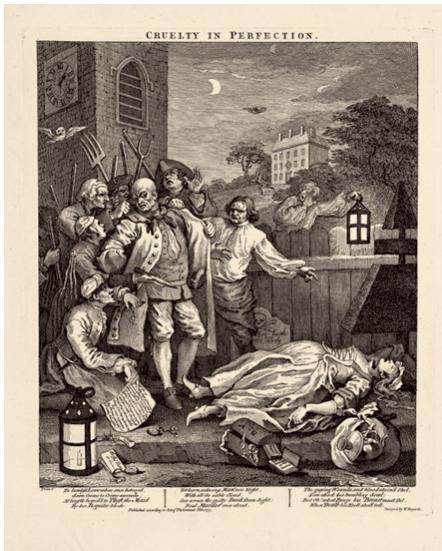


Figure 3.3. William Hogarth, *The Four Stages of Cruelty: Cruelty in Perfection*, 1751.



Figure 3.4. William Hogarth, *The Four Stages of Cruelty: The Reward of Cruelty*, 1751.



Figure 3.5. Anonymous Illustrator, Johann Zanier, *Aesop's Fables*, 1476.



Figure 3.6. Francis Barlowe, *Aesop's Fables*, 1666.

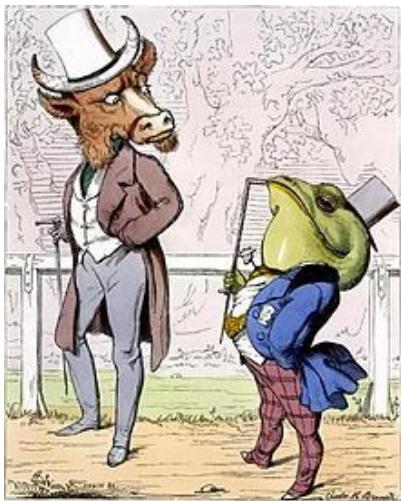


Figure 3.7. Charles H. Bennett, *Aesop's Fables*, 1857.



Figure 3.8. Arthur Rackham, *Aesop's Fables*, 1912.



Figure 4.1. John Tenniel, The White Rabbit, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 4.2. Lewis Carroll, Alice and the White Rabbit, *Alice's Adventures Underground*, 1864.

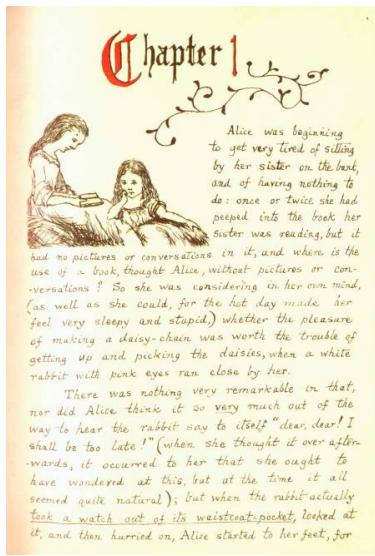


Figure 4.3. Alice and her sister reading, *Alice's Adventures Underground*, 1864.



Figure 4.4. Alice's hand and the White Rabbit, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 4.5. John Tenniel, Alice and Puppy, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 4.6. John Tenniel, Alice and the Dodo Bird, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.

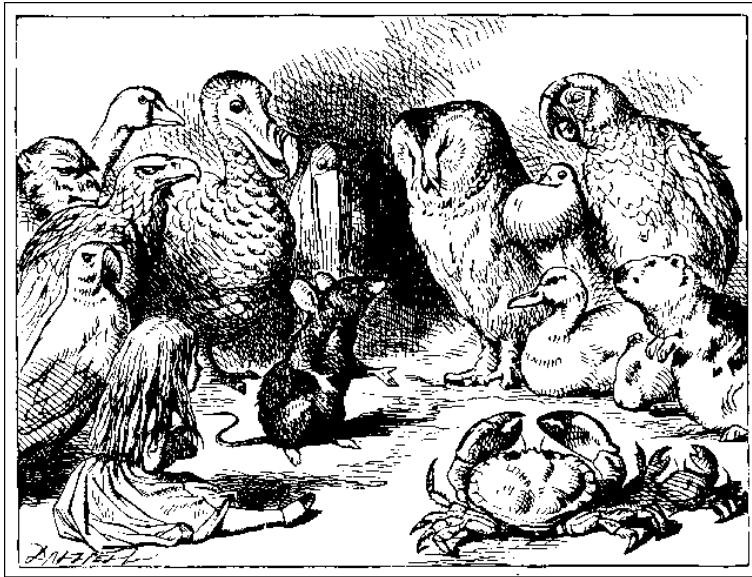


Figure 4.7. John Tenniel, Mouse telling a story, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 4.8. Lewis Carroll, Alice and birds, *Alice's Adventures Underground*, 1864.



Figure 4.9. John Tenniel, Alice and the Caterpillar, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 4.10. J.G. Wood, *The Illustrated Natural History*, 1951.



Figure 5.1. John Tenniel, Alice growing, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.

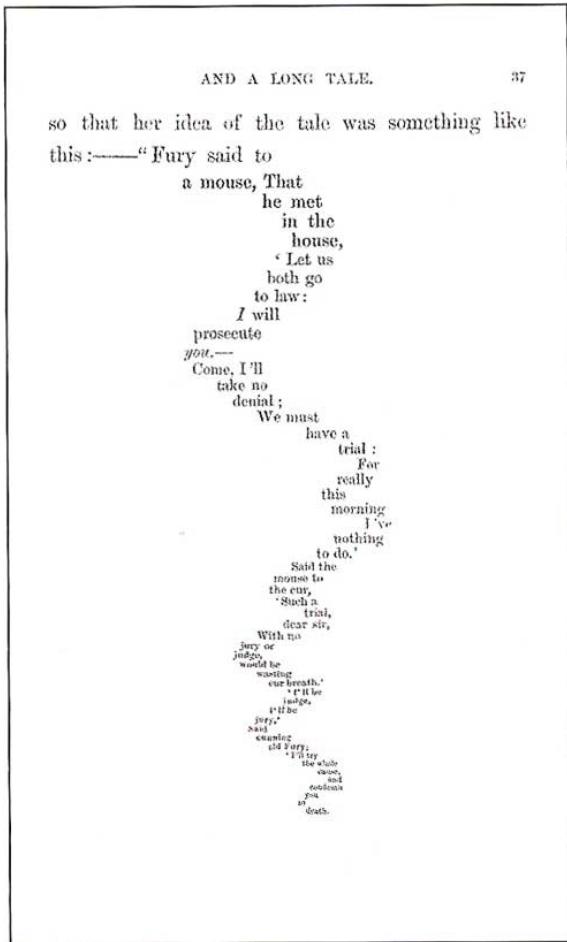


Figure 5.2. Lewis Carroll, Mouse poem, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, 1865.



Figure 5.3. Beatrix Potter, Cottontail family, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, 1902.



Figure 5.4. Beatrix Potter, *Lepiota cristata*, 1893.



Figure 5.5. Beatrix Potter, Peter crying, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, 1902.



Figure 5.6. Beatrix Potter, Peter and family, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, 1902.



Figure 5.7. Beatrix Potter, Peter escapes capture, *The Tale of Peter Rabbit*, 1902.



Figure 5.8. Maurice Sendak, Wild Things, *Where the Wild Things Are*, 1963.



Figure 5.9. Maurice Sendak, Max on the island, *Where the Wild Things Are*, 1963.



Figure 5.10. Maurice Sendak, Wild Things, *Where the Wild Things Are*, 1963.

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