



Universidad de Valladolid

Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

**Wondering Alice's Land:
The Illustrated Editions of *Alicia*, 1914-1921**

Alejandra Mitkova Ilieva

Tutora: Anunciación Carrera de la Red

Departamento de Filología Inglesa

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ABSTRACT

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland has been widely studied from many diverse points of view apart from the literary, including pedagogical, social, psychoanalytical and mathematical perspectives. In the following pages, it is the illustrations that take the centre stage. This dissertation analyses the illustrations published in the two earliest Spanish editions of *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*. It starts reviewing Lewis Carroll's original sketches and John Tenniel's engravings. Next, it offers, for the first time, an examination of both Fernando Fernández Mota's illustrations, printed in *Los Muchachos* child magazine between November 1914 and January 1915, and Joaquín Santana Bonilla's, published in Madrid in 1921 by Sucesores de Rivadeneyra.

Keywords: *Alice in Wonderland*, illustrations, John Tenniel (1820-1914), Fernando Fernández Mota (1863-1929), Joaquín Santana Bonilla (fl. 1880-1931), *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*

RESUMEN

Alicia en el país de las maravillas ha sido ampliamente estudiada desde muy diversos puntos de vista, aparte del literario, como las perspectivas pedagógica, social, psicoanalítica y matemática. En las siguientes páginas, son las ilustraciones las que cobran protagonismo. Esta tesis analiza las ilustraciones publicadas en las dos primeras ediciones españolas de *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*. Comienza revisando los bocetos originales de Lewis Carroll y los grabados de John Tenniel. A continuación, ofrece, por primera vez, un examen tanto de las ilustraciones de Fernando Fernández Mota, impresas en la revista infantil *Los Muchachos* entre noviembre de 1914 y enero de 1915, como de las de Joaquín Santana Bonilla, publicadas en Madrid en 1921 por Sucesores de Rivadeneyra.

Palabras clave: *Alice in Wonderland*, ilustraciones, John Tenniel (1820-1914), Fernando Fernández Mota (1863-1929), Joaquín Santana Bonilla (fl. 1880-1931), *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*

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INTRODUCTION

Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a literary work that has been widely studied since its publication and that many authors have used as inspiration. Studies have been carried out on its author, publication history, the language and metaphors that it uses, each of its characters; its different film versions or their soundtracks have also been analysed. There have been psychoanalytical studies, such as Paul Schilder's "Psychoanalytical Remarks on *Alice in Wonderland* and Lewis Carroll" of 1936, and *Alice* has also been related to mathematics, as Melanie Baley did in *Algebra in Wonderland* (2009) more recently.

Indeed, *Alice in Wonderland* is a work that has triggered much research and has aroused much interest, but one of the aspects that we are going to consider most relevant is the importance of the image in this story, the text's undeniable link with the visual since the beginning. It is to be reminded that Carroll's narrative arose as entertainment for children, and one of its most special characteristics is its connection with the world of fantasy. There are so many wonderfully fictitious events and characters that the imagination somehow demands to capture them. Many illustrators and artists have wanted and have had the pleasure of bringing this tale to life; through their illustrations, each of them has interpreted and captured the essence of this fantastic story in their own way.

It is well known Lewis Carroll made his own drawings for the first manuscript that he gave to Alice Lidell. John Tenniel, the first illustrator in whom Carroll trusted to officially publish his book for the first time, laid the base and became a reference for all subsequent editions. Numerous works have investigated their drawings and engravings, and *The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books* written by Michael Hancher (1985), in particular.

In this case, we want to study the illustrations of the earliest Spanish editions of *Alicia en el país de las maravillas*. Juan Gabriel López Guix has reconstructed their publication history in "Alicia en el País de las Maravillas (11): John Tenniel y el canon" (2015), "Alicia en el País de las Maravillas (3): Los Muchachos" (2015), "El espejo de Carroll: recorrido editorial, gráfico y social por las ediciones de Alicia en España" (2024) and "Alicia en el país de la traducción, Juan Gabriel López Guix" (2003). In them, he

has identified the names of the earliest Spanish illustrators. However, the illustrations themselves have not been studied before. This study will examine the first two editions of *Alicia*, which were both illustrated. The first *Alicia en el país de las maravillas* was published in the popular magazine *Los Muchachos*, at the end of 1914 and beginning of 1915. The illustrations were by Fernando Fernández Mota (1863-1929), a painter from Ceuta of whom almost nothing is known. The second *Alicia en el país de las maravillas* was published by Sucesores de Rivadeneyra in 1921, with the caricaturist Joaquín Santana Bonilla (fl. 1880-1931) as the commissioned artist. This is an in-depth study of the author's intention in making them, of the doubts that arose during their creation, and of all the problems involved in finalising their first complete version. We will be able to observe their common characteristics and the basis they share in their depiction of the characters and illustration of the narrative, but above all, their differences and the styles in which each author depicted Alice, the main character, as well as to many others that make this tale so special and so characteristic, such as the Mad Hatter, the Dodo or the Cheshire Cat. Their study will perhaps help understand, not only the evolution of illustrations, as periods and social environments change in history, but appreciate, through different artists, that the art of illustration is not merely decorative, but has a significance and can even serve as an ideological instrument that adapts Alice's universe to the values of different periods and social environments.

To achieve this end, this dissertation is structured in three parts. In the first chapter, we will see how *Alice in Wonderland* came to be and what Carroll's motivation was for deciding to publish it, as well as the complex process and all the changes he had to make in order to complete his final version. We will also look at why the caricaturist John Tenniel became part of the project, and what his role was in the making of *Alice*. In the second chapter, we will discover the Spanish magazine *Los Muchachos*, where the first version of *Alicia en el país de las maravillas* was printed, what its audience was and for what purpose its issues were published. In particular, we will examine the role that Fernando Fernández Mota played in its illustration and analyse his style and working technique. Finally, in the third chapter, we will describe the illustrated edition published by Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, and the work of the illustrator Joaquín Santana Bonilla. We will highlight all the differences with the previously mentioned versions, and also analyse this artist's style and way of interpreting the characters and the events.

CHAPTER 1

ALICE IN WONDERLAND:

VERSIONS, ILLUSTRATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS TO 1930

The origin of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a widely known story. It all came about by chance, when Charles Lutwidge Dodgson began to invent a story as a way of entertaining the three daughters of George Liddell, dean of Christ Church College, Alice, Edith and Lorina, during a boat trip on the Isis, as it is stated at the beginning of the famous prologue to the first edition:

All in the golden afternoon
Full leisurely we glide;
For both our oars, with little skill,
By little arms are plied,
While little hands make vain pretence
Our wanderings to guide.

Ah, cruel Three! In such an hour.
Beneath such dreamy weather,
To beg a tale of breath too weak
To stir the tiniest feather!
Yet what can one poor voice avail
Against three tongues together?

The story began to be told without the author himself knowing what its development and ending would be, and without even imagining the dimensions it would reach in posterity. After reciting his story, which has sparked debate as to whether it was told in its totality in that rowboat, or whether it was a story that unfolded over time, Alice Lidell, the eldest of the sisters, asked him to write it down and he immediately began to shape his work, under the pseudonym of Lewis Carroll, in order to prepare a Christmas present for that little girl, who would finally receive her gift on 26 November 1864 (Weaver, 1964, p. 20).

1.1 FROM FIRST MANUSCRIPT TO “OFFICIAL FIRST EDITION”, 1862–1866

Warren Weaver explains that just after the expedition, Carroll started to take notes, but that it was not until November 13, 1862, that he started writing (1965, p. 19). He did not finish the first draft until February 10, 1863, that consisted of a draft without illustrations titled *Alice’s Adventures under Ground*. Warren claims that the young Lidells most likely saw this first form of the text, created entirely by Lewis Carroll, but it is not known for certain whether it was given to them or not. During 1863, thanks to the support of his friends, he decided that in addition, he would produce a gift manuscript copy for Alice Lidell, including his own illustrations, and expand his work for publication (p. 20).

As Zoe Jaques and Eugene Giddens remind us (2013, ch.1), eventually, in 1864, an agreement was reached to publish the book. Carroll ended up considering that publishing with MacMillan would be a good idea, since despite having to be self-financing and having to pay for the illustrations, the binding, the preparation of the woodblocks, etc., MacMillan had a good management and enjoyed great prestige, which would help in the subsequent success and recognition of his work and of him as a writer. Sir John Tenniel, the popular *Punch* cartoonist who was selected to be in charge of giving life to the story, following the advice of his friends, was also the reason why the book was not published before Christmas 1864, as Carroll wished. The process of creating his illustrations delayed the publication, as we shall see later.

In 1865, Carroll was able to deliver a complete copy of the text to MacMillan, to printed by Clarendon Press. It is true, however, that he did make some changes to the original. The original manuscript had four chapters and only eighteen thousand words, but for the printed version, Carroll had expanded the manuscript to twelve chapters and some thirty-five thousand words (Weaver, 1965, p. 12). He added two previously non-existent chapters, like the ‘Big and Pepper’ and ‘A Mad Tea-Party’, and made significant changes that today characterise the book, such as adding the extract in the form of a mouse’s tail.

Weaver revealed that the actual first edition of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* was printed by MacMillan (Weaver, 1965, pp. 22-23). After receiving, a sample page, Carroll suggested binding the first fifty copies to give to his friends, and the remaining

copies when MacMillan saw appropriate (p. 23). He emphasised several specifications, such as the golden lines around the cat, and that all copies should be bound in red cloth except for one special copy, which was to be bound in white cloth, the one destined for Alice Lidell (Weaver, 1965, pp. 22-23). However, when Clarendon had printed the first two thousand copies, Tenniel was not satisfied with the quality of the production of his illustrations in Thomas Dalziel's wood engravings and, despite the great loss of money, they decided to make new prints, this time changing slightly the print quality and improving the detail (Bond, 1956).

This second Macmillan printing is the one that was officially put on sale in 1866, the first one known the public, and the one we all now know. The two thousand discarded copies of the first printing were sold to the New York publisher D. Appleton and Company after an agreement was reached to distribute them in the United States. New title pages were printed, replacing the name of the publisher Macmillan with D. Appleton and Company, and the date of publication was changed to 1866 (Weaver, 1965, pp. 24-25).

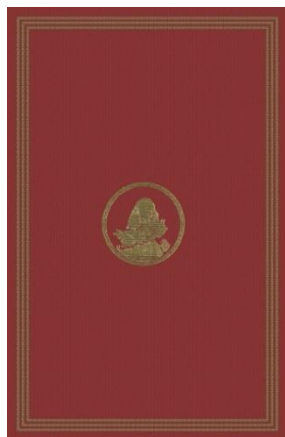


Figure 1 Front Cover
Alice in Wonderland,
Lewis Carroll. Macmillan
Edition

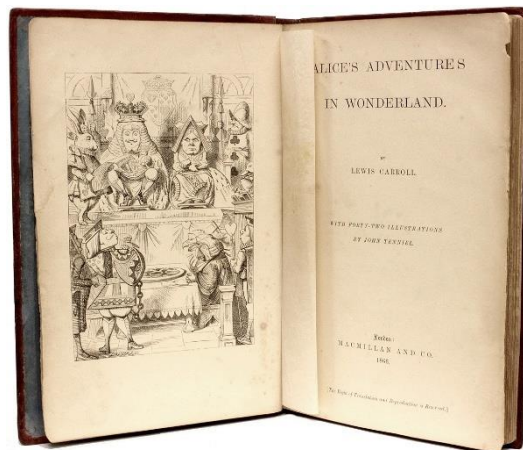


Figure 2 Title Page *Alice in Wonderland*, Lewis
Carroll. Macmillan Edition

1.2 CARROLL'S AND TENNIEL'S ILLUSTRATIONS TO *ALICE*

From his diary entries, it is known that the original illustrations, the ones of the expanded manuscript, were done by Carroll himself and that it was a great deal of hard work for him. Due to his perfectionism and meticulousness, it took him several months to create

the illustrations, and it is estimated that it took him more than two years to finish the first manuscript for the eldest Liddell.

As with the manuscript, Carroll wanted to use his own illustrations for the printed version, which on 16 July 1863, led him to begin making sketches on wooden blocks, which at the time was a very common technique for printing text and images (Jaques and Giddens 2013). After several attempts, Carroll was frustrated at not being able to draw Alice, let alone the fantastic animals, so he decided to seek out professional illustrators, and it was John Tenniel who would make the greatest impression on the author.

According to Michael Hancher (2006, p. 2), it was mainly John Tenniel who was responsible for making *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* so famous, due to the great success that the illustrator had accumulated up to that moment. However, Hancher reveals that the two artists worked together, and under Carroll's guidance and close supervision in every detail, even specifying in his guidelines the exact position of the illustration on the page (pp.5-7). Credit for the illustrations also goes to the Daziel brothers, who were responsible for preparing the woodblocks for printing, and credit is given to both parties through the presence of their two signatures in the book.

As stated by Hancher (pp.8-10), one of the things that most marked and influenced Tenniel's choice of style for the illustrations in *Alice in Wonderland* was his work as a caricaturist in the *Punch* satirical magazine, which was also one of the reasons for his great fame. This is recognisable in the image of the rabbit, as well as those of most of the fantastic animals that appear in the story. Tenniel humanises him by drawing him in an upright position and wearing a watch and a waistcoat. This usually characterises his illustrations, giving the animals personality and almost human expressions, while maintaining the proportions and features of a fairly realistic rabbit. Carroll does not specify the size of the rabbit, but due to the background of the illustrations, with elements such as grass, we can gather that the rabbit is perhaps the size of a small child.



Figure 3 "White Rabbit Looking at his Watch", J. Tenniel (1865)

On this occasion Tenniel adapts realist techniques such as indicating light and shade using fine, crossed lines, or the precision of human proportions, just as he tends to make backgrounds in sketchy but realistic form, and he often also places a flower that is very familiar to the simple eye to remind the reader of the size of the protagonist at that moment, as when Alice tiptoes over the edge of a mushroom.

Rose Lovell-Smith (2003, pp. 14-25) suggests that his skill at drawing animals was one of the reasons for Tenniel's great artistic recognition, and in his biography he talks about how he liked to spend time observing the animals in the zoo and drawing inspiration for artistic illustrations, so much so that in the scene of the royal garden he includes a dome similar to the one in the zoological gardens in Surrey, making reference to the study of the animals. Lovell-Smith has even suggested that he may be taking Darwin's theory of evolution into account, including in one of the illustrations the image of a lobster appealing to the transition from animals to meat and the superiority of the larger and stronger to the smaller and weaker in the food chain. It offers a view of humans as nothing more than evolved animals.

After Tenniel, *Alice* quickly attracted innumerable illustrators. The blog *El Despertar de un Libro* names several of the most important. E. Gertrude Thomson, who in 1890 was responsible for colouring Tenniel's illustrations and for the cover of a version adapted by Carroll for young children. In 1899, Blanche McManus is another American illustrator who produced more modern illustrations for the edition published by Mansfield and Wessels. Also very important was the American Peter Newell, who illustrated the Harper USA version in 1901. Maria L. Kirk collaborated with Tenniel in 1904. One of the most recognised editions, which we still see today, was that of the illustrator Bessie Pease Gutman in 1907, and in 1908 this version was also published in the United Kingdom by the publisher Milne, and finally, Arthur Rackham was another of the most important artists who illustrated a limited-edition of 1130 copies in 1907 for the Heinemann publishing house.

1.3 ALICE'S MANY EARLY TRANSLATIONS

It is also important to situate the historical context of this work and how it impacted on society and the contrasting perception of that historical moment in Spain. In *Lewis Carroll a través de Alicia en el País de las Maravillas* (2013, p. 7), a research made by the University Centre of Mexico, it is explained that on a global level, during the 1870s and 1870s we find ourselves in a pre-war environment in which a great technological and economic revolution and industrial expansion took place, known as the Second Industrial Revolution, with the emergence of inventions such as the railway, the export of coal and iron, which helped to promote a process of globalisation, in which England was proclaimed as the First World Power. Heidy Natalia García (p. 1-2) argues that *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* arises in the Victorian era in the United Kingdom, where there were very classical values based on science and modernity under mathematical principles. Carroll decides to break with this sense of logic with a narrative in which the notion of time and space are totally distorted and in opposition to the laws of logic established in the social system. She explains that, in the case of Spain, awareness and educational interest in children's books came later, as did the expansion of literacy and schooling for children. It was during the 1920s that the publishing boom began and when the common feeling of installing reading in children appeared with initiatives such as book fairs. Also, more importance began to be given to illustrators than to authors and translators, and more interest was shown in Spanish stories than in disseminating foreign works, although English classics such as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, *Peter Pan* and *Heidi* were also published.

As Juan Gabriel Lopez Guix pointed out in a conference given at the *XI Jornadas en torno a la Traducción Literaria*, published in *VASOS COMUNICANTES 27* (2003), one of his articles, the first full translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in Spain was Catalan in 1927, followed by a translation into Spanish in the same year. This was given due to the rise of Catalan publishing to continue the rise and growth of the language and revitalise the culture, as a response to the repression of Catalanism due to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. According to Lopez Guix's research, the second major wave of Alice translations took place in the 1920s, when Alice was translated into Catalan and Spanish. The first occurred ten years after the original (1865) was published, encouraged by the efforts of Lewis Carroll himself. He took an active role in locating

translators and overseeing the translation procedure. Translations into German (1869), French (1869), Swedish (1870), Italian (1872), Russian (1874), Dutch (1875) and Danish (1875) followed. The second great wave occurred after the First World War, from the 1920s onwards. Then, between 1920 and 1934, translations into Japanese (1920), Spanish (1922, abridged), Chinese (1922), Irish (1922), Hebrew (1923), Serbian (1923), Catalan (1927), Spanish (1927, unabridged), Polish (1927), Czech (1931), Portuguese (1931), Turkish (1932), Bulgarian (1933) and Afrikaans (1934) appeared.

Earlier, in the 19th century, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland made its appearance in Spanish literature. This moment coincided with the consolidation of the children's reading public, which is when it began to gain importance. In 1914, the weekly magazine *Los Muchachos*, born that same year, published an adaptation of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, and this same adaptation would be published as a booklet in 1921 by the publishing house *Sucesores de Rivadeneyra*, both versions of which we are going to work with in order to focus on their illustrations.

CHAPTER 2

ALICIA'S FIRST TIME IN SPAIN:

FERNÁNDEZ MOTA'S ILLUSTRATIONS IN *LOS MUCHACHOS* (1914-1915)

The first trace of the story of *Alice in Wonderland* in Spain is to be found in a weekly magazine called *Los Muchachos* (López Guix, 2015). This magazine published the earliest Spanish version of *Alice* under the title *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, a translation whose author is still unknown. It came out in eight fascicles that were sold every week from 15 November 1914 until 5 January 1915 (Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica).

As Juan Gabriel Lopez Guix stated in a different article called *El espejo de Carroll: recorrido editorial, gráfico y social por las ediciones de Alicia en España*, *Los Muchachos* was one of the first publications to disseminate literature for children in Spain, a phenomenon that had started at the end of the nineteenth century (López Guix, 2024, p. 37). Its purpose was mainly didactic, aiming to teach and educate children in an entertaining way. Each issue included pastimes, as well as comic strips and illustrations. It was very attractive for children, also because, as its subtitle indicated, “Semanario con Regalos” (Weekly with Gifts), the publication included coupons for raffles of books and toys, which the magazine advertised were on display in a toy shop in Calle Sagasta in Madrid as it is said in “*Los Muchachos: Grandes Regalos Para Pequeños Lectores*” (Portal del Lector, Biblioteca Regional de Madrid) As the first page indicates (“Adaptación del inglés”), the story (“cuento”) was abridged and adapted to the Spanish period and culture: the song “Twinkle, Twinkle” becomes “*Al alimón*”; buttercups, *amapolas*; the Knave of Hearts, the *sota de copas*; and croquet is played as well as the *diabolo*.

The illustrations are signed by “F. Mota”. López Guix (2015) has identified the artist as Fernando Fernández Mota. We do not have much information about him. Several internet sources say that he was born in 1863 and died 1929. The only published reference is in volume II of *Cien años de pintura en España y Portugal*, which places him among the illustrators who collaborated with *Blanco y Negro* (Arnáiz, vol. 2, 1988, p. 383), one of the most important illustrated magazines in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century.

From the few references available online, we know that Fernández Mota was a versatile artist. He worked as an illustrator for newspapers like *La ilustración española y americana* or serial novels and comedies published in *Los Contemporáneos*. He also collaborated in the historical compilation *Historia de España*, by Manuel Rodríguez Codolá, depicting famous battles scenes and historical events (De Mingo Lorente, 2025). Despite the fact that there is not much documented information about this artist, the legacy of his illustrations can let us know many things about his way of expressing art.

To describe his illustrations, we will take the first issue of 15 November 1914 as an example, which contains a literal translation of Alice's chapter one, until she drinks from the "Drink me" bottle. The illustration in the cover is drawn in black ink, on an ochre background (Figure 1). The predominant colours are orange, white, and black, used to contour and heighten the figures of Alice and the White Rabbit against the brown wash background. Alice and the Rabbit are drawn falling down the hole; on the walls there are shelves with books, a marmalade jar, maps, and the poster of an elephant.



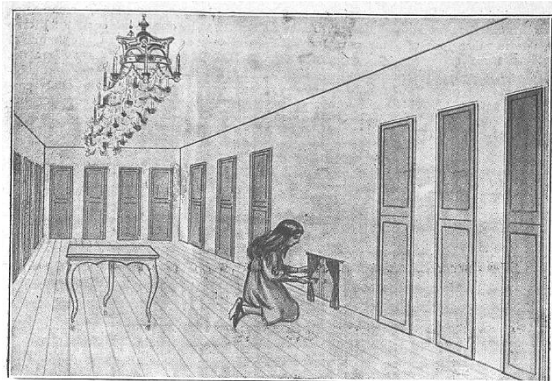
Fig. 4. Front cover of *Los Muchachos*, no. 27, 5 Nov 1914. Illustration by Fernando Fernández Mota.

Inside, there are two black and white illustrations. In the first one, we see two girls in a park with their backs turned sitting on a bench, representing Alice and her sister, who is reading a book, while the protagonist tries to look at it out of the corner of her eye or rather distracted. The character that stands out is the White Rabbit passing close by, with a very elegant waistcoat, looking at his pocket watch. It can be argued that there not much agreement between what the text says and what the image shows: the story specifies that the rabbit is in a hurry and in a rush, because he is late, but the drawing depicts a rabbit who could be out for a walk, as his face does not express any concern.



El conejo sacó un reloj del bolsillo del chaleco.

Fig. 5. “El conejo sacó un reloj del bolsillo del chaleco.” Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Alicia en el país de las maravillas, Los Muchachos*, no. 27, 15 Nov 1914, p. 1.



Alicia probó la llave.

Fig. 6. “Alicia probó la llave.” Ilus. Fernández Mota (?). *Los Muchachos*, no. 27, 15 Nov 1914, p. 3.

In the second and last illustration of this fascicle, Alice is the only figure. It stands out with contours and highlights. She is in a long hall with many doors and many chandeliers hanging from the roof, and a three-legged table occupying the centre. It can be guessed that the hall is very long, because of the perspective of the lamps and the doors, and that the ceiling is low, as in Carrol’s description. To one side we can see the small door, with curtains on either side, and Alice kneeling down, trying to open it with a

key. As it should, the bottle with the label “DRINK ME” that the narrative says appears on top of the table later on does not yet appear in the picture.

Despite this faithfulness, one aspect can be emphasized. It is remarkable how the three illustrations are so different. While the cover seems to be ink on cardboard with wash and watercolour, Figure 2 seems to be oil on canvas, and Figure 3 a simple ink drawing with grey wash and a few watercolour highlights. Besides, it could be said that the three Alicias in the three illustrations could be mistaken for three different people, as there is not much connection or resemblance between them. It gives the impression that each of the drawings has its own style and different shading.

Neither do we have much information regarding the criteria followed by Fernández Mota for the selection of illustrations that he decided to include. As will be now seen, it can be said that the artist illustrated the most striking scenes of the story, in order to attract the attention of the target audience, which was mostly children. Throughout the fascicles we can see the scene of the lake of tears, in which all the animals appear, including the appealing Dodo; the magic mushroom scene, in which Alice can be seen shrinking; the scene with the famous Cheshire Cat; the Tea Party with the Mad Hatter, ... in other words, those scenes that can be the most striking and visual for children’s entertainment.

And yet, there may be another good reason behind. It seems that Fernández Mota makes his selection out of Tenniel’s illustrations. We have observed that there is a certain influence of John Tenniel’s illustrations on Fernández Mota’s. For instance, the Rabbit in Figure 5 appears to be a reproduction of Tenniel’s Rabbit on page 1 (Fig. 7). He is carrying an umbrella under his arm, which is something added by Tenniel that is not present in Carroll’s text.

Tenniel’s influence can be seen most notably in the design of the animals, as many of them are fantastic beings or have very specific characteristics, such as the Dodo (Figures 8 and 9) or the Cat (Figures

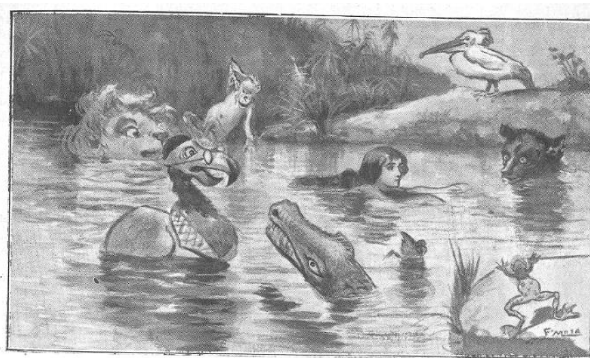


Fig. 7. “White rabbit looking at his watch”, J. Tenniel (1865)

10 and 11), and it is more complex to invent a new design. However, although they have a clear inspiration, Fernández Mota uses a quite different style. Although Tenniel's illustrations are also black and white, he does not usually depict the surroundings in which the characters are located, he does not add a background or play with the perspectives of the space. He limits himself to illustrating the main elements that appear in the scene, while Fernández Mota does create a setting in the background that surrounds the scene and the main action.



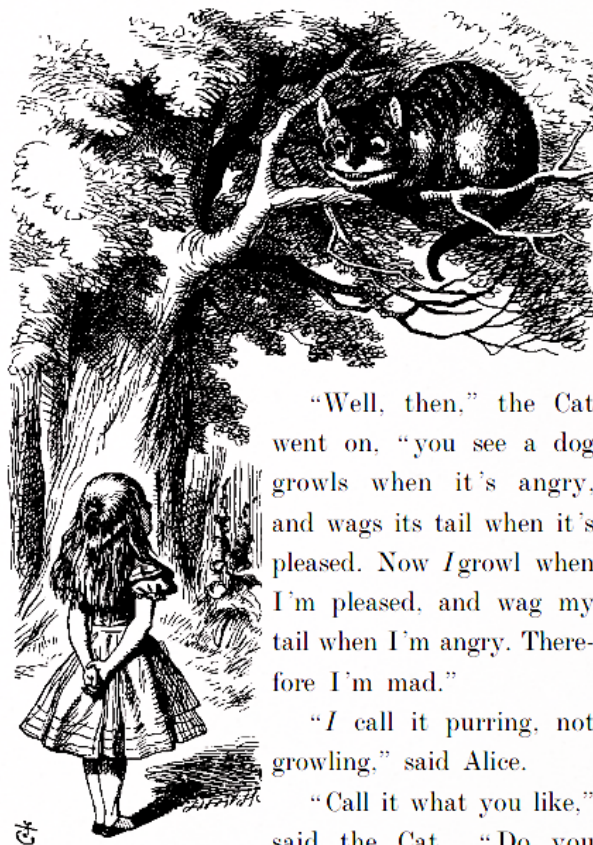
Fig. 8. "Dodo giving a thimble to Alice"
(J. Tenniel-1865)



EL LAGO ESTABA LLENÁNDOSE DE AVES Y BICHOS

Fig. 9. "El lago estaba llenándose de aves y bichos." Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Los Muchachos*, no. 29, 29 Nov 1914, p. 1)

As can be seen in Figures 7 and 8, the way in which Tenniel's illustrations use shadows and depth is also completely different, as the wood engraving technique creates them through the superimposition of lines. If he wants more contrast, he makes darker strokes closer together, and if it is the other way around, he makes more separate strokes to give clarity or light where the drawing requires it. Fernández Mota, however, creates shadows using oil and watercolour, depending on the depth he wants to give. As a result, Tenniel's illustrations are more dramatic, while Fernández Mota's transmits a more Romantic feeling. It may be agreed that Tenniel's grim atmosphere matches Alice's constant bewilderment, while Alice's gesture in Fernandez Mota's illustration does not correspond to the Cat's eery grin.



“Well, then,” the Cat went on, “you see a dog growls when it’s angry, and wags its tail when it’s pleased. Now *I* growl when I’m pleased, and wag my tail when I’m angry. Therefore I’m mad.”

“*I* call it purring, not growling,” said Alice.

“Call it what you like,” said the Cat. “Do you

Fig. 10. “Alice and the Cheshire cat” (J. Tenniel-1865)

estiró. Luego se bajó de la seta y echó á andar diciendo:

—Un lado te hará crecer, y el otro te hará achicarte.

—Un lado, ¿de qué? Otro lado, ¿de cuál? — se preguntó Alicia á sí misma.

—De la seta — respondió la Oruga, como si la niña hubiera hablado en alta voz, y un momento después desaparecía.

Alicia se quedó contemplando la seta pensativamente por espacio de un minuto, porque no sabía qué lado serviría para crecer ni cuál para achicarse. Por último extendió los brazos todo lo posible y arrancó un trocito del borde con cada mano, uno de encima y otro de abajo.

—¿Cuál comeré?—pensó, y mordió un poquito del trozo que tenía en la mano derecha para ver el efecto.

Un momento después sintió un violento golpe en la barbilla. ¡Se había dado con ella en los pies!

Alicia se asustó mucho ante tan brusco cambio, pero comprendió que no había tiempo que perder, porque se estaba achicando rápidamente, y en seguida quiso comer otro trozo.



ALICIA Y EL GATO

Fig. 11. “Alicia y el gato”. Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Los Muchachos*, no. 30, 6 Dic 1914, p. 3)

The character of Alice varies with respect to Tenniel's. Apart from being black-haired, we can see that, in this version by Fernández Mota, Alice is and has lost the distinctive apron she wears in Tenniel's illustrations. A good reason for this may be that Tenniel's illustrations are inspired by and set in Victorian England, so that the costumes are keeping with the place and period in which he was living. However, Fernández Mota's illustrations are in consonance with the place and time in which it would be published: Spain and the turn of the twentieth century.



Fig. 12. "Soldier carts flying over Alice" (J. Tenniel-1865)



Fig. 13. "Las cartas cayeron sobre Alicia." Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Los Muchachos*, no. 34, 3 Jan 1915, p. 3.

Tenniel's illustration suggests through her clothing that Alice is a girl who belongs to a family of good position. In Fernández Mota's drawings, this status of the protagonist is not apparent. Alicia wears a wide, straight dress and black stockings without any kind of ornamentation, which may even suggest a low position in the social pyramid. It has been argued that Tenniel's illustrations depict the values of hierarchy, discipline and morality with a special concern for symmetry and defined strokes, defying them with a sense of satire, visible, for instance, in the way he treats figures such as the Queen of Hearts, when he displays his skills as caricaturist in *Punch* (The Tenniel Illustrations to the "Alice" Books, p.5). In the case of Fernández Mota, everything is more conventional. There is nothing that questions authority, the image of Alice is even kinder and more childish, and the characters are flat and much more sweetened.

Another striking characteristic of Fernández Mota’s illustrations is the peculiar way in which he expresses the emotions that the characters should have at any given moment, that often depart from those that can be perceived from the text. In some cases, his drawings show a great facial expressiveness, which gives us a perfect understanding of the state of mind or the way in which an event has affected a character. But in other cases, they remain with a neutral, sometimes Romantic, expression that is not very consistent with what the character should be feeling according to the story, perhaps more with Romantic novels that the Spanish graphic artist also illustrated.



Fig. 14. “Alice outgrowing White Rabbit’s house”
(J. Tenniel-1865)



Fig. 15. “Alicia en la casa del conejo.”
Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Los Muchachos*,
no. 29, 29 Nov 1914, p. 3.

An example that illustrates this statement very well can be found in one of his drawings, which illustrates the moment in which Alice has entered the White Rabbit’s house and drunk a bottle that makes her grow until she almost does not fit in the room. Fernández Mota’s drawing is not consistent with the anxiety and desperation that the protagonist should be feeling when she sees her limbs start to come out of the windows; on the contrary, her countenance appears expressionless and relaxed. Nevertheless, there are other illustrations that show the emotion the character is experiencing. A great example is the drawing illustrating the tea party where the Mad Hatter gets angry after the conversation about the weather. In this case we can clearly see the facial expressions

of the characters. We can distinguish the angry face of the Hatter and his leaning position on the table, which transmits anger. We can also see the frightened gesture or the feeling of being intimidated in Alice's face, accompanied by her hands on her head, and finally, the March Hare's gesture trying to appease the Hatter.



Fig. 16. "Tea party" (J. Tenniel-1865)



Fig. 17. "No, señora, no da lo mismo—dijo el Sombrero." Ilus. Fernández Mota. *Los Muchachos*, no. 31, 13 Dic 1914, p. 3.

After all this, and from viewing Tenniel's and Fernández Mota's illustrations side by side, it is possible to conclude first that, contrary to what López Guix states that "the illustrations reflect a certain influence of Arthur Rackham, the author of one of the

illustrated versions that appeared in Great Britain after 1907” (our translation; 2024, p. 38), Fernandez Mota’s illustrations of *Alicia* are inspired by Tenniel’s, and second, that by reproducing them in his own style and with his own techniques, the Fernández Mota gave Alicia a new life, that of early-twentieth-century Spain.

CHAPTER 3

A MODERNIST *ALICIA EN EL PAÍS DE LAS MARAVILLAS*: SANTANA BONILLA'S ILLUSTRATIONS (1921)

The second Spanish version of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* came out in Madrid in 1921. It was published by Sucesores de Rivadeneyra under the title *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas* (Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes). This was a period of consolidation of the expansion of reading in Spain, with the social ascension of the bourgeoisie, the freedom of the press and the industrialisation of printing (Botrel, 2008, pp. 5-6). The first Spanish Ministry of Public instruction was created in 1901 and many publishers like Hernando or Calleja specialised in schoolbooks and children's stories (p. 6). The publishing house Rivadereyna was founded in 1837 by Manuel de Rivadeneyra and after his death, it was sold and renamed Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, under which this second *Alicia* for Spanish children was published.

The main editorial feature of this second Spanish version of *Alice* is that it is a fold-out booklet. It has ten pages of text and illustration and the fold-out covers are illustrated on the inside and outside (Figure 15).



Fig. 18. The fold-out booklet of *Alicia*, printed by Sucesores de Rivadeneyra (1921). Image taken from Àngels S. Amorós (2017). Copyright 2025 by Babar, revista de literatura infantil y juvenil.

The booklet contains an abridgement of the version published in *Los Muchachos* and the illustrations are created by Joaquín Santana Bonilla, a graphic artist and caricaturist. We do not have much information about this illustrator. We only know that he was active between 1880-1931. According to Martín Écija (2014), Santana Bonilla was born in Málaga, where it is supposed that he had the opportunity to receive artistic training. Throughout his professional career he contributed to several magazines such as *Madrid Cómico* and *Monos*. He had a very particular style that caused controversy and aroused criticism in the Spanish magazine *El Alma Española*, a magazine in which he also had the opportunity to collaborate. We also know that he participated in the National Arts Exhibitions of 1899 and 1910 (Arnáiz, vol. 11, 1988, p. 110).

To illustrate this Spanish edition of *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas* of 1921, Santana Bonilla created twenty-seven illustrations of different sizes and different relevance. There are only four main colours that are present in all his drawings. These are



Fig. 19. “A su lado parecían árboles las amapolas”. Il. Santana Bonilla. *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.

red, yellow, grey and black ink, on the white background of the cardboard paper, and with this simple palette of colours, the illustrator manages to produce an edition that is not dense and, contrary to what may be expected, nor repetitive, but rather one of the editions consider to be the most beautiful and special.

As Àngels Amorós (2017) indicates, Santana Bonilla’s illustrations follow a modernist style with a strong tendency towards the Art Nouveau artistic movement. It was created with the intention of breaking with tradition and reflecting a more modern aesthetic. For this purpose, it experimented with curved and flowing lines that give a sense of life and movement, many natural motifs of flowers, plants or animals and a special attention to the details and ornaments that decorate the work. She comments that his illustrations show much delight in the folds, waves and curved lines, as well as much

subtlety in Alice's movements. Joaquín Santana Bonilla seems to be very aware of the artistic and aesthetic movements taking place in the rest of Europe in the late twentieth century. All in all, the illustrations display a lot of subtlety and delicacy.

To this may be added, that his illustrations often show Japanese inspiration. In Figure 17, Alice and her sister are sitting on a bench in the shade of a tree, surrounded by flowers and plant motifs. In the first page (Figure 18), it is remarkable that it is the branches of the tree that rise naturally to end up adorning the title at the top of the leaf. Such details are the ones that make the illustrations not stand out individually, but the page as a whole look like a work of art.



Fig. 20. "Alicia, sentada en un banco del jardín, junto a su hermana". Il. Santana Bonilla. *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921, rear cover.

In fact, one of the first things that is striking about Santana Bonilla's work in *Alicia*, apart from the colours, is the distribution of the illustrations and ornaments on the page. They are very precisely placed, so that the text and the image blend together and the combination of the two forms a work of art in its own right. The illustration is often done in such a way that it fills the exact gap left by the text on the page, resulting in a kind of perfectly structured puzzle that gives a very aesthetic image and overall provides harmony.

Another aspect that is noticeable at first glance is the character of Alice, and how different she is in comparison to Tenniel's design and to Fernandez Mota's. It can be seen that Santana Bonilla chooses to create a fair or read-haired Alice, who wears a sort of Provençal costume: a red bodice, a skirt decorated with black stripes, lace knickerbockers, and a headscarf fitted with a ribbon. In this case, again, the protagonist's distinctive apron is not present, but her sister wears a bodice and an apron, also following some sort of Provençal style. The use of colours is different, depending on where the illustration is

placed in the page layout and on the dimensions of the illustration: sharper colours such as red and black and white are used in the larger ones to create contrast, while those that are smaller and do not have too much prominence opt for greys and yellows.



Fig. 21. First page. Il. Santana Bonilla. *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.

Having discussed the style and page layout that Santana Bonilla decided to use to illustrate this work, and the characteristic elements that we can see at first glance, we will go on to investigate which scenes the illustrator decided he would depict and which he would not. In principle, it would seem the selection of illustrations that Santana Bonilla includes are not very different from those that Tenniel decided to include previously. The most important and relevant scenes are present, such as Alice and her sister reading a

book (Figure 21), the fall down the Rabbit hole (Figure 23), or the Mad Tea Party (Figure 22). However, Santana Bonilla's designs are much more original.

To the illustration that corresponds to the Tea Party he adds another one quite unique and different from the two authors we have analysed previously. To begin with, on this occasion Alice is not present at the table with the Mad Hatter, but appears in the background, probably illustrating the moment when the protagonist leaves the party, and not the exact moment when the discussion with the hatter and the dormouse takes place, as Tenniel and Fernández Mota do. We can also see that the Hatter is trying to put the March Hare in the teapot, which for Tenniel is a different illustration, and the Hatter's expression of anger and effort to put the animal through a hole where it does not fit can be perfectly distinguished.



Fig. 22. "La hora del té". Il. Santana Bonilla. *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.

Another of the most distinguishable moments in the story illustrated by Santana Bonilla is when Alice is falling down the rabbit hole (Figure 23). In this case, a complete view can be seen from the entrance of the rabbit hole and part of the ground outside to the end of it, and it can even be observed how Alice is still falling, in the air, and the Rabbit has already reached the bottom and is running away because he is in a hurry. Throughout the burrow there are also shelves with books and other objects such as jars, teapots, paintings, candles, etc. What is most striking about this illustration and what

distinguishes it from other editions such as the one by Fernández Mota, is that it does not illustrate Alice in the foreground with elements of the burrow appearing in the background, but rather the exact shape and length of the hole, cut across the ground, can be seen perfectly, and Alice does not take on a special prominence, but is just another element hanging in the air. The fall feels real.

Santana Bonilla's originality can also be seen in that he adds new illustrations which depict scenes in the book that were not included by Tenniel nor by Fernández Mota. A good example of these is, for instance, the Rabbit's house (Figure 24), as well as the Rabbit's fan (Figure 25), the three sisters painting (Figure 26) and the pebbles turned into cakes (Figure 27).

His originality can also be seen in that there are two illustrations that are very distinctive to this tale that are not present in this version. In this Rivadeneyra edition we do not find any illustration of the Cheshire Cat nor of the Dodo. It is surprising that two animals so characteristic of the story, which you can only find in *Alice in Wonderland*, and which are part of the reasons why this tale is so recognisable, are not illustrated by Santana Bonilla. On the other hand, while Fernández Mota does commit some inaccuracies, such as not representing the bottle and the keys for opening the little door on the table, but Santana Bonilla does include all the key elements.



Fig. 23. "Se metió ella también el negro agujero". II. Santana Bonilla. *Alice en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.



Fig. 24. The Rabbit's house. Fig. 25. The Rabbit's fan. Fig. 26. The three sisters painting. Fig 27. The pebbles turned into cakes. II. Santana Bonilla. *Alicia en el País de las Maravillas*, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.

It could be said that the Santana Bonilla's illustrations give preference to the creative and decorative. In that sense, Santana Bonilla is much freer artist than Fernández Mota. He does not follow Tenniel, while he does follow Carroll's narrative. It would seem that he does not only want to depict the scenes in the Spanish narrative, but to create an individual design for the whole booklet as an artistic object.

With this author we can see that, culturally, much more importance is beginning to be given to the artistic. We could also say that, in this case, it is no longer a version intended to be read by children, but is conceived as a work of art. A book that seems to be made to be exhibited in a museum. At the moment the European Modernism emerges and artists feel more freedom to experiment with new forms and colours, as well as including new digital and technological influences.

CONCLUSION

As a result of this analysis, we have been able to reach several conclusions. Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* is a work that has endured through time and, as we have been able to observe, there have been many artists who have wanted to form part of its history, either through their illustrations or through their translations. However, each one of them gives it a different character and interpretation, and it is very easy to see how the historical moment and the change in society is clearly reflected in each one of them. In this case, we have studied the versions illustrated by John Tenniel in 1866, of all of them, the first illustrated version to be officially published and which establishes the basis on which all other illustrators will work. We continue with the one illustrated by Fernando Fernández Mota in 1914 and 1915, the first time that *Alice in Wonderland* arrives in Spain, through small fascicles of an educational magazine that are published periodically. And finally, the version brought to life by Joaquín Santana Bonilla in 1921, probably the most artistic, and of all of them the one that reflects the most aesthetic and cultured vision.

After this analysis, we have been able to perceive throughout this journey through the illustrations of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* many of the characteristics that reflect this change and evolution in the illustrations and in the story.

The first one, Tenniel's version, is created in the Victorian period, under the rule of Queen Victoria of England. The character of the nobility that was so prevalent in this period is reflected, for example, in the clothing of Alice and the rest of the characters. The rigidity and morality of the period can also be seen in the anatomical precision and symmetry of the lines, but there is also a certain satirical character due to the illustrator's background as an artist in a magazine that evoked satire.

In the case of Fernández Mota, we see how the period and the country change. In this case we are at a time of restoration and economic crisis in Spain, in which a moral reform was carried out based on civic values and the importance of education, and in which no type of criticism or satire could be accepted. The fact that it was published in 1914 in a children's and educational magazine is also very influential, something that also favours the avoidance of any element that is not purely educational. In this version we see that all the illustrations are much more simplified and are given a gentler and less

ornamental character, unlike the previous case. This is also due to the artists' lack of freedom to innovate and explore other types of techniques, but this situation is completely reversed in the case of Joaquín Santana Bonilla.

The version published in 1921 by the publishing house Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, acquires a much more artistic concept, as we have already seen, during this period European Modernism was experienced, and Joaquín Santana Bonilla was greatly influenced by the Art Nouveau artistic movement. Art takes on much more importance on a social level, the authors feel more freedom to experiment and use more curved and ornamental lines. In this case, each page and the whole book becomes a work of art full of details, and each element takes its place to create a perfect composition.

If the above analysis shows anything, it is the great contrast between these two authors and the difference in their influences. As we have been able to see throughout all the illustrations, Fernando Fernández Mota is an artist who does follow quite precisely the base Tenniel offers in the original version. They share many characteristics, including a similar style, the choice of the same illustrations, or even the position of some of the characters and their expressions. However, Joaquín Santana Bonilla is an illustrator who decided to act more freely and allowed himself to explore new artistic movements and step outside the norm to create a unique and different version. He is an independent artist who allows himself to be much more creative.

With all these characteristics of each of the versions, we demonstrate that as time goes by and society and history advance, art also goes hand in hand and undergoes changes. Each of the versions shows us a new interpretation and a different historical moment, in addition to the personal style of each of the authors, but all of them have the common purpose of bringing to life one of the best-known children's stories and one of those that has lasted the longest over the years.

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