

Pictorial Puzzles from *Alice*

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This is a revised version of a paper first published in *The Carrollian* in 2004. A more detailed account and further illustrations appear in my book *The Art of Alice*, to be published in 2020. I am grateful to Edward Wakeling for his helpful comments and suggestions. All images used are copyright free.

Introduction

While studying Carroll's and Tenniel's *Alice* illustrations I came across many curious and puzzling details which have not been adequately investigated by previous commentators. Six are discussed here. Firstly, why does the ape which appears in Carroll's pool of tears picture become a monkey in Tenniel's two caucus race illustrations? Secondly, do these images refer solely to Darwin's theory of evolution, or might there be an additional explanation? Thirdly, why does Tenniel include four of the starting positions of the classical ballet in his illustrations for *Alice's Adventures*? Fourthly, what might have inspired the murderous, croquet-playing Queen of Hearts? Fifthly, what do the distinctive poses adopted by Tweedledum and Tweedledee in Tenniel's *Looking-Glass* illustrations suggest? And finally, what is the significance of the fallen soldier in his picture of the King's Men?

Carroll's Ape and Tenniel's Monkey

The 'curious creatures' that swim behind Alice in Carroll's pool of tears drawing in *Alice's Adventures Under Ground* include an ape. Specifically, the creature's flat, bare, light-coloured and round face, small nose and nostrils, rounded ears and short neck indicate that it is a chimpanzee. As the only identifiable mammal in the picture, albeit one that apparently plays no role in the tale, it was presumably inserted deliberately. The presence of several of the other creatures, in contrast, can be explained by biographical evidence.



Why did Carroll include the ape in his drawing? As most commentators agree, the *Alice* books are permeated with references to the contemporary debate on the theory of evolution. Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* had been published three years before Carroll started work on *Under Ground*, and he almost certainly introduced the ape as a sly comment on the ensuing controversy. Darwin had avoided the question of man's ancestry in *The Origin*, though his work clearly implied that human beings had evolved from animals. He made the link explicit for the first time in *The Descent of Man* (1871), but T H Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) preceded this by eight years.¹ Huxley employed the techniques of comparative anatomy to demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that man and apes had evolved from a common ancestor. The frontispiece to Huxley's book compares the skeletons of four of the great apes (including chimpanzee and gorilla) with that of man.

Huxley's inferences had long been anticipated by other thinkers, and awareness of the biological link between man and ape would not have come as a great surprise to the educated public. Writing in the early 1840s, Dickens refers in *Martin Chuzzlewit* to 'the Monboddo doctrine touching the probability of the human race having once been monkeys'.² Dickens evidently considered that Monboddo's theory was sufficiently well known that he could thus casually mention it. And the Revd. J G Wood – an evangelical Christian who claimed that 'Between man and brutes there is an impassable barrier, over which man can never fall, or beasts hope to climb' –

tacitly contradicted himself by placing mankind within his 'Systematic Index' of the animal kingdom, and by devoting the first chapter of a *natural history* text to *Homo sapiens*.³ As a scientist, Wood was obliged to acknowledge the very close relationship between man and the apes, and does so in a work that predates Darwin's *Origin*. The popular press grasped the implications of Darwin's work for man's ancestry long before he published on the matter. In a *Punch* cartoon of 1861 entitled 'Monkeyana' a gorilla holds a placard reading 'Am I a Man and a



¹ T H Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863).

² Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit* (London: Mandarin, 1991) p. 7. The book was serialised between 1843 and 1844. James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714–1799) was a Scottish judge and philosopher.

³ J G Wood, *The Illustrated Natural History*, 2nd edn. (London: George Routledge, 1853), p. 1.



Brother?²⁴ This image, combined with the slogan of the anti-slavery campaign of the 1830s, is a reminder that Darwin's claims became intimately linked with issues of race.

Tenniel also placed a primate in two pictures: immediately behind the Dodo when it presents a thimble to Alice, and among the creatures listening to the Mouse's Tale. Clearly he was following Carroll's example. The long, dog-like muzzle and pointed, flattened ears of Tenniel's animal suggest that it is a baboon. Many commentators describe both animals as apes. However, while a chimpanzee is an ape, a baboon is a monkey. There are important differences: apes are tailless animals with an upright posture that generally live on the ground and sometimes use simple tools; while monkeys are tailed tree-dwelling quadrupeds that do not use tools. The family *Hominidae* (the Great Apes) includes *Homo sapiens*; and apes are accordingly more closely related to humans than are monkeys. Was Carroll aware of this fact when he drew an ape, and is there is any significance in Tenniel changing the creature to a monkey?

Tenniel's animal has precisely the same features as Bomba, in his 1856 *Punch* cartoon 'Bomba's Big Brother': suggesting initially that the artist simply drew a generic primate.⁵ However, by the time Tenniel started work on the *Wonderland* illustrations Carroll was probably aware of Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature* and its frontispiece.⁶ Perhaps he now grasped the implications of the chimpanzee – one of man's closest relatives – and prompted Tenniel *not* to follow his own example and instead to draw a monkey. Although he wished to retain a primate in the illustrations as a humorous reference to the theory of evolution, Carroll probably wished to avoid any suggestion that he endorsed the claim that humans and apes were closely related. Moreover, while Carroll's chimpanzee has a benign expression, Tenniel's baboon is in no respect humanised; the picture maintaining a distance between man and animal.

Martin Gardner writes that the resemblance between the Bomba of the *Punch* cartoon and Tenniel's primate rules out the possibility that the latter had been intended as a caricature of Darwin.⁷ Gardner's observation is, however, beside the point. Tenniel's monkey does not resemble the naturalist, who wears a bushy beard in the hybrid ape-man caricatures that appeared in the illustrated press – caricatures that appeared only after the publication of Darwin's *Descent of Man*,

⁴ Anon., 'Monkeyana', *Punch* (18 May 1861) p. 206.

⁵ 'Bomba's Big Brother', *Punch* (11 October 1856), p. 145. 'Bomba' was the nickname of Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies.

⁶ T H Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1863).

⁷ Lewis Carroll, *The Annotated 'Alice': The Definitive Edition*, ed. Martin Gardner (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2000) p. 28, n. 10. Hereafter: *AADE*.

in 1871.⁸ Presumably Gardner is rejecting the claim that Carroll intended an allusion to evolutionary theory. I would argue that Gardner is wrong. Once we distinguish between the conceptual and visual origins of images, it becomes clear that the *idea* which inspired a certain image may be wholly separable from the *visual ancestry* of that image. Having discovered one source does not exclude others. Here, the mere presence of the monkey probably alludes to the theory of evolution, and it is irrelevant that the creature bears no resemblance to Darwin. In short, while the visual origin of Tenniel's *Wonderland* monkey lies in the artist's habitual manner of drawing primates – one example being the 'Bomba' cartoon – its conceptual origin can be traced to Darwinian-influenced speculation on mankind's origins.

The Irish Gardener

Carroll's ape and Tenniel's monkey undoubtedly refer to the theory of evolution, but may they have an additional conceptual source? As noted above, at first sight Carroll's creature has no counterpart in the text. However, when we remember that one character in *Under Ground* (and *Alice's Adventures*) is Irish, and that cartoons of the period often depicted Irishmen as ape-like creatures, another possibility emerges. Pat the gardener is one of Carroll's 'invisible' characters. We do not learn from the text whether he is man or beast, and hear only his voice. This, however, instantly betrays his origins. When the White Rabbit calls out for him, Pat replies "'Sure then I'm here! Digging for apples, yer honour!'". A little later he says "'Sure it's an arm, yer honour!' (He pronounced it "arrum").'⁹ In other words, Pat is a stereotypical feckless and stupid Irishman of the kind who appeared so frequently in *Punch*. Could Carroll's ape have been intended to represent him?

In *Punch* cartoons of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, especially in the 1860s when the Fenians were at their most active, the Irish worker or peasant is frequently represented with bestial features, and is almost invariably named 'Pat' or 'Paddy'.¹⁰ M H Spielmann, the historian of *Punch*, conceded that the magazine was 'wont to picture the Irish political outrage-mongering peasant as a cross between a garrotter and a gorilla'.¹¹ Like many other men of his background, Carroll probably shared *Punch's* antipathy towards the Irish.¹² He also had personal reasons to

⁸ Numerous caricatures of Darwin were published in the 1870s, the most famous being 'A Venerable Orang-Outang: A contribution to unnatural history' (Anon., *The Hornet* (22 March 1871)). Most images placed the scientist's distinctive head – complete with beard, high-domed forehead, and beetling eyebrows – on an ape's body. In doing so they inextricably fused one of the central ideas of evolution with the image of Darwin himself.

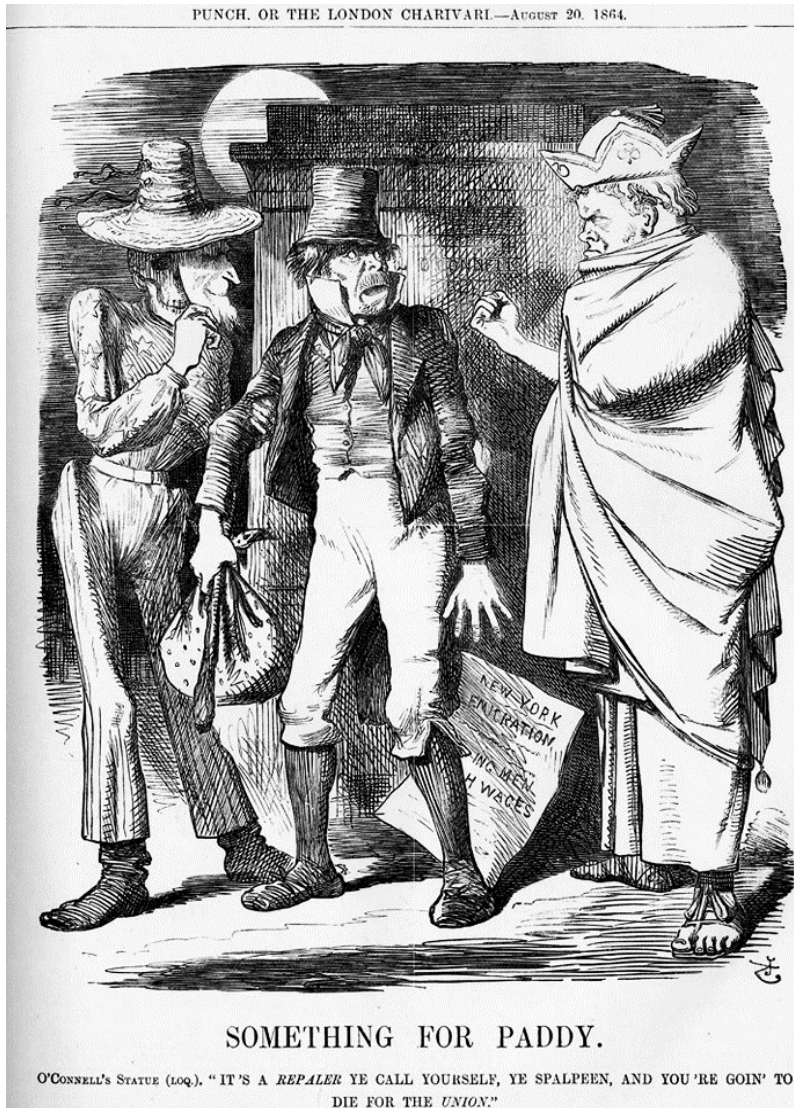
⁹ Shaberman and Crutch suggest that 'apple' in this context is a play upon words, 'pomme de terre' being French for 'potato' (Shaberman and Crutch, p. 39.) This is unlikely: why would Carroll emphasise Pat's Irishness while using wordplay requiring knowledge of French? In fact, 'Irish apple' is a slang term for 'potato' (Eric Partridge, *Routledge Dictionary of Historical Slang* (London: Routledge, 2013). If Pat were speaking the slang an Irishman would use, it might follow that Carroll was simply making a joke, and not mocking proverbial Irish stupidity. However, since the expression 'Irish apple' was presumably used only by English people, it must *itself* have been derogatory in intent. My point stands: Carroll is ridiculing Pat.

¹⁰ For example, J Tenniel, 'Something for Paddy', *Punch* (20 August 1864) p. 75. The most striking and explicit depictions of Irishmen as apes are Tenniel's 'The Irish Frankenstein' (*Punch* (20 May 1882) p. 235), 'The O'Mannikin' (*Punch* (8 May 1865) p. 95) and 'Rory of the Hills' (*Punch* (19 March, 1870) p. 111). In the latter cartoon, a monstrous ape-like figure threatens Gladstone, who is trying to protect Hibernia. The implication is that England must save what was best in Ireland from an 'enemy within'.

¹¹ Marion H Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London: Cassell, 1895), p. 106. On the whole, *Punch* was characterised by genial rather than savage satire, which makes the magazine's depiction of the Irish all the more striking. *Punch's* depiction of Irishmen angered many Americans. For example, E L Godkin accused the magazine, 'otherwise distinguished for its restraint and decorum and good nature' of 'loathing mockery' of the Irish peasant (E L Godkin, 'An American View of Ireland', *Nineteenth Century*, 12 (July–December 1882) p. 175).

¹² Even as respected a figure as Dr Arnold of Rugby School could declare that the Celts were 'notorious for their idleness, dishonesty, savagery and brutality'. Quoted in L Perry Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-*

dislike Irish nationalists; for his paternal grandfather Captain Charles Dodgson, of the Fourth Royal Irish Dragoon Guards, had been murdered in a particularly cowardly manner by nationalists at Philipstown in December 1803.¹³



The tendency of *Punch* cartoonists to portray Irishmen as apes has, however, more deep-rooted causes. For centuries much of British society had considered Ireland a barbaric country. With the rise of anthropological studies and eugenics in the mid-nineteenth century the British image of the Irish people acquired distinctly racist overtones. Many middle- and upper-class Englishmen took pride in their Anglo-Saxon roots and denigrated those of Celtic stock. Three issues exacerbated matters: mass immigration from Ireland following the famines of the 1840s, increasing Irish resistance to British rule, and fear and suspicion of the newly re-established Catholic Church in England. The more bigoted sections of the press had precisely the excuses they needed for a wholesale assault on the Irish. From the 1850s the Irish peasant – formerly depicted as a genial if slow-witted fellow – was compared explicitly in popular

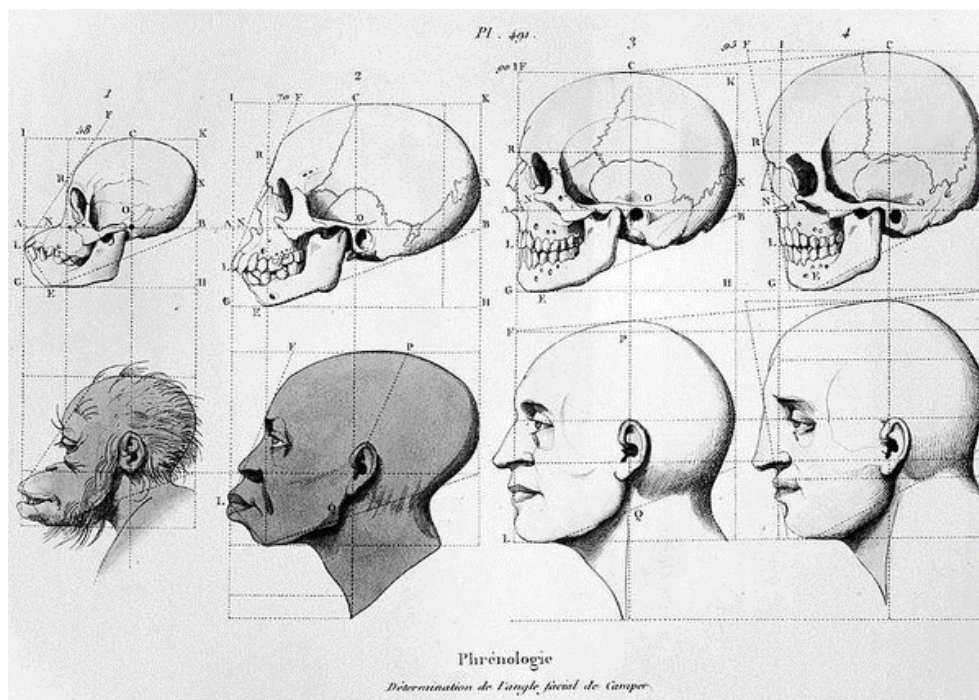
illustrated journals with both animals and Negroes. According to L Perry Curtis, it was Tenniel 'who did most to change the Irish stereotype in English cartoons from man to beast'.¹⁴ In his *Punch* cartoons of the 1850s Tenniel generally attacked Irish nationalists by depicting them with canine or porcine facial features. Gradually, however, the cartoonists' Paddy started to acquire distinctly simian characteristics, resembling 'the offspring of a liaison between a gorilla father and a

Irish Prejudice in Victorian England (Connecticut: University of Bridgeport, 1968) p. 43. In 1860 Charles Kingsley famously wrote to his wife 'I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country [that is, Ireland]...to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black one would not see it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours' (Charles Kingsley, letter dated 4 July 1860 in Frances Kingsley (ed.), *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) p. 107).

¹³ *Life and Letters*, p. 6. The murderer of Lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief Justice, had offered to give himself up to Captain Dodgson if he met him alone and unarmed. However, Dodgson was ambushed and murdered.

¹⁴ L Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) p. 35.

prognathous Irish mother'.¹⁵ This change coincided with increasing public discussion about mankind's origins. Admittedly, the tendency to associate Ireland with the simian predates, and cannot be ascribed solely to, the debate surrounding evolution. For example, a *Punch* cartoon of 1848 by John Leech entitled 'The British Lion and the Irish Monkey', drawn during the unrest leading up to the 'Young Irelander' Rebellion of that year, depicts an imp-like creature wearing an Irish Jester's cap insolently challenging the British lion.¹⁶ Although the creature symbolises what was viewed as the impudent belligerence of Irish nationalism, it is more amalgam of leprechaun and monkey than simianised human. From the 1860s, however, cartoonists focussed single-mindedly upon establishing the supposedly bestial nature of the Irish nationalist. He appears with a profusion of scruffy facial hair, snub nose, beetle brows, projecting upper lip and lower jaw, sharp, misshapen and protruding teeth, receding chin and pointed ears. He has a squat torso and short legs, thrusts himself forward aggressively, and slouches with an ape-like gait. Most significantly, he has a low, sloping forehead. Curtis points out that Victorian draughtsmen were heavily influenced by the theories of the eighteenth-century Dutch anatomist and anthropologist Pieter Camper.¹⁷ Camper established a means of measuring of the slope of the forehead thus: take a horizontal line drawn on the human face between nose and ear and another intersecting it perpendicularly between forehead and jawbone. The angle formed between the lines at the forehead measures, on the typical Caucasian face, around 80° ; on people of Asian or African origin, about 70° ; and on apes, less than 60° . Curtis demonstrates that Tenniel consistently drew Irishmen with a much shallower facial angle than he drew Englishmen – frequently approaching that of apes.



Camper's 'facial angle' approach anticipated the near obsession of mid-nineteenth century anthropologists with craniometry, the measurement of features of the human skull. Indeed,

¹⁵ Curtis, *Apes*, p. 37.

¹⁶ 'The British Lion and the Irish Monkey', *Punch* (8 April 1848) p. 147.

¹⁷ Curtis, *Apes*, p. xix.



contrived to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of Irish Yahoo'.¹⁹ The metamorphosis of Paddy the Irish peasant into Paddy the ape-man also coincided with the first arrivals of the great apes in European zoos. From the 1860s attempts were made to bring a gorilla to the London Zoo, and in 1861 Tenniel drew a cartoon entitled 'Mr. G-O'Rilla, the Young Ireland Party'.²⁰ The link could hardly be more explicit.

Curtis provides dozens of instances of Tenniel and other Victorian illustrators portraying Irishmen as ape-like creatures. Consequently, the appearance of an ape in an illustration would often have signalled an Irish reference. When we also find an Irish character in Carroll's text we are probably justified in inferring a connection.

What might count against this reading? In the absence of either documentary or unambiguous visual evidence, nothing certainly establishes that Carroll intended his drawn ape to represent Pat. He does not mention an ape among the 'crowd of little animals' outside the White Rabbit's House, nor include it in the corresponding illustration. However, text and pictures do not correspond so

anthropologists generally considered skin colour less significant as a basis for racial classification than cranial morphology.¹⁸ Such investigations led some to speculate that the gorilla was the 'missing link' between man and the apes, and that Negroes were more closely related to apes than were the white races. While the Irish were considered inferior to those of Anglo-Saxon heritage, they were usually thought to rank higher than the darker-skinned races of the Empire. However, in 1862 a *Punch* article attacking Irish immigration made the 'humorous' suggestion that the Irish were lower in the racial hierarchy than Negroes: 'A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has

¹⁸ Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p. 55.

¹⁹ Anon., 'The Missing Link', *Punch* (18 March 1862) p. 165.

²⁰ J. Tenniel, 'Mr. G-O'Rilla, the Young Ireland Party', *Punch* (14 December 1861) p. 244. Curtis states that the first live adult gorilla arrived at the London Zoo in 1860 (Curtis, *Apes*, p. 99) but the 'Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London', published by London Zoo in 1867, states that 'Specimens of the latter animal [the gorilla] have not yet reached the Society in a living state' (p. 12). According to Paddy Lyons, the first gorilla arrived in 1887 (P. Lyons *et al*, *Romantic Ireland: From Tone to Gonne; Fresh Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013) p. 406). Nevertheless, a stuffed gorilla had been exhibited at the Natural History Museum at an earlier date (Curtis, *Apes*, p. 99).

precisely that we can confidently rule out Pat being the ape for this reason alone. Going only by the latter illustration, Pat might be one of the guinea pigs helping to revive Bill the Lizard: but why would Carroll include an Irish guinea pig?²¹ At least there is some rationale (however morally questionable) for Pat being the ape in the pool of tears picture. Moreover, why does Carroll emphasise Pat's Irish accent unless he intended to hint at the ape's reference? Most characters in the *Alice* books speak standard English.²²

We have, then, two compatible explanations for the presence of primates in Carroll's and Tenniel's illustrations. In drawing Irish nationalists with simian features *Punch* cartoonists implied that they were less evolved than Englishmen. Hence ape and monkey might simultaneously represent Pat the gardener and allude to evolutionary theory.

The presence of an Irish character in the text can also be explained as one of Carroll's numerous borrowings from Kingsley's *The Water-Babies*. Kingsley introduces a figure called Dennis, a stereotypical dim-witted Irishman who lies because 'he is a poor Paddy, and knows no better'. Pat's 'Sure, it's an arm, yer honour!' echoes Dennis's 'Shure, and didn't I think your honour would like a pleasant answer?'²³ This derivation does not affect the substance of my argument.²⁴ Carroll may have appropriated the character from Kingsley and subsequently decided to represent him as a primate: simultaneously making an anti-Irish gibe and a Darwinian joke.

Ballet Dancers

Tenniel's father, John Baptist Tenniel, not only taught fencing and boxing at the Angelo School of Arms but was a dancing master and occasional instructor in deportment. He taught dancing, for example, at the Misses Cahusaé's school in Highgate in the late 1830s.²⁵ Tenniel's brother Reginald also taught dancing. If Dickens's account of the dancing school in *Bleak House* is anything to go by – and in particular his description of the posturing of that 'model of Deportment', old Mr. Turveydrop – the young Tenniel's appreciation of the ridiculous would have been greatly heightened by observation of his father's and brother's classes.²⁶

There are numerous direct and indirect references to the ballet in Tenniel's *Punch* cartoons, especially those depicting Disraeli. For example, in 'Two Persuasions' (1878), the Prime Minister stands with back arched and feet in open fourth position (apart and pointing in opposite directions, one before the other).²⁷ Tenniel probably intended to suggest Disraeli's agility at extricating himself from difficulties.

²¹ Shaberman and Crutch suggest that Pat is a guinea pig (Shaberman and Crutch, p. 39).

²² Only the Cook and the creatures waiting outside the White Rabbit's house, together with the Frog from *Looking-Glass*, speak with workers' accents.

²³ Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* (London, Macmillan, 1889) p. 116.

²⁴ The figure of Pat may also refer to James and John O'Shea, Irish stonemasons and sculptors who worked under Ruskin's direction at the Oxford University Museum of Natural History. They were apprehended working on carvings of parrots and owls with the heads of Members of the Convocation, who had voted to withdraw funding from the project (Jo Elwyn Jones and J Francis Gladstone, *The Red King's Dream, or: Lewis Carroll in Wonderland* (London: Pimlico, 1995) pp. 251–252). An owl is among the curious creatures swimming behind Alice in Carroll's sketch, and an owl and parrot appear in Tenniel's illustration of the animals listening to the Mouse's tale.

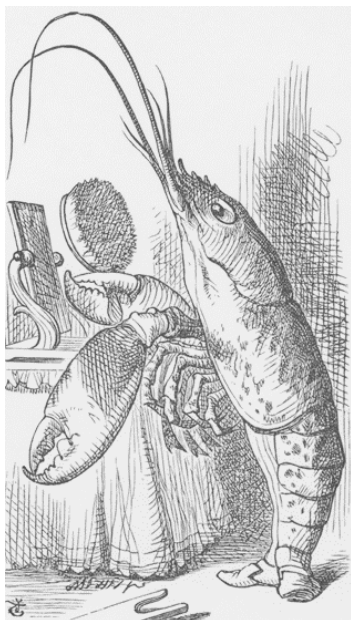
²⁵ H H Gilchrist (ed.), *Anne Gilchrist, Her Life and Writings*. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887) p. 21.

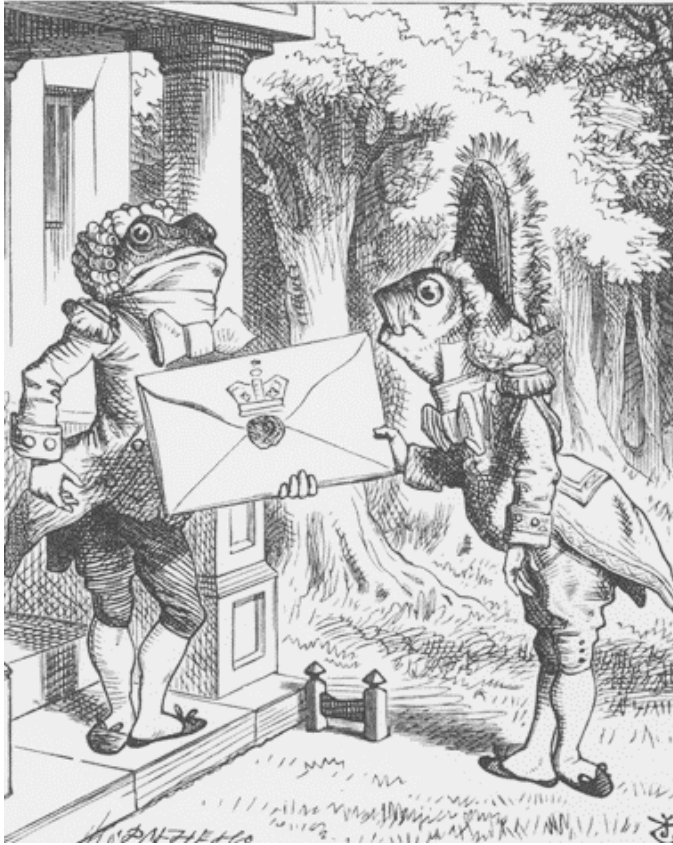
²⁶ Charles Dickens, *Bleak House* (London: Macmillan, 1896), p. 178

²⁷ Tenniel, 'Two Persuasions', *Punch* (11 May 1878), p. 211.



Ballet also plays a hitherto little noticed role in Tenniel's *Wonderland* illustrations, with four of the five starting and ending positions of classical ballet being represented. Thus the Lobster 'turns out his toes', feet roughly aligned and pointing in opposite directions, and heels touching. This, Alice observes, corresponds to 'the first position in dancing'. Father Williams's son twists his legs awkwardly in an approximation of fourth position as he watches his father balancing an eel on his nose. The Knave of Hearts stands with feet turned outward, nearly in a straight line and separated by several inches, as in second position. Finally, in Tenniel's picture of the Footmen, the Fish stands in first position while the Frog half performs a *demi-plié* (bending one knee) in third position (one foot before the other, the heel resting against the instep).

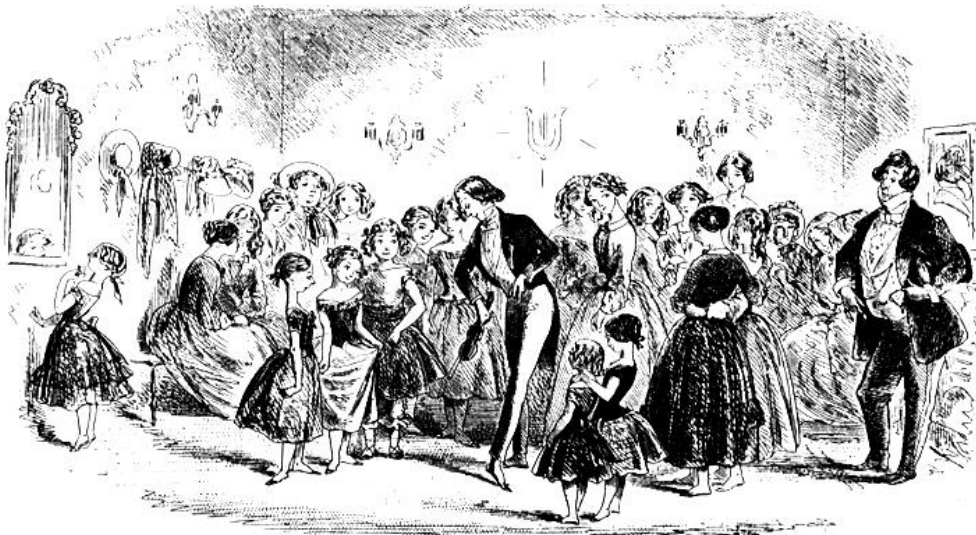




Tenniel's rendering of the Knave suggests that it cannot be coincidence that his illustrations show four different ballet positions. The Knave's face and upper torso are presented in profile, the better to show him carrying the crown, but the legs are twisted around so that we see them in three-quarter view. The balletic position of the feet would not be visible if the whole body were seen from the side. Alice's remark about the Lobster is, moreover, Carroll's hint that we should look for other instances of dancing. Alice appears just to have completed a pirouette when handing her thimble to the Dodo; and even the Queen of Hearts bends her knee and thrusts her foot sideways as if about to step out in a minuet. Coincidence also seems ruled out by the rarity of ballet positions (or of any dance steps) among Tenniel's *Looking-Glass* illustrations. To have repeated the joke would have weakened it. The only *Looking-Glass*

characters unambiguously to adopt a ballet position, the first, are Tweedledum and Tweedledee. (The Walrus's similar stance can be explained by his flippers naturally sticking outwards.)

Tenniel does not depict the *port de bras* (the position of the arms and hands) corresponding to each position of the feet, but does show the Frog-Footman rounding his elbows in the manner enjoined by Tenniel's father when teaching deportment.²⁸ Indeed, the Footman's pose – with arched back, projecting buttocks and one foot placed before the other – is almost identical to that of Mr. Turveydrop, in the illustration 'The Dancing School' by Phiz.²⁹



²⁸ Anne Gilchrist later recalled that Tenniel senior was always instructing his pupils to 'round your elbows' (Gilchrist, *Anne Gilchrist*, p. 21).

²⁹ Dickens, *Bleak House*, p. 176.

There is no mystery as to why Tenniel introduced dancing and balletic motifs into his *Alice* illustrations. As we have seen, he frequently added humorous details to his drawings – details which, in this case, carried an autobiographical reference.

The King and Queen of Hearts

Commentators have overlooked the possible origins of the croquet-playing King and Queen of Hearts. One apparently promising conceptual source can be dismissed: although the Liddell children played croquet at the Deanery with the Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra on 17 June 1863, Carroll had completed the text *Under Ground* before that date.³⁰

A complex set of issues is involved here. Firstly, there existed a long-standing tradition linking the playing-card King of Hearts to Henry VIII; with the Queen of Hearts said to represent his second wife Anne Boleyn. The seventh stanza of Charles Lamb's verse 'The King and Queen of Hearts' (the first four lines of which are quoted in Chapter XI of *Wonderland*) includes the lines

When our eighth Harry rul'd this land,
Just like this King did Harry stand;
And just so amorous, sweet, and willing,
As this Queen stands stood Anna Bullen.³¹

Secondly, Carroll would have known William Holman Hunt's painting *The King of Hearts*. Between September 1862 and April 1863 – just when Carroll was completing *Under Ground* – Hunt painted a portrait of his (Hunt's) nephew Teddy Wilson. The boy, aged about five, is dressed in the costume of Henry VIII and stands in the exactly the same pose as the King in Hans Holbein the Younger's famous portrait of c. 1538.³² Hunt's picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy show in June 1863.³³

It is uncertain why Hunt entitled his painting *The King of Hearts*.³⁴ Beside the boy stands a lance topped by a shield bearing a heart motif. He holds a wooden ball; three others being scattered around his feet. As Judith Bronkhurst points out, although Henry VIII is known to have played bowls, the balls here probably refer to the games of croquet Hunt played with Teddy, with the lance standing in for the peg (the goal).³⁵ Perhaps, then, Carroll's notion of making the King and

³⁰ *Diaries* IV, p. 209.

³¹ Charles and Mary Lamb, *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. E V Lucas, III (London: Methuen, 1903) pp. 336–350. Lamb's poem may be based upon verses by an anonymous writer which appeared in *The European Magazine*, 434 (April 1782). See Ronald Reichertz, *The Making of the Alice Books: Lewis Carroll's Uses of Earlier Children's Literature* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2000) p. 93.

³² Additionally, Hunt almost certainly knew Joshua Reynolds's portrait *Master Crewe as Henry VIII* (c. 1775), in which the small boy adopts the King's swaggering pose. Henry VIII was founder of Christ Church and his portrait hangs in its dining-hall.

³³ Carroll habitually attended the Royal Academy summer exhibitions, but does not mention having seen the 1863 show in his diary.

³⁴ Judith Bronkhurst offers two explanations for Hunt's title. Teddy is rendered two-dimensionally, and so resembles the flat image on a playing-card. Alternatively, the title might simply allude to the old nursery rhyme, perhaps a favourite of the child's (J Bronkhurst, catalogue entry for William Holman Hunt, *The King of Hearts*, in Tate Gallery, *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate Gallery/Penguin Books, 1984) 198–199, p. 198.) Whatever the case, Hunt seems to have decided on the title retrospectively, for the lance bearing the shield was painted on a thin strip of canvas pasted onto the side of the completed painting. No other heart motif appears in the painting. Evidently Hunt added the hearts motif to justify the title. A third possibility is that Carroll himself, already associating Henry VIII with his croquet-playing Queen of Hearts, suggested the title to the artist.

³⁵ Bronkhurst, p. 198.

Queen of Hearts play croquet comes from having seen Hunt's painting, the occasion being unknown.



After having completed *Under Ground*, on 30 September 1863 Carroll himself played croquet with Hunt and Teddy while visiting Hunt's Tor Villa home, and the following day took photographs of the child as 'the little Henry VIII in full dress'.³⁶ He may have seen Teddy playing croquet with his uncle at an earlier date, and also come to *think of* the boy as the King of Hearts after seeing the painting. Carroll associated children with the titles of paintings for which they sat, on another occasion referring to Effie Millais as 'My first sermon'.³⁷

³⁶ *Diaries IV*, p. 245. Carroll writes 'His little nephew was in the room (the original of the 'King of Hearts', a child dressed up as Henry VIII), and we soon adjourned to the garden for a game of croquet, as it was getting too dark to paint'. Carroll's photograph, which was taken on 1 October 1863 and presented to Hunt on 1 April 1864, is missing (*Diaries IV*, p. 246, n. 278). Hunt's painting *The King of Hearts* is in a private collection.

³⁷ John Everett Millais used his daughter Effie as the model for *My First Sermon* (1863). Carroll visited Millais for the first time on 7 April 1864, and noted that his first thought on seeing Effie was '...there comes My first sermon' (*sic*) (*Diaries IV*, p. 288).

Thirdly, the eagerness of the Queen of Hearts to order the execution of possible rivals may originate in the behaviour of later members of the Tudor dynasty. Certainly Carroll's conception of the Queen owes more to Elizabeth I of England than to the bland figure in the nursery rhyme that ostensibly inspired the trial episode.³⁸ Perhaps the Queen's propensity for screaming 'Off with her head' refers to Elizabeth having ordered the beheading of her half-sister Mary Tudor, Queen of Scots, in 1587.³⁹ H B Doherty notes that Carroll would probably have gained his first acquaintance with the Tudor monarchs from Mrs. Markham's *History of England* (1823).⁴⁰ According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, this was 'almost the only textbook of English history used in schools and families for nearly forty years', and was adopted by Dr Arnold for Carroll's school, Rugby.⁴¹ Mrs Markham depicts both Elizabeth and that even more enthusiastic beheader, Henry VIII, as cruel tyrants; leading Doherty to suggest that Carroll's Queen is an amalgam of the two figures.

To summarise thus far: Carroll knew Hunt's painting – one that links a King of Hearts with playing croquet – and may himself have seen its model (Teddy) play croquet. We can also infer that Carroll considered Henry VIII and his daughter bloodthirsty despots. If we combine these points it seems likely that Hunt's work was the inspiration for a croquet-playing monarch associated with a Hearts motif who orders the beheading of all and sundry.

Assuming Carroll's Queen of Hearts to be partly derived from Elizabeth I, we can explain why the Duchess of *Wonderland* is constantly at risk from beheading. As an aristocrat standing outside the playing-card royalty, she is a potential rival for the throne. Further, she may represent Mary Tudor. The argument here is somewhat convoluted. Although the Duchess does not appear in *Under Ground*, we read of a Marchioness who will have the White Rabbit executed. Since the Duchess makes precisely the same threat in *Wonderland*, we infer that she and the Marchioness are one and the same person. However, in *Under Ground* the rabbit has revealed that the Queen of Hearts is also the 'Marchioness of Mock Turtles'. Only later did Carroll separate the two figures. This initial identification of the Marchioness/Duchess with the Queen suggests that the Duchess is the Queen's *alter ego*: and historians have long interpreted the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth in similar terms.



In addition to thematic connections with Hunt's painting, there is some visual evidence that Carroll's Queen of Hearts borrows from images of Elizabeth I. The Queen changes markedly between appearances. In the royal procession, she wears a medieval headdress and long flowing robes, and has thin lips and a pointed chin. In the croquet ground picture her face is much broader; and when haranguing Alice, her robes and headdress are covered with heart motifs to indicate her incipient transformation into a playing-card. Significantly her ruff, barely visible in the earlier pictures, is now prominently displayed and – unlike the stylised ruff of the De La Rue playing-card Queen – is drawn delicately and with attention to realistic detail, combining the facial features of the first picture with the carefully rendered

³⁸ Stephen Martin, 'Off with her Head', *Bandersnatch*, Issue 120 (July 2003) 17–18.

³⁹ The phrase 'Off with his head!' occurs twice in Shakespeare: in *King Richard III* (III, iv) and in *Henry VI Part 3* (I, iv).

⁴⁰ H B Doherty, 'The Genesis of *Alice in Wonderland*', *Jabberwocky*, 3, 2 (Spring 1974) 18–26.

⁴¹ Leslie Stephen (ed.) *Dictionary of National Biography*, Volume 44 (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1895) p. 342.

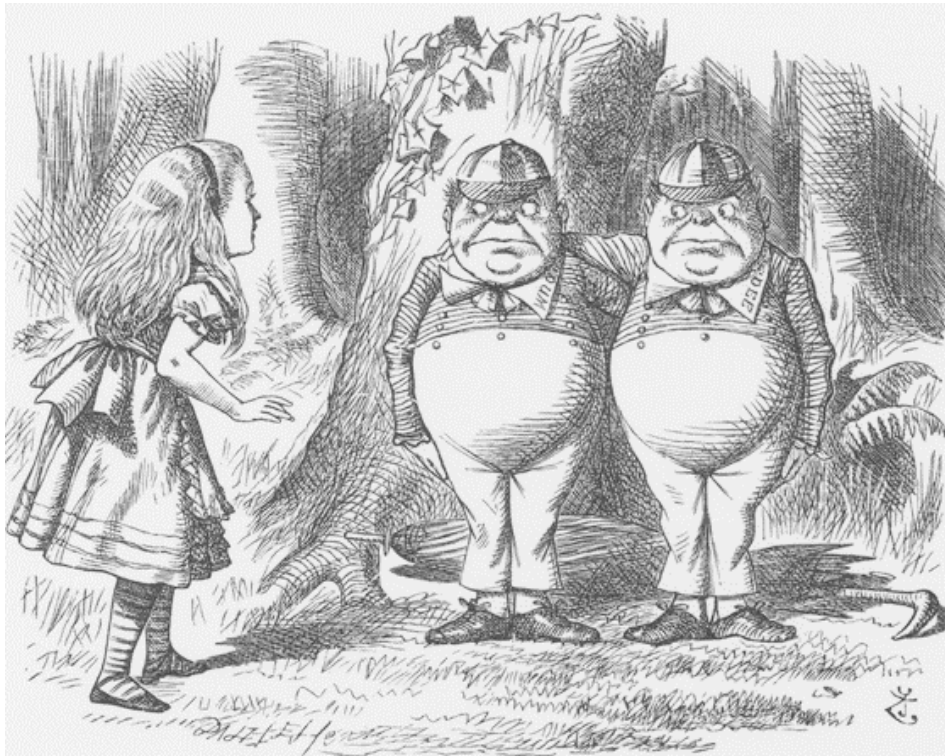


Elizabethan ruff of this last picture yields an image reminiscent of portraits of Elizabeth I: such as George Gower's 'Armada' portrait, of c. 1588.⁴²

Incidentally, Carroll was unable to reconcile the three-dimensional quality that the court characters would possess in Alice's dream with two-dimensional playing-cards. Tenniel, in contrast, achieved this aim effortlessly.

Tweedledum and Tweedledee

Tenniel's illustrations of Tweedledum and Tweedledee provide a case study of the complex web of conceptual and visual sources that often lie behind familiar images.



The words 'Tweedle-dum' and 'Tweedle-dee' make their first known appearance in print in the early eighteenth century, in John Byrom's verse 'On the Feuds between Handel and Bononcini'.⁴³ The verse refers to the rivalry between the composers George Frideric Handel and Giovanni Battista Bononcini. The verse ends 'Strange all this Difference should be / Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee'.

⁴² Gower's portrait is in the Granger Collection, New York.

⁴³ John Byrom, *Poems*, Vol. I (Manchester, 1773) p. 344. For a discussion of which version of the poem appears in *Looking-Glass*, see Jon A Lindseth, 'A Tale of Two Tweedles', *Knight Letter*, No. 83 (Winter 2009) 17-20.

The words originally signified a contrast between low and high-pitched musical sounds, but Byrom uses them to point out that many discerned no difference in talent or achievement between the composers.⁴⁴ The names also appear in the well-known nursery rhyme – which Carroll quotes in full in Chapter IV of *Looking-Glass* – about eighty years later.⁴⁵ Martin Gardner writes ‘No one knows whether the nursery rhyme about the Tweedle brothers originally had reference to this famous musical battle, or whether it was an older rhyme from which Byrom borrowed in the last line of his doggerel.’⁴⁶ There is a third possibility: that Byrom took onomatopoeic words in current use, and that these later became personified in the anonymous nursery rhyme. Over time the names came to be applied to two people or things that were indistinguishable in some significant respect.



The literary sources of the Tweedle brothers are accordingly terms in popular usage that make their first printed appearance in Byrom’s verse, and came to denote very similar things; and the nursery rhyme, which provides the outlines of Carroll’s narrative in Chapter IV. However, neither of these sources implied that Tweedledum and Tweedledee were indistinguishable in (virtually) every respect.⁴⁷ Examples of identical twins probably inspired this notion. Carroll would have encountered several literary instances of twins, including those in Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors* and the Cheeryble brothers in Dickens’s *Nicholas Nickleby*, a novel which Carroll read in his youth.⁴⁸ Assuming the plump Cheeryble brothers to be a proximate source,

might Carroll have been influenced primarily by Dickens’s verbal descriptions or by Hablot Knight Browne’s illustration? And did Carroll draw Tenniel’s attention to Browne’s picture? Visual comparisons are inconclusive.

⁴⁴ *The Oxford English Dictionary* mentions the contrast between low and high-pitched sounds (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. (1989) Vol. XVIII, p. 740).

⁴⁵ *AADE*, pp. 189–190. According to Iona and Peter Opie, the rhyme makes its first printed appearance in J Harris’s *Original Ditties for the Nursery*, c. 1805. See I and P Opie (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952) p. 418.

⁴⁶ *AADE*, p. 189 n. 1

⁴⁷ Things and persons may be indistinguishable without being identical. Strictly speaking, no two things can be identical to each other, for they will differ in their spatial location if in no other respect. The only thing *identical* with x is x itself, and x can only *resemble* y to a greater or lesser degree. The English language lacks a word which is stronger than ‘similar’ or ‘resembling’ (for all things are similar to/resemble each other in *some* respect) but, unlike ‘identical’, allows for degrees of resemblance.

⁴⁸ Jeffrey Stern mentions the possible Cheeryble connection (Stern, *Approaches*, p. 94). Carroll quotes from *Nicholas Nickleby* in Chapter IV of ‘Wilhelm von Schmitz’, a juvenile tale dated 1854 and reprinted in Carroll, *The Rectory Umbrella and Mischmasch* (New York: Dover Books, 1971), p. 125.

Moreover, in around 1850 Carroll had written a play for the marionette theatre entitled *La Guida di Bragia*. The principal characters are ‘Mooney’ and ‘Spooney’, who obtain jobs as (respectively) station-master and clerk at a railway station. They are probably early prototypes of the Tweedle brothers. Their names suggest that Mooney and Spoony are interchangeable, perhaps doubles of each other; and, like the brothers, they exchange inconsequential comic banter.⁴⁹

As Gardner points out, the Tweedle brothers are most accurately described as enantiomorphs; as a pair of objects each of which is the mirror image of the other.⁵⁰ Enantiomorphic shapes differ in their chirality or ‘handedness’. Like images of left and right hands, they cannot be superimposed on one another; but in other respects are indistinguishable. Each of a pair of enantiomorphic twins is thus physically the mirror image of (but not strictly identical to) the other.

There are several indications that Carroll viewed the Tweedle brothers as enantiomorphs.⁵¹ Tweedledum offers his right, and Tweedledee his left hand to Alice – though clasping each other round the neck leaves them no other choice. More significantly, in Tenniel’s picture of the battle preparations, the distinctive position of the thumb and fingers on the right hand of one brother mirrors that on the left hand of the other, and the folds in the blanket each trails behind him are similar. After allowing for the difference in accessories, if Tweedledee moved a few inches to his left he would stand before his twin as before a looking-glass. Tenniel worked hard to preserve the mirror-like poses of the brothers. His notes on a proof of the illustration (‘Mouth & Elbow, Point of Umbrella, Light touch between feet’) suggest that he wished to remove slight differences that detracted from the desired effect.⁵² As mentioned in Chapter Three, one of the inspirations of *Looking-Glass* is said to have been a discussion between Carroll and his cousin Alice Raikes as to why, if she stood before a mirror holding an orange in her right hand, the reflected figure would hold the orange in its left hand. The tale is pervaded by variations on the themes of opposites and reversals, and including characters who are simultaneously ‘identical’ and the precise and literal opposite of each other would have appealed to Carroll’s love of paradox. If the theme were pursued further, only one twin would appear in Looking-Glass House, the other remaining in Alice’s everyday world.⁵³

Enantiomorphic people exist not only in the musings of scientists and philosophers, but also in the real world, as conjoined twins. Thus although the Tweedle brothers’ enantiomorphic nature may originate in the mirror theme of Carroll’s tale, they may also have had a specific source. This source is suggested by the Tweedle brothers’ distinctive pose. In both text and illustration they stand each with one arm around the other’s neck: a pose typically associated with conjoined twins, such as the original Siamese Twins Chang and Eng Bunker (1811–1874).⁵⁴

⁴⁹ In the words of Peter Heath, *La Guida di Bragia* ‘consists in little more than the other characters rushing about losing luggage and missing or misboarding their trains’ (P Heath, ‘Introduction to *La Guida di Bragia*’, *Knight Letter*, No. 61 (Fall 1999) 2–4, p. 3. The play was reprinted in the same issue (pp. 4–14)). Robert Douglas-Fairhurst suggests the connection between the Tweedle brothers and Mooney and Spoony (R Douglas-Fairhurst *The Story of Alice: Lewis Carroll and The Secret History of Wonderland* (Harvill Secker, 2015) p. 38).

⁵⁰ *AADE*, p. 191 n. 3

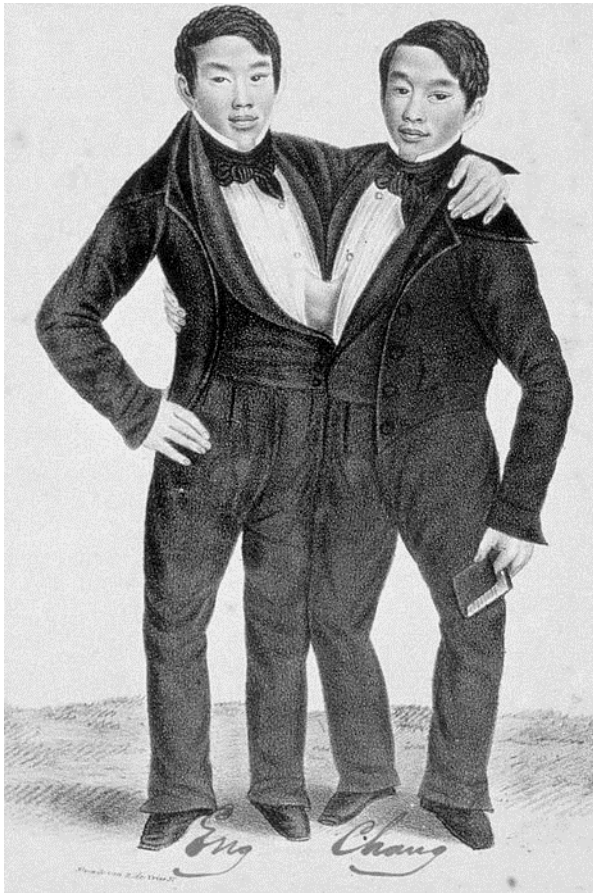
⁵¹ Martin Gardner makes these suggestions (*AADE*, p. 191 n. 3). He also proposes Tweedledee’s use of the word ‘contrariwise’ as evidence of Carroll’s intentions, but the expression here signifies ‘moreover’ or ‘on the other hand’ rather than ‘on the contrary’.

⁵² Schiller and Goodacre, [62] LG19 (p. 94). Original proof: New York Public Library.

⁵³ Contrary to the claims of some commentators (for example, Beer, *Alice in Space*, p. 55) Tenniel did not consistently draw the corkscrew-like snouts and tails of the *Looking-Glass* toves with left-handed chirality.

⁵⁴ Technically, Chang and Eng were xiphopagus twins, joined by a thin band of tissue at the sternum. As they grew older the tissue stretched, enabling them to stand side by side and giving the impression that they were joined at the side. Their livers were connected but functioned independently of each other. Some (but not all) conjoined twins who share organs are enantiomorphic to the extent that the unshared internal organs found to the left of the body of one are to the right of the other’s body.

The Victorians were fascinated with human deformities, and the showman and impresario Phineas T Barnum made much of his fortune from his freak shows: the star performers often being Chang and Eng. The brothers toured widely. They visited the UK in 1829 and again in December 1868,



shortly after Carroll commenced the writing of *Looking-Glass*.⁵⁵ The tour was widely covered in the popular press, and extant promotional material – such as a Barnum-commissioned lithograph by Currier & Ives – shows Chang and Eng with their arms around each other's shoulders, like Tenniel's Tweedle brothers. In a *Punch* cartoon of 1869, 'Our Siamese Twins', Tenniel drew two clerical figures grasping each other by the shoulders. Earlier, in 'The Balancing Brothers of Westminster' (1857) he had depicted Gladstone and Disraeli as acrobats in a similar pose, raising the question of whether Carroll had the politicians in mind when creating the Tweedle brothers.⁵⁶ The brothers resemble Gladstone and Disraeli in alternating their appearances in the public eye, as it were; and some commentators considered that the politicians had interchangeable policies. Tenniel recycled his own images of Tweedledum and Tweedledee in the 1892 *Punch* cut 'April Showers'. Many subsequent cartoonists have adapted Tenniel's illustration when showing a public figure choosing between disagreeable alternatives. Their work tacitly refers to the earlier images and ideas mentioned here.

Carroll hints at the brothers' sideshow origins by having Tweedledum reprimand Alice with the words of a showground barker: "If you think we're wax-works...you ought to pay, you know. Wax-works weren't made to be looked at for nothing. Nohow!" (p. 189). Tweedledum and Tweedledee are an example of the double act, the comedy duo that later became an established feature of pantomime and music-hall, and whose performance involves mock conflict and exchange of repartee. The Red and White Queens constitute a similar double act.

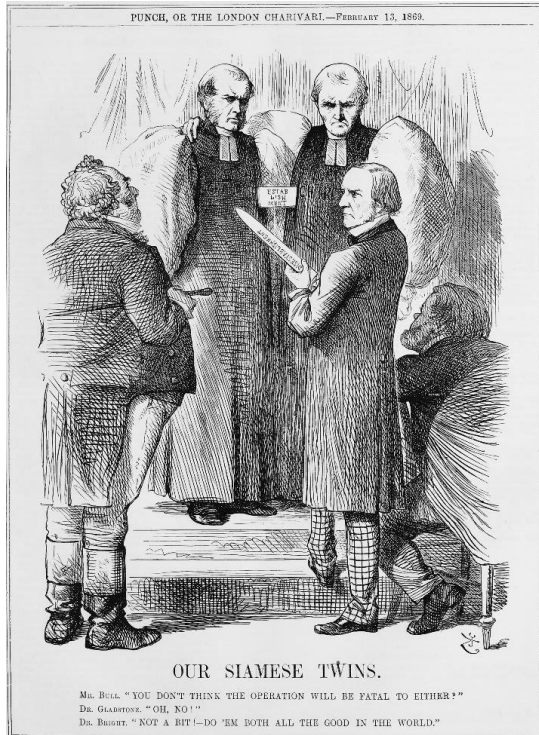
It seems, then, that Carroll derived the Tweedle brothers' pose from pictures of conjoined twins, probably pictures of Chang and Eng. However, other than in respect of their stance, the pot-bellied Tweedles bear no resemblance to the slim and suave Siamese brothers. This is because Tenniel's brothers are also standard instances of the artist's fat men such as he was accustomed to drawing

⁵⁵ They appeared, for example, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly from 8 February 1869 (Poster, British Library, www.bl.uk/learning/images/bodies/large4802.html). For contemporary references to their British appearances see Nadja Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (University of California Press, 2009), p. 202.

⁵⁶ Tenniel, 'Our Siamese Twins', *Punch* (13 February 1869), p. 59. The figures represent the Irish and English Churches, whose link is about to be severed by disestablishment. 'The Balancing Brothers of Westminster', *Punch* (28 February 1857), p. 85.

for *Punch*. They resemble the John Bull depicted, for example, in Tenniel's 1861 *Punch* cartoon 'Master Bull and his Dentist'.⁵⁷

Like Master Bull, the Twins wear the skeleton suits issued to public schoolboys earlier in the century: a dark-coloured tight-fitting jacket decorated in the front with vertical rows of buttons.

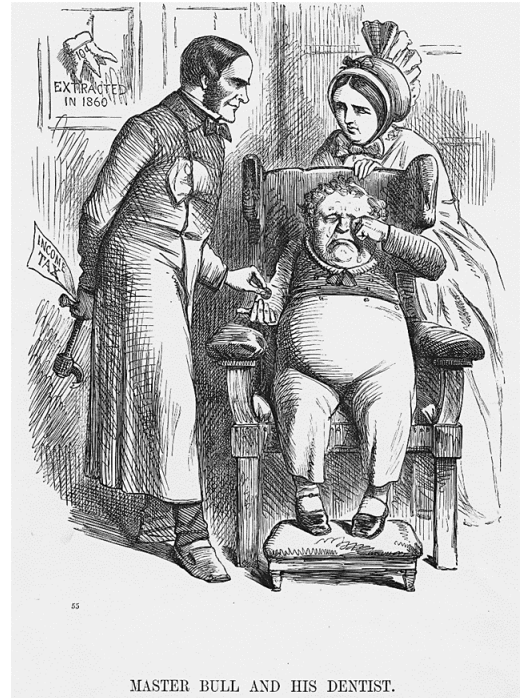


plausible source for the Tweedle brothers by no means excludes others.

At this point some art historians retreat to vague talk of 'intertextuality'. I suggest that it is more profitable to position possible sources in a chronological sequence, one which permits us to make links of the kind mentioned above. To summarise, the primary *conceptual* sources of Tweedledum and Tweedledee are as follows. Byrom's verse provided the names, and the notion of two people who resemble each other in some important respect. The nursery rhyme provided the outline of events in Chapter IV of *Looking-Glass*. The idea of making the Tweedle brothers plump 'identical' twins might have come from anywhere, one possibility being the Cheeryble brothers in *Nicholas Nickleby*. The characters also owe something to the Mooney and Spooney of *La Guida di Bragia*. Making Tweedledum and Tweedledee enantiomorphs evolved naturally from the mirror theme. Moreover, the brothers have several

The light-coloured, high-waisted trousers were buttoned over the jacket, and the outfit completed by white socks and black shoes. The costume was obsolete by the 1870s, but is appropriate for two childish middle-aged men dressed up in the schoolboy garb of their youth. Some details may be traced back to other sources. For example, the Tweedle brothers' improvised armour – the dish-cover breastplate of Dee and the coal-scuttle helmet of Dum – have antecedents both in John Leech's 1848 *Punch* cartoon 'A Physical Force Chartist Arming for the Fight' and in Tenniel's humorous series of *Punch* sketches illustrating the metamorphosis of pots and pans into helmets.⁵⁸

The case of Tweedledum and Tweedledee draws attention to what is sometimes the extraordinarily complex network of interwoven ideas and images which jointly comprise the 'source' of a picture. As we have seen in other instances, the claim that a certain illustration 'derives' from such-and-such a source greatly oversimplifies matters; and finding one



⁵⁷ Tenniel, 'Master Bull and his Dentist', *Punch* (27 April 1861), p. 173. See Michael Hancher, *The Tenniel Illustrations to the 'Alice' Books* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985) pp. 4–5.

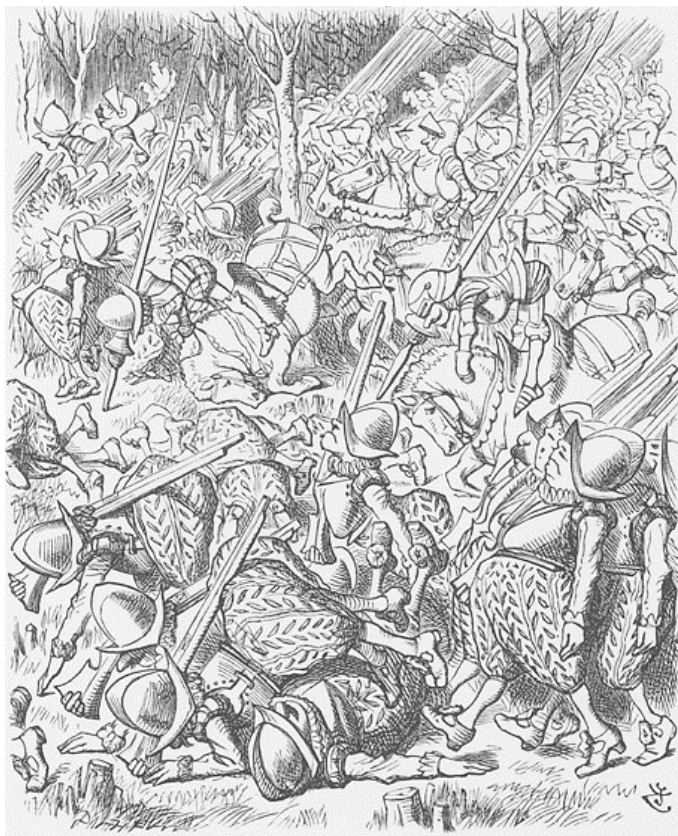
⁵⁸ Leech, 'A Physical Force Chartist Arming for the Fight', *Punch*, Vol. 15 (July–December 1848), p. 101. In both Leech's cartoon and Tenniel's illustrations the home-made armour mocks the heroic aspirations of the protagonists. Tenniel's 'metamorphosis' pictures appeared in *Punch* (9 June 1860), p. 237.

visual ancestors. Their distinctive posture derives from pictures of conjoined twins – principally of Chang and Eng. The rounded shape and old-fashioned clothing of the brothers can be traced back to stylised fat men such as Master Bull of the *Punch* cartoon. And matters are complicated even further by the possibility of an image being both a visual and a conceptual source. Thus pictures of the Cheeryble brothers and of Chang and Eng may have influenced both Carroll's conception and Tenniel's realisation of Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

All the King's Horses and all the King's Men

Another instance of Tenniel making fun of the mid-Victorian obsession with all things medieval is his picture of the King's Men who rush to Humpty Dumpty's aid after his fall. Donald Gray notes that 'The burlesque of the seemingly rude and awkward lines and composition of medieval tapestry and woodcuts was a common practice of mid-nineteenth century comic draughtsmen.'⁵⁹ Tenniel's picture resembles dozens of such burlesques found in *Punch* from the 1840s onwards. Might it have a more specific source?

One clue is provided by the prostrate figure that lies face upwards and arms outstretched in the centre foreground of Tenniel's illustration. The figure belongs to a minor but long-standing iconographical tradition in paintings of battles, serving as a focal point in an otherwise confusing mêlée of arms and legs.⁶⁰



One of the most famous of early battle paintings is *The Rout of San Romano* (c. 1456) by Paolo Uccello. One panel is in the National Gallery, London, and would undoubtedly have been familiar to Tenniel, who had a thorough knowledge of Italian Renaissance painting.⁶¹ This panel incorporates a fallen warrior in the left foreground, lying face down and with arms outstretched. The figure is well-known because it is an early example of what was, in the fifteenth century, the newly discovered skill of foreshortening. Carroll was also acquainted with Uccello's work. He would have known *A Hunt in a Forest* (c. 1467) in the Ashmolean, Oxford, and one possible source of the Jabberwock is the monster in Uccello's *St. George and the Dragon*.

The Rout of San Romano was probably in Tenniel's mind when drawing the King's Men. He needed only draw figures tripping over each other to remain faithful

⁵⁹ Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* (Norton Critical Edition) ed. Donald J Gray. 2nd edn. (New York: Norton & Co., 1992) p. 170 n. 3.

⁶⁰ See Maurice Keen (ed.), *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Several of the battle scenes reproduced here incorporate a similarly placed figure.

⁶¹ The original painting was done on three panels for the Medici Palace, Florence. The panel in the National Gallery is known as *Niccolò Mauruzi da Tolentino at the Battle of San Romano*. The other panels are now in the Uffizi, Florence and the Louvre, Paris.

to the text, so by incorporating the fallen soldier he is almost certainly referencing the iconographical tradition and, specifically, the Uccello. A man lying with outspread arms surrounded by soldiers and horses is, after all, presumably dead or badly injured; and Carroll might have been reluctant to allow Tenniel to include the figure unless it was sanctioned, so to speak, by being a quotation from a famous Renaissance painting. *The Rout* also employs a pattern of interlocking pikes for decorative effect, and these are echoed in the arquebuses or muskets



carried by the infantrymen in the foreground of Tenniel's picture. The infantrymen wear the distinctive helmets and baggy breeches of the papal Swiss Guard. The figures in the background, in contrast, are conventional medieval knights whose armour dates them to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Since arquebuses did not come into general use before the fifteenth century, and the Swiss Guard dates from the early sixteenth century, the picture is chronologically impossible.

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