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FROM OUR FAR-FLUNG CORRESPONDENTS

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The Curious Door: Charles Dodgson & the Iffley Yew
ALISON GOPNIK & ALVY RAY SMITH.

Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland lives because it speaks to the imagination of children everywhere. But it is so potent partly because it was originally composed for and about one particular child. Charles Dodgson turned the everyday, specific, banal events of Alice Liddell’s life into magic and dreams—or rather, he revealed the magical and dreamlike character of each child’s experience of the everyday, specific, and banal. Dinah, the treacle well, and the Sheep’s shop are enchanted versions of specific, real cats and wells and shops, and the wet, bedraggled party of animals in the pool of tears was originally a wet, bedraggled party of spinster sisters and children caught in an English summer rainstorm. These transformations of the everyday into the extraordinary help make Wonderland so compelling.

We suggest another such link between the real life of Charles Dodgson and the Liddell sisters and what looks like a particularly surreal and unlikely detail in the book—the door in the tree. The door appears after Alice leaves the Mad Tea Party, and it leads her back to the hall:

“At any rate I’ll never go there again!” said Alice as she picked her way through the wood. “It’s the stupidest tea-party I ever was at in all my life!” Just as she said this, she noticed that one of the trees had a door leading right into it. “That’s very curious!” she thought. “But everything’s curious today. I think I may as well go in at once.” And in she went.

The passage is very similar in Alice’s Adventures under Ground, Dodgson’s original version of the story, which included more specific references to actual events. However, it takes place just after Alice encounters the pigeon, and it has one significant difference: the “door” is a “doorway.”

“However, I’ve got to my right size again: the next thing is, to get into that beautiful garden—how is that to be done, I wonder?” Just as she said this, she noticed that one of the trees had a doorway leading right into it. “That’s very curious!” she thought, “but everything’s curious today: I may as well go in.” And in she went.

The door in the tree is also the subject of a full-page illustration by Dodgson—one that was not reproduced by Tenniel in the later book (Fig. 1).

We suggest that this curious tree was based on a real tree, the Iffley Yew, a very old hollow tree with a four-foot opening in one side—a child-sized doorway, if not a door—growing in the churchyard in the village of Iffley, two miles down the Thames from Oxford.

We will establish the following:
1. The Iffley Yew was well known in the early nineteenth century, and Dodgson would almost certainly have read about it as a picturesque and historically significant local landmark.
2. Dodgson knew Iffley well, particularly the Church, and visited it often, particularly between 1862 and 1864 when he was writing Alice’s Adventures under Ground. He had several clerical friends who lived there. He planned to take photographs there.
3. Dodgson went to Iffley with Alice Liddell and her sisters on at least two occasions, and possibly more.
4. There is a photograph of the Iffley Yew by the Oxford photographer Henry Taunt that we can date to between May 18, 1862, and March 8, 1866, a period roughly contemporaneous with the composition of Alice’s Adventures under Ground. The photograph shows the opening in the tree clearly, and the tree bears a striking resemblance to Dodgson’s illustration.

The Iffley Yew
Iffley Church was, and is, famous as one of the most beautiful and best preserved Romanesque churches in England. It dates from the 1170s, with very few alterations since. It is particularly well known for its fantastical, grotesque, and very Carrollian carvings of real and mythical animals, including gryphons. In the churchyard there is an exceptionally large and old yew tree, currently some 25 feet in girth. The tree is hollow. Currently, the cavity has been partially filled with concrete, stones, and earth, but the east side still has an opening about three feet high and a foot off the ground. From the outside, the opening is now completely hidden by the branches that reach to the ground (Fig. 2).
The tree was rather different in the nineteenth century, however. Descriptions and pictures of the tree appear in many sources. It was described carefully in John Loudon’s standard *Trees and Shrubs of Great Britain* in 1838:

*The Iffley Yew* stands in Iffley churchyard, near Oxford, nearly opposite the south-east corner of the church, and between that and an ancient cross. This tree is supposed to be coeval with the church, which, it is believed, was built previously to the Norman conquest. The dimensions of the tree, kindly taken for us in September, 1836, by Mr. Baxter, were as follows:—Girt of the trunk, at 2 ft. from the ground, 20 ft., and at 4 ft. from the ground, where the branches begin, 17 ft. The trunk is now little more than a shell, and there is an opening on the east side of the tree which is 4 ft. high, and about 4 ft. in width; the cavity within is 7 ft. long, 4 ft. wide, and 4 ft. high in the highest part. The height of the tree is 22 ft.; and there are about 20 principal branches, all of which, except two, are in a very vigorous and flourishing state. The diameter of the head is 25 ft. each way.

In *The Gentleman’s Magazine* of 1804 there is a description of two bored travelers who “alternately thrust themselves into the tree,” a description which fits the dimensions described in Loudon. The tree was also described and illustrated in Oxford guidebooks such as *The Oxford University and City Guide* of 1818, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* of 1823 (Fig. 3), and *Memorials of Oxford* of 1837, among others. Engravings of it appeared in *The Illustrated London News* of 1845 and *The Penny Illustrated News* of 1850. The descriptions emphasize both the great age of the tree and its picturesque appearance. It also appeared at length in the self-consciously “artistic” travel writings of *The Wanderings of a Pen and Pencil* by Francis P. Palmer and Alfred Crowquill in 1846, which include...
appealingly Victorian descriptions of both the Iffley cottages ("dainty bowers of delight" where "the syllabubs in the open air were charming") and the Yew itself: "The roots of this surprising vegetable hero were probably strong in earth when Richard the Lion-hearted was beating down the Paynim chivalry in the Holy Land."

Most significantly of all, for our purposes, the tree was both described and illustrated, with the opening prominently depicted, in *The Art-Journal of June 1, 1857* (Fig. 4):

> The church-yard contains an aged yew tree—so aged that no stretch of fancy is required to believe it was planted when the first stone of the sacred structure was laid. *

*It has been generally stated that yew-trees were planted near churches to supply bow-staves for archers, at a time when archery was much practised, and enforced by law. But the custom is now believed to be much older, and to be a relic of paganism; these trees being sacred to the dead from a very early period, and therefore especially venerated by the Druids, were adopted by the Romans and Saxons; hence "the church was brought to the tree, and not the tree to the church" for the eminent botanist Decandolle notes that the yews at Fountains and Crowhurst are 1200 years old, while that at Fortingale, in Scotland, is believed to be 1400 years old. 

This passage and the picture were part of a year-long serialization called "The Book of the Thames, from Its Rise to Its Fall" by the editor of the *Journal*, Samuel C. Hall, and his wife. *The Art-Journal* was the leading art magazine of its time and an early advocate of photography. We know that Dodgson read it, since some of his first photographs in 1856 were photographs of pages from the *Journal*.11

So the Yew, like the Church, was well known as a picturesque, historically significant, and romantically (if not always entirely accurately) depicted ancient relic in Dodgson’s time.

**DODGSON IN IFFLEY**

Dodgson’s diaries record two visits to Iffley in 1857.12 The diaries from April 1858 to April 1862 are missing. Eleven further visits are recorded in the period between May 1862, when the diaries recommence, and November 1864, when Dodgson presented the finished *Alice’s Adventures under Ground* to Alice Liddell.13

Dodgson had several friends and acquaintances who lived in Iffley between 1857 and 1864. They included William Henry Charsley; James Rumsey and his family; the "Perpetual Curate" of Iffley, Thomas Acton Warburton; and John Slatter and his family. Dodgson specifically records visiting and dining with the Charsleys, the Rumseys, and Warburton in Iffley in his diaries.14 Dodgson was also friendly with William Ranken, who succeeded Slatter as Vicar of Sandford-on-Thames in 1862 and, according to the diary, lived in lodgings in Sandford, a short way farther down the river from Iffley.15 John Slatter, Elizabeth Rumsey, and Thomas Warburton are all listed as living in Iffley in the 1861 census (with James Rumsey listed separately in Oxford at his college).16

Although he does not specifically record visiting him in Iffley in the extant diaries, Dodgson was particularly close to John Slatter and his family. Slatter was born in Iffley and was Vicar of nearby Sandford-on-Thames from 1852 through 1861.17 He had a first in mathematics at Oxford, and was an amateur astronomer, meteorologist, and antiquarian, and he...
had a young daughter, Bessie. In the *Letters*, Dodgson records a visit from “some friends… the John Slatters” to see photographs on December 18, 1860, when the Slatters lived at Iffley (in fact, in “an awful breach of court etiquette” he uses this visit to excuse himself from sending the photographs to Prince Albert to view). He also photographed both John Slatter and Bessie in 1860 and photographed seven-year-old Bessie again (with a guinea pig) probably in 1861. Slatter became Vicar at Streatley and moved there early in 1862, when Ranken succeeded him at Sandford. According to the diaries, Dodgson visited the Slatters at least four times at Streatley between 1862 and 1864, although they were now a train ride away. It seems very likely, then, that Dodgson also visited the Slatters at Iffley during the period of the missing diaries.

Dodgson also had close connections to Iffley Church. The diaries record that he attended services there three times. He also records visiting the Rectory three times and interacting with the Rev. Thomas Warburton, the Perpetual Curate and de facto Vicar, and his extended family of sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews. And he records assisting with the church school and playing croquet in the Rectory garden.

At the time that Dodgson visited Iffley, Warburton and Iffley Church were at the center of *Barchester Towers*-like religious and aesthetic controversies. Reverend Warburton himself is a figure straight out of Trollope, a man marked by irascibility and arrogance as well as energy and zeal. He was an enthusiast for both High Church theology and medieval architecture and history—he wrote a book called *Rollo and his Race: Or Footsteps of the Normans*—and he worked hard, in spite of substantial opposition, to return the church to what he thought of as its original state. He was responsible for restoring the ancient cross that stood directly in front of the yew in 1857, and for adding a newly carved top to replace the original. The unrestored cross can be seen in the *Antiquities of Oxfordshire* and *The Art-Journal* engravings (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). He also removed a fifteenth-century perpendicular window in the church in 1857, replacing it with a restoration of the original Romanesque oculus. He equipped it with vivid Victorian stained glass commemorating the death of his brother. He also wanted to remove the fifteenth-century windows inside the church, but couldn’t overcome the opposition from the architects and the community.

Dodgson (and Alice Liddell) were particularly close to another enthusiast for medieval architecture in general and the Iffley Church in particular—none other than Alice’s father, Henry Liddell, himself. Liddell was both a vice-president and a frequent member of the governing committee of the Oxford Architectural Society, originally known as the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture. He continued as member through at least 1870. John Slatter was also a member. In 1841 Liddell presented a notably sensible and moderate paper to the society about the possible restoration of the Iffley Church, arguing for restoring the oculus but not the side windows.

It is hard for us now to recapture the intense Victorian enthusiasm for all things medieval—Warburton referred to the fifteenth-century windows as “Tudor blemishes” and even the moderate Henry Liddell startlingly argued for the removal of “Italian alter (sic) pieces and square sleeping-boxes and all the other incongruities with which our Churches have been disfigured since the period called ‘the Renaissance’ when all true taste seems to have departed from us.”

Dodgson was no exception. He was an enthusiast for the Pre-Raphaelite movement in art, which also advocated a return to pre-Renaissance aesthetics, and was a personal friend of many of the Pre-Raphaelite artists. Of course, he also saw the comic side. “Jabberwocky” began as a parody of obscure Anglo-Saxon poetry, and there are many references to Normans and Saxons in the *Alice* books. Alice thinks that the mouse might have come over with William the Conqueror, “For, with all her knowledge of history, Alice had no very clear notion how long ago anything had happened”—a description that might apply to the chroniclers of the Iffley Yew who combined Normans, Saxons, and Druids into a single hazy medieval past. But there was no doubt that Iffley Church and the Yew were part of that past, and Dodgson would surely have shared Warburton’s and Henry Liddell’s fascination with their medieval character.

**IFFLEY PHOTOGRAPHY**

In his diaries, Dodgson records his intention to take photographs at Iffley on four separate occasions, though it’s not clear whether he actually succeeded in doing so. The first record is a May 1857 entry made during the time that the Thames series was appearing in *The Art-Journal*: “I am thinking of going over someday to photograph the church there, and they undertake to borrow for me a room at the Rectory, which is at present uninhabited.”

In June of 1862 he records that he is planning to take photographs of the Rumseys and the Warburton children, among others, in the Rectory, and in a later June entry he visits the Rectory and arranges to take his camera there on July 10. (By then Warburton had restored the Rectory and moved in.) In fact, however, on July 10 he records taking photographs in Christ Church, so it seems unlikely that he also did so in Iffley. On the other hand, one surviving picture from that time, 0785 in Dodgson’s photograph numbering, is a photograph of Mrs. Rumsey and her daughter Leila (short for Cornelia). The numbering suggests that it was taken sometime in July, so it seems that it was either taken in Christ Church on July 10 or possibly taken in Iffley on a different day.
Leila, according to British birth records, was born in 1857 in Iffley, and so was almost five years old in July 1862, which also fits her age in the picture. 28,29

On July 14, 1862, Dodgson again records that he had “settled to send my camera over” to Iffley on “Monday [July] the 20th, if nothing prevents” (though this was actually July 21). 30 But, again, it is not clear whether he succeeded in doing so. Finally, he also includes Augusta Warburton, the Rev. Warburton’s niece—whom he had planned to photograph in the June 1862 entry—in a long list in the diary of children either already photographed or to be photographed, dated March 25, 1863. 31 The list also includes Bessie Slatter and Cornelia Rumsey, as well as the Liddell sisters. No photograph of Augusta survives, however. So we cannot prove that Dodgson actually took photographs in Iffley Rectory, but he certainly planned to do so and looked at Iffley with a photographic eye.

**Alice in Iffley**

So Dodgson knew Iffley and the Church well. But what about Alice? One of the first records of the recommenced diaries reads

May 26, 1862

Went down the river with Southey, taking Ina, Alice, and Edith with us: we only went to Iffley. Even then it was hard work rowing up again, the stream is so strong. 32

This record takes place a little before the wet expedition to Nuneham that inspired the pool of tears, on June 17, and the famous trip to Godstow when the story was first told, on July 4. 33 Wakeling notes that there were almost certainly earlier expeditions with Alice and her sisters on the river. In her reminiscences, Alice Liddell says that they took both full-day excur-
sessions, including dinner, to such places as Nuneham and Godstow, and shorter afternoon ones including only tea. Iffley would have been a good destination for a shorter trip.34

In May of 1863, when he was still working on the pictures for Alice’s Adventures under Ground, there are two diary records of Dodgson walking to “a little below Iffley” and “by Iffley” with the Liddell children.35 Again, it seems at least plausible that there were more such walks during the period of the missing diaries, when Dodgson saw the Liddell children frequently.

Finally, in her recollections of the wet trip to Nuneham—recorded, of course, many years later—Alice mistakenly recalled that the cottage where they took shelter was in Iffley. (It was actually in Sandford, and Dodgson and Duckworth walked to Iffley to get a fly to rescue the others.) This at least suggests that Iffley was familiar territory.36

Alice had turned ten on May 4, 1862, just before the boat trip to Iffley recorded in the diary. We don’t know her exact height, of course, and, as the fictional Alice would point out, it was constantly changing in the period when Wonderland was conceived and written. But, by at least one estimate, the average height for eight-year-old British schoolgirls in 1908–1911 was 114.9 cm., or 3 ft. 9 in., while the average for twelve year olds was 135.2 cm., or 4 ft. 5 in.37 So it seems very likely that Alice would have been somewhere under four feet tall.

This also seems to be true of the fictional Alice. The Alice of the book is seven and a half years old in Through the Looking-Glass and presumably seven in Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland. In Tenniel’s illustration of the door in the hall, in Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland, the still normal-sized Alice is just about three times taller than the 15-inch-high door behind the curtain in the hall, or a little below four feet. Interestingly, Dodgson actually altered the height of the door from Alice’s Adventures under Ground to the final manuscript. In Alice’s Adventures under Ground, the door is 18 inches high and does not appear in the illustration. So presumably he changed it to make Alice the right height in the Tenniel drawing. We know that he was extremely concerned about small details of the illustrations, and in a book where height changes are so central, getting the “normal” Alice right would have been important.

This would make both the real and the fictional Alice just the right height to fit through the four-foot opening in the tree recorded by Loudon. Any child, let alone a particularly bright and imaginative one, would relish the idea of walking through an opening that was just about her size, into the middle of a tree.

**The Taunt Photograph**

The tree’s current appearance, 150 years later (see Fig. 2), doesn’t look much like the illustration in Alice’s Adventures under Ground—the tree branches extend to the ground, and the hole has been partially blocked up. The illustration is also only vaguely like the (somewhat impressionistic) early nineteenth-century engravings. A tree is a living and changing organism, however, so one would want to compare the illustration to a contemporaneous photograph.
Fortunately, a number of nineteenth-century photographs of the Iffley Yew can be found in the English Heritage Archives.\textsuperscript{38} They include several glass negative plates taken by Henry Taunt, a well-known local Oxford commercial photographer. The earliest dated plate is from 1870 (see Fig. 5b), but there is another, undated plate which has to be even earlier since several gravestones that occur in the 1870 picture are missing from it (see Fig. 5a).\textsuperscript{39}

In fact, since this photograph is set in the churchyard, and, as a large glass negative, has excellent detail, it is possible to date it fairly precisely by examining the gravestone inscriptions. Cross-checking with the Iffley Parish Burial Register and the surviving gravestones in the current churchyard provides even more information.\textsuperscript{40} It’s immediately apparent that there is a cross dated October 1859 in the foreground of both pictures (circled in Fig. 5) and a stone dated October 1866 immediately behind it in the 1870 picture that is absent from the earlier one (enclosed in a rectangle in Fig. 5). Both dates can be confirmed in the Burial Register. So the photograph must date from the period between 1859 and 1866.

Closer examination shows that the gravestone in front of the restored ancient cross in the first picture has been replaced by a different stone in the 1870 shot (enclosed in a rectangle in Fig. 5). The new stone, which can be read in close-up, still exists in a stack at the side of the churchyard and commemorates Martha Luff, who died in 1866 and—again, according to the Iffley Parish Burial Register—was buried March 8, 1866. Even more detailed inspection of the photographs shows a small cross off to one side near the church in both the earlier and later shot (circled in Fig. 5). This cross, though broken, is still in the same place and commemorates Eliza Hearne, who died in 1862 and was buried May 18. This means that we can date the earlier photograph to the period between May 18, 1862, and March 8, 1866, just the time when Wonderland was being written. (Cross-checking the Burial Register and the record of extant inscriptions shows that this is as precise a date as we are able to get.)\textsuperscript{41}

Fig. 6 shows the detail from the 1862–1866 photograph that corresponds to the illustration. Allowing for the Pre-Raphaelite curves that Dodgson applied to the branches, and a slight change of angle, they are strikingly similar. In a later photograph from 1885,\textsuperscript{42} as now, the hole is blocked up with stones, but it is open in both the 1862–1866 and 1870 photographs, and, just as Loudon described it, extends to the same height as the first branches.

In particular, if we take the proportions given in Loudon’s book, the hole in the tree is four feet tall and equivalently wide, extending from the ground to the point where the branches start. In the illustration, Alice is just under the height of both the tree branches and the door.

**CONCLUSION**

So what do we know with some certainty, and what can we infer? We can be fairly certain that Dodgson knew about the Iffley Yew, that he visited Iffley twice in 1857 and eleven times between 1862 and 1864, that he had friends, including child-friends, in Iffley, that he attended services at the church three times, and that he also visited the Rectory three times. We can also be fairly certain that he intended to take photographs in Iffley Rectory and that he visited Iffley with the Liddell sisters twice. We can be fairly certain that, in the 1860s, the tree had a hole that could be entered, that the hole was about four feet high by four feet wide at maximum extension, and that the tree strongly resembled Dodgson’s illustration. It is definitely not certain but is highly plausible that there were other unrecorded visits to Iffley during the period of the missing diaries between 1858 and 1862.

Putting this all together leads to what is undoubtedly an inference, but surely not a wild or implausible inference. It is an inference that fits everything we know about Dodgson’s genius—both his genius with children and his literary genius—and about the general genius of children themselves. The inference is that the children Dodgson knew, including the Liddell sisters, and Alice in particular, would have enjoyed the special imaginative child pleasure of finding a child-sized, unlikely hiding place (a shed, a treehouse, an attic, a garden nook). An ancient tree with a four-foot doorway would certainly be seen as curious and enchanting by every child we know. The further inference is that Dodgson would have delightedly joined in that imaginative pleasure. And the still further inference is that Dodgson—though perhaps here we should say Carroll—would have transformed that everyday bit of childish imaginative play into a memorably strange and curious door, in this most memorably strange and curious of books.


England census, 1861. Iffley Parish, Oxfordshire, Iffley Turn, registration district Headington, sub-registration district St. Clement, class RG9, piece 890, folio 104, p. 2, GSU roll 542717, lists at no. 9 John Slatter, 44, clergyman born in Iffley, wife Elizabeth, 49, daughter Elizabeth A., 7, and mother Ann, 75, and lists at no. 6 Elizabeth Romsey (sic), 35, a clergyman’s wife, son John T. M., 6, daughters Elizabeth F. C., 3, and Mary H., 1, England census, 1861, Iffley Parish, Oxfordshire, Iffley village, reg. district Headington, sub-reg. district St. Clement class RG9, piece 890, folio 112, p. 17, GSU r. 542717, lists at no. 89 Acton Warburton, 47, Perpetual Curate of Iffley, and mother Anna, 77, England census, 1861, St. Mary the Virgin Parish, Oxfordshire, St. Mary Hall, reg. district Oxford, sub-reg. district Oxford, class RG9, piece 893, folio 73, p. 34, GSU r. 542717, lists at no. 181 James Rumsey, 37, a clergyman. The 1861 census was enumerated Apr. 7, 1861, with information stated as of that date. All images of the census online at <Ancestry.com>.

Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries*, Vol. 4, p. 72, in a note by Wakeling; John Slatter signed the Sandford Parish Register from July 4, 1852, through December 15, 1861, with W. H. Ranken succeeding him (Family History Society, compact disc OXF-HED01).


Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries*, Vol. 4, pp. 102, 135, 185, 295; Slatter signed the Streteal Parish Register from January 9, 1862, to March 28, 1880 (Family History Library, Salt Lake City, microfilm 104688).


Birth certificate, General Register Office, registration district Headington Union, sub-district St. Clement, Elizabeth Frances Cornelia, born Aug. 22, 1857, Iffley, Oxfordshire, father James Rumsey, clergyman, mother Eliza Rumsey formerly Medlycott [sic, should be Medlycott], registered Sept. 28, 1857.


Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries*, Vol. 4, p. 103. In a note, Wakeling states that Dodgson discovered on July 22 that several of his dates, including this one, were off by one, and that Dodgson then corrected them; the 20th here was corrected to the 21st.


The gravestones marked with rectangles in the 1870 photograph were used to establish an upper bound on the date of the earlier photograph, and those marked with ovals the lower bound. The tall cross next to the Yew was restored in 1857 (cf. Fig. 5 and Fig. 4).


*Monumental Inscription Transcript, Iffley, St. Mary the Virgin Parish Church, Oxfordshire Family History Society*, compact disc OXF-MI-IFF.

*English Heritage Archives*, <www.englishheritagearchives.org.uk>, reference no. CC54/00379 dated 1885. Examining the stones in the photograph confirms the date.

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Final Corrections to The Curious Door: Charles Dodgson & the Iffley Yew:

Contents page: Delete “18” before Alison Gopnik, and add “17” (the correct page number) to the right of the title line.

Figure 1: For consistency, de-italicize “Alice’s Adventures under Ground.”

Figure 2: Caption doesn’t appear. Add “. The Iffley Church and Yew today (July 2011). Cf. Fig. 5.”

Figure 5: I would like to see the two photos aligned by their right edges, rather than their left. This would put the tree and church in alignment, more or less, in the two photos. I have in mind just swapping the treatment of the right margin with the left margin—i.e., all text would be on the left instead of all on the right.

p. 22, first line after the heading “The Taunt Photograph”: Replace “The tree’s current appearance, 150 years later” with “One might wonder if any old hollow tree would look like the tree in Dodgson’s illustration. In fact, however, even this very tree, 150 years later”.

Endnote 27: Delete whitespace before “Wakeling”.

Authors’ note, bottom of last page: Add “and co-founder of Pixar” to Alvy’s description, just after “Genealogists”.