

**‘DRESSED AS A NEW ZEALANDER’,
OR AN ETHNOGRAPHIC MISCHMASCH?
NOTES AND REFLECTIONS ON TWO
PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHARLES DODGSON
(LEWIS CARROLL)**

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Introduction

For reasons that will become obvious, in September 2012 the University of Oxford’s Pitt Rivers Museum (hereafter PRM) purchased the photographic print illustrated here (Figure 1).¹ It is not part of the PRM’s remit to collect prints of photographs taken by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–1898)—better known, of course, as Lewis Carroll; nor could it afford to do so if it wanted to. In this case, however, there was a particular reason why the print was of interest. For some of the ‘props’ in the image had been identified as artefacts that had been in the PRM since 1886 when they were included in the ‘anthropological’ objects transferred from the Ashmolean Museum to the University Museum to join the newly arrived Pitt Rivers Collection (see, for example, Petch 2007: 104). Moreover, at least one of the objects had been identified as being part of the well-known Forster collection of objects collected on James Cook’s second famous voyage to the Pacific of 1772–1775 (see, for example, Coote et al. 2000).

At the time of the purchase, it was thought that this was the only surviving print of the photograph. However, further research has established that another print of it (Figure 2) survives in an album held at the University’s Bodleian Library,² along with a print of another photograph (Figure 3) taken during the same session and featuring some of the same objects and a few others. For convenience’s sake, we will refer to the photograph from which the print now held at the PRM was made as A (i.e. Figures 1 and 2), and to the other photograph as B (Figure 3).

Photograph A has been known to Dodgson scholars for some years, the other has only recently come to light and has not been published before now. Unsurprisingly, no previous author has been concerned to identify with curatorial precision the ‘props’ Dodgson used, or to reflect at any length on



Figure 1. Print of a photograph by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) of Ella Monier-Williams; original albumen print, 246 x 181 mm, from a wet collodion plate, taken on 9 July 1866 in Dodgson's studio in Badcock's Yard, St Aldate's, Oxford; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (2012.107.1). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

this aspect of the images. This then was our first task, the results of which we report on below. Once the props had been identified, however, our interest turned to establishing the circumstances in which the photographs were taken, to tracing the history of the surviving prints, to investigating the place of the images in Dodgson's photographic oeuvre, and to assessing the significance of the photographs for the sitter herself. We cannot deal properly with all these matters here. Rather, we limit ourselves to providing (1) a brief account of the production of the photographs and the later history of the prints, (2) an

account of the props (also for convenience's sake listed in an Appendix), and (3) some reflections—questions, really—about the past, present, and potential future significance of the two images. There is, of course, a large, diverse, and scattered literature about Dodgson/Carroll, his life and work, and about his photography. We have done our best to make good use of at least some of this, but are aware that we may have missed some significant literature and that what we have to say here will not be the last word, by any means.³

History

The three surviving photographic artefacts are original albumen prints produced from wet collodion negatives. The print in the PRM (Figure 1) has suffered some damage, due to the history of its usage, detailed below; those in the album (Figures 2 and 3) are in good condition. The PRM print is of a very full frame, including as it does areas where the emulsion was irregularly applied at the edges of the plate, or else flaked off prior to printing. Comparison with the print in the album (Figure 2) shows that they were printed from the same negative, although the print in the album has been cropped. Both album prints are much faded around the edges, probably due to chemical reaction with the acids in the album support. The PRM print is evenly faded, but has a distinctively different glossy surface when compared to that of the prints in the album. It also has some damage in the form of a white blotch near the sitter's feet, and further white spots near her shoulder and arm, which are not present on the print in the album. These areas of damage have not affected the surface of the print and are, rather, suggestive of liquid damage to the negative that has subsequently been printed through. If this is correct, it would suggest that the print in the album was printed prior to the damage occurring to the negative, and the PRM print some time after such damage occurred. Around the edges of the PRM print there is also some damage to the emulsion layer as a result of the application of animal glue used to stick the print to a window mount for exhibition (see below).

Thanks to the work of previous writers on Dodgson's photographs—including Helmut Gersheim (e.g. 1949), Morton N. Cohen (e.g. 1995, 1998), Roger Taylor (e.g. Taylor 2002), Douglas R. Nickel (2002), and Edward Wakeling (e.g. 2002a, 2002b, 2002c)—it has been easy to establish that the sitter was the eight-year-old Ella Chlora Faithfull Monier-Williams and that the photographs were taken in Dodgson's studio in Badcock's Yard opposite Christ Church in St Aldate's, Oxford. Ella Monier-Williams (1858–1945) was the daughter of Monier Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University. We know from Dodgson's diary that he first met the Monier-Williams family on 1 May 1866 (Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2007, Vol. 5: 146) and that three weeks later Mrs Monier-Williams brought Ella to Dodgson's rooms to be photographed



Figure 2. Print of a photograph by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) of Ella Monier-Williams; original albumen print, 138 x 130 mm, from a wet collodion plate, taken on 9 July 1866 in Dodgson's studio in Badcock's Yard, St Aldate's, Oxford; from a family album in the Bickersteth Family Papers in the Special Collections of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (MS Photography d.21, 73). Courtesy and copyright, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

(ibid.: 151). Dodgson is known to have taken at least fourteen photographs of Ella in May, June, and July 1866—eleven of her on her own, and one each with her mother, with a younger brother, and with an as-yet-unidentified younger girl (Wakeling 2002a: 260–61).

The key dates for documenting the circumstances in which the present photographs were taken are 8 and 9 July 1866. In his diary entry for Sunday



Figure 3. Print of a photograph by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) of Ella Monier-Williams (Photograph B here); original albumen print, 138 x 175 mm, from a wet collodion plate, taken on 9 July 1866 in Dodgson's studio in Badcock's Yard, St Aldate's, Oxford; from a family album in the Bickersteth Family Papers in the Special Collections of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (MS Photography d.21, 73). Courtesy and copyright, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

8 July, covering the previous week, Dodgson records: 'I have taken...a good many of their little Ella.... I also borrowed some New Zealand articles from the Ashmolean, and took a picture of her asleep, covered with a native cloak, and with anklet etc.' (ibid.: 163). On the following day, Monday 9 July, he records: 'Did two large pictures of Ella with New Zealand cloak etc.' (ibid.). Presumably, the two photographs discussed here are 'the two large pictures with New Zealand cloak etc.' taken on 9 July 1866. It is not known whether any



Figure 4. Page 615 in Volume 172 of *The Illustrated London News* (for Saturday 14 April 1928; from a copy in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (N. 2288 b.6). The image at bottom right, captioned 'Dressed as a New Zealander' was reproduced from the print now in the collections of the PRM (Figure 1). Courtesy and copyright, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

print survives from the photograph taken of her *asleep* 'covered with a native cloak, and with anklet etc.'

It was Dodgson's practice to give prints of the photographs he took to the sitters or their parents, cutting them into a variety of standard formats before doing so (Taylor 2002: 68). In this case, he gave at least two prints of

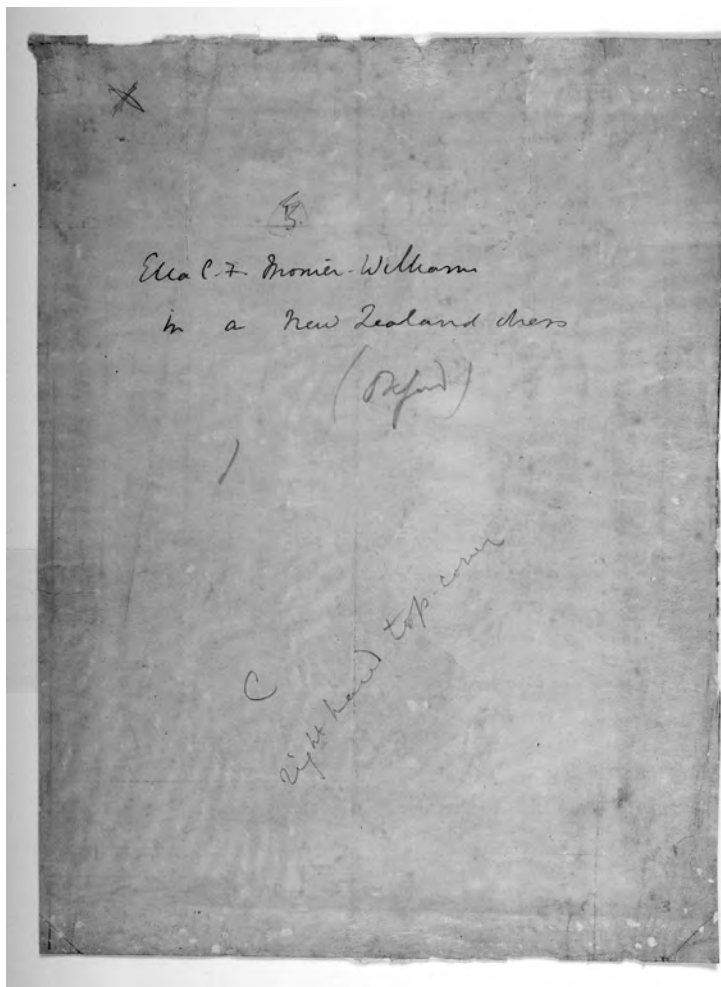


Figure 5. Verso of the print reproduced in Figure 1; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (2012.107.1). Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

Photograph A, one untrimmed (Figure 1), the other cut into an arched ‘Gothic’ format (Figure 2), and one—again cut into an arched format—of Photograph B (Figure 3), along with prints of a number of other photographs. Some eleven prints of photographs of Ella survive in a family photograph album,⁴ while in later life she also had in her possession a number of loose prints. In 1928, by which time she was Mrs Bickersteth (having married the Reverend Samuel Bickersteth in 1881), she supplied eight prints of photographs of herself to *The Illustrated London News* for reproduction in a feature inspired by the sale at auction of ‘Alice’s Adventures Under Ground’, the manuscript on which *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* was based.⁵ The images were captioned, the image of

Photograph A having the legend 'Dressed as a New Zealander' (Figure 4). This caption was presumably based on the undated inscription in ink on the verso of the print now at the PRM, in what appears to be Mrs Bickersteth's 'immaculate copper plate handwriting' (Ford 2010: 47), reading 'Ella C. F. Monier-Williams in a New Zealand Dress' (Figure 5).⁶

Four years later, Mrs Bickersteth supplied six of the eight prints she had previously provided to the *Illustrated London News* for exhibition at the Lewis Carroll Centenary Exhibition held in London in 1932 (Madan (ed.) 1932: 90, item 536). These were window mounted on a piece of card titled in ink: 'Photographs taken by Lewis Carroll with his own Camera in his Rooms at Christ Church, Oxford in 1864–5 [*sic*]. Ella C. F. Monier Williams (now Mrs Samuel Bickersteth) daughter of the late Sir M. Monier-Williams, D.C.L., K.C.I.E. Boden Professor of Sanscrit [*sic*] in the University of Oxford'. The print now at the PRM was one of those exhibited, at top right (Figure 6).⁷

The centenary exhibition closed on 31 July 1932. Presumably, the card mounted with the six prints was returned to Mrs Bickersteth and passed down through the family, though it was not included in the collection of books, letters, and photographs offered for sale at Phillips in London in November 1994 as 'Property of the Children of Bishop John Bickersteth Grandson of Ella Monier-Williams' (Phillips 1994: 70–79, lots 364–86). It was, however, offered for sale anonymously at Sotheby's on 9 May 2001 (Sotheby's 2001: 20–21, lot 319).⁸ It did not sell then, being 'bought in', but two years later it was offered to the PRM by Carroll scholar and antiquarian book dealer Jeffrey Stern who had learned from Wakeling that the 'props' Dodgson had borrowed from the Ashmolean were probably now in the PRM's collections. Although Coote and the PRM's then curator of photographs Elizabeth Edwards were sufficiently interested to travel to York to examine the card and consider its acquisition, the museum was obliged to decline the offer for lack of funds. Later that year, Stern arranged for the six prints to be removed from the card by a photographic conservator so that they could be offered for sale individually.⁹ It was not until 2012, however, that the PRM was approached by another dealer, Colin Hinchcliffe, offering for sale the single print of 'Dressed as a New Zealander'. This time the museum decided to seek funding to purchase the print. With the support of the Chadwyk-Healey Fund and the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, the PRM was able to add it to its collections.¹⁰

Despite the photograph's reproduction in the feature in *The Illustrated London News* in 1928, it was not until an image of the card exhibited in 1932 was reproduced in the catalogue of the Sotheby's sale in 2001 that the fact that a print of Photograph A had survived became known to Dodgson specialists.¹¹ Since then it has been listed in Wakeling's 'Register of All Known Photographs by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson' (Wakeling 2002a: 260), and referred to—but not illustrated—a number of times (e.g. Smith 1993: 376, 1998: 102). Most recently, Wakeling refers to it in his recently published biography *Lewis Carroll*:



Figure 6. The card mounted with six prints of photographs of Ella Monier-Williams provided by Mrs Bickersteth for the Lewis Carroll Centenary Exhibition in London in 1932, as reproduced on page 20 of *Photographs* [catalogue of sale L01271 held at Sotheby's, London, on Thursday 10 May 2001]; from a copy in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (related document file for 2012.107.1). The image at top right is the print now in the collections of the PRM (Figure 1). Courtesy, Sotheby's, London.

The Man and His Circle (Wakeling 2015a).¹² Here, Wakeling usefully places the photograph in the wider context of the 'Victorian fascination with tableaux images—children dressed in costumes representing a literary or historical event' (ibid.: 165), going on to explain how 'costume photographs were a particular feature and favourite of Dodgson's photographic output' and that 'he acquired costumes, borrowed them from museums, bought them from theatrical friends and even had some made for children to dress up in' (ibid.).

Drawing on the relevant entries in Dodgson's diaries, and the caption in *The Illustrated London News*, Wakeling writes of Photograph A: 'in another photograph, Ella Monier-Williams...is wearing a costume of the Maori, indigenous to New Zealand. This authentic costume was borrowed from one of the Oxford museums and is now part of the Pitt Rivers Collection at Oxford' (ibid.). As will become clear, Ella Monier-Williams is not 'wearing a costume

of the Maori'. Indeed, she is not wearing an 'authentic costume' of any sort; though the individual items are themselves 'authentic', the combination is not. Rather, she is wearing a 'mischmasch' of items borrowed by Dodgson from the Ashmolean and put together for the session.¹³

'Some New Zealand Articles'

As noted above, from Dodgson's diary we know that he had been able to borrow objects from the Ashmolean some time during the week leading up to 8 July 1866.¹⁴ The circumstances are unknown, but it cannot be irrelevant that John Phillips, keeper of the Ashmolean at the time, visited Dodgson's studio on Wednesday 11 July 1866—that is, two days after Photographs A and B were taken—to have *his* photograph taken.¹⁵ A likely scenario perhaps is that arrangements to borrow the objects and to take the photograph were made by Dodgson and Phillips at the same time; perhaps, indeed, the plan was for Phillips to both have his photograph taken and retrieve the objects on the 11th.

No list of what Dodgson borrowed survives, so far as we know.¹⁶ All we have to go on, therefore, are the prints. Fortunately, it has been possible to identify the objects, all of which survive at the PRM.¹⁷

In Photograph A (Figures 1 and 2), Ella Monier-Williams sits on a Tongan mat of plaited pandanus laid out on the floor in the corner of Dodgson's studio. She is wrapped in a fringed Maori *korowai* cloak of undyed flax (and incorporating some red and green wool) decorated with pendant tags (Figure 7). Around her head she wears a woven woollen sash from the Great Lakes region of North America, decorated with small white beads. On her left ankle she wears a Hawaiian armlet made of boar tusks and in her left hand she holds a Maori knife, of wood edged with shark teeth. To her left is a South African gourd with leather strapping, at her feet is a Maori paddle, and propped up against the wall is a Mozambican bow.

In Photograph B (Figure 3), she sits on the same Tongan mat, wrapped in the same Maori cloak, and wearing the same Hawaiian armlet around her ankle. On her right wrist she wears an ornament from Central Africa made of lions' teeth on a leather thong. The same Maori paddle is at her feet, grasped lightly in her right hand; while in her left hand she holds what appear to be two South African bracelets, one of rhinoceros horn, the other of copper. On the floor to her right is a Tahitian gourd in a sling of coconut fibre, and behind her can be seen part of a Tongan necklace made of bird-wing bones and brown shells.

Thus only three of the objects—the cloak, the knife, and the paddle—are Maori (that is, 'New Zealand articles'), with a further four objects—the Tahitian gourd, the Tongan mat and necklace, and the Hawaiian 'anklet'—being from elsewhere in Polynesia. The distinctions between Hawaii, Tonga, and New Zealand would hardly have mattered to Dodgson, understandably so perhaps;

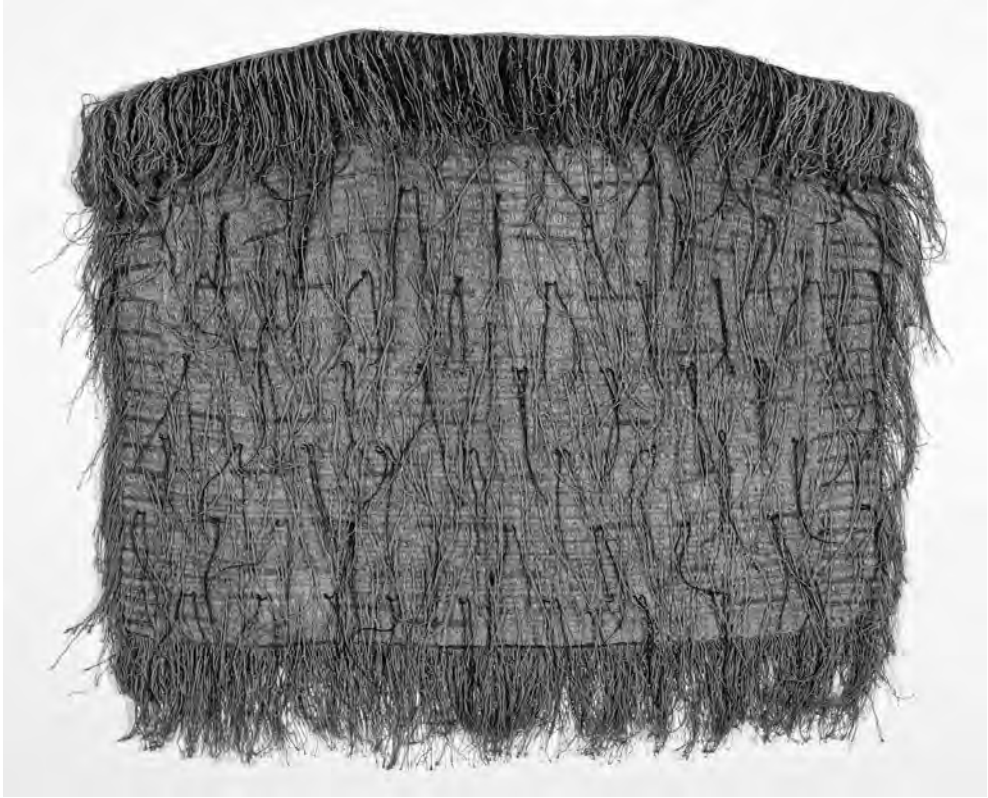


Figure 7. Māori cloak, korowai; flax, wool; 1150 mm x 1230 mm; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (1886.1.1127); from a photograph taken for the PRM by Malcolm Osman. Courtesy and copyright, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

but it is a little surprising that he referred collectively to the ‘props’—including the North American sash and the African gourd, bow, and bracelets—as ‘some New Zealand articles’. To be fair to Dodgson, however, it is not yet clear what information was with or on the objects at the time he borrowed them. It may be that he was under the impression that they were all, indeed, from New Zealand.

Reflections

That Charles Dodgson / Lewis Carroll borrowed from the Ashmolean objects that are now in the PRM and used them as props is clearly of intrinsic interest to us as PRM curators. No doubt anyone researching any of the particular objects will also be interested to know of these photographically captured moments in their histories. What else, however, might one say about these images? What, if anything, is their significance?

For museum ethnographers, perhaps, they say something about the way in which ethnographic objects were regarded at the time. That the keeper of the Ashmolean should have allowed Dodgson to borrow such objects to use as props suggests that they were not regarded as being of great importance. It is salutary to remember, however, that as recently as 1950 staff and students of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge dressed up in objects from the University's collection for a party held to mark the retirement of John Hutton, the curator of the museum.¹⁸ It is perhaps not so long ago that dressing up in museum artefacts was an acceptable, if exceptional, practice—for insiders at least. We also need to remember that Oxford was a small place in 1866, that many members of the University knew each other personally, and that Christ Church, in St Aldate's, was only a five-minute walk from the Ashmolean, in The Broad.¹⁹

As already mentioned, Photograph B has not been published before now, so only Photograph A has received significant attention in the scholarly literature. Unsurprisingly, it has been seen as another example of his practice of getting his young sitters to dress up—as beggar girls, story characters, Chinamen, etc. For us, however, there is something particular about the two images. This is partly a matter of their presumably deliberate triangularity (Dodgson was a Euclidean mathematician after all), but also because the poses—if not the composite costume—do have some semblance of 'authenticity'. This is we think in large part because Monier-Williams is sitting on a mat on the floor rather than on the couch on which Dodgson so often posed his sitters. Given this, her head of 'Polynesian-ish' hair, and the centrality to the compositions of the cloak, the images do have a feel of the 'South Seas' about them.

Our first thought had been that it might be fruitful to look for Dodgson's inspiration for the poses in the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites and associated contemporary artists, whose work he is known to have admired. As Sally Brown points out in her introduction to an edition of the facsimile of Dodgson's manuscript of 'Alice's Adventures Under Ground', 'several of his illustrations of the long-haired Alice...possess a distinctly pre-Raphaelite quality' (S. Brown 2008: 14). In particular, Dodgson's illustration of Alice trapped in the White Rabbit's house was apparently inspired by a Dante Gabriel Rossetti print, and his image of her holding the 'little magic bottle' was taken from *The Lady with the Lilacs*, a painting by Arthur Hughes that Dodgson owned (ibid.). More generally, Taylor claims that Dodgson's photography 'took its vocabulary from artistic conventions of posing, grouping, gesture, and expression' (Taylor 2002: 31; see also Stern 1976). Indeed, Dodgson makes specific reference to inspiration from a Pre-Raphaelite painting for a planned photograph in a letter to Mrs Kitchin, mother of Xie, one of his best-known and most photogenic child sitters. On 9 July 1873, Dodgson writes that he would like to take another photograph or two of Xie 'something like [John Everett] Millais' "Waking", but a different attitude' (Cohen (ed.) 1980: 6). This is really a matter for another publication,

perhaps, but in both the Dodgson photographs discussed here there seem to us to be echoes of Robert Braithwaite Martineau's *A Woman of San Germano* of 1864 (since 2011, coincidentally, in the collections of the modern Ashmolean Museum),²⁰ and of John Everett Millais' *Rosalind in the Forest* of 1870.²¹ Both artists were known to Dodgson, who met Martineau at least once, in July 1864 (Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2007, Vol. 4: 333) and visited the Millais family on a number of occasions, taking photographs of them in July 1865 (ibid.: 287; ibid., Vol. 5: 96–7). Presumably, Millais' painting was finished too late to have been a direct inspiration, but *Rosalind in the Forest*, with its heroine sitting on the ground with a long weapon held lightly in her right hand—may stand here for a general influence.

The more we study the images, however, the more it seems to us that Monier-Williams is not just dressed up; rather, she is acting a part. Could it be that in borrowing 'some New Zealand articles' and posing her for these photographs, Dodgson was deliberately creating images of a Maori child/woman? And if so why? Aside from Alice's wondering as she falls down the rabbit-hole whether she might come out in 'the antipathies' (Carroll 2009: 11), we can think of nothing in Dodgson/Carroll's writings—published or unpublished—that connects in any way with these photographs and their ostensible 'New Zealand-ness'. There was, however, a strong connection between Dodgson's college, Christ Church, and New Zealand. The settlement of Christchurch in New Zealand had been named such in 1848 after the Oxford college at the suggestion of graduate John Robert Godley. Moreover, just a few months after Dodgson matriculated at Christ Church in May 1850, the 'Canterbury Pilgrims' set sail from Plymouth to develop the settlement with the support of the Canterbury Association, one third of whose fifty-three members were Christ Church men, and were visited a year later by the Dean. Dodgson would certainly have known of these connections and it may have sparked an interest.²²

One individual who *may* also have inspired an interest in Maori culture is the Oxford scientist George Rolleston (1829–1881) who was well known to Dodgson.²³ Rolleston had wide anthropological interests, was a member of the Ethnological Society from 1860, and was later a friend of Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers. Perhaps Rolleston stimulated an interest in Polynesia in Dodgson and perhaps he suggested that Dodgson might be able to borrow some suitable props from the Ashmolean. Could it be that Dodgson went to the Ashmolean specifically to borrow 'some New Zealand articles'? We began by thinking that what Dodgson borrowed was random and accidental, but perhaps Ella's appearance—that head of 'Polynesian-ish' hair and her 'serious and absorbed' nature (Ford 2010: 47)—inspired him to want to photograph her as 'a New Zealander'.

Intriguingly, Dodgson is known to have owned a copy of Augustus Earle's *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827*, published in 1832. Could he have been inspired by the engraving in it of 'A New Zealand



Figure 8. 'Children on the Banks of the Waipa' and 'Children at the Boiling Springs', Plate XXII in George French Angas's *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (London: Thomas M'Lean, 1847); from a copy in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (850.121 t.1). Courtesy and copyright, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

Girl' (ibid.: pl. opp. 158), combined perhaps—for the pose and arrangement of the scene—with the engraving of 'New Zealand Method of Tattooing' (ibid.: pl. opp. 136)? It is a nice idea but, as Dodgson's bibliographer Charlie Lovett points out, Dodgson probably had a copy of this book—subtitled *Together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan D'Acunha, an Island Situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope*—because he had a 'special interest in the remote south Atlantic island of Tristan d'Acunha' (Lovett 2005: 110) where his brother Edwin was stationed as a missionary. Given that Edwin did not take up his station until 1881, it seems likely that it was around then that Dodgson acquired the book, some fifteen years after he took the photographs we are concerned with here.

Setting Earle's work aside, there are aspects of two paintings reproduced as a single plate in George French Angas's *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (Figure 8 here) that might be seen as possible sources for the poses in Dodgson's photographs. In 'Children on the Banks of the Waipa' one of the three children sits on the ground with a Maori paddle at her feet, and in 'Children at the Boiling Springs' another child (identified as a lame boy named 'Papuka') also sits on the ground with a gourd to his left (Angas 1847: pl. xxii). Dodgson is not known to have owned a copy of Angas's book, but he might have had access to one.²⁴ Our suggestion of these images as a source is wholly speculative, but it

does seem to us that there is something deliberate about the way in which Ella is dressed and posed that needs explanation.

As for the sitter herself, we do not, of course, know what her feelings about these particular photographs were.²⁵ Perhaps the first thing to remember, however, is that Monier-Williams—or, more likely, her parents—preserved prints of eleven of the fourteen photographs Dodgson is known to have taken of her—along with others of her father, mother, and siblings—in the photographic album begun by her father. We may thus assume that the photographs were important to her family. Moreover, in a contribution to *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, edited by Dodgson's nephew in 1899, and in a letter to *The Times* in 1928, she recorded for posterity something of her experience of being photographed by Dodgson.

In 'some reminiscences from the pen of Mrs. Samuel Bickersteth (Miss Ella Monier Williams)' in *The Lewis Carroll Picture Book*, the forty-year-old Ella writes generally about their friendship:

It is difficult to add anything to what has already been written about Lewis Carroll, but as one of the 'children' whose love for him endured beyond childhood, I should like to tell something of the fascination of his friendship. As a child he gave one the sense of such *perfect understanding*, and this knowledge of child nature was the same whether the child was only seven years of age, or in her teens. (Collingwood (ed.) 1899: 222; original emphasis)

She then goes on to describe the experience of being photographed. Although she has nothing to say that throws any light on the two photographs being discussed here, the passage is worth quoting at length:

A visit to Mr. Dodgson's rooms to be photographed was always full of surprises. Although he had quaint fancies in the way he dressed his little sitters, he never could bear a dressed-up child. A 'natural child' with ruffled untidy hair suited him far better, and he would place her in some ordinary position of daily life, such as sleeping, or reading, and so produce charming pictures. On one occasion he was anxious to obtain a photograph of me as a child sitting up in bed in a fright, with her hair standing on end as if she had seen a ghost. He tried to get this effect with the aid of my father's...electrical machine, but it failed, chiefly I fear because I was too young quite to appreciate the current of electricity that had to be passed through me. (ibid.: 224)

Some three decades later, in 1928, when the public's interest had been aroused by the imminent sale at auction of the original manuscript of *Alice*, the seventy-year-old Ella was one of a number of Dodgson's child friends who wrote to *The Times*. Describing herself 'as one of the rapidly diminishing band of those who in their childhood enjoyed the rare privilege of the friendship of Lewis Carroll at Oxford', Ella recalled:

It was over 60 years ago that he used to visit my father.... Among my earliest recollections is being taken by my mother to his rooms in Tom Quad at Christ Church, again and again, to be photographed by him in some mood, costume, or attitude which caught his fancy or in which his discerning eye saw the unconscious expression of childish pleasure, hope, or awe. His genius, however easy and spontaneous it seemed, was certainly not crowned with success, apart from his capacity for taking infinite pains, and from his study of that mystery the heart of a little child, which he himself retained to his life's end. Of those photographs I have a bundle precious to me... (Bickersteth 1928)

From these comments, it seems that Dodgson's photographs were an unproblematic and important part of Ella Monier-Williams's life, valued no doubt for their power to evoke 'the fascination of his friendship'.

Beyond their importance in Dodgson's photographic oeuvre and in their sitter's life, the images discussed here also have a future. Given their 'South Seas' feel, we like to think that their publication and preliminary contextualization here will release them into the ocean of imagery that contemporary Pacific artists have been so successfully revisiting and developing in recent years. We think, for example, of the work of Shigeyuki Kihara, whose photographic self-portraits have undermined the fixed gender roles and racial attitudes of studio photographers working in the Pacific (see, for example, D. Brown 2008: 26–7).

It is not necessarily particularly useful to compare Dodgson's practice in 1860s Oxford with that of commercial photographers working in the outposts of Empire in the later years of the nineteenth century, but freed from their historic physical contexts—on a dismantled display board and in a family album preserved in the Bodleian's special collections—it is now possible for these remarkable images to be recontextualized and reinterpreted. Although, curatorially speaking, the images we have discussed here are truly examples of what we have termed here 'ethnographic mischmasch'—with objects from North America, Africa, and the Pacific mixed together—we expect they will now have their greatest resonance in the 'antipathies'.

Appendix:

*Checklist of the Objects Used as Props in Tivo Photographs of Ella Monier-Williams
Taken by Charles Lutwidge Dodgson on Monday 9 July 1866*

Photograph A

Tongan mat (1886.1.1177). Part of the collection of objects acquired on James Cook's second famous Pacific voyage of 1772–1775 by Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Johann George Adam Forster and given by them to the Ashmolean Museum in January 1776.

Maori cloak, *korowai* (1886.1.1127). The history of this cloak is unknown, but given the style and the presence of significant amounts of coloured wool it is unlikely to have been made before the 1820s at the earliest. It *may* have been part of the collection of Maori material donated to the Ashmolean Museum by John Thomas Bigge in 1834, and it *may* be one of the cloaks listed in the Ashmolean catalogue of 1836 (Ashmolean: 1836: 186, nos 236–57).

Eastern Woodlands sash (1886.1.965). The history of this sash is unknown, but it was listed (though as from ‘Otaheite’; i.e. Tahiti) in the Ashmolean catalogue of 1836 and must therefore have been acquired by then (Ashmolean 1836: 184, no. 192).

Hawaiian arm ornament (1886.1.1564). Part of the collection of objects acquired by the Reverend Andrew Bloxam in the Hawaiian Islands in 1825 during the voyage of HMS *Blonde* and given by him to the Ashmolean in 1826.

Maori knife, *mira tuatini* / *maripi* (1886.1.1161). Also from the Forster ‘Cook-Voyage’ collection (as above).

Maori paddle, *hoe* (1886.1.1156). This has an unknown history but it was listed (though as from ‘Livavai, or the High Island of Vancouver’; i.e. Raivavaé) in the Ashmolean catalogue of 1836 (Ashmolean 1836: 183, part of no. 133) and must therefore have been acquired by then, though the style of the intricate carving on one face of the blade suggests that it was made not long before.

South African gourd (1886.1.467). Part of the collection made by Captain de Lisle and given to the Ashmolean Museum in 1827.

Mozambican bow (1886.1.516.1). Given to the Ashmolean Museum by the Reverend G. Nelson of Magdalen College in 1833.

Photograph B

Tongan mat, Maori cloak, Hawaiian armlet, Maori paddle; as before.

Central African wristlet (1886.1.527). Part of a collection made by George Birkbeck and given to the Ashmolean Museum by his widow in 1866.

South African bracelets (1886.1.460, 1886.1.461). Also from the de Lisle collection (as above).

Tahitian gourd, *aroro* (1886.1.409). Also from the Forster ‘Cook-Voyage’ collection (as above).

Tongan necklace (1886.1.1575). Also from the Forster ‘Cook-Voyage’ collection (as above).

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to our colleagues Faye Belsey, Zena McGreevy, Malcolm Osman, and Jeremy Uden for their help in identifying, documenting, and photographing the ‘props’, and to our colleagues in the Special Collections department of the Bodleian Library for providing access to the Bickersteth Papers. For advice, information, and comments we are grateful to Susie Clark, Jocelyne Dudding, Elizabeth Edwards, Colin Hinchcliffe, Christopher Maloney, Laura Peers, Jeffrey Stern, and Ngahua Te Awakotuku. We are particularly grateful to Edward Wakeling for sharing with us the fruits of his research.

Notes

1. The photograph was accessioned as 2012.107.1; for its record in the museum’s database, go to <http://photographs.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/2012_107_1.html>; see also Morton 2013.
2. Papers of the Bickersteth Family, 1815–1976; University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Special Collections, MS Photographs d.21. We are grateful to Edward Wakeling for bringing the album to our attention.
3. We have not, for example, had the opportunity of consulting Diane Waggonner’s doctoral thesis (Waggonner 2000).
4. The album was originally used for ‘photographs from nature’ taken by the sitter’s father Professor (later Sir) Monier Monier-Williams, who listed photography among his ‘recreations’ (see the entry for ‘MONIER-WILLIAMS, Sir Monier’, in *Who Was Who*; available online at <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U189091>>). His bookplate is pasted on the album’s inside front cover and opposite is pasted in a slip of photocopied paper with a handwritten note reading ‘those in this book are chiefly by the dry collodion process and taken by me during the summer of 1863’. It was later used for other family photographs, including Dodgson’s photographs of Ella Monier-Williams and other members of the family. It would appear that Ella took it with her on her marriage to the Reverend Samuel Bickersteth in 1881. Certainly, it was from the Bickersteth family that it was passed to the Bodleian, along with other Bickersteth family material, some time between 1976 and 1998.
5. See *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. 172 (Saturday, 14 April 1928), p. 615.
6. Jeffrey Stern informs us that other prints removed from the mount (see note 9) also bear inscriptions in the same hand matching the captions in the *Illustrated London News* feature. Oddly, however, only the print of the present photograph has an inscription in ink. There are also a number of printers’ crop marks, presumably relating to the publication of the print.
7. In addition to the inscription in Mrs Bickersteth’s hand, the verso of the PRM print also bears a pencil note ‘right hand top corner’, which was presumably added, possibly by the exhibition organizer Falconer Madan, in preparation for mounting the print.
8. We are grateful to Christopher Maloney of Sotheby’s New York for answering our queries about the sale.
9. When the six prints were removed from the window mount, a number of creases and small tears on the verso of the PRM print were reinforced with Kizuki Kozo Japanese paper by conservator Susie Clark.

10. At the time of writing, three of the five other prints remain available for sale online.
11. Edward Wakeling tells us that he first became aware of the image in 1987 when he acquired a copy of the issue of *The Illustrated London News* featuring the eight photographs of Ella Monier-Williams (see note 5 above). However, it was not until some years later that the whereabouts of any surviving print became known. For example, in Volume 5 of his edition of Dodgson's diary, published in 1999, Wakeling comments: 'The photograph of Ella Monier-Williams with New Zealand cloak has not come to light' (Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2000, Vol. 5: 164–5, n. 271). By the time the ninth volume was published in 2005, however, Wakeling was able to report that it had 'recently come to light' (ibid., Vol. 9: 367).
12. All three prints will, of course, also be listed in Wakeling's forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Dodgson's photographs (Wakeling 2015b). Unfortunately, for students of his photographs, Dodgson's own register, which he is known to have made, seems not to have survived (Wakeling 2002b: 128).
13. The German word *mischmasch*, the equivalent of course of the English *mishmash*, was the name of the journal Dodgson produced for his family in the 1850s and early 1860s, posthumously collected in *The Rectory Umbrella; and Mischmasch* (Carroll 1932). It seems appropriate to adopt the usage here.
14. In a much later diary entry dated 30 July 1873, Dodgson notes how he has taken photographs of Beatrice Hatch including 'two in South Sea Island costume (borrowed from the Ashmolean Museum)' (Wakeling 1993–2007, Vol. 6: 287). We assume that this was a separate 'borrowing'. So far as is known, no print of any of these photographs survives and as a result we do not pursue this separate story here.
15. An oval print of this portrait, in which the geologist sits on the couch in Dodgson's studio with a hammer and a rock in his hands, survives in one of Dodgson's albums, signed and dated 'John Phillips July 11 1866'; Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, Photographs Vol. III, 964:0011:0001–0114; see Gernsheim 1949: 89, pl. 61; Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2007, Vol. 5: 165–6, n. 272; Wakeling 2002a: 261. For an account of the Ashmolean at the time, see Ovenell 1986: 211–49.
16. It is possible, though we think unlikely, that some record of the loan survives in the notebooks and draft catalogues that have recently been 'rediscovered' at the Ashmolean Museum (University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities, AMS 52); see Coote 2014: 401–2.
17. Full details about what is known about each object—including details of its publication and exhibition history, and now about its use as a prop by Charles Dodgson—are available in the relevant entries in the fully searchable, regularly updated, and partially illustrated online version of the museum's database at <<http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk>>.
18. Photographs of this event, apparently by G.I. Jones and others, survive at the University of Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (P.100606–P.100619); for an example, see <<http://www.socanth.cam.ac.uk/2014/12/celebrations-for-centennial-of-the-archaeology-and-anthropology-tripos/>>. We are grateful to Jocelyne Dudding for providing information about this set of photographs.
19. It should also be remembered that, at the time, the Ashmolean Museum was in Broad Street, in the building that now houses the Museum of the History of Science. It should not be confused with the present-day Ashmolean Museum, founded in 1908.
20. See <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/a-woman-of-san-germano>>.

21. See <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/rosalind-in-the-forest-98424>>.
22. For a useful summary account, see Morton N. Cohen's letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* (Cohen 2001), where the voyage of the Canterbury Pilgrims is proffered as a possible inspiration for Dodgson's *The Hunting of the Snark* (first published 1876).
23. There are a dozen or so references to Rolleston in Dodgson's published diary, relating to books Rolleston recommended and lectures and dissections Dodgson attended, as well as to their walking and dining together (Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2007: passim); on Rolleston, see Paton 2004.
24. Dodgson is also known to have owned a copy of one of the four-volume editions of 'Cook's voyages' (Lovett 2005: 86, item 454); though it is not known which edition or when he acquired it, only that it was in his library at the time of his death in 1898. It appears that Dodgson was unaware of the Maori cloaks and other objects from Cook's first voyage that were apparently housed—undocumented and unidentified—in 'Dr Pope's Box' in the Anatomy School at Christ Church until 1886 (see Coote 2004a: 113–15, see also Coote 2004b); and this despite the fact that in June 1857 he had been commissioned in June 1857 to photograph a number of specimens in the Anatomy School in preparation for their transfer to the newly founded University Museum (Taylor 2002: 34; Wakeling 2002a: 244, 2002c: 160).
25. This is not the place, nor are we qualified, to comment at any length on the questions that have been raised in some quarters about the nature of Dodgson's relationship with or interest in children (for some of the literature, see Smith 1993, 1998; Mavor 1995; Nickel 2002; Taylor 2002; Wakeling 2015). Suffice it to say here that we have found no suggestion in any of the published or unpublished literature that Ella or any member of her evangelical family had any qualms or concerns about her relationship with Dodgson, either at the time he was taking photographs of her or later in her life. The fact that prints of the photographs were pasted in the family album, that she gave a print of one of them to her future husband (Phillips 2004: 74, lot 379), that she provided others to *The Illustrated London News* in 1928 and to the Lewis Carroll Centenary Exhibition in 1932, and that she wrote so movingly and evocatively about her relationship with Dodgson, suggests to us that we need have no qualms or concerns about publishing and discussing these two photographs here. For a brief account of Ella's life, see Ford 2010. For more on the lifelong friendship between sitter and photographer, see the listing of presentation copies etc. that Dodgson gave Ella (Phillips 1994: 70–79, lots 364–86), the relevant letters in the edition of Dodgson's correspondence (Cohen and Green (eds) 1979), and the relevant entries in Dodgson's diary (Wakeling (ed.) 1993–2007); see also the collection of letters preserved in the Bickersteth Papers (University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Special Collections, MS. Eng. c. 6410) in which the fifteen-year-old Ella more than holds her own in an extraordinary exchange with a teasing—and ultimately defeated—Dodgson.

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