CUT AND PASTE: A TRANSDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF LADY HANNAH ANNE MAXWELL'S 19TH CENTURY SCRAPBOOK

by

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of
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History of Decorative Arts

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I acknowledge all of the loves of my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Figures	Č
Abstract	vi
Introduction	1
Lady Maxwell's Politics	21
Lady Maxwell's Scrapbooks	27
Scrapbooks as Texts	
Scrapbooks as Transdisciplinary Affairs	45
Pollok House and Lady Maxwell's Scrapbooks Now	55
The Scrapbooks and the Future	67
New Media and Scrapbooks	76
References	83
Primary Sources	83
Secondary Sources	83

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	
Figure 1. Lady Hannah Maxwell by William Hilton, C. 1800.	Page 2
Figure 2. Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book.	
Figure 3. Hans Christian Andersen's "Jonah and the Whale."	10
Figure 4. A sample page from <i>Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book</i> .	16
Figure 5. Mixing political and social commentary in an image.	17
Figure 6. Using a fashion illustration to lampoon courtship	
Figure 7. A page depicting the complexity of courtship.	
Figure 8. "Lady Maxwell's Scrapbook, " a poem	20
Figure 9. Pollok House.	
Figure 10. The cabinet containing the other four scrapbooks	34
Figure 11. The entrance hall at Pollok House.	57
Figure 12. The Music Room located on the first floor.	
Figure 13. The Dining Room located on the first floor.	58
Figure 14. Service hallway leading to the Edwardian Kitchen Restaurant	
Figure 15. Edwardian Kitchen Restaurant filled with happy visitors	
Figure 16. Peeling paint and damaged stuccowork.	
Figure 17. Morag Muego's wooden box.	
Figure 18. One of the two cabinets filled with scraps	
Figure 19. An alternative option for low-cost digitization.	

ABSTRACT

CUT AND PASTE: A TRANSDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF

LADY HANNAH ANNE MAXWELL'S 19TH CENTURY SCRAPBOOK

Anne Christine Williams, M.A.

George Mason University, 2016

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Traditionally, historians set out to establish a better understanding of the past.

Investigations into the people, places and things that they determine to be significant or

valuable drive our understanding of history. When considering the wealth of primary

sources historians have to consider, female perspectives, products, and material culture

objects remain largely absent from the canon of texts that form our historical acumen. It

is this structure that determines what texts—visual, visceral or written—are considered

legitimate sources. Our contemporary historiography would be enriched by the

incorporation of a wider range of texts and a more nuanced consideration of those that

document a narrative in a non-traditional format.

Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book, one of five dating from approximately 1829 to 1841,

captures over a decade of collected thoughts, observations, and witticisms which

encapsulate the experiences of a Glaswegian woman at a time of great social, political,

and economic change. This scrapbook will serve as the primary case study in this thesis. The five scrapbooks—currently housed at Pollok House—are invaluable as objects of study. The carefully arranged newspaper and magazine articles, images, and decorative elements that together comprise Lady Maxwell's materials paint a picture of an active consumer who employed her craft as an illustration of her desires, perceptions, and critiques of the world around her. Moreover, the scrapbooks demonstrate an awareness rarely heard from the female perspective of social, political and cultural issues in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Small, seemingly insignificant animal elements, borders, and other trimmings reflect the popularity and significance of "scissoring" or scrapbooking as not only a leisurely pursuit in the period, but as an expression of self. With her creations, Lady Maxwell makes bold statements about legitimate voices in print media, asserting her own agency and making public her own voice.

In calling for a transdisciplinary approach to constructing a more inclusive gendered history, I hope to open scrapbooks to a broader academic audience and highlight their potential as resources in the examination of the lives of those who were perhaps deemed less notable and shed light on those who were remarkable in non-traditional ways.

INTRODUCTION

The period of 1760-1830 was one of tremendous and unprecedented change in Scotland. While still relatively impoverished and well behind the development of England at the end of this period, Scotland industrialized at a notably accelerated pace. In a time of rapid industrialization, economic diversification, urban development, commercialization, and social transformation, Glasgow lay at the heart of a seemingly new society. Between her birth in 1764 and her death in 1841, Lady Hannah Maxwell was an active participant in this changing world (Figure 1).

The wife of Sir John Maxwell, the Seventh Baronet of Pollok, Lady Maxwell was an intelligent, witty, and active member of polite nineteenth-century British society as evidenced by the five artfully crafted scrapbooks she produced between approximately 1829 and 1841. Still the property of the Stirling Maxwell family, the scrapbooks are currently held by the National Trust for Scotland at Pollok House, where one of the five

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¹ TM Devine and Rosalind Mitchison, edt., *People and Society in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Jean Donald Publishers ltd., 1988), 3.

² "By 1830 Scottish society was still much poorer and the industrial sector less developed than that of her southern neighbor. But the similarities by that date had become significantly more apparent than the differences ... Scotland by 1830 was a different kind of society than that of 1760." Ibid.;

Edward J. Cowan and Richard Finlay, *Scotland Since 1688: Struggle for a Nation*, (London, Chima Books, 2000), 58.

[°] Ibid., 61.

⁴ William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, Printer, 1863), 425.

books, titled *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*, is on display (Figure 2). This book introduces viewers to a human and active perspective of life at Pollok House in the early nineteenth-century. It answers questions regarding contemporary politics, consumer desires and interactions with mass media while speaking to a curiosity of the world beyond Glasgow and the anxiety that came with societal expectations. This book grants visitors an enriched perspective of the lady of the house and provides insight into her intellectual depth. It is an invaluable asset both to the interpretation of Pollok House and as a historic text.



Figure 1. Lady Hannah Maxwell by William Hilton, C. 1800. Image courtesy of http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/hannah-anne-gardiner-17641841-lady-maxwell-84494.

Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks, poised as they are in the moment of Scotland's modernization, offer a unique opportunity to chart a woman's rapidly changing information network. With the advent of industrialization came the rise of mass media, a marked increase in access to education, and the introduction of leisure time for those below the upper classes.⁵ In response to these major shifts, the legitimized words of the press became increasingly influential in the way in which people came to understand their own experiences and the world beyond their immediate vicinity.⁶



Figure 2. Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book. Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

⁶ Ibid., 128.

⁵ TM Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, 124.

The industrialization of the nineteenth-century revolutionized society as well as the rules and rituals that governed it. Socially, the Industrial Revolution allowed a middle class to emerge. Economically, it shifted the modes of production and the goods produced, as well as who was able to consume them. With new occupations emerging, young men and women flooded cities and factory towns seeking reliable wages and work so as to participate in the social and cultural revolution that came with this economic shift. Industrialization enabled a greater and less costly production of goods. Meanwhile, the newly defined middle and working classes looked to the lives of the upper class, whose status seemed defined by consumption of products—particularly those that were not strictly necessary. As a result, the demand for niceties rose. With the aid of machinery improving their quality of life and regulating schedules, people were able to spend more time at their own leisure.

Historian Peter Bailey notes that "The combined process of industrialization and urbanization effectively compressed and concentrated leisure and separated it out as a discrete new sector in an increasingly compartmentalized life-space." Newly populous cities began to produce heterosocial spaces for these new consumers to spend this leisure time in, while new products and hobbies were adopted at all levels to occupy the hand

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⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁸ Ibid., 121.

⁹ Ibid., 109.

¹⁰ Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure", *Victorian Studies*, (Autumn 1977), 8.

¹¹ J. Lowerson & J. Myerscough, *Time to Spare in Victorian England*, (London: Harvester Press, 1977), 19.

¹² Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures," 16.

and mind.¹³ This cultivation of interests, demonstrated in the increasingly performative social spaces, was not limited to the cities or these rising classes of consumers.¹⁴ The wealthy upper classes—occupying the country estates for which England and Scotland are known—found themselves with this leisure time considerably earlier and largely cultivated the same activities, but on a grander scale.¹⁵

The moneyed aristocracy understandably had the greatest means for travel and consumption, as well as the longest tradition of leisure activities. Between horse races and lawn croquet, young women of status cultivated themselves with lessons in the arts. ¹⁶ Middle class women were now able to engage in lawn tennis and eventually cycling. ¹⁷ The men and women of the working class had the opportunity to attend theater productions and enjoy the ever-widening circle of public civic spaces that were being created. ¹⁸ This wide range of performative and public activities are central to the understanding of *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* as a consciously authored text. An

¹³ Stanley Parker, "The Sociology of Leisure: Progress and Problems," British Journal of Sociology, 26 (1975), 91-107.

¹⁴ Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo, edt., *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 22.

¹⁵ Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures," 12.

¹⁶ Henry Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c1780-c1880*, (London: Croom Helm.1980), 17.

¹⁷ Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures," 11.

¹⁸ Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures," 12. As laborers moved from hard labor in enclosed spaces to the liberation of leisure times, the presence of alcohol and the role of the pub is not to be understated. Other communal activates which took place included bowling, amateur dramatics, the formation of glee clubs and the establishment of music halls. Trade organizations and other societies grew exponentially as working schedules became more regulated. In regard to sport, the activities designed for leisure varied widely between classes and countries. As the Scottish continued to pursue golf and forms of rugby, the English, too, embraced regular football matches during Saturday afternoons after a morning shift.

understanding of the production of scrapbooks within the context of a culture of popular leisure activities prefaces the questions of what was being consumed, how they were being used, and how the contemporary life as illustrated by Lady Maxwell differs from our contemporary understanding of history.

I look to include her product as a valid, studied, saved, and respected text. *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* helps illustrate a history that is not in the form of a traditional historic narrative. Rather than a history that is linear and generated from a singular experience—one which is organized and trimmed—scrapbooks present a history which saves the trimmings. They reflect a more human discourse with information, combining language, text, color, pictures, fantasy, perceptions contrasting with realities, personal illustrations, humor, and much more, to paint a fragmented yet well rounded picture of the life, desires, and intellect of a woman who lived in this place and this period. ¹⁹

The book—a text—is regarded as a compendium of information, defined by sequential pages that have been bound together. While not all texts are necessarily books, those texts that are declared valuable and significant frequently include traditional books, diaries, bound volumes of letters, companion books and collections of notes.²⁰ In the

¹⁹ Grant McCracken, *Culture & Consumption: New Approaches of the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 44-45.

²⁰ Further reading on non-traditional texts which should be considered as such can be found in: Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," American Historical Review, 110/4 (October, 2005), 1015-1045.;

Margaret Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800-1914. (London: Routledge, 1996).;

modern era, the technological process of printing has served to legitimize words.²¹ Magazines, a product of printed technology, are—like scrapbooks—often non-linear and centered around a certain theme. Arguments have been made to analyze magazines as texts.²² As such, it seems only logical that those same arguments which confront the problematic nature of magazine, should be extended to other texts which are stigmatized by the same issues.

Before we extend the function of the scrapbook we should examine how they have been treated in scholarship and with what vocabularies they have been discussed. Much has been written on the technical topic of the production and consumption of scrapbooks from a material culture or art object perspective. The existing scholarship has argued for both the social function of the object as well as looking at individual case studies in order to illustrate the ways in which scrapbooks provide additional insight into the lives of specific individuals.²³ As objects, scrapbooks are seen as an acquired product or something which has been functionally crafted in the home. These products are, however, produced by active consumers who in turn yield their own work. Scrapbooks

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Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 4. McGann notes that: "this book is an inquiry into the nature of texts and textuality. The inquiry is grounded in the thought that texts represent—are in themselves—certain kinds of human acts... This "readerly" view of texts has been most completely elaborated through the modern hermeneutical tradition in which text is not something we *make* but something we *interpret*."

²¹ Louis Kirk McAuley, *Print Technology in Scotland and America, 1740-1800*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013), 3-22.

²² Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own, 6.

²³ Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, Patricia Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 2.

are rarely examined in depth as an authored text.²⁴ The analysis that is given to authors or painters and to their great works is absent, along with the academic and preservationist interest which could be increased with this suggested change.

Most scholars considering scrapbooks have chosen not to recognize them as texts.²⁵ It has been argued that scrapbooks are not classified as texts because they contain a nonlinear narrative, nontraditional format, and a variety of media. This argument is put forth by the foremost scholar of the medium Ellen Gruber Garvey in her work *Writing with Scissors*, as well as by Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia Buckler in *The Scrapbook in American Life*.²⁶ A segmented discussion on this point is found in the introduction of most published texts which are primarily about scrapbooks.

While scrapbooks have arguable inconsistencies and lack a continuous linear narrative, this does not negate their status as a text. Consumed, cut out, collected, curated, and frequently circulated (or otherwise made public) these volumes follow the pattern of the self publication of collections or compendiums.²⁷ Although some scrapbooks contain a hodgepodge of consumer desires, they document the wants of a specific social demographic in a narrow window of time. Disenfranchised parties collected news articles

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²⁴ Exceptions can be found most frequently in articles and dissertations, such as: Patricia P. Buckler and C. Kay Leeper, "An Antebellum Woman's Scrapbook As Autobiographical Composition," *American Culture The Journal Of American Culture* 14, no. 1 (1991): 1–8.

²⁵ For a further explanation of point, please see "Scrapbooks as Texts"

²⁶ Ellen Gruber Garvey, Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).; Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, Patricia Buckler, The Scrapbook in American Life, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006).

²⁷ Barbara Kanner, "The Women of England in a Century of Social Change, 1815-1914," *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women, Martha Vicinus*, edt., (London: Indiana University Press, 1980), 199-203.

Anderson used their scrapbooks to tell specific narratives (Figure 3). Other scrapbooks, such as Harry Houdini's, have carefully saved and displayed ephemeron that documents an individual's lifelong passion. ²⁹ This history is pertinent and potent. It captures the odds and ends of the human experience that may have otherwise slipped through the cracks or into the trash. Minorities, women, travelling stuntmen, and writers—among others—have purposely composed these indirect narratives, using a printed element to create an air of legitimacy. These authors were not simply compiling a collection of bound leaves of paper; they chose to display their curated collections in a format that would present their content credibly. ³⁰

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²⁸ Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, 131-206.; Elizabeth Smith Miller and Anne Fitzhugh Miller, *Scrapbooks Of Elizabeth Smith Miller and Anne Fitzhugh Miller*, 1897-1911, vol. 1-16, Library of Congress, JK1881.N357.; Hans Christian Anderson, Library of Congress, Accessed April 5, 2014,

https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/book_history/v016/16.stougaard-nielsen.pdf, 146.

Harry Houdini, Scrapbook Containing Pictures, Newspaper and Magazine Clippings, Playbills, Programs, Challenges, Promotion and Other Materials Illustrating the Life and Professional Career of Harry Houdini, the American Escapologist, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1928).

³⁰ Garvey, Writing with Scissors, 131-206.

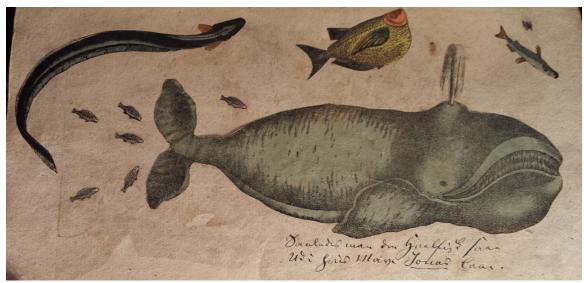


Figure 3. Hans Christian Andersen's "Jonah and the Whale."

Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

Historian David Nichols has noted that due to the dynamism of the period of industrialization, "more has probably been written about Britain in the nineteenth-century than about any other period in history." Despite this tremendous level of evidence gathering and analytical scrutiny, there still remains relatively little in the way of female biography or the understanding of the female experience in this period, with Scotland particularly understudied. While the larger effects of industrialization have been assessed from every side, this is an excellent opportunity to examine the ways in which these changes were experienced and remembered by a contemporary.

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³¹ David Nichols, "19th Century English History: Materials for Teaching and Study." *Victorian Studies*. Vol. 19, No. 3. (March, 1976)

http://www.jstor.org/stable/3826132?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents p. 345.

³² Some information however can be found here: Abrams, Gordon, Simonton, Yeo, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700.;* Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978).; Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Material Women: 1750-1950: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

Clipping and saving scraps in volumes is a direct evolution of the companion books into which scholars and students were encouraged to copy passages significant to their studies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³³ Educational theorists claimed that through the collection of information these individuals would become more educated and, with the aid those quoted passages, be able to better express themselves.³⁴ From this start, scrapbooks served as a method of self-expression; curated archives of collected clippings, evidence of meaning, thought or amusement in the lives of the authors. The term scrap, defined as "a small piece or amount of something, especially one that is left over after the greater part has been used" has often carried the connotation of something that is extraneous rather than, when it is used as a modifier, to mean something which can be saved and recycled so as to be used for another purpose.³⁵ It is possible that these resources have been more readily disregarded by historians because of this implication that they are the lesser, discarded pieces as opposed to those which were salvaged, subverted, and mined for personal and political meaning. Far from existing only "to amuse for an hour" scrapbooks functioned as valuable documentation for organizations, movements and generations of families, as well as snapshots of the time and individual who produced them.³⁶

³³ Tucker, Ott, Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 4-7.

³⁴ Ibid., 6.

³⁵ John A Simpson. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Also available at http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/scrap.

³⁶ Hannah Maxwell, "Record of the Maxwells of Pollok," Mitchel Library, T-PM 116, Accessed August 7, 2014.; Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4.

In recent years, the textual status of a nontraditional text has been argued in relation to magazines as well. Drafted in a form of collage, these compendiums sold cultural ideals in their very structure. Their public presentation, collection of information, and overall impact of their readers allowed Margaret Beetham to argue in her work A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914 that magazines should be treated as texts in their formal analysis.³⁷ In directly addressing "how to read texts of this kind and what they mean for our gender politics," Beetham explores the implications of a wider reading of the word "text" and how the strategies which commonly accompany textual analysis should be extended to this other publication.³⁸ In a review of Beetham's work and Jennifer Scanlon's *Inarticulate* Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture, Jill Julius Matthews, quoting Scanlon stated that "Contemporary scholars now recognize that such magazines' immense popularity must be able to reveal something about 'women's experience with [a] developing consumer culture.' Just what that something might be is necessarily heterogeneous and contradictory and still almost impossible to theorize."³⁹ Scrapbook texts, too, contain a voice, and while it is simply that of an individual, those individuals are just as heterogeneous, contradictory and difficult to analyze under a single blanket theory or approach. In considering a scrapbook a text,

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³⁷ Beetham, A Magazine of Her Own, 6.

³⁸ Ibid., 6.

³⁹ Matthews, Jill Julius. 1998. Review of A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914; Inarticulate Longings: The "ladies' Home Journal", Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture. Signs 24 (1). University of Chicago Press: 248–50. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3175686.

however, scholars would recognize the efficacy of this format as one of self-expression and of self-publication.

Due to the wide variety of scrapbooks out there, many historians have chosen to discuss particular themes or organizational strategies and support their arguments with case studies as opposed to discussing a larger methodology. While this strategy is certainly valuable to initially draw scholastic interest, it does not, however, provide the framework through which to discuss a scrapbook in regard to the larger context or textual production of the author, place, and period. Implementing the holistic methodology proposed in this thesis would lead to a better understanding of the text or of how the research drawn from it could be put to more effective use.

Just as these objects can be used to inform scholars about the circumstances of their production, so too can the social, political, and economic atmosphere be applied to better understand the author and her scrapbook. In the period of Lady Maxwell's life, Scotland underwent a massive change as daily life itself was revolutionized by the processes of industrialization, the ensuing urbanization, and resultant restructuring of a daily schedule. These dramatic changes are reflected in the varied representations of social constructs, fashions, and political environments captured in Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks. While other documents—including scrapbooks documenting her husband's political career—were placed in the archives of the Mitchel Library in Glasgow and the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Glasgow, these feminine

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⁴⁰ Examples include: Elizabeth Siegel, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B: Being the Handiwork of a Victorian Lady of Considerable Talent,* (Scala Publishers: New York, 2009).; Garvey, *Writing with Scissors.*; Tucker, Ott, Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life.*

presenting texts have remained in situ at the family home.⁴¹ A recognition of the legitimacy of her authorship and self-publication would shed light on her work and perhaps attract more academic interest in the vast amount of existing material both contained within and surrounding them.

In the form of the news, scholastic thought, and religious theology, those words that were found "fit to print" have been distributed with the implication that they are credible. 42 Access to this textual credibility was limited to a privileged few. Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks used these printed words and images in turn to legitimize her own criticisms, commentaries, and musings. The methodological consideration of these volumes not only as craft or material culture objects, but as texts, encourages the recognition of the scrapbooks as a site of interdisciplinary study, rather than as a site of dormant collection.

Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks showcase an interactive experience with, and a reaction to, mass media and culture (Figures 4-7). They utilize recognizable images, phrases and stories, clipped from other sources, to articulate complex positions on a wide range of contemporary and historic issues.⁴³ Organized in groupings of pages or in individual moments, Maxwell's articulations are a more experiential rather than an

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⁴¹ The Mitchell Library collection catalogue reference number for the papers of Sir John Maxwell and Lady Hannah Anne Maxwell is T-PM116. The Archive number for the "Scrapbooks of Lady Hannah Maxwell" is T-PM116/482. In the University of Glasgow Library, these resources can be found in the special collections under the listings SP. Coll S.M. 2011, SP Coll S.M. 1153 and Sp. Coll Mu22-c. 13.

⁴² Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 4.

⁴³ T.H. Bayly, "Why Don't Men Propose?," *Images of Women in American Popular Culture*, Angela G. Dorenkamp, John F. McClymer, Mary M. Moynihan and Arlene C. Vadum, edt,(Washington D.C.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1985), 177-178.

argumentative reflection of the past. Nevertheless, they present arguments and positions. These "manifestations of memory," as Ellen Gruber Garvey phrased it the passing observations that construct daily life, are pasted alongside ardent criticisms of important issues.44

⁴⁴ Garvey, Writing with Scissors, 3.



Figure 4. A sample page from *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*. Image courtesy of Anne Williams.



Figure 5. Mixing political and social commentary in an image.

Image courtesy of Anne Williams.



Figure 6. Using a fashion illustration to lampoon courtship.
Image courtesy of Anne Williams.



Figure 7. A page depicting the complexity of courtship.

A scissored thistle proffered with the question: "What is love? Who can answer - What is love?"

Image courtesy of Anne Williams

Readers and historians alike are forced to reflect on not only the lifecycle of the objects themselves as domestically produced crafts but upon the consciously authored narratives as texts. As books that were bound and displayed with a clear statement of intent in a purposeful act which extends beyond the sheer performativity of participating in a culture, these volumes in their physical manifestation, visual arrangement, and content reflect both a contemporary culture and a cultural landscape as experienced by Lady Maxwell. Constructed in a time of a rapidly popularizing print media during a period of dramatic social and economic change, Lady Maxwell effectively repurposed the legitimized voices of the media to contribute her own active voice to the conversation.

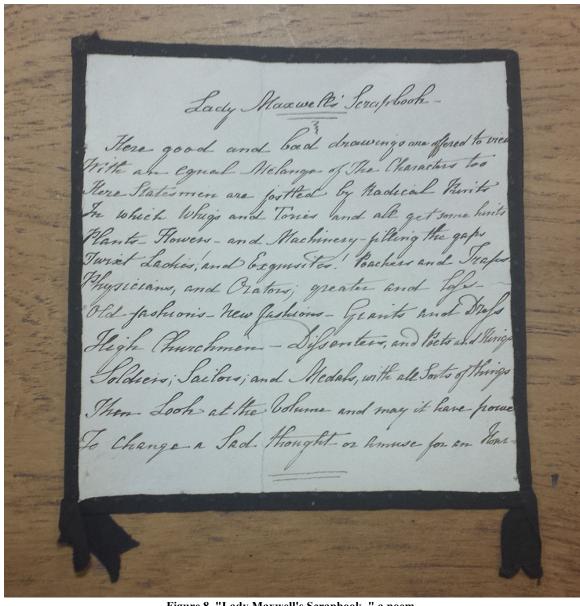


Figure 8. "Lady Maxwell's Scrapbook, " a poem.
Composed by Lady Hannah Maxwell's Daughter, Harriet Anne Maxwell,
this verse is now reproduced and displayed along with *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*.
Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

LADY MAXWELL'S POLITICS

Lady Maxwell's consciously executed public voice can be observed in her letters, civic activities, and most relevantly, her scrapbooks. Her strong political positions are tempered by a wit and humor that broaches all topics across the socio-political spectrum with ease. While the voice of these books is uniquely her own, it is indisputable that the occupations and passions of her parents, spouse and children contributed to both her own education as well as the platform from which she was able to metaphorically speak.

On October 13th of 1764, Hannah Anne Gardiner was born in Swatham,
Lincolnshire to Anne Bromhead of Thurlby and Richard Gardiner of Mount Amelia,
county of Norfolk. A man of many interests, Gardiner received a portion of his
education at Eton and St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge. In the following years he served
as a successful preacher, a published author and a soldier, commanding a company of
marines in the West Indies. Upon retirement, Gardiner settled in Swatham, and amused
himself by writing a large number of satirical pieces discussing the contemporary
elections in Norfolk. He gained notoriety for these political works, which he published
under a previously established pseudonym "Dick Merryfellow." In the following years,

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⁴⁵ Ruth Maxwell Graham, *The Maxwells of Scotland and the Allied Families of Allan Addison, Phillips, Cowie, & Laurie*, (Arlington: R.M. Graham, 1982), 103.

⁴⁶ Stuart Handley, "Gardiner, Richard (1723-1781)," *Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University, 2004).

⁴⁷ Richard Gardiner, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (Vol. 92, part 1, April 1822), 290.

he married Anne, the daughter of Benjamin Bromhead of Thurlby, and they had a son and two daughters. Gardiner worked an array of positions to support a growing family.

Moving in and out of various occupations, Gardiner clashed with local authorities over a work disagreement that he amplified with an unintentionally comical 'Letter to Sir Harbord Harbord, with observations on Thomas William Coke,' which was published in the local papers in early 1778. While the insinuation of corruption in the local government contained in the publication was denied by Coke in the Norfolk newspapers, and similar publicity having been refused to Gardiner's rejoinder, he produced a 'Letter to T. W. Coke, Esq., of Holkham' which was received in a similar manner to the original letter. ⁴⁸ During this time, Gardiner remained politically active through his publications. His compositions ranged widely, encompassing political skits, local histories, elegies and epitaphs of friends, as well as publication of the short-lived *Lynn Magazine*. ⁴⁹

While the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* boldly states: "None of his work possesses any lasting merit," his constant involvement in the production of a wide range of creative and engaging works is significant. ⁵⁰ Lady Maxwell was raised in a home that used the publication of written words to declare personal opinions, weigh in on political issues such as labor, and satirize the process of courtship. From this experience she observed the process through which ideas are legitimized by the act of printing and the various media through which these voices could be disseminated.

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⁴⁸ Richard Gardiner, "A letter to Thomas William Coke ... wherein a full answer is given to his advertisement is published in the Norfolk Chronicle," *Norfolk Chronicle* (London: Oxford University, 1778) Digitized Mar 20, 2007, Accessed Feb 3, 2016.

⁴⁹ Handley, "Gardiner, Richard (1723-1781)"

⁵⁰ Ibid.

In "Scottish Women: A Documentary History, 1780-1914," author Linda Fleming introduces Hannah Ann Stirling (Lady Maxwell's niece) by broadly stating that "The male lineage of the Maxwell and Stirling families is quite fully documented in a variety of dictionaries of the British peerage but very little is known about the families' women." This statement could be further reinforced by any number of secondary sources. However, there are numerous letters, diaries and scrapbooks which were produced or consumed by Lady Maxwell alone. These varied texts could be used to better document her narrative. These resources include over five hundred letters, receipts, and documents at the Glasgow City Archive in the Mitchel Library, the Glasgow Women's Library, the University of Glasgow holdings, the contents of Pollok House, and that which is still held privately by the family. 52

What is known about Lady Maxwell is that by 1788 she was married to Sir John Maxwell and had taken up residence in Pollok House, a 1752 country house designed by famed architect William Adam (Figure 9).⁵³ Together they had four children: Harriet

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⁵¹ Ester Breitenbach, Linda Fleming, Karly Kehoe, and Lesley Orr, "Scottish Women: A Documentary History, 1780-1914," Edinburgh, *Edinburgh University Press Series* "Hearth and Home," Linda Fleming, 104.

⁵² The Mitchell Library collection catalogue reference number for the papers of Sir John Maxwell and Lady Hannah Anne Maxwell is T-PM116. The Archive number for the "Scrapbooks of Lady Hannah Maxwell" is T-PM116/482. In the University of Glasgow Library, these resources can be found in the special collections under the listings SP. Coll S.M. 2011, SP Coll S.M. 1153 and Sp. Coll Mu22-c. 13.

The scrapbooks are not, however, listed in *The Stirling Maxwell Collection Pollok House* published by the Museums and Art Galleries Department of the Corporation of Glasgow which otherwise lists those contents of the house (paintings, art objects, and furniture) which are deemed valuable and notable.

⁵³ Pollok House," National Trust for Scotland, accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/.

(1789-1841), Mary (died in infancy), John (1791-1865) and Elizabeth (1793-1822).⁵⁴ In one of the few written records addressing her beyond this collection of dates, Ruth Maxwell Graham's *The Maxwells of Scotland* declares her to have been an "excellent horsewoman, with a passionate love for the hunt."



Figure 9. Pollok House.
Photo courtesy of www.undiscoveredscotland.com.

Lady Maxwell's passions extended far beyond the hunt, however. These documents record her active involvement in local politics. Her family's recorded Whig leanings are evidenced throughout *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* by her selection of Anti-Tory political cartoons. ⁵⁶ However, the occasional praise for Tory or Anti-Republican

⁵⁶ Hannah Maxwell, *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*, Vol. 5. Glasgow, Scotland. c. 1840.

⁵⁴ William Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, Printer, 1863), 425.

⁵⁵ Graham, *The Maxwells of Scotland*, 104.

issues implies a nuanced understanding of both local and national politics, often addressing specific issues.⁵⁷

The men of the Maxwell family were active members of local government. Both her husband and son served as representatives for Renfrewshire and Paisley, respectively. Her son, John Maxwell, the 8th Baronet, was one of the central proponents of the Reform Act of 1832.⁵⁸ Lady Maxwell herself went so far as to present her views in a more public forum through the submission of letters to be read at local gatherings.⁵⁹ Responses held in the Glasgow City Archives document a positive reception to her letter supporting this Act, as well as its relationship to the interests of the local handloom weavers.⁶⁰ This hotly-debated bill served to correct abuses committed by borough representatives, often members of the upper classes, and redistribute House of Commons seats to account for the urban growth which accompanied the Industrial Revolution.⁶¹

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⁵⁷ For further reading consult *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, "Women, Gender and Politics."

⁵⁸ "Lady Hannah Maxwell", *TheGlasgowStory*, 6 April 2016, http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSE01231.

⁵⁹ Maxwell, Hannah, "Record of the Maxwells of Pollok," Mitchel Library, T-PM116, Accessed August 7, 2014.

⁶⁰ Lady Maxwell's husband, Sir John Maxwell was an active voice for handloom weavers of Renfrewshire and Paisley. He served as the M.P. for Paisley from 1833-34, as well as contesting the position in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire in 1830 and 1837. "Among those MPs who were willing to listen to the demands of the handloom weavers during the 1830s, easily the most influential was John Maxwell. Although Maxwell was well educated and came from one of the leading landed families in Scotland, he was best known for his radical sympathies." John Jesse Scott, "The Scottish Handloom Weavers, 1830-1850: Politics, Economics, and Identity," MA Th., (Guelph: University of Guelph, 2006), 69.; Hannah Maxwell, "Record of the Maxwells of Pollok," Mitchel Library, T-PM116, Accessed August 7, 2014.

⁶¹ Scott, "The Scottish Handloom Weavers, 1830-1850," 62.

Lady Maxwell was conscious of the potential her correspondence had for further study. She was aware of the methodologies that historians could potentially apply to them in the future. In a letter to her son, she advised him "both these letters should be kept ... it shows the time and manner in which I would write to a boy." While it is true that little is known in regard to her childhood or upbringing, Lady Maxwell's views and positions on major issues are in fact well documented. They are presented in a multitude of ways - through publicly submitted letters, consciously composed correspondence, or the variety of media that is carefully collected in her five scrapbooks.

These scrapbooks are not personal in the sense of being apolitical or removed from political concerns, just as her letters were not "private" family documents, but something which she considered to be of interest to the "public" or as contemporary political tools intended to be read aloud. Similarly, her scrapbooks are not private and are publicly political.

⁶² Hannah Maxwell, "Record of the Maxwells of Pollok," Mitchel Library, T-PM116, Accessed August 7, 2014.

LADY MAXWELL'S SCRAPBOOKS

In their binding and display, Lady Maxwell's consciously authored scrapbooks were public in nature. This thesis argues that *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* by Lady Hannah Anne Maxwell of Pollok House, Renfrewshire, is a legitimate historical text, collected and displayed with a conscious authorial intent that should be considered an important product of its time as well as a product of its author.⁶³ At the moment, the field of scrapbook scholarship is dominated by material culture methodologies and craft object analyses. These historic volumes are frequently discussed in the context of the maker and the made, looking at specific trends in physical construction, in individual pieces and their place in the histories of the production of goods such as ephemera.⁶⁴ Crowded in with the market history of these pieces is an analysis of their consumption as a reflection of the spread of new media, completing the cyclical Marxist analysis of the life-cycle of goods.⁶⁵ While the analytic process of discussing production, distribution, and

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⁶³ This argument for the consideration of these volumes as texts will focus primarily on this singular scrapbook but will also draw supporting examples from one another.

⁶⁴ Examples include: Louise Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'? Materiality, femininity and performativity in the scrapbook of Lady Hannah Maxwell," (MA Th. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011).; Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁶⁵ S. Ryazanskaya, W. Karl Marx: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, (Moscow: Progress Pub., 1970), 265.

consumption is often applicable to the history of books or art objects, this approach is limited in case of scrapbooks.

While the importance of scrapbooks and women's new leisure activities within the nineteenth-century have been established, scholars have focused upon outlying "artistic" examples and general themes. Scrapbook scholars have taken a wide variety of approaches to discuss the material at hand. Jessica Helfand's Scrapbooks: An American *History* looks at the broader history of scrapbooking through the lens of case studies, much like the pioneering work by Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia Buckler, or Ellen Gruber Garvey's recent publication Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance. 66 Some publications have looked at specific subsets of scrapbooking, such as Elizabeth Siegel's *Playing with Pictures: The* Art of Victorian Photocollage or Lynda Roscoe Hartigan's "The House That Collage Built."67 The related field of photo albums has utilized many of the same authors and approaches, as seen in Elizabeth Siegel's Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums and Patrizia di Bello's Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts. 68 The most predominant form of scholarship is the individual case study which is found published in

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⁶⁶ Jessica Helfand, *Scrapbooks: An American History, (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).; Tucker, Ott, Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life.*; Garvey, *Writing with Scissors.*

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Siegel, *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).; Lynda Roscoe Hartigan, "The House That Collage Built," American Art AM ART J 7.3 (1993): 88-91.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Siegel, Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).; Patrizia Di Bello, Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts, (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007).

Elizabeth Siegel's *The Marvelous Album of Madame B: Being the Handiwork of a Victorian Lady of Considerable Talent* or in a wide variety of articles and dissertations.⁶⁹
Last of all, there are a variety of publications which seek to mimic the scrapbook itself as a form of discussion, such as Cynthia Hart, John Grossman, and Patricia Dunhill's *A Victorian Scrapbook*, but lack scholastic integrity.⁷⁰

Much work remains to be done on specific scrapbooks, the exact relationship the scrapbook facilitated between self-expression and craft, and the role that scrapbooks can play in developing a larger understanding of the female experience. Also lacking are indepth analyses of the contents of a scrapbook in order to directly ascertain the publications consumed by an individual, which could then be used to start a much larger conversation on female consumption, both of information and products themselves.

Scrapbooks are infrequently recognized for their historic value as evidence of the ways in which humans processed the world through a lens of these goods, images and scraps of information. While the resources to track these clipped pieces of ephemera are available in the form of carefully preserved newspaper archives and online databases, the vocabularies and methods to discuss scrapbooks are less accessible.

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⁶⁹ Elizabeth Siegel, *The Marvelous Album of Madame B: Being the Handiwork of a Victorian Lady of Considerable Talent*, (Scala Publishers: New York, 2009).

⁷⁰ Cynthia Hart, John Grossman, and Patricia Dunhill, *A Victorian Scrapbook*, (New York: Workman Pub., 1989).

⁷¹ Danille Elise Christensen, *Constructing Value: Women, Scrapbooking, and The Framing of Daily Experience*, (Indiana University, 2009), 37.

For larger context see: Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Material Women:* 1750-1950: Consuming Desires and Collecting Practices, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

Academic interest in scrapbooks has, however, grown exponentially in recent decades. Elizabeth Siegel alone published three volumes between 2009 and 2010, while Ellen Gruber Garvey's seminal work came to fruition in 2013. Scholarship has expanded to discuss the collage as art, as in the case of Hannah Hoch, as historic documentation in the cases of Anne Fitzhugh Miller and Elizabeth Smith Miller, or as material culture objects in Louise Williams' 2011 Prownian analysis of Lady Hannah Maxwell's scrapbook. And yet, as these objects are divided by discipline, so too is the vocabulary available to address them. Defined as art, objects, or texts, these volumes are explored with a limited discourse that furthers academic scholarship within their specific fields, perpetuating the almost ironic scholastic isolation experienced by these polysemous artifacts.

These multimedia compendia are most frequently analyzed as a part of material culture history. The most common results are books that document the history, evolution, and significance of scrapbooks, from creation to usage. In these volumes the item is viewed as an object, one which may be examined wholly and discussed within the constructs built by material culture theorists Jules Prown and Henry Glassie.⁷³ These discussions are built on a foundation of physical description and seek to explain

⁷² Elizabeth Smith Miller and Anne Fitzhugh Miller, *Scrapbooks Of Elizabeth Smith Miller and Anne Fitzhugh Miller*, 1897-1911, vol. 1-16, Library of Congress, JK1881.N357.; Williams, "'*Simple' and 'Commonplace'?*.";Beverly Gordon, "Souvenirs of Amerika: *Hannah Hoch's Weimar Era" The Scrapbook in American Life*, Tucker, Ott, Buckler, edt., (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 116-134.

⁷³ Jules David Prown. 1982. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method". *Winterthur Portfolio* 17 (1). [University of Chicago Press, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc.]: 1–19. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180761.; Henry Glassie, *Material Culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

contextual usage. Scrapbooks have been used as resources to develop a better understanding of their creators in an array of articles and dissertations, however, these volumes are rarely chosen as the individual primary sources which drive the arguments about their publishers. ⁷⁴ Instead, they often simply serve as supplementary references. Without the recognition that these scrapbooks are in fact texts, the notion of authorship goes unsupported.

Despite the increase in scholastic publications which discuss scrapbooks, the historiography and theory of this subject matter is lagging behind in development. Scrapbooks remain as an object of fascination. Perhaps due to the lack of uniformity in form, format and author, this stage has been bypassed. In order to proceed with this, a more articulated lexicon must be developed.

In the past, when scholars have recognized scrapbooks as resources, these texts have then been mined for their value as collections of ephemera or consumed products. With this step recognized, it becomes more obvious that scrapbooks are not simply collections of ephemera, but something that has been fashioned into an entirely new product. This stage would open a new conversation, that of the significance of these objects—specifically this one—as a text.

In her 2011 Master's Thesis "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'? Materiality, femininity and performativity in the scrapbook of Lady Hannah Maxwell, Louise Williams analyzes a sampling of two pages from the scrapbook in the context of material

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⁷⁴ This assertion is supported by the arguments in Ellen Gruber Garvey's *Writing with Scissors*, which discusses the scrapbooks of civil rights leaders and suffragettes, many of whom are not known for being authors in this medium.

culture and how that can be discussed through the lens of archival science.⁷⁵ Roughly a third of her thesis is devoted to defining material culture and its strategies as well as the implementation of these analytic tactics. Her limited inclusion of other techniques, such as those from the field of archival science, and isolated consideration of this text as an archive constrains the conclusions she is able to draw.⁷⁶ Her decision to place the "archive" squarely in the field of material culture for the purposes of study isolates it from the larger context into which the object may have been positioned.⁷⁷

Her analysis of these two pages within that delineated context is very apt. She successfully applies material culture methodologies, as well as an archival science vocabulary, to document the physical object itself. However, the breadth of her scholarship is constrained in its scope, restricting the impact of this text to the domestic sphere and what are usually defined as women's issues (in that they are an issue in which women cannot be ignored) such as love, social restrictions and courtship. It is admitted in the footnotes that much more may be read from these pages in regards to politics. Yet, despite the recognition of the public and performative nature of the scrapbooks, as well as the dissection of the social politics presented, Williams does not connect this object with that of a publicly political act.

Currently displayed in a custom cabinet in the library, four of Lady Maxwell's five scrapbooks sit closed on proud, and notably public, display (Figure 10). The fifth

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁵ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?".

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 9-15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 31-39.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 8.

scrapbook, the smallest, and the one primarily discussed in this thesis, is exhibited open on the top floor. In is unviable to separate these scrapbooks out from other forms of media communication and print culture as Lady Maxwell clearly saw her own produced texts as such. These scrapbooks are important not just because of the physical artifacts they contain, or as objects themselves, but for their relationship with the artisan who created them and for their connection with the surrounding world. Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks provided a tool through which she both privately and publicly interacted with the socio-political landscape. They present the opportunity to analyze a female craft production as an intentionally authored narrative that transcended traditional views of female domesticity.



Figure 10. The cabinet containing the other four scrapbooks.

Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks are texts which document an identity and an experience. Particularly within the context of the rise of leisure time and the creation of non-essential craft products, these volumes stand apart as an art that is primarily self-expressive. Constructed of the products of new technologies, a rising consumer revolution and rapid social evolution, the purposeful authorship of these scrapbooks

provides historians with an intentional female voice and a catalogue of experiences, which come together to illustrate a complex narrative in a time of tremendous change.

SCRAPBOOKS AS TEXTS

A formal analysis of the scrapbook as a text must open with a discussion of Karl Marx's breakdown of the cycle of production, consumption, distribution and exchange in his *Introduction to a Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*. In order to analyze a scrapbook along Marx's guidelines, historians must look at each individual part of the scrapbook. In its simplest form, an object is created or produced, then disseminated or distributed and then finally consumed. Marx further breaks down each of these words to discuss the nuances that can be found in them, particularly in production and consumption. A discussion of production is complicated by the use or consumption of energy and resources to create an object or material good, while consumption is described not only as acquiring a material good, but following through with its socially normative or prescribed usage.

There are many reasons for which an object is produced; to fulfill preexisting, preconceived, or potential demands. ⁸⁴ Whatever the demand, however, the object is created in order to fulfill its usage. When the object is created, it is not simply a three-dimensional form realized, but also the embodiment of its future socially normative usage. In consuming an object, an individual acquires the object with the purpose of

⁸¹ S. Ryazanskaya, W. Karl Marx: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 274.

⁸² Ibid., 278.

⁸³ Ibid., 265-274.

⁸⁴ Ibid.. 283-9089

satisfying a need or demand through its usage or purpose.⁸⁵ In that manner, a consumer is not simply consuming a three-dimensional object with no perceived function, but rather consuming a tool.⁸⁶ This usage would be distributed along with the object in the dissemination process.

In analyzing a scrapbook along Marx's guidelines we look at both the whole product as well as the individual pieces. To discuss the final form, we turn to the Prownian descriptions of a bound volume which contains leaves of paper embellished with printed and written text as well as drawn and stamped illustrations. In all sense of the word we see a book, a text. The Marxian "product" in this case is a text which serves to gather and disseminate information. Through its consumption as a publicly presented object, this produced good (the physical form and the information contained therein) is then distributed in much the same way an authored text would be, by being made publicly available. It is through this process that a text becomes one which is historically viable.

The scrapbook primarily cited in this study, *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*, is the smallest volume of the five kept at Pollok House. On display on the top floor in a glass cabinet, it is the only one ever open to visitors. The pages of the book are regularly turned, so as to limit light exposure. It is displayed along with a paper printout which states:

"Here good and bad drawings are offered to view, With an equal mélange of the characters too; Here statesmen are jostled by Radical prints, In which Whigs and Tories and all get some hints;

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), xi-2.

Plants, flowers, and machinery filling the gaps, 'Twixt ladies and exquisites, poachers and traps, Physicians and orators, greater and less, Old fashions, new fashions, giants and dress; High Churchmen, Dissenters, and poets, and kings, Soldiers, sailors; and medals, with all sorts of things, Then look at the volume, and may it have power, To change a sad thought, or amuse for an hour."⁸⁷

When closed, it measures 31cm across by 49.3cm high, and is 6.1cm deep. 88

Despite its smaller size in comparison to others created by Lady Maxwell, the scrapbook is nevertheless a large album and was clearly not designed for ease of portability. The volume is bound in red leather and embellished by the application of a marbled board or thick treated paper, which has been coated with a wax or varnish for stronger endurance. The leather binding is exposed along the spine of the book and in triangles on the four outer corners of the covers. The spine is embossed with five gilt bands and the title of the volume. The spine and triangular corners of the volume are further embellished with a more intricate embossed gilt design of floral bands alternating with three interlocking circles.

All five are of largely standardized proportions and materials. With the exclusion of *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*, the remaining four books are of a standardized height and width of 49cm across by 59cm high. Two of the books entitled *Lady Maxwell's Scrapbook 1837* and another marked as *Lady Maxwell's Scrapbook Miscellaneous* are 12cm thick. The final volume, *Lady Maxwell's Scrapbook Anecdotes 1836*, is even

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⁸⁷ Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok*, 426. One of the original copies of the poem that is reprod

One of the original copies of the poem that is reproduced on both the printout and in William Fraser's books is pictured in Figure 8. This document is currently held in the Mitchel Library as part of the Maxwell collection found under T-PM116.

⁸⁸ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?", 28.

larger, with a thickness of 14cm. ⁸⁹ These four volumes are of the same binding, materials and embossing, but are in a significantly greater state of disrepair. The covers of several of the volumes have become separated and are frayed at the corners. The bindings have loosened and there are many detached pages. As a result, they have been secured with acid-free conservation string and are not opened for display nor upon request for academic study.

It is significant that these volumes are bound and in a visibly uniform manner. In a time when most circulated books were sold with soft paper covers, Lady Maxwell went to the lengths of having her books bound formally with a hard cover. An investment was made to bind these texts in a manner that gave them the appearance of professionally published books. It is likely that these books were rebound or bound simultaneously despite their production over the span of many years. This binding lends a visible legitimacy to the volumes, and as a result, to the words and ideas therein. The bespoke cabinet that was built to hold them amplifies this investment in the performative act of displaying the scrapbooks as published volumes. The significance that is placed on these standardized bindings could be connected to the collecting habits of Lady Maxwell's husband, who was known for his vast library of rare books and Spanish paintings.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Bill Bell, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Vol. 3: Ambition and Industry 1800-1880,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007), 4.

⁹¹ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?", 30.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ These objects are cataloged in *The Stirling Maxwell Collection*, published by Pollok House. The collections contain several works by well known such as El Greco, Francisco de Goya, Titian and Anthony van Dyck.

These actions, much like the consciously writing manner of her letters, display an intent to preserve these tomes.

As with the uniform bindings, the volumes themselves maintain a similar organization and use of repurposed materials. While the background color of the pages varies—from blue in the larger volumes to white in that which is on display—the pages themselves are laid out in a similar template, carefully clipped border of continuous double helix. One half a centimeter wide, this trim was likely one of many different styles of readymade scraps sold by publisher Edward Lacey in the early 1830s designed exclusively for consumption by scrapbookers. ⁹⁴ Capitalization on this leisure activity led to the formal production of "scraps" depicting borders, animals, insects, plants, popular imagery and text. ⁹⁵ The early production of these goods was aimed directly at genteel women such as Lady Maxwell. This polished appearance furthers argues for the purposefully public display of these volumes.

Conclusions can be drawn from these materials that provide more information about the collective nature and personality of Lady Maxwell. As objects, they identify her as a woman of privilege. They underscore her access to, and knowledge of, printed materials and the means through which to create them. ⁹⁶ Most importantly, these volumes demonstrate the agency or self-awareness that she had to insert her ideas into those expressions that were being distributed by mass media. The books themselves identify

⁹⁴ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?", 36.

⁹⁵ Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator and Historian,* (New York: Rutledge, 2000), 284.

⁹⁶ Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, 288-289.

her as a literate individual.⁹⁷ The printed materials found in the scrapbooks highlight the access that she had to a variety of print media. An array of references to history, biology, art, politics, and literature indicate that she was well educated. This point is further reinforced by the creativity and independent thought that is demonstrated in the organization and repurposing of the information.

The politically charged nature of these materials, whether they discuss tax reform or courtship, and the ways in which they were re-appropriated to make strong statements that they would not have otherwise communicated indicates politically-oriented motivations and highlights the nature of the scrapbook's performatively public display. On these pages, words that have been legitimized through printed technology are rearranged to powerfully illustrate other concepts in a way that is still seemingly legitimate through its association to the technological process. In an advanced process of female identity making, Maxwell appropriated the product of this technology, the legitimized word, thus lending herself a legitimized voice as an author.

Within the canon of literary criticism, the formerly undiscussed subject of female authorship has risen since the first waves of feminism and remains a hot topic.⁹⁹ While the Scottish literary canon of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century is relatively

⁹⁷ Ibid., 280, 282-283.

⁹⁸ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?".

⁹⁹ For further reference, see: Alison Adburgham, *Women In Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines from the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972).; Rosalind Ballaster, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity, and the Woman's Magazine*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991).; Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Blue Pencils & Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004).; C. Dunnigan, Marie Harcker and Evelyn S. Newlyn, *Women and the Feminine in Medieval and Early Modern Scottish Writing*, (London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

bare of women with the exclusion of Mary Queen of Scots, examples of female authorship can be found in a variety of traditional, yet non-traditional manners. ¹⁰⁰ In oral traditions, the songstresses of Scotland are recognized as a legitimate source of stories and narratives. The most notable of the songstresses were contemporaries of Lady Maxwell. ¹⁰¹ At the same time, the women of Edinburgh hosted the greatest intellectuals of their time in salons, encouraging new, enlightened thought. T. M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison discuss a group of women who read and criticized a script, but were not credited for their labor as an example of under-discussed participants in this literary movement. ¹⁰² With the arrival of industrialization and the mass production of not only books but also magazines, the role of women in documenting their nation's narrative and their experience in it increased, but only marginally. ¹⁰³ While enlightened thought brought distinction to the intellectual, it continued to discourage the education of women and female intellectualism. ¹⁰⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth-century women's magazines circulated throughout England and Scotland. These publications featured seasonal fashions, poetry, advice for gardening and courtship, as well as political news. These piecemeal publications lacked a linear narrative or even a central theme, but they personified the

¹⁰⁰ Abrams, Gordon, Simonton, Gender in Scottish History since 1700, 34.

¹⁰¹ Sarah Tytler and J. L. Watson, *Songstresses of Scotland*, (London: Strahan & Co., Publishers, 1871) xv.

¹⁰²TM Devine and Mitchison, *People and Society in Scotland*, 132-33.

¹⁰³ Ballaster, Women's Worlds, 74-75.

¹⁰⁴ Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 73.

¹⁰⁵ Ballaster, Women's World, 75.

lived experience and interests of women in that time. 106 Maxwell interacted with them not only as a passive consumer, as a reader, but also as an active author through her recombination of printed materials directed at a predominantly female readership. As a text which is consciously constructed, deliberately crafted and carefully collected, one which illustrates not just the artistic principles or assembled past actions, but instead actively interacts with the media which educated and informed her, Maxwell's scrapbooks are her own illustration of her identity. Lady Maxwell used them to share critical commentary of those media as well as of the world around her.

As seen with the Prownian analysis and breakdown of the components found in the examination by Louise Williams, a vast amount of valuable information can be both observed and inferred using material culture methodologies to discuss *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*. This analysis can be extended however by applying a wider range of methodologies. In recognizing the scrapbook as a medium that is both highly valued, exemplary of a labor, and which is addressed by a wide variety of disciplines, the discussion of the text with historical value is opened to a wider array of direct and indirect observations. ¹⁰⁸

Directly, conclusions can be drawn about the politically, economically and socially changing world. Growing trends in the vernacular culture can be observed in the material which is selected and saved. Shifts in media themselves can be seen in the array of periodicals, books, newspaper, ephemera, etc., which are clipped. The changing

106 Adburgham, Women In Print, Foreword.

43

¹⁰⁷ Williams, "'Simple' and 'Commonplace'?", 9-15.

¹⁰⁸ Helfand, Scrapbooks, xvii.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., ix-x

technological processes in printing and illustrating can be noted in variations of text, type and paper. A variety of media, from advertisements to images, can reflect patterns of literacy or the availability of some resources. These attributes are made directly evident through the media present in the scrapbook itself.

Indirectly, that which has been clipped demonstrates an ability for independent thought. Rather than simply consuming mass media, Lady Maxwell expressed her power of choice to select and save what was amusing, relevant, or illustrative to her. What was chosen reflects the active involvement and interest of a woman in not only fashion and courtship but in local and national politics as well as topics of history and militarism. The repurposed and collaged images display a sense of humor, an education, an awareness of the world events and, perhaps most significantly, a confident sense of self.

With this in mind, there are many considerations to be addressed in the examination of this object as well as a multitude of strategies that should be applied in order to construct a more complete history. This analysis argues that scrapbooks are texts. The methodologies discussed here are framed in the context of a consciously gendered examination of Scottish history that works not to serve as another addended women's history, but as an integrated inquiry into the scrapbooks' place in its time, geographic location, and social context. This analysis draws heavily from the techniques of material culture historians while being supplemented by those of print history, art history, and craft historians.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 17.

SCRAPBOOKS AS TRANSDISCIPLINARY AFFAIRS

To fully appreciate scrapbooks, in particular those of Lady Maxwell, it is necessary to look at them as not only material culture or craft objects but as texts. While recognized as physical books in their pages and bindings, scrapbook scholarship remains split, arguing that these tomes are or are not "books" in the sense of being texts. In choosing to marginalize this medium, scholars have continued to isolate it in singular disciplines, analyzing it using methodologies from the fields of art history, print history, material culture, craft and women's studies. ¹¹¹ These limited and singular approaches have resulted in isolated and problematic understandings of the text, contributing singularly to a patriarchal history or, almost separately, to women's history. ¹¹² The modified approach proposed here would amplify the perceived historic and academic value of the scrapbook, while opening the text to a more nuanced transdisciplinary discussion.

In looking at the individual parts or resources which made this product, we see other products themselves, specifically the paper and printed materials, which are

¹¹¹ Introductions to these methodologies can be found in: Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).; David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*, (New York: Routledge, 2005).; W. David Kingery and Steven Lubar, edt, *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

¹¹² Abrams, Gordon, Simonton, Yeo, Gender in Scottish History since 1700, vii

evidence of Marx's theory of consumptive production.¹¹³ The paper upon which these various scraps were pasted was originally produced and disseminated with the intended usage of recording information. This paper would in most instances become an article, a diary, a document, a political cartoon, etc., which would disseminate the content in the form of a text. In this way this paper has continued the cycle. What was initially a product which was distributed and consumed, has now been re-produced and positioned for distribution and consumption, thus completing that cycle.¹¹⁴

The scraps of paper which adorn these pages and make them text-bearing come from magazines, newspapers and other printed material. Within Marx's cycle these bits of information would be compiled and distributed with the intention to educate and inform. Their socially normative usage would follow so as to be read. The information from the article itself was intended to be absorbed and reused although the object itself was not made with the intention of longevity, as in the case of magazines, newspapers, and leaflets. The paper itself has followed the socially normative and implied usage in that it was written upon or used for self-documentation, and thus became a historically viable text. As these magazines and their information were obviously produced, distributed and, consumed, that individual cycle becomes complete.

Thus, the cycle outlined by Marx should have begun anew. However, Lady

Maxwell deviated from this cycle, combining clipped scraps of articles and ephemera to

¹¹³ S. Ryazanskaya, W. Karl Marx: A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, 269.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 275-276.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 278.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 275-276.

form a scrapbook. These scissored slips of magazine and book are transformed, repositioned contextually, or stripped of their context altogether in order to distribute a message different from that which was intended during the original stage of production. It is here that a new and separate cycle of production has begun. This is significant in that it shows a creative and independent move by the author to break these pieces from their socially normative usage. The author repurposes these scraps, which remain in their recognizable format of printed material, and places them in the recognizable context of book form. In doing so, the author reassigns the legitimacy given to the original words and images through the technological process of printing in order to communicate that author's own message in a legitimate and recognizable format. This break from Marx's traditional cycle of goods is particularly notable in that it identifies scrapbooks as consciously authored texts created by active consumers.

In a generalized sense, historians' contemporary understanding of the past is built on their access to sources; primary, secondary, etc. The most highly regarded and most referenced of these are texts, such as letters or books; written or visual documentation built out of identifiable letters, symbols and images. These resources are most commonly saved because they are deemed to be more significant or valuable. This value is often determined by the lives and actions of the author or its contents.

History can be mapped through the actions of individuals in their "labor" or "work," and through their "civic participation" or "acts of citizenship." These words

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 278.

Abrams, Gordon, Simonton, Yeo, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, 9-11.

often have male oriented definitions. 119 An expanded understanding of these essential terms - not simply adding the word "women's" in front of them - is necessary for a more inclusive history. Gendered definitions of the above phrased words would broaden the way in which they are interpreted and accommodate for the various meanings which exist for all individuals, subsequently augmenting and enriching historians' understanding of that which has value historically, and how what is valuable is determined. 120

Once scrapbooks have been recognized as products of work, acts of civic participation and valuable texts, then they will be open to a more nuanced analysis employing a multitude of methodologies and a consciously gendered vocabulary. Academics can and should examine this text using methodologies from many different disciplines, drawing on the varied processes of looking, presenting and discussing a text, visual or written. Strategies from art and print history as well as women's, craft and material culture studies are central to the discussion of Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book.

Methodologies in the field of art history implore academics to look at those objects which are defined as art while asking questions designed to ascertain a better understanding of the work, its creator, and its circumstances of production as well as how the work can be used to develop a better understanding of the world in which it was produced. A work of art can be interpreted through a wide variety of ideas, theories, and methods which are far from mutually exclusive. Beyond direct biography and a historic interest in iconography, specific studies in reception theory, semiotics, authorial intent,

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 22. ¹²⁰ Ibid., 9.

formalist, psychoanalytic, poststructuralist, Marxist, feminist, and postcolonial theories have continued to broaden the ways in which art can be discussed.¹²¹

What is being presented here however, is not a theory, but a methodological approach to a specific type of text. Beyond theorizing that these works are indeed texts or that they are intentionally authored texts, this thesis proposes that a wider net be cast to create a methodology which is ultimately more inclusive. This broader approach will account for the many areas in which these theories overlap and encourage the application of scholastic advances within more discrete academic fields to a wider range of artifacts and texts.

By incorporating analytic strategies from art history and criticism, scholars will account for frameworks which analyze singular pieces meant for public display which may or may not have an overt narrative. Theories of authorial intent, psychoanalytic and feminist approaches all help build a methodology which looks at the creator as an author. These theories argue for multiple angles, as well as context in order to examine the text from the perspective of the hand that created it. Reception theory, a natural progression from authorial intent, reflects upon the original meaning through the eyes of

¹²¹ Hatt and Klonk, Art History, 1-6.

¹²² Ibid., 174-194.; Peggy Phelan, "Art and Feminism," *Survey*, (University of Copenhagen: Copenhagen, 2001).

Walter Benn Michaels and Steven Knapp, "Against Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 8.4 (Summer 1982): 724.; T.J. Clark, "On the Social History of Art" *Image of the People* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 9.

the viewer and the reactions that the work provokes in them. 124 Theories of reception give credence to the interpretations developed by the viewers in reaction to a work which in turn appreciates the value of a publicly produced or displayed item. Erwin Panofsky provided the theoretical framework to the iconological method, which identifies the meaningful themes and ideas in the individual elements of ephemera as well as their organization while placing the work in the context of the culture that produced it. 125 The methods which built art history over the last century provide an ample platform upon which to construct a methodology designed to fully analyze scrapbooks using content, context, and the creator to seek an understanding of intent and narrative. As it stands now, these strategies were developed with the analysis of objects and visual texts determined to be fine art in mind, yet lack the flexibility to discuss those outside of that acumen.

Everyday, non-fine, or decorative art objects fall under the purview of material culture. These physical testaments of a culture, which are typically three dimensional, are often examined from the outside, in. With ties to archeology and cultural anthropology, these objects as examined for construction, use, and significance. Jules Prown's *Mind in Matter* remains the basis of much material culture methodology, arguing

¹²⁴ Hans Robert Jauß, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory" *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti, intro. Paul de Man, Theory and History of Literature 2, Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse, gen. eds. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 17, 20.

Erwin Panofsky, "Introductory," section one, in *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 3-17.

¹²⁶ W. David Kingery and Steven Lubar, edt, *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, vii-ix.

¹²⁷ Ibid., xiv.

that artifacts are not simply passive forms but primary resources in themselves. 128

Prown's analytic methodology divides objects into six material categories and then analyzes them in a four step process. This process begins with description: pure observation, no positing. It continues with deduction, or the positing of things that have any sort of a cause and effect. 129 This includes how it was formed, how would it be used, how was it made, or what things were used to make it. This analytic account ties in heavily with the approach described in the discussion of Marx's lifecycles of goods. By breaking down each individual element as well as the total product, historians are able to look at process as well as contextual significance.

By contrast, or complement, the works of Henry Glassie in the field of material culture drive historians to look at a product's interaction with nature. Glassie examines the lifecycles and stages of an object, believing that experiences that are too complicated for language can be expressed in material culture. This methodology breaks down the distinction between nature and human culture, and the way in which humans reshape nature to their own desires. His intention is to experience the materiality of the object using descriptions, examples, and an exhaustive syntax. Glassie's approach to material culture goods is particularly relevant to a field of texts which, while sharing a similar

¹²⁸ Prown, Mind in Matter, 1.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 1-19.

¹³⁰ Henry Glassie, *Material Culture*.

Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975).

form and format, have few common themes or imagery. 132 Using his metaphoric analysis, a more uniform canon may be established.

Just as the origins of material culture and art history lie in literary history and criticism, so too do those of print history. 133 Extending beyond the content of the volumes themselves to delve into the history of the volume as an object and as a product of technology, print history investigates every aspect of the history of the book; from the creation, production, and dissemination of the text to its reception. 134 This field of study looks at the social, economic, and cultural history of authorship, every stage of the book trade, book arts, periodicals, newspapers, ephemera, literacy, literary education, and reader response, among many other topics. 135 Where some methodologies might have highlighted what stories could be told by the scrapbook, this specific style of analysis focuses on the text itself as the storyteller. This analytic strategy would highlight the volumes themselves in their construction, presentation, and content. ¹³⁶ Most significantly, however, this analysis would discuss these books as texts, ones that were privately made, but publicly presented.

These analyses reflect upon the background, culture and personal experiences of each producer at any point in time. However, within the discipline of literary criticism, Hans Robert Jauß asserts that,

¹³² An example of the application of this strategy is found in: Andrea Kolasinski Marcinkus, "Nature Fancywork: Women's Discourse with Nature Through Craft in Late Nineteenth Century America," Dis. (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008).

¹³³ Finkelstein and McCleery, An Introduction to Book History, vii.

¹³⁴ Finkelstein and McCleery, An Introduction to Book History, 4.

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Ibid.

"The historical life of a literary work is unthinkable without the active participation of its addressees. For it is only through the process of its mediation that the work enters into the ever changing horizon-of-experience of a continuity in which the perpetual inversion occurs from simple reception to critical understanding, from passive to active reception, from recognized aesthetic norms to a new production that surpasses them." ¹³⁷

With this statement Jauß calls for an examination of the reception of works and a reflection on the changing ways in which they are perceived. By observing the ways in which the viewer reacts to a text, one can observe not only the horizon of expectations with which the viewer approaches the work, but the cultural and historical durability of the work itself. In identifying the scrapbook as one of the many forms of text included in the fields of print and book history, the object is opened to highly specified fields of study that directly address many of the components of the volume itself.

Interpretation grounded in the theory of the aesthetic of reception is not entirely removed from authorial intent. In seeking the meaning of a work, the viewer is interpreting and reacting to the work that was produced by the artist. ¹³⁸ It is not unlikely that they will react to the work in a way that is unique to themselves and as a result of their horizon of expectations, but also in a way that searches for authorial intent.

If Walter Benn Michaels and Steven Knapp were correct in their statement that the meaning of the work is inseparable from the authorial intent and the viewers are seeking the meaning of the work, then they are seeking the authorial intent. Due to the variance in the viewers' experience, their own opinion may be a result of their experiences with the style or subject matter, or simply an uninformed reaction to the

¹³⁷ Jauß, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory" 19.

¹³⁸ Jauß, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory" 17, 20.

¹³⁹ Michaels and Knapp, "Against Theory", 724.

work. Wolfgang Iser has directly connected the search for the reader's response to the quest for authorial intent stating: "Thus the author's intention, the work's message, the value manifested in the harmonious reconciliation--all of them constitute a background to the theory of aesthetic response." With this theory, viewers are able to provide new ways of seeing works and contribute to the discussion of authorial intent, perpetuating the relevance and significance of these scrapbooks.

Even more than well categorized paintings, quilts, or novels, scrapbooks necessitate a transdisciplinary approach due to their polysemous nature and the layers of Marxian production cycles to each element. Scrapbooks distribute and delegate the voice of authorial intent through the subversion of preexisting and pre-legitimized voices. Drawing from various fields allows historians to grasp the full complexity of these texts by not only by asking new questions, but also by asking old questions in new ways. This will help them to understand the circumstances of the production of these texts, the significance they held for their authors, and exactly what they were able to communicate to their audiences. Perhaps most relevantly to Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks in Pollok House, these questions may draw together a better understanding of the life of Lady Maxwell and a way to re-introduce her in the home.

¹⁴⁰ Wolfgang Iser, "Reception Theory: Iser" in his *How to Do Theory, How to Study Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 59-60.

POLLOK HOUSE AND LADY MAXWELL'S SCRAPBOOKS NOW

Set just five miles from Glasgow's city center, Pollok House is an eighteenth century furnished historic manor home managed by the National Trust for Historic Scotland. He NTS website bills this grand country house as "Scotland's answer to Downton Abbey," a place that "gives a real taste of upstairs/downstairs life in the 1930s. He architect William Adam designed and built the ancestral home of the Maxwell family in 1752 in the center of Pollok County Park. Adam's elaborate brand of English Palladianism is complimented by the family's collection of Spanish paintings, antique furniture, and other period decorative arts. Despite the age of the house and much of its contents, which were collected primarily by its earlier occupants, it has been interpreted to the Edwardian period, possibly as a way of making the downstairs narrative more accessible to visitors. This is further supported by the innovations on the property including a popular restaurant and two gift shops that currently occupy the servant's quarters.

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¹⁴¹ The NTS is a policy-making organization that deals with the management of government properties, historic or otherwise. This greatly complicates their policies on conservation and preservation.

¹⁴² "Pollok House," National Trust for Scotland, Accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/.

¹⁴³ The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House, (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation, Museum & Art Galleries Department, 1970), 1-2.

¹⁴⁴ "Pollok House," National Trust for Scotland, Accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/.

Over time, an array of occupants and renovations have created a multitude of discrepancies which are physically evident in different levels of the house. The visitor experience has been made increasingly fractured by the interpretation of the upper two floors as areas which require paid admission, and the lower floor as one which is free to visit and is filled with consumer articles (Figure 11). While Pollok House seeks to combine various narratives in this historic house, strong dichotomies fail to link the stories, leaving the visitor with a generic overview of the past but a pleasing visitor experience.

Pollok House is divided in three easily accessible floors. To enter the first and second floors, visitors are required to pay an admittance fee, whereupon they can choose to receive a guided tour or to wander freely. The first floor is comprised of everyday rooms including a billiard room, which has been reinterpreted as a dining room, a music room, a massive library, a study, and several receiving rooms (Figures 12-13). These rooms are decorated with elaborate stuccowork and fine furniture which are complemented by luxurious displays of glass, ceramics, and silver.

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¹⁴⁵ "Pollok House," National Trust for Scotland, Accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/.



Figure 11. The entrance hall at Pollok House.

The staircases lead both up to the first floor and down to the servant's quarters.

Photo courtesy of www.undiscoveredscotland.com.



Figure 12. The Music Room located on the first floor. Image courtesy of www.theglasgowstory.com.



Figure 13. The Dining Room located on the first floor. Image courtesy of www.undiscoveredscotland.com.

These rooms are organized cleanly and, while the website states that the furnishings lend a lived-in feel to the experience, the overwhelming lack of personal information about the family does not allow the visitor to connect to the atmosphere. This is possibly due to the discrepancy in the time of consumption and the interpreted period presented. Laminated cards provide limited background on selected objects. These cards do not double as formal labels and shy away from any interpretation or contextual analysis of the objects beyond their immediate production and consumption.

All presented materials ranging from the tour to the website cater to the same type of visitors as far as age, ethnicity, and level of education. Additional pamphlets, various language guides, room attendants, costumed interpreters or participatory experiences with

¹⁴⁶ "What to see and do," National Trust for Scotland, Accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/What-to-see-and-do.

reproduction objects would have greatly supplemented these small presentations of information. A limited amount of staff and textual presentation makes the site's knowledge inaccessible, particularly to foreign visitors.

The latter portion of this process, consumption or collection, was largely completed by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, who occupied the home circa 1840, well before the currently interpreted period. His taste for books and Spanish art articulates speak to his money, status and travels, though it tells little about the day-to-day existence in the Edwardian period or any other occupant of the house. He first floor, with its common area rooms, was designed to receive and entertain. It is finely furnished and decorated, but also does little to explore the many narratives of the house's former inhabitants. While the laminated cards present in a side room off the library describe the origins of the assorted pieces of silver, they fail to discuss this obviously expensive piece of custom made furniture designed to perfectly fit four nonstandard sized books on shelves and display a fifth one on the top. Oddly, the guided tour ends with the completion of the first floor. Visitors are then encouraged to peruse the second floor on their own.

The second floor, by contrast, contains far more compact settings. A private former bedroom at the head of the stairs has been converted into a video viewing room where visitors can watch a short but pleasant summation of the family history intermixed with the many things that can be done on site. This video is the strongest method of interpretation currently present in the home and the only example of integrated

¹⁴⁷ The Stirling Maxwell Collection.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

technology. It is unfortunately focused almost exclusively on questions of lineage and the construction of the building, and fails to really explore the lives of its inhabitants. This video room was a missed opportunity to provide a voice to the underrepresented or largely neglected individuals who lived and worked there.

From there visitors seem to be guided away from the inhabited organization of the first floor and onto this more "museum" style of presentation. Down a small hallway to the right of the video room is a room containing the glass case where *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* is on display.

Beyond the familiar and social obligations to maintain household production schedules, manage the servants, and to excel at a variety of other feminine skills such as embroidery, Lady Maxwell maintained this leisurely pursuit in a very public manner. She purposefully set out her scrapbooks for her visitors to see. Displayed as permanent objects, they spoke volumes about her education, intelligence and cleverness to all that entered. Currently, the only open volume is relegated to a small back bedroom upstairs. The placement of *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* there, however, reduces its significance to visitors and completely bypasses the opportunity to explore this intimate view into the life of one of the female residents.

While the female presence in the household goes largely unmentioned on the first floor, and the previous rooms of the second floor highlight missed opportunities, the final room on the second floor presents a completely different strategy of interpretation.

Containing twentieth century furniture and articles, this dressing room and the attached bedroom are two of the only rooms that seem to support the claims of an Edwardian

interpretation. In contrast to the immaculately organized rooms of the first floor, these two rooms were interpreted in a disorderly manner. Possibly meant to create a more domestic or feminine space, this odd attempt at making the space look lived in interrupts the overall presentation.

At this point in time visitors have been moved through the portion of the house that they paid to attend. They have been introduced to several generations of the family in an easily accessible manner. Objects that set the scene of a fine life have been introduced, though they lack a contextual explanation of their cultural, political or social weights beyond a display of finery. At this point, visitors are directed to descend the stairs of the front hall into the lowest level of the building.

Cramped hall space and sterile tiles give way to the pristine and practical servant's area (Figure 14). Despite the equal billing given by the website, this area lacks labels or even real objects. The spaces have been converted into gift shops and a well-reviewed restaurant. This space is nominally designed to allow visitors to experience the house from the servants perspective, a standpoint Robert Fergusson of the National Trust for Scotland communicated as solid reasoning for the installation of the Edwardian Kitchen Restaurant when questioned during my visit (Figure 15). ¹⁴⁹ He noted that the kitchen was the experience which most intrigues visitors and thus provides the strongest attraction.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Fergusson, "Treasure Houses of Scotland Session and Discussion with Robert Fergusson," Pollok House. Wednesday, July 10th, 2013.



Figure 14. Service hallway leading to the Edwardian Kitchen Restaurant. Image courtesy of www.undiscoveredscotland.com.



Figure 15. Edwardian Kitchen Restaurant filled with happy visitors.
Image courtesy of www.undiscoveredscotland.com.

The water damage, wood rot, and peeling paint which have ravaged Adam's architectural designs and iconic stucco work make it obvious that funds are short and

attracting visitors is a very high priority for the historic house (Figure 16). This places a premium on draws such as the restaurant and other ahistoric public programs offered throughout the year. The National Trust for Scotland is a conservation charity designed to maintain these properties. During my visit, Mr. Ferguson stressed the importance of the houses under the care of the Trust being self-sufficient. However, it is disappointing that the space was identified as one of historical interest to visitors, and yet little effort was made to interpret the space in a historically informative manner. The lives of the forty-eight servants who ran the household of three go completely unaddressed in this area beyond an introductory board stating the former purpose of the space. While these fifty-one lives are frequently mentioned on their website, they are never concretely explained who exactly they were beyond a passing reference on the tour, intermixed with other narratives to create a very confusing experience.

¹⁵⁰ The most popular of these events is a Teddy Bear Christmas event.

¹⁵¹ Robert Fergusson, "Treasure Houses of Scotland Session and Discussion with Robert Fergusson," Pollok House. Wednesday, July 10th, 2013.

¹⁵² "Pollok House," National Trust for Scotland, Accessed October 6, 2013, http://www.nts.org.uk/Property/Pollok-House/.



Figure 16. Peeling paint and damaged stuccowork.
Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

The role of men in creating and furthering the family's line is prominently featured, with objects used to reflect their education, travels and status. The women of the family have been restricted largely to the second floor, where *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book* has been put on display without a deeper explanation beyond a description of her character from her daughter in the form of a poem. The other space which women have been allocated, the bedroom, is interpreted in a haphazard manner. The male presence has been seemingly eliminated, with the exception of the "His & Hers" wardrobe. This erases any possible discussion of familial relationships or the male presence in more commonly defined private spaces, the female presence in the common areas. As the formal tour does not continue to the upper floor, the female presence is seemingly treated as a secondary circumstance, unworthy of explanation or interpretation by a guide.

¹⁵³ Fraser, Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok, 426.

In addition to this frustrating lack of exploration of any of the house's ancestral occupants, and seeming disregard of the women's spheres, the house is most obviously divided by the floors which visitors pay to enter and the free experience below the main levels. The experience of the domestic service is consciously ignored in the name of creating a pleasant attraction for visitors, sacrificing a large space with great potential to explore social class, interaction with actual residents of the city of Glasgow, and the gendered experience in the home. While Pollok House seeks to combine various narratives in this furnished historic house, strong dichotomies drawn fail to link the stories, leaving the visitor with a visually enjoyable walk-through, a palatable but unchallenging overview of the history of the house and its objects, and a visitor experience designed to please rather than to educate¹⁵⁴

At this point in time it is abundantly clear that Pollok House is greatly in need of funds for essential repairs. ¹⁵⁵ Therefore, it is obvious that the funds for the digitization of the scrapbooks, or for further research into them, are not available at this time and it is unlikely that this will be treated as a priority in the near future.

It is worth restating that these invaluable assets do not belong to Pollok House. They are merely on loan from the Stirling Maxwell family and could be recalled at any time. Beyond that, with only one deemed acceptable for display, it is unknown to curators, scholars, and visitors alike what these other four contain. Without proper

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¹⁵⁴ There are some specialty school programs designed specifically at exploring service in the Victorian period that were unable to be experienced by this visitor. The involve costumes, some structured discourse for children and object handling. This is not advertised on site and was not witnessed by this visitor.

^{155 &}quot;£1m Needed to Repair Pollok House", Evening Times, Accessed April 07, 2016. http://eveningtimes.co.uk/news/13774839. 1m needed to repair Pollok House/

documentation, that knowledge contained in these books risks being lost forever. It is therefore that much more imperative that these books be documented for the archives of the home itself.

THE SCRAPBOOKS AND THE FUTURE

In the past, the scrapbooks have received some academic and artistic interest.

Louise Williams' thesis for her Master's candidacy analyzed a two-page selection from the open scrapbook. As discussed above, this work highlights central themes while providing the house with useful information as to the origins of some of the scraps. Using material culture methodologies, Williams is able to place the book within a greater context and to shed light on to the conditions of its production. While this research and her conclusions would make for a more informative presentation of the book, they have not been incorporated into the display.

Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book was also successfully featured in the March 2012 exhibition "New Perspectives" at Pollok House. Scottish artist Morag Muego was one of twelve contemporary artists who chose an object from the collection to which she could lend a perspective. Is In reaction to the scrapbook, the artist fabricated a wooden box with found and fastened objects that related to Hannah Anne Maxwell (Figure 17). The box, which was thirty-two cm square, was complemented by two large cabinets filled with scraps of printed materials that had the names "Hannah Ann" cut out of them

Morag Muego, "Morag Muego @ Pollock House", last modified Sunday, March 18, 2012, http://thecommonty.blogspot.nl/2012/03/morag-muego-pollock-house.html.
 Ibid.

(Figure 18).¹⁵⁸ In doing so, Muego fashioned a visualization of Lady Maxwell's archive of images as well as a spelled-out simplification of the process of the scrapbook's production. While certainly an interesting exhibition that likely drew new visitors to the house or engaged those who were looking for a contemporary link, this installation offered little new information or interpretation of the work itself.



Figure 17. Morag Muego's wooden box. Image courtesy of http://thecommonty.blogspot.nl/2012/03/morag-muego-pollock-house.html.

¹⁵⁸ This is how Muego spelled her name.



Figure 18. One of the two cabinets filled with scraps.

Image courtesy of http://thecommonty.blogspot.nl/2012/03/morag-muego-pollock-house.html.

Information gathered from Louise Williams' dutiful research and Morag Muego's artistic interpretation of the scrapbooks can be utilized in many different ways. With the cornerstone of research in place, there are a wide variety of future opportunities to use the scrapbooks themselves as well as the information contained to draw visitors, engage them on the premises, and build partnerships with local institutions. Ideally, funds raised from increased visitorship could contribute to the necessary onsite repairs as well as conservation and future digitization of the scrapbooks.

The current presentation at Pollok's house is relatively devoid of a female—or even a human—presence at this particular point in time, as illustrated in the previous section. For many people, a visit to Pollok House begins online. While there is information to be found on the National Trust for Scotland's website and Pollok House's

Facebook fan page, Lady Hannah Maxwell and her scrapbooks lack much of an online presence. 159

By creating a virtual persona for Lady Maxwell, Pollok House would introduce the missing female presence back into the house, increase online visibility and broaden their target audience. The Chipstone Foundation has accomplished this through their exhibition "Mrs. M.—'s Cabinet," which is "designed to inspire wonder, curiosity and perhaps even some mystery." Their decorated interior belonging to the imagined Mrs. M. allows them to tell a wide variety of true stories to visitors about early America. Pollok House is home to a tremendous collection of artifacts beyond their fine arts and rare volumes collections. The rooms of Pollok House tell tales of all the families that have occupied it, and Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks provide the perfect collection to introduce a myriad of political, economic and cultural topics.

This introduction could be done on a variety of levels, however. Perhaps most simply, an intern could build a Pinterest account for Lady Maxwell herself. Well tagged images from Pollok House's Facebook account as well as the NTS can supplement Pinterest boards of the latest fashions, her favorite poetry and her least favorite politicians. This online persona could be expanded with her own website, meant to engage young adults and children. This site could eventually contain a digitization of the scrapbooks as well as an online game in which children could make their own scrapbook using a blank page and a small selection of scraps. These are just a few ideas using

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¹⁵⁹ Online Resources for Lady Maxwell: https://www.facebook.com/NTSPollokHouse; http://www.theglasgowstorv.com/image/?inum=TGSE01231

¹⁶⁰ "Mrs. M.-'s Cabinet," *Chipstone Foundation*, Chipstone Foundation, Accessed: 7 April 2016, http://www.chipstone.org/content.php/27/Exhibitions.

contemporary technology to create a virtual persona with whom visitors can interact with over the internet.

On site, the female presence can be improved through educational exhibitions and public programming. An exhibition focusing on Lady Maxwell and her scrapbooks is more than reasonable considering the amount of research that has been done on them. Alternatively, an exhibition could feature a collection of popular fashions of her time, using them to highlight contemporary social mores, technological advances, or produced goods, much like the exhibitions of costume at Delgarven Mill Museum of Country Life and Costume. ¹⁶¹ These exhibitions could be supplemented by the presence of a costumed historian who could speak to visitors about the Maxwell family's experience in that life and time. This addition may make the visitor experience far more accessible to children and young adults.

Other public programming events may focus more on scrapbooking as a hobby.

Talks on Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks designed specifically for hobbyists may garner the attention of enthusiasts. In addition, days in which scrapbookers may come and bring their own materials to share and scrapbook on site would create a community around these artifacts.

Lastly, public programming could host a period tea. This ticketed event could utilize outdoor space or the more modern library to welcome others to step back in time. This event would create the opportunity to talk about etiquette, rituals of courtship and women's relationships with each other in Lady Maxwell's lifespan.

¹⁶¹ "Dalgarven Mill - Costume." Dalgarven Mill - Costume. Accessed April 07, 2016. http://www.dalgarvenmill.org.uk/costume.html.

Exhibitions, events and public programming also present a wonderful opportunity to work with other local institutions, such as the Kelvingrove Museum, the University of Glasgow Library, the Mitchell Library, and the Delgarven Mill Museum of Country Life and Costume, as well as other surrounding historic houses. ¹⁶² These partnerships may bring in more visitors from surrounding cities as well as create the opportunity for Pollok House to exhibit a more complete program of documents, costumes and general visual aids.

Most obviously, Pollok House could explore Pollok Park's other notable collector. William Burrell, the accumulator of what now has become the Burrell Collection, gathered the greatest collection of art in Scotland. A very private man, however, he provided art historians with even less of an explanation than that which was provided with Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks. A partnership between these two institutions may serve to dramatically increase visitorship to the Park itself and intrigue those who may not originally be interested in each others respective collection of objects d'art.

Items in the gift shop allow visitors to take a piece of their experience home with them. Further reading in the form of period guides to etiquette, fashion and courtship would easily supplement the historic texts already found there. For children, paper dolls and coloring books would capture the aesthetic of the times. These additions to the gift

^{162 &}quot;Dalgarven Mill." Dalgarven Mill. Accessed April 07, 2016. http://www.dalgarvenmill.org.uk/.

¹⁶³ Richard Marks, *Burrell: Portrait of a Collector*, (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1998), 11.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

shop would directly reference the public programming and events suggested above.

These books would encourage visitors to continue engaging with the site even after their visit. Online opportunities, public programming, events and gift shop items work together to place Lady Hannah Maxwell back in her home.

Of principle importance, however, digitization would expose these books to the minimum amount of conservational concerns while ensuring that this trove of information is preserved. It would increase accessibility, encourage developing scholarship on the house and its occupants, and entice more visitors to witness firsthand this unique text. Beyond simple documentation, digitization would allow for increased utilization of the resources inside of the books and would provide the perfect basis for an exhibition exploring the female perspective in the home that would really set Pollok House apart from other country houses under the National Trust's care. The digitization of these five books is not only essential to their long term documentation and to the possibility of scholarship revolving around the author and the contents, but for the possible full interpretation of one of the most significant pieces of material culture currently held by Pollok House.

There are certainly many concerns revolving around this process. The primary concerns would be permission for the digitization and then the use of the images from the family. It would be helpful for the house to obtain this permission in the event that the family recalled the books. This would allow them to at least retain photographs or other high quality digital reproductions of the books for their own archive and research, or to be utilized to build separate exhibitions. This would not only increase visibility of the

occupants of the house and their experiences, namely Lady Maxwell, but also serve as an educational incentive to draw new or more varied viewers to the house. These images could also be used in a more extensive online digital exhibition, which could help cement an online web presence for the house.



Figure 19. An alternative option for low-cost digitization. Image courtesy of Anne Williams.

At the moment, the greatest concern is funding the digitization. This would include the acquisition of the technology necessary to complete the procedure, the labor and the software necessary to process the images in a way that is conservation-minded. At this point in time, the books are in a stable condition and could be easily processed with the assistance of foam aids, which are currently in the possession of the house, and an extra set of hands to stabilize them during the photographing procedure. An austere

version of this is certainly feasible with a handheld camera, on-site conservation materials, and appropriate lighting (Figure 19).

It is my sincere hope that this new information as well as these types of accessible interpretations could lead to a more informative and engaging display of the books. This research could be employed to open discussions on the lives of women in the 18th and 19th centuries in the outskirts of Glasgow, on leisure time and the changes that came with industrialization, or even on print media. There are nearly an unlimited number of topics that could be enriched by the inclusion of this material.

NEW MEDIA AND SCRAPBOOKS

Today, memories are documented through Instagram, Pinterest, Facebook and other online applications. The persistence of memory is furthered by digital displays of collaged interests and experiences. At this point in time, there is a socially normative preconceived notion as to who is the average scrapbooker, but the hobby has historically been shared by all ages and genders. 165 Self-curation through participation in social media has become an accepted and expected part of everyday life in the internet age. 166 While computer editing, the DIY movement and mass media fuel a modern affection for the art of collage, the scrapbook is far from a new concept. The earliest collections of printed materials assembled in books for personal and public use in the form of a collage date to the Renaissance period. 167 Predating online collages, uploaded from Microsoft Paint or Adobe's Photoshop, these collections were accumulated and displayed on paper. This compilation, most generally referred to as a scrapbook, is a combination of the art of craft and the employment of mass media to define the self in the modern industrial age. Most importantly however, scrapbooking is a personalized collection. While diaries document lives with collections of words and photo albums record the family tree in

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¹⁶⁵ Christensen, *Constructing Value*, 13-14.

¹⁶⁶ Garvey, Writing with Scissors, 3.

¹⁶⁷ Tucker, Ott, Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 6.

pictures, scrapbooks are consciously curated collections of articles, pictures and ephemera, which are then purposefully arranged and displayed as dictated by the author.

My MacBook Pro is currently home to some three thousand carefully selected bookmarks. Ranging from a recipe for harvest cake with Sangiovese sauce and where to buy laser cut earrings inspired by the video game Portal to where to find the New York Times' advice on "How to Live without Irony," these links have been carefully saved in a collapsible sidebar in Google Chrome. They have been sorted and labeled based on their humor value, recipe quality and everyday usefulness. The .gif files I have saved for when I need to deliver a witty internet response may be near the complementary array of clever webcomics I have archived, but they are far from my wardrobe wish list of nearly unattainable fashion. My version of the twentieth century librarian's vertical files is not so dissimilar to Lady Maxwell's scrapbooks. Advice for successful courtship, the finest bonnets of 1837, biographies of the most popular members of parliament, and evidence of an Italian "Grand Tour" are sketched out in her compilation of printed media. 168 Much like my bookmarks of wish lists, archives of quotations, and advice articles, Lady Maxwell's scrapbook served as a carefully kept archive of her interests, desires, and experiences.

Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker and Patricia P. Buckler, in their introduction to *The Scrapbook in American Life*, note that while the lives of historic figures are often sought out by combing through records, financial and medical, personal and public, "a scrapbook represents a construction of identity outside these formalized and authoritative

¹⁶⁸ Hannah Maxwell, *Lady Maxwell's Scrap Book*.

records. It is the self that guides the scissors and assembles the scraps." As used in this thesis, the term scrapbook is defined as an assemblage of ephemera that has been arranged and affixed to a series of pieces of material that have then been bound together by the author to create a text. Ephemera can be defined as photographs, printed media, artwork, personal journaling or any small object that can be affixed to the page. Any selection of these items can comprise the contents of a scrapbook. The pages can be made of a variety of materials, all of which tell a different story. The way in which these pages are bound and the materials used to do so further enrich this story.

A scrapbook is handmade by one or more authors. The author(s) can be of any gender. It can be fashioned in the privacy of the home or in a crafting circle as a public activity. Varying intents lie behind the collection of these materials as well as the value they hold while the author(s) are living and after they have died. These intents can also possibly affect the way in which the scrapbook is displayed, something which would certainly reflect on both a public and private reception of the book and the perception of it and its contents. These do not affect, however, the definition of the scrapbook itself as a text.

These scrapbooks serve as collections of memory, housing collected consumer desires, recollections and souvenirs, as well as stockpiled informational materials that are perceived as useful. Appraised as museums, carefully housing a curated assemblage of articles, scrapbooks can be defined as collections due to the sheer number of amassed items, the intent with which they are acquired, and the relationship the collector has with

¹⁶⁹ Tucker, Ott, Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 2.

the objects, one which is not simply defined on a one-on-one basis but in tandem with their relationship to the grouping as a whole. While not a traditional collection of three-dimensional objects that may be displayed in a vitrine or on a shelf, these pieces have been just as thoroughly sorted and stored. They are arranged for display as a collection for an audience of one or many, as with many other collections, private and public. These many factors define the scrapbook as a collection of objects, a compendium.

While this assemblage may be examined as a collection of many items, it is important to note that the scrapbook should also be looked at as an independent text. A piece of valuable material culture, this album or book has the unique quality of being assessed both article by article, or as a whole. This allows for the examination of the independent value of each article, both historically and as possibly perceived by the original collector. Discussion of each "scrap" extends beyond the two-dimensional content or historical context, to the way in which each piece was cut, arranged and affixed to the page. These scraps are intimately situated. They are preserved together and often interact with each other, particularly in the case of pictorial scraps. At the same time, the collection has a physical representation; an encasement that fixes the collection in the arrangement by the author. This printed wunderkamer can be examined in terms of materials, composition, and strategies of assembly, as well as themes of color, texture and content, general or specific. This added level of depth makes these collections of particular interest and value.

In the high art world, collage is found in the form of multimedia works, while the homegrown craft of scrapbooking continues to grow. The Modern technology has both encouraged the deeper exploration of hobbies and craft, capitalizing on commercialization of subcultures while encouraging their growth as imagined communities. Computers, databases, and electronic communication systems have allowed for information and materials to be easily recorded, transmitted, and communicated. While a community once relied on word of mouth, shared scraps, and hobbyist magazines such as The Exchange, chat rooms, Yahoo Groups, and forums have helped communities grow their numbers, spread the news of events, and discuss the stylistic trends within the scene. The Geoff Stahl noted the rise of virtual neighborhoods in *The Post-Subcultures Reader*. People were able to create their own internet identity through a screen name, an avatar, and karma points which attested to their level of participation in a given forum or online web community. These options are seen widely on www.scrapbook.com or www.scrapbooking.com. These newer social networking sites

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¹⁷⁰ Hartigan, "The House That Collage Built," 88.

¹⁷¹ Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree, *New Media*, *1740-1915*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2003), 209.

¹⁷² Dylan Clark, "The Death and Life of Punk, the Last Subculture." In *The Post Subcultures, Reader* Edited by David Muggleton and Rupert Weinzierl, (Oxford: Berg, Oxford International Publishers Ltd., 2003).

Avatar: Computers. a graphical image that represents a person, as on the Internet. *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007. s.v. "avatar,"), http://www.credoreference.com/entry/hmdictenglang/avatar (accessed May 04, 2010).;

Karma Points: [Points awarded] on internet forums with the Karma system, where you can "applaud" (+1) or "smite" (-1) users for being good or bad. The total of your karma points is usually shown below your avatar.

have taken online interaction and creative expression to the next level.¹⁷⁴ New technology allows for greater communication and sharing of information through social networking sites, as well as preparing a space in which to openly share information and the products of the authors' labors.

Ott, Tucker and Buckler note most succinctly in their statement that: "Scrapbook and album making captured the culture of capitalism in the desire to possess objects and understand oneself through possessions." Whether these consumer desires are consummated through the purchase of fashion, serving a proper tea, obeying larger socionormative practices or simply engaging in the production of this object which would later be considered a definitive arbiter of taste, the scrapbook serves as a collection of memory. As a mode of personal documentation of the evolution of the self, it records the navigation of the modern world and new technologies with which they are presented. It is from these personal documents that an insight into the private lives and thoughts of the

¹⁷⁴ Like on websites such as MySpace, Facebook, Twitter and others now allow the user to build online profiles. On MySpace, the user uses images, music, and lists of interests to decorate their profile page. They can then "friend" others as well as join groups and networks through which they can meet others. As with earlier Yahoo Groups, this is a way of keeping track of members and spreading information amongst those active and inactive on the scene. Through these social networking cites, event pages can be created, posting pictures, links and comments by those invited and those hosting for all the World Wide Web to see. The newest addition to Facebook is the use of fan pages, which allow the user to "like" them. By liking the fan page, the user will be added to a list of those who also like the person or thing, and will have a badge appear on their personal profile declaring their support for the liked item. Through Sid Vicious wallpaper, liking Starbucks, or adding Miley Cyrus as the soundtrack to your personal profile, social networking sites have allowed for the creation of an online identity with which to participate in online communities. The time and effort put into the creation of self image, especially on complex sites such as MySpace, represents the time and energy put into selecting the correct stylistic elements and the role they play in communities, virtual and otherwise.

¹⁷⁵ Tucker, Ott, and Buckler, *The Scrapbook in American Life*, 12.

author are illustrated by newspaper clippings or snippets from what have been increasingly popular women's magazines. Predilections in fashion can be inferred from snippings from fashion magazines and catalogues, while prose and poetry speak to literary tastes, social mores and the dreams of the scrapbooker.

Women such as Lady Maxwell have long produced physical catalogues of their interests and interaction with new media while publicly performing their power of choice in their creation of a sense of self in the form of scrapbooks. A stronger vocabulary which is more consciously defined in the modern era of historiography as well as a transdisciplinary approach to analyzing and discussing scrapbooks would lead to not only more impactful research but perhaps stimulate public interest in this non-traditional text. New technologies in the digital age are changing the face and contents of the scrapbook, broadening the methods of capturing and re-presenting memory in public and private displays of desire. By creating a more articulated methodological approach, historians will better document this momentous shift in scrapbooking technology and its cultural ramifications.

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