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2006

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Victorian Passion to Modern Phenomenon: A Literary and Rhetorical Analysis of Two Hundred Years of Scrapbooks and Scrapbook Making

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Victorian Passion to Modern Phenomenon:
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by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2006

Dedication

To my husband, Jonathan David Wahl.

I could not have done this without your love,

your help, your patience, your good humor,

and your hand in mine.

Victorian Passion to Modern Phenomenon:
A Literary and Rhetorical Analysis of Two Hundred Years of Scrapbooks and Scrapbook Making

Publication No._____

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2006

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Scrapbooks are cultural artifacts that contain expressions of the literary and rhetorical impulse to express oneself in words, pictures, and other artifacts. Scrapbooks are ubiquitous throughout the population and in all realms of society. They contain evidence of personal writing and engage in discourses on family and society. And yet, except for a few scholars, they have received little attention as subjects or resources for research. The lack of scholarly interest in scrapbooks is due to the negative connotation of "scraps" and a failure to recognize scrapbooks as sites for personal writing and reflections of our history and culture. This dissertation provides a thoughtful definition of scrapbooks and an extended history of their use from Victorian England to the World Wide Web. Although this dissertation limits itself to American and British scrapbooks, early scrapbook making also took place in Canada and Europe, with some of the earliest works appearing in Germany and France. Scrapbooks can also be found in other

countries and regions around the world, including Australia, South Africa, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Japan, Scandinavia, and others.

The Introduction argues that scrapbooks are valuable cultural artifacts of memory and history. Chapter One, "What's in a name?", provides a definition of scrapbooks that dispels their negative connotations, distinguishes them from other albums, and uncovers their inherent qualities as literary and rhetorical documents. Chapter Two, "The Victorian Passion," and Chapter Three, "The Modern Phenomenon," provide a history of scrapbooks that spans two-hundred years of scrapbook events, beginning with the Victorian passion for collecting scraps and continuing into the current scrapbook-making phenomenon. The history emphasizes the intersections between scrapbooks and the social, political, economic, and technological developments that influence scrapbooks and scrapbook making. Chapter Four, "Paper to Pixels," examines the newest generation of scrapbooks, e-scrapbooks, and pays particular attention to scrapbooks on the World Wide Web.

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Introduction

Scrapbooks, filled with memories and memorabilia, are artifacts of culture. *Culture* refers to a simple or complex way of acting, feeling, and thinking that is acquired over time and through group membership. Cultural traits include habits, customs, traditions, beliefs, mores, knowledge, and many others. Cultural traits bind together large groups of people, such as nations, or smaller groups, such as families. Large and small groups share cultural traits with one another. People leave evidence of their culture in the words they write, the rituals they practice, and the objects they shape. Anything created by people may express their participation in, or understanding of, their culture: texts, tools, buildings, paintings, diaries, and scrapbooks. Analyzing and interpreting these cultural artifacts leads to a better understanding of people, their relationships to one another, and their world. Studying cultural artifacts often leads to insights into how culture is formed, acquired, and functions in society. Cultural artifacts can also provide evidence of historical events and the context of their occurrence. Thus, interpretations of artifacts, including scrapbooks, foster understanding across generations.

There are at least four subjective and overlapping perspectives from which to study the remnants of culture: high, folk, popular, and material. Matthew Arnold provided the accepted definition of high culture as "the best that is known and thought in the world" (E. K. Brown 15). This view once limited the study of culture to an elitist set of subjects. In contrast, folk culture studies "artifacts created by a specific community or ethnic group, usually a relatively isolated nontechnological society" (Petracca and Sorapure 2). Artifacts of popular culture and materials culture include, among other items, scrapbooks because they encompass "the most immediate and contemporary elements in our lives -- elements which are often subject to rapid changes in a highly

technological world in which people are brought closer and closer by the ubiquitous mass media" (Petracca and Sorapure 3). Scrapbooks are artifacts of popular culture because they reflect the influences of advertising, sports, movies, music, television, computers, and leisure time on people's everyday lives. And, like other artifacts of popular culture, scrapbooks reflect "certain standards and commonly held beliefs about beauty, success, love, or justice [. . . and . . .] the tension between races, genders, or generations" (Petracca and Sorapure 5). As an act of popular culture, scrapbook making is a leisure time activity that expresses an investment in oneself, family, or community.

Occasionally, "if an icon of popular culture survives, it can often make the leap into high culture" (Petracca and Sorapure 4). As a result, the commonplace products of popular culture may be found in places once reserved for the study of high culture. This has occurred with many objects, including scrapbooks. Anne Sexton's honeymoon scrapbook appeared in the fall 1998 exhibit of "Images of Women" presented by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at University of Texas at Austin (HRC). In 1995, Annette Messager's traveling art exhibit displayed entire books, including scrapbooks, hung on museum walls (J. Corbett 32). And the prestigious Metropolitan Museum of Art displayed "one sheet from the Scholz scrapbook of architectural drawings" that was created in Rome in the 1570s (Bertocci 93).

Scrapbooks are also products of material culture which provide a perspective on the acts and artifacts of quotidian life:

> A craft, a house, a food, that comes from one's hands or heart, one's shared experience with other people in a community, one's learned ideas and symbols, visibly connects persons and groups to society and to the reality around them. That interconnection is material culture. Material culture is made up of tangible things crafted, shaped, altered, and used across time

> and across space. It is inherently personal and social, mental and physical. It is art, architecture, food, clothing, and furnishing. But more so, it is the weave of these objects in the everyday lives of individuals and communities. It is the migration and settlement, custom and practice, production and consumption that is American history and culture. It is the gestures and processes that extend ideas and feelings into three-dimensional form. (Bronner 3)

Researchers of material culture use "the entire natural and man-made environment [. . .] [to] interpret the past" (Schlereth 2). They study artifacts in an attempt "to explain why things were made, why they took the forms they did, and what social, functional, aesthetic, or symbolic needs they serve" (Schlereth 2). As part of our materials culture, scrapbooks offer clues to the cultural history of those "who have not figured prominently in traditional political or social narratives written by historians" (Schlereth 4). Artifacts of materials culture, such as scrapbooks, provide a more complete expression of the American past. Scrapbooks perform many of the same functions attributed to material artifacts, such as collecting, preserving, and sharing memories of people, events, and cultural traits. Indeed, scrapbooks, like other artifacts of culture, help explain human affairs and record our cultural heritage.

Scrapbooks are also products of a literary and rhetorical impulse to preserve representations of life that can rekindle memories and stories. Primitive people recounted their past in songs, stories, and totems. Ancient Greeks elevated the use of memory to a classic art, employing mnemotechnics and the "inner techniques" of associating memories with visualized places (Yates 4). Attaching memories to *loci* ("places") enabled ancient rhetors to recite long eulogies and stories of victories from memory. With the invention of writing, fragments of histories became bound in text and scattered

across such documents as church records, public census reports, family Bibles, and diaries. Scrapbooks combine all of these techniques. First, as *loci*, they provide a place where memories are stored and from which they can be recalled. Second, they contain essential data in text and image form. Third, like ancient rhetors who turned memories into oral recitation, those who share scrapbooks often engage in storytelling based on the recalled memories. As *loci*, scrapbooks are part of recorded history as well as resources in an oral tradition of remembering and relating the past, often in the form of stories. In essence, they are like touchstones or Rosetta stones that facilitate recalling or explaining the past.

The recent celebrations of the millennium 2000 illustrate the affection people have for recalling the past. The print and broadcast media featured stories of the previous decade, century, and millennium. Academics in many disciplines mused on the significance of the passage of time on their field or the world in general. The manufacturing and advertising industries capitalized on people's fascination with the past by offering special edition products and once-in-a-millennium promotions. Especially popular were time capsules, which provide a tactile reminder of things past and may trigger memories of events and emotions connected with them. Communities and individuals placed objects in time capsules and buried them for the future or they searched for and recovered time capsules from the past. Like time capsules, the written and visual records of scrapbooks provide a way to preserve representations of life and rekindle memories and stories.

Memories and stories serve many purposes in society and individual lives. They provide benchmarks of progress. They help assemble long-range perspectives and reveal patterns of behavior and ideas. They help impose a sense of order onto a chaotic history. They contribute to the preservation of historical moments, large and small. They help

further understanding of the past and contribute to appreciation of the present. Scrapbooks, entrusted with memories and stories, serve all these purposes and, as this dissertation reveals, much more.

How ironic then, that scrapbooks, repositories of so much of the ephemera[1] of our culture and history, have no written history of their own. How equally ironic, that a persistent and widespread means of literary and rhetorical production is so little understood and so under-utilized by academia. Understanding the role of artifacts in our culture proceeds from investigation. The same is true of understanding scrapbooks, yet it is only within the last ten years that scholars have paid any attention to them.

SCHOLARSHIP AND ATTITUDES

Most scholars have ignored scrapbooks as sites of personal writing. Instead they favor such sites as letters, journals, or diaries. However, within the last ten years and for the first time in two hundred years, scrapbooks have attracted the attention of a few scholars. Although the number of studies involving scrapbooks is small and the gaps in the research are many, it represents a promising start in a fertile field and I want to express my appreciation to those few scholars who have written articles about scrapbooks. Unfortunately, my review of scholarship does not include works by archivists that were discovered or appeared too late for inclusion: Scrapbooks and Albums: Theory and Practice, an online bibliography by Danielle Bias, Rebecca Black, and Susan Tucker of Tulane University (www.tulane.edu/~wclib/susan.html), The Scrapbook in American Life, an anthology of essays edited by Susan Tucker, Katherine

[1] Ephemera refers to items generally considered disposable or transitory in nature and often found in scrapbooks, including such paper products as photographs, newspaper clippings, greeting cards, or invitations. In this dissertation, it also refers to non-paper products and found materials, either natural or man-made, such as pressed flowers, ribbons, lacework, or swizzle sticks. Items of ephemera also appear in electronic scrapbooks as facsimiles of the original items. The term may also relate to the "ephemeral" nature of electronic items in general.

Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler, published by Temple University Press, May 2006, and Thomas Jefferson's Scrapbooks: Poems of Nation, Family, & Romantic Love Collected by America's Third President, edited by Jonathan Gross and published April 2006 by Steerforth Press.

Scholarly articles on scrapbooks break down into three basic types. The first type treats scrapbooks as rhetorical acts. In 1991 Patricia B. Buckler and C. Kay Leeper, English professors at Purdue University, examined Ann Elizabeth Buckler's scrapbook and acquired valuable insights "into the life of an upper middle-class American woman in the South, during the antebellum era" (Buckler and Leeper 1). The authors argue that Buckler's scrapbook "conforms to Jerome Bruner's sociological definition of life narrative, James Kinneavy's rhetorical category of expressive discourse, and it has many of the same autobiographical features articulated by Joanne Cooper, Rebecca Hogan, and Suzanne Bunker in their studies of women's private writings" (Buckler and Leeper 1). Three years later at the annual Conference on College Composition and Communication, Rita Capezzi, an English professor at Canisius College, presented her argument on the nature of nineteenth-century American domestic advice scrapbooks as forms of personal writing and as sites for knowledge transmission (1). Research on more recent scrapbooks comes from Tamar Katriel, a faculty member in the Department of Education at the University of Haifa, and Thomas Farrell, professor of Communications Studies in the School of Speech at Northwestern University. In 1991, after interviews with fifty-five female scrapbook makers, they interpreted "scrapbook making and using as an American art of memory *and* as a rhetorical practice of construction and performance of self" (2). The authors concluded that scrapbook making is a "genre of self," an epideictic discourse, one which praises or blames a person or thing. In 1993 in Lear's, a magazine published by Francis Lear "for the woman who wasn't born yesterday," Madeleine Blais,

Professor of Journalism at the University of Massachusetts, described the personal consequences of dividing a family scrapbook among her siblings to create individual books for each child. She laments, "Each separate book ends abruptly, like a hem, that's way too short; dismantled they seem skimpy, even a little pathetic, a mouth with missing teeth. [. . .] How could we have been so foolish not to see this before it was too late! -- [It was] 'the aggregate that counted'" (Blais "Division" 85). Several years later, in Nieman Reports, the quarterly publication of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University, Blais suggests that memoir writers "do actual research to fill in the blanks, visiting libraries, interviewing relations, raiding family albums and scrapbooks" (Blais "So You're Planning"). These four articles represent scrapbooks as rhetorical acts in the form of personal narrative and expression of self. Because they embody traces of culture and history, the scholarly study of these scrapbooks provides a better understanding of the people who made them, their world, and our culture.

A second type of article treats scrapbooks as primary resource material for literary research. In 1992 Lesley Higgins of York University wrote of finding evidence that corrects an error in Edmund Felix Sutcliffe's official bibliographic entry for the nineteenth-century Jesuit priest and minor poet, Francis Edward Bacon. Sutcliffe "states that Bacon wrote only one poem, 'St. Peter's Midnight Mass'" (83). However, in a scrapbook whose "existence and whereabouts were unknown until 1986," Higgins discovered a collection of translations and poems written by Bacon (77). Meanwhile, in forgotten family scrapbooks Antonia Swinson, a financial journalist with an English literature degree, unraveled some long-standing literary mysteries regarding Anthony Trollope, such as where he wrote Barchester Towers, the source of his inspiration for The Eustace Diamonds, and his hypocritical involvement in financial and political intrigue (16, 20). Swinson's discoveries ignited a heated and painful debate over Trollope's

character and his four biographies (Tranter 28; Geary). In another case of re-writing literary history, Alec Marsh discovered direct connections between The Cantos and scrapbooks made by Ezra Pound's grandfather. Comparing The Cantos and the scrapbooks led Marsh to conclude that the scrapbooks "were an important source for the poet in his massive history of civilization and its discontents" (163). Marsh's discoveries opened up new avenues for research, including Marsh's assessment that "the role of Thaddeus Coleman Pound of Wisconsin as a significant source of The Cantos, and indeed as a significant influence in his grandson's life, has never been fully appreciated" (170). By turning to scrapbooks as primary sources for literary knowledge, these scholars added to literary scholarship. Not only did the scrapbooks offer insights into literary works, but they also illuminated the inspirations and processes of the authors and introduced potentially new sites for discovering literary works.

The third and largest group of journal articles on scrapbooks belongs to scholars outside departments of rhetoric and literature. Written by archivists, museum curators, and librarians, these articles call attention to scrapbooks as fragile, irreplaceable artifacts of cultural value in desperate need of attention to prevent their loss. The articles deal mainly with methods for identifying the value of particular scrapbooks and preservation experiences. One of the earliest positions appears in a leaflet available free and online from the Library of Congress Preservation Project (Preservation; Zucker). Originally prepared by Barbara Fleisher Zucker in 1984 for the Congress of Illinois Historical Societies and Museums with funds provided by the Smithsonian Institution, the original text and its latest version offer the following advice: "Some scrapbooks are temporary curiosities and should be considered expendable. Technical and financial concerns must be balanced against the value of a scrapbook for research or exhibition purposes or both." Zucker voices a constraint that continues to plague librarians and archivists, but more

importantly she assumes one can predict which "temporary curiosities" of today will not be highly valuable tomorrow or which should be considered "expendable." Fortunately many of today's archivists, such as Sherelyn Ogden, Susan Tucker, and Katherine Ott, take a different approach. In their articles they plead with their colleagues to attend to the preservation needs of scrapbooks to "help ensure that these unique materials continue to inform, enlighten, and delight for years to come" (Ogden 351). In support of their position, they provide examples of the hidden value within neglected scrapbooks. Tucker is the Curator for Books and Records at the Newcomb College Center for Research on Women and in 1992 described a ledger turned into a scrapbook. The 1908 scrapbook attests to a young woman who was "fun-loving but more serious about basketball and academic courses than newspaper descriptions would have one believe" (Tucker 7). It contains "articles on suffrage, handwritten formulas for organic chemistry, her class schedule, theater announcements, letters from young men, chocolate box labels, and other materials" which offer a view of "resistance and conformity" by an early twentieth-century college student "that is not accessible in other histories" (Tucker 7). Similarly, writing from the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution and The American University, Katherine Ott begs archivists and librarians "not only to retain scrapbooks, but to keep them intact" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 6). She sees scrapbooks as tools for interpreting nineteenth-century daily life ("Using Scrapbooks" 41).

However, Ott lamentably admits that the conservation of scrapbooks is "an archival nightmare" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 4). Conversations among archivists and librarians in published reports and at conferences occasionally focus on the deterioration of scrapbooks and different methods of preserving them. In 1992 Bryan Clarke presented a paper describing his observations on the deterioration of albums (Clarke). In 1993 Jennifer Brunig conducted a pilot study to determine the preservation needs of the

Scrapbook Collection of the Newcomb Archives, Newcomb College Center for Women (Brunig). Her study included a chi-square test on the general types of content in scrapbooks and the trends in making scrapbooks that raised interesting questions regarding Newcomb's "alternately progressive and conservative" history in women's education. Brunig also explored different methods of preservation and their relationship to user accessibility. Unfortunately the high cost and the non-standardized nature of scrapbooks are "greatly restricting the number of items that can be conserved" (Hill 87). Ogden sees present solutions as a compromise that trades "such concerns as use for low cost, or the original appearance of the book for the long-term preservation of the information it contains" (339). This last group of writings includes articles by curators that grew out of research on exhibits related to scrapbooks. An article in Ephemera Journal written by Deborah A. Smith, Curator of Paper, Advertising and Documentary Evidence at the Strong Museum in Rochester, NY draws on advertising ephemera found in scrapbooks in her collection. Smith concludes that collecting advertising scraps resulted in a "lasting effect on consumer habits" (63). Alistair Allen and Joan Hoverstadt co-authored The History of Printed Scraps, a book on the history of printing and collecting embossed, die-cut pictures commonly known as *scraps* and kept in s*crap books* during the Victorian period.

Although noteworthy for its pioneering effort, none of the work above is dedicated to endowing scrapbooks with a definition or history that can serve as a foundation for ongoing research. Some of the authors make attempts to generalize about scrapbooks, others treat the subject lightly, and others ignore it altogether. For instance, Higgins and Marsh both cite scrapbooks as their primary resource, but neither offers commentary on the definition or background of scrapbooks in general. The lack of a definition may account for Higgins using the words *scrapbook*, *journal*, and

commonplace book interchangeably in her text. From the perspective of Clarke and Hill, scrapbooks present conservation needs similar to other materials; thus they blur any distinction between "art portfolio, notebooks, scrapbooks, and albums constructed specifically to house photographs" (Hill 75). Other scholars make oblique attempts to define scrapbooks. Zucker speaks of albums and scrapbooks collectively and offers no further distinction or definition for either. To Ott scrapbooks "are themselves ephemera as well as composed of ephemera" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 1). Buckler and Leeper make the most of trying to define scrapbooks. They point to Marilyn Motz's article on photograph albums which elides scrapbooks with "jewelry or pictures made of the hair of loved ones" as "expressions of sentiment" (Motz 75). They expand on Motz's simple language and submit that scrapbooks are a "multilayered expression of individual sentiment enunciated through objects that carry emotional association" (Buckler and Leeper 1). Buckler and Leeper also point to Allen and Hoverstadt's definition of scrapbooks as albums of lithographic scraps. For her definition, Capezzi cites Smith of the Strong Museum who offers a list of "three major categories" of nineteenth-century scrapbooks (qtd. in Capezzi 2). The distinctions and overlaps among the categories are not explored by Smith, and Capezzi also offers no further comments on the list or a definition. However, she identifies domestic advice scrapbooks as falling into all three categories (Capezzi 3). Using an indirect approach to definition, Katriel and Farrell try to understand what scrapbooks are by observing how they are made. Clarke simply offers a literal, dictionary definition: "a book containing blank pages" (69). Finally, Tucker appeals to readers to provide their own definition by asking, "Remember your grandmother's scrapbook?" (6).

As hesitant as the authors are to tackle the definition of scrapbooks, some are equally demur when it comes to providing background information on scrapbooks.

Higgins alludes to a history in her introductory statement: "Any album or journal more than a hundred years old now holds for us a certain nostalgic, if not historical, value" (77). Zucker reaches further back in time to compare scrapbooks to "tablets used by the Romans to record public edicts," a statement that conflicts with the historically personal and unauthorized nature of scrapbooks. Adopting an umbrella approach that covers scrapbooks, photograph albums and the like with an indefinite statement of origin and an ambiguous history, Clarke explains that albums "owe their origin to periods before the invention of photography and form part of a continuum stretching from antiquity to the present day" (69). Expressing more concern with the future of scrapbooks than their past, Hill offers no comment on scrapbook history, choosing instead to focus on the present costs and skills necessary to preserve them.

Other authors acknowledge that scrapbooks have a past by associating them with a particular historical period. For instance, by referring to their resource as an "antebellum" scrapbook, Buckler and Leeper entice readers to wonder about other historical periods that scrapbooks may represent. Capezzi hints at historical background by associating scrapbooks with nineteenth-century publishing of domestic advice. Katriel and Farrell compress their historical comments on scrapbooks into a declaration of the United States as their "native habitat" (3), an assumption this dissertation refutes. Three authors, Tucker, Ott, and Smith, all curators or archivists, provide the most thoughtful comments on scrapbooks in the past. Although only five sentences long, Tucker offers a skeletal history for scrapbooks that places their origins in the Renaissance and the emergence of the word *scrapbook* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (6). She identifies "scrapbook mania throughout Europe and North America" with advances in printing, bookbinding, publishing, and literacy (6). Similarly, Ott proposes that "their prose precursor is the commonplace book" which "mutated into the scrapbook" ("It's a

Scrapbook Life" 1). For an historical benchmark she points to Samuel Pepys who "compiled one of the first modern ephemera-laden scrapbooks in 1700," but "his enthusiasm does not seem to have been shared by others at the time" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 7). Ott then proceeds to associate scrapbooks with collage, collecting and compiling, as well as "trends in paper and printing industry" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 2-3). Smith focuses almost exclusively on scrapbooks composed of advertising materials that "enjoyed a burst of popularity that lasted roughly only one generation, from about 1870 to 1900" (63). Smith's work offers the most commentary on the social aspects of scraps collecting and scrapbook-making activities. Together Smith, Tucker and Ott, curators and archivists, produced the most written history of scrapbooks. Combining all the bits of definition and history from all that has been written still leaves much unknown and unexplained about scrapbooks. By pointing out gaps in the history and definition of scrapbooks, I do not intend to minimize the scholarship of those listed above. Rather, my intention is to highlight the spaces that scholarship has yet to fill.

Attitudes regarding scrapbooks may help explain why so little is known of them and why there has not been more research on them. For example, Ott writes of coming across scrapbooks early in her work and "shoving them aside with an 'Oh, that's nice'" ("It's a Scrapbook Life" 1). Her indifference is typical of most scholars, but her attitude changed when she became curious about scrapbooks and began to research them. Initial responses such as Ott's are not unusual and quite understandable considering Maynard Brichford's 1977 classification of scrapbooks as "occasionally valuable" (qtd. in Ott "It's a Scrapbook Life" 1). Statements such as this reflect an attitude of disdain among some librarians toward adding or keeping scrapbooks in their collections. The attitude is compounded by the frustration and expense of attempting to preserve scrapbooks for the little attention they receive from scholars, a circumstance this dissertation hopes to

change. As a consequence scrapbooks are often unavailable to scholars, creating a vicious circle of inattention and decline. Some institutions do not bother cataloging scrapbooks or storing them in manners accessible to staff or researchers. Other institutions display an even harsher attitude that results in wholesale destruction of scrapbooks. My own experiences bear this out. At three different historical societies and museums I was told that the items I sought were not available because the "previous curator did not approve of scrapbooks in the collection."[2] The curators had removed individual items of interest from the books, catalogued the items separately in vertical files, and then disposed of the scrapbooks as one would an eviscerated carcass. In two cases the curator was the same person who had moved from one archive to another. As a result, countless personal accounts of early life in several Florida cities have been expunged. At another institution I discovered a scrapbook of rare, colored die-cut scraps gathered in the 1920s by an actress during her international tours. Until I pointed it out, the curator considered it a child's scrapbook of little value.

A similar unfamiliarity with scrapbooks may also explain why so few scholars have taken an interest in them. When I proposed scrapbooks as a subject of inquiry for my dissertation I encountered attitudes that ranged from skepticism to curiosity. Not only were these attitudes obvious among my own faculty, but among other academics with whom I discussed my project. I believed the skepticism was due in part to a lack of information on scrapbooks as well as limited contact with scrapbooks in general. In spite of their skepticism my faculty expressed enthusiasm for my project because of its potential and originality. I reinforced their support by presenting a bibliography of the limited amount of work done on scrapbooks, which clearly demonstrated plenty of room

[2] I confirmed these reports by contacting the curators in question. I have omitted the names of the curators, their institutions, and those quoted to avoid unnecessary embarrassment.

for a doctoral student to make a contribution. To emphasize the literary and rhetorical value of their visual and written content, I brought samples of scrapbooks to faculty members unfamiliar with scrapbooks and to those who expressed a curiosity about scrapbooks. I introduced several faculty members to some of the unique and more notable scrapbooks in the manuscript collection of Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin (HRC). Faculty members who were unaware of the current extent of scrapbook popularity were genuinely surprised at the examples I provided of the many applications of scrapbooks in other professional environments. In addition, to demonstrate the adaptability and value of scrapbooks to the academic environment, I designed and taught a module for my freshman composition class on rhetorical elements in paper-based and electronic communications that included a visit from a scrapbook consultant, a trip to the HRC, and an assignment that required designing and creating an online scrapbook for presentation of a rhetorical argument.[3] During their initial visit to the HRC to examine scrapbooks, students wrote about the "The Things You Can Learn About A Person From A Scrapbook." Follow-up classroom discussions increased their awareness and appreciation of the rhetorical and biographical nature of scrapbooks in constructing identity. Similar to Ott, whose view of scrapbooks changed through inquiry, the attitudes of my students, faculty, and others with whom I discussed my project improved as I presented them with information on scrapbooks. The genuine support and endorsement of my faculty has made this project possible.

In summary, the scarcity of published scholarship on scrapbooks may reinforce indifference toward them. Descriptions of scrapbooks as ephemera and thus disposable encourage a generally low opinion of scrapbooks as unworthy of scholarly attention. The

[3] See Appendix A for course and assignment description. All materials produced by students remained their property.

ongoing deterioration of paper-based scrapbooks coupled with their limited availability in manuscript collections and their inaccessibility in the public domain may account for some of the academic inexperience with scrapbooks and also contribute to indifference toward them. That there is now even a little research on scrapbooks is encouraging. However, we know very little about the value of scrapbooks or their role in our reading and writing culture and with each passing year archivists warn us that the deterioration and destruction of scrapbooks will deprive us of the chance to learn more.

A Proposal and A Plea

I want to make sure that does not happen. The time to study scrapbooks is now. They are valuable artifacts of literary and rhetorical acts with much to contribute to our profession and to our understanding of individual participation in our culture and history. My dissertation serves two purposes: to prove my thesis in the statement above and to provide scholars with the information and encouragement they need to take full advantage of the opportunity to study scrapbooks and to exploit their value in research and practical applications. Therefore, this dissertation answers the questions, "What are scrapbooks?", "Where did they come from and why are they still here?", "How have they changed and why?", "Who makes scrapbooks and why?", and "Why should scholars care about them?" I am confident that the answers to these questions will not only surprise and inform scholars, but also improve their opinion of scrapbooks. I also hope the answers will inspire scholars to ask questions of their own for research and publication.

I address my work to scholars within my profession, as well as those in other professions, all of whom may be unaware of the full import of scrapbooks inside and outside academia. The scope of research and analysis I provide exists nowhere else. My work can serve as a sourcebook on scrapbooks and scrapbook making to which scholars can turn for in-depth information on the uses, meaning, background, and evolution of

scrapbooks. Thus, my work facilitates scholars in my profession and others who want to learn more about scrapbooks and pursue their own research.

My work contains two major segments. First, scholars will find a definition of scrapbooks that clearly articulates their meaning and proves they are not just collections of "scraps." Dispelling such negative connotations improves the reputation of scrapbooks and their attractiveness as subjects of research. My definition identifies the inherent and meaningful characteristics of scrapbooks that distinguishes them from commonplace books and photograph albums. It accommodates the various physical manifestations of scrapbooks that scholars may encounter, making it easier for them to recognize and discuss scrapbooks. A clear definition of scrapbooks also opens up opportunities for comparative studies with other cultural artifacts or forms of personal writing. Finally, scholars will find my definition helpful when searching for resources, citing or describing scrapbooks, employing scrapbooks as a frame of reference in their work, or for venturing into this new and viable area of study.

My second, and most significant contribution, is the first critical history of scrapbooks. It spans over two hundred years of scrapbooks and scrapbook making. It is the first history that explains the evolution and use of scrapbooks within the context of social, political, economic, and technological events. Within this context, I speculate on the rhetorical and artistic motives for making scrapbooks and how individual scrapbooks reflect people, events, and ideologies. My history also brings together the bits and pieces of research from the last ten years and fills in the gaps. As a result my history, in combination with my definition, benefits scrapbooks and scholars in many ways.

First, by validating two centuries of scrapbooks, my work establishes their credibility as stable, primary research materials. Certainly, proof of the endurance of scrapbooks over time emphatically refutes any prevailing assumptions regarding their

disposability. And, foundation work, such as my definition and history, frees up scholars to consider scrapbooks as a subject of inquiry or as supporting resource materials without first having to define or situate them in history or genre. The long and deep history I provide also makes it possible for scholars to consider longitudinal studies involving scrapbooks.

Second, my history demonstrates the many areas in which scrapbooks can enrich archives and expand the options for research. For instance, scholars of history, society, culture, and library science will discover scrapbooks are artifacts that personalize the past, invite analysis of individual experience, and offer opportunities to examine larger world issues and events through individual representations. The emerging contributions of the first-hand accounts in scrapbooks have led to new findings and informed our national history and cultural heritage. They provide insights into our smallest and most important unit of culture, families. My work also benefits scholars in literature, discourse studies, and the written traditions of English Studies who, in the last several decades scholars, have taken as their charge the need to explore how texts reflect our culture and to explain culture-makers and cultural situations, and how genre or textual mediums work. In my dissertation they will discover scrapbooks are a healthy resource for such inquiries. Scholars will also discover that scrapbooks present occasions to study memory, identity construction, cognition, visual rhetoric, semiotics, stereotypes, and similar topics of interest to rhetoricians and others. Furthermore, they provide scholars with the additional opportunity to examine multimedia representations of self.

Third, my work firmly situates scrapbooks in an important are of study: reading and writing. This benefits rhetoricians in particular because it touches on subjects they are uniquely suited to study and explain, such as the relationships between discourses and the society in which they take place. My work leaves no doubt that scrapbooks are

rhetorical acts that engage scrapbook makers in practicing the five canons of rhetoric. Rhetoricians and others will learn that scrapbooks are sites for reading and writing at home, work, and school where scrapbook makers engage in discourses on politics, social issues, the economy, government, and much more. In addition, scrapbooks are surrounded by discourses that take place in the print and electronic media, including the rhetoric of advertising and consumerism. My work consistently reveals that these additional discourse communities offer an easily accessible resource that remains unexamined by scholars. Furthermore, my analyses of sample scrapbooks identify scrapbook making with the traditions of biographical and personal writing. Scrapbooks and the stories they contain also provide families with their own canon of literature. In short, my dissertation benefits scholars, especially rhetoricians, by informing them of a rich and untapped resource and field of study that can satisfy the professional imperatives of their disciplines to expand our body of knowledge of neglected or marginalized texts.

Fourth, many readers may not know of the use of scrapbooks beyond the walls of academia, but my history reveals widespread use of scrapbooks in such venues as the law, the arts, the helping professions, government, and business. In addition, readers will be surprised to learn that the economic success of scrapbooks has spawned new industries and strengthened others, such as publishing. To help readers grasp the pervasive nature of scrapbooks among the current reading and writing population, I include such indicators as marketing statistics and a survey of scrapbooks across all realms of society. The rising presence of scrapbooks in the general and professional populations calls out to our profession and others to recognize and examine their meaning and use. Making scholars in all disciplines aware of the presence of scrapbooks throughout society benefits scrapbooks and scholars because it provides initiatives for scholarship.

The ubiquitous presence of scrapbooks in academia from kindergarten through graduate school will surprise readers. Although I present a survey of scrapbooks used in classrooms, there is no analysis by rhetoricians of their role in scaffolding learning. Nor have rhetoricians investigated how scrapbooks participate in knowledge construction in the classroom. Scrapbooks used in teacher education, in-service assessment, and ongoing professional development also remain open for analysis. Scholars have not explained the diversity of classroom projects involving scrapbooks that range from pre-school to college and how, or whether, scrapbook use grew out of, or preceded, the use of portfolios for student assessment and school accountability (Ellis, Hiebsch, and Taylor 72). My dissertation benefits scrapbooks and scholars by exposing these ripe opportunities for studying discourses in student scrapbooks at all levels of instruction and for conducting or following-up on classroom studies and the adaptability of scrapbooks to the classroom environment.

A particularly interesting subject is writing instruction outside the academy. The growing expectation that scrapbooks contain narrative text motivates scrapbook makers to improve their writing skills. Instructors outside academia have responded with non-traditional writing programs specifically designed to take advantage of this opportunity. My dissertation provides scholars for the first time with information on the writing skills taught to scrapbook makers. Academics may be interested in the ways these customized programs facilitate reading and writing. In addition, examining the writing in scrapbooks may prove valuable to teachers of reading and writing. Typically, they have few opportunities to view the reading and writing practices of students after they leave their classrooms. Based on experience, teachers know that some students will do well and their names may even appear on book jackets or in other public forums. Other students, in spite of teachers' best efforts or because they are out of educators' reach, may never

feel comfortable or accomplished as writers. The majority of students leave school and are never heard from again. By examining the self-motivated writing in scrapbooks, teachers may discover how students apply the lessons of the classroom. Informing teachers of the methods taught in scrapbook-writing classes gives them a chance to compare results or incorporate new strategies into their methods. Because rhetoricians in particular are concerned with writing instruction, my dissertation provides them with information on the evolution of writing instruction outside the academy. This is a timely issue in our history as we search for solutions to the problems of illiteracy and its effects on our culture.

In my history scholars will discover the ongoing relationship between scrapbooks and technology. They will discover the beginnings of scrapbooks and their evolution through the appropriation of ideas and technologies. I trace the transition of scrapbooks from paper to pixels and define their role in the current age of electronic and Internet communications. As a result, my history of scrapbooks provides scholars with a bridge between the physical and rhetorical characteristics of paper-based scrapbooks and their electronic progeny. Scholars interested in the transition of personal writing from paper to electronic media will find this work helpful. Those invested in teaching communication skills in electronic environments will find that electronic scrapbooks provide another dimension for studying how people think about and manage information in a multimedia environment. My work provides instructors the chance to consider the use of scrapbooks to teach visual rhetoric, its implementation or interpretation.

Finally, because access to paper-based scrapbooks in the general population is difficult, scholars must rely on those in archives. However, the status of scrapbooks in our archives remains unclear for two reasons. First, questions have arisen regarding the archive available to scholars in the history of rhetoric and composition. Concerns exist

about materials "collected quite haphazardly and barely examined" (Brereton 575). Scrapbooks fall into this area of neglected texts. Other material in the archives "didn't come into focus until historians began looking at it in unfamiliar ways" (Brereton 575). The different perspectives from which to view scrapbooks presented in this dissertation may inspire scholars to look at other neglected texts "in unfamiliar ways." In addition "we still aren't sure what should be in our archive, or how access can be broadened, or which tools we should bring to our task of exploring the past" (Brereton 575). Indeed, larger questions loom; "Are there things we should be working to preserve right now? What can we do to make sure current practices and materials will be accessible in the archives of the future?" (Brereton 575). My dissertation contributes important information to those making decisions about scrapbooks because it demonstrates their credibility as primary resource materials, as enduring of acts reading and writing throughout the population, and as valuable cultural artifacts.

The second concern about the status of scrapbooks weighs heaviest on the shoulders of archivists and curators who have responsibility for collecting and preserving scrapbooks and must also satisfy the resource needs of scholars. Without their growing concerns and valiant efforts, scrapbooks such as those cited in my research would not have been available. It is important to note the finiteness of the available archive. As scrapbooks move to electronic media, the current inventory of paper-based scrapbooks may be all there ever will be for us to examine. In which case, preserving the current paper-based archive becomes more imperative as the sole representation of a two hundred-year-old activity of reading and writing. In order to decide which scrapbooks to preserve, those in the information sciences, particularly archivists, need to know the value of scrapbooks to their archive as well as to scholarship. They must also determine how to preserve them, a critical decision that could involve dismantling scrapbooks and

destroying the textuality and context of their contents. Rapid deterioration adds urgency to the decision-making process and subsequent allocation of skills and resources. An increased interest in scrapbooks by scholars, which this dissertation determines to inspire, and an ongoing articulation of their uses and value may help with decision-making or provide institutional support that could assure the future of scrapbooks in the archive and in research. Such efforts can benefit my own and other professions by assuring continued access to this unique and valuable resource. Obviously, a continued lack of interest in scrapbooks can only make funding and approval of preservation and acquisition decisions less likely and the consequences irreversible.

On the other hand, the problems of scrapbook preservation and the limitations of the archive mean that scholarship accomplished now will become more valuable to future scholars. Therefore, I appeal to the professional desires of scholars to expand the borders of their work and to experience the excitement of racing against time to learn as much as possible from scrapbooks before they disintegrate beyond use. I entice scholars with a dissertation filled with information and inspiration including multiple examples of scrapbooks in all areas and subjects awaiting further research and discovery by Rhetoric and other disciplines. And finally, I look forward to critical responses to the first thoughtful definition and extended history of scrapbooks.

CHAPTER OVERVIEWS

As we have seen, neither a clear definition of scrapbooks nor a written account of their history currently exists. Previous works have speculated briefly on their origins and development, but this is the first work that offers an extensive treatment of the definition and history of scrapbooks. It covers over two hundred years of scrapbooks and scrapbook-making activities. This is the first time anyone has attempted a project of this size and complexity related to scrapbooks. The chapters that follow this introduction are:

Chapter One, "What's in a Name?"; Chapter Two, "Victorian Passion"; Chapter Three, "Modern Phenomenon"; and Chapter Four, "Paper to Pixels."

Chapter One, "What's in a name?", provides a definition of scrapbooks that dispels their negative connotations, distinguishes them from other albums, and uncovers their inherent qualities as literary and rhetorical documents. My definition stems from close reading and analysis of resources combined with findings derived from examining hundreds of scrapbooks. I explore the extent and nature of scrapbooks by analyzing and annotating the definition provided in the Oxford English Dictionary and the architectural classification of their form and structure found in The Arts and Architecture Thesaurus. Relying on scrapbooks from my sample, I expand on the commonly accepted definition of scrapbooks as blank books containing newspaper clippings, small pictures, and like materials. I present the blank book as a metaphor for invention and the authority of text. I discuss the use of newspaper and other clippings as a way for scrapbook makers to participate in the literary and political discourses of the day. I offer examples of how the collection and arrangement of materials provides insights into the authors and their worlds. I conclude with examples that demonstrate popular usage of the word *scrapbook* in British Broadcasting Company programs, popular book titles, and in stories by such Victorian authors as Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, and Arthur Conan Doyle. My work acknowledges that people collected and preserved artifacts of memory in books and other places prior to scrapbooks and thus specifies that scrapbooks are a particular kind of collecting.

I conclude my treatment of the definition and classification of scrapbooks by offering scholars a method for recognizing, organizing, and thinking about scrapbooks in the field and then applying them to research. I devised the method as a way to quickly and easily manage and reference a large and varied sample of scrapbooks. From their

content and original purpose I created profiles of scrapbooks that fell into three groups. I call the results my ABCs, an acronym for the three groups: applied, biographical, and collectible. My "ABC" method and resulting profiles may help scholars identify, discuss, compare, or analyze one or a large group of scrapbooks.

In Chapter Two, "The Victorian Passion," and in Chapter Three, "The Modern Phenomenon," I provide a history of scrapbooks that spans two-hundred years of scrapbook events, beginning with the Victorian passion for collecting scraps and continuing into the current scrapbook-making phenomenon. My history is informed by a clear definition and broad sample. I rely on general knowledge and published descriptions of the social, political, and economic events of relevant time periods in order to situate scrapbooks within their historical and cultural environments. For instance, my history emphasizes the intersections between scrapbooks and developments in print and other technologies which account for some of the physical changes in scrapbooks over time. Highlights include such technological advances as the invention of the lithographic press, the introduction of the inexpensive Kodak "Brownie" camera, the affordability of home computers, and the manufacture of archival quality pens and papers. Events such as these explain changes in scrapbooks over time and their influence on current models.

World and social events also created turning points in scrapbook history and I explore them as well. I discover relationships that explain the use of scrapbooks as places where people have chosen to express themselves and their views on contemporary issues in words, pictures, and found materials for over two hundred years. I also explore the discourses in advertising and marketing that surround scrapbooks. I discuss the amount and type of writing in scrapbooks and writing instruction for scrapbook makers provided outside the academy. I provide examples of scrapbooks used to inform our cultural memory and heritage. In both chapters my history marks the characteristics of

scrapbooks that have sustained them throughout two hundred years of use in a variety of settings. I attribute the two-hundred-year preference for scrapbooks to their adaptable form and function, which allows them to assimilate and prosper from technological changes. As a result, I propose that the migration of paper-based scrapbooks to electronic media is part of their ongoing evolution and continuing adaptation in response to emerging technologies. Finally, from analysis of individual scrapbooks throughout the two hundred years I conclude that scrapbooks are literary and rhetorical acts that reflect experiences in a contemporary world.

In both Chapter Two and Chapter Three my history progresses chronologically and references individual scrapbooks, their relationship to one another, and their relationship to events in the world around them. To accomplish this with over one hundred scrapbooks, I found it necessary to approach and organize my sample from three perspectives. First, I arranged my sample in chronological order and employed a longitudinal perspective that focused on physical changes over time. Second, I focused on changes in such subjective elements as authorship and audience. The influence of prevailing literary and rhetorical happenings visible in scrapbooks granted a third perspective. These three perspectives in combination with academic and non-academic discourses allowed me to explore how scrapbooks were used, their composition, style, materials, and content and to analyze them against a background of social, political, economic, cultural, and technological events. Weaving together the memories and stories represented by scrapbook makers in their books added firsthand experiences to the history of scrapbooks.

Chapter Four, "From Paper to Pixels," introduces the newest generation of scrapbooks, electronic scrapbooks, and focuses on those on the World Wide Web. The chapter begins with an overview of the electronic technologies that scrapbooks have

adapted and assimilated and introduces the latest tools and techniques for making and sharing scrapbooks. It describes the effect of the Internet on the traditional expectations of reading and writing associated with scrapbooks. I apply the same perspectives of analysis to online scrapbooks as I did to paper-based scrapbooks, noting the differences and similarities of presentation between the two types of media and environments. The purpose of my comparison is not to determine which is better or worse, but to note the differences between making, using, and sharing scrapbooks in two different environments. For instance, my initial observations seem to indicate more writing in online scrapbooks than in paper-based. I have also noticed that an anonymous audience does not seem to inhibit scrapbook makers from revealing intimate material online. Besides the absence of tactile and other sensory stimuli of a paper-based scrapbook, an electronic scrapbook complicates the rhetorical situation in many ways. As opposed to the intimate audience of a paper-based scrapbook, an online scrapbook can be shared with others long distance or it may have an anonymous audience of anyone on the Internet. In support of the previous chapters on the history of scrapbooks, Chapter Four demonstrates that the historical continuity of scrapbooks lies in their ability to adapt to and assimilate the products of new technology and to prevail as literary and rhetorical acts.

SAMPLE AND RESOURCES

The population of paper-based and electronic scrapbooks is large, diverse, often uncataloged, and scattered all over the country in homes, institutions, and online.[4] From this large population I selected a manageable number that I believed best represented as

[4] Although this dissertation limits itself to American and British scrapbooks, early scrapbook making also took place in Canada and Europe, with some of the earliest works appearing in Germany and France. Scrapbooks can also be found in other countries and regions around the world, including Australia, South Africa, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Japan, Scandinavia, and others.

many types of scrapbooks and scrapbook-making activities as possible. By describing the considerations and complications involved in selecting my sample from a largely undated and anonymous body of works, I not only explain my process, but offer guidance and support to others investigating or studying scrapbooks.

Because of their personal or non-reproducible and fragile nature, access to paper-based scrapbooks required on-site inspections. In late 1997 I began examining paper-based scrapbooks in libraries, museums, historical societies, and homes. From hundreds of specimens I settled on slightly over one hundred scrapbooks as my final sample from which I chose those referenced in this dissertation. As a supplement to published scrapbook-making advice, I also attended three scrapbook-making workshops and examined about thirty scrapbooks in progress. Six scrapbook makers agreed to interviews and five of their scrapbooks became part of my sample. Neither the institutions nor the individuals who made scrapbooks available to me agreed to loan them to me for off-site examination. Institutions rarely loan manuscripts, which include scrapbooks, and the condition or importance of many of the items I examined also prohibited removal from the sites. Individuals declined either because they feared "something might happen" to their books or because they did not want to cede the time they might spend working on them. This did not surprise me and other scholars should expect to conduct research of scrapbooks in the presence of scrapbook makers or in institutional settings. In contrast, I could easily acquire copies of scrapbooks posted online. I achieved access to electronic scrapbooks using my computer and Internet browser. I chose a manageable sample of approximately twenty scrapbooks that best illustrates the general characteristics of the millions of scrapbooks available on the Internet. Due to the transient nature of the Internet and individual Web pages, I download my sample in order to stabilize its attributes for analysis.

Within the large and diverse population of scrapbooks from which I selected my sample, both paper-based and electronic, many lacked information on authorship, title, or dates. The chronological arrangement of my project demanded a dated sample and since many of the scrapbooks I examined had no dates assigned to them, selecting a representative chronological sample proved to be a difficult and demanding task. A lack of attribution in general complicated sample selection and required understanding the nature and provenance of scrapbooks.

Paper-based scrapbooks are unpublished, one-of-a-kind documents produced by scrapbook makers who span the social strata. Each book is as unique as the individual who made it. Even multiple scrapbooks made by the same person may differ greatly in content and style. Because scrapbooks usually depict daily life, scrapbook makers and others seldom consider them important to anyone beyond their immediate circle. Therefore, the survival of scrapbooks and their future availability for research begins with the decision of scrapbook makers to keep a book, pass all or part of it to another person, sell it, donate it, or destroy it. When scrapbook makers are unable to make decisions regarding the dispensation of their books, families or friends make the decisions. They have the same options as the scrapbook maker. In addition, they may decide, as Blais did, to disassemble the book or to re-assemble it into another or several books. Usually scrapbooks that survive intact do so because of some perceived sense of sentimental, historical, or monetary value. An unknown number remain within families or private collections and are not typically available for study. Some occasionally surface at estate sales, garage sales, thrift stores, resale shops, or the like, but even the most valuable scrapbooks are seldom candidates for publication or reproduction. Eventually some scrapbooks find their way by donation, auction, private purchase, or bequest into libraries, historical societies, and museums where the resources and missions of the

institutions determine their availability for research.

Unfortunately, scholars will find that the provenance of many scrapbooks, information on how and when they came into a collection, is often unavailable or uncertain. Decisions by librarians, archivists, or curators to incorporate scrapbooks into their collections, store them, or dispose of them may depend on the perceived degree of relative importance of the author, the subject matter, the contents, the period represented, the mission of the institution, or the inclination of staff. Some institutions welcome and make available any scrapbooks they receive while others are more discriminating and still others are resistant to scrapbooks. The degree of attention to special storage conditions varies widely and cataloging among collections ranges from none to extensive cross-referencing. A few institutions attempt to restore the condition of certain specimens. Unfortunately, the time, cost, and skills required for restoration or preservation of scrapbooks makes this an extremely complicated and controversial decision (Hill 87).[5] The decision process is further compounded by the inevitable deterioration of the books and their contents which may occur before their value can be determined. In fact, older specimens make up the bulk of scrapbooks in institutional or academic collections. Those scrapbooks that find their way to institutions represent a self-selected sample from individuals across time and societies. It includes scrapbooks that may not have seemed valuable nor their authors notable at the time they were made. For these and other reasons, many scrapbooks have no provenance information associated with them.

Even with a provenance, selecting representative scrapbooks often requires detective work regarding author, title, and date. Unlike published books, many

[5] Hill reports on the experiences of the National Archives of Canada that completely restored the Jacobs family album. Hill concludes that "the cost of such a treatment is high, greatly restricting the number of items that can be conserved in this manner. For the same amount of money, many more objects could have benefited from treatment. The historical value of the album, however, and the availability of expertise and resources fortunately permitted the full conservation of the Jacobs Album" (87).

scrapbooks do not provide titles, dates, or names of authors and in some of those that do, they may be incorrect. Consider that a lack of attribution relegated Thomas Jefferson's scrapbooks to a national library basement for decades until it was accidentally discovered they were not composed by his granddaughter, but by Jefferson himself (Ferling 8). Imagine the difficulty in assigning authors and dates to scrapbooks deemed less important. I was fortunate to have the patient and generous assistance of staff and volunteers at various institutions.

Realizing that titles offered the least useful information for selecting or constructing a chronological sample, I concentrated my efforts on discovering authors and dates. In fortunate cases, the scrapbook maker or another knowledgeable party provided the name of the author and one or more dates to indicate when the scrapbook maker began work on the book, ceased work on it, gave it as a gift, or a combination of the three dates. Confusion occurred when one or more dates were not explained. For instance, a single date without an explanation might indicate any of the three events or might be irrelevant. In the case of one or more dates, the earliest date may represent when the blank book was received as a gift, in which case the latter dates could indicate beginning and ending dates of the recipient's work. Or, the two earliest two dates may represent starting and ending dates of the scrapbook maker and the last date the date of gifting. Of course, other scenarios also exist, such as dates of successive authors working on the same book or interruptions in the time spent by one author working on the book.

When available, additional clues to dates came from provenance files. Biographical or genealogical information on donors or sellers helped limit the range of dates. Further research required examining the materials used to make the book, such as methods of binding and printing, and correlating them with information from within the scrapbook's content. Searching for the oldest and the latest dated items in the book

helped establish a range of dates. Otherwise, undated items that indicated calendar or current events and references to inventions and product manufacturers provided clues for dating. Awareness of the time span of the contributed content proved more useful for scrapbook identification and sample selection. For instance, "The Blood Book," in the HRC, contains a cover date of 1854 and a variety of pictures that chronicle printing techniques of the Victorian period. The content of a scrapbook may pre- or post-date either its cover or the time the book was made, as in retrospective scrapbooks. Material from older scrapbooks may appear in newer scrapbooks or older scrapbooks may be updated with newer items. For scrapbooks with known authors but no dates, biographical or genealogical research combined with content analysis provided clues for dating scrapbooks or limiting the range of dates to the scrapbook-maker's lifetime. Attempts to identify unknown authors involved analysis of first-person narratives, photograph captions, and names highlighted in articles. Again, when available, the provenance file helped narrow the focus. For instance, the unknown author of a scrapbook donated by a club might be any of the club's members, its secretary/treasurer, or its historian. If the collection included personal scrapbooks by club members the opportunity presented itself to compare a scrapbook made for an audience to one made for oneself. Lastly, some scrapbooks indicated multiple or successive contributors initially or over time as in the case of inherited or acquired scrapbooks.

In the absence of a provenance file or declared authorship or dates, a scrapbook may become familiarly known by a descriptor based on content, subject matter, or a perception of importance. Examples of such descriptors include, "a child's scrapbook," a "WWII scrapbook," a "scrapbook of clippings," and the like. While such descriptors are helpful in locating scrapbooks, they should not be used to establish authorship, dates, or content. For instance, an adult may have made the "child's scrapbook," as indeed is the

case, or someone other than a soldier may have made the "WWII scrapbook" before, after, or during the war.[6] "Clippings" identifies the type of content, but offers no helpful information on subject matter or attribution. Scrapbooks with known authors may also acquire descriptors, as in the case of "The Blood Book." Its nickname does not refer to hematology or vampires, but to a distinctive visual feature. Descriptive references to subject matter may override authorship for other valid reasons. For instance, in the HRC, "Tennessee Williams' scrapbooks" identifies the importance of the scrapbooks to the collection because of his literary fame, not because they were composed by his mother.

Rarely do scrapbook makers title their work, but the books they use may carry titles on their covers. Generic titles on bindings include Scrapbook, Scrap Book, Album, Ledger, Journal, or similar phrases. Other cover titles come from appropriated and recycled books that scrapbook makers turned into scrapbooks. Titles include Record of Registered Matter in Transit and U.S. Department of Agriculture, Swine Plague, Bureau of Animal Husbandry, 1891, and others. If scrapbook makers did not offer their own titles, I used the cover titles of the books. For scrapbooks without known authors, titles, or dates, the cover titles or descriptors provided the only information available for bibliographic entries. In order to cite the scrapbooks in my sample as clearly and as accurately as possible and to facilitate relocating the scrapbooks, I have provided as much bibliographic information as possible, including when necessary, a range of dates, descriptors, or cover titles. Scholars will discover, as I did, that descriptors and cover titles are familiar to staff and facilitate locating scrapbooks.

While research and detection did not solve all the mysteries of authorship, dates, and titles, they provided sufficient information for selecting a sample representative of

[6] By their very nature as ongoing chronicles of life, many scrapbooks, such as antebellum and World War scrapbooks, seem to anticipate the world events they eventually become identified with because they often record the activities leading up to historic moments. Such chronicling of events offers scholars the opportunity to analyze historical events as they unfolded.

various periods, kinds of scrapbooks, and scrapbook-making activities. My sample consists of over one hundred scrapbooks made by adults and children, male[7] and female that I examined in homes, workshops, institutions, and online. It includes scrapbooks in the Archival Manuscript/Mixed Manuscript Collection of Library of Congress; the Archives Collection of the Delray Beach Historical Society, Delray Beach, FL; the Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, TX; the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Ft. Lauderdale, FL; the Gernsheim Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, TX; the Historical Society of Southern Florida, Miami, FL; the Manuscript Collection of the Vermont Historical Society, Barre, Vermont; the Manuscript Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, TX; the Photography Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, TX; and the Stewart-Swift Research Center, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, VT. My on-site observations provided information on such physical features as book size, weight, details

[7] It may surprise some readers that I have included scrapbooks made by men in my sample. All of the samples used in the research cited earlier are attributable to women, perpetuating the notion that only women make scrapbooks. Following their survey of scrapbook makers, Katriel and Farrell reported that, "our data on the question of gender are still preliminary and inconclusive" (3). Other evidence seems to support the ambiguity of their findings. For instance, libraries and museums contain many samples of male scrapbooks, sometimes even more than samples by women. For instance, men's scrapbooks dominate the collection of Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. This large, mostly uncataloged collection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American and British scrapbooks, contains approximately 511 titles, of which approximately sixty are attributable to women. Any number of possibilities could explain this imbalance. It could reflect the historically privileged status of men, in which case only men's scrapbooks were deemed worthy of collection. Or, it could mean that the scrapbooks were made by the women in these men's life -- mothers, daughters, wives -- in their supporting and often invisible roles. If women were making their own scrapbooks, then an explanation for the dominance of men's scrapbooks in the collection might be that women's scrapbooks were merely discarded, or that a degree of sentimentality kept women's scrapbooks within the family. Or, maybe fewer women than men made scrapbooks during these periods. Other evidence of scrapbook making as a male pastime can be found in Victorian cartoons and advertisements that feature men. Today's male scrapbook makers give voice to their scrapbook-making activities in testimonials and interviews in scrapbook-making magazines. Some men and boys attend scrapbook-making workshops, write articles on making scrapbooks, and teach scrapbook making. Although Katriel and Farrell imply that women may dominate the activity, their inconclusive findings, combined with other available evidence, seem to dispel the myth that scrapbook making is a gender-specific activity.

of construction, quality of material content, evidence of use, and the experience of handling them. These observations contributed much to my understanding of the personal nature of scrapbooks as physical documents and family heirlooms.

My sample also includes scrapbooks I read about in academic and non-academic sources, including published "models," published reproductions, and some anecdotal reporting. As I pointed out earlier in this chapter, there is little academic writing on scrapbooks and most of it since 1991. Aside from these few scholarly works, the majority of discourses on scrapbooks and scrapbook making takes place in the non-academic sector as anecdotal reporting, interviews, and articles appearing in newspapers, trade journals, workshops, and training materials. These non-critical sources offer perspectives on, interpretations of, and examples of scrapbooks that pertain to the population working with them. The authors and audiences of these discourses have firsthand experience with scrapbooks and share an interest that motivates them to learn more about scrapbooks and scrapbook making. Their experiences may echo the experiences of scrapbook makers of the past or add depth to the analyses of scrapbooks in general. Therefore, the local discourses added an important and relevant voice to my work.

Chapter One: "What's in a name?"

The human penchant for capturing fleeting or precious moments of life for later speculation, education, and pleasure is as old as charcoal drawings on cave walls, stylus impressions on clay tablets, and inked tracings on scrolls. For over two hundred years, scrapbooks have been part of that great tradition as people selected and mounted pieces of their world into large books for safekeeping. These books contain tangible evidence of peoples' lives and how they chose to represent and share them. They can offer insights into the peoples' culture, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor 1). Endeavoring to learn more about our own or diverse cultures has led some scholars to study works by women, African-Americans, homosexuals, the ethnically diverse, and others traditionally on the margins of scholarship. Similarly located at the margins of reading and writing, scrapbooks have recently attracted the attention of scholars in cultural studies and other disciplines. This nascent regard for scrapbooks may have been motivated by their growing popularity as sites for writing instruction outside the academy. But scholars have not yet offered extended treatments of scrapbooks or a clear definition of what they are. This chapter answers the questions: Exactly what are scrapbooks? How do they differ from commonplace books and photograph albums? Are they literary or rhetorical texts? What is their role in our culture? Finally, is there a way to organize and discuss the diverse manifestations of scrapbooks without losing sight of their individual nature or common characteristics?

CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF SCRAPBOOKS

In Shakespeare's Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet (II.ii), Juliet's plea, "What's in a name?" is an invitation to look beyond the name of an object and to consider other

qualities. Such is the case with scrapbooks. A simple and unassuming name conceals their finer qualities and potential value. Not surprisingly, scholars -- indeed, few people -- know or care much about scrapbooks. The exceptions include those scholars mentioned in the previous chapter: Rita Capezzi, Tamar Katriel, Thomas Farrell, Patricia Buckler, C. Kay Leeper, Sherelyn Ogden, Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and others. Readers might have memories of dusty, string-tied books with oversized covers and pages filled with yellowed newspaper clippings or black and white photos of distant relatives. As accurate as this memory may be for some, it represents only a snapshot of scrapbooks over the past two hundred years. Some people use the words *photograph album* and *scrapbook* interchangeably, and some confuse older scrapbooks and commonplace books. For instance, in their examination of "albums containing fine quality reliefs, from the early 1800s to the beginning of this century" Alistair Allen and Joan Hoverstadt encountered "pieces of personal narrative, verses or extracts from plays which have been signed and dated" (8). Books that typically contained this type of writing are called commonplace books, but Allen and Hoverstadt refer to their discoveries as examples of "scrap books." The overlap is understandable because the term *commonplace book* pre-dates the use of the word *scrapbook*, but does not displace it. Instead, "scraps" appear in commonplace books and vice versa. Likewise, the term *scrapbook* pre-dates the term *photograph album*, but does not replace it. Instead, photographs begin to appear in books of scraps and scraps infiltrate photograph albums. This co-mingling continues today with scrapbooks accommodating all three types of materials, commonplace books containing materials associated with scrapbooks and photograph albums, and photograph albums sometimes containing commonplace and scrapbook-type materials.

This blurred boundary around scrapbooks foreshadowed difficulties for me in two ways. First, it complicated my constructing a history of scrapbooks that would

acknowledge their relationship to photograph albums and commonplace books without compromising their own story. Second, not only do I want to single out scrapbooks as a subject of study, but I also want to provide readers with a definition of scrapbooks that will accommodate 200 years of transformations and incorporate the various common understandings of the word. Because this definition takes into consideration the many manifestations of scrapbooks that emerged over time it is impossible to capture all of their meanings in one statement. Instead, my purpose is to provide a workable definition for analysis of the form in this dissertation or elsewhere.

SCRAPBOOK IDENTIFICATION

Distinguishing scrapbooks from photograph albums and commonplace books begins with The Arts and Architecture Thesaurus (AAT), a guide used by librarians for cataloging and describing cultural heritage materials. The AAT organizes all objects into seven mutually exclusive categories, called "facets," by stressing "function and form over the context in which an object is used" (Arts and Architecture Thesaurus). Scrapbooks and photograph albums fall into the seventh facet, the "Object Facet." This facet includes "Verbal and Visual Communication," which is further divided into "Information Forms." Information forms include two types: "Document Genres" and "Information Artifacts." Information artifacts are classified by either physical form or function. In the case of scrapbooks and photograph albums, their internal form places them in the class of books referred to as "albums." The explanation for this placement comes from the thesaurus's "scope notes" which recommends using the term *album* to refer to "unpublished sets of pages, bound or loose-leaf, either intended to have, or assembled after having, material affixed to them or writing or other images made on them." Both scrapbooks and photograph albums meet the qualifications of this physical form and share the album category with a variety of other album type books. As straightforward as this may seem,

additional information in the scope notes on photograph albums and scrapbooks hints at the circumstances that may cause confusion between the two.

The word *scrapbook* identifies a "use for albums containing a variety of items, especially when those items serve as memorabilia." Using the term *photograph album* should identify a book "made up of mounted photographs, with or without identifying information." This note for photograph albums clearly limits the term to books of mounted photographs without consideration for their use as memorabilia or art or anything else. On the other hand, a determining factor for scrapbooks is the variety of items used as memorabilia. The confusion for many people arises when photograph albums contain other memorabilia and scrapbooks contain photographs. This blending of materials began early and has increased over time. Scrapbooks existed before photograph albums and easily assimilated photographs when they were invented. Likewise, non-photographic items have found their way into photograph albums. Making a distinction between the two albums means answering such questions as, "How many photos does it take to make a book a photograph album and what 'variety of items' does it take to make it a scrapbook?" And, "If the photographs of people, places, and events serve as memorabilia, does that make the album a scrapbook?" These questions provide some insight into the confusion that has resulted in using the names interchangeably.

To avoid this confusion in this dissertation I will use the following terminology. Both scrapbooks and photograph albums will occasionally be referred to generically as *albums*. This is consistent with AAT recommendations. Unless they contain any materials other than identifying information, I will reserve the term *photograph album* for books dedicated to mounted photos. This is also consistent with AAT. However, in recognition of scrapbooks assimilating photographs, I will use the term *scrapbook* to

refer to albums that include photographs as one of a "the variety of items used for memorabilia." In summary, although I may refer to both types of books as albums, it should be understood that photographs are a required component of photograph albums, but they are not a required component of scrapbooks.

Another frame of reference that contributes to the identity of scrapbooks concerns the practice of commonplacing. When written materials and other materials come together in one place scrapbooks can look like commonplace books and commonplace books can look like scrapbooks. This is not a widespread problem, but the presence of commonplace text in older as well as newer albums provides an opportunity to investigate the association between scrapbooks and genre types. Like scrapbooks, commonplace books follow the same AAT path of identification from "Object Facet" to "Verbal and Visual Communication" to "Information Form." At this point, they divide: scrapbooks fall under "Information Artifacts" and commonplace books fall under "Document Genres." The "document genre" is based on a form that "emphasize[s] some particular manner in which the textual or visual content of the document has been arranged." In commonplace books this typically refers to a manner of indexing, by page number or alphabetically, the disparate items recorded within the book. Typically the items have little relationship to one another other than "written materials" being housed between the same covers. Although scrapbooks are not classified as "document genre," they too are notable for their arrangement, but with a slightly different outcome. Generically the chronological and artistic arrangement of the textual and visual content in scrapbooks produces a composition based on a temporal relationship.

Scrapbooks also share significant features with other descriptors in the document genre category. For instance, one of the sub-headings under document genre, "Journal (account)," refers to books "containing accounts of an individual's or organization's

occurrences or transactions, including records of financial transactions." The "Journals" type includes the descriptor "diaries," recommended for use "when referring to personal accounts of the writer's experiences, attitudes, or observations." This descriptor matches the substantive content of scrapbooks which reflects a collector's life. Like journals, many scrapbooks contain written accounts of the lives of scrapbook makers and their families from the personal perspective of the scrapbook maker. This practice has increased with the recent emphasis on scrapbooks as sites for writing family histories, recording family stories, and "journaling." As a result scrapbooks look like annotated, visual diaries and journals.

Commonplace books are classified under the "journal" heading. Their scope note recommends using the term *commonplace books* to refer to "books in which noteworthy literary passages, cogent quotations, poems, comments, recipes, prescriptions, and other miscellaneous document types are written." In the tradition of commonplacing, many scrapbooks, old and new, include "noteworthy literary passages," etc. In fact, several books of popular phrases have been published for the sole purpose of making the practice of including this type of text easier for scrapbook makers. Over the years scrapbooks have steadily acquired many of the features that identify and distinguish the progressive descriptors of journal, diary, and commonplace book under the document genre, but the AAT does not classify scrapbooks in this genre. Although some of the albums referred to in this dissertation contain text of the type used to classify books as journals or commonplace books, I will not refer to them as commonplace books or journals. I will retain the use of the words *scrapbooks* and *albums* based on their physical form which differs from journals and commonplace books. I will also consider the function of the text that overlaps the "Document Genre" as one of "the variety of items" contained in

scrapbooks. This overlap of the scrapbook form and function with "Document Genre" provides some of the basis for viewing scrapbooks as sites for biographical writing.

For purposes of clarification in this dissertation, *scrapbook* refers to a paper-based product unless accompanied by the descriptive modifier *electronic* or *online* or the prefix *e-*. These modifiers indicate a computer-based, as opposed to a paper-based, environment for creating and viewing scrapbooks. Electronic scrapbooks are stored on computer hard discs or removable media such as compact disc (CD). Some electronic scrapbooks reside on the Internet servers and this dissertation refers to them as *online scrapbooks*. When scrapbooks move to the Internet they become part of the genre of web pages. The AAT classifies *web pages* as Document Genre by Form, specifically as "hypertext documents of text or images that are accessible via the World Wide Web, hosted on a web site" (Arts and Architecture Thesaurus). Following the guidance of the AAT I do not synonymously refer to online scrapbooks as *web sites* which the AAT classifies as "server computers that make documents available on the World Wide Web; each web site is identified by a hostname." In addition, the commonly used adjective *personal* preceding the term *web page* indicates authorship and possibly biographical content of a web page. The literary and rhetorical ramifications of the changes scrapbooks undergo when moving from a physical space to a virtual space are discussed in Chapter Four: "Paper to Pixels."

In summary, in this dissertation the word *album* refers to the type of unpublished books described by the AAT classification system. *Album* will be used generically to refer to scrapbooks and photograph albums in keeping with their form and function as Information Artifacts. On the other hand, I will always refer to books dedicated to collections of disparate items of written text as commonplace books in keeping with the AAT classification that distinguishes them as an Information Form and not an

Information Artifact. I reserve the word *scrapbook* for an album-type form containing a variety of memorabilia which may or may not also include photographs, commonplace writings, and biographical type writing. Probing the AAT system that is used to identify and describe cultural artifacts based on form and function has helped clarify the relationship between the terms *scrapbook*, *photograph album*, and *commonplace books* for the purposes of this dissertation as well as for readers who may have wondered about the differences. However, as a thesaurus that deals only in form and function, AAT does not provide definitions. For that I will turn to the dictionary and critique a definition of scrapbooks in order to come to an operational definition for this project that may also assist others in their work with scrapbooks. This definition also provides a starting point for the history of scrapbooks which follows this chapter.

A COMMON UNDERSTANDING

I have chosen to annotate the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition because it provides details not found in other dictionaries. The primary purpose of critiquing this definition is to establish a common understanding that will accommodate the various notions of scrapbooks that readers bring to this dissertation or may encounter in their research. Equally important is the task of exposing warrants and meanings that may help guide a closer examination of scrapbooks in the following chapters. And finally, examining the definition reveals a starting point for sketching a history of scrapbooks that emerges from and immediately follows this chapter. The OED entry for scrapbook begins with the following:

> 'scrap-book. [f. scrap sb.1]
>
> a. A blank book in which pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like are pasted for preservation. Hence occas. as the title of a printed book of miscellaneous contents. ("Scrap-book")

Following is a discussion of each item in this definition beginning with the headword.

'Scrap-book'

The first opportunity for better understanding the meaning of scrapbooks comes from an analysis of its construct as a compound word in which the word *scrap* also seems to function as an adjective to describe a particular type of book, in this case, one that contains scraps. The colloquialism *scraps* has many meanings, as demonstrated by another definition in the OED.

> scrap skræp, sb.[1] Forms: 4-7 scrappe, 8 Sc. scrape, 6- scrap. [a. ONor. skrap scraps, trifles (Sw. skrap, Da. skrab), f. root of skrapa scrape v.]
>
> 1**.** pl. The remains of a meal; fragments (of food); broken meat. rare in sing. Also fig.
>
> 2**.** A remnant; a small detached piece; a piece very small by comparison with the whole; a fragmentary portion. Often with negative context = (not) the least piece.
>
> a. Of material things.
>
> b. Of immaterial things, conversation, literary compositions, etc.
>
> c. A small picture, cutting, etc. to be put in a scrap-book or used for ornamenting a screen, box, or the like.
>
> d. A small person. colloq.
>
> 3**.** pl.
>
> a. The pieces of blubber, fish, etc. remaining after the oil has been extracted. Also collect. sing.
>
> b. (See quot. 1823.) dial. Cf. the synonymous crap sb.[1] 3.
>
> 4. Founding.
>
> a. pl. Remnants of metal produced in cutting up or casting.

5. attrib. quasi-adj. Consisting of scraps.

6. attrib. and Comb., as scrap dealer, dealing, gatherer, merchant, -metal; ("Scrap")

Among these definitions, only number two refers specifically to scrapbooks. However, the entire definition, beginning with the root meaning "trifles," exudes a sense of insignificance and disposability, thus conveying a sense of little value. When joined with the word *book*, it continues to carry this connotation and relates it to the book as a whole. In other words, by association with the surrounding definitions, the entire book that contains scraps becomes itself a scrap. While this definition may have been accurate when scraps were first introduced, the sense of incompleteness and disposability in this definition belies a basic characteristic of the scraps in scrap-books today: that they are the significant representations of a much larger whole and are placed in a book, not for disposability, but for the exact opposite, for preservation. The associated descriptor, "ornament," detracts from the importance of scraps and their storytelling role in scrapbooks. Nor does it convey the process of composition demanded in modern scrapbook making, but implies a more haphazard, inconsequential collecting and arrangement. The generally accepted insubstantial quality of scraps as conveyed in this definition may be responsible for the "negative context" in which scrapbooks continue to be viewed. Further analysis of the definition of "scrap-books" will dispel the negative connotation of scrapbooks created by this association. It will also help explain the introduction by scrapbook makers of such euphemisms as *heritage book* or *family album* to convey the significance with which they view their work. In the sections below I treat each element of the OED definition of scrapbook separately in the order it appears in the definition.

'A Blank Book'

A "blank book," the first part of the OED definition of scrapbook, introduces a venue of unlimited possibilities for creativity, exploration, and composition. It is the proverbial tabula rasa. This is the condition in which all books begin. Even books revered in the canon were at one time blank books or at least blank pages. Although scrapbooks don't remain blank, focusing on them as blank books draws attention to two important concepts. The first is the process of writing which transforms thoughts and emotions into meaningful symbols. A blank book foregrounds this process, particularly the search for something to write about. Rhetoricians call this "invention," "the art of finding available things to say or write in any situation" (Crowley and Hawhee 372). The blankness of a scrapbook provides an opportunity for individual expression of thoughts and emotions. Filling the blank pages by placing ideas on them and moving the ideas along from one page to the next provokes structure or organization. Rhetoricians refer to these activities as "style" and "arrangement."

The second concept introduced by "blank book" concerns the legitimacy and privileging of text. Because it is blank, a scrapbook does not come with an established authority or legitimacy normally reserved for completed texts. Its blankness foregrounds the freedom of writing and the power of authority normally imposed by publication of texts. However, in scrapbooks, control of the text resides solely with the scrapbook maker. This situation provides grounds for arguments made by philosophers beginning with Aristotle that knowledge does not precede the text and that controlling the text controls knowledge. Regardless of the constraints on that knowledge, cultural or otherwise, a scrapbook, which begins as a book of blank pages, highlights the *process of writing* and the powerful potential for knowledge construction. It also identifies scrapbooks as outside the realm of traditional authority associated with published books.

The two concepts above apply to scrapbooks even when their beginning pages are *not* blank. Technically, not all scrapbooks start out with blank pages. Some scrapbooks begin as recycled books in which original texts are obliterated or incorporated into another project. Others can be purchased already adorned with borders or trims. Theoretically, in the eyes of the scrapbook maker, the book may appear as totally or partially blank depending on how its contents relate to the project as devised by the scrapbook maker. In these instances invention overrides the authority of legitimate printed text. For example, the Photography Collection of the HRC includes the work of an unknown scrapbook maker who pasted pictures and samples of home decorating items into a used order-book (Decorative Arts). Then, with black paint, the unknown scrapbook maker obliterated most of the remnants of the handwritten text that remained exposed around the pasted items. In this case, the scrapbook maker's impulse to create his or her own book superseded the original text. The paint functions as palimpsest, burying one set of meanings under another and producing a book with evidence of previous use. One possible motivation for this scrapbook, as well as ones that start out blank, could be an intellectual and aesthetic need to express oneself within a book. As such, a scrapbook is not just a blank book, but may be any book perceived as a space in which these impulses may become empowered. Whether they begin as literal or metaphorical blank books, scrapbooks are the products of the rhetorical and literary acts of invention and composition they fulfilled.

"Pictures"

The term *picture* in the phrase "A small picture, cutting, etc." in the OED includes photographs, drawings, and prints. Regardless of the manner in which they are produced, pictures contain images of a time and place frozen in the perspective of the moment. Images, as forms of documentation and expression, pre-date writing. They have always

been able to convey ideas and perceptions about the world, people, and events. Sometimes they communicate ideas and emotions more powerfully or immediately than text. Pictures invite closer examination, provide information, or offer an opportunity for reflection. The adages, "seeing is believing" and "I see" (as in "I understand"), intimately link pictures with communication and understanding. Pictures are unique among artifacts because "no other relic or text from the past can offer such a direct testimony about the world which surrounded other people at other times" (Berger 9). And, pictures are one of the most ubiquitous items appearing in scrapbooks.

The power of pictures imparts rhetorical significance to the visual display of texts constructed with purpose and meaning. Scrapbooks provide an opportunity and space where the impulse for constructing intellectual and aesthetic texts can come together with visual images. At first glance, the pictures, drawings, photographs, and prints in scrapbooks represent creative expression and artistic appreciation. The choice and placement of pictures display personal taste, and in many cases, reflect contemporary styles. Pictures may stand alone on a page or share the space with text or other items. In some cases, the internal composition and style of pictures can affect the surrounding items and represent decisions regarding visual display as part of the composition of a page or the whole book. Attention to aesthetics and placement of these visual items recalls, in the lexicon of visual rhetoric, the canons of arrangement, style, and delivery. The choice, content, and composition of pictures in scrapbooks may also express emotional, empathic, or logical appeals. Therefore, rhetorical analyses of the visual import of pictures and their arrangement can reveal persuasive and artistic motivations for pasting pictures into a blank book.

Lastly, the value of a scrapbook is often determined by its content. The "pictures" part of scrapbooks may contribute to the monetary, cultural, or sentimental value of the

scrapbook. Some scrapbooks are prized for the high quality reproductions they contain. Lithographs and chromolithographs are rare and especially valuable. These small, nineteenth-century pictures, called "stamped embossed reliefs" (Allen and Hoverstadt 7), were delicately cut and beautifully colored. They demonstrated "the versatility and craftsmanship of the printers and lithographers who interpreted the inventiveness of the artists and designers" in America, Germany, Scandinavia, and the United Kingdom (Allen and Hoverstadt 8). The pictures represent historical events and characters in popular fiction, mythology, poetry, nursery rhymes, and the theatre. Of less intrinsic value, pictures of similar themes may come to scrapbooks from magazines, books, and other print sources. Rare or common, original or reproduced, pictures contribute to the perceived worth of scrapbooks as rhetorical, literary, historical, or cultural documents.

"Newspaper Cuttings"

Using newspaper clippings in conjunction with scrapbooks connects scrapbook making to discourses in print media. The clippings represent a relationship between scrapbook makers and their world in a variety of ways. For instance, placing the clippings in a scrapbook incorporates the ideas and opinions of others that may or may not have come from the clipper. Clippings provide a convenient way to include information about people and events that confirm or relay firsthand experience. Although the items clipped are already composed and part of a large newspaper layout, placing them in a scrapbook demands a composition process that involves selecting and removing news items from the newspaper and, in essence, reorganizing or reconstructing the news in a separate book with different layout concerns and constraints. An example demonstrates this point. Television brought disturbing, live images of the Vietnam War into American homes and fueled the debate over America's involvement in the war. From the White House to the local water cooler, Americans struggled to understand the

war and their role in it. One soldier used a scrapbook to search for his own answers. Around 1972, while stationed in Saigon with the U.S. Air Force, Robert Kaulbach spent evenings listening to tapes he had made of Armed Forces Radio broadcasts (Kaulbach). While he listened to the recordings he pasted newspaper and magazine headlines into a scrapbook and annotated them with comments on his thoughts and feelings and activities at the time. He brought the book home with him and kept it for over a decade until it was lost. The scrapbook provided an opportunity for Kaulbach to interject his voice into the events as reported and to personalize his experiences within a larger framework. Essentially, he reconstituted the news to include his own story.

Thomas Jefferson also kept scrapbooks filled with news of the world around him. Containing mostly articles covering the years of his presidency, his scrapbooks reveal he was a "voracious and sentimental clipper of newspapers" (Gross). The articles and other items, including annotations in Jefferson's handwriting, expose a "personal side of an intensely private Jefferson" (Ferling 8). They also "represent the breadth of Jefferson's vision and his interests" (Glimpse Into Jefferson's Life). Items include "poems, bits of news about the 4th of July, politics, exploration, education and architecture" (Glimpse Into Jefferson's Life) as well as articles with "moral and how-to advice on farming and keeping a home" (L. Smith A20). Scholars observe that "Jefferson's practice of preserving poetic and satirical attacks on his administration reveals a sense of humor the public seldom saw" (Ferling 8). The items Jefferson chose to collect offer a view of his world from the perspective of his interests. Since their discovery, the scrapbooks have enriched scholars' knowledge and understanding of Jefferson and provided new insights into his "complex and closely studied life" (L. Smith A20).

Although separated by over two hundred years, Jefferson and Kaulbach each constructed a book with a perspective on history based on their own opinions and

concerns. Rhetors would recognize this strategy as one that relies on evidence and a strong ethos. The examples of Jefferson and Kaulbach also exemplify the democratizing quality of scrapbooks. Separated by time and circumstances, both a president and a soldier employed scrapbooks in response to an impulse to try to understand themselves within the events of the world around them.

Another example of the connection between newspaper clippings in scrapbooks and discourses in the media comes from Erle Stanley Gardner, one of the most famous writers of legal fiction in our history and creator of the fictional attorney Perry Mason. Voluminous scrapbooks of clippings of stories and references provided Gardner with a vast reservoir of ideas for his literary career. Once in the scrapbook, stories could be isolated and reconstructed without the interference of surrounding news items or the intervention of successively printed editions. Rhetorically, Gardner's stories are credited with favorably altering an unpopular view of lawyers and the law (Bounds 112). Gardner also kept numerous scrapbooks of newspaper articles, letters, and notes on criminal cases that reflect his legal interests. One scrapbook testifies to his dogged pursuit of justice for Sam Shepherd, who was posthumously acquitted of murder. His selection of crime news also documents a passion for justice that resulted in establishment of the Court of Last Resorts. Closer examination of Gardner's scrapbooks may reveal more information on the link between the materials he kept, the stories he wrote, and his professional life. Certainly, as intermediaries, his scrapbooks helped him turn news into fiction and to generate discourses that ultimately changed a profession. These three examples -- Jefferson, Kaulbach, and Gardner -- extend the common understanding of scrapbooks from merely pasting newspaper clippings into blank books to one that represents rhetorical and literary traditions occurring across the strata of demographics and time.

"And the like"

The OED definition further amplifies one of the more commonly understood meanings of the word *scrapbook*. The phrase *and the like* in "pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like" indicates the diversity of contents besides pictures and newspaper cuttings that may appear in scrapbooks. This catchall phrase implies more demanding skills of organization and style in order to contain and present a variety of materials in a usable or pleasing manner. Theodore Ashmead Langstroth II, dubbed "The Scrapbook King" by John Fleischman, collected innumerable items and reigns as the most prolific scrapbook maker in America (79). While living his later years in Cincinnati, he produced over 120 scrapbooks before his death in 1978. Stumbling on these scrapbooks while researching the life of John Rettig, Fleischman observed that they contained "actual pieces of that lost Cincinnati" (79). In addition to newspaper clippings, Langstroth affixed to "his pages original letters, rare photographs, artifacts [. . .] tickets [. . .] campaign ribbons [. . .] stone lithographs [. . .] costume sketches and programs," as well as "chewing-tobacco labels, sheet music covers" (Fleischman 79-87). One book contained "a lump of coal wired into it" (Fleischman 87). Along side his collectibles, Langstroth penned "commentary, annotations and, sometimes, carefully typed whimsical asides" (Fleischman 80). Fleischman concluded that these scrapbooks were not storage containers, but "singular creations in their own right, statements as much about the mind of Ted Langstroth as about John Rettig or coal tar dyes" (87). In essence Fleischman detects a rhetorical purpose behind the collecting and organizing in Fleischman's books.

Fleischman compared Langstroth to "the father of British history, the monk Nennius, who prefaced his chronicles by declaring, 'I have heaped together all that I found'" (84). In the scrapbooks he consulted, Fleischman observed a meticulous and comprehensive representation of whatever Langstroth chose to collect. Fleischman

concludes that the books Langstroth donated to the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County "were the mounted trophies of his safari through the gatherer's life" (87). Fleischman's adventures with Langstroth's scrapbooks provide an example of what "and the like" means in terms of the variety and significance of artifacts that scrapbooks may contain. They also reveal the wealth of cultural materials scrapbooks may preserve and display for artistic or intellectual purposes.

Although overlooked in the OED and other definitions, I believe text falls into the category of "and the like." Typically, text does not stand alone in scrapbooks. Unlike commonplace books where text forms the body of the work, in scrapbooks text works in tandem with the other contents of the book. Likewise, unlike commonplace books where the text is indexed or otherwise arranged under general headings, the placement of text in scrapbooks relates to the surrounding items. The text in scrapbooks ranges in type from sparse captions to brief stories and extended narratives. It includes borrowed as well as original text. It may be written or typed; in third person or first; addressed to oneself, an immediate audience, or a distant one. Grammar and vocabulary may be highly formal, dialectic, or idiosyncratic. The text in scrapbooks may offer details of actual events or the pleasures of a story. And, as with all text, it offers opportunity for rhetorical analysis. The way the text in scrapbooks supplements or depends on the surrounding materials can also reveal rhetorical strategies.

"Pasted for preservation"

The concluding phrase "are pasted for preservation" is more than a statement of stasis. The word *preservation* anticipates a future need without specifying its specific time or reason. Rhetors may identify this concept with the classical canon of memory. Not just repositories where items get pasted, scrapbooks are resources that contribute to a need to understand the past and its relationship to the present and the future. Langstroth

organized the material artifacts of the world around him into manageable chunks and then preserved them for future reference, where at least one researcher, Fleischman, uncovered information that would otherwise have been lost forever. For Fleischman, the scrapbooks served as historic documents, filling in missing pieces of Cincinnati history. Similarly, Gardner used his scrapbooks of newspaper reports on criminal cases to contribute ideas for future stories and to assist in recalling specifics. The potential uses are more broadly defined when scrapbooks, such as Langstroth's, become part of larger and more permanent reference collections, as in libraries or museums, where they may enhance a larger knowledge base. Or, preservation could satisfy a more immediate need and express a sentimental purpose, as with Kaulbach or Jefferson. In general, the items preserved in scrapbooks may assist in triggering or clarifying memories of the past. The frequent use of scrapbooks to preserve memories has earned them the nickname "memory books." As such, scrapbooks have evolved into meaningful and treasured texts by those who make them and by those who inherit or discover them. And finally, scrapbooks may provide insights into the ways people organize and use information that presents itself in a variety of forms, a challenge that would employ all five elements of the rhetorical canon: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Typically, scrapbook makers use a chronological arrangement, but Langstroth and others sometimes organize information in other ways which reflect other intentions. The few examples above expand the common understanding of scrapbooks as a place where items are "pasted for preservation" to include a systematic activity of information management that may facilitate memory, contribute to research, or provide enjoyment for immediate and future users.

"A Printed Book . . . "

The remaining phrase in the OED definition, "occas. as the title of a printed book of miscellaneous contents," represents the transfer of the sense of the term *scrapbook* to other media. This sense is also expressed in the second portion of the definition in the OED in reference to another form of media:

> b. transf. A loosely-constructed documentary review programme, normally covering a particular year or period, presented on radio by the B.B.C.

The OED adds quotes from the Listener and Radio Times that describe the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) programs as "exercises in the well-proven genre of biographical scrapbook" and "a scrapbook of cherished fragments." By association, the meaning of the term scrapbook acquired a biographical and sentimental connotation that still exists today. Meanwhile, the term *scrapbook* also made its way into the texts of published works. Authors of popular fiction not only influenced the meaning of scrapbooks, but also relied on a common understanding of the word *scrapbook* to draw characters and settings. For instance, Mark Twain, who was a dedicated scrapbook maker, employed a scrapbook in Huckleberry Finn to provide insight into the character of Emmeline Grangerford and into Huckleberry's state of mind:

> This young girl kept a scrap-book when she was alive, and used to paste obituaries and accidents and cases of patient suffering in it out of the Presbyterian Observer, and write poetry after them out of her own head. (106)
>
> Poor thing, many's the time I made myself go up to the little room that used to be hers and get out her poor old scrapbook and read in it when her pictures had been aggravating me and I soured on her a little. (107)

In this scene, Huckleberry turns to a scrapbook in an attempt to understand the girl he

never met. Consulting her scrapbook he hopes to gain insight into her character and personality, and possibly her death. The ability of the scrapbook to move Huckleberry's feelings from sympathetic to "soured" indicates the power of a scrapbook to affect the reader's emotions and opinions. The effectiveness of this passage depends on Twain's readers' having a common understanding and acceptance of scrapbooks as expressions of self that can affect a reader's emotions.

In Little Women, Louisa May Alcott confirms the use of scrapbooks as gifts and educational supplements.

> Here, cherished like a household saint in its shrine, sat Beth, tranquil and busy as ever, for nothing could change the sweet, unselfish nature, and even while preparing to leave life, she tried to make it happier for those who should remain behind. The feeble fingers were never idle, and one of her pleasures was to make little things for the school children daily passing to and fro, to drop a pair of mittens from her window for a pair of purple hands, a needlebook for some small mother of many dolls, penwipers for young penmen toiling through forests of pothooks, scrapbooks for picture-loving eyes, and all manner of pleasant devices, till the reluctant climbers of the ladder of learning found their way strewn with flowers, as it were, and came to regard the gentle giver as a sort of fairy godmother, who sat above there, and showered down gifts miraculously suited to their tastes and needs. (455)

Readers of these lines would have encountered scrapbooks associated with "all manner of pleasant devices" and an almost saintly expression of generosity and love. Alcott represents scrapbooks as contributors to a happy, almost idyllic, childhood. Scrapbooks become almost magical as they smooth the path of learning and "miraculously" suit each

child. What young reader would not have perceived the making and giving of scrapbooks as a worthy activity imparting pleasure and learning to others? And who, after reading this passage and receiving a scrapbook, would not have attributed to the gift-giver the type of love and affection portrayed in this scene? In addition, this short description indirectly emphasizes pictures as the primary content and indicates their usefulness for both pleasure and education.

A much different impression of scrapbooks arises from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Dr. Watson in The Adventure of the Empty House:

> Our old chambers had been left unchanged through the supervision of Mycroft Holmes and the immediate care of Mrs. Hudson. As I entered I saw, it is true, an unwonted tidiness, but the old landmarks were all in their place. There were the chemical corner and the acid-stained, deal-topped table. There upon a shelf was the row of formidable scrap-books and books of reference which many of our fellow-citizens would have been so glad to burn. (244)

In this short sketch, the scrapbooks hold a revered place as organizers of information useful to the inimitable Holmes and dangerous to his felonious adversaries. The scrapbooks provide a contrast between the "unwonted tidiness" and the methodical and ordered manner of Holmes' mental pursuits. They also provide a motif in Holmes' environment, re-appearing in Study in Scarlet, The Adventure of the Red Circle, and The Adventure of the Three Students. Other examples of scrapbooks in texts can be found in Charles Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby (Chapter 24) and Ambrose Bierce's The Devil's Dictionary ("Scrap-Book"). The ability of scrapbooks in fiction to convey meaning about people and places reflects real life. It implies an understanding by writers of the significance of scrapbooks in people's lives that is recognizable and transferable to

fictional accounts. In the context of the OED definition, the use of the term *scrapbook* by broadcasters, publishers, and writers has extended the common understanding of the word beyond *blank book* to include published media and literary symbolism.

Besides the use of scrapbooks within texts and radio program titles, publishers also use the word in book titles as a way to indicate a variety of content and a particular manner of presentation. A sampling of current published titles includes: The Official Abbott & Costello Scrapbook (1990), A South African Scrapbook (Kempe, 1994), The Bette Midler Scrapbook (Waldman, 1997), The Edge of the City: A Scrapbook 1976-91 (Hogan, 1993), and Baywatch: The Official Scrapbook (Shapiro, 1996). Using the word *scrapbook* in the title of published works transfers the sense of the word from the "blank book" to the completed book, from the process of writing to its product, and from the reader as author to the reader as consumer. It also connects it to biographical genre and conveys a sense of familiarity or intimacy with the subject of the book, such as Bette Midler. Or the title may represent a collage of topics on a broad subject, such as South Africa. Using the word in book titles in this way also contributes to the different meanings some readers may bring to this dissertation. For clarification, the scrapbooks sampled in this dissertation are defined as *unpublished* albums. This includes online scrapbooks, in spite of the tendency to refer to the posting of works on the World Wide Web as "publishing." Posting a scrapbook online increases the size of its audience, but the authority of publishing associated with printed text, as discussed under "blank book" above, does not intervene. Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation scrapbooks "published" online are considered *unpublished* texts.

The final portion of the OED definition of scrapbook concerns the attributed use of the word.

c. attrib.

1897 H. James Spoils of Poynton i. 5 Trumpery ornament and scrapbook art.

1934 C. Lambert Music Ho! i. 75 Diaghileff . .was able to invest with a revolutionary glamour the scrapbook mentality which in his later years he exploited with so marked a success.

Hence

'scrap-book v., to place in a scrap-book;

hence 'scrap-booking *vbl. sb*.

1879 Mark Twain Let. 12 Nov. (1917) I. 369 Put the enclosed scraps in the drawer and I will scrap-book them.

1881 Mark Twain Tramp Abroad xlvi, I scrap-booked these reports during several months.

1883 North Star 25 Oct. 3/2 We trust that our wage-earning readers especially will scrap-book these Letters, for after-study.

C. 1898 Mark Twain Autobiogr. (1924) I. 139 He usually postponed the scrap-booking until Sunday.

James' and Lambert's quotations represent two of the many value judgements that have become associated with scrapbooks. The first implies a lack of seriousness or significance. The second represents a lack of focus, a potpourri. Both of these meanings are still in use today and may account for some of the lack of academic interest in scrapbooks. The other significant attributions are those reflected in the verb forms which refocus attention from scrapbooks as products to "scrapbooking" as a process. The Twain examples demonstrate the easy transition of the noun into a verb with present, past, and future tenses. Today's scrapbook makers commonly use these verbs, but they

will not find them in the second college edition of the American Heritage Dictionary or the tenth edition of Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. Apparently dictionary compilers have not yet recognized this vernacular conversion of the noun into a verb. However, scrapbook makers have invented an additional verb associated with the process of making scrapbooks. We saw earlier, in the discussion of the AAT classification of "Document Genre" of the type called "Journal (accounts)." Scrapbook makers use the word *journaling* to describe a particular type of writing that takes place in scrapbooks and incorporates documentation and storytelling. All of these verbs are prevalent in discourses on scrapbooks. The phrases used most often in this dissertation are *scrapbook making*, to indicate the process of writing and composing a scrapbook, and *scrapbook maker*, to acknowledge authorship. This final part of the definition, verb forms, confirms the recognition of scrapbooks as products of a process, a process familiar to rhetoricians as composing. The noun and verb forms associated with scrapbooks draw attention to authorship, purpose, and audience, subjects suitable for rhetorical and literary analysis.

One final note concerns albums, commonplace books, and scrapbooks. According to the OED, *album* refers to tablets of Latin antiquity on which were inscribed public notices. *Album* did not come into English usage until 1651, only five years before the first appearance of the phrase *commonplace book* in 1656. The words *scrapbook* and *photograph album* did not appear until 1825 and 1839, respectively. This timeline implies that new terms came into the language to describe more accurately the new ways of presenting information. Today the phrase *commonplace book* is seldom heard. *Album*, *photograph album*, and *scrapbook* are more common. However, considering the popularity of the Internet it is also common for people to refer to their online scrapbooks and albums as web pages or web sites. It would be interesting to speculate on whether *scrapbook* or *album* will be displaced someday by the phrase *web page*.

BEYOND DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

I would like to share another perspective on scrapbooks that may prove useful for recognizing, organizing, and talking about scrapbooks. In preparation for writing the history in the following chapters, I found it necessary to survey from several different perspectives a large sample of scrapbooks that spanned over two hundred years. While multiple perspectives contributed to writing the history of scrapbooks by associating them with events in the world around them, both the volume and uniqueness of each scrapbook in my sample was often overwhelming. I needed to be able group and talk about several scrapbooks at once without sacrificing their individuality. I could find no previous attempts to organize scrapbooks in such a manner. Thus motivated I began to look for relationships within my sample. Eventually I discovered that I could group my sample into three types based on content and an *original purpose* that was either declared by the scrapbook maker or could be inferred. I assigned a descriptive name to each type and created a simple profile with examples. I call the three types *applied*, *biographical*, and *collectible* -- the ABCs of profiling scrapbooks.

Most of the content in a *collectible* type scrapbook is similar in appearance to other items in the scrapbook or limited to a particular topic. For instance, a scrapbook of Victorian scraps or a scrapbook filled with articles on the Civil War fits the profile of collectible scrapbooks. In the first sample, the content is similar in type: all scraps. The second sample is limited to a particular topic, the Civil War. In the *biographical* scrapbook type, the content may include a wide variety of artifacts representative of the life of the scrapbook maker or someone close to him or her. Such a scrapbook might contain family photos, report cards, ticket stubs, and similar memorabilia from an individual's daily life of specific event. This type of scrapbook should not to be confused with scrapbooks of famous people made by fans. They would fall under collectibles.

Finally, the *applied* scrapbook type accommodates items gathered for the purpose of working out practical problems or providing professional services. Scrapbooks created to aid in the solving of a crime or assisting in therapeutic treatment fall into the applied category. Optionally a scrapbook may seem to fall into more than one category. For instance, in the process of therapy a patient may be instructed to create a biographical scrapbook. Consequently the scrapbook may be considered both biographical and applied. Similarly, scrapbooks made by classroom students to aid their learning of a particular subject would fall under both collectible and applied. For this reason and to stabilize the historical context of my sample, I found it necessary to stress *original purpose* in the criteria listed above. Therefore, I placed both the therapeutic and classroom scrapbooks into the applied group. Others may find that my type names are just as useful for working with and talking about subsequent or alternative uses of scrapbooks. They are welcome to adapt my ABCs of profiling scrapbooks as needed.

From an historical perspective I could see the ebb and flow of the three types in response to events around them. As a result of the Victorian passion for collecting scraps, the collectible type dominated the nineteenth century. The biographical type became more obvious in the twentieth century as the popularity of the camera rose and literary tastes turned to the novel and biography. Applied scrapbooks, those related to professional services, began appearing in the 1980s when the popularity and visibility of scrapbooks boomed. Throughout the years, an increase in the preference for a particular type of scrapbook did not displace the other types. All three types of scrapbooks can be found existing concurrently throughout the years. This overlap contributed to the increasing complexity of recognizing and talking about scrapbooks across time. Managing a large and longitudinal sample of scrapbooks, each one valued for its uniqueness, is a daunting task. Finding some common denominators helped me organize

my work and talk about my results. I offer my profiles as contributions to the body of knowledge on scrapbooks and I hope they will help other researchers or collectors in their work with scrapbooks.

SUMMARY

By examining the classification and definition of scrapbooks I have attempted to deepen and broaden the commonly understood meanings of the word beyond a blank book that holds miscellany, to an understanding that accounts for their rhetorical and literary nature. As for distinguishing scrapbooks from commonplace books and photograph albums, I have argued that the meaning is not one of exclusion, but inclusion. While commonplace books set themselves apart as sites for indexed, copied text and photograph albums set themselves apart as bound galleries for photographs, scrapbooks set themselves apart as accommodating both types of items and much more. That is not to say that commonplace books and photograph albums do not occasionally contain other items, but the expectation is that they do not. On the other hand, scrapbooks are expected to assimilate text, pictures, and found materials. As a result, scrapbooks offer additional dimensions for expression and present unusual challenges for composition. A closer look at the common understanding of the word also demonstrates the intimacy that can exist between scrapbooks, their contents, and their environments. The classification and definition also reveal the use of scrapbooks as platforms for the expression of intellectual or aesthetic responses to life which may in turn provide insights into the culture of the people that produce them. More importantly, my critique identifies the contents and features of scrapbooks that make them candidates for rhetorical and literary analysis. In addition to examining the classification and definition of scrapbooks, I have attempted to provide a frame of reference for studying scrapbooks that accommodates the various impressions and disciplines readers may bring to this dissertation. Finally, I offer readers

three new profiles of scrapbooks to facilitate recognizing and talking about scrapbooks in my sample as well as those they may encounter in their own work.

Chapter Two: Victorian Passion

Scrapbooks did not emerge at a single moment in time. They gradually emerged during a period of history described as "a succession of earth-shaking revolutions -- social, intellectual, economic, and political -- such as the western world had not seen since the dawn of the Christian era" (Noyes xxvii). These revolutions began in the eighteenth century with the American and the French revolutions and continued into the next century with the Industrial Revolution. The abject poverty and despair that grew out of the Industrial Revolution forced sweeping social, political, and economic reforms that contributed to capitalism and a redistribution of wealth to the middle class. Among the many forces that helped energize and sustain these revolutions were the literature and ideas of such eighteenth-century writers and thinkers as Rousseau, Godwin, Blake, Priestly, and Paine (Noyes xviii-xxix). Their literature helped re-shape the literary and rhetorical landscape and provided new opportunities for reading and writing, including scrapbooks. Energized by an impulse to engage in the world of letters and to collect, create, and preserve that which is individually meaningful, scrapbook making became part of the continuum of our reading and writing culture. Scrapbook making proceeded from such activities as keeping commonplace books, Grangerizing, and reading biographies and literary anthologies. That each of these activities plays a part in the history of scrapbooks becomes apparent from examining them, beginning with commonplace books.

PREPARING THE WAY

By name and practice, commonplace books have a long history that can be traced to the ancient Greek practice of *loci communes*, the keeping of lists of topics for rhetorical use. In 1578 the keeping of commonplace books was described as an academic

exercise in which "a studious yong man..may gather to himselfe good furniture both of words and approved phrases..and to make to his use as it were a common place booke" ("Commonplace book").[8] It is generally accepted that well into the nineteenth-century they served as places where "passages important for reference were collected, usually under general heads" ("Commonplace book"). The general headings provided a way to organize the passages for easy access. Around 1760 John Lewis Petit set down in the first page of his commonplace book the typical method of organization recommended by John Locke in A New Method of A Commonplace Book, translated into English and published posthumously in 1706.

> If in the course of reading one meets with any sentimental definition or any one Particular thing which one would willingly remember or turn to, to see what the Persons sentiments were upon that head[ing]. Take the Back of any leaf of Your book and set down the Initial letter and first Vowel and let that leaf be allotted wholly Towards begining in that Manner then mark the Page in the Index . . . it is ready at one view to be found. In the two lines of the side of the leaf set down the Subject in somewhat larger characters than what you write upon it. the author you met with it in the Edition year page book and on the other side of the Line set down the heads of your subject. (qtd. in Petit)

This instruction to alphabetize and index entries facilitated quick storage of and access to them. Petit's entries show the breadth of topics that interested him: "Truth," "Method," "Medius," "Witchcraft," "Wit," "Will," "Lewis Volt," League," "Learning," "Ode," "Obedience," "Games," "Graduation," "Gratitude," "Temple," "Testament," "Teacher,"

[8] This is the first of many citations in this dissertation that reproduces the original punctuation, spelling, and capitalization from primary source materials. I have resisted using [sic] in order to maintain the language and style of the author without editorial interruption.

"Theft," "Olimpiad," "Hellanodicks," "Reason," "Relations," "Remembrance," "Ressurection," "Religion," "Wrestler," "Children," "Christ," "Cycle," "Faces," "Fables," "Fame," "Faith," "Beauty," "Benevolence," "Affectation," "Acervers" [?], "Adversity," "Alexander," "Laughter," and "Law." By privileging the words, ideas, and sentiments of others for later reference, Locke's advice defines Petit's role as editor and intended audience of his book. His role as editor comes from the composition he has created by arrangement of the appropriated words of others and the addition of his own observations. If Petit created any original text in his book then technically he would have acted as co-author as well, but the instructions and use of the book seem to limit that possibility. In any case, Petit technically shares a rhetorical perspective with the authors he cites or paraphrases. For instance, the following text appears under "Resurrection:"

> The seeming inconsistencies in the Evangelists in the relation of our Saviors resurrection are reconciled by M West. First by considering in what circumstances each evangelist wrote his gospels secondly [. . . undecipherable. . .] each makes mention of different incidents or catering to the whole transaction yet not one of [. . . undecipherable. . .] same instances -- last. (Petit)

Although parts of the text are undecipherable, Petit's selection also shows his interest in the literary world of the reading and criticism of the Bible. Furthermore, this passage shows a rhetorical inclination toward a specific point of view on the Evangelists. Closer examination of all the entries in Petit's book may gradually reveal a pattern of subjects and ideas that interested him and possibly his bias toward them, but that is not the purpose here. My purpose is to show that through selective gathering of passages that may have expressed his personal beliefs, Petit participated in discourses in the world around him. By keeping a commonplace book Petit, and others like him, engaged in

personal bookmaking using the words of others and a method of organization designed for single readers, themselves. Petit's book is an example of the general use, method, and arrangement of keeping commonplace books. Although scrapbooks of the nineteenth century also engaged readers and writers in collecting items to place in books, they were neither indexed nor limited to copied texts.

Bridging the ground between the keeping of commonplace books and the making of scrapbooks stands an innovative idea that expanded the bookmaking experience of eighteenth-century readers and writers. In 1769 James Granger published a Biographical History of England. The book was unusual because it contained blank pages that would normally have held illustrations. Granger encouraged readers to illustrate the text themselves by pasting onto the blank pages pictures cut from other sources. Instead of collecting text, people collected pictures. The practice became very popular among those who could afford it and became known as *Grangerizing*.[9] The invitation to create personalized editions of their books by taking pictures from other sources gave readers the experience of participating in a composing process that involved matching meanings in texts to meanings in pictures. In effect, readers graphically annotated those parts of the text meaningful to them with pictures they felt best illustrated them. To do so, readers had to identify the rhetorical context of both Granger's words and another text. They had to determine the rhetorical value in the context of the Granger text and then separate pictures from the rhetorical context of other texts. Granger also encouraged readers to create their own drawings to illustrate the text. Again, their drawings would have reflected their understanding of the rhetorical significance of the passages to be illustrated. Grangerizing gave readers a taste of the power inherent in creating meaning

[9] I thank the staff of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin for introducing me to Grangerizing.

by combining text and pictures, an activity that easily transferred to scrapbooks in the years to come. As a result, Grangerizing may have contributed to the future of scrapbook making by liberating readers to consider alternative forms for self-expression using pictures and words in their own books.

Besides keeping commonplace books and Grangerizing, late eighteenth-century readers collected fragments of printed text. As early as 1792 they called them "literary scraps or ‘scrapings’" ("Scrapiana"). The Guardian, a newspaper published from 1807 to 1808 in Albany, New York ran a regular column headed "Scrapiana" (EAN Selected Descriptions). In the nineteenth century two books titled "Scrapiana" and "Scrapeana," published in 1811 and 1818 respectively, contained "humorous pieces in prose and in verse" ("Scrapiana"). Interestingly the terms *literary scraps* and *scrapiana* were in the vernacular, but the books that held the items to which they referred were not yet called scrapbooks. Although the activity of gathering passages of text matches commonplacing, collectors obviously did not refer to their books as commonplace books. Instead they gave their activity a name, *scraping*, unrelated to commonplacing. The act of naming this activity not only reflects an awareness of their own authority over their work, it demonstrates a willingness to transform their experience into something more suited to their interests. This willingness to redefine their bookmaking experience may have contributed to the ready acceptance of collecting pre-printed scraps that became popular several years later and to which they applied the name *scrapbook*.

Grangerizing and scrapiana changed the collecting and bookmaking experiences associated with keeping commonplace books and prepared the way for scrapbooks. They changed the manner of making personal books and their appearance. Instead of placing items under alphabetical headings, Grangerizing introduced the placing of items based on contextual meaning and aesthetics. Instead of collecting only items of text, Grangerizing

introduced collecting pictures to combine with text. Items once transcribed by hand into a commonplace book gave way to clippings of scrapiana. Collecting clippings became more popular as newspapers became more affordable and widespread. Instead of transcribing passages of one or two lines into their books, collectors clipped entire articles and pasted them into their books. The ease of clipping meant more items could be gathered with ease. However, clippings required more space on a page than most commonplace books could accommodate. Some commonplace books were small enough to fit in a pocket (Benedict 47). Other books, like Petit's, were slightly larger, with lined pages and indexed tabs. To mount newspaper clippings, collectors turned to larger books and albums, often recycling used account books. By clipping an entire poem or article that contained a passage they wanted, collectors acquired not only the content they desired, but maintained the contextual integrity of the passage within the larger poem or article. Still, these bookmakers remained editors, relying on the words, ideas, and pictures of others. Filled with newspaper clippings, scrapiana, and pictures, their books looked little like Petit's commonplace book. The differences increased as collectors added original text, mementos, and other ephemeral-like items to their books.

Contrasting an example of this early type of scrapbook with Petit's commonplace book clarifies the transformation in personal bookmaking that marks the early years of scrapbook history. From 1801 to 1809 Thomas Jefferson kept an album into which he pasted "poems about friendship and death, and newspaper articles that criticized his policies -- even one that referred to his alleged liaison with slave Sally Hemings" (L. Smith A20). His book included an "Oak Leaf pressed in the pages between two other poems, 'Friendship' and 'Scenes from My Youth'" (L. Smith A20). It also held "thousands of newspaper articles [. . .] confirm the breadth of Jefferson's interests, from agriculture to politics" (Gross). A section devoted to his daughter Maria, who died at age

twenty-six, reveals Jefferson as a sentimental man, qualifying the historical impression of him as solely "a man of reason" (Glimpse Into Jefferson's Life). Jefferson also kept some clippings as reminders of the positions and statements of some of his political adversaries. One researcher called Jefferson's composition a "newspaper commonplace book" (Ferling), a concession to its dissimilarity to commonplace books and an awareness of its pre-dating the word *scrapbook*. The book holds little resemblance to commonplace books and reflects the changes in method, purpose, and content that characterize scrapbooks. Unlike Petit who copied excerpts into his book by hand, Jefferson clipped and pasted entire articles into his book. Some of the articles took up entire pages which, unlike Petit's pages, were neither lined nor indexed. Jefferson's handwriting appears in scattered notations, not in transcriptions as in Petit's book. Where Petit's book follows an alphabetical and topical arrangement, Jefferson's appears generally chronological. Instead of containing only transcribed text as in Petit's book, Jefferson's also includes other ephemera, such as clippings, an oak leaf, and addressed envelopes. These items impart personality, sentiment, and idiosyncrasy not visible in Petit's book. The content, style, and arrangement of Jefferson's book represents an activity visibly different from commonplacing and shows the inclination of a nineteenth-century bookmaker to personalize his book. Jefferson's scrapbook represents the fundamental activities that would become known as scrapbook making.

In some cases the educational and self-improvement principles underlying commonplace books found a new home, with some important modifications, in early scrapbooks. In 1806, The Young Woman's Companion and Instructor advised women to "lay in a some store of [domestic] knowledge [. . .] by observing what passes before you -- and by entering in a book a memorandum of every new piece of intelligence you acquire" (qtd. in Capezzi 5). A list of items collected included recipes, articles on

manners, housekeeping tips, advice on entertaining, and such ephemera as seed packets and product labels (Capezzi 2-10). In her research into the "domestic advice scrapbooks," Rita Capezzi noted that these books provided a rhetorical space where "women might actively negotiate, rather than passively inhabit, the gender roles assigned to them" (2). She further argues that the scrapbooks "seem to reinforce the image that many women embraced domesticity, but they also show how individuals complicated and transformed received ideology into particularized lived experience"[10] (10). Like Petit's commonplace book the domestic advice scrapbooks demonstrate the "enactment of acquiring knowledge and the evidence" of having acquired it (Capezzi 7). For domestic advice scrapbook makers the knowledge guided practical applications of homemaking, child rearing, and socializing. On the other hand, Petit's book assumes a more passive role, as a book to which he turned to see "what the Persons sentiments were" on a particular subject (qtd. in Petit). In other words, the domestic advice scrapbook acted as a practical extension of the homemaking experience rather than reflections on it. Finally, domestic advice scrapbooks offered a new theme for collecting. Where commonplace books and books of scrapiana contain excerpts from literary and rhetorical discourses created in the world of letters, domestic advice scrapbooks contain discourses on the family and home, a realm that would become more closely linked with scrapbooks in the future. For Petit, Jefferson, and the women who made domestic advice scrapbooks, their books seemed to have satisfied an impulse, consciously or not, to express themselves through collecting. Although the impulses remained similar, the differences in purpose, materials, content, and arrangement show a shifting away from the traditional practices that underlay the commonplace books.

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[10] Capezzi uses the word *scrapbook* retroactively to refer to all of the books she examined, including those made at the beginning of the century before the first documented use of the word.

Commonplace books were part of the classical traditions that had long influenced education, art, and literature. Their form and structure reflect the influence of these ancient traditions. However, toward the end of the eighteenth century leading artists and poets rebelled against the classical themes and structures that restricted their creativity and challenged the style and themes of Greek philosophers and orators (Abrams 177). The voice of their resistance was captured in the 1798 publication of William Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads. His work epitomized what has become known as the Romantic Movement in art and literature.[11] Writers and artists of the Romantic Movement broke with the classical tradition of dealing with "momentous actions of royal or aristocratic characters in an appropriately elevated style" (Abrams 177). Instead, they emphasized the unlimited potential of human imagination and the power of nature to inspire thought and emotion. Writers like Wordsworth turned to common subjects in rural settings and wrote in the vernacular in blank verse. Their works relied heavily on images of native flora and fauna as inspiration for introspection and meditation. The literature of Romanticism relied on "solitude, spontaneity, expression of feeling, and imagination" (Bizzell and Herzberg 665). The inspiration of Romanticism may have helped break the rules that defined keeping commonplace books and contributed to opportunities for making the early scrapbooks described above. Moreover, in the same year as the publication of Lyrical Ballads an advancement in print technology helped create a new environment in which scrapbooks flourished. It also gave us the word *scrapbook*.

[11] For information on the Enlightenment and Romantic periods readers are directed to Meyer H. Abrams' The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition, published in 1953 by Oxford UP.

SCRAPS TO SCRAPBOOKS

It began with Alois Senefelder, a German inventor and playwright, who invented the process of lithography. The process involved using a grease-based substance, such as a crayon, to draw on an absorbent surface, such as limestone. After an acid wash to assure that ink would adhere to the painted areas only, the surface was inked and pressed onto paper. The process introduced a cheaper, faster and more spontaneous method of printing than the movable press. The first lithographs were published in England in 1802. At the time, "editors concentrated on the commercial applications of the process" (Loche 90). In 1806 lithographers were printing musical scores, but the graphic potential of lithography lay dormant in England until 1811 when they started printing "maps, plans, and circulars" (Twyman 33). In 1816 Engelmann and Lasteyrie introduced chromolithography, the process for printing colored lithographs. The lithographic process remained the same, but required that artists create a separate plate for each color they wanted in their picture. The paper was then pressed onto each plate successively, using a different colored ink for each pass (Stasik). The result was a multi-colored print. Quickly, chromolithography became the preferred means for reproducing drawings and paintings by the great romantic artists of the period including Goya, Delacroix, and Théodore Géricault, "one of the most enthusiastic adepts of romantic lithography" (Loche 91). Romantic poets also took advantage of lithography. William Blake "was the greatest British artist seriously occupied with the graphic arts" who did pen-drawing for lithography (Man Artists' Lithographs 24). The use of lithography by artists and poets quickly spread throughout the land. Within two years of discovering the process of chromolithography, printers introduced fine art prints and flooded the market with them and other colored prints (Man 150 Years XXIV)

Besides artists' works printers produced several smaller pictures on large sheets which merchants or collectors cut into individual pictures. Improvements in the process included embossing and die-cutting the images. The small prints were called *scraps* and in today's printing industry the word *scrap* still refers to "stamped embossed reliefs" (Allen and Hoverstadt 7). Merchants or manufacturers used scraps as product tags or gave them away as promotions for such products as soap, cigars, and wine. Because German printers, the first and largest producers of scraps, exported much of their "'Glanz Bilder' -- Glossy Pictures" to England, the volume of scraps on the market increased and the prices went down (Allen and Hoverstadt 9). In addition, the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 opened up Europe to travel and generated lithographs of landscapes, topography, and architecture (Twyman 169-172). That same year the first lithographic press arrived in the United States. By 1837, when Victoria became Queen of England, British and European printers regularly produced small embossed or multi-crenellated surfaces that carried beautifully colored pictures designed by "printers and lithographers who interpreted the inventiveness of the artists and designers" of the day (Allen and Hoverstadt 7). Subjects ranged from flowers, fruits, shells, fish, ducks, birds, animals, children, military figures, historical figures, religious figures, political figures, figures engaged in leisure activities, tradesmen, travel scenes, the alphabet, to scenes from nursery rhymes and a variety of other themes. The subject and quality of scraps continued to improve until they reached their peak in last twenty years of the century, called the "Golden Era" of scraps (Allen and Hoverstadt 25). Most noteworthy and "prevalent during this period were the very fine examples of gold embossed reliefs and exceptionally large and expensive reliefs printed two to a sheet" (Allen and Hoverstadt 25).

Fascinated by the brilliant colors and beautiful designs, people enthusiastically sought out the highly affordable prints. Scraps collecting became widespread and popular. Some Victorian prints illustrated the obsession for collecting scraps. In one, a gentleman in top hat and tails bends to pick up a scrap from the sidewalk: "I want all the Scraps I can collect" (Allen and Hoverstadt fig. 9). Another shows a young, barefoot woman kneeling in front of a makeshift tent. Inside the tent she has pinned scraps to the walls and placed an open scrapbook on a low table. She gestures toward a plate in front of her: "Scraps Thankfully Received" (Allen and Hoverstadt fig. 8). Prior to lithography the high cost of paper meant that only "European women of means filled leather-bound, hand-tooled 'albums' with copied verse, original watercolors, and small prints" (Fleischman 82). They acquired their prints by removing them from expensive books. With the invention of chromolithography scraps became affordable by the middle class. They engaged in an activity previously restricted by time and cost to the leisure class. By collecting scraps the middle class engaged in "conspicuous consumption," the acquisition of visible indicators associated with the reputation and wealth of the upper class (Veblen 75). As such, their scrapbooks are symbols of middle-class prosperity and potential.

Collecting and trading scraps became a passion among Victorians in Great Britain and Europe and later the United States. Heavily marketed and treasured by collectors, people used scraps to decorate their homes, furnishings, accessories, a variety of personal items, and the ubiquitous Victorian screen (Henderson and Wilkinson 168). Victorians even collected the ornate "decorative and embossed price tags, wrappers' and milliners' stock control tickets" attached to their purchases (Allen and Hoverstadt 15). Victorians used scraps as educational aids, greeting cards, and games. Besides the "vast number of sheets for nursery use showing fables, fairy stories, nursery rhyme characters and alphabets," manufacturers also produced "prints of humorous poetry such as William

Cowper's Diverting History of John Gilpin [. . .] scraps depicting Shakespearean Scenes with caricatures of well known actors and actresses [. . .] characters from Dickens. [. . .] Some animal reliefs bore the name of the species in both English and Latin [. . . and others . . .] in three or four languages" (Allen and Hoverstadt 12). Children used the scraps in game playing and parents and schools used them as educational aids (Allen and Hoverstadt 12, 16). Some of these scraps made their way into books and served as primary readers for children.

Soon, Victorians began calling the albums into which they placed their scraps, *scrap-books.*[12] The title "Scrap Book" first appeared in 1825 ("Scrap-book"). Book binders responded by producing high quality album covers with "elaborately engraved covers, engraved clasps, brass locks and intricately inserted end papers" (Allen and Hoverstadt 16). Between the covers, binders placed exceptionally high quality paper with decorations and embossing on some pages, pre-printed passages from contemporary poets and playwrights on others, and accommodations for inserting prints or lithographs on others (Allen and Hoverstadt 16). Thicker quality paper made drawing and painting with pencil, ink, or watercolors easier (Allen and Hoverstadt 16). By the end of the century the manufacture of "scrap albums" became a recognizable trade in London business directories (Allen and Hoverstadt 25). The expensive materials used in making scrapbooks reveal the value Victorians attached to their albums. However, the value of scrapbooks was not limited to expensive materials. Victorians often made scrapbook bindings at home for themselves and to give as gifts. Instructions for making scrapbook albums appeared in such publications as Cassell's Household Guide (Henderson and Wilkinson 92). Hand-bound albums carried special significance, "for very naturally the

[12] Although Katriel and Farrell imply that the United States is the "native habitat" of scrapbooks and the word *scrapbook* (3), it is more likely that the term originated in Europe where the mass production of lithographic and chromolithographic scraps originated and were first collected. Scrapbooks may also owe their name to *scrapiana*, a term first used in Great Britain in 1811 to refer to literary extracts.

value of a present is considerably enhanced if we know and have ocular evidence of the fact that the donor spent his time endeavoring to please" (Henderson and Wilkinson 92). The quality and beauty of the materials and the personal care used in binding scrapbooks give an indication of the value they held for Victorians.

Not everyone could afford manufactured covers. And not everyone who wanted to make scrapbooks had the inclination or wherewithal to make them. Instead, they found other ways to take part in scrapbook making. They appropriated other books for their purposes. Whenever possible, scrapbook makers preferred books with large pages. Examples of large books recycled into scrapbooks include Tariff Compilation 1884 (Tariff Compilation) and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Swine Plague, Bureau of Animal Husbandry, 1891 (Upton). Other scrapbook makers re-used blank books that had served other purposes, such as accounting ledgers (General Store Account Book) or receipt books (De Zavala). Like palimpsests, the original writing on the pages often showed around the edges of the newly pasted-in items. One scrapbook maker solved this problem by applying black paint over the exposed text and writings that surrounded the scraps (Decorative Arts). Occasionally a scrapbook maker turned a used book upside down and began pasting in items on the last page of the original text (General Store Account Book). Turning used books into scrapbooks could be a statement of economics or convenience. It might also make a statement about the importance of the items preserved rather than the book that holds them. The recycled or unassuming covers of most scrapbooks emphasize that the importance of the book to the individual lies not in its outer material, but in its contents. As one Victorian scrapbook maker explained, "Properly managed a set of scrap-books may become among the most valued possessions of their owner" (Herr).

For many Victorians, collecting and saving scraps in large books became "an extension of the vogue for recording personal mementoes [sic] and thoughts which was popular at the time. A great deal of personal writing was included. In the main this comprised small sections of poetry, personal composition or sentimental endearments" (Allen and Hoverstadt 16). Freed from classical restraints in reading and writing and surrounded by beautiful scraps and cheap newsprint, the appeal of the Romantic notion of giving in to the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" gained momentum (Noyes 241). Schools were diverse in their philosophy, but some writing teachers endorsed Romanticism and encouraged students "to discover a style that was natural to themselves, to submit to the dynamic force of enthusiasm" (E. P. J. Corbett and Connors 512). People found outlets for writing in diaries, journals, letters, commonplace books, and books filled with scraps. The experience of Grangerizing acquired a life of its own. Writers created whole books of appropriated illustrations and, if they chose to illustrate text, it could be their own words as easily as acquired ones. Unlike Granger's texts, authors could control the textual content as well as the pictures. The availability of scraps, the experience of Grangerizing, the energies of a rising middle class, and Romanticism came together to create a new type of authoring experience, scrapbook making.

Some early scrapbook makers used their books to engage in literary discussions. A series of articles in the November 1829 issue of the Atlantic Monthly Magazine takes the form of a narrative written by a gentleman regarding his relationship with his cousin Sybil. He described occasions when he reads to her from his scrapbook. His narrative includes excerpts from the scrapbook and anecdotal commentary. He explains why he has included certain items, what he likes about them, and the emotions they evoke in him. A sample from his narrative describes their use in entertaining his friend:

> I open my drawer on such occasions, and read to her from a choice scrap book I have, in which I insert only passages from rare authors, and things particularly to my taste which occur in my belles lettres reading. She is a great lover of literary bijouterie, and is soon carried away by fine poetry. So she lets alone my flowers, and turns L.E.L's ears the right side out again, and listens. Sometimes I make a running commentary, and sometimes she throws in an apostrophe or a venturous criticism herself -- but altogether it is the loveliest little invention in the world to supply the parentheses of a woman's humor. ("The Scrap Book" 549)

Publication in a popular magazine of anecdotes such as this confirms both the use of scrapbooks for entertainment and literary discussion, as well as the overt participation of the press in a discourse on scrapbooks. The significance of this conversation may have contributed to another development in scrapbook history: the publication of pre-made scrapbooks.

For those without the inclination to create scrapbooks of their own, publishers obliged them with pre-made ones. The value Victorians placed on such scrapbooks can be seen in a review of The Parlor Scrap Book, for 1838, comprising Fourteen Engravings, with Poetical Illustrations published in The Gentlemen's Magazine:

> A beautiful arrangement of splendid pictures, tasteful binding, superior typography, and poetry of the highest order. The last article principally furnished by our fair contributor, Miss Waterman, whose excellence, as truly observed in the preface to the Scrap Book, has recently attracted the attention of English critics 'by the purity of sentiment and naivete of expression which characterise her pieces.' The plates principally consist

> of East Indian subjects, and are deserving of considerable praise. ("Review of New Books" 356)

Reviews such as this helped pre-made scrapbooks take advantage of the marketplace created earlier by literary anthologies introduced by eighteenth-century publishers. Literary anthologies appealed to the new and growing middle-class reader: "merchants, professionals, children, and urban servants" (Benedict 1). Assembled by professional editors and reviewers, they guided the literary tastes and moral development of readers (Benedict 1). Anthologies offered the middle class another opportunity to engage in "conspicuous consumption" by acquiring not just the visible indicators of wealth, but also the intangible property of knowledge. Editors and publishers of anthologies helped "promote reading for improvement, not for pleasure, and thus reading for moral effect or content rather than for style" (Benedict 80). Through the use of "niche marketing, editors and booksellers simultaneously defined specific audiences and uses for literature and issued books designed to cross these divisions" (Benedict 182).

"Niche marketing" also may have inspired the publication of pre-made scrapbooks. Publishers could take advantage of the popularity of scrapbooks and the opportunity to showcase new authors. Pre-made scrapbooks contained selections of poetry, prose, and pictures of artwork. In some cases, the books contained works created specifically for the published edition, as described in a review of The Parlor Scrap Book: The Knickerbocker: "Mrs. F. Ellett, of South Carolina -- has contributed numerous articles in verse, which are well calculated to sustain, if not to enhance, her reputation" (Parlor Scrap Book: The Knickerbocker). Titles of other published scrapbooks included The Parlor Scrap Book for 1838, Comprising Fourteen Engravings with Poetical Illustrations ("Review of New Books"); Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book, 1846 ("Review of Fisher's"); The Juvenile Scrap Book for 1849 (Juvenile Scrap Book for

1849); and The Drawing Room Scrap Book for 1850 (Drawing Room Scrapbook). Unlike anthologies that guided education and moral development, pre-made scrapbooks were designed to delight and entertain. Reviewers emphasized the "beautiful arrangement of splendid pictures, tasteful binding, superior typography, and poetry of the highest order" ("Review of New Books" 356). Such high praise made published scrapbooks as attractive as gift books and annuals.

Although publication of pre-made scrapbooks helped legitimize the scrapbook form through commercialization, it also challenged the basic construct of scrapbooks: their individuality. The content of pre-made scrapbooks may not have reflected the individual tastes of the books' owners. Instead they reflected the tastes and preferences of the books' editors. Consequently, as with anthologies, pre-made scrapbooks may have helped guide literary tastes and discussions. Literary discussion generated by individually made scrapbooks would necessarily reflect individual tastes, as the quote above from Sibyl's cousin confirms. On the other hand, if a pre-made scrapbook is substituted in the scene of Sibyl and her cousin reading from his scrapbook, it loses much of its intimacy. With a pre-made scrapbook, those "things particularly to my tastes" would be limited to those items, if any, coincidental with those selected by the editor. Extending the moment to an unknown number of anonymous readers in an unknown number of parlors would mean the loss of even more intimacy. The historical significance of published scrapbooks is not that their content might not have reflected their owners' individual selections or that the audience had become anonymous, but that the authority of publication acknowledged scrapbooks as a forum for participating in discussions of literary events. Although they were not alone in serving the reading and writing public of the nineteenth century, pre-made scrapbooks marked an interesting development in the history of scrapbooks. In future years, the publication industry would

again adapt to scrapbooks by adopting Scrapbook as a title in a variety of genres, including history and biography.

TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND BIOGRAPHY

The 1839 invention of the daguerreotype, a French photographic process that utilized metal and an English photographic process using paper, made plates such as those in the Parlor Scrap Book popular. Up to this point in collecting scraps, the only pictures of people in albums were of the notables reproduced in lithographs. The invention of photography and the improved resources of the middle class meant they could afford portraits of themselves. Photographs allowed them to acquire and display representations of their achievements in a conspicuous and accepted manner. Portraits of middle-class families in their finest clothes mimic those of the upper-class and royal families. The portraits provide visual evidence of changes in their society and serve as a metaphor for the rising importance of the middle class. They gave visual evidence of their prosperity and their active engagement with contemporary events, such as advances in technology. As the New York Observer explained in 1862, "No drawing room table of the day can be considered furnished without its Photograph Album. [. . .] it helps visitors wonderfully as a key to the tastes and prejudices of the house" (qtd. in Art of the Photographer).

Original photos made of thin paper tended to curl and required pasting in albums. In 1854 photographers mounted pictures on thicker paper which became popular as photographic calling cards or cartes-de-visite. Storing and displaying the thicker cards required special albums. The album covers and clasps were similar to scrapbooks, but the leaves in these albums offered a variety of clever mechanisms for mounting and displaying the photographs. According to Richard Horton, an authority on photo album structures, "These little albums, chunky and precious, with their Renaissance revival

sculptured covers, appeared on parlor tables around the world" (42). In 1860 an album of Queen Victoria's family "set the fashion for collecting cartes-de-visite of celebrities as well as one's friends, and putting them in albums" (Royal Family Album). In 1866 the cabinet photo, a mounting card larger than a carte-de-visite, began to replace the carte-de-visite in albums (Broecker 89). The larger mounting card gave photographers and collectors the ability to create more detailed and interesting portraits of individuals and groups. The larger cards also invited such embellishments as embossing or other decorations and included a margin where photographers could sign their work or place a logo of their studio. As the popularity of albums grew, printers added artistic embellishments to the pages. For example, drawings of flowers, trees, birds, shells, bows, seascapes, croquet equipment, and equestrian gear decorate the pages of the Rigge-Price family album (Rigge-Price). The album also contains original decorations and notes around some of the mounted pictures. However, not all cartes-de-visite, cabinet photos, and daguerreotypes went into specially designed or decorated albums.

Without specially designed mounting systems, scrapbooks invited creative opportunities for displaying photos. Even some professional photographers found scrapbooks preferable to slotted albums. The life and works of mid-nineteenth-century photographer, Camille Silvy, "an elusive figure in the history of photography," recently came to light through discovery and examination of his scrapbook by biographer Mark Haworth-Booth (Hales 82). In the history of photography, Silvy is "primarily known for his beautiful toned cartes-de-visite, in addition to larger images" (Hales 82). The scrapbook format allowed Silvy to place multiple photos on a page and to intersperse them with his sketches, drawings, annotations, and a few items of memorabilia. The ability to place multiple photos on a page introduced interesting artistic opportunities for amateur photographers as well. For example, "in the 1860s Lady Filmer photographs the

Prince of Wales and his shooting party. Later, she cuts up these photos and creates a composition of them in her album, producing the first photo-collage" (qtd. in Schapiro 303). Schapiro may be incorrect in declaring Filmer's the first photo-collage. Lady Diana Stracey's scrapbook spans the years 1854 to the early 1870s and contains nineteen photo-collages that begin on the first page of her album (Stracey). Several of Stracey's combinations make use of cut up photos and include additional artwork. Once again, the unstructured nature of scrapbooks deviates from a prescribed form. Mounting cartes-de-visite and other photos in pre-slotted and formal looking albums produced an entirely different book from those in which the same types of media were mounted randomly and informally. The lack of pre-ordained structure in scrapbooks may have nurtured the creative impulse of scrapbook makers or attracted those desiring more freedom in personal bookmaking.

Besides providing evidence of social standing, photographs introduced a biographical overtone to scrapbooks and changed their rhetorical nature from representations of self through collecting to biographical compositions that included the face of the author. Unlike formal albums that displayed a gallery of photographs, the handy scrapbook became a site where photographic images joined happily with an ever increasing variety of ephemera such as pressed flowers, invitations, notes, letters, ribbons, locks of hair, and the like. Ephemera collected and saved by the scrapbook maker complemented the face of the author in photos and increased the biographical character of scrapbooks. When combined with photographs, the accompanying ephemera helped distinguish scrapbooks from albums by adding three-dimensional objects as well as a first-hand experience through contact with the associated artifacts.

The attitudes of Romanticism may also have spread through scraps and created a new outlet for expression. Whereas commonplace books sprang from a desire to engage

in the intellectual discourses of the period, scrapbooks seem to have sprung from a desire to engage in the sensory discourses of the period. As repositories of acquired knowledge, commonplace books demonstrated intellectual engagement with the world. On the other hand, scrapbooks, filled with images of Romanticism, demonstrated appreciation for the surrounding beauty of the world and a growing awareness of self. In their search for truth and understanding, the Romantics turned to introspection and self-examination. Their perspective placed the individual at the center of all life and art, "making literature valuable as an expression of unique feelings and particular attitudes [. . .] and valuing its fidelity in portraying experiences, however fragmentary and incomplete" (Harmon and Holman 453). The significance of the individual in writing and the importance of fragmentary experiences may have contributed greatly to the affection for making scrapbooks. Instead of copying the words of others for intellectual stimulation and improvement, as Petit did, sentimental words and images of one's own became important. For instance, between 1832 and 1853 Ann Elizabeth Buckler of Baltimore kept a scrapbook of chronologically arranged pictures and text drawn from personal experiences (Buckler and Leeper). These fragments of her life selectively portray her perspective on the events occurring around her and provide an autobiographical reading of her life. Buckler and Leeper maintain that "if it weren't for her scrapbook, we would know nothing of substance about her" (Buckler and Leeper 5). Whereas Petit's book gives an indirect peek into his thinking through the texts he chose, Buckler's book reveals her daily life with sentiment and intimacy.

Scrapbooks may also have provided a space for Victorians to manage the ideological conflicts that permeated their world. By the time Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne, Great Britain was suffering from the effects of industrialism: poverty, agricultural decline, and the struggles of a new middle class. Her country faced moral

dilemmas created by scientific discoveries that clashed with religious beliefs. With the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, travel opened up the continent and foreign goods and ideas flowed into the country. In the midst of the chaos around them, people could offer their own commentary by gathering scraps of the issues that affected them. In the mid-nineteenth century a middle-class merchant named John Bingley Garland gave a scrapbook to his daughter that contains transcribed text and "a sample of every type of printing produced during the period" (Jones). His highly eclectic collection came from several printed sources, including magazines, newspapers, and natural history books. The book contains no clippings of newspaper articles. Each page displays an array of black and white, colored, or hand-colored scraps of different sizes, shapes, and themes. Religious and secular images, equally represented, appear among botanical and zoological scraps. Pictures of the busts of contemporary and ancient thinkers share pages with scraps of medieval knights, Egyptian gods, archangels, and snakes coiled around a Christian cross. Garland filled all the blank spaces around the scraps with handwritten scriptures. Original artwork is limited to large tear-drop shapes painted over the scraps in red ink that extend the length of the page. At first glance the drops seem symbolic of blood spilled over the opposing ideas at war on the pages: Romantic sensuality clashes with classical idealism; religious devotion collides with contemporary scientific discoveries. Instead, Garland brought the opposing ideas together in a single composition that buries the conflicts in a tapestry of images and texts. Whatever the significance of the red drops, Garland's scrapbook provided a rhetorical space where his vast collection of scraps symbolically tamed the chaos of his world.

Securing clippings, scraps, and memorabilia in scrapbooks may have provided an opportunity to create a sense of stability amid the chaos of change in the world around them, but the middle class was not alone in using photograph albums and scrapbooks as

commentary on the social and political issues. The wealthier class also turned to scrapbooks to express their views on current events and their opinion of the rising middle class. Between the 1850s and 1870s Lady Diana Madelaine Stracey of Rackheath Park, Norwich, used her scrapbook as a forum to express herself on the issues of the day. Her work also demonstrates many of the physical and rhetorical features that came to characterize scrapbooks by the middle of the nineteenth century (Stracey). Stracey's fifty-page album shows the adaptability of scrapbooks to assimilate a large and varied collection of items. Her book includes original artwork in pencil, ink, and watercolors that treat serious, sentimental, and humorous subjects. She turned some pages into canvases, covering the entire leaf with a single work of art. Lady Stracey included artwork by family and friends in her book as well as artwork gathered from other sources, such as three full-page prints of Japanese designs. Smaller artworks share pages with handwritten text, clippings, photographs, cartes-de-visite, and trading cards, another by-product of the scraps-collecting craze. Drawings and paintings by herself and others include landscapes, portraits, cartoons, coats of arms, animals, scenes from sporting events, pastoral subjects, and studies in perspective. Lady Stracey's collection also includes a few colored, die-cut scraps. Photographs of people and places are scattered throughout and in many cases bear handwritten captions. Occasionally, instead of inserting an entire photo into her album, Lady Stracey cut out a bust of a person and pasted it into her book. Why these portraits were taken out of context is not known, but their significance may relate to other items on the page. Placing portraits on certain pages and near certain items may have been Lady Stracey's attempt to create a rhetorical moment of biographical significance. While the relationship of the portraits to the surrounding items may never be known, the placement invites reader response to make one. Other items of biographical interest include newspaper clippings of events she

hosted at Rackheath and articles on her husband's political career as a Member of Parliament. The act of combining portraits with related ephemera for biographical or narrative purposes became more self conscious and purposeful as scrapbook making continued.

Lady Stracey's album represents a "great increase in the use of cut-out paper material" that took place from the 1850s to1870s (Allen and Hoverstadt 20). Unlike the rules of commonplacing or the pre-cut inserts and slip-in slots of other albums that defined the placement of items in books, scrapbooks afforded freedom of arrangement. Like "The Blood Book," Lady Stracey's book shows the result of unrestrained creative placement. Her organization appears random and her page arrangements whimsical. She positioned items around the pages at varying angles, even upside-down. On one page she created a tumbling affect by placing a series of tiny prints of women and children at different angles to one another in an overlapping, diagonal pattern. She placed handwritten text on the page in a variety of directions: horizontally, vertically, diagonally, and upside down. Handwritten text penned along the edges of the pages provides a decorative border. Since the items are not sorted by medium, a range of ephemera comes together on all of the pages. Like many Victorians, Lady Stracey collected trading cards, a popular product of the commercial scraps market. Except for one card featuring adults in an amusing scene of infidelity, her collection features children portrayed in grown-up roles: barber, billiard player, soldier, dentist, and drunken partygoer. She sprinkled these among other items on several pages. Her creativity in arranging the items as well as in combining different types of items on the same page produces a casual and playful composition. Although the types of media and their arrangement seem playful, she also used her scrapbook to engage in discourses on the serious events of Victorian England.

She collected newspaper and magazine clippings of political and social cartoons as well as satirical articles that cover a plethora of subjects. The scrapbook format provided her a single place where she could bring together the various commentaries that affected her life or represented her particular views on current events. Her interests ranged from a cabbie strike in London to "an appeal for sympathy to the Wesleyan Conference" by Edward Pusey, a leader of the Oxford Movement. She had a fondness for collecting cartoons and clippings that poked fun at the new middle class as well as the affected behaviors and attitudes of her own class. In one cartoon titled "What it must come to," a railway guard bustles third-class passengers into the first-class compartment because the third-class compartment is full. Other clippings mocked current fashions in men's and women's clothing, hairstyles, and behaviors. A drawing of a woman with hair piled high reports, "Chignons will be higher than ever next month -- some of them half way up Mont Blanc" (qtd. in Stracey). Lady Stracey's humor did not limit itself to the middle-class, but extended to the arts and sciences. For instance, she seems to have considered some scientific ideas impractical, as portrayed in a selection of lithographs from a series called "Science." One of these cartoons features a group of shivering stargazers hunched over a low telescope. Her collection ranged widely over a variety of subject and mediums including a clipping on Ten Follies from the Moralist, a biography of the Lapham family and their coat-of-arms, a lithograph of a Venetian canal under a full moon, and ten pictures of a series of musical temperaments.

Since Lady Stracey's collection includes items addressed directly to family and friends, it is tempting to assume that her readers may have shared her opinions. Even if they did not, her book would have provided an opportunity for her to influence their opinions and attitudes. It certainly provided a vehicle for reinforcing the positions of those who believed as she did. Re-reading the book herself may have reassured her in the

same way. Reading and sharing her book may have helped Lady Stracey define and defend her attitudes of elitism against the advances of Industrialism that threatened her status quo and that of her friends. In addition, by including multiple items with the same perspective from a variety of sources, she created an impression that the views she held were credible and widely accepted. Her book may represent an attempt to use humor to diffuse her fears, or merely a naïve perspective on the seriousness of the changes happening in her world. Regardless of the motive, her scrapbook remains an outlet where she captured the words and images of discourses relevant to her life.

Individually the items in Lady Stracey's scrapbook may seem insignificant and reveal very little about her daily life, but as a deliberate composition, her scrapbook reveals aspects of her character. For instance, from the pictures and notes she included in her book we know she had many friends. Lady Stracey's work also reveals her sense of humor. Besides political cartoons and satirical articles, her sense of humor is evident in the limericks, riddles, puns, and tongue twisters that appear on almost every page of her book. Confirmation of her sense of humor comes from the many satirical and silly notes and drawings provided by family and friends. Good-natured reviews of amateur theatrical performances in which her son-in-law and husband participated as well as articles on her husband's political career, portray her as a supporting and appreciative wife and mother-in-law. We also know she had a son who traveled or was in Foreign Service. Next to an article from a French newspaper she wrote, "Sent in a letter from Algiers by our sone Edward who was there at the time" (Stracey). The many hand-decorated envelopes that she saved from her husband and possibly her son, show her aesthetic flair and her sentimentality. She also included several articles and poetry in French attesting to her class. Beautiful sketches and watercolors by Stracey and others reveal a woman of artistic talent and sensibilities. Her creativity is evident, not only in

the overall arrangement of her book, but in her artwork as well. For example, after cutting out a photograph of a woman sitting on a bench, Lady Stracey sketched and painted a flowered arbor inside which she pasted the cutout. In a colored cut-out that covers an entire page, a family gathers around a cradle while the father projects shadow puppets on the wall. Scenes such as these, the photograph collages referenced earlier, and various other magazine cutouts of familial scenes convey a feeling of intimacy. In summary, the quality and content of Lady Stracey's scrapbook confirms that some women of her station and wealth made scrapbooks. Hers provides a rhetorical forum for her opinions on current events and issues and allows us to see her as a well-educated and sentimental woman with knowledge of French, a keen awareness of current events, strong political opinions, and a lively sense of humor. Rhetorically, Lady Stracey's scrapbook of anecdotes makes a statement about her attitudes and social class. Lastly, her scrapbook is notable for the many ways its content, arrangement, and style express scrapbook making in the mid- to later years of the nineteenth century.

Lady Stracey's scrapbook ends abruptly in the early 1870s. A possible clue to why she stopped making it comes from another family album made by Francis Alexander Pemberton. Ann Rosalie, Lady Stracey's youngest daughter of four, married Pemberton on October 3, 1871. She died the following year and Pemberton assembled the album "in memory of their short, happy marriage" (Gernsheim). Typical of a cartes-de-visite album, it contains nineteen portraits of Mrs. Pemberton taken between 1860 and 1872. Although Pemberton used a cartes-de-visite album, he included other mementos of their life together: three memorial poems, one of which is titled "Lines on the Death of Mrs. Pemberton," an illustration of a rose, and a clipping of their wedding announcement. These two books from the same family, Stracey's and Pemberton's, illustrate the continued versatility of scrapbooks to meet the individual needs of authors and occasions.

One book captures the love of a husband in a solemn tribute to his wife and the other captures, among other things, the liveliness of social rhetoric in amusing anecdotes and caricatures.

The biographical potential of scrapbooks such as Stracey's was not lost on Victorians. As a popular style, "domestic biography flourished during the Victorian period" (Tolley 2). Christopher Tolley defines domestic biography as "the writing of Lives [sic] and memoirs by authors whose connection with the subject is first and foremost a family one" (Tolley 1). Domestic biography was distinctive due to its "sense of a special readership rooted in the small and initiated circle of the family itself" (Tolley 2). Although the subjects of Victorian domestic biographies were deceased before publication of their life stories, many collaborated on their posthumous biographies by providing documentation and annotations to their potential biographer throughout their lives. Scrapbook makers participated in this popular literary genre by keeping scrapbooks of items important to themselves.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the biographical potential of scrapbooks became more conspicuous. Through works of fiction that employed scrapbooks in their stories, readers learned of the insights to character and personality that scrapbooks might hold. As explained in the previous chapter, Mark Twain, Louisa May Alcott, Arthur Conan Doyle, and others employed scrapbooks in their stories as brief windows into the nature of their characters. A more deliberate and extensive use of scrapbooks to structure a story and to reveal a character came from the novelist Clarence M. Boutelle. In his 1885 serialized novel, Of Two Evils, Boutelle's narrator relies heavily on the main character's scrapbooks to reconstruct his life story. He begins, "John Braynor's scrap book lies before me as I write. [. . .] I shall need it while writing the history of his life, and the lives of those so closely connected to his" (193). But first,

Boutelle's narrator queries readers, "Did you ever keep a scrapbook? Do you know any one who did?" (193). By these questions he invites readers to identify with the main character. His questions also imply a universality about keeping scrapbooks as well as reading them. Later, he cautions readers not to take the questions "lightly" nor "mock" him who made the scrapbook (194). He adds, "You know little of the awful task before him" (194). Then, interspersing narration with newspaper clippings from the fictional scrapbook and following the chronological placement of items in the scrapbook, Boutelle proceeds to reconstruct the story of John Braynor's tormented soul. In this way, Boutelle's story suggests to readers that scrapbooks may contain intimate connections to the innermost thoughts and feelings of their makers. More than the stories by Twain, Alcott, or Doyle, Boutelle's story demonstrates to readers the powerful biographical potential of scrapbooks and their potential for revealing the intimacies of life.

ADS, ADVICE, AND ARTIFACTS

Although scrapbooks assimilated a variety of ephemera, newspapers and magazines comprised the bulk of early scrapbooks not dedicated to die-cut scraps. Initially, information flowed silently from print media into scrapbooks, but in the second quarter of the century a dialog seems to have emerged between scrapbook makers and the press. Possibly taking advantage of the broad interest in scrapbooks, publishers began speaking directly to scrapbook makers and it appears that scrapbook makers talked back. As a result, discourses about scrapbooks in the press improved the visibility and reputation of scrapbooks and scrapbook makers. The seemingly two-way conversation appeared in the press in three forms: as advertisements and reviews of published scrapbooks, as articles on scrapbook-making techniques and uses, and as articles that credited scrapbooks as their source. Besides the advertisements and reviews of pre-made scrapbooks discussed above, publishers accepted advertisements for scrapbook-making

supplies, including an advertisement for an innovative scrap album patented by Mark Twain in 1875 (Mark Twain's Patent Adhesive Scrap Book). Twain's scrapbook featured self-adhesive strips on each page for securing paper items. Twain took an active role in advertising his patented scrapbook and drafted at least one four-page brochure in 1878 that touted the advantages of pre-pasted pages and the many uses for scrapbooks (Railton). Twain's claims seem to have generated a debate over his design and scrapbook-making in general. In 1890, Martha Rankin, who apparently eschewed scrapbooks in favor of keeping clippings in boxes, criticized Twain's scrapbook in particular. She complained, "The 'Mark Twain' scrap-book is expensive and not without disadvantages" (M. C. Rankin). Since Rankin's article responds to a "previous number of the journal," it confirms an ongoing dialogue on the subject. Other articles on the "MT Scrapbook" verified that a considerable number of scrapbook makers disagreed with Rankin. For instance, an item in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, dated June 8, 1885, reports that Twain "made $200,000 from all his other books, and $50,000 from the scrapbook alone" (Railton).

Other articles also provided opportunities for responses from scrapbook makers and other interested readers. In a second type of article, scrapbook makers exchanged tips and techniques on making scrapbooks, what to include in their books, and uses for them. Instructions appeared in "One Way of Making A Scrapbook" (De Zavala), "Keep A Scrap Book" (De Zavala), "Pleasurable Scrap-Books" (Herr), and "A Sunday Scrapbook" ("A Sunday Scrap-Book"). In the latter essay the author advises using scrapbooks to help children learn scriptures and practice reading and writing by annotating religious clippings. Practical scrapbook-making advice also included suggestions on what to include in scrapbooks. A New England newspaper provided scrapbook makers with a handy list of important dates related to the Spanish-American

War. Titled "To Put In Your Scrapbook," the article is a simple list of two columns: month and day followed by events of the war (Hayden). This handy guide to the war could stand on its own in a scrapbook or serve as a guide for organizing articles on the war or substitute for articles the scrapbook maker may have missed. The advice in this article also serves as a prescription for scrapbook content. By labeling it, "To Put in Your Scrapbook," the author expresses an opinion about the types of articles scrapbook makers should be collecting. However, rather than normalizing scrapbook making, the variety of advice in these how-to articles seems to extend the scrapbook-making experience. Instead of mutually exclusive advice they emphasize the adaptability and flexibility in scrapbook composition and use.

Another type of article took advantage of the popularity of scrapbooks to draw attention to itself as well as to suggest scrapbook content. To attract the attention of scrapbook-making readers, newspapers and magazines assigned titles to articles that credited scrapbooks as their source. By doing so, the press acknowledged the close and dependent relationship between themselves and scrapbook makers. Serializing the articles gave the appearance of an ongoing conversation among the press, scrapbook makers, and other readers. Typically, the articles featured poems and stories captioned under a variation of the phrase, "from a Scrapbook." Individual articles and series repeated this theme with such titles as "A Leaf From My Scrapbook," a eulogy ("A Leaf from My Scrapbook"); "From My Scrapbook," a farmer's description of a walk in the woods ("From My Scrap Book"); and "Leaves From A Scrapbook," a poem and a fantasy (E B W), and "Leaves Torn Out of a Scrapbook" ("Leaves Torn Out of a Scrap Book"). The latter series began in 1832 and spanned two years. Its segments offered advice to the young and old and men and women on topics of duty, beauty, jealousy, death, dyspepsia, originality, intellect, conduct, manners, and the like. The series even offered a criticism

of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage by Lord Byron. As this example shows, the articles chosen for publication touched on many subjects, including morality and literature. If the authority of the press could affect the culture of its readers, then scrapbooks, by association, could participate in defining and guiding readers' scrapbook-making activities as well as their morality and literary tastes. By acknowledging scrapbooks as their sources, publishers extended the authority of the press to them. Needless to say, this type of recognition of scrapbook making by the press improved not only their visibility, but also their reputation as a worthwhile resource. Relying on scrapbooks for source material, publishers appeared to participate in a two-way conversation between themselves and the scrapbook-making community. Additionally, the articles gave scrapbook makers a forum to talk to one another about scrapbook making, as well as to the public at large. As a result, information no longer flowed in only one direction, from the press to the scrapbook, but appeared to flow in two directions. News generated by the scrapbook-making community completed the circle. By the end of the century scrapbooks were no longer just made of news; they made news.

In spite of the popularity of scrapbooks, there remained among those familiar with commonplace books attempts to organize scrapbooks by a prescribed method. Rejecting these attempts made the difference between commonplace arrangement and the chronological or spontaneous arrangement of scrapbooks more apparent and deliberate. Between the 1875 and 1880, long after the term *scrapbook* came into general use, familiarity with commonplace-book schemes of arrangement lingered, but found little acceptance by at least one scrapbook maker. In Adina De Zavala's scrapbook a newspaper article by James Elderdice offers readers advice on "One Way of Making A Scrapbook" (De Zavala). Elderdice begins with dividing the book into two parts: poetical and prose. More complicated and detailed advice follows:

> The prose book is arranged, first, Alphabetically; second, Pages for Special Authors; third, Pages for Special Subjects; fourth, Special Departments . . . In addition to these there are Special Departments, such as Biographical, Scientific and Humorous. The poetical book has only the first two of the methods of classification mentioned above. (qtd. in De Zavala)

It is easy to see the shades of commonplace arrangement in these instructions, even though they claim to do away "with the need of an index, as it is only the work of a moment to find what you want under one or the other of these four general divisions" (qtd. in De Zavala). Elderdice's guide responds to the growing use of scrapbooks, but tries to impose on it the rules of organization similar to those seen earlier in commonplacing. Not only was Elderdice's system highly structured and complicated, it contrasted sharply with that of another article of the same period in De Zavala's scrapbook, "Keep A Scrap Book" (De Zavala). This second article advises keeping a scrapbook handy and "when you cut something, lay it in till there is a convenient time to paste them in. But the best way is to paste them in at the time" (qtd. in De Zavala). Following this second method would result in a chronological or random arrangement of items which was more typical in making scrapbooks. The arrangement of De Zavala's scrapbook shows the tendency of a scrapbook maker toward this less structured arrangement.

De Zavala did not totally disregard either set of instructions, but made a compromise between the two that combines a shade of Elderdice's classification system and the chronological and spontaneous arrangement of the latter article's advice. Her composition is simply arranged by topics where convenient and then chronological as she filled up the pages. She grouped together newspaper and magazine pictures of prominent

local buildings and statues. She devoted several pages of articles to noteworthy men and women, including a page on "Women Who Have Courage" and one page to a poem by Owen Meredith (Baron Lytton), "A Great Man." A collection of religious poems fills one page and poems on character fill another. One page contains articles that described natural wonders of the world and another news in science. De Zavala also devoted pages to home remedies and articles on childcare. As she filled up pages of these topics she moved to the next blank page, separated from the original topic by intervening pages of other topics. In other words, she abandoned Elderdice's classification system in favor of a more chronological and spontaneous arrangement.

Scattered throughout De Zavala's scrapbook are several loose articles and artifacts such as samples of lace work, product cards, stamped and embossed scraps, photographs, greeting cards, paper cut-work, printed religious icons, a birth announcement, a memento from a Chinese restaurant, and the like. These loose items give the reader a chance to experience a sense of the energy and spontaneity involved in scrapbook making. The scrapbook's state of incompleteness invokes a sense of interruption and unfulfilled potential. Placed beside many articles, particularly those related to the character of males, De Zavala penned her own, often strong, opinions. Although De Zavala's scrapbook contains instructions for making a scrapbook, its composition demonstrates an adaptation guided by personal preference and a disregard for the restrictions of arrangement found in commonplace books. Her scrapbook demonstrates a willingness to define the scrapbook experience for herself.

In some scrapbooks the selection of items and their chronological arrangement demonstrates a deliberate autobiographical impulse. In 1889 Dorothy C. Walter began the first of two scrapbooks that traced her life from the fourth grade through college (Walter Scrap Book [. . .] Early Years; Walter Scrapbook [. . .] College Years).

Instead of relying heavily on published articles, Walter concentrated on items taken from personal experiences in her life. Her first book begins with her fourth grade photograph, her report card of the same year, and pictures of her elementary school. On the following pages, readers see pictures of her friends and their houses, games they invented and played, programs and tickets of events she attended, her dance cards and pressed flowers, notes to and from family and friends, reports on vacations illustrated with postcards and souvenirs, parties she attended, awards and certificates she earned, poetry and stories, completed school assignments, and a photomontage of classmates' heads in the windows of a drawing of her school. Her book also serves as a repository for a treasured family heirloom. On her eighteenth birthday she received a gift of poetry from her grandmother with a note explaining, "these poems were part of the wedding outfit of your great-great-grandmother . . . bought . . . in 1810" (qtd. in Walter Scrap Book [. . .] Early Years) The contents and her arrangement provide a timeline for her life and reveal aspects of her personality, sentiments, and genealogy.

In some scrapbooks the biographical content emerges in a less chronological manner. For instance, the Ledger, a recycled book made around 1880, begins in the manner of scrapbooks made earlier in the century. Its pages are filled with randomly placed newspaper and magazine clippings on religious belief and inspiration, child care, social and moral guidance, famous people and events, and homemaking. This front part of the book also contains samples of lace making with instructions, a few printed cards, and a die-cut scrap. It combines the characteristics of early scraps collecting with domestic advice and three-dimensional ephemera. Later in the book the scrapbook maker demonstrates an awareness of a commonplace method or merely a self-motivated desire to group a limited selection of like items. On pages labeled "Authors" and "American Ballad Writers" she lists names, biographical information, and titles of works. In this

section the author takes part in the literary world of music and letters. Finally, in the last few pages of the book the author demonstrates the biographical style of later scrapbooks. On one page she writes of her life since the death of her parents.

> Since the death of my father I have [. . . undecipherable . . .] to pay for every bbl flour. Since mother died I have bought every bbl of flour, paid the [. . . undecipherable . . .] tax (nearly all the time) clothed myself and Cassie entirely, cuffs, etc, for my Husband and bought for the family as the a/c in the first part of this book will show. [. . .] & C I have got along with as few comforts as possible. (Ledger)

In the context of the above narrative the artifacts in the scrapbook become more relevant for revealing the life of a woman struggling to do her best to run her home and raise a child. The unimposing and impersonally titled Ledger contains the sentimental and practical fragments of one scrapbook-maker's life. The book is a lovely example of a randomly constructed scrapbook filled with artifacts of daily life that reflect a devotion to church, children, and homemaking. It also reveals hardship and desire. Its composition contains elements of the evolution of scrapbooks from appropriated books for housing a collection of scraps to a site for personal writing and biographical expression. As scrapbook makers provided more personal commentary in their books it became easier to visualize their daily lives and to understand what was important to them.

In summary, the first hundred years of scrapbook history begins with the contrasts between them and the traditions of keeping commonplace books. Vast and powerful world events that defined the nineteenth century also helped re-define the reading and writing experience. Industrialism and scientific advances in printing presented scrapbook makers with a plethora of affordable printed materials from die-cut colored prints to photographs. These materials, with the added impetus of Grangerizing and the passions

of Romanticism, freed readers and writers to engage in the experiences of authorship through self-illustrated texts, creative arrangements, and personal style. Eschewing both the structure and form of commonplace books, scrapbook makers utilized oversized pages and covers, a mixture of materials, and a random or chronological arrangement. Instead of exercise books for self-improvement, scrapbooks served a variety of purposes, including artistic expression, entertainment, social commentary, biography, and eulogy. They provided evidence of class and ideology. Instead of organized resources for ready reference, scrapbooks became creative compositions and expressions of individual perspectives on the world. The introduction of photographs generated a need for specially designed albums with mounting and framing techniques that displayed pictures in a gallery type format. However, scrapbook makers mounted their photographs among other ephemera which provided a richer context in which to view them.

The variety of items and subject matters captured in scrapbooks not only reflected changes in the attitudes and technology surrounding scrapbook makers, but provided a space for rhetorical commentary and literary expression that reflected scrapbook-makers' lives and world. By the end of the century, scrapbooks acquired an identity that distinguished them from both commonplace books and photograph albums. Additionally, by publishing pre-made editions of scrapbooks, the inherent authority of the press bestowed legitimacy on scrapbooks and increased their recognition and popularity. Furthermore, by serving as a source for magazine and newspaper content, scrapbooks participated in defining contemporary literary tastes and morality. Throughout the nineteenth century, the history of scrapbooks emerges from the evidence of individual scrapbooks and the ideas and opinions about making and using scrapbooks as expressed in the newspapers, magazines, and books. Finally, the activity of collecting and mounting scraps in albums engaged Victorians in the discourses of their day.

Examining the scrapbooks above provides a window into the past, but when scrapbook makers of the nineteenth century looked at their scrapbooks they did not look only to the past. They looked to the future. Their scrapbooks reflected their expectations and participation in a world filled with rapidly changing ideas and new opportunities that swept them along in the embrace of initiative and invention. In the next hundred years, scrapbooks continued to respond to changes in their environment as scrapbook makers placed new demands on scrapbooks to assimilate and adapt to new technologies. The forces of social, political, economic, and technological change continued to shape the history of scrapbooks in the twentieth century.

Chapter Three: Modern Phenomenon

This chapter describes the history of paper-based scrapbooks in the twentieth century. Electronic-based scrapbooks are discussed in Chapter Four. Driving the history of scrapbooks in the twentieth century was a complex web of social and technological forces that also transformed traditional experiences in reading and writing. At the beginning of the century, the revival of rhetoric placed new emphasis on writing, literacy, and reading for meaning. Photojournalism and confessional literature fostered an interest in biographical writing. The Baby Boom generation exerted great influence on the social, political, and economic issues of the last half of the century. The coming-of-age of baby boomers coincided with rising interest in their past, genealogy, and nostalgia. For the first time scrapbooks contained digitized images and artifacts created with the use of personal computers, photocopiers, and scanners. Against this background, scrapbook makers of the twentieth century participated in and captured the excitement, turmoil, and challenges of the world around them. At the same time scrapbooks of the century reverberated with a search for identity and stability in a volatile world. Sustained by adaptability and assimilation, scrapbooks not only survived the drama of a century of change in materials and methods, but also thrived as never before.

TECH-NO-SCRAPS

As in the century before, the history of scrapbooks in the twentieth century reflects the responses of scrapbook makers to new technology. The passion for collecting colorful, die-cut scraps, those namesakes of scrapbooks, slowly faded away in the early years of the twentieth century. Production of inferior products and designs, more suitable for advertising than collecting, contributed to the decline (Allen and Hoverstadt 32). Examples of scraps from this period appear in a scrapbook by Miss Juliette Lange,

American opera singer between 1915 and 1930 who performed "almost exclusively with the Schubert company," including two European tours (Rhodes). Her scrapbook contains commercial scraps of fruits and confectionery and a fan-shaped scrap promoting sewing machines. Additional small, colored, die-cut embossed scraps appear scattered throughout the album and on two separate pages. Their subjects recall the variety available during the height of scraps collecting -- flowers, statuary, and children in "Oriental," Greek, or Roman military costumes -- but they vary in quality. Some do not share the brilliance of color or attention to detail of their predecessors. For instance, instead of the gold trim of earlier days, only a dusting of glitter accents two of the scraps in her book (Lange). However, Lange's book also includes lovely die-cut greeting cards, a reminder that the beauty of nineteenth-century scraps lives on today in expensive holiday cards with fancy die-cuts, gilt edging, and plush embossing.

Besides inferior products, the interest in scraps collecting also declined due to the attraction of other forms of twentieth-century entertainment, such as the radio and movies (Allen and Hoverstadt 32). However, neither the distractions of entertainment nor the loss of interest in scraps signaled the end of scrapbooks. Instead, technical advances in photography produced what would become a staple in modern scrapbooks -- photographs. Portable and affordable cameras made picture-taking available to non-professionals and added another dimension to scrapbooks. In 1900 Kodak mass-marketed the reasonably priced Brownie camera and snapshots soon displaced cabinet cards and cartes-de-visite as collectibles (Horton 37). Leica followed Kodak's lead and introduced a roll-film camera in 1924. Six years later, in 1930, Kodak gave free Brownies to every twelve-year old in the country (T. Rankin). As their availability and affordability improved, cameras became a staple of the American home. In 1947 Polaroid began marketing the Land Camera that ejected and developed a photograph

within sixty-seconds of taking the picture. In 1963 Kodak introduced the Instamatic camera with cartridge film, but the most significant development came at the end of the century with digital cameras. Capable of holding hundreds of pictures, they interfaced with computers and kiosks for developing or sharing pictures on paper or online.

No longer dependent on someone else taking their pictures, people could create pictures from their own perspective on their world. Picture taking quickly became "an international hobby" (Edom and Poli). As people accumulated photographs they looked for ways to organize, store, and share them. The photograph album, dedicated to snapshots, followed, as did advice on album-making. Instead of keeping photos in old boxes "from which they may not be taken from one year's end to another, " a 1907 magazine article recommends that one "put them in those books which are made especially for photographs" ("Instead of Keeping"). The advice continues with, "When pasting them in the book, take care to group them as appropriately as possible: family pictures together, babies, school friends, and so on. When it is possible date the pictures" ("Instead of Keeping"). These instructions specify working with photograph albums, but scrapbook makers would have found the advice very familiar. However, for scrapbook makers of the period, snapshots did not stand alone in albums. Instead, scrapbook makers found that photographs easily shared pages with other ephemera to provide an added dimension to their scrapbooks. No longer limited to found materials or dependent on someone else taking pictures in formal settings and poses, portable cameras allowed scrapbook makers to create their own compositions of places and people. For the first time, the face of the scrapbook maker and family and friends appeared in informal or candid poses. The freedom to take their own pictures meant scrapbook makers could anticipate images they might want to include in their books. As a result, personal photographs provided more candid and sometimes intimate glimpses into the scrapbook-

maker's life. Combined with other materials, their photographs helped scrapbook makers create more self-consciously narrative and auto-biographical texts, as in the case of Belle Ashlyn, a stage actress in the early 1900s.

Ashlyn kept a scrapbook between 1910 and 1914 of personal and career memorabilia. Into it she pasted reviews, ticket stubs, telegrams, menus, posters, programs, and photographs that include professional portraits, newspaper and magazine photos, and snapshots. By including snapshots, Ashlyn turned what might have become a professional portfolio of a rising star into a scrapbook of memories of a young woman. Her book offers two perspectives on her life. Published articles and photos provide a biographical perspective and her own snapshots and words provide an autobiographical perspective. By mixing the professional and amateur photos with other memorabilia Ashlyn has created a balanced view of the two sides of her life. As the pages alternate between professional and informal photos they create a rhythm of life between the stage and friends and tell both sides of her story. The studio photos document the story of her theatrical career in costumes and gorgeous gowns. Glowing reviews in newspaper and magazine articles supplement the story. Together they offer an image to the public of a glamorous, skilled actress acclaimed as the "next Lillian Russell" (qtd. in Ashlyn). However, Ashlyn repeatedly interrupts the media story by inserting her own words and pictures, as if to remind the reader there is more to her than the roles she played. For instance, early in the scrapbook, between two publicity photos of Ashlyn as a beautiful and sophisticated actress draped in costume, she wrote the words "19 yrs. old England" (Ashlyn). These words cause the reader to pause and consider the precociousness of the young woman portrayed as a sophisticate in the photo. Whether out of wonder or pride, Ashlyn felt it necessary to declare her youthfulness, which contrasts with the mature impression of the photo. In doing so she allows the reader to ponder the contradiction as

well. Her comment strips the portrait of its professional edge and reminds the reader of a child playing dress-up.

By using the scrapbook as a space to respond to reviews and articles, Ashlyn reveals some of her offstage personality and professional pride. Above an article regarding an unfavorable judgement in her lawsuit against a sketch-writer, she curtly rendered her own verdict, "Liars & thieves." A one-line announcement of her upcoming appearance in a new play earned a scornful commentary, "Not so you'd notice it" (Ashlyn). In news photos of herself with other notables she drew attention to herself by underlining herself in the photo and underlining her name in the caption. With these acts the reader gets a sense of the spirited nature of Ashlyn that included bitterness, sarcasm, and competitiveness not discernible in the press or posed studio photos. Apparently Ashlyn found her scrapbook a handy outlet for emotions she did not share with the press.

Besides commenting on articles and published photos, Ashlyn used personal snapshots to provide a glimpse into her life offstage. The photos place her among friends in casual settings. When identifying herself among her companions, she places herself on equal footing. She neither underlines herself in the photos nor underlines her name in the caption. Instead, she includes herself in lowercase and refers to the group informally as "Dean, Penny, and me" (Ashlyn). She dispenses with the competitive markers of her professional life and, unlike the press photos of her "making seven comedic faces" or dressed in "that gorgeous gown" (qtd. in. Ashlyn), she wears street clothes similar to her companions and stands with them, relaxed and smiling. Rather than stage sets and scripted lines, the reader sees her "On the way to Donny's plantation in '[Club House Playa]' boat" (Ashlyn). Ashlyn's snapshots and commentary continue to draw the reader away from her media image and toward her offstage life. Interestingly, on several studio photos Ashlyn felt it necessary to note "proof" or "rough proofs" (Ashlyn), as if

dissatisfied in some way with the quality of the print or herself. However, the amateur snapshots with their random composition and ambient lighting received no such criticism. Obviously, she did not view the amateur photos with the same expectations of quality, but valued them for the subject matter she treated in captions. The higher standards to which she held the studio photos, even in the informal setting of her scrapbook, echo the same high standards against which she was compared as an actress and that defined the expectations of her future as "the next Lillian Russell." On the other hand, in the relaxed informality of the snapshots, we see her momentarily freed from the bonds of criticism: the camera's, the press', and her own. The amateur photographs she included in her scrapbook allowed Ashlyn to enrich and balance the image of her created by professionally prepared photographs. Also, by making a scrapbook instead of a photograph album Ashlyn could easily include a wide variety of items that gave her greater flexibility in telling her story. The portrait photos, reviews, and theatre programs guide the reader through Ashlyn's professional life, but her comments and snapshots supply the reader with views of her personality and social life. Ashlyn's scrapbook demonstrates how easily scrapbooks absorbed the new photographic technology, making it an added dimension of their content.

Besides snapshots, another new item of the century found its way into scrapbooks. When pictures were made into postcards, people began collecting them by topic (Horton 38). Between 1900 and 1920 postcards "took over and expanded the niche previously held by cartes-de-visite" (Horton 38). Collectors displayed them in specially designed, slit-mounted albums. But, scrapbook makers eschewed the prescriptive format and placed their postcards among the other ephemera in their scrapbooks, as did Ashlyn whose scrapbook includes several postcards of airplanes and a dirigible from a French air show. Reacting to the popularity of postcards and snapshots, manufacturers created

postcard albums and snapshot albums, but neither of these specialty albums met the needs of scrapbook makers.

Instead, the physical structure and materials used in making scrapbooks gradually changed to meet the needs of scrapbook making in the twentieth century. The changes involved the binding systems, the mounting systems, and the pages. Covers evolved from the bound book to a system of lacing along the left edge, as illustrated in Cassell's Household Guide on how to make a scrapbook (Henderson and Wilkinson 92). The instructions result in permanently glued laces, but later systems ran the lace through tubing inserted through holes in the covers and pages. The plastic tubing protected the holes from abrasion by the lace and allowed easy addition or removal of pages. However, when the thickness of the album exceeded the length of the tubing, the binding became unstable and the lacing tore the holes in the exposed pages and covers. The post-and-screw system, still available today, provides more stability in the binding and allows expansion through the use of extenders successively screwed onto the post. Other cover systems include non-expandable spiral binding and three-ring binders with "D-shaped rings that allow pages to fall flat in the book" (Garrelts). Over the years the size, shape, and composition of scrapbook covers remained large, rectangular or square, and composed of thick compressed cardboard. By the end of the century scrapbook covers settled into an average square shape of thirteen inches by thirteen with the average size of scrapbook paper measuring twelve inches by twelve. However, scrapbooks of varying sizes and shapes, from half the average size to eighteen by twenty-four inches (larger than a newspaper page), remain available ("Scrapbooking Emerges"). The quality of paper also changed over the years. Black paper, popular in the era of snapshots and requiring white ink for writing on it, gave way to white, gray, or tan papers of poor quality that yellowed and disintegrated within a few years. Methods of securing items to

pages consisted of placing them into slits cut into the page, stitching them onto the page, or stapling or taping them onto pages. The more typical method for mounting items evolved from pasting with homemade mucilage to pressing items onto pre-glued pages. "Magnetic" albums of the 1970s featured pre-glued pages with plastic sleeves, an adhesive system resembling Mark Twain's invention of the previous century. But for scrapbook makers, the pinstripes of glue on the pages inhibited the ability to write or draw on the pages. In addition, it quickly became apparent that the glue on the pages and the plastic sleeves of magnetic albums caused rapid deterioration of the affixed items as well as a variety of other problems (Eastman Kodak Company). This became a significant issue in the 1980s when preservation became a major goal of scrapbook making. Scrapbook makers demanded archival quality products and manufacturers responded with acid-free covers, papers, plastic sleeves, pens, pencils, stickers, adhesives, and other supplies. Film manufacturers and developers also responded with longer lasting films and papers for prints of color photographs. Black and white photos on linen-based papers may last over one hundred years with little or no discernible change, but color photos on the best papers begin fading immediately and will lose significant color in ten to twenty-five years. A solution to this problem remains elusive "to the dismay of everyone, in particular film manufacturers" ("Scrapbooking Emerges"). A new technology, digital photography, may offer more durability, but its limits remain untested. In spite of the technology's unknown stability, many scrapbook makers rely on digital cameras or use scanners to transfer older prints to electronic media. Computer programs such as Adobe PhotoShop allow them to touch up the photos in hopes of restoring the original colors. Photographic processing by photocopying and scanning introduced facsimiles of artifacts into paper-based scrapbooks. Some paper-based scrapbooks contain images of artifacts downloaded from the Internet and then printed.

Unlike scanned images of artifacts owned by scrapbook makers, downloaded images of artifacts introduced items outside the personal space or experience of scrapbook makers and expanded their opportunities for creativity. However, the durability of such printed items remains dubious. As the century progressed and the popularity of making paper-based scrapbooks spread, the quality and cost of products manufactured especially for them raised the expectations of their longevity and, by association, endowed scrapbooks with a greater sense of intrinsic and personal value. Along the way, scrapbooks also gained respectability as useful tools outside of the home in education, business, the law, medicine, the helping professions, the arts, and government.

SCRAPBOOKS GO TO SCHOOL

In many ways, scrapbooks easily support the basic educational objectives of acquiring knowledge and communicating effectively. They engage students in gathering, evaluating, and organizing information and presenting it to readers in a useful manner. Students and teachers may use scrapbooks to demonstrate achievement of learning objectives and to contribute to knowledge-building in the classroom. Building and sharing knowledge through scrapbook making places students in a rhetorical situation in which they act as rhetors addressing an audience on an issue. Students usually address their work to their teachers, other students, self-identified readers, or audiences defined by the assignment. Teachers may impose topics on students or students may select their own topics within the boundaries of assignments. Although scrapbooks easily accommodate any subject matter, they still present students with the challenges of constructing texts and addressing an audience. The multimedia potential of scrapbooks means that students at any level of reading and writing proficiency can engage in the rhetorical situation. Bazerman claims:

> Integrating multiple elements into the text requires the writer to engage in complex relations with memory, surrounding documents, artifacts, and people. The writer must gather, select, evaluate, analyze, synthesize, and draw conclusions from materials; then the writer must also figure out which of these elements need to be made present and visible in the text, how these elements should be displayed, and how they should be functionally used within the rhetorical structure of the text. (20)

The process Bazerman describes also fits making scrapbooks and, in both cases, draws students into experiencing the five canons of rhetoric. For instance, when students decide on a topic or research an assigned topic, they exercise the canon of invention. When they organize their materials, whether chronologically or topically, they practice the canon of arrangement. The size and adaptability of scrapbooks invite students to express their creativity and to employ techniques identified with the canon of style. The simple or elaborate displays of information not only constitute delivery, another canon of rhetoric, but the process helps students build composition skills and confidence which can translate to communication in other forms, such as speaking. Finally, the physical experience of gathering, handling, and organizing bits of information while making scrapbooks introduces a tactile component of remembering that may help students recall the material afterwards. In addition, scrapbooks can continue to support memory, the fourth canon of rhetoric, by serving as reference tools for years to come. As educational tools that engage students in acquiring and sharing knowledge through the construction of texts, scrapbooks also give students a first-hand introduction to books and bookmaking which may enrich their appreciation for both.

In support of educational objectives, scrapbooks present many opportunities to engage both teachers and students in learning and communicating, as the survey below

demonstrates. Arranged chronologically within curriculums, the survey reveals the increasing presence of scrapbooks in education from the 1930s to the end of the century. The classroom projects using scrapbooks range from pre-school to college and may have led to or grown out of the use of portfolios for student assessment and school accountability (Ellis, Hiebsch, and Taylor 72). Scrapbooks are ideally suited for assessment because they accommodate a variety of materials and provide a large space for student work and teacher comments. A chronological arrangement makes improvements visible to student and teacher as in the 1932 scrapbook, Scrapbook: Brush and Pencil Sketches, Tracings of Historic Examples in Architecture Principles of Design as Related to House Planning. Over a period of four months during a home economics class, Mary Youens practiced Roman and Gothic lettering, studied the color spectrum and scale of light intensity, learned the use of perspective in drawing, and collected and drew pictures of Italian, French, Spanish, and Mediterranean building features. Youens' notes, reproduced exactly as written, include learning objectives, such as, "Floor Plan of Room 26 - H.E. Building Learning to Draw Floor Plans ~~and~~ for speed accuracy drawings" (Youens). Comparing early copied sketches to later ones, such as "Front Elevation of . . . My Idea House," clearly shows student improvement in knowledge, skill, and creativity (Youens).

Over the years teachers have used scrapbooks in their classrooms in diverse ways, in all subject areas, and in all grade levels. At the West Virginia Child Development Laboratory, a successful yearlong literacy event centered on student scrapbooks. The literacy project evaluated "trends in the presence of story elements" put together by four-year olds in scrapbooks made during the year. The authors reported that "the scrapbooks gave children a chance to put the elements of reading and writing together in a directed form of play" (Warash and Workman 13). At the University of Georgia, the

Anthropology Project recommends scrapbooks in the first grade classroom to teach concepts of culture. The Grade One Teacher's Guide instructs teachers to assign a "scrapbook of magazine pictures of American culture" as one of several activities designed to introduce anthropology concepts to first graders. The program objectives state: "Mastery of the fundamental concepts relating to culture, such as presented in this unit, will help students understand and comprehend social processes and phenomena" (Hunt, Blackwood, and Emmons 5). Combining history and ecology, the Iowa State Historical Society published activities to educate elementary school children on lake life. The 1993 project included a scrapbook made by a Clear Lake Ladies Club "about life on the lake in the 1930s and 1940s" (Ohrn 16). The article encourages readers to learn about the lake's history from the reproduced pages of the scrapbook. In another example, Janet A. Brown, a fifth grade teacher at Beecher Road School, Woodbridge, CT, and Emery Roth II, a teacher at Shepaug School, Washington, CT, and their students, participated in the America Online ScrapBook USA Writing Project, a program coordinated by the Electronic House at America Online. In 1992, the project linked 125 schools in thirty-four states and schools in Soviet Siberia with plans to add schools in all fifty states and additional international sites. At Beecher Road School, "writing improvement and global awareness were fifth and sixth grade themes" when Brown's school joined sixteen others in the program for "writing across grade, curriculum, and country" (J. A. Brown 15). Brown's students were linked with four other classrooms from Vermont, California, Iowa and Mississippi. Student work on Scrapbook Creations combined art and reading. They also communicated with each other on email and exchanged comments on each other's essays on Pourquoi Myths, a topic the students chose after reading Island of the Blue Dolphin (J. A. Brown 16). Roth found that "reading Scraps from around the country teaches students about different people in distant places" and enhanced the multicultural

goals of the program (Roth 34). Striving to become a better eleventh-grade history teacher, Sonja Barrett of Jackson County High School in Jefferson, Georgia used scrapbooks in her classroom as part of a student hands-on project. She required that the scrapbooks contain magazine and newspaper clippings with written summaries, photographs or illustrations, visual aids for oral presentation, and a typed or written interview. The project was a success and Barrett reported that implementation resulted in a "more student-oriented than teacher-oriented" classroom (Barrett 9). Under the auspices of the Northern Virginia Writing Project, Bernadette Glaze "designed the Biographical Scrapbook activity to give students an opportunity to express their learning in writing that was other than transactional" (Glaze 2). By using scrapbooks instead of traditional writing exercises, Glaze learned that "writing history rather than [writing] about history would teach students about both writing and history" (Glaze 13). In Austin, Texas, McNeil High School English teacher Debbie Palmer earned a Blue Ribbon Award from the National Education Association for the scrapbook assignment that her high school seniors had to complete before graduation (Hengst). Prior to their senior year students prepared portfolios of their work, but the senior project was designed to "encourage emerging identity and good writing about Self" (Hengst). The yearlong project documented each student's senior year of high school in pictures with at least one hundred words of text on each page. Also concerned about student identity, Marta Weiss, co-director of the English as a Second Language (ESL) program at Sweeney Elementary in Santa Fe, New Mexico uses scrapbooks to help Limited-English-Proficiency students "retain their identities" as they learn to read and write in English. Students in the LEP program "make personal scrapbooks of their lives that include pictures of families, photographs of where they live and used to live, sketches of their pets, and varying numbers of words in English" (Schall 55). Schall finds that scrapbook

and journal "entries improve along with their understanding of English" (Schall 55). At Falls Church High School in Falls Church, Virginia students in Rebecca R. Dewey's chemistry class "create a biographical scrapbook to document the life of a chosen scientist" (Dewey 46). To complete the assignments, "students gather facts and use their imagination to create a birth certificate, news articles, a letter to a President, an interview, and an epitaph" (Dewey 46). In the career development project, "World of Work," in Ohio's Sidney City Schools, fifth and sixth grade students made "a list of unusual jobs of men and women, then expand[ed] the list to a scrapbook of pictures, drawings, and narrations" (Sidney City Schools). Later students were able to "role play the head of a company, and dramatize problem situations such as strikes or equipment needed that hasn't arrived" (Sidney City Schools). Teachers in Canada's Victoria International Development Education Association wrote The Food Scrapbook: A Collection of Articles on Food Issues for Use in Secondary Schools (Gage and Ockenden). This spiral bound book covers a variety of subjects from diet to agriculture followed by suggested classroom activities. In 1982 English literature teacher Glen Smith reported his success with using scrapbook journals for both junior and senior high school students. His assignment recycled retired literature texts and combined literary analysis "in terms of plot, theme, or characterization;" stressed "the recording of the journalists' personal feelings about the selections;" and encouraged students to express their "considerable diversity and creativity" by decorating their journals with "magazine or newspaper clippings, original or quoted poetry, and original artwork" (G. Smith 91-92). The in-class project used recycled literature texts and helped him keep "groups of students" across his classes together. In Flint, Michigan three teachers defended the use of classroom scrapbook projects. Political science teacher Donald J. Evans, English teacher Thomas J. Herron, and social studies teacher Jesse G. Moore published advice and guidelines for

using newspapers in the classroom. In spite of their observation that "scrapbooks have fallen into ill repute with some teachers while others make extensive use of them," the authors conclude that scrapbooks appear to offer several advantages:

> First, the student can observe trends in the news. These trends often become apparent to the casual reader or to the immature student of current affairs when either of them sees the news compressed within the space of a scrapbook. For example, the buildup of a political candidate in some newspaper can be clearly seen if a record is kept. Another advantage of keeping a scrapbook is that the student has the satisfaction of making a finished product. At the end of a period of time, he has something to show for his efforts. The importance of the scrapbook to the content of the particular course should be made clear to the student before he begins construction. The third advantage is that a student can obtain a larger picture of a particular news area, for example, the Communist thrust into Southeast Asia. (D. J. Evans, Herron, and Moore 58)

The authors further enhance the learning and scrapbook-making experiences by requiring students to write comments beside the articles. Canada's Manitoba Department of Education offers Law 302, "a course suited to any student in the school as an option to any program, be it preparation for university, business, education, vocational industrial, or any other clustering of courses" (Manitoba Department of Education). The program claims "strong socio-economic value" that "intends to increase the students' awareness and appreciation of laws that govern and protect society" (Manitoba Department of Education). The published guidelines for teaching the course require that students prepare "a scrapbook of legal newspaper cases on crime," analyze them within the framework of indictable offences, and report on the outcomes (Manitoba Department of

Education). The scrapbook component is designed to aid student learning and teacher assessment (Manitoba Department of Education). The accomplishments of Miami High School art instructor Helen Spach and her students fill scrapbooks she made between 1947 and 1960. These include brochures, forms, newspaper clippings, photographic prints, greeting cards, and other memorabilia that document the activities of the Pen and Sable honorary art club, student participation in art exhibits and competitions, and Spach's accomplishments as teacher and organizer of the first Southern Florida Regional High School Art exhibition in 1950.

At the college level, as part of a program designed to improve the retention rate of at-risk, black male students at Laney College in Oakland, California English professor John Fouts Gardenhire suggested twenty effective techniques, including an assignment to "make a scrapbook featuring successful Black role models" (Gardenhire 12). Gardenhire reports that the scrapbook "represents an inexpensive means to 'consciousness raising'" that provides students with "fresh ways of thinking and rethinking their choices of the kinds of lives they might want to lead" (Gardenhire 12). Students in Professor Thomas Bontly's freshman seminar, "Working with Words: Reading and Writing Fiction," at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, may choose their final project from a list that includes a: journal, research paper, critical essay, interview, profile, work of fiction, or scrapbook (Bontly). At Rutgers University, when the department became unable to keep up with the "changing nature of the field" of economics, they resorted to keeping a scrapbook where graduate students in economics can find a listing of resource materials available in the Department of Economics, the Alexander Library, data centers throughout Rutgers, and the Internet. This scrapbook "is constantly being revised" (Yoshimura and Gang 4). This scrapbook has become a community project with the plea

to both students and faculty to make continuing contributions and the warning that "without your contributions, this scrapbook will die aborning" (Yoshimura and Gang 4).

Beyond the classroom, teachers use scrapbooks to communicate their ideas to one another. In 1979, Instructor, an educational journal, created a scrapbook of "11 pages of great stories, songs, plays, art and crafts, recipes, and assorted other trimmings" to help teachers "unlock the door" to the meaning of Christmas and Hanukah for their students ("December Scrapbook"). Helping their fellow teachers plan for the Texas Sesquicentennial, Thad Sitton and Debbie Goodwin designed a comprehensive series of project ideas called "Bringing History Home" that covers every area of Texas history and culture. One of the projects involved making a family scrapbook utilizing "old documents, photographs, newspaper clippings, genealogical outlines and/or traditions, family folklore of various sorts (songs, stories, etc.), and an 'historical inventory' of documents, photos, 'heirlooms,' and antiques" (Sitton and Goodwin 14). In addition to satisfying the school project requirement, the notebook provides a useful resource for the student and his family (Sitton and Goodwin 14). Junior high school teachers looking for "tested activities and ideas that bring ecology to urban students without going far away" can consult a manual of sensory exercises presented in the form of a scrapbook made by Erica Fielder and Carolyn Shaffer of the San Francisco Ecology Center (Fielder and Shaffer 1). In their scrapbook the authors combined learning objectives, lists of materials, worksheets, exercise descriptions, and management tips along with their first-hand teaching experiences, field artwork, and children's handwritten work. And finally, caught between Florida mandated Chapter 1 accountability requirements and their dissatisfaction with achievement scores to measure their students' academic progress, three primary grade teachers worked "to transform a scrapbook of cutesy art projects into a valuable assessment tool" (Ellis, Hiebsch, and Taylor 72). Their major concern was not

the scrapbook format itself, but helping "teachers become expert observers of student behavior" (Ellis, Hiebsch, and Taylor 72). Following their research into scrapbooks as assessment tools, the three teachers prepared recommendations for teacher training and ongoing support which they presented at the Florida Educational Research and Development Council Conference on Alternative/Portfolio Assessment. The authors declared that "once teachers were informed about the important issues and the procedures necessary to transform portfolio scrapbooks into assessment tools, the committee planned to recommend that the portfolios be maintained" (Ellis, Hiebsch, and Taylor 72). The "portfolio scrapbook" represents a new genre in education for expressing objectives, acquiring knowledge, and making assessments.

Many students continue to add to their scrapbooks long after satisfying the requirements of their teachers. John Paxton, a Fort Lauderdale, Florida high school student, collected maps, articles, and made notations for a school assignment on hurricanes in 1933 (Paxton). Over the years he added to his scrapbook, updating it with new maps and articles from the 1948, 1954, 1956, and 1958 hurricane seasons. John Monteilh of McNeil High School in Austin, Texas completed his senior scrapbook project and graduated in 2000. Along with pictures, text, and other memorabilia, he included original artwork in his scrapbook. The assignment taught him the "importance of memories" (Monteilh and Arquette 52). As he went off to college at Texas A&M he hoped get a part-time job in a scrapbook store and share what he learned about scrapbooks in high school. From 1961 to 1964 an unknown student in Florida filled a scrapbook to overflowing with newspaper and magazine articles, essays, and notes on Birds, Reptiles, Insects, Apes, Aquatic Life, Rodents, as well as on a variety of miscellaneous animals. Each section contains articles from children's newspapers and magazines as well as local newspapers, the Florida Audubon Society, Florida Wildlife,

Natural History, Reader's Digest, and animal facts from the comics section of the newspaper. This well-thumbed scrapbook with many items tucked within the pages bears the signs of a lifetime of interest and use (My Science Album).

Some teachers too continued using their scrapbooks after leaving the classroom. C. H. Lander kept scrapbooks of materials related to his students while he was principal of Delray Beach School from 1913-1916 and 1925-1936 (Scrap Book, Vol. 2). After he retired he continued keeping scrapbooks of the students until 1958 (Scrap Book 1940-53; Scrap Book 1950-53). The use of scrapbooks as portfolios or assessment tools for teachers or students, engaged students in learning about culture, ecology and environment, art, science, politics and economics, history, and creative writing. They helped keep some students in school, served as a resource tool for departments, and contributed to teacher training. Some teachers and students continued using the scrapbooks long after they left the classroom. The use of scrapbooks in education complemented their use in businesses and in the workplace.

SCRAPBOOKS AT WORK

Thomas Edison was determined "to keep a full record of inventive activity," but when he "moved from Newark to Menlo Park in 1876, many of the unbound notes and drawings of research were lost" (Thomas Edison and His Papers). Edison solved the problem by turning to scrapbooks were he "subsequently pasted" notes and drawings for the rest of his career which extended well into the twentieth-century. Approximately 150 of Edison's scrapbooks are preserved at the Edison National Historic Archive Site. They cover most of his "sixty-year career as inventor, manufacturer, and businessman" and are an "important source of information about Edison's technical work" (Thomas Edison and His Papers). Since Edison, businessmen have found additional uses for scrapbooks.

Beginning in the 1930s businesses began using scrapbooks to recognize the achievements and loyalty of retiring employees. Later in the century, with the help of sociologists, business managers learned that building team spirit by encouraging camaraderie and competition could improve the work environment and increase productivity (George 122). However, instead of contracting with expensive outside coaches to build team spirit, Personnel Journal suggested that making scrapbooks inside the work environment worked best (George 128). The journal suggests that "such simple, and some might even say sentimental, techniques as team scrapbooks containing photos and other mementos of team life portray a group that cares enough about its life to document its history" (George 128). With help from team scrapbooks "a sense of trust, respect, warmth, and common purpose will build an attitude of belonging to a team" (George 128). That also meant, "scrapbooks should record the team's or entire company's activities, not just the CEO or the stars in the corporation" (George 128). It also became apparent that scrapbooks recognizing the loyalty and achievements of retiring employees could deliver powerful messages to persuade other employees to strive toward similar acts of dedication and success. In addition, demonstrating appreciation of employees by presenting them with items such as scrapbooks could also improve the company's image. For instance,

> Workers in Northeast Ohio could count on a number of guarantees when they retired. First, they would receive honor at the obligatory retirement dinner, which inevitably included commemorative speeches and presentation of a gold watch or scrapbook. After smiles and handshakes all around and photos for the employee newsletter, everyone would leave feeling good about the company's commitment to its employees. (Batchelor)

In the classical fashion of encomium, such laudatory acts as these help companies build a strong ethos and persuade employees to become worthy of their company's praise. Note also in the example above that employees may receive a gold watch or a scrapbook which implies that the scrapbook has as much value as a gold watch in expressing appreciation. Appreciation may also take the form of praise by comparison by placing "the good beside the excellent, or the mean beside the base, or the upright beside the wicked, or the small beside the greater" (Crowley and Hawhee 310). A modern form of such praise involves a "roast," an occasion at which speakers deliver good-natured criticism and ridicule at the expense of an honored guest. Such an event took place when Irma Cry retired after seventeen years as Director of the Slidell Chamber of Commerce in Texas. After chamber members and local officials "roasted" her at a dinner they presented her with a scrapbook chronicling the many achievements of her career (C. Wolfram "Retiring Chamber Exec"). Juxtaposing the two presentations would have served to heighten the appreciation of her accomplishments. Later, Cry may have found the scrapbook a handy reference tool during her campaign for "parish police jury" (C. Wolfram "Retiring Chamber Exec").

Businesses have also found scrapbooks useful as tools for self-promotion and assessment. In 1987 the United States Chamber of Commerce relied on a scrapbook to show that "it has taken a rich mix of talent to create America's wealthy economy" (U.S. Chamber of Commerce). The scrapbook focuses "on people notable in the business world's upper rungs" (U.S. Chamber of Commerce). Scrapbooks of self-promotion can help businesses compete with one another for industry awards. For example, in order to evaluate the "achievements in education, compassionate service, technical skills, community and professional service, library or media resources, professional development, in-house staff training and community relations" of funeral homes around

the nation, the National Funeral Directors Association required each competing funeral director to submit a "50-page scrapbook cataloguing accomplishments over a one-year period" ("NFDA Honors"). The submitted scrapbooks remained on display throughout the convention at which 150 funeral homes received Pursuit of Excellence Awards and numerous other funeral homes received Eagle and Emeritus awards.

With a "legendary eye for family promotion," Curt Carlson, president of Carlson Companies, presented his daughter, Marilyn Carlson Nelson, "with a three-volume, 200-page leather scrapbook that chronicles her leadership of activities for Super Bowl XXVI, which was held in Minneapolis" in 1992 (Phelps). Professionally prepared by "Peter Ainslie, former Time magazine reporter and a member of the Super Bowl XXVI staff" the scrapbook covers five years of work leading up to the event. Another way of using a scrapbook for self-promotion helped San Jose College graduate, Kimberley Wilkins, navigate the complexities of the business world and "land her dream job" (Wilkins). The story of her job hunt unfolds in brochures, classified ads, interview notes, resumes, job applications, business cards, and other materials. Her scrapbook kept her organized and focused and she took it with her to career centers and job fairs where it impressed consultants and prospective employers. Finally, when Wynona Lawson retired after working twenty-five years at the YWCA's Child Enrichment Center in Charleston, West Virginia, a center she started for the YWCA in 1976, she did not wait for anyone to compile a scrapbook for her. Instead she pulled out the scrapbook she had kept over the years of articles and pictures of the children for whom she cared. Her scrapbook, like those of other retirees, may help with the transition from work to home or bring comfort when it becomes "hard to let go" of their jobs (Miller). Whether used as arguments to improve productivity, personal stature, or company image, or to impress a prospective

employer, scrapbooks have found a niche in business. Other professions have also found a use for scrapbooks.

HELPING THOSE IN NEED

In the later decades of the century, counselors and teachers in the helping professions discovered the therapeutic and diagnostic benefits of using scrapbooks in their places of work. They used scrapbooks to help patients with problems related to grieving, divorce, adoption, trauma, and related situations. Adoption counselors used scrapbooks to help adoptive parents construct a family identity based on their unique experiences related to starting a family. Adoptive parents who "don't have sonogram pictures or the date of the baby's first in-utero flutterings" have created scrapbooks that document the anticipation of their "pregnancy" around such experiences as: "'the call' that the baby was available, the journey to pick up their child and coming home to meet baby's new family and friends" (Radford 52). As adopted babies grow up, "scrapbooks have proven to be an important tool for teaching adopted children about their past and their path as they became part of a new family" (Radford 51). Catherine White, clinical director of the Foster Care/Foster Adoption Program for Lutheran Family Services in Colorado Springs, has discovered that scrapbooks "send the signal that the child's history and heritage are honored and valued, and that there are no secrets or shame associated with the process of adoption" (Radford 52).

For some children, becoming part of a family starts long after their birth. Adopting an older child, often a difficult placement, also presents problems in transition for parents and children. Popular advice recommends merging pages of the child's foster experience into the adoptive family scrapbook. This symbol of transition provides a concrete image of the child as part of the family and its future. As Elaine Kindle, a California psychotherapist with twenty years of experience with adoption issues has

found, "a memory book is a perfect tool for sharing between birth and adoptive families (Radford 54). However, in some cases, such as foreign adoptions, children may arrive with little background information or their memories and experiences may contrast sharply with their new homes. Again, making scrapbooks has proved helpful as Carrie Coblentz demonstrated in her work with Robert, a fourteen-year-old Romanian boy adopted by an Ohio family. Coblentz observed that "the process of creating [an] Adoption Life Book served as a vehicle for Robert to continue exploring his feeling and past experiences" (Coblentz 85). As an added benefit, she noted that it provided "a release that allowed Robert to begin to express himself through the art" (Coblentz 85). Many therapists have used the Life Books in their work and Regina Chema offers this definition:

> A Life Book is an individually made book covering the child's life from birth to present, written in the child's own words. It generally includes a narrative describing what has happened to the child, when, and why, as well as what the child's feelings are about what has happened. The book may also incorporate photos, drawings, report cards, awards and certificates, letters from previous foster or adoptive parents and birth parents, a birth certificate, a genogram, and anything else a particular child might want to include. (qtd. in Backhaus 551)

Chema's description of Life Books compares favorably with that of scrapbooks.

The results of a study on Life Books conducted at the Connecticut Adoption Resource Exchange in Hartford by its Director, Kristina Backhaus, verifies Kindle's recommendation. The study found that Life Books helped the adopted children by decreasing their anxiety, "answering questions, straightening out misconceptions, reframing memories, and presenting the children's past in an understandable way"

(Backhaus 553-554). Based on the observations of "children's desire to share their Life Books with others, changes in children's behavior, time spent by children rereading their book, and use of the books by children for comfort," Backhaus concluded that "more extensive use can be made of Life Books with all children in need of help" (Backhaus 554). Patricia Aust has also found the Life Book helpful when working with children in foster care placement. In the hands of a trained clinician the Life Book "can be used therapeutically to reeducate children to a more positive self-image" (Aust 535). Aust identifies the Life Book as a scrapbook that "starts with the child's birth and contains mementos, snapshots, drawings, and memories from his life experiences" (Aust 535-536). She found that making the scrapbooks could "change the child's fantasies, distortions, and self-blame into a realistic understanding and acceptance of his and his parents' situation" (Aust 536). Not only do the Life Books last long after therapy, Aust says the Life Books remain "an ongoing source of reality testing and support" (Aust 559). In the child's Life Book "he has a history and a source of reference that can continue to confirm his identity and self-worth long after the basic Life Book work is done" (Aust 559). In conjunction with therapy, the scrapbooks discussed above pose powerful arguments for positive outcomes in the face of dramatic changes in family composition or individual status.

Scrapbooks can also help families confront issues related to the changing identity and composition of families in society. Based on its General Social Survey, the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center reported in November 1999 that "people who are not married and have no children have replaced 'married with children' as the most common make up of a U.S. household" (Irvine "Poll" A31). The traditional image of "the single-earner families with young children still present in the household have become the exception rather than the rule" (Irvine "Poll" A31). As a

result, Tom Smith, director of the survey, "expects Americans to continue to look for ways to make untraditional families work" (Irvine "Poll" A31). One way is through scrapbooks, especially for families living apart for a variety of reasons. Some have found that by contributing photos and stories to one another's scrapbooks they can maintain their identity and continuity as a family across the miles (Beran). Symbolic of the importance of scrapbooks to families, scrapbook makers are often asked to bring them along when they travel to other relatives (Beran). Catering to the needs of children on the move, Creative Memories™ markets a small scrapbook for children to carry with them (Lightle and Anderson). In addition, since 1986, families could turn to a self-help book by Marla D. Evans, This Is Me and My Two Families: A Self-Awareness Scrapbook Journal for Children Living with Two Families.

> This unique awareness scrapbook/journal is designed for children in stepfamilies to work on with their parents, stepparents, foster or adoptive parents, grandparents or stepgrandparents, or other concerned adults. Working together, children and adults can learn about their new family situations through drawing, pasting, writing, and filling in blanks. This book can also be used by therapists, counselors, and teachers to help children and their various families resolve conflicts and open up new ways of understanding and relating. (M. D. Evans)

Working together on self-help scrapbooks may help family members engage in conversations about the different experiences and relationships that make up their family.

Scrapbooks can also attend to the needs of older, and often distantly located, family members, such as grandparents. The Kansas State University, Manhattan, Extension Service offers a program and materials designed "to strengthen the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren separated by distance" (Smith and Gutsch). One

aspect of the program involves keeping a scrapbook or journal. Scrapbooks may reveal a wealth of information as to how families deal with challenges and reshape the concept of family. These examples of scrapbooks used in the helping professions demonstrate their effectiveness in evaluating and improving the relationships and self-image of families and individuals in need, their caregivers, and other members of their communities.

Scrapbooks also have found favor with mental health professionals treating older patients with depression. One approach combines the principles of neurolinguistic programming with sensory modality preference in information processing, guided reminiscence and recall therapy, and the Life Book method described above (Hossack et al. 265). The method "endeavors to rebuild self-esteem and feelings of self-worth by helping patients to re-experience past positive life events through the creation and review of an imaginary scrapbook" (Hossack et al. 265). With the help of their therapists, patients identify positive memories and gradually build a mental image of a scrapbook. During therapy sessions and afterwards, recalling and adding detail to the experiences placed in the imaginary scrapbook help the patient "to integrate and clarify fragmented positive experiences to re-establish self-esteem" (Hossack et al. 268). Like paper-based scrapbooks, the imaginary scrapbook presents an argument based on individual perceptions that reinforces a self-image or memory.

Scrapbooks have also helped health care professionals working with patients with other problems related to memory. One of the more difficult challenges that some mental health professionals and families confront is maintaining and preserving the communication skills of the Alzheimer's patient. At a Creative Memories workshop in Austin, Texas, Dana Klein helps her clients create specialized scrapbooks for family members with Alzheimer's disease. The books contain pictures, stories, and memorabilia of the patient's family and friends. When a featured family member or friend visits, the

scrapbook serves as a memory aid, reducing embarrassment for the patient and painful feelings for the visitor. The books also comfort the patients between visits by reaffirming their family connection. Mary Curtis, a workshop regular, made a scrapbook for her mother-in-law and claims that "Pictures are one of the best ways to get them [Alzheimer's patients] into conversation and brings them back to the here and now. It [the scrapbook] helps them tell stories about family and they ask questions about family, such as, 'Is this one or that one dead or alive?'" (Curtis). Caregivers at the facility she visits encourage families to make scrapbooks for their patients. Taking advantage of what she perceives as a connection between individualized care and how quickly and how well caregivers get to know their charges, Curtis used her scrapbook as "a way for caregivers to know about her [mother-in-law], where she came from, and who she was." Curtis has also seen her scrapbook used therapeutically by caregivers who "use it as a conversation tool. They can ask her, 'Who is this?' and then she'd talk. She could recognize the faces in the pictures" (Curtis). Many of the faces in the scrapbooks of Alzheimer's patients belong to children who are confused or saddened by what the disease has done to their grandparents. In an attempt to reach out to these children and their families and to help "strengthen family bonds," Maria Shriver, First Lady of California, wrote <u>What's Happening to Grandpa?</u> The children's book explains Alzheimer's through the story of a child who makes a "memory-jogging scrapbook" with her grandfather who has Alzheimer's (Weeks). In 2004 the Alzheimer's Association presented Shriver with their Alzheimer's Awareness Award.

Parents of autistic children have also turned to scrapbooks for help. Explaining her son's autism to other children motivated Elsa Duff to write a book about the subject. She relied on a scrapbook-like presentation with "pictures and explanations about how autism affects her son and emphasized how her son learns by watching others" (E. Duff

40). Both parents and children gained a better understanding of autism and grew to accept her child's differences and special needs. The Carmen B. Pingree School for Children with Autism in Utah, "one of the nation's primary centers for autism education and research," helped spread the word about autism while raising funds for a new building (Nelson 29). The project featured greeting cards using "angelic" photographs of the students. Katie Nelson, the mother of one of the students, contributed to the project by helping parents create pages for their scrapbooks using the greeting cards and "journaling about the cards' importance" (Nelson 29). Heidi Lewis, director of The Therapeutic Scrapbook Program, a project of the Picture ME Foundation, promotes scrapbooks as a vehicle for helping ill, disabled, or displaced children and their families understand their special needs and explain them to others (DiFranco). The program distributes "scrapbook supplies and instructions to children's hospitals, newborn intensive care units, special camps and schools for disabled or sick kids, Ronald McDonald Houses and foster care programs for sick kids" (DiFranco). In 2001 the program, which includes "guidelines on how to use the scrapbook as a means to learn about their conditions, involving family, friends, and care givers; and talking about their experience" served "over 20,000 children and their families in the US and Canada" (DiFranco). Services include "teaching some great classes on Creating Preemie Albums, Scrapbooking with Sick or Disabled Kids, How to Bring the Therapeutic Scrapbook Program to Your Local Community, and Creating Memorial Albums" (DiFranco). Scrapbooks have also helped others learn about and then communicate to others the personal toll of diseases such as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, also referred to as ALS or Lou Gehrig's disease. While doing research for Nervous Energy, a book on neurological medicine, David Noonan found a "treasure trove" of materials in Gehrig's scrapbooks. They became "the primary source for his chapter on Gehrig and his disease" (Barr).

In the situations above, scrapbooks helped manage complex systems of care and helped meet the changing needs of clients at all stages of the lifecycle. Besides providing a creative approach to bridging communication difficulties related to disease and displacement, scrapbooks have also served to relieve trauma created by the painful circumstance of family violence, divorce, and bereavement. The traumatic scenarios that affected the young patients of master social worker Liana B. Lowenstein, a therapist at Jewish Family and Child Service in Toronto, Canada, motivated her to incorporate scrapbooks in her treatment strategies for children. She guides children in making a scrapbook they will use throughout therapy and later in life. The work involves writing and using pictures and other materials that express the traumatic event, feelings, resolution, and empowerment achieved through therapy and personal growth. The result is what Lowenstein calls a "resolution scrapbook" (889). As a result of her clinical successes, Lowenstein concluded that "the resolution scrapbook appears to be a valuable tool that clinicians can use as part of a child's overall treatment plan" (902). By making and using the scrapbook as a treatment tool, Lowenstein found: "The scrapbook is therefore a tangible illustration of the child's progression through the stages of treatment [that] validate[s] the child's efforts and accomplishments" (892, 902). In other words, the scrapbook becomes an argument for the child's mental health, an argument that Lowenstein hopes the child will refer to in later years for reinforcement and ongoing positive feedback. However, Lowenstein warns that without understanding more about scrapbook making, their use in therapy with children could remain isolated. Lowenstein issues a plea for such work. She cautions: "Outcome studies, nevertheless, must ultimately evaluate the effectiveness of the technique. Currently there are few systematic evaluations of treatment strategies, particularly with children. Empirical research is

urgently needed to identify optimum treatment approaches when working with traumatized children" (902).

SCRAPBOOKS BEFORE THE BAR

Scrapbooks have found a place on both sides of the criminal justice system as members of law enforcement and the bar, as well as the criminals they pursue and punish, keep scrapbooks. Some of their scrapbooks document the cruelest, saddest, and the most bizarre realities of our culture. Scrapbooks filled with such unsettling events serve a variety of purposes on both sides of the law. Scrapbooks focus on all aspects of modern culture and may lead to a better understanding of their relationship to crime and punishment. At a conference on lawyers and popular culture, Ray Browne declared that the legal profession "needs to understand the interplay it has with the forces shaping and animating society, i.e., the popular culture" (Browne 7). He urged, "Lawyers should be concerned with the drives that push people toward new experiences and new consciousness. Lawyers should be concerned with good and evil -- with positive and negative -- in a profounder sense than mere law-abiding and law-breaking, conforming and non-conforming" (Browne 21).

In his fiction and in his professional life, Erle Stanley Garner epitomizes the qualities Browne advocates. With his scrapbooks as resource materials, Gardner did much to improve the reputation of lawyers and the legal profession in general. First, his scrapbooks provided opportunities for analysis and insights into crime and the law which he then demonstrated in his stories. As a result, many "saw his fiction as a teaching ground for lawyers [. . . and . . .] a way of changing legal procedure in this country" (Bounds 112). Second, by creating the first positive television image of lawyers, Gardner also moved the general public to become "more accepting of real-life attorneys, and demand that they be not so much noble as simply competent, fair and helpful" (Bounds

139). And third, his scrapbooks document his attempts to directly improve the legal profession. For example, his scrapbook on the case of Sam Shepherd records his successful creation of the Court of Last Resort, known today as the Case Review Committee, which continues to "investigate cases of innocent individuals wrongly convicted" (Bounds 112). Gardner's scrapbooks not only capture his passion for humanizing the legal profession and effecting positive changes in the law and lawyers, but also an interest in the American Bar Association (ABA).

The ABA uses scrapbooks to monitor its profession's contributions. Twice a year it votes on a variety of topics and policies that guide the organization, "some having to do with the arcana of law, others taking positions on issues of the day" (Stapleton). Those that pass join over a thousand other guiding policies in the ABA's Green Book. Positions that fail to pass or are later culled from the Green Book include support for "conversion to the metric system" and "abolition of the electoral college" (Stapleton). Neither thrown away nor destroyed, the abandoned policy statements get relegated to scrapbooks where they become part of the history of the ABA's evolution and involvement in social change.

In Texas, scrapbooks have become an "old tradition" in acknowledgment of contributions made by its bar association presidents (G. Taylor "It Took an Ex-Marine"). Marking the unprecedented number of activities and reforms made by James B. Sales in his one-year tenure as president of the Texas Bar Association overwhelmed the committee putting together his scrapbook. Staffers "filled two scrapbooks with material about Mr. Sales and still had enough unpasted clippings for two more" (G. Taylor "It Took an Ex-Marine"). The staff promised to complete the scrapbooks. Besides their value as mementos his scrapbooks "demonstrated that it is possible for large bar associations to accomplish positive change in short periods of time if they're willing to make decisions and stick by them" (G. Taylor "It Took an Ex-Marine").

On a more personal scale, scrapbooks filled with mementos of past cases and the people involved can provide opportunities to consider individual contributions to smaller and larger issues. For instance, Ann Claire Williams, Judge of the 7th U.S. District Court of Appeals, "known for her compassion toward those she meets," keeps scrapbooks in her chambers filled with "letters from colleagues, unwed teenage mothers and appreciative litigants [. . . and . . .] handmade thank you notes from children who have visited her court" (McDonough). Rather than chronicles of the cases that passed through her courtroom or displays of her distinguished legal career, Williams sees her scrapbooks as "reminders of the effect she's had on the lives of so many people" (McDonough). On the other hand, Jorge Labarga's scrapbook reminds him of a more controversial effect he had on people and the nation. A judge in the 15th Judicial Circuit Court of Palm Beach County, Florida, Labarga started keeping a scrapbook to mark his place in history after he received over five thousand letters and emails in response to his ruling to reject lawsuits challenging the butterfly ballots. A "small footnote" in the 2000 presidential election that hinged on punch-card ballots filled with dimples and hanging chads, his decision became a memorable and defining moment in Labarga's career (Quigley 12A).

Scrapbooks also figure in the seamier side of the crime and justice. Declaring she has "the ugliest practice in town," attorney Greta Van Sustern fills her scrapbooks with articles that detail:

> the gang murder of a mother of six in 1984; the 39-hour siege of three Washington, D.C. office buildings by 12 Hanafi Muslims who took 149 hostages; the grisly killing of an aide to Washington, D.C., mayor Marion Barry in 1986; and the fatal shooting [. . .] of a 39-year-old police officer as he arrested a subject. (Beck)

In each of these cases and others in her scrapbook, Van Sustern represented at least one of the defendants. She also represents defendants accused of "fringe white-collar" crimes such as arms smuggling. With these scrapbooks, Van Sustern can successfully argue she has an "ugly practice." The mixture of cases and strategies reveals "the conflict between the street crime cases Van Sustern loves and the more glamorous and lucrative white-collar cases she envisions" (Beck).

Ugliness alone cannot describe the scrapbooks kept by some criminals. During a criminal investigation of "the society stalker" in Houston, Texas, police discovered the "bizarre scrapbook" of an accused burglar and rapist who kept clippings of potential (targeted and possibly future) victims and alleged victims (those he was accused of attacking) (G. Taylor "The Lawyer Stalker"). Finding the scrapbook may have saved the lives of the female attorneys and other socialites pictured in the scrapbook. It convinced an ex-prosecutor serving on the Houston City Council to issue a statement "warning women to 'exercise extreme caution'" (G. Taylor "The Lawyer Stalker").

Scrapbooks sound a different warning in Atlantic City where the New Jersey Casino Control Commission has given new meaning to the phrase "family scrapbook." Concerned that "organized crime would move in after gambling was legalized in Atlantic City in 1973," the commission turned mug books into scrapbooks (Associated Press). The olive green albums contain Polaroid pictures and "personal data on the 160 men and women barred for life from Atlantic City's 12 casinos" (Associated Press). The family of criminals includes "organized crime figures or people associated with organized crime figures, as well as people involved in cheating or swindling the casinos" (Associated Press). The names of the leading families include: "the Gambinos, Scarfos, Brunos, Luccheses and Genoveses" (Associated Press).

One of the most gruesome of crime-related scrapbooks comes from law enforcement. It contains forensic and evidentiary photographs, "dates, specific descriptions of the crime, and information about the eventual arrest and sentencing of the perpetrator" when available (Panzer 18). Jack Huddleston, a Los Angeles homicide detective, assembled his scrapbooks between 1921 and the 1950s:

> to show the work of the peace officer and his problems. It will give you an idea of what they have to contend with while performing their duties in protecting life and property [. . .]. As you will see, most of these crimes are solved and the guilty prosecuted which proves that CRIME DOES NOT PAY [. . .]. Please handle this book with respect. (qtd. in Panzer 18)

Huddleston's statement of purpose appears in the preface of a book containing selections from his scrapbooks after they fell into the hands of an underground artist who worked with an author and editor to publish them. Although Huddleston's statement attempts to justify publication of such horrific images, one cannot help wondering what morbid fascination or nighttime terrors motivated him to begin his scrapbook. Did the images of the victims and crime scenes, neatly organized and confined to pages with notes and resolutions in a collapsed time frame of a few pages, help him feel some sense of control over the chaos he frequently confronted in his work? When Huddleston asks the reader to "please handle this book with respect," his plea may embrace not only the victims depicted, but also all those affected by the crime, including himself. Moreover, Huddleston may be asking readers not to judge him too harshly for whatever morbid fascination with his work motivated him to preserve his nightmares for all to see. Or possibly, during thirty years of homicide detection, his scrapbook provided him with ongoing hope that crime did not pay off, but his work did.

Scrapbooks in the legal profession certainly support Browne's argument that "the lawyer occupies a unique position in society to witness and influence popular culture" (Browne 7). They contain arguments within arguments calling for constant analysis of the workings of the legal and political systems; ongoing evaluation of practitioners and processes; creation of new laws and revisions of old ones; vigilance against corruption and vice; and continued protection and defense of our basic rights under the law. They offer insights on the skill and compassion of its members that range from helping children to documenting the most horrific of crimes. Scrapbooks have indeed played a role in the work of crime and punishment, but they have also found a place far removed from courtrooms and crime scenes -- on museum walls.

THE "ART" OF SCRAPBOOKS

The history of scrapbooks intersects with the world of art in several unexpected ways. Scrapbooks have become canvases for artistic expression, discourses on the arts, and metaphors in literature and art. As canvases for artistic expression, scrapbooks can accommodate a variety of media for the creation of simple or complex compositions that may include original drawings and stories or elaborate displays of color, shape, and size. Creating a composition in a scrapbook from a variety of materials is an example of a technique that contributed to one of the major events in twentieth-century art, "making pictures by sticking together bits and pieces of random and miscellaneous bric-a-brac" (E. Wolfram 7). Traceable to tenth-century Japan and of revolutionary importance in modern art, the French named the practice "collage" (E. Wolfram). Around 1912 artists such as Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Juan Gris, and Joseph Cornell experimented with collage by using "pieces of paper, oilcloth, or wallpaper" to create works of art (Kay). Later, in 1920, Max Ernst created collages by combining cuttings from books and magazines. Dadaists and other artists used photographs to create collage and called the

result "photomontage" (Schapiro 6). Photomontage creates "a composite picture by bringing photographs together in a single composition and arranging them, often by superimposing one part on another, so that they form a blended whole" (Hoffman 296). As the variety of materials and techniques used in collage expanded, so did the debate on the place of collage in art. On one side artists argued against "the use of real intruder objects and extraneous materials without transforming them lyrically or rationally as art should do" (Hoffman 40). Opponents, who defended the use of real objects, claimed they "had a chromatic and organic rather than an illustrative function, and should be incorporated harmoniously into the pictorial whole for their compositional and formal values" (Hoffman 40). Even though collage generically identifies the basic activities involved in making scrapbooks, -- cutting, arranging, pasting -- the debate over form and function has not extended to the use of real objects in scrapbooks. In fact, scrapbook makers have no such quandary as to the compositional or lyrical value of objects they use to tell their stories or preserve their memories. The textures, scents, sounds, and visual displays of the real materials they might include in their books -- the softness of a ribbon, the smell of a dried flower, the crinkle of a letter, or a bright red swizzle stick -- stir the senses and emotions typical of lyricism while contributing organic material to the memory of an individual event or the overall composition. However, scrapbook makers do not engage in their work for the sole purpose of creating new works of art, but occasionally in an effort to tell their stories they may take liberties with their materials and re-compose them to create new pictures. For instance, the cutting of subjects from photographs and placing them on the page in different relationships to one another or in different settings than the photographs in which they originally appeared, may create a new picture or composition in the manner of photomontage. Another scrapbook technique involves cutting an object, such as a newspaper page, into a new shape for use

as a frame or silhouette of an object. The materials and techniques of collage used in scrapbooks mimic those of the collagists that "allowed for a complex interplay between illusion and reality, and for the transformation of one reality into another" (Hoffman 7). In scrapbooks the variety of materials and text create the interplay between memories of an event in the life of the scrapbook maker and its representations in scrapbooks. While some scrapbook makers may consider part or all of their work artistic, the issue of scrapbook making as a folk art or a fine art based on similarities to collage remains open for debate. Whether or not scrapbook makers employ the techniques of collage to make their books more attractive and memorable, some scrapbooks have found their way into museums of art.

In the twentieth century, and for the first time in their history, scrapbooks found themselves the subject of exhibits in museums and the source of texts in relevant discourses on society. Occasionally scrapbooks have appeared as part of retrospective exhibits on a notable life or displayed as mementos of war. Their milestone leap from part of an exhibit to the subject of an exhibit occurred in 1995 when Annette Messager, an artist with a "'preoccupation with death and its 'covers'," assembled a collection of her private scrapbooks for exhibition at Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the Art Institute of Chicago (J. Corbett 32). The exhibit places her work in the "context of a critique of the book as a cultural artifact" (J. Corbett 32). By "allowing the texts of these private collections to be exposed to full view, Messager is in effect removing the constraints which are normally imposed by a book's covers -- the hidden secrets shut within, whose revelations require an active penetration to be revealed" (J. Corbett 35). Her exhibit reveals a fascination "with the book's potential for much more vital performance: the play between outside and inside, form and content, author and reader" (J. Corbett 35). Messager also evokes the reader's

"voyeuristic urge by inserting loose photographs and drawings between the pages of her books, slipping these artifacts out just far enough to pique the reader's curiosity while, at the same time, subverting the function of a book's cover: to provide the borders which subsume diverse ideas while unifying concepts, that is, to hold the pages together and protect them" (J. Corbett 35-36). Messager chose to display her scrapbooks in glass cases, but like diaphanous gowns, the cases provide only an illusion of privacy that contradicts the reality of her books exposed without covers in a public place. On the other hand, the cases provide a semblance of modesty by distancing the reader from them and by depriving readers of the opportunity to engage with the books on a tactile or sensory level or to explore other pages of the books. Using scrapbooks rather than published books, helps Messager emphasize that making books involves a personal investment and a certain amount of individual exposure by the writer that may be detected through decisions such as style, arrangement, etc. Although the glass appears clear, its presence causes the reader to pause and more closely consider the pages beneath it, in much the same way that readers may find themselves examining text for meaning beneath the words that may appear clear on the surface. Messager reinforces this theme with items peeking from behind the pages that imply hidden messages and clues that require discovery as part of reading. Messager's scrapbooks contribute to the ongoing discourse on books by drawing attention to the properties of the book, its meaning, and relationships between readers and writers. Messager's theme on the secrets within books recalls an earlier time when other discourses on society and its art remained hidden and far from museum walls.

In the 1950s, society and the world of art denied expression in legitimate spaces to Carl Van Vechten. Although recognized as a music and dance critic, a theatrical and society photographer, author of several books including Nigger Heaven and The Tattooed

Countess, and a member of the Harlem Renaissance, Van Vechten could find no place to publish his erotic photographs of male homosexuals. Undaunted, he found a forum for his art in more than twenty scrapbooks where he self-published his most intimate photographs of gay men. Unacceptable in the same mediums as his other photographs, Van Vechten surrounded his photographs with text from the publication mediums forbidden to him, thus providing his photographs with a tenuous connection to the legitimacy denied them and using "the dominant culture's language [. . .] to speak of sexual transgression" (Weinberg 32). As a result "we can imagine Van Vechten and his friends at private parties laughing over the jokes" (Weinberg 47). At the same time the scrapbooks provided a discourse space on issues related to the gay community. Besides his photographs, his scrapbooks contained "articles about the formation of the early homosexual rights groups, drag balls, numerous pieces about men being mistaken for women and women being mistaken for men, reports about arrests and murders of homosexuals" (Weinberg 31). As a result, Van Vechten's scrapbook collection provides "a history of gay life from the thirties to the fifties" (Weinberg 31). In a final note of irony, Van Vechten bequeathed his scrapbooks to Yale University, "at the time an all-male bastion of conformity," assuring that discourses on homosexuality and the arts would continue long after his death (Weinberg 47-48). The scrapbooks of Messager and Van Vechten mark important moments in the history of scrapbooks by demonstrating their contributions to discourses on culture and the arts.

Messager's and Van Vechten's work with scrapbooks may have foreshadowed the acceptance of scrapbooks as art and discourse space in the home. In 2005 The Pottery Barn introduced an oversized frame for mounting scrapbooks on walls in the home to "create an interactive display" of photos and other memorabilia (Pottery Barn). Unlike Messager's protective cases, the Pottery Barn frame contains no glass. Viewers can

freely turn the pages of the framed scrapbook. Vertical straps along the inside edges of the frame prevent the pages from drooping forward. The refillable scrapbook comes with fifty pages that fit within the forty inches wide and over thirty inches high frame. Unlike Messager's exhibit, the scrapbooks mounted in homes create a more intimate and interactive experience for the viewers. But, like Van Vechten's and Messager's scrapbooks, they carry into the home the potential for discourses on art.

The history of scrapbooks in the twentieth-century also passes through the arts in the world of literature, as noted earlier in the works of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, including his 1903 publication of The Adventure of the Empty House. Whereas Doyle represents Holmes' scrapbooks as evidence of his intellectual and professional prowess, a contemporary of his, Ambrose Bierce, offered a much less reverential commentary on character as revealed through scrapbooks. In 1911 in The Devil's Dictionary he wrote:

> Scrap-Book, n.
>
> A book that is commonly edited by a fool. Many persons of some small distinction compile scrap-books containing whatever they happen to read about themselves or employ others to collect. One of these egotists was addressed in the lines following, by Agamemnon Melancthon Peters:
>
> Dear Frank, that scrap-book where you boast
>
> You keep a record true
>
> Of every kind of peppered roast
>
> That's made of you;
>
> Wherein you paste the printed gibes
>
> That revel round your name,
>
> Thinking the laughter of the scribes
>
> Attests your fame;

Where all the pictures you arrange

That comic pencils trace --

Your funny figure and your strange

Semitic face --

Pray lend it me. Wit I have not,

Nor art, but there I'll list

The daily drubbings you'd have got

Had God a fist. (202-03)

Although in sharp contrast to Doyle's use of scrapbooks, Bierce's satire also assumes that readers understand the context of scrapbook making in the service of identity creation and character discovery.

Creating humor by exploiting readers' understanding of scrapbooks continues today in the works of Dean Young and Denis Lebrun, Cathy Guisewite, Jim Davis, and Steve Alaniz and Francesco Mariuliano. Their amusing creations appear daily on the comics pages of newspapers worldwide. In "Blondie," Young and Lebrun have created a running gag based on "Dagwood" and his album, sometimes referred to as a scrapbook and sometimes as a family album (Young and Lebrun). With his album spread wide across his knees or theirs, "Dagwood" tells his children stories about their obscure ancestors or their strange behaviors. His stories evoke chuckles from readers because they recognize in the stereotypes the myths, peculiarities, and "skeletons in the closet" that populate their own family histories. On the other hand, "Dagwood's" scrapbook symbolizes the important role of elders who possess and preserve family knowledge and try to pass it on to the next generation. In "Garfield," Davis uses scrapbooks as symbols of family and to humorously reveal the desperation of his socially inept character "Jon" (Jim Davis). "Jon" buys a scrapbook at a rummage sale and "adopts" the family in the

photos as his own (Jim Davis). With a nostalgic sign, "Jon" gazes at the photo of a stranger and says, "I'll call her 'cousin Suzy'" (Jim Davis), invoking a comment on the role of scrapbooks in constructing a family's identity. Another quality that readers recognize in scrapbooks surfaces in the cartoon strip "Cathy" (Guisewite). On her way home from a frenzied day at the office and in traffic, Guisewite's "Cathy" claims that "No matter how chaotic the rest of the world is, a person's home is the one tiny oasis where she can be in complete control" (Guisewite). Ironically, when she arrives home she confronts a mountain of photos and several sparkling new albums. Signifying the desire for order that scrapbooks can help satisfy and the good intention of those who seek organization, "Cathy" turns to her pile and demands, "Put yourself in chronological order and get in those albums!!!" (Guisewite). Guisewite and her comic colleagues, as well as Doyle, albeit from different perspectives, depend on reader familiarity with scrapbooks to convey both serious and funny commentary on character and relationships.

Taking further advantage of the connection between readers' responses to scrapbooks and the art of revealing character, writers and publishers discovered another use for scrapbooks. Banking on the ethos of scrapbooks as believable and intimate insights into character, they used scrapbooks to package popular biographies. They inserted the word "scrapbook" in the titles and presented the content in a scrapbook-like fashion, mixing text and images of various artifacts. Although these tactics invoke the informal, intimate, and personal nature of scrapbooks, their polished, edited, and mass-produced content stand far apart from any original scrapbook that may exist. In fact, unlike reproductions of works of art from originals, published scrapbooks do not actually reproduce original scrapbooks. Instead, authors and publishers create a scrapbook-like composition designed specifically to appeal to an audience's voyeuristic desire to feel closer to the subject of the book. This works particularly well for biographies of

celebrities in sports and entertainment. The informality and intimacy of the word "scrapbook" in the title of fan biographies influence readers' purchase decisions by creating an illusion that the book leaps the velvet-roped barrier between the readers and the untouchable celebrities they may idolize. Samples of titles include The Jim Carrey Scrapbook, The Bette Midler Scrapbook, The John Travolta Scrapbook, Baywatch: The Official Scrapbook, The Nolan Ryan Scrapbook, and thousands more. Publishers may hope that from the scrapbook title and feel of the books readers will infer that they were made by the subjects themselves or at least provide glimpses into their private world. As a result, "this phenomenon, in which audiences are manipulated by the delusion that products are the result of individual creative effort, replaces the old forms of persuasion" (Bender and Wellbery Ends of Rhetoric 33). Scrapbook titles also imply an autobiographical text, although many are little more than public relations projects that rely heavily on publicity photographs and images of personal items with a mixture of text not necessarily provided by the celebrity. However, the scrapbook format and title also signal to fans that the book has appealing and accessible content, more consistent with the world of entertainment or sports than a carefully researched critical biography from academia. Using these techniques to create a sense of closeness between the reader and the subject of the book surfaces in other notable biographies as well. In The Carter Family Scrapbook: An Intimate Close-up of America's First Family, the title explicitly declares a link between the intimacy of scrapbooks and a "close-up" of the presidential "family." Exploiting readers' impressions of scrapbooks, even without such an explicit title, contributed to the success of A Governor's Scrapbook by Lamar Alexander, Governor of Tennessee. Alexander wrote the book when he decided to take "time to reflect on [his] tenure and share with others [his] thoughts and experiences as governor" (Beyle 664). A satisfactory review of the book credits much of its success to its

scrapbook-like presentation: "The real sense a reader gets from reading this book, with its generous use of photographs, is of the man, his family, and his state. There is a naturalness and a straightforwardness that can and does lead to accomplishment" (Beyle 665). By employing scrapbooks in the publication of biographical works, publishers have legitimized scrapbooks as a successful method of delivery in the biographical genre. Writers and authors have also discovered that using scrapbooks to make readers feel closer to celebrities can also make them feel closer to other subjects.

In this century the use of scrapbooks as a framework for delivering information has branched out into a variety of disciplines in and around the arts including literature, music, performance, history, and science. The scrapbook format assumes a special collection of materials and invites the use of photographs, illustrations, supporting text, and copies of other items of interest. For instance, a few of the many titles in literature include A New England Scrapbook: A Journey Through Poetry, Prose, and Pictures; Oscar Wilde's London: A Scrapbook of Vices and Virtues, 1880-1900; The H. G. Wells Scrapbook: Articles, Essays, Letters, Anecdotes, Illustrations, Photographs, and Memorabilia; Bertolt Brecht's Berlin: A Scrapbook of the Twenties; and The Romantic Egotists: A Pictorial Autobiography from the Scrapbooks and Albums of F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald. A sample of music and performance titles includes A Stravinsky Scrapbook, 1940-1971; Nadia Reisenberg: A Musician's Scrapbook; Your Own, Your Very Own! A Music Hall Scrapbook; A Dancer's Scrapbook: From the Capitol Theatre, New York City, to Carnegie Hall with Doris Niles: A Chronicle 1919-1929; and The Branson, Missouri, Scrapbook: A Guide to the New Capital of Country Music. Writers of history also have turned to scrapbooks to tell their stories, as in The Scrap Book of Anguilla's Revolution; A Klondike Scrapbook: Ordinary People, Extraordinary Times; and The Great Americana Scrap Book: A Haphazard History of People, Places, and

Things American From Plymouth Rock to Punk Rock, With Hundreds of Famous and Infamous Quotations. Other writers have found that using the scrapbook format and title can help make difficult subjects seem more approachable. Example include A Scrapbook of Complex Curve Theory; Time Travel in Oregon: A Geology Scrapbook; Deserts and Men: A Scrapbook; Survival Scrapbook #3: Energy; The Bomb in Our Bellies: A Layman Looks at Salt Poisoning: A Medical and Health Scrapbook, and many others.

The titles above represent a very small number of the thousands of "scrapbooks" published in many more areas where writers and publishers have found them useful in presenting their subjects in an informal and approachable manner. Throughout the twentieth-century scrapbooks have intersected with the arts and other disciplines in ways previously unknown, from hanging on museum walls to supplying a new format for writing in several genres. More importantly scrapbooks have participated in discourses on social and cultural issues, such as those presented above, as well as in conversations on our national history. In fact, scrapbooks have garnered state and national endorsements as significant contributors to the construction of our history and as sites for discussions on national pride.

A NATIONAL LEGACY

Scrapbook makers come from all walks of life, but some may garner more respect than others, such as those found in The White House, state houses, and other government offices across the nation. In 1910, the daughter-in-law of President Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor (Alexander) Roosevelt, began making scrapbooks after her marriage to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Her scrapbooks document both sides of her family and she continued making them throughout her life. They now reside in the Library of Congress as a part of our national historical treasury (Library of Congress). Two First Ladies, Lady Bird Johnson and Laura Bush kept scrapbooks while in the White House. The Lyndon

Johnson Presidential Library so highly valued the scrapbooks of Lady Bird Johnson that they expended great amounts of time and money to restore them. First Lady Laura Bush not only keeps scrapbooks, but also her daughters are "avid scrapbookers" who stocked up on archival quality supplies before heading to Washington (Katie the Scrapbook Lady Scrapbooking in the White House). The scrapbooks of these presidential ladies and their families help inform the public about their historic times in the White House. In addition, in their unique position as role models, these scrapbook makers set an example for the making and keeping of scrapbooks as important repositories for life stories.

Scrapbooks have also gained respect at other levels of government. The state of Vermont discovered a chapter of its history within the pages of a retirement scrapbook honoring the thirty-year career of its first state social worker, Anne R. McMahon. Her scrapbook documents both her career and the history of her state's investments and actions in the social services. It contains memorabilia of her role in managing the state's social concerns and includes recognition of service from President Coolidge, Governor Gibson of Vermont, and other dignitaries. McMahon's scrapbook remains in the holdings of the state's historical society.

Believing individual stories to be of national importance, the 2000 U. S. Congress created the Veterans History Project at the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. Charged with the mission "to preserve the accounts of men and women involved in World War I, World War II and the Korean, Vietnam and Persian Gulf wars," the collection includes media of all types (Yared). The official checklist for submitting materials to the collection includes instructions for scrapbooks and photograph albums. An article about the project on the Library of Congress web site features a scrapbook by Col. Joseph Gurfein, who as a

> West Point graduate and career Army officer, served in the Korean War and fastidiously saved photographs, ration cards, letters, telegrams, and news clippings, which his wife Marion compiled in a scrapbook titled simply 'Korea '50-'51.' Mrs. Gurfein included in the scrapbook literature and photographs of Colonel Gurfein's participation in the Inchon invasion, North Korean propaganda against the United Nations, copies of Gurfein's military orders, and a Western Union telegram sent by Marion in response to the announcement of her husband's return from Korea: 'Living for January 25 Love you deeply Marion.' (A. Brown)

The article shows two photographs of Gurfein's scrapbook. In one, a worker encases the pages of the book in protective, plastic sleeves. In the other photo a close-up of one page shows Colonel Gurfein's Silver Star surrounded by two newspaper clippings, a photograph, and handwritten text. This scrapbook, a combination of two stories, Gurfein's and his wife's, exemplifies the belief of James H. Billington, the Librarian of Congress, that "the American story can be told through a thousand different voices, a thousand different pictures, a thousand different memories" (qtd. in A. Brown). By its solicitation, acceptance, and treatment of scrapbooks the Library of Congress has identified and validated them as valuable artifacts of our heritage.

Also participating in the endorsement of scrapbooks as places where the stories of our national history may abide or get created, the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), "in partnership with the White House Millennium Council, the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, Genealogy.com, LLC, PSINet Inc., National Association of Broadcasters, U.S. Department of Education, Heritage Preservation, FamilyFun, and Houghton Mifflin Company" sponsored the national millennium project called, 'My History Is America's History'" (National Endowment for

the Humanities NEH Announces). According to William R. Ferris, chairman of the NEH, "My History will weave a powerful tapestry of America that illustrates our nation's history and culture (National Endowment for the Humanities My History). Contributions provide a view of "how we all fit within the broader history of our nation" ("Your Family" 6). This nationwide initiative for gathering family histories includes online advice and supporting links for making scrapbooks and a "free guidebook to help families collect, save and tell their stories" ("Your Family"). A similar independent project, The Vietnam War Internet Project, exemplifies the strength of a desire on the part of individuals to bring together memories in order to make sense of our national past. As historian Eric Bergerud proclaims, "No 'healing,' no apologies, no memorials, nothing can possibly compensate for the damage and the pain inflicted [. . .]. The only thing we can possibly do, twenty years too late, is to try and tell the truth" (qtd. in Tegtmeier). Projects such as these, as well as many others, privilege personal memories as a vehicle for writing history and searching for truths about the past.

Endorsements by first families and national history projects confer on scrapbooks a degree of respect they have not previously enjoyed. In 1998, adding to their national recognition, a proclamation signed by eight governors designated the month of May as National Scrapbook Month, an event celebrated at the time in over forty states and three Canadian provinces. This honor in the history of scrapbooks validated the respect they have earned at the state and national level. In addition, their recognition by government programs and proclamation confirms that scrapbooks are not disposable artifacts, but contain useful archival information for reconstructing or examining our past.

FOOTNOTES OF HISTORY

Recognition of scrapbooks has spread from the state and national level to historical societies, museums, and university libraries. For the first time in the history of

scrapbooks, and despite the heavy demands on archivists to preserve and catalog them, they have found themselves not only welcomed into collections, but also in some cases actively solicited from the population at large. Like other "self works" the stories within scrapbooks "convey the personal experiences of ordinary men, women, and children who did not merit even a footnote in the official chronicles of history" (Melvin). Many scrapbooks contain pieces of our common past that exist nowhere else. They offer evidence of individual investments in the broader issues of our age. Because they present individual perspectives, scrapbooks personalize our history and bring it to life. They invite readers "to consider their own lives in comparison with the personal experiences others have described" (Melvin). Within the context of larger events, scrapbooks allow closer examination of individual values and needs and how people reacted to changes in their world. They present occasions for ongoing discussions of our common history. They contain the rhetoric of the past and provide an opportunity to consider its appropriation or use by individuals. As a result, the importance of individual stories in constructing a national identity through history has gained momentum in recent years (Melvin). For instance, in 1997 the University of Washington discovered a windfall in scrapbooks when it began soliciting materials for its Pacific Northwest Collection. In response to their plea, "Information believed lost to the ages sometimes shows up in bulk" ("Culture at a Good Clip"). In Abilene, Texas, McMurry University gratefully accepted over two hundred scrapbooks from James A. Lowry in 1998. In his scrapbooks Lowry mounted rare and one-of-a-kind clippings from a half-century of single-run newspapers and magazines to create "a perfect reservoir of facts and fancies, fiction, science, art, poetry, philosophy, humor, oratory, history -- everything" (qtd. in Cox).

Single contributions can also provide valuable footnotes to history. For example, the Stickney Family Collection housed at the Vermont Historical Society contains two

scrapbooks that mark the lives of individuals during "The Great War." The first scrapbook, made by Mary Stickney, represents the life and interests of a woman in the early decades of the century (M. Stickney). It spans the years before, during, and after World War I. It contains newspaper and magazine items of poetry, obituaries, and society news. Stickney also included photographs, children's artwork, report cards, telegrams, and letters. It does not appear that she exercised any particular type of organization, but randomly pasted the items into her book. For example, seemingly unrelated items from 1902 and 1920 appear on the same page. Her arrangement may have been dictated by economy of space, i.e., inserting later articles wherever they would fit. Economy may also have dictated her choice of scrapbooks. Instead of a blank book, she appropriated a copy of the ponderous tome Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Manufacturers. When the binding began to bulge from the added materials, she cut out enough pages to allow for expansion. Most of the items she saved relate to her family, but her book also reveals an interest in foreign places and in famous people and their lives. This first Stickney scrapbook, with its focus on the news and interests of home, contrasts sharply with the second Stickney scrapbook.

Authorship of the second Stickney family scrapbook remains uncertain, but it belonged to Mary Stickney Lawrence Branliere. Dedicated exclusively to World War I, it covers the years 1915 to 1930, overlapping five years of the first scrapbook. The scrapbook begins with a September 1915 article titled, "Dr. Stickney Ordered Into Army Service / Will Be Chief Surgeon at Camp Upton, Long Island, N.Y." (qtd. in Stickney). The initial series of articles, arranged in chronological order, report on activities at the camp and include mention of Stickney's mission and duties, such as giving physical exams to recruits. Other camp stories include "Negro Guards Relieved While Soldiers Put on Special Police Duty at Camp Upton" (qtd. in Stickney). Other stories clipped

from newspapers and magazines show an interest in women's services during the war. A handwritten notation lists "7 canteeners sailing on the 'Chicago' for Bordeaux Aug. 29, 1917, arriving Sept (?) 8, 1917" (Stickney). Several articles report on canteens staffed by American women, including "Mrs. Lawrence" who served in the canteen service in France. Articles include news of the "First unit of American canteen women " and the "Room at the Cantine for Games, Reading, and Correspondence, Crowded with Soldiers on Leave" (Stickney). Other articles tell of women volunteers and Red Cross nurses, including reports of two who received the award of War Crosses. Cartoons of the war feature soldiers in the field and humorous comments on the efforts of good intentioned volunteers. Other clippings reprint the poems and report the deaths of two battlefield poets, Rupert Brooke and Alan Seeger. Articles in the latter part of the book report war news: "Airship Attacks Dutch Town," "Leaders of the Conquering Army" (including Foch), events at the peace conference, post-war issues, and fundraising for memorials. The book ends with a note on the death of a physician: "Dr. Harlow Brooks is Victim of Bacillus he Helped Discover" (qtd. in Stickney). The two Stickney scrapbooks offer different perspectives on the war years, but together they provide a story of one family's contributions to the war, at home and abroad. One book represents the stability of home and the other the work of men and women who supported the troops. Each serves history from a different perspective. As the number of WWI veterans continues to decline, scrapbooks such as these become more important as personal links to the lives of men and women who served at home and abroad. In addition, both books capture part of a family's history as well as a slice of Vermont life during the war.

Following World War I Americans faced a different kind of war at home against despair and unemployment. The Great Depression, "the worst and longest period of unemployment and low business activity in modern times," began in 1929 and affected

the entire world economy ("Great Depression"). In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced the New Deal, a plan designed to relieve economic hardships. His plan included the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a program that trained and employed over two million men in conservation jobs dedicated to "planting trees, building dams, and fighting forest fires" ("Great Depression"). An inside look at one of the camps comes from a scrapbook meticulously kept by John Jurras, Education Advisor at Camp 146 at Marshfield, Vermont from 1934 to 1937 (Jurras). His scrapbook traces the activities of the camp beginning with recruitment of its first 197 men, reconnaissance survey, and construction of buildings. Jurras taught classes in reading and bookkeeping and solicited donations of books from various colleges to create a camp library. He also served as leader of the camp's winning second-place basketball team. In his additional role as public relations officer, Jurras successfully used his scrapbook to insure "regular exposure in Rhode Island and Vermont newspapers" (Jurras Scope Notes). After loaning his scrapbook to another adviser, Jurras received a letter of praise that he proudly pasted on the inside front cover of his scrapbook. It commends Jurras' work and his scrapbook in particular: "Your scrap book is one that shows concretely what can be done with publicity in the camp" (qtd. in Jurras). Today Jurras' scrapbook fills in a piece of CCC history and its legacy in Vermont -- "a public camp ground with fire places, water supply and tenting space" (Jurras). The scrapbook captures the spirit of the CCC and the courage and hard work of Jurras and the other members of the camp. Jurras' scrapbook also helped him achieve success as a public relations officer.

Another economic initiative during the depression, the Tennessee Valley Authority, had responsibility for building several dams, including those along the rivers of Ohio and Tennessee. When the U.S. Department of Conservation wanted to build an interpretive center to tell the lost story of Tennessee Valley riverboat communities

displaced by the dams, its search ended with the discovery of 'Deaf' Maggie Lee Sayre's scrapbooks (T. Rankin 9). She started making her scrapbooks in 1936 when the Great Depression drove people to the river for survival and swelled the community to over 30,000 boats (Burman 8). Her scrapbooks document her family's subsistence lifestyle and their almost primitive, nomadic existence on the river until 1974. During the intervening thirty-eight years, her family became the only one to successfully elude the Tennessee Valley Authority's eviction of all families and their riverboats from the waters affected by dam building projects.

Besides its historical contributions, Sayre's scrapbook reminds us that families make up the smallest units of culture. While families may have cultural traditions of their own, they share cultural traditions with other groups and with society at large. Understanding the traditions and traits of families contributes toward our cultural knowledge. Sayre's and other scrapbooks like hers are making a valuable contribution to American history and culture.

Scrapbooks also confirm that not all the work to ease the depression came from government sponsored programs. Much of it depended on the energies and contributions of individuals working within their communities. For instance, the depression negatively affected the stability and growth of many cities, including Fort Lauderdale, Florida, the home of Harriette H. Adams. During the height of the depression she served her community as a leader of ten organizations, including senior vice-president of the Woman's Relief Corps and Southside Ladies Aid ("Harriette H. H. Adams"). Her scrapbook chronicles her efforts to improve the morale of her community, promote an interest in American History, and raise the hopes of children (Adams). Her achievements made "life more pleasant for many people [. . .] during these tough times" ("Harriette H. H. Adams"). She saved mementos of her social life and the occasions that marked her

creating and bestowing of awards and scholarships for students in American History (Adams). Through the items saved in her scrapbook readers get a sense of the ways "people became closer and worked together for those improvements that would nourish the town and provide some degree of pleasure for its people" ("Harriette H. H. Adams"). Adams' scrapbook gives readers a chance to examine how she and her community responded to "an era of changes, of depression with setbacks and reverses for most" ("Harriette H. H. Adams").

A few years after Adams completed her scrapbook, the United States entered World War II. Once again scrapbooks provided a place for families and individuals to document their involvement, demonstrate their patriotism, or contemplate their situation. Helen Quinn, matriarch of the Quinn family of Vermont, and the mother, foster mother, aunt, and friend of dear ones in service, needed five large scrapbooks to hold their letters and envelopes, postcards, greeting cards, magazine and newspaper articles, family photos, and the other relevant items she collected from 1941 to 1945. Her scrapbooks "reflect the wartime lives of non-commissioned personnel many of whom did not serve overseas" (Quinn Scope Notes). Her scrapbooks contain perspectives on the war from about a dozen people in different wartime positions and locations. Like a diamond with several facets, each turn of a page brings another side of the war into the light. However, Quinn remains the thread that holds them all together as correspondent and archivist. From the size of her scrapbook, it appears she saved everything her family and friends sent her, whether from nearby New York or the Far East. With so many of her loved ones away or in danger, her scrapbook may have helped ease her loneliness or fears. She mounted the letters and postcards for easy removal as if making sure she could read them again. The letters she received express appreciation for the news she relayed from home and from other correspondents. One page of her scrapbook contains a series of articles

that report the news of a "Montpelier Soldier Reported Killed" (qtd. in Quinn). Other letters on the page include one received from the soldier that left his sister and his family "hopeful he may still be alive" (Quinn). Next to these articles Quinn pasted the newspaper's retraction, "Reported Death Incorrect" (qtd. in Quinn). Beside that she added the humorous letter from the soldier written after he received the hometown newspaper article on his death. Among the personal sentiments and descriptions of military life, her scrapbooks contain evidence of military precautions against unauthorized communications. Some letters arrived as reduced photocopies of their originals and others contain markings of censorship (Quinn). Quinn's scrapbooks and many others like hers in libraries, museums, and historical societies attest to the widespread use of scrapbooks during the war. Even those who did not have family or friends serving in the military kept scrapbooks on the war.

One such scrapbook displays unusual foresight. It also serves as an example of how scrapbooks can help individuals and families feel part of the events surrounding them. In 1939 John 'Jack' Stoddard, "history major, insurance salesman, high school substitute teacher and, later an airplane spotter off the Virginia coast, turned to his wife and said, 'We're in for something bad over there'" (C. Wolfram "Scrapbooks Chronicle"). The next day Mary Stoddard began a WWII scrapbook and ended up with thirty-five volumes of materials. Stoddard's scrapbooks became a centerpiece of her family's life. She and her husband "would talk endlessly about the war, combat strategy and the significance of the events unfolding in Europe" (C. Wolfram "Scrapbooks Chronicle"). Interspersed among the clippings of the war, Stoddard noted important family events, such as the births of her children (C. Wolfram "Scrapbooks Chronicle"). In this way, Stoddard connected herself and her family history to the unfolding history of the war. The scrapbooks also provided material for her husband when he told their children

bedtime stories (C. Wolfram "Scrapbooks Chronicle"). Although Stoddard plans to donate her scrapbooks to a WWII museum, they had a lasting effect on her family. Her husband and children "were full of history." The Stoddard family scrapbooks provided the background for their lives during the war and served as a platform for family discourses and stories.

Besides the scrapbooks and discussions on the war, Stoddard took part in assuring domestic security by watching for enemy planes in United States skies. In Delray Beach, Florida, plane spotters and the Civil Defense Council used scrapbooks to help carry out their duties. With its patriotic cover honoring the first notes of the Liberty Bell in 1753, S. Marguerite Lane's 1941 Civil Defense scrapbook served the Delray Beach, Florida Civil Defense Council for four years (Lane). Her scrapbook begins with a hand-drawing of a plane with all its parts identified and a magazine article, "Flash Message form records information telephoned by spotters telling number of planes, type, altitude, whether seen or heard, distance, direction, post's designation" (Lane). Additional items include professional drawings, pamphlets, and newspaper and magazine articles of American, German, British, and Japanese aircraft with all their parts and insignia identified. Her book also holds descriptions and photographs of loading and deplaning troops, cutaway drawings of planes, and helicopters in rescue. Lane also saved her "Air Raid Instructions" card, "Official Blackout Regulations," "Suggestions for Women's Participation in Civil Defense Organizations," a list of the number of blankets, pillows, towels, etc., and contents of medical kits required by "Emergency Station Cornwall," and her certificate for honorable service in "I Fighter Command, Aircraft Warning Service" (Lane). Additional letters, photographs, and articles relate to details on airplanes and the work of plane spotters. Lane's scrapbook served as a reference book during the war and today it documents one part of a town's response to war. It supplements the town's Civil

Defense Council scrapbooks. One CDC scrapbook contains regulations and newspaper reports on air raids, blackouts, curfews, and response times. The city's efforts to improve its performance and procedures for informing and protecting tourists appear in newspaper articles and CDC reports. Lane's scrapbook and the CDC scrapbook show how an individual and a community responded to the war effort at home. They also helped them carry out duties in the service of town and country. Their scrapbooks represent a tiny slice of wartime concerns and activities that occupied Americans in other small towns. Thousands, if not millions, of scrapbooks of war time contributions exist in historical societies, libraries, and museums across the country. They include scrapbooks from the Korean conflict, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and the war in Iraq. Each one personalizes the wars of the century and adds a footnote to our political history.

Not all the turbulence of the century came from wars; much of it came from changes in our society. Scrapbooks that reflect social change allow future generations to examine the values of the twentieth century and how we faced the demands of a growing society. In the early years of this century women demanded that society extend to them the right to vote. The long fight for their rights began in the nineteenth-century and continued into the twentieth. Evidence of women working for the vote appears in the scrapbooks of two suffragettes, Harriett Taylor Upton and Elizabeth Smith Miller. From today's point of view, the book on swine plague that Upton appropriated for her scrapbook on suffrage seems to radiate with a sarcasm she may not have intended in 1904. Nevertheless, pages have been excised from the book to make room for the added bulk of articles and other memorabilia pasted or pinned onto pages. Upton's scrapbook concerns dedicated efforts to have the women's right to vote conferred at the same time as Oklahoma's Bill for Statehood. Oklahoma became a state in 1907, but did not give full suffrage to women until 1918. Although Upton's scrapbook ends in 1905, it contains

unusual documents related to the movement, including a typed copy of the history and formation of "OK's permanent Equal Suffrage Association" and an article on "New York Women Who are Opposed to Suffrage" who visited Guthrie, the capital of Oklahoma in 1905 (Upton). Upton also retained tracts on the women's movement and an enrollment card in the Equal Suffrage Association. Notations regarding the location of documents stored elsewhere indicate her book also served as an index to a filing system on the suffrage movement: "Clippings from Congressional Record 58th Congress will be found in the History File" and "House Bill also in History File" (Upton). Besides these references, Upton also made notations on articles with red or blue pencil. The boldness of her blue-pencilled underscoring beneath the phrase "Delicate Diplomacy of Women" visually contradicts the statement, even without further comment. While Upton worked for suffrage in Oklahoma, Miller and her colleagues worked for suffrage half a continent away. Miller's scrapbooks depict the activities of the Geneva Political Equality Club of New York. Miller died in 1911, six years before suffrage passed in New York. Since the scrapbook ends in 1911 it could mean that it served as a personal scrapbook and not as an official scrapbook of the club. Filled with press clippings, programs, correspondence, and such ephemera as convention buttons and ribbons, her scrapbooks "leave a record of the vigorous intellectual engagement" that surrounded her (Lowery and Cooke). Of particular interest, her scrapbook includes invitations to scholars to speak on the suffrage issue. This interests scholars because "it was not the custom of the era for scholars to enter into social debate, but nonetheless intriguing today to imagine those instances on which a 19th-century scholar of classical philosophy or rhetoric stood before a roomful of progressive 20th-century reformers, determined to usher society out of that past and into a different era" (Lowery and Cooke). Upton's and Miller's scrapbooks represent

hundreds of other suffragettes' scrapbooks, all of them presenting the struggle through the eyes of different women across the nation as they worked toward a common goal.

A quest of a different kind occupied another disenfranchised segment of the population. Over one million immigrants entered the United States in the first decade of the century and millions more continued to arrive throughout the century. Some of their scrapbooks offer a window into their lives as they strived "to feel at home away from home. To be here as well as there. To be always at the boundary" (Jaireth 106). Even the more privileged among them found life between two continents challenging. Twelve scrapbooks by Count Alexandre Orlowski, son of a Polish aristocrat and an American-born French woman, demonstrate the divided consciousness of a mid-twentieth-century immigrant. His scrapbooks represent his interests in both American and European politics, art, and society. They contain clippings and memorabilia reflecting his interests in the theatre, music, sculpture, painting, and women's and men's fashions, including an article about the theft of a man's wardrobe. He kept souvenirs from his travels: hotel receipts, postcards, brochures, guide books, match book covers, cocktail napkins, autographed menus, airline tickets and seat-occupied signs, hotel signs, and much more. He kept abreast of politics in Poland with clippings of articles in English, French, and Polish (9; 15). He followed the war news closely especially about his homeland and Paris, where his mother lived (9). He also followed the news of friends and famous people in foreign and local newspapers. From the content of his scrapbook one would assume that Orlowski successfully made the transition from European to American society. However, in spite of numerous articles on society happenings, his scrapbook contains few invitations to social events and the clippings he treasured of society gatherings rarely include his name. An article written on the occasion of his second wedding offers a biting insight into Orlowski's social status as a hanger-on:

> The half-American Orlowski, whose mother, the former Mabel Stevens, is supposedly still living in Paris, will take the plunge in November with Gladys Thelma Goudie, daughter of the Steward D. Goudies. Alex Orlowski had more or less vanished from the social scene soon after his first wife, Muriel Mullins, went through a long and complicated European divorce in order to get rid of her titled spouse. Unable to find the sort of suitable business position in New York to keep him in the style to which he was accustomed by virtue of his wealthy mama's mazuma, the Count returned to Paris shortly after his daughter was born in '33 and proceeded to enjoy the comforts of his mother's well-padded fortune. As far as I can gather, Orlowski came States-side shortly after the European situation started to spark up and has been living very quietly and unobtrusively on his Furnace Brook Farm in Pittsford, VT. Through his late father, a member of Poland's most distinguished families, and through his mother, who is of the aristocratic Hoboken Stevens family, Alec can still go a long way in impressing social newcomers with his 'long on family.' That, if coupled with a large enough dowry, should bring the count's little world into focus again. (qtd. in Orlowski 9)

Displaced by war and a divorce, Orlowski does not seem to have found a comfortable place in either American or European society. However, his scrapbooks seem to allow him vicarious participation in both. For instance, his scrapbooks clearly show an avid interest in other Polish immigrants who seemed to have achieved acceptance. In an article of fashion news on the best and worst dressed of the season, Orlowski underlined the name of a Polish immigrant who made the list (9). He enjoyed the world of art, but paid particular attention to Polish art, including articles on the theft of Polish art during

the war. He followed the careers of Polish artists and, based on evidence of his bidding on a sculpture called "The Polish Peddler," may have collected Polish art (1945-47). Although outside the boundary of the society he admired, Orlowski kept up with the latest trends in fashion, literature, and lifestyle. On a list of the fifty most outstanding books of 1945, he underlined those he had read -- or possibly intended to read (9). Apparently influenced by the newspaper articles he collected on Queen Elizabeth II's preference for Welsh Corgis, he had one shipped to him from a London breeder and acknowledged its purchase and shipment in his scrapbook along with receipts, notes, and specific care and handling instructions (9; 1945-47). However, it seems Orlowski remained outside the circle of American and European societies -- except between the covers of his scrapbooks. The aristocracy and society he left in Poland no longer existed after the war and American society seemed unwilling to include him. The society he vicariously enjoyed in his scrapbook remained beyond his reach on both continents. He spent his last years as an antiques dealer in Vermont and died there in 1975. In spite of his pedigrees, Orlowski's scrapbook represents the struggles of many immigrants living "always at the boundary."

Others Americans who lived at the boundary of society included African Americans. Los Angeles, California and Dallas, Texas hope that scrapbooks can help piece together the history of disenfranchised groups in their cities, "but so far the visual record has remained sparse" (Kobayashi and Cole B9). Motivated by the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1965 riots in Watts, the Los Angeles Public Library created a new archive, "Shades of L.A.," that provides "a completely new view of the ethnic groups living in America's second-largest and most diverse city" (Kobayashi and Cole B10). Starting with only one picture in their archive, they turned to over five hundred members of their community for donations. As a result, "the archive is made up of photographs

collected from albums and scrapbooks and comprised entirely of ethnic communities such as African Americans" (Kobayashi and Cole Abstract). The collection also includes donations from "Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and urban American Indians" (Kobayashi and Cole B10). In addition to enriching the history of Los Angeles, the curators hope that when people visit the archive they will go back to "their own family albums, with fresh eyes and new appreciation for their own place in history" (Kobayashi and Cole B11). Similarly, in Dallas, Texas, the J. Erik Jonsson Central Library's Texas/Dallas history and archives department "wants to diversify its archive materials and particularly wants historical documents from ethnic communities" (Adams-Wade 13A). William David Logan's scrapbook, a rummage sale purchase donated to the library, represents the type of materials they seek. Logan's scrapbook chronicles a "Dallas man's experiences as a black soldier as well as black life in Dallas in the 1940s, '50s and '60s" (Adams-Wade). In addition to photographs and news clippings the scrapbook contains:

> military papers and pictures, postcards and notes about his war travels in France, Germany and Africa. It also contains articles he wrote about the war for a Dallas weekly newspaper and other articles and notes about Dallas blacks in the postwar years. It chronicles his involvement with the Masons and Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. (Adams-Wade)

Logan's family remembered him as the family photographer and storyteller of family history. Now, as a part of Dallas' history and African American history, Logan's scrapbook "might help educate others about blacks during World War II" and the life of a black man in Dallas in the mid-century (Adams-Wade). Scrapbooks that contribute to history projects like those in Los Angeles and Dallas help "address the big questions that American society has always grappled with: Who are we? How are we different from

each other? How are we the same? How do we remember who we are?" (Kobayashi and Cole B11). These questions represent "one of the most pervasive themes" of the twentieth century: the search for identity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 96). In addition to the traditional resources used by scholars in their search for answers to these questions, the historical societies, museums, and libraries above, as well as many others, have solicited scrapbooks for their collections. After years of neglect and rejection, the recognition of scrapbooks as a valuable primary resource marks an important step in the history and future of scrapbooks. Scrapbooks, like diaries and journals, help scholars answer these questions because they represent the culturally driven impulses of individuals to answer similar questions about their own lives.

FINANCIAL PHENOMENON

The discussion above demonstrates the spread of scrapbooks throughout our culture and their rising importance in all realms of life. From the Twin Cities in Minnesota to Brisbane, Australia and points in between, headlines proclaim the spread of scrapbooks as a phenomenon. However, the examples above represent only a small portion of the cumulative time and money invested in making scrapbooks. The financial investment in scrapbooks provides an indicator of their remarkable success and marks a highlight in their history. In 1999 the Wall Street Journal called scrapbooks "the craft industry's hottest trend" ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'") and by 2004 the Craft and Hobby Association declared scrapbook making "America's most popular craft activity" (Siegal). According to The National Survey of Scrapbooking in America™ 2004, annual sales in the scrapbook industry reached $2.5 billion in 2003 ("Annual Sales"). That figure represents twice the sales reported in 2001 ("Annual Sales"). The Hobby Industry Association estimates that the "number of scrapbookers in the United States has quadrupled in the past five years, to 20 million" (Festa). A Rose Market Research report

estimates that scrapbook makers represent 24.5 percent, almost one in four, of American households ("Annual Sales"). Survey figures include all types of households, not just those with two or more members ("Annual Sales"). The survey also discovered that "scrapbookers are most likely to be females between the ages of 30 and 50" ("Annual Sales"). Of the most likely population, "eighty-two percent have a college education and nearly 50 percent are employed full time" ("Annual Sales"). A previous survey in 1996 by Nationwide Craft/Hobby Consumer Study for the Hobby International Association reported that one in five women over age fifty-five make scrapbooks ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'"). A 1999 study of scrapbook sales reported that the average scrapbook customer spent approximately $60-$80 on supplies per store visit in 1999 ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'"). Based on industry trends, that figure has probably more than doubled since then. In addition, in 2004 the average scrapbook maker owned an average of $1,853 worth of scrapbook-making tools ("Annual Sales"). And, 76% of scrapbook makers had dedicated space in their homes for making scrapbooks ("Annual Sales").

Figures for the scrapbook industry did not become significant until the end of the early 1990s when the first scrapbook company, Creative Memories, Inc.™ "pioneered the current scrapbooking popularity" (Lightle and Anderson n. pag.). Frustrated by the scarcity of scrapbook supplies, Cheryl Lightle and Rhonda Anderson founded the company in 1987. By 2004 they became the "largest direct-selling scrapbook company in the country" and recognized as an "industry giant" (Festa). They structured their company around home-based consultants who conduct classes and workshops in scrapbook-making skills and sell scrapbooks, tools, and accessories. Consultants also offer writing instruction. By 2003 Creative Memories had become a $400 million company and employed over 78,600 U.S. trained consultants (Festa). Figures do not

include international markets, but in 1997 they "opened the Hispanic market in the US" and in 1999 opened the "global markets overseas" (Iida-Pederson). The company's mission, "Preserving the Past, Enriching the Present and Inspiring Hope for the Future," helped "re-establish the traditions of the photo historian-storyteller and the importance of photo preservation and journaling for future generations" (Lightle and Anderson). These themes created a model for the scrapbook-making industry and for the many businesses that followed.

According to industry analysts, "Scrapbooks have taken on a life of their own, with retailers increasing the space devoted to the category and its many accessories" (Looksmart: Scrapbooks). In 1997 Wal-Mart and Ames once stood alone as discount stores that devoted space to scrapbooks (Looksmart: Scrapbooks). Since then Target has joined the ranks. In addition to direct sale consultants, discount stores face competition from online sales and small retail stores. Small retail stores around the country offer scrapbook-making instruction in addition to supplies. In 1998 it cost between $40,000 and $120,000 to open a scrapbook store (Wilson). The industry also spawned many businesses engaged in the design and manufacture of scrapbook products in response to demands from scrapbook makers for archival quality products including covers, papers, pens, glues, stickers, stamps, special scissors, carrying cases, storage products, work tables, and many more. Scrapbook makers also patronize online retailers who maintain forums and chatrooms in addition to selling supplies.

Advertisers and publishers have tapped into the market with a plethora of how-to books and magazines filled with color photographs of scrapbook-making ideas. Advertisements for scrapbook products and services appeal to educated, middle-class consumers. Besides newspapers and magazines, advertisements appear on roadside billboards, such as those seen along Florida's Turnpike and Interstate 95. The most

successful advertising campaigns promote archival quality products for the preservation of family photos and other memorabilia combined with instructions for writing in scrapbooks. Most product advertisements appear in glossy, specialty magazines that look like scrapbooks themselves. A leader in its field and the first magazine devoted to scrapbooks, Creating Keepsakes began publishing in 1996. By 2004 it had over 250,000 subscribers with an additional 5,000 new subscribers signing on each month (Wadley; Labi). A rival magazine, Memory Makers, started by a former Creative Memories employee, distributed to over 200,000 subscribers in 2000 and continues to grow (Schwab). Newsstand issues sell for an average of $6.00. Familiar standards in the magazine industry have added scrapbook titles to their product lines, such as Better Homes and Gardens Scrapbooks Etc.

Book titles come from long-established publishers such as Time Life Books and from new publishers such as The Scrapbook Guild and Hot Off the Press. In 2005, an online search of the Barnes and Noble book retailer, using the keywords "scrapbook making," returned over 250 titles. A keyword search of the term "scrapbooking" returned over 1,400 titles. Not surprising, Scrapbooking for Dummies has shown up on bookshelves. Some books on scrapbook making cater to children. The Scrapbooking for Kids™ series includes the titles My Own Scrapbook, My Adventure Scrapbook, and My Daydream Scrapbook ("Junior Scrappers" 118).

Besides books on how to make scrapbooks, scrapbooks makers can read books with scrapbooks as their theme. Laura Childs' Scrapbook Mystery Series debuted in 2003 with Keepsake Crimes followed by Bound for Murder in January of 2004 and Photo Finished in November 2004. For younger readers, Josephine Nobisso's story about Grandma's Scrapbook "celebrates memories, and shows the impact a scrapbooks can have in the life of a child" ("Scraphappenings: A Scrapbook Story"). A book for younger

children, Carl Makes a Scrapbook by Alexandra Day, tells a story in pictures of a child making a scrapbook by himself. The pages depict a child engaged in selecting memorabilia from a box, sorting it, arranging it on pages, pasting it down, reviewing the completed pages, and putting away the materials afterwards. The book delivers several messages regarding scrapbook-making and children: given the opportunity, a child will choose making a scrapbook over watching TV; a child can make a scrapbook without supervision; pre- and early readers can make scrapbooks; making a scrapbook is more fun than watching a video; making a scrapbook is "very good" behavior; and a child can "learn a lot" from making a scrapbook (Day). Since the drawings of finished pages reveal events in the child's life and the life of other family members the book implies that a child can learn a lot about his or her family by making a scrapbook.

The travel industry has also profited from the scrapbook business. Scrapbook makers spend millions of dollars attending camps, cruises, conventions, and retreats that integrate workshops with vacations. For instance, "Scrap and Spa in Union Pier, Mich., on the shore of Lake Michigan [. . .] offers a weekend of massages, pedicures and scrapbooking for $215" (Labi 66). The Memory Makers "Mexican Riviera" cruise, billed as a "fantastic scrapbooking voyage!", offers double occupancy for $1299 per person. In various major cities around the country, the Creating Keepsakes University "offered a $345 three-day 'scrapbooking university' program and a 'master's degree' program" (Siegal). All 750 seats sold within thirty-two minutes after registration began (Siegal). Scrapbook conventions attract thousands of scrapbook makers from around the world. Midwest Scrapbook Association, one of several scrapbook convention coordinators, convened the first scrapbook convention in 1996 and continues to convene three a year (Dunrud and Snyder). In 1997 about one thousand scrapbook makers attended The First Great American Scrapbook Convention in Arlington, Texas (Looksmart: Scrapbooks).

Attendance has grown and the conventions now take place several times a year in various locations around the country. For instance, over 4,500 scrapbook makers attended a convention in Chantilly, Virginia in June 2003 (Festa). Convention attendees benefit the travel industry because they often require hotel and transportation arrangements. In addition to conventions, scrapbook makers often get together for other types of sponsored scrapbook events, such as "crop parties" at hotels. The Hampton Hotels have devised a way to cash in on the idea. A 2001 press release announced,

> Hampton Hotels jumps into the publishing business as part of an initiative encouraging seniors to be historians and storytellers for younger generations. The Hilton subsidiary will give guests 50-and-older staying during a weekend through Sept. 30 a Grand Memories scrapbook with fill-in-the-blank pages to record memories and advice. ("Hampton Dangles Scrapbook Lure")

The promotion includes online scrapbooks available for download from a site that solicits "compelling real life historical stories from the public which will be released in a book the next year or two" ("Hampton Dangles Scrapbook Lure").

Other industries have watched the scrapbook industry grow and devised their own ways to cash in on it. The photo industry estimates that "46 million photos are taken in America every day. The average household takes 337 pictures a year, totaling 16 billion photos a year in the United States" ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'"). Photo Marketing magazine translated those numbers into business opportunities. It reports that "photo retailers have a prime opportunity to profit from the natural association of photography and scrapbooking" with sales figures "expected to rise with increasing consumer awareness and continued mainstream media coverage" (Naumann). Estimates of a fifty-percent margin on scrapbook supplies easily justifies "a scrapbook department in your

store" (Naumann). By adding such classes as "Photography for Scrapbookers," photo retailers "are providing a new service and fostering customer loyalty for future big-ticket purchases" (Naumann). Leaders in the industry have also jumped on the scrapbook bandwagon. Market observers note that "Eastman Kodak Co. has been aggressively courting this market with regional consumer promotions, appearances at scrapbook conventions and media coverage in leading consumer magazines" (Naumann). The overlap of scrapbooks and photography has forged new partnerships. The founder of Creating Keepsakes, Lisa Bearnson promotes her "company's products each month on a two-hour cable program and serves as a spokesperson for 3M, Kodak, and Johnson & Johnson" (Applegate).

Bearnson's show represents one of many that entered the television market in the 1990s and continue to broadcast today. DIY, Do-It-Yourself Network, broadcasts Scrapbooking, a show hosted by Sandi Genovese, senior vice president and creative director at Ellison Craft & Design, educator, and author of scrapbook guides. The half-hour, sixty-five-episode series revolves around guests demonstrating "tips and project ideas for grouping and decorating photos and miscellaneous memorabilia" (Do It Yourself Network). Scrapbooking airs seven days a week and as often as four times on some days. More Than Memories airs on public television and The National Network, TNN, airs a weekday show, "Your Home Studio," featuring frequent segments on scrapbook making (Memory Makers). Similar shows and themed episodes air on the Brigham Young University Television Channel, The Learning Channel, Home and Garden Television, The Discovery Channel, and several shopping channels, including the Home Shopping Network (HSN) and Quality, Value, Convenience Network (QVC). Martha Stewart Living, on the Style Channel, frequently features episodes or segments on scrapbooks. Television shows also introduce children to scrapbooks and what they can

mean in a person's life. On the StarZ Network, "Piglet's Big Movie" teaches children how Winnie-the-Pooh and friends use a scrapbook to find Piglet. On the Disney Channel show, "The Book of Pooh," children can watch "Roo Sticks: A Hundred-Acre Scrapbook," a movie in which the characters remember the day they met Kanga and Roo. In another scrapbook-segment, Winnie-the-Pooh promises to tell Piglet everything that happens in a day.

MARKETING MEMORIES

The above statistics and activities provide some indication of the significant presence of scrapbooks in the current population. They may also represent a discourse in dollars. The buying and selling of scrapbook products is a rhetorical situation that represents a commodification of family histories or values, not unlike the relationship discovered by Janice A. Radway between the Book-of-the-Month Club and middle-class reading and culture. The book club marketed books "as if they were no different from other consumer goods such as mouthwash, automobiles, and oatmeal" (Radway 155). In the case of scrapbooks, memories have become commodified. Industry marketers have deftly associated the value of memories with a company's products and services. Manufacturers call themselves Memory Makers™, Creative Memories™, Déjà Views™, Keeping Memories Alive™, etc. Some so closely align themselves with memories that they become their creators, as Therm O Web does when it entices consumers to "Create memories . . . / . . . with our Keep a Memory family" (Therm O Web 46). Jo-Belle products claim to "Create your memories for less" and offer "Everything you need for memory making" (Jo-Belles). In an attempt to get customers to identify with their products, advertisers relate the value of memories to the quality of their products. A typical ad claims: "Scrapbooking is a direct reflection of your love and caring spirit -- just like the superior quality of the unique products we design and create" (Current Products).

Scrapbook advertisers construct a rhetorical triangle that connects memories and family to their products. Text using such words and phrases as "treasured moments," "precious memories," "family treasures," "unforgettable," "heritage," "precious," "charming," "future," "generations," "irreplaceable," and "archival" surrounds pictures of products. In an advertisement for plastic sleeves that protect completed scrapbook pages, one word, "irreplaceable," in large letters stretches across the page above a photo of a mother with a child in her lap reading a scrapbook. The word, repeated in text immediately below the banner in the photo, almost touches the heads of the mother and child: "Your memories are irreplaceable and so are the scrapbooks you create to preserve them" (Memory Book Page Protectors). Other ads provide examples of completed scrapbook pages created with the aid of the advertised product and may feature pictures of families on the sample pages. The combination of family images and sentimental language creates an impression that the advertised product can help produce the happiness and memories represented. By increasing the value of memories and then endowing their products with values, scrapbook companies have turned memories into a product they sell to consumers.

Radway also observed that the Book-of-the-Month club influenced consumer reading habits by creating a literary authority, a "'committee of selection' composed of 'eminent experts' charged with identifying 'the best new books published each month'" (171). Scrapbook manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers have set up a similar system of authority for scrapbooks through a network of trained consultants in point-of-sale settings who offer scrapbook models and scrapbook-making guidance based on the latest scrapbook-making techniques and product offerings. Consultants continually pass along new information regarding products and scrapbook-making techniques which they model or teach to participants. Every magazine story on scrapbooks and most advertisements

model finished scrapbook pages with such sample captions as "Tantalizing Title Pages" (McCrary 85+) and "A Sampler of Heritage Pages" (Lillie 93). The importance of experts is also visible in scrapbook-specific magazines. In only a few years, self-proclaimed experts have emerged, such as Katie the Scrapbook Lady (Katie the Scrapbook Lady Scrapbook School) and Mrs. Grossman "whose name has become synonymous with stickers," a mainstay of scrapbook designs (Gerbrandt 42). The range of advice from experts also covers such "sticky situations" as divorce: "should pictures of the departing spouse stay or go?" (Creative Memories® Consultant Guide 129). Those self-proclaimed panels of authorities who formed scrapbook-making universities distinguish more scrapbook makers as experts through deferment of degrees (Siegal). Like the Book-of-the-Month club panel of experts, scrapbook experts may participate in normalizing scrapbook making by modeling techniques and topics and by setting ethical standards on content. On the other hand, scrapbook authorities, consultants, and advertisers never lose sight of scrapbooks as one-of-a-kind creations. Although scrapbook making represents a commodification of memories, the modeling in workshops, books, and magazines consistently emphasizes personal stories and styles.

The buying and selling of scrapbook products also represents "the spirit of capitalism" (Weber) and "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen 75). First introduced by Thorstein Veblen in The Theory of the Leisure Class, the concept of conspicuous consumption associates the acquisition of goods and services with reputation and wealth (75). Veblen's work examines the drive of the middle-class to attain, through work and acquisition, the trappings of a lifestyle identified with the idle rich or any group perceived as superior. Early in the century scrapbook-publishers advertised scrapbooks as one way the middle-class could acquire the knowledge and social graces of the leisure class. The American and European Scrapbooks for 1930 claimed to "take the labor out of being

well-informed." Taking the "labor" out of "well-informed" moves the book out of the working-class realm and into the leisure-class realm. In the ad, The New York Times praised the books as "A golden harvest of thought and achievement" (qtd. in American and European Scrap Books for 1930). Again, "harvest" evokes an image of physical labor, but "thought" refers to a non-physical endeavor. The ad claims the books contain "the best that has been thought and said, conceived and executed in the past year in every category of human activity." This statement, and the ones above attribute to the scrapbooks the values and qualities of a superior class. Another advertisement pictures a businessman and his wife on their way home from a formal dinner party. The businessman complains that he "couldn't follow the drift of things" once the conversation turned away from business to "literature and art" and world events. His wife, a "modern woman" and "the cleverest speaker at the dinner," advises her husband that the "secret" to social success comes from reading Elbert Hubbard's Scrapbook. She assures him, "You'll never be uncomfortable in company again. You'll be able to talk as intelligently as anyone" (Elbert Hubbard's Scrap Book). Not only do the advertisements such as these contain the same characteristics as the Book of the Month Club in terms of representing an authority on "the best that has been thought and said . . . ," but they appeal, the latter advertisement most especially, to the middle-class desire to acquire the knowledge and experiences of the wealthier class that had leisure time to read or socialize with intellectuals. The ads above represent the motivation behind conspicuous consumption. They appealed to the busy middle-class businessman because they claimed he could acquire vicariously through reading the knowledge of cultural events he may not have had the leisure time to attend or follow in person. Representative of early anthologies, the scrapbooks advertised above helped shape reading habits and culture through content selected by authorities.

At the opposite end of the century, scrapbook advertisements continue to motivate conspicuous consumption, but in slightly different ways. Where early advertising promised to take the work out of learning, modern advertising promises to take the work out of making scrapbooks. Early ads appealed to leisure-class values, but modern ads, featuring do-it-yourself products and services, appeal to working-class values. Where early ads boasted of having organized the world's knowledge for the reader, modern ads offer the scrapbook maker the opportunity and tools to self-organize their collections of memorabilia into keepsake books. The early ads featured completed scrapbooks, while modern ads sell tools for creating scrapbooks. Instead of selling books of world knowledge, modern ads sell books for personal memories. Instead of selling intellect, modern ads sell emotions. Instead of selling an investment in one's social standing, modern advertisers sell an investment in one's family. Instead of selling a way to talk about literature, art, and world events, modern ads sell a way to talk about oneself and one's family. Instead of selling a way to break into society, they sell a way to create a personal legacy. Instead of selling content selected by authorities, they sell the opportunity for individuals to select their own content. Instead of influencing reading habits, they influence writing habits. Instead of representing the voices of authorities on culture, modern scrapbooks represent the voices of individuals on the culture of their families.

Some of these differences reflect an evolution in advertising. Although modern advertisers have commodified memories, they also know that their success depends on selling products "not as 'commodities' but as concepts: the brand as experience, as lifestyle" (Klein). Scrapbook-advertisers leverage their products based on the concept of memories as unique, valuable, and preservable. They align their products with the scrapbook-making experiences of organizing piles of memorabilia, participating in a

creative experience, and preserving memories for oneself or others. For instance, capitalizing on the notion of organization that often motivates scrapbook makers to begin their projects, one advertiser has trademarked the phrase "from shoeboxes to scrapbooks"™ (Gateway To Your Memories™). Organizing products also include systems for storing and transporting scrapbook-making materials and supplies. Products range from specially designed storage systems such as the "Cropper Hopper" (Cropper Hopper™), portable cases such as the "PunchNGo Tote" (Tapestry in Time), and dedicated spaces or built-in units in the home ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). A paper manufacturer emphasizes the creative potential of its products as "Papers with Posh-abilities" (Design Originals). The manufacturer of die-cut machines claims "Ideas are Plentiful" (Ellison "Ideas Are Plentiful") and "Creativity Blossoms" (Ellison "Creativity Blooms"). Advertisers also promote ease of use of their products. A paper cutter claims to "Make it easy. Make it fun" (Accu/Cut "Entertain Yourself"). Stickers promise "Adventures in Scrapbooking" (Stickopotamus "Adventures in Scrapbooking" 12) and "More fun than a scrapbooker should be allowed to have" (Cock-A-Doodle Design). Of course the most important concept in scrapbook-advertising promotes preservation of memories. Making a direct connection between the preservation of memories and their plastic templates, one advertiser claims, "Our templates are real lifesavers" (Accu/Cut "Our Templates"). Déjà Views promises to "Improve Your Memories" with their templates, expressions, borders, lettering, and stamps (Déjà Views "Improve Your Memories™ With Déjà Views" 25). Advertisers capitalizing on this most basic concept of scrapbooks situate their products against the background of an organized life filled with memories worth saving. Where scrapbook advertising in the early part of the century leveraged middle class-values, modern scrapbook ads leverage the class-neutral, lifestyle value of organizing and preserving memories. In spite of their differences,

scrapbook advertisements of the latter part of the century continued to engender conspicuous consumption.

Veblen determined that leisure represented wealth because it required superfluous time and money. Historically, only the leisure class indulged regularly in leisure activities, especially those that required an ongoing monetary investment. As a leisure activity directed toward prolonged projects, scrapbook making situates itself within the realm of economic prosperity and stability. However, Veblen formulated his theory to explain middle-class buying habits and the utility of leisure as a means toward improving reputation, but current applications of his theory do not depend on the "pernicious influence of a parasitic 'leisure class'" (Lears). Instead, the modern manifestation of conspicuous consumption refers to "accumulation and display as patterns interwoven by different social groups throughout the whole fabric of a culture" (Lears). Simply put, "How we spend speaks eloquently of who we are" (C. Duff). Veblen's concept describing the drive of the middle-class to acquire, through work, the trappings of wealth and repute identified with the idle rich or any group perceived as superior, still applies, but in a broader context. People can construct identities for themselves based on the images associated with the items they buy. As advertising guru James Twitchell explains, "Driving a Lexus or displaying Ralph Lauren's polo player on our shirt" gives the impression of living the lifestyle depicted in the advertisements (qtd. in Wolkomir and Wolkomir 106). Similarly scrapbook advertisements that connect happy families to scrapbooks reinforce the image of scrapbooks as indicators of social and personal success which may appear to some as standards to achieve. As a more overt expression of conspicuous consumption, scrapbooks provide a place for individuals to display representations of their wealth in photographs, awards, and other ephemera.

Scrapbook makers may also represent their wealth or reputation in terms of human relationships or in terms of possessions. They may reveal their personalities through their particular style of organization, creativity, or storytelling involved in making scrapbooks. Photographs of family and friends can establish the scrapbook-maker's role or respect as a member of a group. Making scrapbooks may grant esteem to the scrapbook maker as the family historian. In addition, representations of purchases and lifestyle compiled from receipts, photographs, and other memorabilia can represent financial wealth. From the purchase of major items, such as a house or car, to the purchase of such minor items as a theatre ticket or restaurant meal, the items in scrapbooks can indicate the scrapbook-maker's economic status. For instance, four scrapbooks by Polly Upson Kahler recount the design, building, and furnishing of three family homes and a lake cottage. Copies of the "innovative structural designs," floor plans and pool area plans, work orders for expensive detailing and "highest quality materials," and receipts for valuable accessories make it easy for readers to see the wealth the family displayed in their homes (Kahler). Kahler included samples of dialogue among her family members and others that revealed how they made decisions and communicated with one another. The narrative style in the books indicates that Kahler wrote for an audience that may have included those outside her immediate family. On the other hand, an auctioneer's scrapbook containing statements for "Old Age Assistance Tax," receipts for general merchandise and garage repairs, ration cards for gas and sugar, a flattened hair curler, two "Ration Points Iron Penny," an invitation to a New Year's Ball, a 50th anniversary cocktail napkin, obituaries with personal notations, greeting cards, and cabinet photos represents a more frugal lifestyle (Gray). Although both scrapbooks contain visible signs of economic status based on the items purchased and the lifestyles

they afforded the individuals, they also display the importance of family and friends in the lives of the scrapbook makers.

Although no longer limited to the idle rich, leisure and conspicuous consumption still mean spending time and money on something other than earning a living. As vehicles for the conspicuous part of conspicuous consumption, scrapbooks provide an ideal place to display mementos of other leisure activities. They may contain souvenirs and photographs of vacations and other non-work related activities and expenses. By including such memorabilia in their books, scrapbook makers can display a measure of their excess time and money. More directly connected to conspicuous consumption, the act of making scrapbooks indicates a certain amount of superfluous time to make scrapbooks and money to purchase supplies. Scrapbooks require considerable time to plan, collect materials, arrange materials, secure them, and annotate or narrate them.

The scrapbooks above represent varying degrees of each. By comparison Kahler's scrapbook demonstrates a greater investment in materials, organization, research, and narrative. For many scrapbook makers the activities and costs associated with making scrapbooks continue year after year. The cost of materials for making scrapbooks can range from under fifty dollars to thousands of dollars. The difference depends on quality, quantity, and variety of materials. Archival and name-brand products typically cost more than non-archival, generic products. Scrapbook makers may also accrue additional costs for activities related to scrapbook making such as attending classes or workshops on scrapbooks, registering for scrapbook universities, subscribing to television channels for their instruction or information on products, attending and participating in scrapbook conventions, buying scrapbook magazines and books, or going on trips to scrapbook retreats, camps, or cruises. These expenses not only indicate wealth in terms of available time and money, but can elevate the reputation of a scrapbook

maker in the eyes of family and friends or other scrapbook makers as an avid or more experienced scrapbook maker. In other words, scrapbooks demonstrate conspicuous consumption because they showcase evidence of wealth and reputation and because they require both discretionary funds and leisure time to make.

Having leisure time and purchasing items that represented a wealthier lifestyle allowed middle-class people to mimic the lifestyle of the rich and idle or any group perceived as superior. Because modern scrapbook making cuts across all demographics, from the White House to the auction house, it does not necessarily distinguish social class. Hence, scrapbook makers may perceive scrapbook making as representing a lifestyle unrelated to class. Through advertising and marketing, scrapbook making has become more generally a symbol of families than class. Belief in an ideal American family and traditional family values became lost in the debates over family values in the latter quarter of the century. This dissertation does not intend to engage in that debate, but recognizes that many advertisements, including some of those for scrapbooks, base their appeal on images of the traditional or idealized American family. While some scrapbook advertisers use images of idealized families, most do not. Instead they base their appeals on family diversity, pride in family history, and optimism about the future of families. Each of these appeals counteracts the social and political assault on families in the 1980s and 1990s and for some scrapbook makers in minority or non-traditional families may represent an opportunity to contradict the negative images of their families portrayed in the media and in the analyses of census reports. Scrapbook advertisements also emphasize organization as an appealing achievement in a chaotic and uncertain world. The advertisements imply that by making scrapbooks or buying certain products, scrapbook makers can attain the orderliness and family pride represented in the ads. The visibility and success of such ads on television, in magazines and newspapers, and on

billboards has contributed to an overall reputation of scrapbook making as an investment in families and turned it into a cultural imperative for many. As Veblen theorized, "the members of each stratum accept as their ideal of decency the scheme of life in vogue in the next higher stratum, and bend their energies to live up to that ideal" (84). Scrapbook makers do not seem to "bend their energies" toward any family ideal, but toward investing in their own family's identity, its past, present, and future.

In the strictest sense Veblen argued that conspicuous consumption can enhance reputation through waste, the "expenditure of superfluities" (96). However, he clarified the notion of wastefulness:

> It is obviously not necessary that a given object of expenditure should be exclusively wasteful in order to come in under the category of conspicuous waste. An article may be useful and wasteful both, and its utility to the consumer may be made up of use and waste in the most varying proportions. (100)

Such is the case with scrapbooks. The more time and money scrapbook makers "waste" on scrapbooks the greater the usefulness in establishing the reputation of the scrapbook maker within the family as historians and outside the family as dedicated or expert scrapbook makers. And, although scrapbooks may represent conspicuous leisure and consumption, scrapbook makers do not consider them a waste of time or money. Admittedly scrapbooks derived their name from scraps, a word directly related to waste, but the ephemera in scrapbooks serve a "useful purpose" with present and future value to the individual, family, and possibly the community. Scrapbook makers especially consider them "an investment" in their families (Gándara E1). In addition, scrapbook makers assign "useful purpose" to what they do by calling it "working" or "making"

scrapbooks. Turning to a euphemism to rationalize leisure as work has its roots in the Puritan work ethic.

The Puritan work ethic eschews idleness and waste and promotes thriftiness and frugality. Max Weber maintained in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism that the Puritan ethics of hard work and asceticism provided the foundations for the economic successes that contributed to the rise of capitalism (Weber). Scrapbook making emulates some of the basic principles of Puritan ethics. Puritans equated hard work and frugality with moral goodness and economic success. They viewed leisure and idleness as wasteful and sinful. Therefore they prescribed work as a way to resist temptation and avoid the sins of leisure. However, in response to the seventeenth-century legalization of games on Sunday, Puritans rationalized sport as "recreation necessary for physical efficiency" (Weber V.2). They justified their reasoning based on moral purpose; the activities resulted in enhancement to the individual and their community. Therefore, when scrapbook makers describe their leisure activity as "work" or "making" scrapbooks, they reflect the influence of the Puritan values of responsibility, obligation, and worthiness leading to personal morality and economic rewards. By using these words scrapbook makers may also imply that the seriousness and value of their activity relates to some higher purpose. In Puritan standards, describing an activity as "work" carried a moral imperative that it benefit the individual or the community. Many scrapbook makers see their work as an investment that can reinforce family bonds and preserve the family's history for future generations. And, possibly, their work could benefit their communities if it should contribute to a larger body of historical knowledge. Certainly, the appropriation of scrapbooks by therapists, lawyers, physicians, and others for use in the performance of their duties clearly places them in the realm of work. Whether a rationalization or an accurate description of the nature of their activity, the words

scrapbook makers choose to describe their activity liberate it from Puritan proscription against leisure.

Although the conspicuous consumption of scrapbook materials and their content seem contrary to Puritan standards, scrapbook making depends on the impulse of Puritan asceticism. The ascetic restraints of Puritanism "acted powerfully against the spontaneous enjoyment of possessions; it restricted consumption, especially of luxuries" (Weber V.2). As a result wealth came from the "accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save" (Weber V.2). In other words, scrapbooks may demonstrate conspicuous consumerism, but they also depend on the traditional, ascetic impulse to save. The idea of saving implies delaying or displacing the need to buy new products. Saving and scrapbooks in general, imply long term use as opposed to a "spontaneous enjoyment of possessions." In addition, the "capital" scrapbook-makers acquire through their savings translates to an investment in their families. It also translates to business capital. As by-products of the impulse to save, scrapbook-related businesses enjoyed remarkable financial success in the last quarter of the century. As discussed above, scrapbooks generated thousands of new business opportunities and infused the hobby industry with billions of dollars of revenue. The idea of saving as a market stimulator demonstrates Weber's theory of capitalism. His theory credits saving, motivated by religious asceticism, with contributing to the rise of capitalism. In the case of scrapbooks, the accumulation and fragility of saved items created an increased demand for scrapbooks and archival quality products.

Finally, Puritan standards required accounting for all possessions and expenditures (Weber V.2). They also demanded showing appreciation for one's wealth and for one another. For many people, wealth and riches include the blessings of family and friends as well as their financial status. Scrapbooks provide one way for scrapbook

makers to represent both. In the spirit of accountability they provide evidence of accumulated wealth as well as relationships with family and friends. The Puritan incentive of accountability may explain why scrapbook makers find it acceptable and commendable to unabashedly catalog their possessions and achievements. Representing the leisure superfluities of time and money as well as the Puritan ethics of work, frugality and thrift, scrapbooks occupy the intersection of Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption and Weber's theory of capitalism.

BOOMING APPEAL

Veblen based his theory on middle-class aspirations; Weber based his on religious asceticism. Neither of them could have anticipated the Baby Boom generation that dominated the twentieth-century's culture and economy. Born in the nineteen years following World War II, 1946-1964, seventy-six million Baby Boomers fall into the age group that identifies the "most likely" scrapbook makers. The group includes those in the over-fifty age group. The attraction of such a large population to scrapbooks makes them a driving force behind the current popularity of scrapbooks. Their demographics and life experiences may explain why Baby Boomers find scrapbooks especially appealing. One of the most influential and affluent social groups in history, they currently claim "the largest amount of discretionary income of any age group in the United States -- $750 billion each year. And they spend $1 trillion-plus in goods and services annually" (Fernandez). Their desire to "have it all" earned the Baby Boomers the nickname, "the me generation," and a reputation as "the splurge generation" (Tom Wolfe qtd. in Shamoon). Laden with fame and possessions, Baby Boomers discovered that scrapbooks present an ideal place to showcase their current and past acquisitions and achievements. And in an emergency, scrapbooks serve the dual purpose of "documenting missing items" for insurance claims (Geller-Shinn). Throughout their lives Baby Boomers have existed

as a group, "likened by demographers to 'a pig moving through a python'" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). However, Baby Boomers "now tend to be much more individualistic" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). As a group they left their mark on the century, but now they may see scrapbooks as an opportunity to leave their mark as individuals. In scrapbooks Baby Boomers can express themselves in a unique way that produces a one-of-a-kind memento of their experiences. The size and quality of scrapbook pages allow plenty of room for personal expression that may include samples of a scrapbook-maker's handwriting and mementos of his or her life. The use of memorabilia, photos, and text helps produce an aesthetic message and an expression of personal creativity, style, and personality. As a result, Boomers may value scrapbooks because they allow them to write their own stories and to satisfy their need to solidify their place in history.

The life experiences of Baby Boomers may have influenced their attraction to scrapbooks. For instance, they were the first generation to grow up in a world dominated by visual rhetoric: television, multimedia, and computers. Scrapbooks capitalize on their familiarity with visual and multimedia communication by presenting them with a place to satisfy their creative potential for portraying memories and stories in images and text. The attraction of using visual items in scrapbooks may be a product of our "culture that has become saturated not so much with print as with images" (Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz 231). The left side of the brain uses logic and reasoning to process printed text. The right side of the brain processes images through the senses and emotions. By using images, scrapbook makers can stimulate the right side of the brain where the emotions and sensations of memories reside. Advertisers effectively model this technique by using visual stimulation to influence scrapbook-maker's decision-making. They cleverly place samples of emotion-laden scrapbook pages in their ads. Communicating visually also

means the incorporation of original or commercial adornments on pages. In other words, "photos are definitely important in these scrapbooks, but there are lots of decorations on the pages as well, embellishments such as rubberstamp designs, colorful stickers, fancy borders and cut-outs (purchased or homemade)" ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'").

Baby Boomers may feel comfortable with scrapbooks also because they remind them of the popular biographical and confessional literature they read in the 1960s. The publication of Alex Haley's book Roots: The Saga of an American Family and its TV dramatization a year later, may have motivated Baby Boomers to search for their own histories or write their own stories (M. Taylor). Advice on writing memoirs became popular in adult education programs and among book titles. In addition, taking care of their elderly parents or grandparents may have increased Boomer interest in genealogy. In 1980 their interest in biography and genealogy came together in scrapbooks when "several individuals exhibited their family scrapbooks" at an international genealogy conference in Salt Lake City (M. Taylor). As Baby Boomers themselves began to age they gathered for high school and military reunions steeped in self-consciousness. They expressed nostalgia for the 1950s and 1960s and Victorian art and culture. The influence of modernists who had attacked all things Victorian following WWI fell out of favor after WWII. As Baby Boomers came of age, Marjorie Henderson and Elizabeth Wilkinson jumped on the bandwagon and released Whatnot: A Compendium of Victorian Crafts & Other Matters in 1977. It recreated many Victorian projects including those using scraps in decorating and in making scrapbooks (Henderson and Wilkinson).

In spite of their interest in genealogy and the past, Baby Boomers "are not interested in growing old gracefully" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). Boomer-expert Phil Goodman's insight into the generation may indicate another reason scrapbooks attract Boomers: "In their minds they will always be young" (qtd. in Mulhall). Symbolically,

scrapbooks allow them to retain their youth by freezing moments in time and then relishing or embellishing them. Archival-quality products give the impression that scrapbooks will last forever and may embody for Baby Boomers the immortality they pursue in the age-defying products and services they have popularized. Whether a legacy for their families, an impulse to express themselves aesthetically, or a metaphoric quest for immortality, Boomers can preserve their own or their family's genealogy in a continuum of events that spans the past and present and looks to the future.

According to the Small Business Administration (SBA), Baby Boomers "are more likely than either younger or older adults to have dependent children at home" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). In addition, "Baby boomers are already in their peak labor force participation years and in some cases are in their top earning years (which are from ages 45 to 54)" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). They may be in their prime earning years, or have interrupted a career to go back to school or start a business ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). Understandably, the SBA also notes that Baby Boomers "have less leisure time than other adults" ("Baby Boomers Grow Up"). As a result, "working parents also place high value on scarce family time. Thus, a growing portion of the family budget is being spent on togetherness and recreation" (C. Duff). As a result, for busy Boomers in particular, scrapbooks meet many needs. They provide a place to display all that stuff kids bring home from school ("Items of Interest"). They reduce clutter by providing a place to organize and store photos of vacations and the other ephemera of daily life (Wadley). Because "scrapbooking doesn't require special arts-and-crafts skills," children and their parents can make scrapbooks together ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'"). In addition, "a scrapbook can be created from start to finish in a reasonable length of time" ("Scrapbooking: 'Archival'"). Recognizing the limited time of scrapbook makers, advertisers promise "Great pages in half the time. Instantly create great looking

scrapbook pages" (Ulead 117). For many, making scrapbooks serves as a creative outlet, a form of relaxation, or a time of socialization when meeting with other scrapbook makers at home or away from home. Whether families come together to make them or not, scrapbooks present a visual and metaphorical space where families come together in pictures and words. In the long term, scrapbooks provide a way for Boomers to leave a legacy for their children and grandchildren that contains mementos of their lives and expressions of their personality in pictures and words.

A PICTURE AND A THOUSAND WORDS

Despite the growth of visual rhetoric, writing has always played an important role in scrapbooks. In the early years it appeared as notations beside newspaper articles clarifying the date or place of publication with an occasional word or two of comment by the scrapbook maker. Words cut from headlines and advertisements substituted for handwritten text in many scrapbooks. For instance, in a 1919 scrapbook young Mary Wylie combined headlines, pictures, cartoons, and handwritten text to coyly tell the story of "Mary and Her Love Nest" (Wylie). One page contains a newspaper sketch of man and woman kissing which Wylie surrounded with the following text clipped from various magazine and newspaper headlines: "The kind that won't dry on the face!", "Delicious!", "Do you realize" "Oh my, Yes!" (qtd. in Wylie). Other pages contain similar combinations of pictures and clipped text, occasionally supplemented with a handwritten word or two. Wylie relied heavily on newspaper clippings and pictures from magazines and newspapers to tell her story. In 1930 an anonymous scrapbook maker also used her scrapbook to tell a love story about "Mary" ("Mary"). However, this unknown, possibly female, scrapbook maker narrated her story with handwritten text and relied on newspaper and magazine pictures to illustrate the narrative. In cases where the pictures contained text that did not match her intent, she crossed it out or edited it to suit her

purposes. At the top of one page she wrote, "Where Mary meets Charles" ("Mary"). In the center of the page there appears a newspaper sketch of a man lifting his hat in greeting to two women and another woman sitting near him sneaking a peek at him from under her hat brim. Above the picture the scrapbook maker penned names over each person, "Charles" and "Luallee" and "Mary" and "Cecila." To one side of the picture she wrote "school mates." Below the picture she added, "Poor Luallee is out of luck Mary notices how wise looking he is -- and oh Charles admires Mary -- his next date is with Mary" ("Mary"). The story progresses from this casual meeting, through a love triangle, and ends with marriage. The last page features a picture of a woman pouring tea from a shiny copper kettle into cups held by a boy in a suit and a girl with a ribbon in her hair. Above the picture the scrapbook maker wrote, "very happy is their little home with the four being very sweet to each other hoping Charles Jr & Mary a happy life and a prosperous future" ("Mary"). Both of these scrapbooks illustrate the use of handwritten and cut-out text to add writing to scrapbooks in the service of narrative.

When scrapbook makers began adding photographs to their books they often added captions to identify the subjects in the photo, the date, or the place. In rare cases the photos inspired more extensive writing, possibly in imitation of photojournalism. Introduced in news magazines in the 1930s, photojournalism uses "photography as a standard and ordinary means of documentation" (Lucaites 271). Possibly influenced by such magazines as National Geographic and Life, Randall Davis made several scrapbooks that illustrate the combination of photography and text to document events and tell a story in a scrapbook. In "The Ole Warrior," seventeen-year-old Davis took photographs to document an exciting fishing and camping trip he made with a friend into the Florida Everglades in search of a legendary largemouth black bass. He surrounded black and white photographs with handwritten text that documents the setting, the action,

and the characters, including the fish. Davis' text expresses his love of fishing, the effect of his surroundings on him, and the rise and fall of emotions throughout the events of the trip. He ends his story with a photograph of a peaceful Everglades scene and the following text:

> And now after his thrilling exhibition of grit and vim, his fight to the finish, he was in the bottom of our boat. I could not keep him; I must return him to the water and life, for so I had sworn to myself that morning, if the good fortune should be mine to take the Ole Warrior captive.
>
> To David and myself it all seemed very strange, but I still have no doubt that there are other members of the brotherhood of fisherman who might be, on occasion, just as big fools as we proved ourselves to be. Ole Warrior himself was ours, and we deliberately restored him to his happy home. But then, we aren't the only fishing fools in the world, David and I, or are we? (R. W. Davis)

Davis' scrapbook demonstrates the narrative and illustrative potential of text and photographs, as well as other ephemera, to tell stories in scrapbooks. However, not until the 1980s would the potential for such writing become an integral part of making scrapbooks.

The imperative for writing in scrapbooks arose from a sense that pictures alone could not tell the entire story. Scrapbook-making instruction consistently delivers the same message: "Telling the story behind the photos in your albums is one of the most important things you can do to pass down your family history to future generations" (Stephani). The earliest crusade for writing in scrapbooks began with Susan Iida-Pederson, Vice President and spokesperson for Creative Memories®. From the beginning Iida-Pederson lamented that making scrapbooks "focused on the craft" rather

than on a combination of "preserving photos *and* telling stories" (Iida-Pederson). Her comments produced a revolution in making scrapbooks and separated them from photograph albums. Photograph albums provide "an objectification of memory" and "visual narrative" (Hardt), but scrapbooks combine objectification with subjectivity through a written narrative in the form of rhetorical commentary and storytelling. Instead of a book of photographs "reinforced by words and dates" (Hardt), Iida-Pederson intended to reverse the relationship of words to pictures and privilege the words over the pictures, or at least make them equal partners. Her perspective recalls the beginnings of illumination, that Medieval art form in which pigments and gold leaf provided visual bookmarks and symbols that augmented and beautified text. In the centuries since illumination first increased the value of the texts, visual rhetoric has returned as a dominant form of communication. Iida-Pederson's notion of privileging text drifted against the current of modern communication that often privileges images over text.

Realizing that change would take "persistence and consistency," she began "an assertive campaign of introducing journaling and writing wherever possible, at conventions, workshops, speeches" (Iida-Pederson). In order to make journaling "just as important as the page decorations," the Creative Memories company went on to educate their consultants on the importance of writing and to develop guidelines for them to use when introducing writing to clients in workshops. In 1988 Creative Memories invited author, teacher, editor, publisher, and writing coach Denis Ledoux to teach journaling[13] to their consultants (Ledoux ix). Ledoux understood their concerns.

> They [Creative Memories consultants] knew instinctively that learning to write more than a brief caption would satisfy their own needs to tell more

[13] Also called photojournaling, photoscribing or cameo narratives, scrapbook journaling refers to exercising a particular narrative style at the time of making scrapbooks which presents dates, places, names, and descriptions of events.

> complete stories and would enhance their work with customers who longed to create family-legacy albums. Consultants wanted to tell a complete lifestory (personal or family story) -- but in their albums, not in book-length autobiographies or biographies. (Ledoux x)

As a result of their efforts, "Creative Memories was instrumental in broadening the scope of writing in scrapbooks" (Iida-Pederson). The campaign to "convince and motivate people to write" stimulated other scrapbook companies and authors to offer writing instruction. Some writing programs based their advice on the oral tradition of storytelling, others on journalism, and others on autobiography. Consequently, the style of writing within any one scrapbook, or across scrapbooks, may vary from journalistic annotations to lengthy narratives depending on the source of the instruction and the skill or interest of the scrapbook maker. As Iida-Pederson's message spread, writing became a recognized achievement among scrapbook makers who began to equate increased journaling with improvement in their scrapbook-making skills. Common boasts among scrapbook makers include, "See how much I've improved? There's more journaling as I went on" (Curtis; Flora).

Consultants and workshop designers developed specific methods for teaching writing in the scrapbook-making setting. The Creative Memories program assumes that "to some degree or other [. . .] almost everyone has [. . .] 'Fear of the White Page'" (Iida-Pederson). To many people the process of writing appears

> too big, they think, too overwhelming. They still see Miss Barnes, English 10, frowning over their shoulders, her fiery red pen perched and ready to pounce on upon their first misspelled word, dangling participle or misplaced comma. (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling")

To counteract these fears, Creative Memories consultants encourage scrapbook makers to "let your thoughts flow without a lot of censoring and second-guessing -- this is not an English class" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). In addition, by renaming the process "journaling" and reshaping it as storytelling the composition process sounds uncomplicated and spontaneous. Consultants receive training in ways to introduce journaling by degrees, leaving the amount of detail and complexity to the scrapbook maker. Instruction typically follows a non-judgmental pedagogy that emphasizes personal style, de-emphasizes mechanics, and encourages the use of dialect and handwritten text (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). The self-paced program moves students from simple lists to narrative text at the discretion of the student and seems to follow a quasi process-oriented approach. The first step, similar to pre-writing, involves gathering materials, organizing them, and jotting down notes. Scrapbook makers may transfer notes directly to the scrapbook page, or revise them, or use them as guidelines for expanded writing. During revision consultants may suggest that writers check their spelling, grammar, or punctuation, but only if it does not interfere with or retard expanding the writing or maintaining indicators of personality in dialect, native language, handwriting, and idiosyncrasies of language. If the amount or clarity of handwriting becomes a deterrent to storytelling, consultants might suggest that scrapbook-makers type their stories and then mount them on their pages. Instructors scaffold writing by starting with the basics of name, date, place and, based on the inclinations of the scrapbook maker, building to sentence formation, paragraph development, and story construction. They may also recommend other materials to build confidence or supplement writing, such as booklets of phrases and sentiments to help describe special occasions. For example, The Journaling Genie offers a kit that includes "inspirational thoughts" in twelve booklets on such topics as Friendship and Love, Kids & Grandkids, Vacation &

Travel, Service & Patriotism, and others (Enterprising Designs 73). Scrap Caps produces a series of books with captions "spoken by baby [from] hilarious to touching"; another of "romantic, touching & funny things brides & grooms say"; and one "spoken by the sports enthusiast in all of us" (Scrap Caps 134). Grace Publications offers Suitable Sayings: Your Source Book of Expressions and Phrases, Chatterbox publishes three volumes of The Scrapbooker's Best Friend, and Crafty Secret Publications also offers three volumes of Heartwarming Expressions ("Questions & Answers" 32). Other tools include fill-in-the-blank type letters that "can be as touching and meaningful as completely original writing in your albums" (Creative Memories® "Fill in the Blanks"). Along the way consultants encourage such composition techniques as outlining and drafting, but do not refer to them as such.

Like the writing instruction in schools, the scrapbook-writing instruction found in the non-academic settings of workshops, books, or magazines relies heavily on the five canons of rhetoric, but does not specifically refer to them. Scrapbook-writing instruction usually begins with a discussion of where to find a theme or topic for the entire scrapbook, a section, or a page, which classroom instructors would recognize as invention. Topics include ongoing daily life or special interests and events such as weddings, births, vacations, hobbies, friendships, neighborhood, or family heritage, and many more. Scrapbook makers may also find a plethora of ideas in books and magazines that publish completed scrapbook-pages submitted by readers. Discussions on organizing materials chronologically or thematically recall the canon of arrangement. Generically, scrapbook-writing instruction introduces the concept of style as an emphasis on natural language, encouraging figures of speech and spelling peculiar to each scrapbook maker. Writing to a current or future audience also engages scrapbook makers in decisions of style. Instruction may address ways to make the manner of telling stories entertaining,

sentimental, or authoritative. Ancient rhetors delivered their speeches with personal and practiced gesticulations and vocalizations. In scrapbook making, delivery benefits from the creativity of the scrapbook maker's use of artistic flourishes in page decoration as well as language. The choice of cover, preparation of materials, and guidelines for different types of books also fall under delivery. Finally, the essence of scrapbook making lies in its relationship to memory, the fourth canon. As Roman rhetors were once instructed to "select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places," (Yates 2) scrapbook makers externalize their memories by placing images and stories into scrapbooks. Scrapbook-writing instructors give students tips on making the most of their memories and filling in gaps. In a more modern sense, the memory component of scrapbook making involves introduction to research, particularly conducting interviews and searching genealogical records. Scrapbook-writing instructors also underscore attention to audience, urging scrapbook makers to consider the point-of-view of readers, including future generations. Everyday scrapbooks and those designated as heritage scrapbooks may serve as communication catalysts, reference tools, or objects of entertainment among current family members and future generations.

In a speech to consultants in 1997 Iida-Pederson outlined the four types of journaling consultants can offer scrapbook makers "to meet varying needs of their writing styles, time restrictions, and importance of the particular photos" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). The first type, "bare facts," provides the foundation for the following three types. "Bare facts" label the photos or other ephemera with data on Who? What? Where? When? The "quick caption" type expands the labels with descriptive phrases and complete sentences using more adjectives and verbs to add factual or emotional information. The "bullet" type, a list of phrases and thoughts, includes the who, what,

where, when of "bare facts" with descriptions, emotions, and additional facts of "quick captions," but scrapbook makers "don't have to worry about complete sentences or transitional phrases" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). Finally, "photojournaling" involves a full narrative, that "usually accompanies our most treasured memories and photos" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). It extends the story to events before and after the event depicted in photos and enriches the moments in the photos. It goes into more detail about "the people in the picture -- their personalities, their quirks, what's important to them, why are they significant in your life, etc. Anything to capture the spirit of the photo" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). In conjunction with facts, thoughts, and feelings, Iida-Pederson encourages scrapbook makers "to think of the five senses and add descriptive details" (Iida-Pederson "Speech on Journaling"). In addition to the writing motivated by photographs, Iida-Pederson advises scrapbook makers to include in their scrapbooks journaling about the daily events and rituals that do not normally get photographed. She also encourages families to invite children to write in scrapbooks as a place to preserve their early penmanship and thoughts.

Although no studies exist to measure the effectiveness of journaling instruction, it has rekindled an interest in writing among a large segment of the population. The rather relaxed pedagogy is similar to the "grass-roots rediscovery of writing" (qtd. in Morris) initiated by email. Email users hold few loyalties to the rules of good writing taught in school. Some academics worry about the long term effects on language of email users' casual attitudes toward grammar, syntax, and spelling. Annie Dillard, author of The Writing Life, suggests "that the writer has a responsibility to write as well as possible" (qtd. in Morris). On the other hand, academics such as William Zinsser, author of On Writing Well and teacher of writing at the New School University in New York, believes that "anything that takes away the fear of writing has got to be very healthy" (qtd. in

Morris). Zinsser contends that "what has been given back to people by e-mail is really their natural right to talk to someone else on paper without all these inhibitions that the school systems have foisted on them" (qtd. in Morris). This same attitude accounts for scrapbook-writing instruction's reduced emphasis on traditional rules which, like emailing, may lead to "unlocking the inner writer in everyone" (Morris). An observation on email that claims "everybody, it seems, is writing these days" could just as easily apply to scrapbook makers. Optimistically, "more people writing more often can only help the march of literature itself" and improve literacy (Morris). Although scrapbook-writing may exercise some of the freedoms from grammatical restraint inherent to emailing, it has an important advantage over emailing. The speed of the electronic medium and the spontaneity of responding "may deprive the user of much-needed time to ponder" (Morris). As a paper-based activity, the mechanics and permanence of pen or pencil on paper afford scrapbook writers more time to ponder their words. As a matter of practicality, paper-based scrapbook makers may take more care with their writing because errors can take considerable effort and time to correct. In addition, many scrapbook makers feel the responsibility to write well because their work has the potential of becoming a legacy for future generations. However academics choose to judge the writings of scrapbook makers, their works provide evidence of the ongoing evolution of language in our culture.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Pedagogy aside, scrapbooks represent literary and rhetorical acts motivated by cultural imperatives inherent within families. Scrapbook-making produces a body of work that serves families as literature. As a "group of works esteemed by a community of readers" (Barnet 86), scrapbooks comprise a family's canon of literature. Furthermore, by "releasing the word 'literature' from a capital 'L' and giving it the broadest possible

construction -- texts fashioned of letters -- we may include women's diaries and journals, letters, memoirs, autobiographies, essays, speeches, stories, oral narratives, and songs" (Culley). Although Margo Culley does not mention scrapbooks, her words certainly apply to them. As literature, scrapbooks share the wisdom of families in the creativity and eloquence of beautiful pictures, patterns, and familiar stories. Rhetorically, scrapbooks contain arguments for the family's identity, its rituals and behaviors, and provide a discourse space on the family. Family scrapbooks indicate events and people deemed important enough to remember and record. They identify the composition of the family unit, the roles of its members, their relationships to one another, and their story-telling traditions. Scrapbook makers consider preserving traditions an important part of their legacy:

> When future generations pore through our albums they'll understand why Mom still insists on homemade ice cream on the Fourth of July or why Dad goes fishing at the same secluded river year after year. Our children will recognize many of the small rituals that they've inherited. They'll know that they belong. (Lambson)

The legacy of scrapbook making is not only the stories contained within scrapbooks, but also the rituals that surround the making and sharing of scrapbooks as part of a family's storytelling tradition.

Family scrapbooks rely most heavily on preserving a family's collective memory, but they also help track the growth of the family throughout the life cycle and its response to change. Scrapbooks also provide information about a family's financial, political, religious, or social standing in its community, or a commentary on these topics. In other words, the very nature of the family presents a rhetorical situation that motivates

scrapbook makers to create a body of work for future generations -- their own literature with their own arguments about what it means to be a family.

Families bear responsibility for many of the important functions of society, such as providing for the physical and emotional needs of children as well as transmitting culture and knowledge to them. Historically, family stories imparted much of the wisdom and traditions of families. The classic settings for telling stories, the campfire and the front porch, have disappeared. Now, the family dinner table, lost among the pressures of modern life, has joined them. Usurping their place is the "conjunction, so characteristic of mass society, of advertising and fashion" (Bender and Wellbery "Rhetoricality" 33). Against these "depersonalizing tendencies of modern rhetoricality" scrapbooks represent a return to the "old forms of persuasion" involving the exchange of "ideas and expository discourse" among individuals (Bender and Wellbery "Rhetoricality" 32-33). As a locus for transmitting knowledge and culture, scrapbooks confirm that families still have the need to come together to tell their stories and assure their future. As a result, scrapbooks provide evidence of the information scrapbook makers deem important for perpetuating their family and its culture. For instance, preserving the story-telling traditions in her family compelled Nancy Flora to tell her own stories in scrapbooks. She says, "My parents told lots of stories about themselves and about their parents. I realized I didn't tell as many stories about myself to my kids. This is my way of doing it now" (Flora). Flora tells her own stories in two sets of scrapbooks. The ones she calls her "current" scrapbooks chronicle the life of her immediate family. Her "heritage" scrapbook tells her parent's stories.

At the most basic level, scrapbook makers identify and assure individuals of their membership in the family group. Flora's family has grown and spread around the country, making it harder for her to maintain the identity and continuity of her family.

Toward that end, she begins each scrapbook with a definition of her family in the form of a gallery of photographs that identifies all the members in the pages to follow (Flora). Flora then proceeds chronologically. She achieves continuity by using photographs and news donated by other family members. She uses the shared items in conjunction with her own, placing them chronologically with her own pictures taken around the same time. By placing together pictures taken in different places at the same time she collapses the distance between her home and the homes of other family members and unites the family in the physical space of her scrapbook pages. In essence, the composite of scenes from different parts of the country taken at the same time, creates the impression of a shared family experience:

> It helps to keep knowing family because everyone is spread far apart. It keeps continuity of who's who and what ages they are. It shows them growing up. It shows what happened to them since the last time they saw them [each other]. They may be apart years until they see each other again. (Flora)

Her strategy affirms for her children that the context of their family extends beyond the dimensions of time and place. Other scrapbook makers employ a different strategy to draw their families together across the miles. Jenny Freeze, Ginny Mendoza, and others make scrapbook pages and send them to their mothers who place them in their own albums (Freeze; Mendoza). Flora's, Mendoza's, and Freeze's scrapbooks bring extended family together in a space where members can confirm their identity as a group. This includes those distant family members who may feel reassured when they visit and read the family scrapbook and discover themselves within the pages. Flora explains: "The family book is for the kids. It's a big thing. When they come they look at the books. Even my brother-in-law gets excited about it. He loves it" (Flora). As touchstones for

her family, Flora's scrapbooks construct a powerful argument that geography does not limit the meaning of her family. Indeed, the inclusive nature of family pictures and stories may provide all scrapbook makers and their families with a sense of community and belonging.

Flora's other scrapbook, her heritage book, began when she unearthed boxes of old photos in her attic. Finding the box "sparked an interest in the past" (Flora). As she struggled to recall names and places she began to feel a sense of responsibility: "Seeing all those boxes of pictures of people and places I didn't know; I couldn't leave that for my kids and grandkids. They remember even less than we do. I wanted to solve that problem so my kids won't be frustrated like I was" (Flora). Heritage books often lead scrapbook makers into genealogical research, family interviews on events not experienced first hand, and introspection. Reflecting on the pictures motivated Flora to expand her children's awareness of their family. Seeing herself as a link between the past and the future, Flora says, "I look at pictures and remember my grandmother and I can look at my hands and see the similarities. My kids will never know her, so I try to bridge that gap by telling them stories about her so they will know her too" (Flora). Ever mindful of the breadth of her family, she helps her grandchildren "see the whole family starting with my parents right at the beginning" (Flora). The first section of her heritage book "tells what and who the book is about and then progresses chronologically from there" (Flora). The heritage book allows Flora to create a pre-history for her children that serves as a companion to her current scrapbook and a point of reference for her family's enduring traditions. However, chronologically arranging the past does not always succeed. For instance, to make a scrapbook for her parents' fiftieth wedding anniversary, Susan Beran wrote to her parents' siblings and then to her own siblings asking for photos and stories of things they did together. Not everyone had pictures or sent stories, but she

had enough responses from contributing members to create a book that featured each member of the family (Beran). As straightforward as it sounds, Beran confronted a problem of balance. She puzzled over how to equally represent her mother's larger family with her father's much smaller family. In the end, "doing a page for each person was just the right thing to do" (Beran). Decisions on whom to include in family scrapbooks and how to represent them can shape a family's understanding of its size, composition, and ancestry.

Doing the right thing also challenged Flora to consider the reactions of her audience to her scrapbook. Reflecting on her role as family historian she says, "When writing about Mom I wonder, 'If my brother or sister see it, what would they say about my perceptions of mom or dad or someone else?'" Like Beran, she solicited help from other family members. She discovered: "my sisters and I have different memories about mother [and] different relationships" (Flora). By soliciting and considering the contributions of other family members, scrapbook makers and their families participate in reality monitoring, a process of "joint remembering [that] provides the possibility for reducing distortion" (Johnson 185). In Flora's case the awareness of audience and reality monitoring played a role in governing her writing. She says she has become "more careful when writing about a person. I wouldn't put in negatives, but I would, and do, put in the truth. There's no point in putting in negatives. They might upset someone, but I'm truthful even if it's not flattering. But not negative" (Flora). Reality monitoring guided Flora in distinguishing between the "truth," the "negative" and the "not flattering":

> I stick to the things that we all remember. I don't put in the negatives about my relationship about her, but some of the things we can't deny about her weren't exactly flattering. In the heritage book I'm trying to be more objective. I don't put in too much about my personal perceptions,

> but more general perceptions held by the family. And I put in more facts. In the family book I put in how *I* perceive my family. In the heritage book I put in how my family perceives itself. I'm especially sensitive to my sisters who lived through events at the same time as I did and knew the same people I did. (Flora)

Flora's editorial considerations may reveal a cultural or moral bias in her family that rejects negativity, but accepts the truth no matter how unflattering. She does not paint a portrait of a perfect family, but one that accepts imperfections in its members. Considering her audience and assuming responsibility for dealing with different realities, hers and her siblings, reveals Flora's strong sense of authorship. In her heritage book she sees herself not as a single author, but as a collaborator, balancing her perceptions and contributions with those of other family members. In her current family scrapbooks, she exercises exclusive license over content. Since memories and stories may differ across people and generations, putting them in scrapbooks serves as a point of reference or as a catalyst for ongoing discussions within family. For Flora they show, "What we did and where we went and who was there. I look back at the book to answer questions that come up about when we did something or who was there" (Flora). More importantly, "for a culture, as for individuals, what matters more than the truth or any one particular memory or belief (which may be impossible to determine) is the mechanisms we have in place for reality monitoring" (Johnson 190). Flora's scrapbooks, and many others, provide a mechanism for monitoring the reality of a family's stories of its past and present. They also reveal how families may define themselves by coming together to negotiate and reinforce their group and individual identities through memories.

Scrapbook makers often feel motivated by a sense of loss. As Flora says, "I was looking back at old pictures of myself and didn't remember how I felt or what I was

thinking at that time. I felt there was a loss there that I didn't want my grandchild to feel" (Flora). Similarly motivated, Jenny Freeze wants "her daughter to be able to look at the pictures and know what she was like" (Freeze). Mendoza too felt the need to create childhood "memories" for her new baby, even before it was born (Mendoza). Photographs and other memorabilia throughout her pregnancy provide the stimulus for narrating her baby's scrapbook from two points of view: her baby's and her own. She switches freely between the two points of view. From her own point of view she speaks to her baby, as in, "These are your dogs. This is your dad" (Mendoza). Also, in her own voice she speaks about herself, as when she recorded her reactions to a baby shower gift, "Hey, I like this present" (Mendoza). In the voice of her baby she wrote, "When I was 3 months old, I spent a week in Colorado with my abuelitos. Here I am all warm with abuelita" (Mendoza). Flora also switches voices, referring to herself in the first person as "me" or "I" and in the third person as "Nancy" or "Mother" (Flora). By switching point of view, scrapbook makers simulate participation by family members, possibly emulating an oral tradition in their families based on multiple voices. Their tactics may also represent the verbal expectations of children as they grow older. When children are young, the scrapbook maker can choose what childhood experiences to include and how to interpret them as memories. However, as children grow older, some scrapbook makers invite them to insert their own voices in their books and to participate in the storytelling process. Flora keeps a scrapbook for each of her daughters, carefully including information on who, what, why, when, and how, but limits expressing her own thoughts and feelings. She explains, "I'm leaving spaces for her to go back and write in her own feelings when she's older" (Flora). Creating scrapbooks to fill in the blanks for children's early memories validates the importance of children's memories in the family. It also establishes for children an early role in the family's traditions of story telling and writing.

Invitations to write in scrapbooks often result in older children creating scrapbooks filled with their own stories. Mary Curtis and her son started doing a scrapbook together on their trip to London, but later he decided to make his own scrapbook (Curtis). Writing in scrapbooks not only teaches children the importance of their family stories, but also provides them with early models for writing and telling stories. It may even help them develop an appreciation for traditional texts. Culley argues that vernacular literature (defined earlier to include scrapbooks) may form a bridge to canonical literature:

> When students are able to make connections between their own texts and historical objects of study, they no longer consider literature an alien realm. They may place new value on their writing in seeing it as part of a cultural tradition. They may then find access to forms of verbal act they do not practice and may not be likely to practice, forms created in public arenas and for public purposes. Students no longer trying to conform their perceptions to accepted standards will value, no doubt, their own creative and critical capacities. (Culley 16)

From this perspective, writing in scrapbooks may help families identify with the broader literary traditions of their culture. For some scrapbook makers, their literary traditions exist in non-English language texts. Including their native language in their scrapbooks helps scrapbook makers remind their families of their roots. It may also help them keep their native language alive in their families. Flora's bilingual scrapbook represents her family's Haitian background. She hopes the dialogue and vocabulary she included will help reveal the personality of various native "speakers" in her book and encourage her children to learn the language (Flora). Mendoza also seeks to express her family's heritage to her newborn when she writes from her baby's point of view in Spanish

(Mendoza). Neither Flora nor Mendoza translates their native text into English, reinforcing the expectation that their children will learn the language of their ancestors. Whatever their language preferences, writing in scrapbooks identifies the family as literate and rich in the traditions contained in their stories. For Flora, Mendoza, Beran, Curtis, and many other scrapbook makers their scrapbooks have become surrogate campfires, front porches, and dining room tables where they pass on the stories, traditions, and culture that give meaning to their families.

This chapter has traced the history of scrapbooks in the twentieth-century and their remarkable spread throughout society. It recounts their adaptation to changing content and materials motivated by the technologies and consumer demands. As the quality and cost of scrapbooks increased, expectations of their longevity endowed them with a greater sense of intrinsic and personal value. In the twentieth century, as never before, scrapbooks provided practical and professional services in education, business, the law, medicine, the helping professions, the arts, and government. Their applications demonstrated wide-spread acceptance and participation in a variety of discourses on social and cultural issues. Once shunned by libraries and museums, and in spite of the serious problems they pose for archivists, historical institutions began soliciting scrapbooks for their collections. As a result, the perceptions and memories of individuals contributed important details and first-hand experiences to our common histories. The most visible highlight in the history of scrapbooks occurred near the end of the century when they developed into a significant financial market driven by the commodification of memories and lifestyle advertising. Throughout the century, writing in scrapbooks increased and produced more self-conscious autobiographical texts. Later in the century scrapbooks played an active role in the evolution of writing. Non-academic writing instructors taught journaling, a style of writing designed especially to motivate writing in

scrapbooks. Finally, twentieth-century scrapbooks became a discourse space for individuals and families for preserving and passing on their identity and culture to current and future generations.

Chapter Four: Paper to Pixels

Electronic scrapbooks are the new generation of scrapbooks. Even with its technological innovations, this latest evolution in scrapbooks retains the attributes that have attracted people for over two hundred years. Like paper-based scrapbooks, electronic scrapbooks portray representations of memories and stories. They record history, culture, and lifecycle events. They provide a space for expressing opinions and ideas and for constructing definitions of family and self. Electronic scrapbooks also improve on paper-based scrapbooks and the scrapbook-making experience by preserving and sharing memories in ways never before possible. They exploit the visual richness of scrapbooks with new opportunities for creativity and expression of style. And, they bring scrapbooks from the fringes of reading and writing into mainstream communication on the World Wide Web (WWW).

Web pages are what scrapbooks have been waiting for. They provide a world stage for celebration of self, family and community, for the exchange of ideas, and for the sharing of culture. This chapter explores scrapbooks in this new environment. It follows their transformation from paper to pixels and examines the innovative applications of technology that add new dimensions to the traditional expectations of scrapbooks, their interface with readers and writers, and their materiality as artifacts of memory.[14] In this chapter I examine several e-scrapbooks to explore the effects of the online environment on the rhetorical situation and five rhetorical canons historically associated with scrapbooks. I pay particular attention to how the five canons of rhetoric manifest themselves in online scrapbooks. Moreover, I argue that the Internet has made both

[14] In this chapter, I do not offer opinions on or evaluate the hardware and software products available to scrapbook makers nor do I exhaustively explore the multitude of creative ways scrapbook makers may employ them.

paper-based and computer-based scrapbooks and the process of composing them more visible and accessible to scholars. Before turning to these issues, I provide a brief overview and timeline of these innovative technologies.

ON LAPS AND LAPTOPS

In the mid-twentieth century the spread of electronic technology began "the process of transferring the human archive of knowledge from paper to electronic storage" (Danesi 161).[15] The transfer of information to computers accelerated in the 1980s with the introduction of personal computers (PCs) and their widespread use throughout the population. By the end of the century the transfer from paper to pixels included scrapbooks and the process of making them. As scrapbook makers embraced the new technologies they produced a new generation of scrapbooks: e-scrapbooks.[16]

In spite of the technological improvements in archival quality papers and supplies, many scrapbook makers saw the ongoing advancements in computer storage media technology and capacity as a means to preserve their works. Initial methods of transfer relied on digital scanners. Scrapbook makers could create digital images of all or part of their paper-based scrapbooks using scanners that transferred the images to their computers. Scanners also made it possible for paper-based scrapbook makers to include digitized facsimiles of physical artifacts that could not be mounted onto scrapbook pages.

Once they had their scrapbooks on computers, scrapbook makers could avail themselves of new tools and options for editing, displaying, storing, and sharing their

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[15] This chapter assumes reader familiarity with basic computer technology and terminology including, but not limited to, electronic storage media, scanners, transferring data to and from the Internet and the World Wide Web (WWW), web pages, web sites, and such Internet components as navigation bars, URLs (Universal Resource Links), and hypertext. Chapter One clarifies of the terms *web sites*, *web pages*, and *personal web pages* as used in this dissertation.

[16] The term *e-scrapbooks* or *electronic scrapbooks*, as defined in Chapter One, refers to scrapbooks created or stored in computer-based environments such as personal computers (PCs) or Internet servers. O*nline scrapbooks* refers to e-scrapbooks available on the World Wide Web.

scanned images. They could create scrapbooks directly on their computers by using generic word processors or desktop publishing programs. In the late-1980s, computer programs designed especially for creating scrapbooks appeared on the market. Current software programs "that make scrapbooking computer friendly" (Wilson) include Hallmark's Scrapbook Studio Deluxe, Ulead's Photo Express 4.0: My Scrapbook Edition, Nova's Scrapbook Factory Deluxe 3.0, American Greetings' Scrapbooks and More, and Intriguing Development's iRemember Scrapbooking Software. Professional grade programs include Adobe Systems' InDesign 2.0, Quark's QuarkXPress 5.0, Microsoft Publisher 2003 (Solomon 16; "Preserve Your Memories" 52), and Paint Shop Pro Xtras, a series of scrapbook-making software that currently includes seven different titles. Whether scanned or created on their computers, scrapbook makers store their e-scrapbooks on local or remote hard drives or on such removable media as CDs.

For the first time since the Brownie camera, innovations in photographic technology changed the way scrapbook makers added photographs to their scrapbooks. They no longer had to wait for photographs to be developed to paste them into scrapbooks. In 1994, Apple introduced Quick Take, the first consumer-grade digital camera (Bellis). Kodak, Casio, and Sony quickly followed with their own models (Bellis). Digital cameras, the epitome of "point-and-shoot cameras," communicate with computers using a Uniform Serial Bus (USB) cable. Consumers, scrapbook makers among them, could transfer photographs directly from cameras to computers (Bellis). Programs such as Adobe Photoshop CS2™ provided editing tools. Scrapbook makers could insert the photos directly into their e-scrapbooks or print copies on plain or photographic paper to put into their paper-based scrapbooks. Many scrapbook makers soon made use of the new technologies that offered novel ways to capture lived experiences. Consumer-level photographic technology produced amateur video cameras

and the tools to edit video files on the computer. In addition, advancements in audio technology allowed scrapbook makers to incorporate recorded or pre-packaged sounds in their scrapbooks alongside other artifacts.

Not only did the technology change the content of scrapbooks, it also provided new options for sharing them. The size and shape of scrapbook pages had long limited the ability to make copies of them to save or share. When the window size of photocopiers and scanners increased, scrapbook makers could digitize the oversized pages of their scrapbooks. However, printing still proved difficult. It required reducing the images in order to print them on the standard printers using 8.5" by 11" or slightly larger paper. Scanning and printing technologies have continued to advance, and today scrapbook makers can print full-size, borderless, colored copies of their full-sized scrapbook pages on such printers as the Epson Stylus Photo R 1800, which uses high-quality paper with dimensions up to 13" x 44" ("Preserve Your Memories" 53). As a result, for the first time in the history of scrapbooks, scrapbook makers can produce what some have called "perfect copies" of scrapbook pages, which they "probably never do with actual scrapbook pages" (Solomon 15).

Scrapbook makers could also share scrapbooks by placing copies of them on removable computer media, such as CDs, and giving them to others. A more efficient method appeared in the early 1990s when scrapbook makers and millions of others participated in "the widespread and rapid adoption of browsers and the World Wide Web technology" (History of the Internet). Seven years later, "more than 31 million PCs in the U.S. were regularly connected to the Internet" (qtd. in Siegel 6). The WWW made the sharing of information stored on computers available to anyone with access to a computer and a telephone line. Scrapbook makers took advantage of the opportunity to upload images of their paper-based or e-scrapbooks to Internet servers for viewing on the WWW

by distant family and friends -- and often by an anonymous online audience. As an alternative to sharing their scrapbooks on the Internet, scrapbook makers could convert their digitized scrapbooks into Portable Document Format (.pdf) and attach them to e-mail ("Preserve Your Memories" 53). The power and variety of hardware and software technologies available to scrapbook makers eventually changed the way they approached their practice and gave rise to a new generation of scrapbook makers.

DIGITAL SCRAPBOOKING

As the use of computer technology to make and share scrapbooks spread, scrapbook makers adopted a new phrase to describe their activity: "digital scrapbooking." This phrase refers to the use of electronics to perform basic scrapbook-making activities, including gathering and arranging content; cutting, pasting, and mounting items; creating and composing text; and sharing the finished product. The term appears regularly in articles on scrapbooks, in the titles of many books on scrapbooks, and in the title of a print and online periodical, Digital Scrapbooking Magazine. Digital scrapbooking claims to "enhance the look and creativity of [. . .] scrapbooks -- virtual or otherwise" (Solomon 16). "Virtual or otherwise" means that scrapbook makers do not have to choose between paper and pixels when making or sharing scrapbooks. They can work in a physical space, a virtual space, or both. Indeed, some scrapbook makers create all or part of the same scrapbook in both environments. However, the meaning of a "virtual" environment is not lost on the scrapbook-making community. Scrapbook makers often refer to paper-based scrapbooks as their "real" scrapbooks in articles (Solomon 15) and on their web pages. As one scrapbook maker explains, "This is just my online scrapbook. I love to do the real thing in real life" (Maiolo).

Scrapbook makers take advantage of both environments in a variety of ways. They may begin with paper-based scrapbooks and create digital images of them by

scanning all or part of them into a computer for several reasons. First, digitizing them makes it possible to share them with others. When Allyson Maiolo created an online scrapbook, she also saw the opportunity to share her paper-based scrapbook too. She scanned nineteen "sample scrapbook pages" to include as part of her online scrapbook. She surmised this may become an ongoing option for sharing her "real" scrapbook-pages by adding, "maybe I will get some newer ones on here eventually." And, consider Madelyn Blais' situation, described in the previous chapter, in which she and her siblings dismantled their mother's scrapbook in order to share its contents. Scanning could have preserved the original, prevented its physical dismantling, and provided each sibling with a copy of the entire scrapbook. Second, as older paper-based scrapbooks and those made with non-archival quality papers deteriorate, digitizing them may provide the only option for preserving them or sharing them with others, especially when the originals become too fragile to handle. Libraries and historical societies have already started to digitize collections as a way to preserve copies of fragile materials, to minimize wear and tear on the originals, and to share their archives long-distance (Irvine "Collections" 7D). Third, scrapbook makers and institutions may scan paper-based scrapbooks in order to repair, enhance, or otherwise alter the images. They may then move back to the paper-based environment if they print the changed images and use them to supplement or restore the paper-based scrapbooks or integrate the items into new scrapbooks.

Scanning scrapbooks is not the only way scrapbook makers move between a physical space and a virtual space. Paper-based scrapbook makers may turn to their computers to scan or download and print images of various artifacts or other items for their scrapbooks, such as fonts and clip art (Jill Davis; Thomas). In the computer-based environment scrapbook makers may begin and end by creating their scrapbooks on the computer, but may find themselves returning to paper for similar reasons. For instance,

to include such paper-based ephemera as letters, newspaper articles, photographs, certificates, invitations, and the like, they must scan these into a computer in order to create electronic facsimiles. They may also want to include scanned facsimiles of paper-based borders, backgrounds, stickers, or other such decorative items. Even though scrapbook makers may create all or part of their scrapbooks on computers, they may still end up with scrapbooks on paper. They may consider "it nice to have hard copies of the scrapbook pages" they make on their computers, in which case they print the pages and bind them ("Preserve Your Memories" 53). As a result, all or part of scrapbooks created on computers may also exist on paper. Further illustrating the permeable boundary created by digital scrapbooking between paper and pixels, some scrapbook makers place copies of all or part of their scrapbooks on CDs and then place the CDs within envelopes attached to an inside cover of their paper-based or printed computer-based scrapbooks (Solomon 16; "Preserve Your Memories" 53).

Working in both environments has added benefits for scrapbook makers. The Consumer Electronics Lifestyles magazine suggests that "digital scrapbooking" costs less, is easier, and offers more creative opportunities than paper-based scrapbook making alone ("Preserve Your Memories" 53). For instance, instead of buying templates and images, scrapbook makers can download them for free. Rather than replacing consumable paper-based products, scrapbook makers can save money by reusing electronic images of them. Replicating favorite patterns and layouts not only costs less, but can save time and effort. Electronic tools give paper-based scrapbook makers the opportunity to experiment with designs on a computer before working on paper ("Preserve Your Memories" 53). For both paper-based and computer-based scrapbook makers, making changes in design or correcting mistakes is less expensive and easier on a computer. Experimenting with ideas and layouts becomes less risky, costly, and time-

consuming on computers. Because of the ease of editing designs and pages on a computer, scrapbook makers have the freedom to update their scrapbooks more often, an option that may become time-consuming, expensive, and sometimes impossible on paper. Color palates on computers give scrapbook makers the flexibility of creating or customizing images, an option not readily available with paper-based products. With digital scrapbooking, scrapbook makers can use facsimiles of stickers, 3D objects, letters, fonts, textures, and other paper-based type ephemera without the fear of running out of samples or increasing expenses (Thomas). Finally, digital scrapbooking means that scrapbook makers, including paper-based scrapbook makers, can more easily and economically share their scrapbooks with family and friends -- on laps or laptops.

On the other hand, it may take less time and money for scrapbook makers to create or draft all or part of their first or subsequent scrapbooks on a computer, but depending on the hardware and software products they choose and their level of computer experience, they could face "a fairly steep learning curve" (Solomon 16). However, of all the technologies that scrapbooks have encountered over two hundred years, electronic technology has had the most profound effect. It introduced a new environment, new tools, and a new medium for making and sharing scrapbooks. The Internet presents a particularly challenging yet invigorating environment for scrapbook makers because they must translate their works into web pages and adapt them to an online audience.

THE WEB WAY

Web pages expand and enrich the scrapbook-making experience with greater opportunities for multimedia content and creativity and a more prominent forum for self-publication of representations of memories and self. While web page designers continue to improve its capabilities, web page design invigorates and challenges the ingenuity and

creativity of scrapbook makers. For instance, the essentially unlimited canvas of web pages seems a dream come true, but the complexities of a virtual space present scrapbook makers with issues they never faced in paper-based pages. While facsimiles allow inclusion of artifacts previously considered unsuitable for scrapbooks, such as those too large or cumbersome, the digitized versions cannot deliver the tactile experience of paper-based scrapbooks. On the other hand, scrapbook makers can enhance their scrapbooks with exciting new multimedia options, such as audio, video, and animation.

"Personal" web pages may satisfy the literary and rhetorical impulses of scrapbook makers, but they deny the intimacy their name implies. Meanwhile, working in the non-contiguous virtual space of an online environment, as opposed to the linear world of paper-based scrapbooks, requires that scrapbook makers reconsider arrangement options for representing lifecycle events. On the other hand, electronic media presents scrapbook makers with the means for storing more of their memories than ever before. And, while online self-publishing makes scrapbooks readily available to family and friends, it also exposes them to an anonymous audience and a different set of considerations for delivery, such as whether to password-protect the site or omit an index page. At the same time, the presence of scrapbooks on the Internet makes them more visible to scholars. To understand how scrapbook makers are meeting and overcoming these challenges in their compositions and to understand how scrapbooks on the Internet alter the rhetorical situation historically associated with scrapbooks, I turn once again to the five canons of rhetoric.

SEIZING THE MOMENT

Electronic technology has expanded the places where both paper-based and computer-based scrapbook makers may discover occasions for making scrapbooks. A common source for invention occurs when new or seasoned scrapbook makers discover

shoeboxes or other receptacles filled with photographs and memorabilia. When Joseph John Woodford II inherited from his father a box of loose photographs, memorabilia, and a WWII scrapbook, he seized the moment to create an online scrapbook of his father's WWII experiences. He recalls: "That box was passed on to me upon his death in 1973. The materials in this e-scrapbook are from that box and from family archives shared by my sister" (Woodford II). Technology has introduced another incarnation of the familiar cardboard box in the form of CDs and memory sticks that hold collections of digital photographs ("Preserve Your Memories" 15). Ironically, some may even end up among the contents of cardboard boxes. In recognition of the ubiquitous use of such storage systems, Constant Time Software named its photo-sharing software the Electric Shoebox™. Like their cardboard counterparts, the electronic media represents a commonplace for finding scrapbook-making ideas that may serve scrapbook makers working in paper or pixels.

Besides providing scrapbook makers with electronic versions of cardboard boxes, technology itself has become a viable resource for topics and exigencies. The power, novelty, and convenience of the WWW have made it an essential part of modern communication. The appeal of taking part in the WWW roused many computer users to create personal web pages, an elementary exercise that represents for many people their initial foray into the WWW. The adjective "personal" implies that the web pages may contain information of a biographical nature. Many, but not all, personal web pages include pictures, stories, and facsimiles of artifacts. For scrapbook makers, the similarities between personal web pages and scrapbooks may have empowered them with sufficient confidence to create online scrapbooks or to upload electronic copies of their paper-based scrapbooks to the Internet.

Once online, the Internet presents a collaborative environment where scrapbook makers may discover from one another and the WWW at-large new topics or new ways of expressing themselves in scrapbooks online or on paper. According to Janice R. Walker, the activity on the Internet represents a rich resource for the art of invention. The WWW reprises the notion of invention prevalent in the pre-modern era of rhetoric in which the process of invention relied on an "audience knowing, a shared database of communal knowledge," as opposed to the modern art of invention identified as an "individual" process and governed by copyright laws and (Walker). As a result, Walker asks, "Are we, perhaps, returning to a communal view of Invention as a shared 'database' of knowledge, where ideas are shared freely and new ideas, or Inventions, may grow naturally out of existing ones?" Such would seem the case for scrapbook makers. While "cruising" the Internet, scrapbook makers may feel energized by the visual display of text and images spanning an infinite number of topics and designs, as "they browse through scrapbooking Web sites for new ideas" ("Modern Memories" 26). In addition, "Many scrapbookers are already members of online clubs, corresponding daily via email with scrapbooking friends" ("Modern Memories" 26). At other sites scrapbook makers find support and "a wonderful community and scrapbooking ideas in our Gallery, Forums, and Chat Room that will help you [them] on your [their] journey to preserving your [their] memories digitally" (Digital Scrapbook Place).

Scrapbook makers may also discover ideas for making scrapbooks from retailers, how-to sites, and individual online scrapbooks. Rather than imposing constraints on scrapbook making, the wealth of ideas, models, and templates available in both paper-based and online environments seems to energize and promote the creativity and individuality that characterizes the scrapbook-making process. When online retailers demonstrate the use of their products in sample scrapbook pages, such as those found in

Déjà Views' Idea Gallery and EK Success' Project Ideas (Déjà Views; Stickopotamus) they not only promote new designs and products, but may also inspire the creativity that leads to invention. Similarly, web sites that offer scrapbook-making instruction participate in the search for ideas by including samples of scrapbook pages and examples of techniques, tools, or products (Digital Scrapbook Place). How-to sites may also include additional encouragement for invention by exhorting readers, "To keep your creative juices flowing 'til Lesson One . . . visit these sites for more resources and ideas" (Budelman). Besides retail and how-to sites, some online scrapbooks include resources for invention in the form of links to favorite products and scrapbook-making sites (Ibata). Online scrapbook makers may also offer more generic advice for finding ideas, such as "search amazon.com for books about scrapbooking!" (Maiolo).

Finally, while soliciting scrapbooks online extends the reach of historical societies, museums, and libraries that use scrapbooks to inform our history and culture, it also provides an occasion for invention. Web sites such as the Edmonton Canada's Centennial Project and the Digital Scrapbook Place entreat scrapbook makers to post their scrapbooks in their galleries or archives. Inducements, such as the one proffered by The American Family Immigration History Center (AFIHC) of Ellis Island, include "the unique opportunity to assemble your own family history in the form of an on-line scrapbook" (Parents' Choice Foundation).

Besides retail and instructional web sites teeming with ideas and appeals, scrapbook makers may also find organized sets of inspirations within the software products and web hosting services they choose. Like a form of guided invention, the products typically contain a selection of templates and layouts for such lifecycle events as birthdays, anniversaries, weddings, graduations, proms, holidays, vacations, and many more. In addition, an a la carte menu of graphics and ornamentation may include the

advice to "follow the theme that you chose when you were selecting embellishments" (GotFamiliesOnline "Scrapbook Software"). Online and desktop software may also model invention by stepping scrapbook makers through a series of options beginning with the uploading of images or photographs and scanned memorabilia followed by creating captions and journaling. According to one site, "Putting together the scrapbook is simply a matter of following step-by-step menus, though a familiarity with different image and audio file types will be a help" (Parents' Choice Foundation). Other sites provide service for uploading photographs into galleries where scrapbook makers may then discover themes or topics for their scrapbooks. One site explains, "The pictures should also be under the concrete title or topic. Most scrapbook software available on web hosting sites will have areas for uploading photos for galleries of pictures with comments" (GotFamiliesOnline "Your Family Website"). Web hosts may also suggest ideas for creating scrapbooks, such as "Online scrapbook of family memories, Keep in touch with family and friends, Bring families closer with latest news" (GotFamiliesOnline "Your Family Website").

Finally, the Internet may stimulate scrapbook makers through a heightened sense of kairos, a concept of invention described by Quintilian as the "circumstances" of "time and place" that gives rise to opportunities for communication. (qtd. in Crowley and Hawhee 31). Throughout their history the material features of scrapbooks have limited the acts of making and sharing them to a linear time and a physical space. The Internet introduced a new sense of kairos for scrapbooks: virtual time and place. The opportunity to share copies of scrapbooks with others at any time and in any place where a computer could connect to the Internet provides a strong motivation for many scrapbook makers to create online scrapbooks. On the other hand, the time to update paper-based scrapbooks typically lags far behind the events depicted. The sequential nature of many paper-based

scrapbooks also makes it difficult to insert events between previously recorded events or to add materials to previously recorded events. The immediacy of communication on the Internet means that online scrapbook makers can easily maintain the relevancy of their scrapbooks by updating their pages as events occur or by inserting additional materials to previously posted pages at will. Therefore, the Internet represents a kairotic opportunity, or "ready stance" (Crowley and Hawhee 35), for the new generation of scrapbook makers to improve the quality and relevancy of their scrapbooks and their relationships with their readers.

BY ORDER OF CONTENT

The art of arrangement involves "optimal placement, propitious timing, or a combination of both" (Crowley and Hawhee 199). Because the subject matter of most scrapbooks represents lifecycle events it often dictates a chronological ordering of content and the physical constraints of a paper-based medium dictate serial production. However, to achieve a more creative and interesting arrangement, paper-based scrapbook makers may vary the rhythm and emphasis of sequentially represented events. For instance, one page may represent events spanning a week, months, or longer while several pages may represent the events of a single hour. The slowing down or speeding up of the flow of various parts of the overall discourse demonstrates the use of "propitious timing." It also demonstrates the use of arrangement to argue the importance of certain events by allotting them more space in the scrapbook. The irregular representation of elapsed time also increases interest by interrupting the chronology while maintaining its underlying integrity of arrangement. To achieve this effect scrapbook makers group their materials into individual or thematic events and select those to emphasize. While the significance of an event may determine the timing or duration of interruptions to the chronology, the volume of materials may also effect "optimal

placement." Because of the limited physical capacity of paper-based scrapbooks, scrapbook makers may have to move materials to successive or separate scrapbooks, thus creating a physical interruption to the chronology. For example, Randall Davis' fishing scrapbook, The Ole Warrior, highlights one of the many fishing trips mentioned less extensively in his other scrapbooks (R. W. Davis). Because Count Orlowski continued his scrapbooks into successive volumes as they became full, they represent various lengths of time between 1942 and 1951 (7; 9; 1947-47; 1949-51; 15). Similar considerations of timing and placement follow scrapbook makers as they move online, but the technology and environment offer different methods for achieving them.

Like paper-based scrapbooks, online scrapbooks may often represent lifecycle events, but Internet technology and the non-contiguous physical allocation of file space on web servers do not easily lend themselves to an overall chronological arrangement nor do they impose a chronological order on visitors who may access web pages at random. On the other hand, non-contiguous storage means that online scrapbook makers can create or add content at random, as opposed to paper-based scrapbook makers who must concern themselves with sequential production. While some online scrapbook makers may consider this exciting or liberating, others may perceive it as more challenging. In either case, without the traditional physical linearity of paper-based scrapbooks to provide a structure for content, online scrapbook makers must find other ways to arrange their content.

Arrangement of content online involves web pages and URLs. Scrapbook makers may place all of their content on one web page or divide it into several web pages. If they divide it among more than one web page they must use URLs, the linking system of the Internet, to connect the pages to one another and create a composition. In addition, scrapbook makers may include links to other web sites. Although remote sites may

enrich the content, they can also complicate the act of arrangement because scrapbook makers have no control over the arrangement of content on remote sites or its compatibility with their own. Nor can they assure readers will return to their web pages. Scrapbook makers use web pages and URLs in different ways in order to arrange their content into a composition that resembles a scrapbook.

Many scrapbook makers attempt to simulate the traditional chronological arrangement of scrapbooks by using restrictive links. Restrictive links attempt to limit movement from one page to another. Scrapbook makers begin by identifying their preferred sequence of web pages and then placing directional indicators on each page, such as arrows labeled as "next," "previous," or "more." Clicking on the arrows moves readers sequentially through the web pages one at a time in the order pre-determined by the author. Scrapbooks by Woodford, Nancy Parrish, and Byon Garrabrant employ this method (Woodford II; Parrish; Garrabrant). Using this method of arrangement may create a particular experience for readers, emphasize the importance of the chronology, or develop a storyline of unfolding events. Woodford's memorial to his father follows his military career from 1942, to his injuries during the attack on Mt. Suribachi, and his return home in 1945. At the bottom of each page a "Click Here for More" link guides readers forward, but Woodford provides no links to go backwards. Nor does he provide a link on the last page to return to the first page. With the unexpected absence of a "more" link, readers may assume they have reached the last page of the scrapbook. But there is also no link to return to the beginning. This option in arrangement, restricting movement back through the book or to the beginning, is not found in paper-based scrapbooks, but may serve several intentional or unintentional purposes in an online scrapbook. For example, it surprises readers and causes them to pause. The moment before they realize they will have to use the "back button" on their browser to go anywhere else may present

an opportunity for them to contemplate what they have just read. Or, the missing link, like the riderless horse in a cortege, may stir in them a sense of loss or confusion and remind them of those missing or killed in wars. Omitting links to go backwards may also serve another purpose. The missing "back" links parallel our experiences of first-time events in life, such as the first reading of a book, that are never the same the next time. Metaphorically the missing links represent the abruptness with which life may end. And, in a subtle way Woodford's arrangement with missing links acts as a metaphor for life and wars, there are no "do-overs" and nothing and no one is ever the same again.

Parrish, Director of Wings Across America and WASP (Women Airforce Service Pilots) WWII Museum Association, uses restrictive links to achieve a different goal. Her readers follow a "flight" of WASP through training, graduation, and into assignments at Avenger Field near Sweetwater, Texas during WWII. Her pages recount learning skills, growing friendships, and losing comrades. They include insights into the personalities of the trainees. Parrish ends her story with mementos and photos of WASP memorials at Avenger Field. Links on each page give readers the options of moving forward, backward, to the first page, or to the last page of her scrapbook. Being able to move around freely gives readers an opportunity to revisit or remind themselves of events. It creates a sense of liveliness that matches the tone of the text and the story. The forward moving links allow the reader to feel the regimen that compelled the WASP through training while the other links represent moments of diversion and individual experiences that lightened the seriousness of their jobs. Not as restrictive as Woodford's links, Parrish's still come closer to the overall arrangement of a chronological composition in the tradition of paper-based scrapbooks by allowing readers to move back and forth through the pages, albeit one at a time. Parrish also chose another type of link in her arrangement that can be quite shocking the first time readers encounter it unless they

have read ahead in the text. Some of the women's names are links and clicking on the names takes readers to "Above & Beyond," a page dedicated to "38 WASP and trainees killed while serving their country" in 1943 and 1944 (Parrish). Parrish's link to the memorial page continues the "story" of these women "above and beyond" the story she tells in her scrapbook. It unites them with other WASP killed in training and during missions. Like Woodford's last page and its missing link, there are no "back" or "home" arrows to return readers to the scrapbook, or metaphorically, to return the fallen WASP to their comrades. Returning to the scrapbook requires readers to use a browser "back button" and, as in Woodford's scrapbook, the reading experience is no longer the same. With knowledge of what the hypertext names signify, the reading experience becomes more serious and tentative as readers wonder which of the WASP they have come to know will have her name appear in hypertext.

The position of links on the page also contributes to the overall arrangement. Woodford places his links at the bottom of the page, further restricting reader movement by making them scroll to the bottom of the page and through his pictures to get to them. Parrish provides her links at both the top and the bottom of her pages. Garrabrant uses similar links to create a chronological experience, but in a slightly different manner. He uses links to create a scrapbook that exemplifies the linearity of paper-based scrapbooks and the life-cycle events they portray. His scrapbook covers fourteen years from 1984 through 1997. They present him and his future wife as high school sweethearts and sophomores, as bride and groom four years later, and through the years as parents with the births of two sons and a daughter. Garrabrant creates his story of his family by placing two pictures on each of twelve web pages. He provides both "previous" and "next" links so readers can move back and forth through the story. Returning to previous pages allows readers to appreciate how much the family and children have grown. With

only two photos on each page, Garrabrant conveniently placed his links at the top of the page immediately above the photo. Unlike Woodford's pages where readers have to scroll down the page to get to the links, readers can sit back and leisurely "flip" through the pages.

Although online scrapbook makers may use restrictive links in an attempt to create a chronological arrangement or to emulate the sequential experience of reading a paper-based scrapbook, the links cannot control either the use of browser "back" buttons or the use of "bookmarks" that allow repeat visitors to return to certain pages at will. While restrictive links may attempt to emulate the chronological arrangement of paper-based scrapbooks, "back" buttons and bookmarks provide the only opportunity for readers to simulate the paper-based freedom of returning to favorite pages or to peruse pages at random. However, the attempt to create the experience of reading a sequentially arranged composition demonstrates online scrapbook makers' familiarity with and respect for the traditions of paper-based scrapbooks.

In Dadaw's Scrapbook, Charles Stockman provides an example of another use of links to simulate a chronologically arranged composition, but it allows readers to move more freely through the composition. He names twenty of his links sequentially from "1920s" to "1950-66" and arranges them in columns on the page readers may first encounter. The names and sequential arrangement of the links indicate a preferred order of viewing the scrapbook, but they also allow readers to peruse them in any order they want. His arrangement complements his content which consists mostly of rail passes, ration cards, identification cards, and the like. Readers can follow Dadaw's travels or "travel" through the pages on their own. However, like roundtrip tickets, once readers reach a "destination" page the return link takes them back to their point of departure, the

list of links. The rest of the links on Stockman's page introduce another form of arrangement used in online scrapbooks, topical links.

The most common method of arranging content on the WWW involves grouping materials into separate topics or events and then creating one or more web pages for each. This method strongly resembles the strategy employed by keepers of commonplace books, but when combined with the linking system of the Internet, this method offers a variety of options for drawing the separate topics together into a single composition. To accomplish this, scrapbook makers create site maps, essentially a list of links that identify the various parts into which they have divided their content. They may or may not arrange the list in a meaningful order before placing it on their home pages or in their navigation bars.

Consequently, readers may have to decipher a particular order or imagine a sense of the relative importance of the links to one another. For instance, Stockman's list of topical links provides descriptions of the subject matter of the page the link leads to, such as "Special Police Officer," "War Department Passes," "Fat Stock Show," and others (Stockman). Unlike the chronological list, readers may select links based on their interest or curiosity. However, by placing the links under the columns of the dates, Stockman may cause readers to wonder if the links relate to the dates above or even lead them to believe they do. While the names of links may describe subject matter, the order of links may either indicate a preferred order for viewing or motivate readers to make their own interpretations of the ordering. Maiolo's home page begins with a link named "My Family" and ends with a link named "Feet" (Maiolo). Between them she includes such links as "My home away from home" and "My best friend Julie." Her list indicates subject matter, but does not explicitly represent any recognizable order for viewing. Readers may assume that links at the top of the list take precedence over items at the

bottom or that the ones at the top of the list are newer than the ones at the bottom of the list. An alternative interpretation of her order might search for metaphorical significance in "My Family" at the top or some amusement in "Feet" appearing at its bottom. Although her content represents lifecycle events, she does not present her links in a manner that indicates any chronological arrangement.

Maiolo's list of links does not indicate a particular order for viewing her pages, but sometimes the names of links may give readers other clues. The links "Isabella's first birthday" (David & Karen) and "Disney Cruise #3 on the Magic" (Maiolo) help situate these individual topics in lifecycle or chronological moments. However, chronological information in the names of the links may not always coincide with their relative position in the list. McDonald's list includes the topics "Pets," "Our Condo," "The Minivan!!!," and several others interspersed between links that provide chronological information. For instance, her list includes the following links in this order: "Georgetown Fire 12/03," "Matt's Graduation 5/05," "9/11: A Remembrance," "Amarillo 6/04." McDonald's list combines chronological names with a topical arrangement. Possibly because her list does not appear in any particular order, even though she provides chronological names, she found it necessary to indicate relative importance more overtly. She adds "NEW" next to "Matt's Graduation 5/05," an item that appears in the middle of her list. Scrapbook makers have several other options for indicating the relative importance of items on their lists, such as the use of variable fonts, colors, or flashing graphical symbols. Other scrapbook makers rely on sequencing and the names of links to indicate relative importance based on timeliness. For instance, lists that provide such chronological information as dates or names may appear in reverse order with the most recent item appearing at the top of the list (David & Karen). This option privileges timeliness over

the "timeline-ness" of paper-based scrapbooks in which the most current item always appears at the end of the book.

Instead of lists of named links, scrapbook makers may use lists of thumbnails, reduced images of web pages. Scrapbook makers may arrange thumbnails and optional text in arrays on web pages that act as indexes or tables of content. One type of thumbnail allows readers to make their selections based on what they see and then click the thumbnail to go to a full-size view of their selection on another web page (Sproxton July 2001-Easter 2002; Sproxton December 2002- August 2003). This form of arrangement provides an overall view of the content and scrapbook makers' method of arrangement. It allows readers to scan the entire contents of the scrapbook before making their selections. Another use of thumbnails in arrays leads readers to web pages in which the clicked-on thumbnails appear, usually enlarged, among other additional content on the web page (David & Karen). Thumbnails, as substitutes for named links, are part of a collection of graphical and iconic symbols used in place of text to indicate the presence of a link on a web page. They represent a stylistic choice of picture over text, but do not necessarily provide any more or less information than named links discussed above.

As an alternative or supplement to chronological or topical arrangement, scrapbook makers can include an internal search feature that allows readers to quickly locate or focus on areas of interest within their pages. Accessing texts through search engines has become more conspicuous and compelling in online environments, but it is not unique to online texts. "Searching" occurs in paper-based texts, including scrapbooks, whenever readers thumb through pages or access content through indexes or table of contents. Online and paper-based texts may represent authors' preferred arrangement, but readers can ignore it and construct their own by searching through content or randomly selecting links. Because readers may access online documents

through search engines and random links, "we, as writers, do not know anymore exactly what text our reader is reading" (Walker). Consequently, the art of arrangement in online scrapbooks may become a collaborative experience in which both scrapbook maker and reader participate in designing a reading experience.

As Walker observes, "Our notion of arrangement is further problematized when we consider the effect of adding graphics and sound files and video files as part of our arguments" (Walker). Perhaps because the tradition of sharing scrapbooks includes an oral component, paper-based and online scrapbook makers have eagerly incorporated audio technology into their online and paper-based scrapbooks. Although they may also incorporate video technology into their electronic scrapbooks and store them on CD or DVD (Lasting Impressions), the use of video in online scrapbooks is not prevalent, possibly due to bandwidth and other limitations. Instead, the use of audio files remains more popular among paper-based and online scrapbook makers. One option for paper-based scrapbook makers involves placing audio files on CDs and storing them within the scrapbook. This less than ideal arrangement makes it difficult to integrate the experience of listening to specific audio files in concert with specific events within the scrapbook. A second option, among many others, offers a more innovative and optimal placement of audio. With Scrapbook Alive! scrapbook makers can record and preserve up to ten seconds of audio on a slim press-and-play chip and place it alongside relevant ephemera in their scrapbooks.

Online scrapbook makers can also incorporate audio files into their scrapbooks by creating audio files containing music, sounds, or voice recordings and placing links on their web pages to activate the audio selection (LifeSketch.com). Like Scrapbook Alive!, online scrapbook makers can place links to audio files in close proximity to relevant content. For instance, in the Smit scrapbook, clicking on the photo of their baby plays

the sound of the baby's laughter (Smit and Smit). Clicking on another link within the text plays a sound file of her sister saying, "I love you." Scrapbook makers can place links to audio files anywhere on their pages or start audio files as soon as visitors access their pages. For example, when accessing Adri's e-Scrapbook! one or more songs complement each page's theme and play automatically and continuously (Fandino). Page titles and their songs include Summer and the song Puff the Magic Dragon, Through the Years and the song Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star, Did You Know -- Baby Massage accompanied by Brahms Lullaby, and My Bookshelf with the song When You Wish Upon a Star.

In conclusion, audio files represent an advancement in technology that affects the arrangement and composition of online and paper-based scrapbooks. Technology also affects the art of arrangement because online systems lack the physical structure typical of paper-based scrapbooks. However, the lack of a physically imposed chronological structure has not prevented some online scrapbook makers from attempting to create the traditional arrangement of content that represents a gradual unfolding of lifecycle events. Others have combined the paper-based technique of showcasing individual events with the linking structure of the WWW to create a predominantly topical arrangement of lifecycle events. Both paper-based and online scrapbook makers have adapted the latest innovations of technology to achieve "optimal placement and propitious timing" of content. Indeed, many of the arrangement decisions that guide the hands of scrapbook makers provide opportunities for them to express their individual style on each page of their scrapbooks.

SCRAPBOOKING IN STYLE

Of all the acts involved in creating scrapbooks, style stands out as one of the most important to scrapbook makers and the most expressive of their creativity. It is not surprising that the elements and principles of web page design are very similar to the

elements and principles of scrapbook making. Both demonstrate style through "composition and use of ornament" (Crowley and Hawhee 376). Scrapbook makers attract readers and hold their interest by using "basic design principles of color, shape, and line" (Humpherys 52) to create a focal point surrounded by titles, journaling, and ornamentation ("Design Basics" 24-5). Similarly, "Web pages need to be graphically interesting to persuade readers to enter your site and to encourage them to read your lengthier arguments" (Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz 248). Although every scrapbook is unique, several dependable and recognizable styles have emerged: Traditional or Classic (T/C), Contemporary, Romantic, Whimsical, and the Naturalistic, ironically sometimes also called Artistic (N/A) (Humpherys 53; Swanson). Individual applications include the simple or "more is less" approach; the embellished approach which utilizes a variety of products and tools; and the ultra or "work of art" approach that "can take hours to complete" (Humpherys 54). Online scrapbooks demonstrate the influence of these styles. Applications of the styles include adaptations that mark the individuality of scrapbook makers inherent in scrapbook making. While some styles lend themselves more readily to web page design, others demand more creativity on the part of scrapbook makers. As a result, some scrapbook makers have taken advantage of the online environment to expand on the basic elements of certain scrapbook styles. On the other hand, compensating for the loss of texture and materiality created by physical artifacts in paper-based scrapbooks is the greatest challenge to online scrapbook makers.

For example, a scrapbook style that heavily exploits materiality is the naturalistic or artistic style (N/A). It distinguishes itself from other styles through a sense of depth and texture which may include broad strokes from a paintbrush or palette knife. The style makes use of three-dimensional artifacts such as "fibers, wood, and metal doodads . . . to produce a page that has much to see and feel" (Swanson). Artifacts of nature, such

as "mulberry and jute are common, as are ripped and torn edges" (Humpherys 53). Other techniques to achieve texture include "papers [that] are usually torn, stitched, inked and crumpled. Lace and buttons are common embellishments" (Swanson; Lancaster 35). As for color, the N/A style leans toward "earth tones . . . and monochromatic color schemes (such as several shades of green)" (Humpherys 53). Although online scrapbook makers have a full color palate from which to choose, they cannot successfully duplicate the texture-rich style of N/A. They can create facsimiles of three-dimensional objects using a software program to apply shadows or borders around objects to create visual dimension. These techniques may create an appearance of depth or texture, but they cannot provide a tactile experience for the reader. For instance, in the WASP scrapbook, scanned medals have shadows behind them and identification cards have torn edges, but they remain two-dimensional pictures of the objects (Parrish). In some cases, online scrapbook makers may resort to descriptive text to convey texture to their readers. In Dadaw's Scrapbook, Stockman felt compelled to advise readers of the texture they could not experience firsthand. He writes, "Some are actually linen, not paper" (Stockman). The lack of a tactile experience in online scrapbooks may reduce the level of intimacy and increase the emotional distance between reader and scrapbook maker. The heavy dependence on materiality means that online scrapbook makers can create only an ersatz demonstration of the N/A style. However, technology offers advantages for implementing other styles.

For instance, the Romantic style ranges from Victorian to shabby-chic and expresses love or other deep emotions. This style often exploits many of the textural elements of the N/A style to enhance sentimentality, but does not depend on them as much. Instead it depends heavily on journaling that "tends to be romantic and deeply personal" (Swanson). Although limited by the inability to elicit emotions through texture, online scrapbook makers can employ journaling and other techniques to create

mood. Polly McDonald created a page that reflects the romance of a tropical setting and the love she shares with her husband (McDonald). She used three layers of background that provide a lush, tropical feel and romantic environment. Her pages feature a background of deeply toned tropical flowers topped with a bamboo mat over which she placed the contents of her pages. She chose a highly ornate and feminine-looking font in pastel pink and aqua with a shadowed background. On her main page she surrounded pictures, text, and other content with a deep pink mat trimmed with an aqua border that reveals the bamboo mat and large tropical flowers around its edges. Her main page features her wedding photo, but all pages include pictures of her and her husband or family in intimate settings. Each page includes extensive journaling in addition to text attached to photos. She enhanced the overall visual experience by including a link to Jimmy Buffet's latest music album alongside a current report on the weather in Key West. The only element, besides texture, missing from McDonald's scrapbook is the intimacy and closeness conveyed in paper-based scrapbooks by overlapping photos and other elements on the page. This option is not easily reproduced in web page design. Nevertheless, between the music, the weather, the colors, and the romantic photos, McDonald's page demonstrates the basic elements of the Romantic style in an online scrapbook.

The Traditional or Classic (T/C) style lends itself better to online scrapbooks. An elegant, restrained, and symmetrical style, it utilizes straight lines, few embellishments, and neutral or solid colors (Humpherys 53; Swanson). In T/C, journaling pays more attention to "facts and specific details of events. It describes the places and people in the photos" (Swanson). The WASP scrapbook provides a sample of this style (Parrish). Nancy Parrish regularly spaced black and white photos down the page against a plain white background. She provided a simple black line border around some prints and

shadows around others. Each page bears the consistent title "Scrapbook" in plain font on a pastel-colored strip of the U.S. flag proportioned to the other items on the page. Below this title Parrish used a simple font to identify the subject on each page, such as "Avenger Field," "Assignments," "Flying Fashions," "Instructors," etc. Journal entries in plain font identify the people and events in photographs and offer interesting details and insights into personalities. For example, on the Avenger Field page, the following text appears above a photo of six women in uniform standing in front of a barracks:

> 44-W-4 trainees arrived November of 1943, and were divided up in alphabetical order and then divided in 2 "flights". Then they were assigned to a "bay" --again in alphabetical order. There were 6 girls in each bay--each with her own army cot, sheets, pillow, army blanket and small, narrow stand up metal locker. Each bay was adjoined to one other bay by a common bathroom--very small bathroom.

Below the picture Parrish listed the names of the six women of "44-W-4 standing in front of Flight 1's Bays." Parrish added no unnecessary ornamentation to her pages. Besides photos and text she included only relevant images of such artifacts as medals, service stars, maps, and the like. Her site includes no music or links unrelated to the story of the WASP and Avenger Field. Parrish's scrapbook exemplifies the use of the T/C style in an online environment and its use in creating a heritage scrapbook.

Annette Ibata's online scrapbook presents many of the features of the Contemporary style described as "innovative and fun" (Swanson). The Contemporary style features new products used in original ways. For instance, "Photos and other elements are often placed at angles. Journaling is lively and often sports a pithy quote or two" (Swanson). Ibata executes the Contemporary style with the use of bold and dramatic colors, beginning with a very modern looking, slate-colored background

embossed with stylized figures. She presents text in a variety of unusual and dramatic fonts including Comic Sans MS, Lucinda Bright, and Whimsy ICG Heavy. She plays with these fonts by varying their size, italicizing them, or adding emphasis, often within the same word or sentence. For instance, by varying the size of the Whimsy ICG Heavy font from +1 to +4 within the same sentence she augments the wave effect as the sentence rolls across the page. Instead of placing her images across and down the screen in typical table fashion, Ibata has a little more fun with hers. She uses a photo-editing program to trim her photos into different sized ovals, circles, and other shapes, including a photo shaped to fit within a warped cartoon picture frame. She placed some of the pictures between words in her narrative. The varying types and sizes and placement of photos and the wavy quality of the text creates a sense of "movement" typical of the Contemporary style (Swanson). However, either because she chose not to or did not know how to, Ibata, like McDonald, did not overlap images, a design feature often observed in the Contemporary and other styles in paper-based scrapbooks.

Ibata makes her pages fun to read by using many cartoon figures, some as recognizable as "Snoopy" and "Woodstock" and others more original, such as the one on her pregnancy page that features the cartoon of a pregnant woman with a baby visible in her womb. Instead of using text to identify links, Ibata uses brightly colored graphics and icons, freely and randomly placing them about her pages. She also includes colorful vendor logos, images of products and services, and icons that link to the web sites of all her wedding and service providers, including pictures of her gifts and links to the web sites of stores that sell them. In addition to the visual playground of her online scrapbook, Ibata handles her journaling with a lighthearted and concise touch, typical of the Contemporary style. For example, after succinctly describing the events leading up to her engagement she refers to her wedding as, "Ten months later they had a really great

party!" And, when alluding to the conception of her first child she states, "Rumor has it . . . On August 1, 1999~ we took a weekend vacation to Kansas City, MO . . . well lets just keep that one private." Further engaging readers in her fun, Ibata includes images of the awards her web site has won and urges readers to vote for her web site at other links. She describes her web site as "cool," an adjective frequently used throughout. Ibata also invites readers to sign her guest book, to email her about her "cool" web site, and to visit other wedding sites and wedding "web rings," a consortium of web pages on a particular topic that link to one another. Overall, the narrative style and appearance of Ibata's scrapbook, its emphasis on the latest products, and its feeling of vivaciousness capture the essence of the originality and freshness of the Contemporary style.

The Whimsical style, "quirky, eccentric" with a "delightful twist," emphasizes "coordinating patterns, checks, dots, stripes and playful accents such as paper dolls, paper piercing, and cute lettering" (Humpherys 53). As for journaling, it is "funny and sparse, providing smiles and laughter" (Swanson). Kathryn Fandino chose the Whimsical style to celebrate her daughter Adri's childhood. Her web pages bring together on the screen the colors and elements typically found in a child's room. Some pages use a yellow gingham background and others an alphabet-block background. Brightly colored cartoon drawings of suns, stars, hearts, rag dolls, teddy bears, rattles, ribbons and bows, and the like populate the backgrounds. Fandino also makes use of animation. A variety of cartoons twinkle on and off and a pair of hippopotamuses bounce up and down on a horizontal rule. Music enhances every page and includes the tunes listed in the discussion above on audio files. Fandino chose very large child-like fonts made of Tinker Toy-like figures and balloons. Her journaling and photo captions include silly notations such as "You're one in a melon" with a cartoon drawing of a watermelon and "If friends were flowers I'd pick you" beneath a cartoon of a bear holding a bouquet.

Fandino writes in the enthusiastic voice of her child and speaks directly to the reader: "I like to take 'bath-bath' 'coz i like to play with bubbles! Sometimes, I do it 3 times a day! Nice picture, huh!" Fandino's choice of colors, fonts, and images, and her journaling style represent the basic elements of the Whimsical style, but the horizontal and vertical positioning of items does not create the unpredictable or unusual presentations expected in the Whimsical style.

Because the placement of objects on pages in interesting ways defines much of the creativity expressed in various scrapbook styles, the limitations of web page design pose a special challenge for online scrapbook makers, such as McDonald, Ibata, and Fandino. They cannot easily place items on their pages at varying angles and distances from one another or overlap them. Text and other embellishments can flow around the objects within certain limits, but not over or under them. This type of freedom and play enjoyed by paper-based scrapbooks is not easily achieved by online scrapbook makers. Limitations arise because "precise placement of elements on a web page goes against the nature of HTML and can only be achieved to an approximation for pages that are able to adjust to different window sizes" (Nielsen). At the most basic level of design, web pages adhere to vertical and horizontal alignments that anchor text and images along a grid. All of the examples above list photos down the page in columns or in table arrangements. Text may flow around the images, but only across and then down the page. Even rectangular images, angled by photo editors and placed on transparent backgrounds, will occupy a rectangular space on the page that limits the closeness of text and other images. However, online scrapbook makers have at least two options. They can upload images of their freely designed paper-based pages. Or, they can use more sophisticated graphic design software to create images of all or part of web page arranged in an original style. For example, they may overlap images in a photo-editing program and from that create a

single image to upload. It would appear on the web page that the images overlap, but in fact the web page maintains a single image.

Perhaps as a way to compensate for limitations in the flexibility of visual design, many styles manifested online contain extended journaling. Extended journaling also marks a noticeable difference between paper-based and online scrapbook styles. Online scrapbooks contain noticeably more text than traditional paper-based scrapbooks. More journaling in online scrapbooks may indicate an attempt to make up for design limitations or it may represent a by-product of the environment. The ease with which e-scrapbook makers can create text on their computers may motivate them to include more narrative or descriptive text. Indeed, the amount of printed text in paper-based scrapbooks has increased because of digital scrapbooking tools. Digital scrapbooking allows scrapbook makers to create flawless spell-checked texts in decorative fonts that they can print and add to paper-based or online scrapbooks. While more journaling enhances the narrative quality of scrapbooks, the personality of the scrapbook maker and "the warmth of penned notes" once visible in handwritten text, is no longer evident in perfect fonts ("Scrapbook Basics"). However, handwritten text may appear in online scrapbooks when paper-based scrapbook makers upload pages with handwritten text. For example, the content of Woodford's scrapbook includes original annotations in his father's handwriting alongside Woodford's additional comments in printed text.

Woodford's online scrapbook also provides evidence that scrapbook makers may compensate for the limitations of a particular style by combining it with one or more other styles. Woodford combines elements of T/C and Contemporary styles. He follows the classic regimen of the T/C style by placing WWII black and white photos evenly spaced down the page, one after another, but he adds overtones of the Contemporary style by applying bold, primary colors and strong accents to borders and backgrounds. Unlike

the pithiness of the Contemporary style, he offers extended and sometimes personal journaling. Woodford's scrapbook also includes a feature not found in paper-based scrapbooks and not associated with any particular style. He attached a copyright statement to each page, an uncommon practice among scrapbook makers. Similar features unrelated to style that may commonly appear in online scrapbooks include counters that report the number of visitors to the site, guest books for visitors to read and sign, email addresses, or other optional elements. Although online scrapbook makers have many features and design elements to choose from to express their creativity and individuality, the lack of materiality and flexibility forces them to stretch their creativity. Online scrapbook makers have compensated for such limitations with strong, consistent themes and extended journaling. The specific choices and implementation of styles in the examples above demonstrate a rhetorical concern for the art of "appropriateness and ornament" (Crowley and Hawhee 232) by online scrapbook makers.

MEMORIES IN MEMORY

Not only does an electronic environment influence the implementation of style in online scrapbooks, it also brings new meaning to the fourth canon of rhetoric, memory. Typically, "people tend to think of memories as narratives of their past lives" (Crowley and Hawhee 376). They may also think of memory as a computer storage device. The concept of memory as a storage device has its roots in ancient times when rhetors "relied on their memories, not merely as storage facilities, but as structured heuristic systems" (Crowley and Hawhee 265). Ancient rhetors dedicated themselves to developing memory systems that facilitated memory retrieval for invention and composition. When online scrapbook makers place their memories in memory they depend on computer programs "that serve the heuristic functions" of organizing them for retrieval (Crowley and Hawhee 273). As a result, online scrapbook makers may experience the canon of

memory differently than paper-based scrapbook makers. For instance, when paper-based scrapbook makers store representations of their memories in scrapbooks their retrieval system depends on chronological arrangement and the ability to recall the sequence of events or dates. Online scrapbook makers engage in a process more analogous to the ancient practice of mnemotechnics, i.e., storing memories within the mental image of "a spacious house divided into a number of rooms" and furnished with "a number of signs" that serve as keys to memory retrieval (Yates 22). In online scrapbooks, a home page or index page functions as a "forecourt [. . .] where one begins from the first place to run through all" (Yates 22). However, one could also "start at any place in his places and run through them in any direction" (Yates 35). In like manner, the links on web pages lead from the index page to the other pages serving the same purpose as the "signs" ancient rhetors placed in each room that "linked to one another" (Yates 22). Unlike the chronological order of paper-based scrapbooks, web pages create a different kind of flexible order by placing memories into "rooms" and "however numerous are the particulars which it is required to remember, all are linked to one another as in a chorus" (Yates 22). For ancient rhetors, "the chorus," or pattern of links, remained internalized and unseen by others. In online linking systems "the chorus" is visible to all and may sound differently to each person based on the order in which he or she wanders through the pages selecting links.

Although paper-based scrapbook makers also externalize their memories, they tend to share them with a limited and known audience. When scrapbook makers externalize their memories to the Internet, they make them available to a global and anonymous audience. In doing so, they lose some of the intimacy traditionally associated with sharing memories in paper-based scrapbooks, but the presence of scrapbooks online represents the growing "conception of memory as communal" (Walker). As discussed

above, online scrapbooks may become a communal source for Invention. As part of a larger database of knowledge, memories may become searchable, unexpectedly connected to other memories, or incorporated into the memories of others. Traditionally, the memories in scrapbooks framed the culture of a small community, the family, and sharing them involved an oral component of storytelling and memory exchange. Externalizing memories to the Internet may also provide an opportunity for interactivity and audibility. Responsive links may invoke sounds, voices, laughter, video, or song. Guest books and email links nudge scrapbooks closer to their oral roots of storytelling by inviting readers to participate in a discourse on their memories. Besides notes and emails that leave evidence of interactions, counters that track the number of visitors and links that weave back and forth among scrapbooks and other web sites mark the worn pathways of "conversations" about memories. The memories in online scrapbooks may range from lifecycle events such as pregnancy or marriage to world events such as military service. The previous chapter discussed memories in scrapbooks as an opportunity for reality monitoring within families. Likewise, when they move online, memories may engage a large audience in memory review and contribute to reality monitoring on a larger scale. Reality monitoring on a larger scale, "especially when there are different levels (individual, inter-, and intra-institutional) contributing their heuristic and systematic checks to the overall process, can be a way of discovering flaws in status quo beliefs" (Johnson 189). Therefore, while the memories in online scrapbooks may not differ from those in paper-based scrapbooks, they may have a broader impact on history and culture.

Human "memory is and always has been a limited resource" (Walker). This fact may help motivate scrapbook makers to attempt to preserve their memories in scrapbooks or on "computer chips, disks, and tapes [that] can hold far more data than any human's

mind" (Covino and Jolliffe 67). However, concerns about preservation of memories entrusted to paper-based scrapbooks may also apply to electronic systems. For instance, "reliance on electronic storage devices rather than print ones can lead to a loss of our public storehouse of information, our communal database--or memory" (Walker). As noted in the previous chapter, the planned obsolescence of electronic media as well as its unknown stability and durability may eventually make the scrapbooks stored on them inaccessible. The same issues apply to larger, online systems. Hence, online scrapbooks may not offer any more security than paper-based scrapbooks. Such vulnerabilities of the electronic environment may explain why e-scrapbook makers continue to print copies of their scrapbooks. The physical reproductions provide hardcopy backup and possibly a more tactile contact with the memories entrusted to distant bits and bytes. Although the physical format of paper-based scrapbooks provides stable representations of memories, the memories they invoke may change over time. In online scrapbooks, the ease of expanding, deleting, or altering files means that the representations of memories may change frequently or dramatically. As a result, paper-based scrapbooks may provide consistent representations of memories, but the volatility of online representations may more realistically reflect the capriciousness of human memory and experience.

Both paper-based and online scrapbooks may evoke memories with visual stimuli, but physical contact with artifacts in paper-based scrapbooks can also bring back memories through sensory stimulation of touch or smell. Hovering over a paper-based scrapbook, feeling its weightiness, touching its ephemera, inhaling its mustiness, perfumes, or glues, and turning its large pages offer an entirely different experience than reading a scrapbook online using a monitor, keyboard, and pointing device that provide no relevant sensory stimulation. As a result, many scrapbook makers share the bias that "thumbing through an album elicits a more emotional response than clicking through

Web pages or flipping through a stapled packet of pages from your inkjet printer" (Solomon 15). Although e-scrapbooks may lack the stimulus of physical artifacts, they may stimulate memories through other means, including some unavailable to paper-based scrapbooks. For instance, in his work on hypermedia, a combination of multimedia and hypertext, Jerome Bump proclaims, "I, for one, am reassured that the emotional impact of literature is greatly enhanced when voice, music, image and video are added to the words in CDs and web sites." Bump explains his results: "Because I was accessing both sides of the brain much more fully, the memories came back more strongly, more vividly, in more detail, and the attendant emotions returned in force as well" (Bump). When online scrapbooks combine pictures and text with video, sounds, animation, voice, and music they may also heighten emotions and aid in memory recall. Therefore, online scrapbook makers, such as Garrabrant, Fandino, and McDonald, may compensate for the lack of tactile and olfactory stimuli by enriching the visual and auditory stimuli related to their memories. Sharing the outcome of their endeavors depends ultimately on the manner in which they deliver their compositions to their audience.

DYNAMIC DELIVERY

Delivery "concerns use of voice and gesture in oral discourse or editing, formatting, and presentation in written discourse" (Crowley and Hawhee 370). Delivery of paper-based scrapbooks has remained a traditional act, combining oral and written presentation in face-to-face environments, but in online environments, delivery of scrapbooks depends on web page design and takes place on the Internet. Web page design combines artistic decisions and computer technology to create and deliver attractive and functional web pages. Matters of aesthetics include the elements of style discussed above, such as color, font, graphics, audio files, and others. The technical aspects of delivery include the use of software tools that range from checking spelling

and grammar to formatting content for the WWW. Web page designers must also take into account "the types of files we are 'delivering,' the protocols or software that will be necessary to 'view' or 'read' the files, and how the various elements of the online world, such as different browsers, might affect the presentation of our masterpieces" (Walker). The technical aspects of web page design provide the mechanics for delivering the "gestures" that make content, including scrapbooks, available and readable. The use of "gestures" not only complements the content, but also assures its appropriate delivery through such devices as, emphasizing content when and where suitable, creating appeal through readability, and assuring an audience-appropriate method and form of delivery. As with any form of delivery, success depends on the effective use of "gestures" to convey a composition to an audience. Choosing and producing appropriate gestures pose significant challenges for scrapbook makers delivering their scrapbooks online to a remote and potentially anonymous audience. Creating gestures in online environments demands technical knowledge and skills not typically encountered in scrapbook making, such as the use of computer markup and scripting languages.

Computer markup and scripting languages include HTML, SHTML, XML, Java Script, and others. They "tell" the web browsers how to display the contents on a computer screen. Instructions include placement of images, color of fonts and backgrounds, etc. Embedded scripts begin, end, and weave through the original content of the document, but do not appear on the screen. Only those programs which process computer scripting or markup languages can display their output on the World Wide Web. Many e-scrapbook-making programs as well as other web page generators provide user-friendly interfaces that produce scripts automatically. However, some e-scrapbook makers with programming interests or experience may use text editors to write or edit scripts themselves. Although program interfaces vary, those that generate scripts for use

on the World Wide Web must satisfy the protocols and program standards to successfully display their output. Although programs may follow the rules and standards, not all browsers, versions, or levels of browsers will display the output in the same way. Browsers may provide viewing options independent of the underlying page markups and enable users to change the size of the text displayed, zoom in or out on images, and hide the browser interface controls completely to fill the screen with content. Issues such as these are generic to the Internet, the World Wide Web, and browsers and affect the presentation of all documents online, not just scrapbooks.

Depending on their content and level of skill, document owners, including scrapbook makers, may employ a variety of techniques to accomplish an effective delivery of their documents. For instance, scrapbook content relies heavily on photographs and other images. Delivering them online may require knowledge and skills beyond "point-and-shoot" and paste. It begins with understanding that the number and ratio of pixels that compose an image in relation to the number and ratio of pixels that comprise a monitor's resolution will effect the relative size of the image on the screen. For instance, if the resolution of a photo is lower than the resolution of the screen, then the photo may have a lot of white space around it. If the resolution of a photo is higher than the monitor's, it will exceed the size of the screen and require scrolling to view. Since typical monitor resolution size can range from 640 x 480 pixels to 2048 x 1536 pixels, testing their photos on all the different monitor types at different resolutions is impractical. As a result, scrapbook makers have no way of knowing how their online scrapbooks will look to each viewer. Therefore, they may decide to minimize the uncertainty by using a photo editing or scrapbook-making program to resize their photos and images to the lowest common denominator, currently 640 x 480. Resizing photos can make them load faster and easier to view. Resizing images to lower resolutions also

means they take up less space on server disks. The cost of disk space may motivate some scrapbook makers to use lower resolutions. In addition, the low speeds at which some readers and scrapbook makers connect to the Internet may also motivate online scrapbook makers to limit the size of their images to reduce delays during uploading or downloading. In spite of these advantages, there are consequences to lower resolutions. They produce images with less detail and clarity.

Besides issues of resolution and speed, online delivery requires that scrapbook makers consider the size of the screen viewing area compared to the amount of content they want to deliver at one time. Unlike paper-based scrapbooks that allow readers to see one full page or two physically facing pages of content at a glance, the content on a web page may exceed the size of the screen and viewers may see only a portion of it at a time. Scrapbook makers who attempt to deliver the "at a glance" experience of paper-based scrapbooks include Garrabrant. The design of his online scrapbook emulates the physical appearance of a pair of facing pages in a paper-based scrapbook. He created a series of identical web pages designed to fit within one screen. Each page contains two photos and narratives super-imposed on the image of an open book. Garrabrant emulates page turning by placing an arrow-link above the book that directs the reader to the "Next page." Each successive page contains a pair of facing pages with new photos and text. Because the web pages all look alike, clicking the arrow changes nothing except the photos and text and gives the impression of turning the pages of a paper-based scrapbook.

Scrapbook makers may also attempt to deliver a full-page experience to readers by scanning in paper-based scrapbooks and placing each image on a separate web page. The Scrapbook Edmonton collections contain scanned images of fifty scrapbooks and 3,876 pages (Scrapbook Edmonton 2004). They provide readers two options for viewing the scrapbooks. The first option presents readers with "thumbnail" images to browse.

The thumbnails appear in a grid of twelve or fewer thumbnails per web page. Depending on the size of their screen, readers may peruse the thumbnails or select option two. The second option invites readers to view full size, higher resolution images of the thumbnails by selecting plus and minus icons below each image. Each image then appears as a separate window that fills, but does not exceed, the screen size of most monitors. These two options accommodate a variety of resolutions and screen sizes. However, if the number of thumbnails on a web page exceeds the size of the screen, readers must scroll down the page. For scrapbooks containing more than twelve pages, readers must follow links to subsequent pages of thumbnails. Not only institutions, but also individual scrapbook makers make use of these methods of delivery, as Maiolo did when she uploaded scanned images of her "real" scrapbook. Like Garrabrant's scheme, these options present the images in sequential fashion, but unlike Garrabrant's they allow readers to see many pages at once and to select which pages to view next.

Because web page content can easily exceed the size of the screen, "a web page is fundamentally a scrolling experience" (Nielsen). And, based on the number or resolution of images, visitors may "begin scrolling before all elements have been rendered, and different users will scroll the page in different ways throughout their reading experience" (Nielsen). Scrolling and loading images may interfere with the smooth delivery of such image- and content-rich documents as scrapbooks. To improve delivery, some scrapbook makers consider which items to put at the top of the page and which at the bottom. For instance, they may place faster loading items, such as text and low resolution images, at the top of the page that readers can peruse while slower loading items load at the bottom of the page. As a result, "2-dimensional relationships between page elements are less important than 1-dimensional relationships (what's early on the page; what's later on the page)" (Nielsen). Ibata employed this technique to manage the delivery of her content

when she removed supplemental information about books, retails, and other services to the bottom of the page and placed her photos and narrative at the top of her pages. Scrapbook makers also tend to place guest books, email addresses, counters, and other such items at the bottom of their pages, leaving room at the top for the more important content. However, not all scrapbook makers consider scrolling and slow image loading a disadvantage. Placing more content on a page than can fit on a screen may represent an attempt to impose sequential viewing on visitors, as Woodford and Parrish demonstrate in their scrapbooks. For other scrapbook makers, too much content may return them to the canon of arrangement to regroup content into more pages to limit scrolling to "four or five screens' worth of material" (Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz 249).

As noted in the discussion above on Arrangement, links can indicate an overall organization of scrapbook content. They can also affect the appearance and flow of the composition and the disposition of visitors to follow them. Consistent placement and style of links may make it easier and more inviting for visitors to move among web pages. For instance, links with descriptive text can help visitors understand where they are and where they can go, as in the Garrabrant Family Scrapbook in which the same list of links appears at the top of each of page. The list looks like file folder tabs of different colors. Each tab contains the name of other web pages that supplement the family scrapbook: "Byon's Pages," "Scott's Pages," "Announcing Alexis," "Most Recent Photos," etc. The titles of the pages match the names on the tabs and help visitors orient themselves. Garrabrant's links convey a sense of control and a clear map for readers. On the other hand, less descriptive or directive links, such Maiolo's navigation bar of cartoon characters, deliver to readers an experience based on discovering where each link goes and why she chose the icons she did. By resizing images, limiting the amount of content on each page, and managing links, scrapbook makers attempt to improve the delivery of

their composition and its acceptance by a known, but more often, a remote and anonymous audience.

The audience for online scrapbooks may include a known circle of family and friends and unknown readers from all over the world. The remoteness of readers and their online setting create a reading experience that differs greatly from that of paper-based scrapbooks. For instance, when handed a paper-based scrapbook, readers immediately have an idea of its length. Online scrapbook makers have no such sense of the amount of cumulative content that may extend beyond the initial web page. Even a page of thumbnails may represent the only, or the first of many, such pages. As they move through paper-based scrapbooks readers have a sense of their relative position between the beginning and the end of the book. As online scrapbook readers follow one link to the next they may have a sense of how much they have explored, but little idea of how much more remains. In addition, when readers open paper-based scrapbooks they confront a landscape in which the content may span two pages. The initial viewing experience for online readers may involve only a portion of an entire "page" for any of the reasons described above. In addition, scrapbooks handed to paper-based readers include a front and back cover. Opening the cover presents the first page. The concepts of covers and first page do not map exactly to online scrapbooks. For instance, in order to access scrapbooks, some web providers, such as Groups.MSN and Yahoo Neighborhoods, lead readers through a main page of services first. In essence they act as the "covers" of scrapbooks (Sproxton July 2001-Easter 2002; Fandino). Once readers gain access to the scrapbook, providers may maintain their presence by surrounding the nested scrapbook pages with advertisements, menus, logos, borders, and other distractions that identify or promote the services of the provider and its partners. Provider content may distract or confuse readers and consume precious screen space,

causing the reader to scroll the page to find the content. As for the concept of "first" page, readers may access some online scrapbooks directly through URLs. The "first" page then becomes whatever page readers access first, which may change based on bookmarks, links from other web pages, and search engines. As for back covers, online scrapbooks provide no physical indicator of an end except when readers encounter restrictive links that do not continue, as in the case of Woodford's scrapbook, or when readers create their own end by exiting the web site. Otherwise, readers may link back and forth among pages at will. As a result, online scrapbooks deliver compositions with no physical beginning or end, only an interconnected middle.

The most dramatic difference in the experience of reading online scrapbooks concerns their lack of materiality. Paper-based scrapbooks provide a tactile connection to artifacts and memories as well as to scrapbook makers. Contact with online scrapbooks is limited to a keyboard and a mouse. They do not embody the transient quality of life transmitted through fragile papers and other ephemera. Depending on their age, contents, and manner of storage, scrapbooks and their contents may emit odors of aging and environments that complement the experience of viewing the past and may trigger memories for the reader. While images and sounds can enhance the reading experience, online scrapbooks cannot deliver the material experience associated with paper-based scrapbooks. However, they can effectively deliver the visual reading experience historically embodied in scrapbooks.

The multimedia content of paper-based scrapbooks has always presented readers with a bi-stable reading experience which an electronic environment effectively delivers. Lanham describes bi-stability as self-consciousness that "represents a broad-based willingness, if not proclivity, to look AT what we are doing, at its stylistic surface and rhetorical strategy, as well as THROUGH it, to the Eternal Truth which we all, at the end

of the day, hope somehow we have served" (63). The cumbersome size and shape of paper-based scrapbooks demands that readers clasp, cradle, or balance them on their laps or other supports. While the characteristically unwieldy size and shape of scrapbook makes them easily recognizable, it also initiates the self-conscious act of looking AT the display of ephemera as well as THROUGH it to the memories and meanings of the lives it represents. Once triggered, the self-consciousness continues with each page, of which no two are alike, that may contain collages of colors, shapes, textures, and text. With or without tactile content, paper-based and online scrapbook readers cannot escape the deliberate aesthetics that scrapbooks present on each page. Beneath the "stylistic surface" and "rhetorical strategies" of scrapbooks -- online or on paper -- lie the memories and interpretations of human experience. By looking AT and THROUGH scrapbooks, readers may indeed discover an "Eternal Truth," that the memories and the stories of our lives and culture emanating from scrapbooks connect, nurture, and define us all. Although online scrapbooks present a different experience for readers in many regards, they maintain the ability to "stimulate self-conscious oscillations between looking AT and THROUGH" (Lanham 73) the multimedia content on the screen and the perceptions of memories beneath.

Lanham further observes that when "voice and musical sampling are added to the palette, we take yet another step back toward the full range of oral expression" (77). The audio files embedded in paper-based and online scrapbooks supplement the oral tradition of scrapbooks, particularly in the absence of scrapbook makers. Besides music and sounds, scrapbook makers attempt to narrow the gap between themselves and their readers by simulating the verbal exchanges that take place during the sharing of paper-based scrapbooks. To do so, they insert interactive devices, such as email addresses or guest books, into their online scrapbooks. Interactivity may also include links to forums,

chats, and other such sites. Interactive options invite readers to engage with scrapbook makers and other readers in a dialog about scrapbooks and scrapbook content. Maiolo encourages readers to "Criticize my website." Participants may include other scrapbook makers as well as family and friends and strangers. Unlike the intimate, face-to-face dialog of paper-based scrapbooks anyone on the Internet with access to the site may overhear the conversation and contribute to it.

As online readers interact with scrapbook makers they "can, in effect, add to the text" (Walker) directly or indirectly. Guest book notations may appear immediately, unless the guest book program allows web page owners to intercept comments before many visitors have seen them. Email may indirectly alter the text after the fact depending on the type of communication and the inclination of the scrapbook maker to consider additional information, corrections, complements, criticism, etc. Recent innovations in Extensible Markup Language (XML) and Digital Item Declaration Language (DIDL) provide standard means for packaging digital content that include formal annotation schemes. In online scrapbooks, the annotation schemes "would allow other family members to add new annotations without disturbing the original content" (Budelman). On the other hand, the readers of paper-based scrapbooks rarely leave evidence of their presence. They may comment on content and design, but as long as paper-based scrapbook makers remain in the possession of their works, they control the content and make changes only when they deem necessary. Although guest book entries may appear on separate web pages, their presence changes the overall content of the scrapbook. Links to guest books may also alter the delivery of online scrapbooks depending on when in the process of perusing the scrapbook readers decide to select them. Ongoing entries in guest books not only affect the overall composition, but also introduce new authors into the enterprise. As a result, online scrapbooks provide visible evidence of audience

participation. Paper-based scrapbook makers may deliver information provided by other family members, but evidence of participation and collaboration remain inconspicuous and attribution remains solely with the scrapbook maker.

Readers may interact with online scrapbook makers in other ways too, but without the knowledge of scrapbook makers. They may copy images or entire pages of online scrapbooks leaving no indication of where or when the bits and pieces may end up. Readers may also peek beneath the surface of online scrapbooks and view the mechanics of the composition process, including the dynamics of style and delivery, carried in the embedded scripts. Online scrapbook makers may reduce their exposure to such piracy by limiting their audience to those with password-access only or by placing the "noindex" script within their content.

From image resolution to interactive options, the above analysis of the technical and mechanical "gestures" used by scrapbook makers to deliver their scrapbooks online is by no means exhaustive. However, it illustrates the attempt of online scrapbook makers to create a dynamic relationship between themselves and their audience in the tradition of sharing scrapbooks. As they have in the past, scrapbook makers have embraced the technology to satisfy their impulse to express and share memories of themselves and their world. In so doing, they continue the history of scrapbooks as literary and rhetorical acts of memory and self.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

The newest generation of scrapbooks carries on the tradition of adapting and assimilating technology. It also perpetuates the rhetorical tradition of scrapbooks as impulse-driven opportunities for representations of memories and self. Like paper-based scrapbooks, e-scrapbooks preserve the internal rhetoric of families, their history, and culture. E-scrapbooks capitalize on and enrich the multimedia content that characterizes

scrapbooks. Working in a computer-based environment stretches the imagination of scrapbook makers as they attempt to maintain the integrity and traditions of making and sharing scrapbooks. The presence of scrapbooks on the World Wide Web benefits scrapbooks and scrapbook makers in many ways. It interjects them into mainstream discourses on family, memories, history, and culture. The online environment expands the resources for scrapbooks and scrapbook making. At the same time, placing scrapbooks in a virtual environment turns them into living documents that can change and grow as readers interact through them. Online scrapbooks also offer scholars increased opportunity to study them, the discourses that surround them, and the art of personal writing they represent. Scholarly interest may translate into institutional decisions on the acquisition and conservation of scrapbooks as part of the archive. As more scrapbooks appear online, the personal and cultural value of handmade paper-based scrapbooks may increase and also help preserve them. Far from displacing paper-based scrapbooks, electronic technology provides an option for protecting the current archive through digital preservation, even though the stability and longevity of digital archives remains uncertain. The innovative tools and techniques that make electronic scrapbooks possible also enliven and advance the making and sharing of paper-based scrapbooks and may perpetuate the practice of making paper-based scrapbooks. Indeed, the continuing partnership between technology and scrapbooks ensures the future of the past.

Finally, online scrapbooks provide an interesting perspective from which to view the Internet. By virtue of their composition, visual expression, and self-publication many web pages not only look like scrapbooks, but also share certain activities with scrapbook-making in general from constructing identities to artistic expression. From this perspective, web pages are "scrapbooks," not in terms of their content, but in their appearance and use, and thus, the millions of web pages that comprise the Internet make

up a global "scrapbook" of humanity, a collection of individual cultural experiences expressed in pictures, words, and facsimiles.

Appendix

COURSE DESCRIPTION: THE ON-LINE YOU

This course will examine the many ways cyberspace invites, seduces, or forces people into redefining themselves textually, hyper-textually, and non-textually. We will begin by examining how people define themselves when they use texts and images to make scrapbooks. From there we will consider the ways identities are constructed in cyberspace. Then we will expand our work beyond identity construction to Internet communications. We will use a variety of metaphors to help us understand Internet communications. We will conclude by constructing a persuasive, multi-media web site incorporating what we have learned about the power of images and texts online. As we begin this class you might consider the following questions: "How is the Internet like a scrapbook? Can looking at scrapbooks help us understand how we construct identities? Can looking at scrapbooks help us understand the dynamics of Internet communication more clearly?" We will use the scrapbook metaphor as a guide throughout this class, refining and altering its meaning based on our experiences and insights.

There are three major writing assignments. These assignments will involve Web authoring and the use of new technologies. Assignment #1 will be an autobiographical Web site. Assignment #2 will be an essay on your experiences (and you will have experiences) in a text-based virtual world known as a MOO. Assignment #3 will be a persuasive Web page that uses sound and video or animation.

UNIT I -- Who Am I When I'm On line?

This unit will introduce the Internet in general and the scrapbook paradigm. We will visit the Harry Ransom Center to view some scrapbooks. We will explore the rhetorical impact of design and pictures (and words, of course) and do some HTML

tagging. One class period will be a workshop for you to work on your personal web page.

UNIT II -- Online Interaction

This unit will focus on the difficulties of interacting with others in text-based Internet modes. We will explore the challenges involved with e-mail, forums, chat rooms, Interchange, and MU*s. You will have the opportunity to choose a MU* and interact as a real character (not a guest) nightly for a week and write an essay about your experience. We will introduce VRML (in a theoretical way).

UNIT III -- Beyond the Written Word, or, Lights, Camera, Action!

In this unit we will talk about the challenges of writing for speech and video, sticking with the scrapbook metaphor. We might invite a guest speaker from RTF to come talk to the class, or arrange a field trip to a video shoot. Your assignment will be to incorporate animation or video and sound as persuasive elements in a Web site.

Assignment I: Autobiographical Web Site

Create a Web site that lets the world know who you are. To do this, you must decide what kind of portrait of yourself you want to paint, and for what purpose. What parts of your identity do you want to focus on (you won't have time for a complete autobiography)? What kinds of people you want to read your Web site? What impression do you want them to get? Here are a few of ways to approach this assignment (but feel free to choose your own way):

You as Job Hunter: You might want to create a site that would appeal to potential employers. Your site should highlight any job experience, coursework, or extracurricular activity that makes you suitable for the kinds of jobs you are interested in (or will be interested in when you graduate). What would potential employers find useful in a site

about you? What kinds of design choices will you make based on what you know about your target audience?

You as Hobbyist/Athlete: Do you love a certain hobby, sport, or activity? Maybe you would like to meet more people who share your interest and let them know about your experiences. You might create a site that highlights your accomplishments and goals in a particular activity. What kinds of information about you would your audience find useful?

You as Family Member: You could think of this site as an open letter to your extended family. This could be a site about your life as a college student - your hobbies, your plans, your struggles - for viewing by all the aunts, cousins, and grandparents who want to know what is going on in your life. What kinds of information would your family like to have about you? What kind of tone would you adopt in your text?

Web Site Requirements

For this assignment, you must create a Web site that incorporates:

- Original text (500-1,000 words)
- At least two images
- At least two internal hyperlinks
- At least two external hyperlinks

Your text must be clear, carefully proofread, grammatically correct, and appropriate in tone and content for your audience. The images you select must be appropriate, useful, and well-placed. Your hyperlinks must be functional and provide either easy internal navigation or relevant outside information.

Evaluation Criteria

We understand that some of you have more Web experience than others. This may be a first Web authoring attempt for some of you, whereas others already have their

own Web sites. Remember, however, that even though new technology is involved, this is **primarily a rhetorical exercise**. You will be judged on the quality of your writing (how clearly you express yourself, how effectively you match your tone and content to the needs of your target audience) as well as on the quality of non-textual rhetorical decisions you make (use of pictures, links, color, and layout). Thus, an elaborate Web site with many high-tech effects may still be rhetorically ineffective and receive a low grade. By the same token, a simple but well-organized and well-written Web site can receive a high grade.

You are faced with many technological and design decisions in this assignment. Make your decisions with your rhetorical goals foremost in your mind. Ask yourself how each addition to your Web site will make it better for your audience.

Helpful Hints: You must satisfy all the requirements listed above and successfully post your site to receive credit for this assignment. Mastering the technical aspects of Web publishing is part of this assignment. This may prove difficult for some of you. Teaming up with a classmate whose skill level is about the same as yours can help tremendously. Get started early and give yourself plenty of time for experimentation.

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Vita

Leigh Ina Hunt was born in Detroit, Michigan and her family moved to Florida in 1955. She graduated from South Broward High School in Hollywood, Florida in 1964, attended Berry College in Rome, Georgia, the University of Georgia in Athens, Georgia, and graduated from Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton, Florida in 1968 with a B.A. in English. She completed an M.A. degree in English at Florida Atlantic University in 1981 while simultaneously earning an M.S.W. degree in Clinical Social Work from Barry University in Miami, Florida in 1981. She is a life member of the Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi. In 1996 she and her husband, Jonathan David Wahl, moved to Texas where she entered the Computers and English Studies program in the English Department of the University of Texas at Austin in 1997 and earned the Ph.D. degree in 2006.

She worked for the International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) from 1968 until she left to return to college in 1979. She returned to IBM in 1982 to work in Educational Software Products and later in Special Needs Systems. She elected early retirement from IBM in 1988. From 1981 until 1996 she worked as a both a full and part-time clinical social worker, offering individual and group therapy to children and adults through private practice, service agencies, and volunteerism. Community services also included Florida Certified Guardian ad Litem and Florida Supreme Court Certified Family Mediator.

She is certified by Florida State Teacher Certification for secondary schools in the subject areas of English and Social Work. She has fifteen terms of teaching experience at colleges and universities: Adjunct Professor, Palm Beach Community College,

Department of Computer Science; Adjunct Assistant Professor, Florida Atlantic University, Department of Social Work; Clinical Field Instructor for BSW and MSW students, Florida International University, Department of Social Work; Clinical Field Instructor for BSW students, Florida Atlantic University, Department of Social Work; and Co-Assistant Instructor, University of Texas at Austin, Department of English.

Courses she designed and taught include "Computers in Social Work" (Florida Atlantic University), "Literature and the Law" (University of Texas), bi-annual Continuing Education Units for Florida teachers and nurses (Center for Group Counseling, Facilitator Training Program, Boca Raton, Florida), and two Technical Vitality and Professional Development modules for IBM, "Women in Business" and "The Engineering and Technical Library."

Her freelance and contract writing projects include business magazines, the City of West Palm Beach, and contributing writer for The Palm Beach Post. Academic publications include Symbols and Mysticism in the Novels of Thomas Burnett Swann (Masters' thesis), a paper on the same subject presented at the Third International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts in 1982, and Victorian Passion to Modern Phenomenon: A Literary and Rhetorical Analysis of Two Hundred Years of Scrapbooks and Scrapbook Making (Ph.D. dissertation).

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