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Digital Découpage: Reading and Prototyping the Material Poetics and Queer  
Ephemera of the Edwin Morgan Scrapbooks, 1931-1966

by

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Submitted in Partial Satisfaction of the  
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## **Declaration**

This is to certify that this thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. Where I have collaborated to produce digital prototypes discussed in this thesis, I have made substantial contributions to the work, which are clearly indicated. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

[signature]

Bridget Moynihan

### **Abstract**

My thesis takes as its object of study sixteen scrapbooks compiled between 1931 and 1966 by Scots Makar Edwin Morgan (1920-2010), which are currently housed in the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections. I focus on reading the Morgan scrapbooks through two paradigms. Firstly, I approach the scrapbooks as materially-specific texts that demand close readings not only of their content, but of their forms and format. Specifically, I read the material practices and poetics of Morgan's scrapbooking through queer theories of ephemera and temporalities, even in cases where the contents of the scrapbooks are not themselves overtly queer, and argue that these queer poetics extend as an influence throughout Morgan's broader literary corpus. I also argue that the scrapbooks speak through "language[s] of juxtaposition" (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 131) that can be productively unfolded through close readings informed by Bruno Latour's sociological theories. Secondly, I approach the Morgan scrapbooks as a test case to demonstrate the value of using digital humanities and visualization methods to engage ephemeral archival items in 'research through design' processes. My thesis interprets the Morgan scrapbooks through the creation of custom-built databases and prototypical interfaces that make discoverable the scrapbooks' rich metadata, while also arguing that Morgan's scrapbooks are particularly open to such digital interventions due to their reliance on intermediation and their documentation of technological innovations. The three visual prototypes resulting from my project are not intended to reproduce faithfully or replace the scrapbooks, but rather to experiment with how the media specificities of the digital can be put into conversation with Morgan's materially-complex and technologically-aware scrapbooks. The prototypes also enable explorations of the productive points of contact that exist between scrapbooks, databases, and prototypes as forms of information management and tools of interpretation. Collectively, these two approaches demonstrate the value of, and need for, close readings and innovative digital remediations for scrapbooked (hi)stories like Morgan's, as well as for many other ephemeral and marginalized material archives.

### **Lay Summary**

This thesis examines sixteen scrapbooks compiled between 1931 and 1966 by Scots Makar Edwin Morgan (1920-2010) through two theoretical frameworks. Firstly, it focuses on the Morgan scrapbooks as material texts, whose format and method of compilation is key to understanding their content. By reading these scrapbooks through Bruno Latour's material-focused theories, as well as queer theories of ephemera and temporality, I argue that the scrapbooks reveal their own material poetics. I also argue that the influence of this scrapbook poetics can be traced across Morgan's broader corpus. Secondly, this thesis engages the Morgan scrapbooks in 'research through design' processes, creating databases and prototypical interfaces based on the scrapbooks' data. I argue that these digital interventions extend the Morgan scrapbooks' own investments in documenting and incorporating technological innovations. My research through design process also explores the productive intersections and points of tension that exist between scrapbooks, databases, and prototypes as forms of information management and tools of interpretation. Collectively, these two approaches demonstrate the value of, and need for, close readings and innovative digital remediations for scrapbooked (hi)stories like Morgan's, as well as for other ephemeral material archives.

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## Introduction: Scrip-scrapologia

*“A Piece of Patch Work which may with Propriety  
be called Scrip-scrapologia or a Dish of all Sorts”  
—qtd. in Scrapbook 13, page 2559b*

Scrapbooks are an expansive media category, with a wide definition for what can count as a scrapbook, including handmade volumes, repurposed albums and ledgers, and commercially-produced scrapbooks, and an openness not only to paper ephemera, such as correspondence, newspaper clippings, and photographs, but also to a range of other materials, including hair, foliage, flowers, ribbons, textiles, buttons, badges, currency, and even food materials<sup>1</sup> that can be folded within their pages. The history of scrapbooks is equally expansive, with examples of scrapbooks extending back to at least the eighteenth century and scrapbook critic Ellen Gruber Garvey estimating that, by the nineteenth century and in the United States alone, “tens of thousands, and possibly hundreds of thousands, of Americans made scrapbooks,” including “men and women from all classes and backgrounds, and with surprisingly diverse educations” for a range of “professional, domestic, educational, and political” uses (*Writing with Scissors* 10). Despite this long history, however, extended studies of scrapbooking have only recently begun to be undertaken, most particularly in the wake of the complimentary material and archival turns of the late-twentieth century within humanities disciplines. As Louise Williams explains, material culture approaches consider how “past cultures and attitudes leave their traces beyond the written word” and so argue for objects as evidence that enable interpretations otherwise “unachievable through written records alone” (107).

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<sup>1</sup>*Scrapbook 9* of the Edwin Morgan scrapbook collection includes a piece of dried banana peel, which has been pasted to the page and has blackened over time. On top of a portion of this organic scrap Morgan has affixed a text clipping that reads, “[i]n a ‘Handle-books-carefully’ appeal today, Dr. S. C. Roberts Master of Pembroke Collage, Cambridge, disclosed: ‘Even in a university library, readers have been known to use a banana skin as a bookmark’” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1721).

Meanwhile, Carolyn Steedman explains that the archival turn has prompted a consideration of “the institution of archives, the practices of reading and writing attendant on them, and the systems of regulation and coercion they have (sometimes) underlined” (2). Steedman also indicates that, since Jacques Derrida’s influential “Archive Fever” lecture in 1994, cultural critics have deployed “‘the Archive’ as a powerful metaphor for the processes of collecting traces of the past, and for the forgetting of them” (4–5). As I will work to show across this thesis, the expansive material nature of scrapbooks means that they flourish under material culture readings that take into account much more than their textual content, while expanding understandings of the archive/Archive show the ways in which scrapbooks have often been overlooked and marginalized within cultural heritage collections, both materially and conceptually.

Some of the difficulties in studying scrapbooks result from the very voraciousness that makes these texts so prismatic as cultural artifacts. For example, given their many possible forms, scrapbooks are not easily defined. They were initially referred to as “scrapiana,” or “collection[s] of literary scraps or ‘scrapings’” in the eighteenth century (“Scrapiana”), before the term scrapbook began to emerge around 1825 (“Scrap-Book”). Even after the term entered into the English language, however, Garvey argues that scrapbook remained “a flexible term, used alongside *album* and *portfolio* and *commonplace book*” to refer to a variety of collections and compiled documents, including portfolios of drawings, diaries, and collections of prints (*Writing with Scissors* 15, italics in original). This flexibility in language can make finding scrapbooks difficult, as they are not uniformly referred to as scrapbooks either by their owners or in the metadata records that describe them in archives (Zboray and Zboray 102). As modern scrapbook scholarship emerges, however, definitions of scrapbooks are achieving more specificity. Patricia P. Buckler

and C. Kay Leeper describe scrapbooks as “autobiographical statement[s] located where text and artifact meet” (1). Similarly, Jessica Helfand describes scrapbooks as “combining pictures, words, and personal ephemera” to create “amateur yet stunningly authoritative examples of a particularly rich strain of visual autobiography” (“What We Saved” 44). As Juliana Kuipers notes, definitions such as these emphasize “the personalized nature of scrapbooks” as their crucial site of value (85); however, other definitions of scrapbooks have begun to depart from this emphasis on the personal. In her 2006 PhD thesis, which surveyed over 100 American scrapbooks, Leigh Ina Hunt defines a scrapbook as “an album-type form containing a variety of memorabilia which may or may not also include photographs, commonplace writings, and biographical type writing” (43). Without ignoring the personalized potential of the scrapbook, then, Hunt’s definition is informed more by the materiality of the scrapbook, including the fact that, unlike a photograph album, for example, a scrapbook is not defined by its inclusion of any one type of ephemera specifically, but rather by its openness to many. Garvey takes a different approach, choosing to define the process of scrapbooking, rather than the scrapbook as object, in her argument that scrapbookers across the centuries can be understood as engaging in “*performing archivalness*” or “acts and gestures of preservation” through which “they express the will to save, organize, and transmit knowledge through a homemade archive” (*Writing with Scissors* 20, emphasis in original). Like Hunt’s definition of scrapbooks, Garvey’s understanding of scrapbooking as a form of knowledge creation leaves room for scrapbooks to gain value from their archivization of the personal, while nonetheless focusing on how these homemade archives create meaning well beyond the personal or the (auto)biographical.

My thesis takes as its object of study sixteen scrapbooks, which were compiled by Scots Makar Edwin Morgan (1920-2010) and sold by Morgan to the

University of Glasgow Library Special Collections in 1980 (McGonigal and Hepworth 4), where they are currently housed and catalogued under shelfmarks MS Morgan C/1-16. The volumes themselves range in size from 3.5cm wide by 11cm high to 10.5cm wide by 15cm tall, contain more than 3600 pages, and collect over 52,000 individual items (McGonigal and Hepworth 4). The earliest two scrapbooks were begun in “small jotters” in 1931 and were subsequently rearranged by Morgan in 1937 to the more substantial volumes now archived (Morgan, *Scrapbook 2* 1). The sixteenth and final scrapbook remains unfinished, although Morgan notes its date range as 1961-1966. The scrapbooks therefore cover much of the mid-twentieth century, including World War II and the Cold War, and offer insight into Morgan’s “magpie tendencies” for collection, which span his wide interests across, for example, art, humor, history, technology, and science (McGonigal, *Dragon* 278). The scrapbooks can also be read through aspects of Morgan’s biography, including the fact that Morgan was a gay man in twentieth-century Scotland, where male homosexuality was a criminal offence until 1980 (Scottish Parliament). Approached through this more personal lens, the scrapbooks can be read as examples of queer identity formation and expression under repressive societal norms. Following Hunt and Garvey, however, my thesis resists reading Morgan’s scrapbooks primarily through his biography and instead works to engage these texts as multifaceted Scottish archives of twentieth-century ephemera that offer a wide range of interpretive opportunities, many of which exist apart from what the scrapbooks might also reveal about Morgan.

I therefore focus my argument on reading the Morgan scrapbooks through two paradigms. First, I approach the scrapbooks as materially-specific texts that demand close readings not only of their content, but of their forms and formats. In doing so, I argue that the scrapbooks reveal a unique and materially-aware poetics

that speaks through what Garvey has described as a scrapbooker's specific "language of juxtaposition" (*Writing with Scissors* 131). As this introduction will demonstrate, scrapbooks have been materially marginalized within archives and publication venues for much of their history. Chapter 1 will therefore build on this work, arguing that scrapbooks have also been ignored due to the marginalized positions of their creators, including women, people of colour, and queer individuals. This chapter will focus in particular on situating Morgan's scrapbooking within queer theory discussions concerning the importance of ephemera for the creation of queer archives, as well as the role of cut-and-paste practices, like collage, in carrying out performatively queer acts. In doing so, I assert that Morgan's scrapbooking becomes legible as a performative and complex queer praxis through which he disrupts dominant hegemonic structures of heteronormative culture, whether or not the clippings he uses are themselves overtly queer. Chapter 2 will then work to demonstrate the ways in which the Morgan scrapbooks document and make traceable the manifold social implications embedded within technological advancements, thus showing that the scrapbooks are infused with the same technological awareness for which much of Morgan's poetry is praised. To demonstrate this awareness, Chapter 2 will close read *Scrapbook 9s* documentation of the rapid developments in the field of photography over the mid-twentieth-century, with a particular emphasis on the way in which these advancements are entangled with problematic and violent military histories. The final chapter of my thesis, Chapter 5, will return to the resonances between Morgan's scrapbooks and his poetry to argue that Morgan's cut-and-paste juxtapositions invoke an engagement with nonlinear, ruptured temporalities and, moreover, that these same fragmented temporalities are deployed within Morgan's poetry. By close reading the effects of this temporal fragmentation, I argue that both the scrapbooks and

Morgan's poetry can be understood as manifesting what queer theorists, including J. Halberstam, have defined as queer temporalities. I use the theoretical discussions and close readings performed across these three chapters to argue that the scrapbook form enables media-specific modes of meaning creation that can be engaged through materially-aware close readings. These chapters also demonstrate that the Morgan scrapbooks engender a material poetics that is every bit as rich as that of Morgan's written work and can indeed be traced as a shaping influence for Morgan's poetic style well after he stopped adding to his scrapbooks.

Secondly, I approach the Morgan scrapbook collection as a testcase to demonstrate the value of creatively engaging ephemeral archival items through digital humanities and design approaches, including research through design and visualization methods. As I will discuss in more detail in this introduction, scrapbooks are not only disadvantaged within traditional archival systems of preservation, discovery, and access, but also within copyright laws that affect how they can be circulated in online environments. Under these laws, any public circulation of digital facsimiles for third-party materials that are still in copyright, such as the twentieth-century mass media clippings that comprise such a large portion of scrapbooks like Morgan's, requires due diligence searches and may incur costs payable to rightholders. As I will discuss, these laws effectively sideline scrapbooks and other ephemeral artifacts within digital spaces. I therefore seek to reconceptualize these barriers as creative constraints by remediating and interpreting the Morgan scrapbooks through the development of visual interfaces that draw on metadata from custom-built databases and so do not rely on facsimiles for online circulation. Chapter 3 discusses the first phase of my research through design process and my collaboration with Akmal Putra from 2016-2017 to build two preliminary prototypes—the Colour Collage and the Constellation interfaces—

based on an eight-page subset of the Morgan scrapbooks. This chapter also discusses an eye-tracking experiment that Putra and I undertook as part of our research, which focuses on Morgan's scrapbooks and concrete poetry. In contextualizing these experimental explorations, Chapter 3 argues for the ways in which speculative texts, including Morgan's own science fiction poetry, and digital prototypes overlap through their mutual investments in imagined futures that nonetheless prove real in their present-day implications. Chapter 4 then moves on to ask what is at stake in turning a scrapbook into a database, as well as in making a database more reflective of a scrapbook. This chapter works to shed light on both scrapbooks and databases as mediating forms of information management, while also allowing them to speak productively back to one another. Chapter 4 then discusses a third prototype that I developed in collaboration with Jonathan Armoza and Anouk Lang from 2017-2019 as part of our Working from Scraps project. The resulting interface is invested in a database aesthetic and visualizes a 205-page subset from the Morgan scrapbooks by representing the networks of people, places, and sources that are brought together on these pages. Collectively, these databases and visual prototypes are intended, not to replace or faithfully reproduce the Morgan scrapbooks, but rather to experiment with how the media-specific properties of the digital can be put into conversation with the materially complex scrapbooks in order to provide both with new interpretive possibilities. While clearly important for the Morgan scrapbooks, these digital engagements also demonstrate the value of such experimental undertakings for the thousands of other scrapbooks that exist in archives around the world.

Across my engagements with the Morgan scrapbooks, whether through media-specific close readings or through digital deformations in the creation of databases and interfaces, my analyses are guided by the materially-focused theories

of sociologist Bruno Latour, with emphasis on his articulation of the role and impact of active mediators. The following section of this introduction therefore sets out the terms and concepts from Latour's body of work that recur throughout this thesis. The second part of my introduction turns to the material histories and critical literature that informs current approaches to scrapbooks as objects of study in order to contextualize my critical interventions in the Morgan scrapbooks. Finally, my introduction will discuss the copyright laws that come to bear on twentieth-century materials like the Morgan scrapbooks in the UK and the often-invisible ways in which these laws structure engagement with cultural collections and histories. This introduction will therefore lay the necessary groundwork for the close readings and digital interventions performed in the following chapters, which collectively comprise my critical approach to the Morgan scrapbooks.

#### *Latour and Mediating Mediators*

Stemming from his work in science and technology studies in the 1980s, Latour's sociological theories assert that all materiality in any form mediates, changes, and impacts meaning, not only for itself, but for everything else connected to that material entity. Furthermore, Latour suggests that subjectivity and human agency are not the preconditions for action and impact. Rather, he focuses on what he terms an actant, which he understands to be any entity, human or nonhuman, that can impact and be impacted by others simply by virtue of its presence in distributed assemblages of other actants ("Actor-Network" 373). As Latour states, "[h]umans, for millions of years, have extended their social relations to other actants with which, with whom, they have swapped many properties, and with which, with whom, they form collectives" (Latour, "On Technical Mediation" 53). In other words, Latour argues for the material ways in which human and nonhuman actants give rise to the societal structures within which social relations are carried out. He

explains that actants, and in particular nonhuman actants, are what make social and technological structures durable over time. As archives, including homemade archives like scrapbooks, show, an “action in the distant past, in a faraway place, by actors now absent, can still be present, on condition that it be shifted, translated, delegated, or displaced to other types of actants” (“On Technical Mediation” 50). According to Latour’s theories, then, any “notion of a present and local interaction is subverted by an immense crowd of nonhumans, each determined by its own shifts in time, space, and actant” (“On Technical Mediation” 51). Latour’s actor-network approach attempts to make this crowd more visible and endeavors to understand social and technological structures by focusing on the networks of actants that comprise them.

Within actor-network theory, Latour’s understanding of materiality relies on his differentiation between an actant as either an intermediary or a mediator. Latour defines an intermediary as a passive conduit that “transports meaning ... without transformation” and can therefore be replaced or disposed of without any impact to this meaning (*Reassembling* 39). In contrast to intermediaries, mediators are material entities that actively “transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements that they are supposed to carry,” therefore demanding that “their specificity ... be taken into account every time” they are encountered (*Reassembling* 39). Latour explains further that a mediator comprises “an original event” that creates “what it translates as well as the entities between which it plays the mediating role” (*Modern* 78). In other words, the meanings, connections, and realities that any one mediator is able to relay arise in part because of the mediator itself, and this remains true of each mediator that a meaning, connection, or reality relies on. Thus, even a chain of interconnected mediators remains a system of

originating events that adapts the meanings it enables at every stage and that changes entirely if even one mediator is lost, replaced, or added.

Immediately after Latour offers his distinction between an intermediary and a mediator, however, he complicates this opposition by arguing that a mediator is not an exception; rather, all materiality always already mediates meaning. An intermediary, then, is only a misrecognized mediator that has become too stabilized in its particular systems of meaning to be acknowledged for its mediating role (*Modern* 80–81). When understood in this way, the intermediary designates a particular approach to a mediator, rather than a static category of materiality, and any intermediary may be reactivated and re-acknowledged as a mediator if this approach is changed. Such misrecognition of mediators is often visible, for example, where book objects are concerned. By the twentieth century, the book as a reading technology had become the default choice for disseminating textual information and archiving ideas, turning the codex into an intermediary that could be looked through, rather than at. Nonetheless, texts like scrapbooks, artist's books, and experimental literature defamiliarize the page and cause their readers to reengage with the codex form as a mediating mediator. The twenty-first century's integration of digital technologies into media ecologies previously dominated by print further works to make visible and to reimagine the mediating role of print-based mediators. Jessica Pressman argues, for example, that the digital has inspired an "aesthetic of bookishness" in twenty-first-century publications, which manifests itself in a "fetishized focus on textuality and the book-bound reading object" while actively experimenting with "the media-specific properties of print illuminated by the light of the digital" ("Aesthetics of Bookishness" 466). Simultaneously, however, the rising ubiquity of other mediators, such as digital screens and interfaces, are becoming increasingly familiar and so edge toward becoming perceived themselves as

intermediaries. The status of a single mediator therefore reveals itself to be embroiled in a cyclical process that is shaped by human attention, as well as habituation and the changing status of many other related mediators, even though the mediating function of materiality persists, whether or not humans pay attention.

Once Latour has established his theoretical basis of actants as mediators and intermediaries, he begins to describe the relationship amongst and between mediating actants through the networks that connect them. For Latour, these networks do not simply arise from the fact that mediators exist in close proximity to one another, or even in the fact that they engage in contact, although these types of interactions exist. Rather, a mediating network is “a string of actions where each participant,” whether human or nonhuman, conscious or not, “is treated as a full-blown mediator” (*Reassembling* 129). Put another way, every mediator in the network is understood as having a distributed agency that necessarily extends the creation of seemingly objective facts, meaning, and/or social reality beyond the control of humans alone. As a result of this distributed agency, interconnected mediators are differentiated from the fiction of a bounded, conscious actor as agent. Moreover, this means that the responsibility for any action is distributed throughout the network of entangled mediators, demanding that analysis of this action take multiple mediators into account by following their proliferating material instantiations and various connections.

Although Latour does not explicitly represent his theories as being literary in nature, Rita Felski observes that an increasing number of fields within literary studies, including “animal studies, thing theory, ecological thought, [and] the posthuman,” are all “premised on the intertwinement and codependence of human and nonhuman actors” that Latour’s theories so clearly address (737–38). She therefore asserts that, “[g]iven obvious affinities and shared concerns between these

fields and Latour's work, it is becoming hard to avoid actor-network theory, whether as an ally to be embraced or a rival to be denounced" (738). She also argues that under a Latourian approach to literature,

[r]eading becomes a matter of composing and cocreating, of forging links between things that were previously unconnected .... Neither close reading, then, nor distant reading, but what we can call mid-level reading: an approach not grounded in the revelatory value of a single work or in a general notion of society or literary system but positioned on a scale between the two. Interpretations? Yes, without a doubt—but of objects and mediations as well as literary works, a practice of lateral reading across multiple texts rather than a deep and intensive reading of a single text (741).

Thus, interpreting a cultural text, participating in social theorization, or assessing the impact of a technology all require a careful and slow accounting of the mediators that occur as unique events and that comprise the text, society, or technology of interest. Moreover, I argue that Felski's description of midlevel readings is readily applicable to Morgan's scrapbooks, and scrapbooks more generally, which speak through polyvocal cut-and-paste juxtapositions of multiple and eclectic mediators. To read a scrapbook is to engage with the speaking presences of these mediators, each of which contribute to the overall effect of the page and the resulting recombinant text. In many cases, these scraps will not be textual and their visual impact, materiality, and other perceptual qualities will have to be engaged through interpretive practices such as those described by Felski in order for any reading to take place.

Latour offers an example of how such a midlevel reading could be performed on a non-textual object when he undertakes an interpretation, or what he refers to as an unfolding,<sup>2</sup> of a hammer. Although readily perceived as a simple piece of

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<sup>2</sup> Latour adapts the concept of folding and unfolding from an existing philosophical concept, particularly as discussed by Gilles Deleuze in his books *Foucault* (1988) and *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (1993). For Deleuze, the fold initially refers to the fact that there is no true inside, but only a folding of the outside onto itself that creates the appearance of an inside. Through this concept, Deleuze considers subjects as diverse as, for example, the folding of human subjectivity within material bodies through to the folding of time.

technology, Latour shows how this hammer can be unfolded to reveal its entanglement as a mediator amongst mediators and, by extension, demonstrates the inherent complexity involved in the emergence<sup>3</sup> of any mediator. As Latour discusses, in the hammer exist “heterogeneous temporalities,” extending from the age of the “minerals in the steel to the brief number of years since its production as a hammer,” and a vast range of “heterogenous spaces” involved in the creation of this hammer, spanning “the forests of the Ardennes” that supplied the wood to the store from which it was purchased (“Morality” 249). The hammer also collects an “astounding variety of forms which [the] mundane hammer has inherited,” as well as those it provides, including the “force, direction and disposition” provided to the human arm through the addition of the hammer (“Morality” 249). With this last point, Latour describes how the hammer imbues humans with new opportunities for action beyond the ability of the unassisted human body, even while the human activates the hammer as a tool. Latour warns, however, that regardless of the hammer’s efficacy and participation in dense mediating networks, the temporalities, spaces, and enhanced actions that it brings to bear quickly become invisible and subsumed within the mundane body of the hammer when it is not unfolded as an active mediator.

By pointing to the various impacts of materiality, Latour’s theories also point to the ways in which a change in mediation will fundamentally change an artifact and thus assert that there are no neutral acts within a mediating network. In this observation, Latour is joined by many other media critics, including N. Katherine

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<sup>3</sup> The concept of emergent entities emerged itself in a rigorous form through work in chemistry and biology and is used to articulate the idea that some entities, whether properties or substances, “‘arise’ out of more fundamental entities and yet are ‘novel’ or ‘irreducible’ with respect to them” (O’Connor and Wong n.p.). Timothy O’Connor and Hong Yu Wong offer the example of the way in which it can be said that “consciousness is an emergent property of the brain” (n.p.). Put even more simply, emergent theories grapple with how an entity can be greater than the sum of its parts.

Hayles who argues that even something as seemingly simple as the digitization of a text invokes crucial change, because “to change the material artifact is to transform the context and circumstances for interacting with the words, which inevitably changes the meaning of the words as well” (*Writing Machines* 23–24). Hayles also argues that digital literature, for example, proves how an electronic text is “not self-identical” as it “cannot be separated from the delivery vehicles that produce it as a process with which the user can interact” and within which changes can be introduced (*Mother* 102). Matthew Kirschenbaum similarly argues “that the preservation of digital objects is *logically inseparable* from the act of their creation—the cycle between creation and preservation effectively collapses because a digital object may only ever be said to be preserved *if* it is accessible, and each individual access creates the object anew” (60, emphasis in original). Under both of these understandings of digital access, it becomes clear that action and object are linked and that the digital object emerges precisely through the iterative mediating events that are required for its access and constant re-creation.

Although these mediating effects are writ large in the digital, they are not unique to digital objects, and any technology that is designed to preserve and store information will shape and remediate the artifacts or information to which it provides access. From archives that catalogue and classify items in their collections, thereby turning them into archival artifacts and defining them within a discourse of preservation, to cameras that seem to capture a moment, but only transform it to a still image on paper or in pixels, technologies of preservation cannot help but create new objects out of those that they attempt to preserve. This is also true of Morgan’s scrapbooks, which drastically alter the various clippings that are preserved in their pages by cutting them from their context, gluing them in place, and creating a web of associations with other, disparate materials. Theories such as Latour’s, Hayles’s

and Kirschenbaum's therefore resist reading any artifact or 'tool' as a simple means to an end, whether that end is preservation, digital remediation, publication, or something else entirely. Instead, as I have helped to argue elsewhere, Latour demonstrates that "it is more adequate to speak about technologies in the mode of the detour than in that of instrumentality' ... since tools routinely mutate initial plans or actions from which they arise" and thus resist any sense of human mastery over them (Hinrichs et al., "Sandcastles" 4). As such, my approach to prototyping across this thesis works to understand these detours as mediating processes that offer productive insights and are part of the contribution of the research, thus destabilizing a focus on ends to one on means.

Extending the logic of causality that networks of mediators demonstrate further, Latour argues for a reconsidered ethical mode of being, or what he refers to as "morality" (247). This ethical position relies on the processes of unfolding that actor-network theory encourages and emerges because, within distributed networks, "[n]othing, not even the human, is for itself or by itself, but always *by other things* and *for other things*" ("Morality" 256, emphasis in original). For Latour, then, any morality in such an interconnected network must be concerned "with the *quality*" of engagements, including interpretive encounters, amongst and between human and nonhuman actants, which can be assessed by asking whether the engagement in question "proliferates the greatest possible number of actants that claim to exist and intervenes in their own name or whether, on the contrary, it has not resigned itself to forgetting them" ("Morality" 256–57, emphasis in original). By cultivating these circuits of concern, Latour resists a metaphysical divide that might imagine ethics or any other social product as being able to exist apart from the material and mediating actants that grant it durability. Moreover, participating in these circuits opens up space for marginalized mediators to be recognized by

refocusing attention and prioritizing efforts to unfold their mediating presences and entanglements. Such unfoldings not only show the value of these overlooked mediators, but also often reveal the ways in which they have impacted other dominant mediators that have garnered more attention and care. As such, this morality requires both a willingness to slow down in examinations of networks and a resistance to fast and totalizing interpretations of mediators, which often reduces them to intermediaries, in order to gain an entrance to the worlds that are implicated in even basic material things, like a hammer, not to mention in complex socio-historical texts like the Morgan scrapbooks.

### *Archival and Historical Contexts*

With this critical vocabulary through Latour's theories established, I turn now to the published literature surrounding scrapbooks. This literature offers a productive first step in analyzing the ways in which the mediating potentials of scrapbooks have been unfolded so far, as well as drawing attention to other mediators, both historical and contemporary, that have been acknowledged as participating in the same networks as scrapbooks. Moreover, engaging with this literature also helps to make visible some of the ways in which scrapbooks have been historically devalued and treated as intermediaries, resulting in significant losses to the cultural records of which they formed a part. In some cases, this devaluation occurs because both the form and the content of scrapbooks are often at odds with the reading practices, publishing technologies, archival preservation processes, and laws that have developed through interaction with more standard printed texts. As Garvey explains:

Scrapbooks announce that they have not traveled through publishing's gatekeeping process of being chosen as likely to interest others in their selectiveness and inclusiveness, not duplicating existing works, and having at least some claim to accuracy ... They instead reflect individual taste and desires ... And so the institutions that hold them have understood

scrapbooks as an inferior form of anthology—already a disparaged category (*Writing with Scissors* 210–11).

Compounding this disparaging effect, scrapbooks are also deprioritized within the media literacies and technologies that, for example, train readers in what it means to be a text, shape institutional processes of archiving, and drive innovations in remediating technologies, such as book scanners that are designed with standardized codices in mind. As such, Garvey argues that, for most of their history, the technology has not even existed to publish scrapbooks, making it so that a “scrapbook’s acceptance into an archive is essentially its publication” (*Writing with Scissors* 220). Not even this route of publication through archiving, however, is easy or assured for all scrapbooks.

Illustrative of the ways in which scrapbooks are blocked from avenues of publication, Morgan tried twice to have his scrapbooks published and was rejected both times. His first attempt was in 1953 when Morgan was approached by literary agents Christy and Moore for a publishing project. He offered them the scrapbooks, describing these texts as “a Whitmanian reflecting glass of the ‘the world’ ... refracted through one personality” (qtd. in McGonigal, *Dragon* 117), but the project did not proceed. The second attempt took place in 1988, when Morgan suggested his scrapbooks for publication to Michael Schmidt at Carcanet Press and described them as “a mixture of autobiography, documentary, and art” and “very much part of my ‘works’” (Morgan, *Letter to M Schmidt*). Morgan also noted to Schmidt that “colour [printing] would really be required; black and white would miss many of the effects” (Morgan, *Letter to M Schmidt*), indicating that Morgan was aware of the scrapbooks as relying on their visual presence as much as their textual components to communicate. In reply, Schmidt acknowledged that “[t]he project looks absolutely fascinating” and he agreed “that black and white would not do justice to the material” but he maintained that the project “also looks hugely expensive” (Schmidt).

Schmidt remained open, however, stating that the cost alone “need not rule it out of court” and he suggested that they could excerpt material from the war years of the scrapbooks to market them as “something like ‘War Diaries’” (Schmidt). Schmidt’s response therefore makes clear that while cost was a significant impediment, so too was the very label of scrapbook. In order to make the expenses worthwhile from a business perspective, Schmidt believed that a more marketable and familiar publication genre like a war diary was needed. While not rejected outright, then, these various barriers to publication proved too much, as the Morgan scrapbooks were yet again passed over for other projects and, as of the time of this writing, have yet to be published.

Nonetheless, the Morgan scrapbooks have been granted a form of publication through archiving, while many other scrapbooks are routinely denied even this avenue of publication, not least of all because of the ways in which their material forms exist at odds with standard library or archival holdings. Robert DeCandido explains that the negative reception this materiality receives is in part because “assemblages, such as scrapbooks are among the most difficult objects to preserve,” given that they have “the problems of all of the pieces assembled, of the substrate to which they are attached and of the substance or mechanism that attaches them” (n.p.). Similarly, Danilli Christensen observes that “unlike the object-qualities of other book genres, the materiality of the scrapbook has been discussed for some time,” but this materiality has been “perceived as a liability” (242). At the level of materiality, then, scrapbooks prove to be vulnerable at several points and can appear as unattractive and unjustifiably costly to archivists and curators as they do to publishers. As Christensen’s observation also indicates, however, scrapbooks assert their status as mediators in ways that are difficult to ignore, even if this materiality makes them more challenging to deal with.

Those scrapbooks that are granted access to archives, however, remain under threat in multiple ways. In order to bypass the preservation challenges presented by the material complexity of scrapbooks, for example, many volumes were historically disbound or destroyed by curators, with individual items of interest from the scrapbooks being selected for preservation instead. Such practices strip scrapbooks of their mediating structures and irreparably damage the historical narratives and insights that the scrapbooks enabled. Although such a decision might be made by an archive with limited resources and few other options in the face of a badly damaged scrapbook, many more of these decisions were made because, as Anna Dahlgren observes, albums of ephemera, including photo albums and scrapbooks, have been viewed for most of their history as “mere containers of data” (176) or, to put it in Latourian terms, as intermediaries, and so have been freely discarded. Garvey likewise notes that many scrapbooks appear “too common and trivial to be worth saving, useful only for the newspaper they contain, if that” (*Writing with Scissors* 210). This dismissal and discarding of scrapbooks is encouraged by a recurring misconception that scrapbooks primarily contain information, such as newspaper clippings or advertising cards, that exist elsewhere in complete, unclipped forms, meaning that scrapbooks become thought of as duplications of existing archives (Tucker et al., n.10). Such a position not only problematically assumes a completeness of ephemeral media archives that does not exist, but also ignores the valuable juxtapositions and interpretive structures that are created by the unique mediating networks of scrapbooks and their collected components, whether or not these components exist individually in other forms elsewhere. Furthermore, processes of archivization present issues for scrapbooks at the level of cataloguing. Katherine Ott observes that ephemera like scrapbooks “are rarely catalogued at the item-level,” and so “researchers must often rely on memories of

archivists, librarians, or other researchers to learn of the existence” of specific scrapbooks and/or their contents (4). The limited discoverability of archived scrapbooks therefore provokes a vicious circle wherein scrapbooks’ lack of preservation and cataloguing decreases user engagement, even as this same lack of engagement can be used to justify the deprioritization of scrapbooks for better preservation and cataloguing.

Despite these many barriers to archivization and preservation, scrapbooks, including Morgan’s, persist as a significant part of archives around the world. Jennifer Teper claims that scrapbooks are to be “[f]ound in almost all archival and historical special collections” (48). Similarly Susan Tucker, Buckler, and Ott report that, while the “largest [American] collections of scrapbooks in the public domain include the more than six thousand volumes” stored across several United States institutions, including the Smithsonian Institution, “virtually every special collections unit has scrapbooks” in some form (Tucker et al., n.58). Given the gatekeeping role that archives, libraries, and other institutional repositories play in deciding whether or not many scrapbooks survive, it is unsurprising that the initial critical attention that scrapbooks began to receive toward the end of the twentieth century was written by and directed to members of these bodies, rather than to researchers in fields such as social history or literature. It is also clear across this publication history that attitudes toward the value of scrapbooks are shifting within archival practices as this research has been developing.

In one of the first focused discussions of scrapbooks from an archival standpoint, Merrily Smith published a book chapter in 1985 discussing the challenges facing curators and conservators, particularly in the case of fragile or damaged scrapbooks, as well as setting out processes that could be used for preservation purposes in such cases, including rebinding, microfilming followed by

disassembly, and the formation of new assemblages with items included in the scrapbook (74–75). Although Smith does not support disbanding stable scrapbooks, it is clear in each of her tactics that the bindings and, in the new assemblages strategy, even the page order and juxtapositions of the scrapbooks, are seen as secondary to their content. Similarly, in 1991, Brenda Zucker produced a leaflet, now digitally published on the Library of Congress website, that puts forward protocols for institutions that already own or are planning to acquire scrapbooks, including methods of storage and plans to minimize damage through use by offering photocopied or microfilmed facsimiles to some users. She notes that while “many professionals lean toward keeping scrapbooks intact,” if the scrapbook “does not form a unified whole and its contents would be better integrated into existing institutional collections, the items in it should be dispersed as required,” as long as they are catalogued with reference to their original source (n.p.). She continues in her conclusion to this leaflet that “some scrapbooks are temporary curiosities and should be considered expendable” (n.p.). In both of these examples, then, Smith and Zucker show a ready willingness to disbound scrapbooks that underscores the precarity of these volumes compared to many other archival texts, even in the hands of those who value them.

In the same year as Zucker’s leaflet, Shereilyn Ogden published a paper that addresses the preservation of scrapbooks by outlining different frames of value that can guide the preservation choices of the conservator, including whether the binding, the volume, and/or the enclosures are considered to be sites of value (n.p.). Based on these valuations, Ogden suggests that scrapbooks deemed to be important primarily for their enclosures might be variously disbound and discarded; however, Ogden also states that her paper does not address “the treatment of scrapbooks where the whole is of artifactual value and is experienced on a tactile and visual level

as well as on an intellectual one" (n.p.). In Zucker's and Ogden's assessments, it is notable that they each refer to a category of scrapbook that is a "unified whole" or a "whole," without setting out what criteria might be used to decide what constitutes wholeness. In addition to erasing the mediating role of any scrapbook somehow not considered whole, which could include Morgan's unfinished sixteenth scrapbook, the idea of wholeness seems an incongruent assessment of value given the inherent scrappiness and fragmented nature of scrapbooks.

Twenty-first-century publications addressing the issues facing preservation efforts for scrapbooks show increasingly holistic efforts to preserve and catalogue these texts in ways that account for their specific forms of mediation. For example, Ellen Walkley's 2001 article discusses the indexing and preservation processes used for scrapbooks held at the Oregon Historical Society, including a topic index that tries to capture the individual items contained within the scrapbooks in order to improve discoverability (514). In her 2004 article, Kuipers argues that "the unique compilations of material culture within a scrapbook, and what they reveal about their creator, are worth preserving" in their entirety (89). Teper's 2008 article builds on the tradition of Smith, Zucker, and Ogden by outlining a variety of considerations and processes that can be applied to scrapbooks when deciding what preservation actions to take; however, Teper's guidelines are much more hesitant to suggest destructive techniques than their predecessors and she suggests multiple steps to be considered before disbounding or removing materials. She argues, for instance, that although certain materials, "such as tobacco materials, foodstuffs, fur, hair, and dried flowers pose greater preservation hazards due to their risk of mold and insect infestation," it remains that, at least "in some cases, the completeness of the artifact is more important than the risk[s]" (59). Like Zucker and Ogden, Teper does not define what sets these "cases" in which completeness matters apart from those in

which completeness does not matter, but she makes clear that options for preservation in the face of risk exist. She suggests “annual surveys of the condition of such high-risk enclosures,” as well as potentially “isolating the item by encapsulation or bagging in polyester and remounting the encapsulated package onto the original page” in order to avoid having to disassemble the pages (59). Across these more recent discussions, then, attention to the material dimensions of the scrapbook, not (solely) as a liability, but as a crucial mode in which these scrapbooks make meaning is therefore evident. Indeed, it is increasingly rare to find an archive that would disbound a scrapbook with the same readiness demonstrated in the 1980s. The actual ways in which this materiality matters are only gestured to across these discussions in broad terms, however, and there remains a recurrent recourse to the idea that an “incomplete” scrapbook is more disposable than a subjectively defined “complete” scrapbook.

As these preservation discussions have developed, they have incorporated the possibilities offered by expanding digital technologies. In a somewhat updated approach to the tactics of microfilm suggested by earlier critics, Teper suggests colour printing high-resolution digital images of scrapbook pages and binding them to at least gesture toward the visual presence of the original volumes. In a similar vein, the publication of scrapbook facsimiles in online formats is becoming more common and is entering academic discussions.<sup>4</sup> For example, Anna R. Craft, David

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<sup>4</sup> Examples of such facsimile-based digital representations include the scrapbooks of Grace Hall-Hemingway (1872-1951), Ernest Hemingway's (1899-1961) mother, which the JFK Presidential Library and Museum have made available online (Green and Link); wildlife scrapbooks compiled by William T. Hornaday (1854-1937) and Edith Helen Franz, which are digitally available through the Wildlife Conservation Society Library and Archives (Wildlife Conservation Society Archives); and excerpts from twenty-one scrapbooks digitized and shared online by the University of Alberta's Heritage Scrapbooks project (University of Alberta and The Canada Research Chair Humanities Computing Studio). For the purposes of this discussion, I refer here only to online representations of scrapbooks that rely on a digital facsimile. Projects that attempt to create interactive interfaces for ephemeral archival collections like scrapbooks are discussed more fully in Chapter 3.

Gwynn, and Kathelene McCarty Smith's 2016 article describes the process of digitizing and making available online hundreds of scrapbooks housed in the Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections at the University of North Carolina. Communicating with an institutional audience, Craft et al. discuss how digital workflows and processes for scrapbooks present their own challenges, particularly around the costly resources and collaborations across departments that are often involved. Nonetheless, Craft et al. maintain that the payoff for the work justifies the outlays (197–98). While these digital engagements represent positive steps forward, they do not forego the preservation challenges discussed in the earlier literature, particularly as digital capabilities still run the risk of devaluing a scrapbook if, once the scrapbook is digitized, its mediating materiality is not emphasized within archiving organizations. Just as throwing away the binding of a scrapbook or preserving a page solely through a paper surrogate unavoidably loses crucial information offered by the scrapbook and its structures of meaning making, so too do digitized surrogates, no matter how high-resolution the images are. While it is clear that scrapbooks are being better acknowledged within archives, then, the challenges identified by Ogden of preserving the tactile, visual, and textual information contained within a holistic scrapbook remains elusive in any process that cannot maintain the full volume as it was created.

While archival scrapbook scholarship, including the more than twenty-year publication history just discussed, is crucial in order to draw attention to and develop means of managing the vulnerability of scrapbooks, it does not take as its primary aim the critical interpretation and/or historicising of scrapbooks. As such, researchers outwith archival and library contexts have begun to notice a gap in scrapbook scholarship. For example, when DeCandido set out to research the background of scrapbooks in 1993, he expressed his surprise at finding that “little

or nothing has been written on scrapbooks as a format" (n.p.). Thirteen years later, Hunt remarked on this same paucity of information, stating that across her literature review she had found no existing scholarship that sought to "endo[w] scrapbooks with a definition or a history that can serve as a foundation for ongoing research" (10). Since the completion of Hunt's thesis in 2006, three crucial book-length texts on scrapbook scholarship have been published to address this gap, namely, Tucker et al.'s edited collection *The Scrapbook in American Life* (2006), Helfand's *Scrapbooks: An American History* (2008), and Garvey's *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (2012). Alongside these works, a growing body of articles focusing on scrapbooks as rich, cultural documents worthy of study has also begun to emerge in the early 2010s. As a result of this growing scholarship, scrapbooks are finally being situated within interpretive frameworks and print culture histories, as well as archival contexts, that acknowledge their particular mediating functions and examine the many insights that they can offer as biographical, historical, and artistic documents.

Given their hybrid character, it is hardly surprising that scrapbooks have a distributed lineage that includes a variety of practices from several points in history. For example, Tucker et al. emphasize the role of memory in scrapbooks by comparing them to early Greek "*koinoi topoi*," or places in the mind used as "memory aids for recreating events, information, and knowledge," as well as to traditions of collecting souvenirs to preserve memories within medieval pilgrimages (4). Jennifer Jolly extends this comparison, using the theories of Susan Stewart to acknowledge that scrapbooks and souvenirs both "contain items that individually refer to a specific place and event, allow one to reconstruct its narrative, and evoke memory ... by moving history into private time" (89). Scrapbooks have also been recognized as sharing characteristics with *alba amicorum* and *Stammbücher*, or

friendship/autograph albums, that were especially popular between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries among travelling aristocratic young men who wished to keep a record of the new connections that they established while abroad (Good 562; Tucker et al. 7; Reinders n.p).<sup>5</sup> These albums collect signatures and messages, but, like scrapbooks, they also routinely include many other materials, such as embroidery, portraits, sketches, and even illustrations with flaps to be lifted. Moreover, these albums are often organized hierarchically, rather than linearly, with more prominent or intimate friends towards the front of the book, thus creating a temporally complex narrative structure that many scrapbooks also exhibit.

The sixteenth century also saw the rise of emblem albums, or albums that collect proverbs “expressing practical wisdom about the ways of leading personal and social life,” many of which are illustrated (McGonigal and Hepworth 12). James McGonigal and Sarah Hepworth argue, using the example of the Morgan scrapbooks in particular, that both scrapbooks and emblem books “provide an oblique imagistic commentary on the moral complexities of modernity” and so can be read alongside each other productively (12). Adjacent to the friendship album and the emblem book, Tucker et al. and Jolly point to the *Wunderkammer*, or the cabinet of curiosities, as an apt metaphor for the scrapbook as collection, as well as a site of display for a variety of other albums, including emblem books, that closely parallel scrapbooks (Tucker et al. 6; Jolly 89). These cabinets were particularly popular among the elite in the seventeenth century and endured as a way of displaying cultural capital until well into the nineteenth century. As Jolly helps articulate, in the

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that while a large majority of archived friendship albums belonged to men, there is increasing recognition of the role of women in this practice, including in their contributions to male-owned albums and in surviving friendship albums owned by women, both of which indicate that it is likely the archival record, rather than only or even primarily the practice of keeping a friendship album itself, that is skewed male (Reinders). It is also important to note that although the friendship album dropped in popularity after the eighteenth century, later examples do exist, including the early-twentieth-century friendship album of Janet Murray, archived at the University of Edinburgh under shelfmark EUA GD28 (Murray).

collections of both *Wunderkammer* and scrapbooks, “meaning is centered on the organization of the contents rather than simply in each metonymic value” (89) and so depart from linear or highly structured relationships to meaning. Continuing nonprint comparisons to scrapbooks, several critics have also drawn attention to the relationship between scrapbooks and quilts, especially those, including crazy quilts and friendship quilts, that bring together a variety of different fabrics and scraps without trying to erase their visual variety (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 51; Tucker et al. 13; Rohan 372; Hedges 293; Mecklenburg-Faenger, para.31). Scrapbooks therefore share a lineage with forms of collecting and compiling that includes print culture histories, but that also extends well beyond the paper medium, particularly in pre-nineteenth century examples, where print cultures were still in more nascent forms.

Throughout the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, however, the production of paper was increasingly standardized and printers became newly equipped to reproduce print material with greater ease and efficiency, including trade cards, postcards, and eventually even photographs. As a result, print culture began to emerge as a dominant form of knowledge creation and circulation, with albums, blank books, and repurposed books becoming a ready replacement for the cabinet of curiosities, while other paper-based modes of collection, recombination, and display took hold. For example, alongside scrapbooks, personal diaries increasingly collected ephemera and mixed media within their pages, while ‘grangerizing’ or extra-illustrating texts became a common practice in the late eighteenth century. Anke te Heesen explains that the term ‘grangerized’ is derived from the name of English clergyman James Granger (1723-1776), who, in 1769, introduced books that “provided a predefined structure for incorporating and pasting in new materials, whether text or images (te Heesen 26). Initially, these

books included spaces to attach prints, drawings, or other materials that would illustrate the text in question. As this practice gained popularity, it was applied to books that were not originally intended to be grangerized, with some individuals having otherwise standard texts rebound with blank pages, water colours, pamphlets, or other inclusions to create their own versions of grangerized texts. As photography advanced in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Helfand notes that extra-illustrations began to include personal photographs, as well as commercially produced prints ("What We Saved" 42). Newspapers also started printing photographs in the 1890s, expanding the range of available visual materials for extra illustration practices yet again (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 16). Whether through prescribed structures or more self-directed means, these extra-illustrated books allowed their creators to transform the books' contents and build them up over time into a "unique, personalized publication" (te Heesen 26). Moreover, they began to develop forms of visual annotation and authorship that both inform and are informed by scrapbooking.

Following the popularization of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, collections of photographs began to influence the medium of the album. For example, *carte de visite* albums were introduced in the 1850s and became very popular as a medium for collecting mass-produced photographic prints, often of famous places or people (Vosmeier 208). These albums might collect images that show places their owner had visited, commemorate significant cultural events, such as a royal wedding, depict a particular celebrity, or comprise an eclectic collection guided by a variety of the creator's interests. Like extra-illustration, then, these albums allowed their creators to turn mass-produced items into unique tools of memory, social history, and personal narratives. The increase in photographic technologies also gave rise rather naturally to photograph albums. Although these

albums are certainly defined by their focus on and preservation of photographs, they did not necessarily include only photographs. For all but elite families in the nineteenth century, photographs were still a luxury and it would be rare for a family to own enough photographs to fill an entire album immediately. As such, album creators could intermingle family photographs with cartes and other mementos (Vosmeier 208), thus inspiring a range of juxtaposition practices that overlap with the methods of scrapbooking.

The practice of juxtaposing family photographs with other materials extended beyond the page of the album to the photographs themselves and Maud Lavin identifies methods of “cutting and rejoining of photos or parts of photos” in nineteenth-century domestic albums as some of the earliest examples of photomontage (Lavin 219). These photomontages might represent “this or that great-uncle as a military uniform with a pasted-on head” in cases where no extant photograph of the family member in question existed or create altered family photographs that would combine the image of the family with “a ready-made landscape, perhaps a boat on a picturesque lake bathed in moonlight” (Lavin 219). In these latter examples, the ready-made landscape might represent somewhere the family visited together, thus acting as a homemade souvenir, or comprise an imaginative depiction of an adventure that was never actually undertaken. Each of these examples demonstrate the various and even simultaneous abilities of cut-and-paste practices to fill in gaps creatively, juxtapose disparate narratives and scenes in nonlinear arrangements, and customize artifacts of memory.

One of the most dominant historical points of comparison with the scrapbook is the commonplace book, as is remarked upon by almost every critic who engages with the history of scrapbooking (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*; Ott; Tucker et al.; Zboray and Zboray; Kuipers; Good; Delacruz and Bales; Hunt;

Mecklenburg-Faenger; Melvin; Lui; Havens; Gordon; Brinkman; DeCandido). Emerging as a form of information management in the Renaissance and persisting even today, Ott describes the commonplace book as “a venue in which a person copie[s] out passages from other works into a personal volume that [i]s then used for reference, mediation, and self-cultivation” (1). The commonplace book exists as a compiled text that samples from a wide variety of other sources in order to collect extracts that are meaningful to the creator, thus becoming a form of writing through sampling. It is also important that commonplace books did not originally entail the act of physical cutting (although exceptions do exist<sup>6</sup>); instead, the extracts were typically, as Ott specifies, copied out. As “cheap print” became more readily available in the nineteenth century, however, Garvey states that “preserving long articles or other works by cutting and pasting appealed to more compilers,” which began to blur the line between commonplace books and scrapbooks (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 15). Drawing a hard distinction between commonplace books and scrapbooks therefore becomes highly difficult and even subjective in some cases.

In articulating why these two terms have remained distinct, even if examples of scrapbooks and commonplace books can blur in practice, Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger argues that the defined commonplace book became tied to both readerly and writerly activities within “the system of rhetorical education” that “prepared men for public life” (para.15). Ott also points out that some commonplace books created by famous men, like those of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and Robert Burns (1759-1796), have been published as stand-alone texts to great success (1). Mecklenburg-Faenger therefore argues that there exists a conceptual divide between “traditional” commonplace books, which are predominantly created by

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<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Ann Blair’s work on the practices of early modern readers and writers, including practices of cutting manuscripts and books for the purposes of commonplacing and other forms of information management (Blair, “Reading Strategies”; Blair, *Too Much to Know*)

men and read as documents of organization, and “non-traditional ‘disorganized’ books,” which are more often created by women and read as private, domestic documents (para.40). She asserts that such a conceptual divide avoids considering “the potential differences in organizing principles that may govern” this range of texts and instead contributes to a general understanding of commonplace books as rigorous, intellectual documents that are held in a category apart from scrapbooks understood to be amateur and feminized (Mecklenburg-Faenger, para.40). This overcoding has been further supported by the fact that scrapbooks are stereotypically associated with “traditional female concerns of holding families together and preserving nostalgia items” rather than with the scholarly pursuits of a commonplace book, despite the fact that scrapbooking has been proven to be an activity undertaken by men and women of all ages in a variety of professional, domestic, and even academic pursuits (Tucker et al. 10; Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 10). The differing cultural capital of the scrapbook and the commonplace book, despite their similar material practices, therefore signals the ways in which the scrapbook has been culturally devalued, as I will demonstrate in more detail in Chapter 1, while commonplacing has enjoyed a much more active status as a recognized and valued mediating practice. When this artificial divide is deconstructed, however, scrapbooks and commonplace books collectively offer productive ways of understanding the evolution of cut-and-paste practices and the value of juxtaposition and clipping as a form of writing.

Another clear example of the cultural devaluation of scrapbooking as a practice can be found by turning to the interrelated practices of scrapbooking and collage. Collage has been repeatedly described as one of the most important artistic

innovations of the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> Traditional art histories of collage begin with the year 1912 and what are heralded as the first fine-art collages: Pablo Picasso's "Still Life with Chair Caning, 1912" and Georges Braque's "Guitar".<sup>8</sup> Picasso and Braque's work also get much credit for increasing fine art uses of the French terms *papier collé* (pasted paper) and *collage*, both of which, as Marjorie Perloff explains, derive "from the French verb *coller* and refe[r] literally to 'pasting, sticking, or gluing,' as in the application of wallpaper" ("Collage and Poetry" n.p.). Such an account of the history of collage actively overlooks and erases the decades of scrapbooking and other cut and paste practices that led up to collage, particularly those that are broadly coded as female. Thus, as with histories of commonplacing that discount more domestic or feminized practices, Beverley Gordon argues that these histories of collage "discount women's nineteenth century work in collage—categorizing it as a 'household art' fashioned by mere 'amateurs' and overlooking the great skill demonstrated in many scrapbooks" (128). An example of such a dismissal can be seen in the treatment of a collection of scrapbooks by Victorian women featured at the Chicago Art Institute in the 2010 exhibit 'The Art of Victorian Photocollage'. As John Russell Taylor comments, these books reveal a "proto-Surrealism that prefigures the work of [Max] Ernst and [Salvador] Dalí," affixing "elaborately hatted

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<sup>7</sup> The enduring and stable framing of this sentiment is impressive: Hilton Kramer stated in 1968 that "[t]he art of collage is one of the great visual inventions of the twentieth century" (Kramer); Robert Motherwell said in a 6 October 1983 letter to Jack Beatty, senior editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, that "[r]egardless of the medium, whether it is Eliot or Picasso or a TV thirty-second advertisement, I think collage is the twentieth century's greatest creative innovation" (qtd. in Terenzio 271); Gregory Ulmer argued in a 1983 article that "collage is the single most revolutionary formal innovation in artistic representation to occur in our century" (Ulmer); and Peter Schjeldahl argued in a 2010 *New York Times* piece that "[a]fter Picasso and Georges Braque, collage became the most consequential visual-art form of the twentieth century" (Schjeldahl).

<sup>8</sup> Marjorie Perloff refers to the regularity with which this date is referenced as the start of collage as an "unusual agreement" among art historians and she herself agrees that these 1912 collages, and in particular Picasso's work, began the movement (Perloff, *Futurist Movement* 48). In looking for earlier examples, she suggests only that "collage composition is prefigured in Cubist painting at least as early as 1908 when illusionistically painted nails, guitar strings, letters, and numbers were introduced into the otherwise nonrepresentational picture surface with its oscillating and ambiguously defined planes" (Perloff, *Futurist Movement* 48).

heads of ladies to the painted bodies of assorted waterbirds” and “insert[ing] photographed groups of blazered sportsmen into menacingly over-sized flowers” (n.p.). Even in 2010, however, Taylor feels the need to ask if these albums represent works of art. He answers his own question with a tentative “[p]robably yes,” but not before pointing out that doubt could be cast because “[i]t is true that 12 out of the 13 large albums that constitute the collection are the work of leisured, mostly aristocratic 19<sup>th</sup>-century wives and mothers” (n.p.), thus implying that even if the books are art, the makers are certainly not artists in his estimation.

Not only do these dismissals of domestic scrapbooks and women in the development of collage relegate scrapbooks and their makers to the margins of history, they also impoverish critical engagement with collage itself. Reading both of these mediating processes alongside each other provides a more diverse perspective on each of them. As Jolly argues,

[s]crapbooks appear to be an early embodiment of the artistic practice of collage. Their makers recognized the ability to create meaning without an explicit narrative text, relying on the juxtaposition of images and texts to create new patterns of meaning that continually shift. Individually, the images work metonymically, presenting partial meanings; taken as a whole, they provoke rather than explicate a narrative (90).

Affirming this affinity between scrapbooks and collage identified by Jolly, Gilger argues that both scrapbooks and collages are best understood as explorations of the ways in which “the meanings of individual objects change when they are moved from one context to another,” thus demanding “multiple readings: as individual items, as elements of a collection of items, and as objects removed from their original contexts and redefined by the collector” (Gilger 122). These multiple readings are clearly reflective of the mid-level Latourian readings explicated by Felski, which forge “links between things that were previously unconnected” through acts of reading that are also compositions and cocreations (741). Enacting these readings on scrapbooks, including both those that were created before and after the

mainstream recognition of collage as an art form, offers a way of historicizing and productively contrasting these practices, as well as activating a Latourian circuit of concern wherein female and other marginalized creators are finally given a voice inside of a critical discussion that has long favoured men.

Zine culture also arose within the twentieth century and, like collage, draws from and informs scrapbooking practices. Stephen Duncombe defines zines as “noncommercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines” that first emerged in the 1930s among science fiction fans who wanted to share stories and critical work (10–11). Zine culture was boosted again in the 1970s when it was adopted into underground punk music communities and zines continue as a popular mode of self-publication within a variety of alternative and artistic communities. Across their history, handmade zines show an investment in an “apparently ‘haphazard and messy’ aesthetic, incorporating sketches and collaged images overlaid with handwritten or typewritten text that often ‘actively flouts capitalization, punctuation, and spelling conventions’” (Christensen 235). Christensen also notes a strong trend of “women-focused” zines, such as those produced by the 1990s Riot grrrl feminist punk movements (236). Christensen therefore argues that scrapbooks and zines alike have been used to claim “value and visibility for the intimate and embodied experiences of everyday (gendered) life” for their creators, while also emphasizing “the social relations fostered through the fabrication and distribution of tangible objects” (236). As such, the motivations behind zines can be at least partially understood within a similar drive toward the performed archivalness that Garvey identifies among scrapbookers. Moreover, zines and scrapbooks share a commitment to democratic and ardently amateur modes of cultural production.

The ways in which scrapbooks, commonplace books, collage, and zines invest in the movability and juxtaposition of excerpted or found scraps gestures to the

relationship between these print mediators and technologies of information management. Garvey explains that in “the 1890s, clipping bureaus took over and industrialized the work of saving and sorting the press that individual scrapbook makers had previously done” (*Writing with Scissors* 24). She therefore asserts that these clipping bureaus “mark the path from scrapbooks to our current digital age of digitised information,” while also tracing a line of descent from scrapbooks to digital cut and paste tools, databases, and notetaking software (*Writing with Scissors* 229). Other critics, such as Katie Day Good and Debora Lui, have continued this genealogy, by extending their readings of the influence of scrapbooks to include the structures of social media sites, including Pinterest, which remediates the practices of scrapbooking into a digital environment by allowing users to collect, pin, and share images, DIY projects, and a host of other clippings from the Internet onto digital boards that are typically organized by theme. As Lui explains,

[w]hile other social media sites focus on the act of sharing or broadcasting individual thoughts and feelings, on Pinterest the main activity is online curation, or the collection and organization of digital content. Mostly a response to the ever-growing overabundance of content on the web ... Pinterest promotes social curation, a process where the general public, rather than web publishers and providers themselves, tag, organize, and share content with others (129).

Pinterest therefore aligns itself closely with the remixing practices of scrapbooks, collage, and zines that rely on clippings and pre-existing media as their primary sources, as well as modes of meaning making that turn overabundant and mass-produced materials into customized collections with individual value.

Significantly, Pinterest’s resonance with scrapbooking has been used against it by those who are critical of the site and dismiss it as “just a digital scrapbook” (Madrigal n.p.). This dismissal is easily traced to the ways in scrapbooks are devalued through their association with stereotypically feminine activities and ways of knowing. Conservative estimates state that “70% of Pinterest users are women” (Lui

138) and the interface itself has been described as “very feminine” with a “pink” colour scheme (Fehling n.p.).<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Pinterest has a reputation for being a domestic corner of the Internet reserved for brides, housewives, and mothers with a penchant for DIY. Much like the devaluations applied to scrapbooks, these not only dismiss brides, housewives, and mothers as being capable of producing either culture or valuable knowledge, they also overlook many other activities conducted on the site, including, for example, Pinterest’s use as a platform for sharing and selling art. Whether dismissed along gendered lines or not, however, Pinterest’s presence as a massive image-driven database that has been populated and defined by its more than 100 million active users asserts the power of its processes and its innovative, tag-driven search functions have been suggested as a compliment, or even a potential alternative, to Google-style searches (Fehling; Madrigal). Pinterest does raise one particular problem, however, in that the images pinned by users to their boards often appear without attribution and, in the case of third-party images, do not necessarily have rights clearances. While Pinterest allows users to include links to the sources from which images were retrieved, this can often create a trail of third-party sources rather than leading back to any official rightholders. Like scrapbooks, then, Pinterest works through remix practices that often decontextualize and extract images without attribution. Pinterest therefore demonstrates the continuing relevance of working to understand scrapbooking practices in the digital age and suggests the value that a scrapbook-inspired form of database management might offer, which is an argument to which I return in Chapter 4.

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<sup>9</sup> Further underscoring the gendered perception of Pinterest are sites such as Gentlemint, a self-declared “place for finding and sharing manly things” (N. auth n.p.). Although it does not refer to Pinterest directly, Gentlemint utilizes an interface very similar to Pinterest’s—albeit in a metallic gray and off-white colour scheme. The fact that a ‘male answer’ to Pinterest is seen as necessary indicates that Pinterest itself has been socially coded as a feminine space.

In the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries, scrapbooking has rigorously persisted, with the modern paper-based scrapbook industry peaking in 2004 at an annual industry sales figure of \$2.55 billion in the US alone (Bremer Public Relations).<sup>10</sup> Christensen states that, since about the 1980s, most prefabricated scrapbooks “emphasiz[e] durability and coherence, rising to commercial prominence as they became embedded in for-profit entrepreneurial and then corporate ventures” (233). While nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scrapbooks were essentially “ephemera...composed of ephemera” (Ott 1), then, twenty-first century scrapbooks aim “for maximum durable, seamless, and coherent outcomes” (Christensen 235). Twenty-first-century scrapbooks have therefore shifted in fundamental ways, some of which clearly differentiate them from their earlier predecessors, including their more recent articulation through durable, archival-quality materials that fundamentally shape their mediating presence. Christensen explains, however, that there has been some active resistance to this turn towards durability. Although many modern, middle-class, and often female “album makers ‘scra[p]’ with conservation-quality and/or backward-looking products as a way to access the rhetorical power of commerce and continuity,” alternative approaches have emerged, such as those “exemplified by a group of scrapbook makers known as The Dares” who have “embraced the unstable identities (e.g. girl/grrrl) and the goal of ‘expediency over posterity’ that characterized nineties zines” (236). In practices that use scrapbooks as a medium available to (hi)stories that are often marginalized or exist outwith normative society, such as those of The

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<sup>10</sup> This dollar figure is likely not reflective of scrapbooking activity on the whole, since these figures are focused on marketed, prefabricated scrapbooks, rather than homemade volumes. Moreover, a decline in sales figures after 2004 does not necessarily indicate a decline in scrapbook practices, as many scrapbookers have turned to free online sites, such as Flickr, Instagram, and Pinterest, to store images, as well as to sites that specialize in digital photo books, like Shutterfly and Snapfish (Hinders), therefore representing a remediation of, rather than a total departure from, scrapbooking.

Dares, a clear line of descent from earlier scrapbooks can still be found. As this discussion shows, then, to refer to a scrapbook as either a medium or a genre, especially from the standpoint of a twenty-first century researcher, is to refer to a plethora of mediators with a range of differing mediating functions. In order to bring any one scrapbook into focus, it must be situated within its particular socio-technical and historical networks, while its reader must work to define its modes of meaning making within the larger network of scrapbooking practices that it either relies upon or resists. Within my thesis, this contextualizing work is carried out primarily across the first two chapters of my thesis as I work to unfold the Morgan scrapbooks specifically.

The preceding discussion on scrapbook scholarship has worked to reveal the diverse media ecologies and networks of entangled mediators that surround scrapbooks, while also beginning to illuminate some of the most common characteristics of scrapbooks, including their nonlinear and temporally-distributed languages of juxtaposition, their complex relationship with durability, and their legibility as tools of information management. It remains true, however, that the critical discussion surrounding scrapbooks is still burgeoning and provides only a glimpse into the richness offered by scrapbooks. For example, of the three book-length scrapbook studies discussed above, all three focus on nineteenth-century American scrapbooks. Meanwhile, scrapbooks from other time periods and other parts of the world, including the British Isles, remain widely understudied. Burgeoning scholarship focused on British contexts gesture to the possibilities that can be opened up if the study of scrapbooks is expanded beyond the United States. For example, Louise Williams's 2006 article demonstrates the richness of information contained on a single page from Lady Hannah Maxwell's (1764-1841) Victorian scrapbook, currently held in the care of the National Trust for Scotland at

Pollok House, Glasgow (106). Eloise Moss's 2015 article examines scrapbooks kept by British police officer Frederick Porter Wensley (1865-1949), now housed in the Bishopsgate Institute, which he used first to chart his own rising celebrity and then as source material for his autobiography (Moss). Cherish Watton's 2018 master's thesis reads the self-fashioning scrapbooks of five late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century British women to trace how these women chose to represent their own political activities, as well as those of their families (Watton). My thesis therefore adds to this nascent but growing body of work on British scrapbooks by engaging with Morgan's Scottish scrapbooks and reading them as rich documents in their own right, while also using them as a way to explore how scrapbooks like Morgan's can be more productively engaged in digital environments. As twentieth-century scrapbooks consisting primarily of third-party, often uncited, sources, Morgan's collection also raises questions of copyright in a way that nineteenth-century scrapbooks, whether American or otherwise, do not. As I will show in the next section, this legal dimension works to marginalize and exclude scrapbooks in ways that have not been emphasized in the literature I have discussed above. Understanding how copyright has evolved and how it impacts scrapbooks is therefore crucial to understanding the kinds of barriers that the Morgan scrapbooks and other twentieth-century ephemeral collections face.

#### *Legal Contexts and Copyright Restraints*

Since at least the nineteenth century, scrapbooks and copyright have been entwined in a complicated relationship. As Garvey discusses, for example, scrapbooks have been used as proof of the existence of a published yet ephemeral piece of work, such as a poem in a newspaper, because the scrapbook preserves the original source material that otherwise becomes disposable and scarce (*Writing with Scissors* 210–11). Repeated publications of a work can also be stored in scrapbooks,

attesting to a work's popularity and patterns of circulation (*Writing with Scissors* 210–11). Garvey further discusses court cases that used scrapbooks as evidence and authors who used scrapbooks as “waystations for works intended for republication,” in methods not unlike those used in commonplacing (*Writing with Scissors* 76). In these instances, scrapbooks work in the spirit of copyright—that is, preserving a trace that can be used to establish the existence or authority of a work or even of a burgeoning idea. Scrapbooks can just as easily undermine this authority, however, by clipping a work from its context without its identifying features and remixing it in ways that give it a new voice quite apart from its original author. In many instances of such cutting practices, the clipped and decontextualized item is intended for personal use, and thus the author and publisher of the work loses nothing in the clipping process. In other instances, scrapbooked clippings can lead to an item being recirculated or republished with changed or with no attribution, thus impacting the income and recognition that an author or creator might expect to gain from this work. In still other cases, scrapbookers can use a work for unintended and even subversive ends.<sup>11</sup> Across this wide range of cases, then, the interplay of authority between the traditional author or creator and the scrapbooker as creator proves to be anything but stable.

The quasi-book status of scrapbooks and the quasi-author status of their creators, combined with the fluidity with which they can variously preserve or undermine authority, has meant that as copyright laws became more rigid, they increasingly came into conflict with scrapbooks. When the *1842 Copyright Act* came

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<sup>11</sup> While many of these subversive uses prove to be interventions into oppressive narratives, such as white supremacy or heteronormativity, cases do exist where clippings are used in parasitical ways. See, for example, Garvey's discussion of Will M. Clemens who “clipped and reprinted” works by prominent figures like Mark Twain in order to publish piecemeal books that falsely purported to be written or at least authorized by these figures. Among Clemens's works is the first biography of Twain, which Clemens wrote “with scissors, cutting, pasting, and reworking published articles about Twain without credit,” while falsely marketing himself as Twain's relative and fabricating a relationship between them (cf. Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 78–80).

into effect in the UK, it protected “every Book ... for the natural Life of such Author, and for the further Term of Seven Years, commencing at the time of his Death” or for forty-two years from the date of first publication, whichever term is greater (“Copyright Act, London (1842)”). In this Act, copyright is defined as “the sole and exclusive Liberty of printing or otherwise multiplying Copies of any Subject to which the said Word is herein applied” (“Copyright Act, London (1842)”). As the Act was largely concerned with the reproduction of a work as a whole, and as scrapbooks did not typically rely on books for their materials, due not least to the high cost of books in the nineteenth century, its effect on scrapbooking was limited.

Initially then, copyright law was not much of an impediment to scrapbooking and, as already stated, scrapbooks were often viewed and used in ways that supported a particular understanding of authority. As Garvey argues,

[t]he idea of the author as individual genius held sway in the popular imagination and was central to arguments for expanding ... copyright protection, but a large proportion of the printed matter produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries resulted from corporate and composite forms of authorship. Many of these forms relied on reuse. Authorship was a practical task that entailed reshaping and recirculating existing writing, and scrapbooks show this work (*Writing with Scissors* 77).

While Garvey points out that scrapbooks simply make explicit a process that undergirds all creative authorship, this quotation also identifies the central tension that had begun to readily develop by the time new copyright laws emerged for the United States and the UK in the first decades of the twentieth century, that is, the tension between a clear individual authority that can hold credit for a work and the diffuse position of composite authors who write through reuse. As the individual author won out in law, the ways in which a scrapbook can attest to authority were effectively, even if not intentionally, minimized, and this tension increasingly pushed scrapbooks to the legal and archival margins. In 1911, new UK copyright law increased coverage for “every original literary dramatic musical and artistic work,”

published or unpublished, for a period of the “life of the author and a period Of fifty years after his death,” with copyright being redefined as “the sole right to produce or reproduce the work or any substantial part thereof in any material form whatsoever; ... if the work is unpublished, to publish the work or any substantial part thereof” (“Copyright Act 1911”). By the beginning of the twentieth century, then, all creative works, not just books, were covered by copyright in the UK, and partial reuse was being partially redefined as illegal. Implicitly then, UK copyright laws began to reinforce the position of scrapbooks as private or domestic artifacts, meant for use in the home or in the schoolroom, where fair use exceptions would not cause copyright complications.<sup>12</sup>

In 1956, copyright law in the UK changed again. This new *Copyright Act 1956* largely represented an update of copyright to account for new technologies and publishing practices, with the definition of copyright, the definition of work, and the duration of copyright remaining effectively the same; however, it did introduce a significant proviso for posthumously published works, which stated that copyright would be in effect for fifty years following the first publication, performance, sale, or broadcast of a work, rather than fifty years after the author’s death, as had previously been the case (*Copyright Act 1956*). With this introduction, some works that had been out of copyright were suddenly re-activated within copyright law, thereby demonstrating the fluid legal status of works and foreshadowing how complicated copyright could become. The next significant shift came with the

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<sup>12</sup> Changes in the media’s attitude toward clippings and reuse is also evident. Once celebrated and actively encouraged, with Victorian periodicals commonly containing sections titled “for the scrapbook” (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 7) and including specific instructions to help flag items for clipping, news media now is less enthusiastic. *The Financial Times* website, for instance, includes a copyright note that reads: “You may share using our article tools. Please don’t cut articles from FT.com and redistribute by email or post to the web.” While *The Financial Times* clearly values recirculation through sanctioned means enabled by their “article tools,” which link to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, digitally cutting (and presumably pasting) outwith these tools is discouraged through the use of an imperative, despite the website being unlikely, and indeed largely unable, to police this use.

*Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988* (CDPA), which is the current copyright law at the time of this writing. In this Act, literary, dramatic, musical or artistic works are covered for an increased “period of 70 years from the end of the calendar year in which the author dies,” or, if the author is unknown, “70 years from the end of the calendar year in which the work was made” or “at the end of the period of 70 years from the end of the calendar year” in which it is first made available to the public, whichever term is greater (*Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988*). In one of the few exceptions regarding this increased duration of copyright, the CDPA includes copyright leniency in cases of reproduction for preservation purposes, but only to items that an institution owns, rather than items on loan or in trust from third parties, and access to these surrogates is highly restricted. With each new iteration of copyright acts in the UK, then, duration of copyright has increased and the contingent terms have expanded, capturing more items in the copyright net and making risk-averse institutions less likely to grapple with the complexities of already marginalized third-party artifacts, like scrapbooks.

Perhaps most importantly, the CDPA also extends, reactivates, or, in some cases, activates for the first time copyright for all unpublished works in the UK through to the end of the year 2039 if the work in question is a literary, dramatic, musical work, or an engraving whose author has died, regardless of when this death occurred. The extension also applies if the work is a photograph or sound recording created after 1 June 1957. This means that, yet again, many works previously considered to be out of copyright are suddenly subjected to copyright, even if the item is hundreds of years old, just as long as it has not previously been published.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ronan Deazley points out that the issue of the 2039 Rule becomes even more complex when considering what constitutes publication (Deazley). As Garvey posits, for many ephemeral artifacts, archiving constitutes their publication; however, it is unclear whether or not the archiving of these artifacts would be enough to consider them published and thus exempt from the 2039 Rule. This is a question that each institution therefore has to answer for their individual

This rule is referred to as the “2039 rule” and Ronan Deazley quotes the National Archives as estimating that

at least 58.5 million unpublished archival items exist in the UK for the period up to 1880, and a further 45 million exist for the period between 1880 and 1945. That is, there are over 100 million unpublished archival items subject to the 2039 rule (n.p.).

If the individual clippings contained within scrapbooks and similar items of compiled ephemera in the UK were to be counted individually, this number would further swell.

In citing such a large number of works trapped behind copyright and likely to be avoided in rights management practices, the National Archives are not alone. Librarians and archivists around the world have noted a “twentieth-century black hole” within cultural heritage collections, which refers to a large gap in digitized items that arises at least in part because of complicated rights clearances and due diligence requirements facing these twentieth-century materials.<sup>14</sup> Due to the time, resources, and perceived risk involved in clearing these materials for digitization and online publication, many cultural heritage institutions simply choose not to undertake the investment, thus resulting in a lack of representation in digital collections for this period.<sup>15</sup> Illustrating the resulting risk-averse digitization policies of cultural organizations in this copyright environment, Europeana.eu, a European

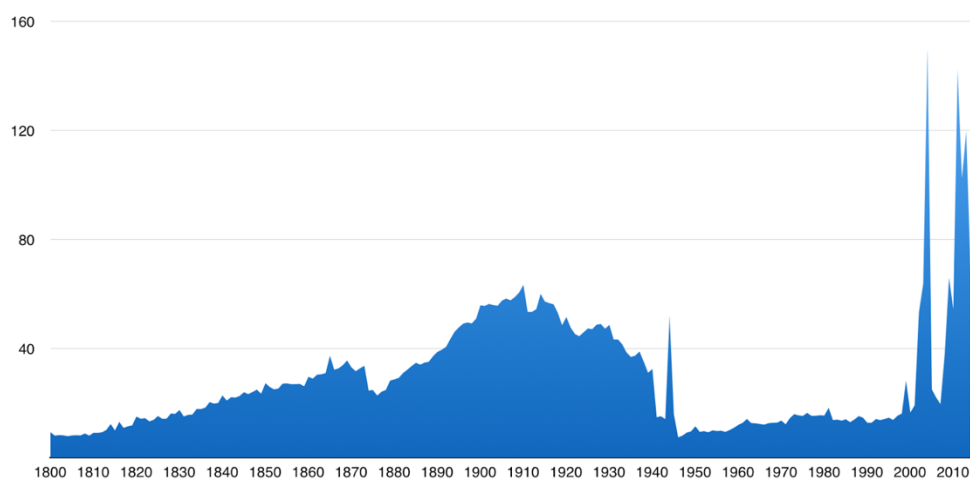
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collections by taking into account, for example, the extent of the public catalogue records and other issues of access, if they intend to challenge the 2039 Rule.

<sup>14</sup> Rights and risk management are complex issues for most organizations or institutions, including those across fields as diverse as banking, education, and insurance industries (Beasley et al. 521–22). Indeed, Beasley et al. describe the emergence of enterprise risk management (ERM) as “a new paradigm for managing the portfolio of risks that face organizations,” while also discussing the varying levels of uptake for ERM practices across organizations (521). Given this complexity, issues such as the twentieth-century black hole cannot be wholly attributed to copyright laws, even though these laws evidently play a significant role in shaping the rights management behaviors of cultural heritage institutions.

<sup>15</sup> Although my thesis is concerned with ephemeral artifacts, this black hole is also prevalent for print books. As reported by *The Atlantic*, it has “been estimated that about half the books published between 1923 and 1963 are actually in the public domain—it’s just that no one knows which half ... The cost of figuring out who owns the rights to a given book can end up being greater than the market value of the book itself ... Most out-of-print books are therefore locked up, if not by copyright then by inconvenience” (Somers n.p.).

Union web portal for digitized content collected from European museums and cultural heritage institutions, sampled 7.3 million objects from their collections and represented the findings in a timeline graph. Figure 1 below shows their findings



*Figure 1: Chronological distribution of issued values in Europeana dataset (1800-2015) (Fallon and Gómez)*

and the significant lack of digitized items dated 1940-2000 is clear, thus making visible the twentieth-century black hole.<sup>16</sup> When such digital silencing of twentieth-century materials impacts scrapbooks like Morgan's, this hole represents a re-inscription of the marginalizing practices that have only recently begun to be corrected for many non-traditional texts in archival institutions and cultural research efforts.

In considering how these laws work to silence scrapbooks and other cut-and-paste artifacts, for example, it can be asked what constitutes enough of a remix or change to source materials to demand that the remixing creator deserves copyright, or at least freedom from copyright restrictions connected to the original material.

<sup>16</sup> Europeana note that the sharp spike in digitization for materials from 1944 comes from a single large collection that had clear rightholders, and thus represents an outlier in their data (Fallon and Gómez). Twenty-first-century spikes are also explainable in that explicit digital permissions, as well as born-digital artifacts, are increasingly common.

With the Morgan scrapbooks, and indeed with most scrapbook-like artifacts, much of the collection's richness comes not from any particular item, but rather from the juxtaposition and aesthetic arrangement of many eclectic pieces that are allowed to speak individually and in concert in a voice that is developed through the particular cut-and-paste style of the author. Reflecting what scrapbooks have explicitly shown since their very beginnings, remix and other forms of reuse are crucial to the ways in which works are created, shared, and made meaningful, but copyright and due diligence currently makes much of this activity more difficult, and in some cases, impossible.<sup>17</sup> The ways in which copyright laws engage with these challenges and questions will continue to shape access to and engagement with archival collections around the world.

In a recent effort to reduce the twentieth-century black hole, the European Union passed "Directive 2012/28/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 on certain permitted uses of orphan works" (Directive), which was incorporated into the UK's CDPA in 2014 as "s.44b Copyright and Rights in Performances (Certain Permitted Uses of Orphan Works) Regulations 2014." The Directive focuses on works for which rightholders are unknown or unreachable through due diligence searches, also referred to as orphan works. Under the Directive, cultural and educational institutions can register a work as orphan

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<sup>17</sup> In what seemed like a promising shift in UK copyright law, the year 2014 brought about an exception to the 1988 CDPA (section 30A) that allows for the use of "limited amounts of copyright material without the owner's permission for the purpose of parody, caricature or pastiche" (Intellectual Property Office). Important to this exception, however, is the European Court of Justice (ECJ)'s decision to uphold the stance that "the parody exception is an autonomous concept of EU law and so should be interpreted uniformly throughout the EU" ("Parody in the UK and France"). Under EU law, this definition is set through the precedence of the *Deckmyn v Vandersteen C-201/13* case and establishes the "essential characteristics of parody" as being that it "evokes an existing work, while being noticeably different from it; and constitutes an expression of humour or mockery" ("Parody in the UK and France"). Crucially then, if a court of law finds reason to doubt that a parody was made for the purpose of humour, the parody might no longer be protected. Relying on the ECJ's definition of parody also means that works like the Morgan scrapbooks, which use remix to other ends than humour, are not assured protection through this exception.

following proof of a due diligence search. This work is then granted copyright exception for publication, digitization, indexing, cataloguing, and preservation, unless and until it is proven that a rightholder exists. The Directive is aimed predominantly at published or otherwise publicly available works and excludes original artistic works. In the same year as the CDPA was updated with the Directive, the UK also introduced an Orphan Works Licensing Scheme (OWLS), that allows anyone, not just institutions, to register any work, publicly available or not, artistic or otherwise, as an orphan work following a due diligence search and payment of a nominal fee for a non-exclusive, seven-year license to use that work. OWLS can be renewed after seven years, as long as due diligence searches are repeated and fees are paid again.

Although a step in the right direction, neither the Directive nor OWLS meaningfully reduce the strain of due diligence on collections larger than a few individual items and currently reflect what Rosemary Coombe, Darren Wershler, and Martin Zeilinger have observed about modern copyright laws more broadly, namely, that these laws “often obstruct” the “fair access to cultural expressions” that “they are traditionally designed to enable” and that would encourage “innovation and creativity to the benefit of society at large” (4). Instead of enabling this access, Coombe et al. describe the “chilling effect” of such laws on cultural exchange and continued use (4). If this chilling effect impacts well-established and actively valued cultural collections, it only stands to reason that its effects are multiplied for precarious and already difficult to access texts like scrapbooks.

A project called Digitising the Edwin Morgan Scrapbooks (DEMS), which was run from 2014-2017 by Deazley, Kerry Patterson, and Victoria Stobo through the CREATE copyright centre at the University of Glasgow, illustrates the chilling effect and undue weight of due diligence requirements for orphan works in the case of the

Morgan scrapbooks specifically. The DEMS project selected a thirty-page subset from *Scrapbook 12* as a case study to assess the cost and effectiveness of orphan works rights clearances and exceptions in the UK. Extrapolating from the 432 clippings contained in this subset, DEMS estimates that the contents of the Morgan scrapbooks are least 53% orphan works (26,700 items), most, but not all, of which have been published (Deazley et al.). The project further estimates that, of these orphan works, most items could be cleared through the Directive (about 94% or 25,098 items), while the remaining 6% (about 1602 items), due to being standalone works of art, unpublished, or otherwise existing outside of the Directive's scope, would need to be licensed through OWLS (Deazley et al.).

Although the orphan works schemes are therefore applicable to the types of orphan works represented in the Morgan scrapbooks, the onus of due diligence search itself proved to be prohibitive. In her role as project manager, Patterson sought out rightholders and copyright clearances wherever possible for all clippings in the subset and registered ten orphan works from this subset through the two orphan works schemes (five clippings were submitted to each scheme). The cost and time of doing the required due diligence work quickly became unrealistic. Based on this research, the DEMS team has extrapolated that "[t]he total cost ... to make all orphan works contained in the [sixteen] scrapbooks available online would be £187,241.06 (including application and licence fees, and salary costs)" and would take one person working full-time on the due diligence searches approximately "8.2 years" (Deazley et al.). Significantly, these estimates do not extend to the resources required for any items in the remaining 48% (about 24,180 items) of the scrapbooks which are in copyright with known rightholders, but which still require these rightholders to be contacted and/or paid, nor do they account for the fact that the due diligence searches and fees for the 6% of items licensed through OWLS would

have be undertaken again every seven years. Thus, DEMS reaffirms that current due diligence search requirements in the UK, even under orphan works schemes, prove incompatible with mass or even medium-sized digitization projects, especially when dealing with complicated, ephemeral artifacts like scrapbooks. Consequently, DEMS concludes that it is unlikely that the full contents of the Morgan scrapbooks will be made publicly available in digital form any time in the near future, despite an institutional desire to share this collection (Deazley et al.).

Another significant research project titled Enhancing Access to 20<sup>th</sup> Century Cultural Heritage Through Distributed Orphan Works Clearance (EnDOW) is similarly focused on orphan works. EnDOW was operated partially through the University of Glasgow's CREATE from 2015-2018 and focused on due diligence searches and reducing barriers to digitization, including through investigating the practicalities of crowd-sourced diligence searches. As of the time of this writing, EnDOW has published three reports assessing orphan works legislation across the European Union, as well as outlining current best practices. As summarized in the third report, EnDOW states that

There is a wide variance at the level of readiness to engage with orphan works across the CHI [cultural heritage institution] sector, from expert-level engagement ... through CHIs who actively avoid digitizing orphan works, to those who digitize orphan works and make them available online on a risk-assessed basis, without using the available legal mechanisms. Rights clearance remains expensive and ranges considerably depending on the nature of the work and the approach taken by the institution. There is continued uncertainty regarding the scope of the Directive and the diligent search requirements, and views on these uncertainties differ across institutions (Stobo et al. 5).

This statement reaffirms the complexity of rights management, including the role of legal, institutional, and even affective practices, and shows how combinations of these factors materially shape digital heritage records in ways that are often invisible to the average user or researcher. In order to make these records more representative, there are resounding calls across the heritage sector for increased

open access, for revised copyright laws with the creation of digital surrogates expressly in mind, and for institutions to become more active and even creative in risk assessments, so that they can avoid defaulting to a restrictive, and ultimately unrealistic, zero-risk-tolerance policy.<sup>18</sup> For example, in regard to OWLS, Merisa Martinez and Melissa Terras recommend that “the cultural heritage sector in the UK should eschew it altogether and take a risk management approach instead” of a licensing approach for mass digitization projects (41). It has also been pointed out with increasing frequency that copyright law needs to get better at acknowledging that “access is not enough” (Neely 268). As such, Liz Neely argues for the necessity of allowing a collection to be networked and linked so that its “cultural information become active nodes in the larger network,” and states that true growth in such interconnectivity will rely on more freedoms within copyright law (268). While this thesis does not take up issues of mass digitization or suggest amendments to copyright law explicitly, I do seek to contribute to this ongoing conversation, using the Morgan scrapbooks as my test case.

Clearly the problems of copyright, particularly in the cases of orphan works, remixed materials, and third-party rightholder artifacts, are manifold and complicated; nonetheless, it remains true that there are many ways to use and reuse items within the current copyright climate. For example, Coombe et al. stress the utility of what they call “dynamic fair dealing,” or “emergent approaches to the creation, circulation, and management of digital cultural objects that challenge traditional paradigms of intellectual property or pose alternatives to them” (5).

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<sup>18</sup> As Victoria Stobo argues, there is always some risk associated with managing a collection, whether online or not. Her work cites mass digitization projects willing to take on risk, such as *CodeBreakers: Makers of Modern Genetics through the Wellcome Library*, which utilized a risk assessment process to identify high-risk content, for which rightholders were contacted, while a take-down policy was adopted for all low- and medium-risk content (Stobo). This increased risk appetite has enabled the project to digitize millions of pages, with plans for a total of 30 million pages by 2020. In the seven years since the project started, no legal action or reputation damage has resulted.

Similarly, Andrea Wallace and Deazley argue that “[a]ll too often, cultural institutions frame their online terms of use by telling users what they cannot do with the content made available on their website, rather than focusing on what users can do with that content” (Wallace and Deazley x).<sup>19</sup> To challenge this trend, Wallace and Deazley developed a project titled Display at Your Own Risk (DAYOR), which curated an art exhibition populated by public domain, digital surrogate images made available online by art museums around the world (Wallace and Deazley). These surrogates were printed and displayed in an analog exhibit in Glasgow in 2016, while the digital images have been collected and made available as a curated online exhibit (“DAYOR” n.p.). As the project stresses, the uses available to a user/viewer are more diverse than might be imagined, and include allowances for users to, for example,

print [digital surrogates] out for pleasure or for study; hang them on the walls of your home or office; use them to create your own digital or analog artwork; use them to order fabric and make curtains, a tablecloth, or something wearable; take the metadata and repurpose it, perhaps as a poem or as lyrics for a song. These suggestions are by no means exhaustive” (x).

Although DAYOR deals with items that are already digitized, this type of creative engagement with elements of creative works that are not restricted by copyright suggests crucial ways forward for imagining interventions into more restricted collections like the Morgan scrapbooks. Also focusing on the ways in which digital tools can be used more creatively, Andrew Prescott and Lorna Hughes argue that manuscript digitization needs to do more than act as a “form of color microfilm,” instead using the “expanding toolbox” of digitization to explore manuscripts “gradually, using a variety of technical aids and methods” to build a “multifaceted digital archive of the manuscript” (para.4). I join with Prescott and Hughes in their

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<sup>19</sup> As Wallace and Deazley point out, copyright becomes a further issue when dealing with digital surrogates, because institutions often assert authorial claims over the digital surrogates, seeing such surrogates “as new and independent assets”, including photographs of artworks and digital scans of pages (Wallace and Deazley x)

call for “slow digitization” (para.5) and argue that such an approach is well-suited to dense and multifaceted texts, such as Morgan’s scrapbooks, especially when working to remediate them through means other than a digital facsimile.

Despite the range of uses and opportunities for creativity represented by digital surrogates, they do not replace their analog sources, nor should they attempt to in most cases. The key issues regarding publicly available digital representation (as distinct from digitization as a tool for preservation) are accessibility, discoverability, networking, and reuse, and these goals can be accomplished to varying degrees without digital facsimiles. My research through design processes, which are outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, therefore pick up where DEMS ended and continues in a spirit of both dynamic fair dealing explicated by Coombes et al. and slow digitization as articulated by Prescott and Hughes. My project also seeks to incorporate some of the playful creativity demonstrated by DAYOR. Rather than trying to gain copyright clearance for the Morgan scrapbooks—a task which DEMS has already proven would be overwhelming and untenable—the “slow” digital prototypes developed as part of my thesis take on copyright restrictions as creative constraints. These prototypes seek to engage with the metadata, materiality (including aspects such as size and colour), and media of the clippings within the Morgan scrapbooks, all of which represent information that is outside of copyright restrictions. I do not conceive of this project as being an argument for keeping existing copyright laws as they are, even if I am acting within them; I see it instead as a response to the twentieth-century black hole of information and an effort to think creatively within existing restrictions until these restrictions can be changed or alleviated. I also assert that this type of experimental research can offer provocative insights and methods that can be applied even in less restrictive copyright climates.

## Chapter 1: Cut and Queered

*“more questionable are the  
additions an ingenious pasticheur or  
paste-and-scissors man has woven in”  
—qtd. in Scrapbook 9, Page 1514*

My introduction worked in part to make visible the material and legal constraints that keep scrapbooks like Morgan’s on the fringes of both archives and publication histories. My first chapter builds on this work by unpacking some of the ways in which structural social inequalities compound these material and legal barriers and thus further entrench the marginal positions of scrapbooks. As this chapter will demonstrate, scrapbooks have been culturally devalued through binary, hierarchical discourses that associate these texts with amateur, feminine, and domestic practices. Much more than summary observations about who is scrapbooking where, these stereotypes participate in deeply problematic politics that disavow domestic spaces as sites of meaning creation and discount knowledge created and curated by women as illegitimate, while also obfuscating the wide range of people who engage in scrapbooking. Resisting this devaluation and obfuscation, this chapter seeks to illuminate some of the rich (hi)stories that have been given voice through scrapbooks.

Additionally, this chapter argues that scrapbooks’ democratic availability for the articulation of marginalized histories arises in part because scrapbooks as a media form are themselves ephemeral and often marginalized. Katherine Ott defines ephemera as “a general term for objects and items, especially those of paper, which were created with the intention of being discarded once the event or occasion related to their making had passed,” including “such throwaways and disposables as posters, schedules, broadsides, receipts, playing cards, advertising trade cards, catalogues, and train, theatre, or other kinds of tickets” (1). Not only are these items relatively cheap, they are also widely available and present fewer

barriers to who can access and make use of them. The term ephemera also extends to those items that prove themselves to be particularly fragile or difficult to preserve, even if they were created with a desire for the object to last, including scrapbooks. Most scrapbooks therefore have a doubled ephemeral identity in that “they are themselves ephemera as well as [being] composed of ephemeral items” (Ott 1). Rather than assenting to disposability, however, scrapbooks have been described as acts of protest that “challeng[e] the disposability not only of things but also of the identities and stories that inhere in each saved object” (Gilger 119). Furthermore, scrapbooks actively foreground “act[s] of recuperation ... [and] recovery” as a “transformative practice” by “reinvest[ing] scraps with a new kind of significance” (Gilger 119). This ability to resist disposability and to transform that which dominant society would rather cast off makes scrapbooks a democratically-available media form.

Chapter 1 is further informed by my assertion that the Morgan scrapbooks require a consideration of the way in which they inform and are informed by queer histories, not least of all because Morgan was a gay man who spent almost two-thirds of his life living under both British and Scottish laws that treated male homosexuality as a crime. These laws have a long history, beginning with the *Buggery Act 1533*, the first civil sodomy law in England (Houston), and include the *1885 Laboucher Amendment*, which made all homosexual acts illegal as “gross indecency” in the UK (UK Parliament, “1885 Labouchere Amendment”), the 1957 publication of the Wolfenden Report, which recommended the decriminalisation of homosexual behaviour in the UK, the implementation of the *Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980*, which finally decriminalized male homosexuality in Scotland

(Scottish Parliament),<sup>20</sup> the 1988 introduction of Section 28 of the *1988 Local Government Act* in the UK, which barred any local authority from “promoting” or teaching homosexuality as acceptable (Labour Party), the subsequent 2000 repeal of Section 28, which sparked much debate and violence against queer communities, and the *UK Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act of 2000*, which saw the age of consent for male homosexual sex gaining parity with the age of consent for heterosexual sex (UK Parliament, *Sexual Offences (Amendment) Act 2000*). Within this long history, the mid-twentieth-century Cold War period is notable for many high profile prosecutions under the *1885 Labouchier Amendment*, which was the prevailing law on homosexuality in the UK at the time (Bourne). These prosecutions include the 1954 Lord Montagu trials, which convicted Edward Douglas-Scott-Montagu (1926-2015), Michael Pitt-Rivers (1917-1999), and Peter Wildeblood (1923-1999) for “gross offences” and “conspiracy to incite certain male persons to commit serious offences with male persons” (Bourne). The Montagu trials are also notable as the last trials and convictions on the grounds of the *1885 Labouchier Amendment* in the UK and proved to be a watershed moment for a shift in public and legal opinion towards understanding such laws as oppressive (Bourne). Before more progressive changes took hold, however, James McGonigal states that these prosecutions sparked “a painful interest” in Morgan, as he was susceptible both to these laws and the resulting “social ostracism” that would follow were he to be charged (*Dragon* 93). Morgan’s scrapbooks attest to this painful interest as they include multiple clippings collected by Morgan on various trials and acts of oppression related to homosexuality, including the Montagu trials.

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<sup>20</sup> England and Wales decriminalized male homosexuality earlier, under the *Sexual Offences Act 1967*.

Despite his fears, however, Morgan expressed his sexuality actively, including through relationships with fellow soldiers while he served in the Royal Army Medical Corps (McGonigal, *Dragon* 73), a lively “night life of gay activity in bars, cafes, parks, toilets, and waste ground in Glasgow” during the 1950s (*Dragon* 93), and a long-term relationship with John Scott (c.1918-1978) that began in 1962 and lasted until Scott’s early death, barring only an unresolved quarrel that kept them apart for the last year of Scott’s life (*Dragon* 252–53). Morgan’s poetry likewise reflects his unwillingness to bend to oppression, with many of his love poems in particular serving as an expression of his sexual identity. Although these poems make use of the pronoun ‘you’ instead of ‘he’ and so are somewhat “coded in such a way that it left people to make up their minds as to what was going on,” they nonetheless allowed those “who had worldly experience, or a good imagination, or who knew [Morgan]” to readily understand these poems as gay (*Dragon* 195–96). Similarly, Morgan’s scrapbooks contain thousands of images celebrating nude and nearly nude male bodies that can be understood as representing queer desire, as I will discuss later in this chapter. Morgan did not, however, speak publicly about his sexuality until an interview he gave to Christopher Whyte in 1988, which was published in 1990 (Morgan, *Nothing Not Giving Messages* 187) and thus in a somewhat less hostile Scotland several years after the implementation of the *Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980*. In the years following this interview and until his death, Morgan remained active in the LGBTQ+ community, contributing, for example, a poem to the 1995 opening of the Glasgow Gay and Lesbian Center (Hepworth) and speaking out publicly for the repeal of Section 28 (BBC Two). This chapter therefore works to acknowledge the importance of reading the scrapbooks as queer within this social context, while also situating the Morgan scrapbooks alongside other scrapbooks that participate in and document queer histories.

Broadly, this chapter considers the importance of ephemera and other undervalued media forms in documenting histories that are silenced or misrepresented in more mainstream media formats, with a particular focus on scrapbooks as archives of queer ephemera. Resisting recurrent biographical readings of scrapbooks, however, I do not focus on queerness as a personal identity, but rather on what Jose Muñoz describes as “a mode of queer performativity,” or the “animating force” behind “a kind of queer doing” (*Cruising Utopia* 84). As such, I focus on scrapbooks as tools that enable performatively queer acts through cut-and-paste methodologies and argue that Morgan’s scrapbooks participate in a queer praxis that subverts dominant narratives of heteronormativity and archives ephemeral traces of his identity formation as a gay man in twentieth-century Scotland.

### *Marginalized Histories*

In her work on scrapbooks, Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger traces the ways in which public discourses in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have positioned scrapbooks as, at best, domestic artifacts, useful as educational tools for children and as a means of documenting private family histories (para.22), or, at worst, as “gossipy, self-interested, and poorly organized” texts that are useless or even dangerous in their frivolity (para.18). Whether seen as a social good or a trivial waste of time, however, Mecklenburg-Faenger argues that scrapbooks have been categorically pushed into private, feminized spheres of culture in popular discourse. Likewise, Ellen Gruber Garvey traces the ways in which the feminine press, including women’s magazines and housekeeping books, contributed to framings of scrapbooking as a domestic activity that turned the action of “saving all scraps” into a frugal, feminine “virtue” (“Scrapbook” 106). Elizabeth E. Siegel discusses how scrapbooks and other albums, such as photograph albums, were increasingly

marketed to women as tools of display through which they could present themselves and their families to guests, thus becoming signals of domestic culture and class (252–53). Over time, these various social frameworks have proven to be highly persistent and continue to contribute to the ways in which scrapbooks are overdetermined, even in twenty-first century contexts, as idiosyncratic, private documents with little more than sentimental value, rather than as historical texts and social documents worthy of study.

Nevertheless, it is clear that scrapbookers have not uniformly adhered to the cultural uses and frameworks of scrapbooking set out in the discourses described above. Indeed, Patricia P. Buckler argues that women have historically “compiled and composed diaries, scrapbooks, albums, journals, letters, and other bits of personal memorabilia to leave a memory or record of themselves for ensuing generations, apparently knowing full well that no other evidence of their lives was likely to remain” (62). Buckler has demonstrated the value of these autobiographical scrapbooks, including in her reading with C. Kay Leeper of a scrapbook compiled between 1832–1855 by Miss Ann Elizabeth Buckler. Buckler and Leeper argue that this scrapbook proves itself to be a creative autobiographical expression that demonstrates a “deliberate effort by one individual to make sense of her life by composing it” through the “daily trivia” of human experience (Buckler and Leeper 1). Women such as Ann Buckler have therefore adopted scrapbooks and similar ephemeral media as tools for self-representation and self-fashioning when their access to more mainstream publication avenues were limited. Moreover, these scrapbooks are not wholly private, as they at least imagine a future reader that will engage with their records. In other cases, scrapbooks depart explicitly from documenting the life of the individual scrapbooker. For example, German Dadaist Hannah Höch (1889–1978) created an eclectic “multi media scrapbook” in 1933 that

shows a dominant interest in mass media images by and of women (Figures 2 and 3).<sup>21</sup> Melissa Johnson describes this scrapbook as a merger between Höch's childhood scrapbooking activities and the "skills [she] honed in her avant-garde photomontages" in order to express her "pleasure in the materials of mass culture" (151). Maude Lavin observes a similar emphasis on pleasure in Höch's scrapbook, arguing that it is notable for its playful celebration of mass media images representing the "New Woman" in the Weimar Republic—a figure with whom Höch identified—as well as a joyful sense of wonder inspired by the possibilities of technology, including photography (74). Lavin therefore argues that the scrapbook represents a form of social critique through a utopian montage (74–75). In both of these readings of Höch's scrapbook, the scrapbook demands to be recognized as part of Höch's artistic *oeuvre* and offers insights into German social, political, technological, and artistic histories well beyond the domestic.

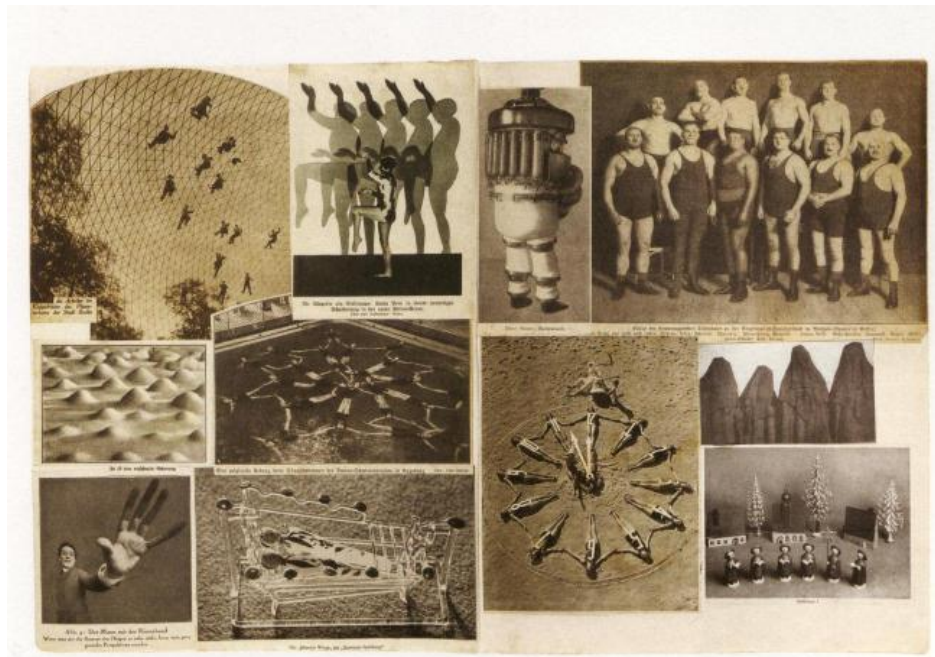


Figure 2: Hannah Höch, Scrapbook, Pages 68-69, Hannah Höch Archive, Berlinische Galerie

<sup>21</sup> This scrapbook is held at the Hannah Höch Archive, Berlinische Galerie, Berlin and a facsimile version of the scrapbook was published in 2004 (Höch).



Figure 3: Hannah Höch, Scrapbook, Page 20, Hannah Höch Archive, Berlinische Galerie

While Höch's scrapbooks are predominantly visual in nature, other scrapbooks and ephemera are more textual. Emily Dickinson kept clippings and wrote her poems "on household detritus," almost all of which she famously refused to publish during her lifetime (Tucker et al. 19–20). Dickinson's scrappy papers thereby activate poetic meaning-making potentials for this domestic ephemera and assert a specifically material dimension to the world of her poems, while also complicating notions of public and private, particularly since Dickinson's poetry has

become so well-known since her death.<sup>22</sup> Bartholomew Brinkman discusses scrapbooks kept by other American poets, including Marianne Moore (1887-1972), Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892-1950), and Amy Lowell (1874-1925), and argues that these scrapbooks comprise “poetic sandboxes,” wherein the poets could “playfully explore subject and textual manipulations that might eventually be incorporated into their poems” (26). He also argues that scrapbooks kept by readers about poetry can “point to the popularity of poets who have fallen out of, or were never admitted to, the received canon of modern American poetry” and can “group poems and poets together in ways that challenge common assumptions about content and form, producing constellations of meaning that for many professional critics are almost unimaginable” (25). Due to their democratic availability, then, scrapbooks provide opportunities to push back against established literary canons and can offer new perspectives on the production and reception of literary texts when approached as texts themselves.

Additionally, Mecklenburg-Faenger cites a wide range of scrapbooks in women’s histories that were never intended for domestic use, such as the scrapbooks of professional women, including those at Bowling Green State University Center for Archival Collections by Ella P. Stewart (1893-1987), a civil and woman’s rights leader who was also one of the first African American women

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<sup>22</sup> Emily Dickinson’s archives are also an example of the often-invisible legal forces discussed in my introduction that shape access to cultural collections and show a further complication of the lines between public and private. Harvard University considers itself “the gatekeeper for permissions and the arbiter of copyrights to Emily Dickinson’s oeuvre,” including “to those Dickinson texts whose only source is a manuscript never possessed by Harvard—and not possessed by a Dickinson since the 1890s” (Perlow n.p.). Seth Perlow explains that not only does this mean that Harvard can charge researchers and publishers for the right to reproduce Dickinson’s poetry, it also means that they can approve or reject publication projects. Perlow cites at least one instance where Harvard rejected a publication project on Dickinson’s poetry because Harvard itself was in the process of “preparing the new Franklin variorum (which Harvard published in 1998) and would not license other editions in the meantime” (n.p.). Moreover, because Harvard’s gatekeeping ability is so totalizing, many researchers are unwilling to criticize Harvard publicly for fear of being shut out of the archives, causing Perlow to conclude that “the chilling effects of Harvard’s policies not only make it harder to cite and edit Dickinson, then, but also to discuss the issue publicly” (n.p.).

certified as a pharmacist in the United States; the Library of Congress's collection of suffrage scrapbooks, which includes Susan B. Anthony's (1820-1906) scrapbooks; and scrapbooks created by organizations, such as the Professional Women's League and the Women's National Press Association, which are held at the Iowa Women's Archives and the General Federation of Women's Clubs respectively (Mecklenburg-Faenger, para.45). In each of these cases, the value of the scrapbooks in question exist outwith private histories and do not rely wholly, or even primarily, on biography. This extension of the scrapbook as public document recurs in the example of scrapbooks made by the Kentucky Pack Horse Librarians. This group was comprised of about 200 women who "created more than 2000 original, handmade scrapbooks" (Vance 290), which they then delivered with other books and magazines on horseback along "routes that were not passable by cars or traditional bookmobiles" in "the Appalachian Mountains of eastern Kentucky from 1936 to 1943" (289).<sup>23</sup> As Jason Vance argues, the Pack Horse Librarians therefore "co-opted the methods of personal scrapbooking ... [to] become both creators and deliverers of these newly printed works," and, in doing so, became "authors/editors [who] were able to contract the [communications] circuit"<sup>24</sup> connecting authors, publishers, and readers through direct contact with their patrons" (290). In other words, by contracting their particular communications circuit, the Librarians created a more

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<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, only five scrapbooks survive, themselves having been bound together in a larger scrapbook currently held at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library in Hyde Park, New York (Vance 291-92). More information about the Pack Horse librarians, including some metadata records for the scrapbooks and other library materials, can be found at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland (292).

<sup>24</sup> The communications circuit was first diagrammed by Robert Darnton in 1982 to show the many transformations and agents, including publishers, printers, suppliers, shippers, and booksellers, involved in getting a book from an author to a reader (Darnton). Since Darnton's circuit, many alternate circuits have been offered, sometimes as correctives to Darnton's work, sometimes in response to new technologies that have emerged since Darnton's model was published. See, for example, Padmini Ray Murray and Claire Squires' "The Self-Publishing Communications Circuit" and "The Digital Publishing Communications Circuit" (Ray Murray and Squires).

democratic library that was shaped by the specific readers it served, while also demonstrating the wide-spread applicability of scrapbooks as a media form.

Across these various examples, it becomes clear that, as Mecklenburg-Faenger argues, if scholars and researchers

assume that scrapbooks are only about familial histories or traditional feminine activities, we run the risk of overlooking or misinterpreting the range of scrapbooks in archives. Such assumptions can have enormous consequences for our understanding of both women's history and the history of rhetorical practices (para.45).

I agree with Mecklenburgh-Faenger's caution and I also join critics such as Garvey who maintain that these assumptions impoverish more than women's history alone. Indeed, many marginalized individuals and communities have turned to scrapbooking as a way to perform, preserve, and archive their (hi)stories and the diversity of these ephemeral records are easily obfuscated within discourses that narrowly restrict and define scrapbooks along stereotypically gendered terms. A more intersectional<sup>25</sup> approach to scrapbook histories is therefore needed to resist reinscribing the same silencing that has relegated so many scrapbookers to the fringes in the first place.

For example, Garvey discusses "alternative records" created by African American scrapbook makers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (*Writing with Scissors* 131). In particular, she focuses on three of the largest American collections of black scrapbooks: those of Joseph W. H. Cathcart (1823 or 1827-1895), which consists of more than 100 albums currently held at Howard

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<sup>25</sup> Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw first defined intersectionality in 1989 as a way "to denote the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's employment experiences" (Crenshaw 94). She has since expanded her discussion of intersectionality to discuss, for example, political intersectionality, which argues that discourses of racism and sexism not only "fail women of color" by failing to "acknowledge the 'additional' burden of patriarchy or of racism" but also by proving "inadequate even to the discrete tasks of articulating the full dimensions of racism and sexism" because "women of color experience racism in ways not always the same as those experienced by men of color, and sexism in ways not always parallel to experiences of white women" (99).

University; William H. Dorsey (1837-1923), which consists of more than 400 scrapbooks currently held at Cheyney University of Pennsylvania; and L. S. Alexander Gumby (1885-1961), which consists of 161 scrapbooks held at Columbia University Library. Each of these collections variously performs a number of functions, including as resources made by and for black communities that document the lives and stories of individuals from these communities, as critiques of the white press and evidence of the violent oppression of black individuals and communities, and as skilled social commentaries communicated through languages of juxtaposition (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 131–32). Gumby himself described his collection as “‘The Unwritten History’ of the United States” that documents the events and lives ignored by contemporary historians (qtd. in Barnard College). Ruth Gilger argues further that Gumby’s scrapbooks actively “piece together black history by editing and rearranging items that vary in time, space, voice, and location” (111). As a result, the history offered through Gumby’s scrapbooks is not “a single or linear narrative of African American experience,” but rather “a version of the historical page that is clustered and mutable” in ways that reflect “the variability of historical ephemera” and challenge “the tidy authority of the archive” (111). For Gilger, then, Gumby’s scrapbooks and others like them draw attention to the multiple and indeterminate narratives possible within any history, while also showing scrapbook-making itself to be a “distinct aesthetic and creative curatorial practice” (111). Moreover, although these scrapbooks persist in archives today, they initially circulated by means of the personal offices and salons of Cathcart, Dorsey, and Gumby, rather than through libraries and institutions segregated at the time of the scrapbooks’ creation. These scrapbooks are therefore social documents that have challenged institutional authority from the moment they were created and, like the Pack Horse Librarians’

scrapbooks, represent a collapsing of the communications circuit to give voice to those that were denied access to many mainstream culture and publication venues.

Garvey also notes, however, that the large collections of Cathcart, Dorsey, and Gumby were aided in their survival by particular structural advantages, including their “involvement in all-male networks of bibliophiles” (*Writing with Scissors* 132). She suggests that other large collections of scrapbooks may therefore have been made by women, but that, without the support of these networks, they would not have gained the same public attention and avenues for preservation (*Writing with Scissors* 132). Garvey notes that, for example, even small scrapbook collections by famous black women, such as those of Sojourner Truth (1797-1883) (*Writing with Scissors* 132) and Ida B. Wells (1862-1931) have not survived (*Writing with Scissors* 149). Accounting for the diversity of individuals who have participated in the creation of scrapbooked histories and archives requires an acknowledgement of the intersectional positions of their creators and of the ways in which, for example, the forms of social capital available to white women and black men differ from those available to black women with significant effect.

In addition to large collections, then, smaller collections and even singular volumes created by black women must be recognized as containing crucial pieces of the “unwritten histories” that Gumby acknowledges. Susan Tucker demonstrates the value of these singular texts through her reading of a 1920s scrapbook made by Juanita Johnson née Page in Chicago. The scrapbook is currently housed at the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University and is the only document on record for Johnson, preserving traces of her high school years and early adulthood. Despite its minimal context, Tucker argues that the scrapbook is valuable, showing how Johnson “push[ed] back prejudicial renderings—[W.E.B.] DuBois’s ‘veil’—of African American life” by “incorporat[ing] visible interpretations of multiple communities

and even expand[ing] DuBois's thesis of duality by showing the print, visual, African American, Caucasian American, familial, and scholarly cultures" in which Johnson lived (233). Scrapbooks like Johnson's therefore contain distinctive pieces of history that deserve to be studied and signal that engaging with scrapbooked histories requires a willingness to resist traditional models of authority, to forestall the disposability of ephemera, and to recognize the intersectional operations of power and oppression that materially impact who is allowed to speak and through what means, even within marginalized communities.

In addition to race and gender, queerness is another crucial intersectional identity that must be considered within scrapbook histories. Gumby identified as a gay man and although this identity is frequently referred to in biographical accounts of his life, I have found no published research that reads his scrapbooks through the lens of queer theory or with an eye to unpacking the queer histories that they might contain. Garvey does note that Gumby included "his own homoerotic Ex Libris bookplate" in the front of some scrapbook volumes, which features "three scantily clad men sporting with a book" (*Writing with Scissors* 163), and she gestures toward volumes that are "dedicated to erotica" within Gumby's collection (*Writing with Scissors* 168), but she provides no further description of these volumes. While it is understandable that engagement with Gumby's scrapbooks are guided first and foremost by their undoubtedly important position as documents of black history—a focus which Gumby himself emphasized—this focus has been adhered to in such a way as to sideline or even exclude questions of queerness within this history. This omission is reflected in the cataloguing of the scrapbooks, which includes a list of forty-one subject keywords assigned to the scrapbook collection ranging from "African American athletes" to "Visiting cards" (Columbia University Libraries), but not a single keyword associated with sexuality, homosexuality, or erotica. Moreover,

in discussing Gumby's position as a gay man, Gilger demonstrates that critics such as Sharifa Rhodes-Pitts have characterized Gumby's scrapbooking activity as "'rather feminine,' 'peculiar,' and 'idiosyncratic'" (Gilger 119), thus suggesting that Gumby's sexual identity has not only been elided, but in some cases used to encourage a return to the derogatory gendered discourses that have plagued cultural understandings of scrapbooks and caused these texts to be overlooked. The following section will therefore argue that tracing the ways in which queer archives and queer histories have been constructed through scrapbooks and similar ephemera emerges as an important task—one that bears directly on the Morgan scrapbooks.

### *Queering Archives*

The term queer has become expansive, having been broadly reclaimed from the derogatory contexts in which it was first used, and collecting many definitions and modes of use. For example, J. Halberstam explicates a "queer 'way of life'" as extending well beyond "ways of having sex" to "encompass subcultural practices, alternative methods of alliance, forms of transgender embodiment, and those forms of representation dedicated to capturing these willfully eccentric modes of being" (*The Queer Art of Failure* 13). Similarly, Alana Kumbier quotes Eve Sedgwick's definition of queer as an "open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or *can't be* made) to signify monolithically" (qtd. in Kumbier 6, emphasis in original). Kumbier also argues that this open mesh "extends beyond the realm of gender and sexuality to address dimensions of identification and discourses of identity that intersect with gender and sexuality, including race, ethnicity, nationality, class, and dis/ability" and therefore maintains that queer is "not a consolidation, or an edgy way of saying

LGBT, but is instead a recognition of ... the multitude of identifications, experiences, and discourses that emerge in and from the daily lives of people who experience themselves between, outside of, and in tension with a number of normalizing forces” (7). Halberstam, Sedgwick, and Kumbier therefore collectively work to emphasize the diversity of intersectional identities that can be queer and show how these identities refer to much more than a description of sexuality or gender alone.

Given the range of identities, experiences, and discourses that are collected under the concept of queerness, David Getsy argues that one approach to queerness can be understood as an adjectival addition to performative acts and identities. As he states,

the stance that self-nominates as queer ... does not stand alone. Rather, it attaches itself to nouns, wilfully perverting that to which it is appended. It is a tactical modification – this name ‘queer’ – that invokes relations of power and propriety in its inversion of them. That is, its utterance brings with it two operations. First, it appropriates and affects the thing that it now describes (a queer what?). Second, this attachment of ‘queer’ to a noun necessarily cites the standards and assumptions against which it is posed (the presumed ‘normal’ that it abandons) (13).

By focusing on the performativity of queerness, Getsy moves away from approaching queerness as a totalizing identity or category that encapsulates a person or cultural object and instead enacts a reading of performative actions and effects. Muñoz describes a similar focus, arguing for “a mode of queer performativity—that is, not the fact of a queer identity but the force of a kind of queer doing” (*Cruising Utopia* 84). When studying artifacts, texts, and archives, including scrapbooks, I understand my position as a researcher, at least in part, to be one of engaging with and reanimating traces of performative acts and their effects. When discussing queerness in relation to the Morgan and other scrapbooks, then, I take a similar approach to Getsy and Muñoz by focusing on performative acts and methods of queering, while also referring to the wide mesh of possibilities within which queerness can be expressed in order to recognize these acts as queer.

In seeking out performative traces, the archive unavoidably emerges as a crucial site of preservation and access; however, the archive also represents a site of normativity and dominant cultural authority resisted by queer communities, activists, and theorists. Moreover, by resisting archives in their current forms and seeking to enact change in archival practices, queer communities are not alone. Kate Eichhorn, for example, argues that many “feminist scholars, cultural workers, librarians, and archivists born during and after the rise of second wave feminism are seizing the archive as an apparatus to legitimize new forms of knowledge production and cultural production in an economically and politically precarious present” rather than as a “site of preservation” that is firmly situated in the past (4). For Eichhorn, this resistance is particularly evident in the ways that “feminist zines and other self-published and self-produced forms of feminist cultural production” are being increasingly saved and accepted into archives as “works of literature, art, and knowledge” even though they have been produced “outside the framework of an established culture industry” (14). Similarly, as discussed above, Gilger argues that Gumby’s scrapbooks effectively challenge “the tidy authority of the archive” through their mutable and eclectic pages, as well as the multiplicity and indeterminacy of the narratives they offer, thereby contributing to the construction of an “African American modernity” rather than simply comprising a representation of the past (111). Elsewhere, Australian Aboriginal archivist and critic Kirsten Thorpe has argued that the “management of Indigenous records and collections presents challenges to traditional archival methods and practice” and shows the need to break away from dominant Western paradigms, such as by including Indigenous communities in the creation of records that allow for multiple perspectives and by relinquishing strict institutional controls over these records (n.p.). Deterritorializing and decolonizing the archive is therefore a multifaceted, intersectional effort that is happening across

many sites. For the purposes of my discussion, I focus in particular on how this archival resistance has been articulated through queer interventions.

Muñoz offers a clear argument for the grounds on which queer resistance to traditional archival structures proves to be necessary. As he explains,

[q]ueerness has an especially vexed relationship to evidence. Historically, evidence of queerness has been used to penalize and discipline queer desires, connections, and acts. When the historian of queer experience attempts to document a queer past, there is often a gatekeeper, representing a straight present, who will labour to invalidate the historical fact of queer lives—present, past, and future (*Cruising Utopia* 72).

As a result of this punitive gatekeeping, archives are often sites of violent discourses about queerness as well as sites of erasure. Kumbier argues that queer individuals “cannot simply consult an existing archive, because records about sexuality, sexual lives, and sexual subcultures—written by participants (and not scientists and doctors analyzing them or police surveilling them, or anthropologists studying them)—have been scarce” (14). She also discusses the ways in which coded or softened language used to describe queer archival collections that do exist creates “queer invisibility in the historical record” (28). To illustrate this point, Kumbier quotes librarian Polly Thistlewaite, who argues that when “archives fail to name or explicitly identify collections with established or even speculated queer content they construct a veiled, closeted history—a silent, unannounced inheritance no more apparent in the mainstream public than it was in the pre-Stonewall era” (qtd. in Kumbier 29). Indeed, it is precisely this type of invisibility that is evident in the cataloguing of Gumby’s scrapbooks, which simply elides the scrapbooks’ queerness, as discussed in the previous section.

In the face of this direct and indirect silencing, Muñoz argues that the “key to queering evidence” is to “suture it on to the concept of ephemera” (*Cruising Utopia* 72). He goes on to explain that he understands ephemera, including playbills, pamphlets, clippings, and even gestures, to be a site of resistance against “dominant

systems of aesthetic and institutional classification” (“Ephemera” 6) because they document “traces of lived experience and performances of lived experience” in forms that are much less censored or restricted precisely because they are undervalued by dominant society (“Ephemera” 10–11). Moreover, Muñoz argues that these ephemeral traces of queerness can also appear as heavily coded, available to “those within [their] epistemological sphere—while evaporating under the touch of those who would eliminate queer possibility,” especially during times when queerness and other intersecting identities are heavily oppressed. (“Ephemera” 6). The fragile nature of ephemera proves valuable as a means through which to enact this coding, not least of all because of its ability to seem to “evaporate” and while nevertheless persisting. Such queer coding is also demonstrated by Morgan’s love poems, discussed above, which rely on submerged queer readings that are more evident to some readers than others. As such, Muñoz argues that reading ephemera, especially when coded, requires “another understanding of what matters” and the development of particular sensitivities to the ephemeral records that attest to performative queerness (*Cruising Utopia* 81). This expanded understanding of value includes an acknowledgement of how ephemera enable protest, not only by documenting performative acts and identities that mainstream society would seek to prevent in the first place, but also by using its very fragility to protect the evidence of these acts and identities from those who would seek to destroy it.

Within Muñoz’s discussion of ephemera as evidence, it is notable that scrapbooks are not mentioned, despite their crucial position within archives of ephemera and their entanglement in alternative modes of knowledge production. This silence therefore indicates that even within theories of queer archives, the role of scrapbooks is still frequently overlooked and underutilized. Nonetheless, the role

of other forms of ephemera within queer archives proves to be a recurrently recognized necessity. Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner argue, for example, that queer culture and world building depend “on parasitic and fugitive elaboration[s]” that take place at “mobile sites of drag, youth culture, music, dance, parades, flaunting, and cruising—sites whose mobility makes them possible but also renders them hard to recognize as world making because they are so fragile and ephemeral” (Berlant and Warner 2611). Although they acknowledge this mobility as necessary in oppressive environments, not unlike Muñoz’s discussion of coding, they argue for a “queer project” that supports “forms of affective, erotic, and personal living that are public in the sense of accessible, available to memory, and sustained through collective activity” (2612). This availability would create more awareness of a variety of queer ephemera, while also defining queer culture apart from “the official publics of opinion culture and the state” and from “the privatized forms normally associated with sexuality” (2609). Berlant and Warner therefore strive towards a future in which the coded nature and unsustainable mobility of queer ephemera will not be necessary, while also working to retain an expansive definition of the archive that includes ephemera, affect, and other alternative forms of knowledge.

By including affect as part of the ephemera of the queer archive, Berlant and Warner prefigure Anne Cvetkovich’s argument for what she refers to as an “archive of feelings” (Cvetkovich 244). Cvetkovich explains that

[i]n insisting on the value of apparently marginal or ephemeral materials, the collectors of gay and lesbian archives propose that affects—associated with nostalgia, personal memory, fantasy, and trauma—make a document significant. The archive of feelings is both material and immaterial, at once incorporating objects that might not ordinarily be considered archival, and at the same time, resisting documentation because sex and feelings are too personal or ephemeral to leave records (244).

As such, Cvetkovich positions the archive of feelings away from the ability of any bricks and mortar institution to contain it wholly and instead builds an

understanding of queer archives that relies on intimate knowledge, not only of the materials, but of the people and emotions behind the materials. It is also important that Cvetkovich's concept of the archive of feelings is built on ideas of trauma and in particular the violence enacted against and experienced by queer individuals and communities. She explains that trauma often seems to "leave behind no record at all" and so "puts pressure on conventional forms of documentation, representation, and commemoration" as well as "giving rise to new genres of expression, such as testimony, and new forms of monuments, rituals, and performances" (7). She argues further that "understanding gay and lesbian archives as archives of emotion and trauma helps to explain some of their idiosyncrasies, or, one might say, their 'queerness'" (242). As Kumbier states, Cvetkovich's approach to the archive is "significant because she asks how particular ... cultures transmit knowledge across generations *in the absence of conventional archives* and develops a model of archives specific to the practices and materials she observes," including by treating the archive as conceptual, culturally-specific, and even ethnographic (Kumbier 17, emphasis in original). I add that Cvetkovich's archive of feelings demonstrates the networks of mediators that Latour sees as helping to make durable any social position. By paying attention to and preserving marginalized mediators, archives of feelings resist the collapse of these mediators into intermediaries while also creating a more durable representation of the affective experiences that surrounded that mediator and help shape its current presence. Cvetkovich's archive of feelings therefore proves to be a powerful concept in a variety of ways and has become one of the most pervasive revisionings of the archive within queer theory.

Halberstam is among those queer theorists who draw inspiration from the archive of feelings, using it to demonstrate that queer archives are more than a collection of data and are rather a "discursive field and a structure of thinking" that

comprises an “immaterial repository for multiple ideas” (*In a Queer Time and Place* 32–33). For Halberstam, this repository extends to include those “state-authorized formations of racism, homophobia, and poverty” that prompt much of the violence to which these archives of feeling must then bear witness (*In a Queer Time and Place* 33). Like Cvetkovich, then, Halberstam departs from a bricks and mortar archive to posit a more conceptual collection of ephemeral and intangible pieces of history, offering “evidence for things not seen” and potentially becoming a resource for “future queer historians who want to interpret the lives we have lived from the few records we have left behind” (*In a Queer Time and Place* 46). Moreover, in discussing Cvetkovich and Halberstam’s approaches to queer archives, Kumbier argues that their theories both emphasize the ways in which relationships matter to archives, including through the acknowledgement that “part of what characterizes queer subcultures and their archives” is the “dual status of cultural producers as participants and archivists” (Kumbier 20–21). Kumbier stresses that whether queer archives reside within institutions, grass-roots organizations, or private spaces, they will be marked by the archiving activities that are used to frame them. Indeed, she and Eichhorn both assert that archives of any sort are “engaged in the production of subjects, the conditions of language, the possibilities of histories, and at times, also in the exclusion and erasure of particular groups and experiences” (qtd. in Kumbier 21). While this means that queer individuals, communities, and grassroots organizations have the power to shape the subjects produced by their various archives, it also means that knowledge of archival practices used to promote discovery and preservation can be highly useful to these non-traditional archives. Likewise, if queer theories of the archive are not taken up to revise practices within traditional archival institutions and used to inform the creation and articulation of

archives, queer and other similarly marginalized histories will continue to be excluded from or made invisible in these spaces.

Offering another elaboration of the archive, Sara Ahmed gestures to the archive of feelings as she articulates the work that her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2004) undertakes. Although Ahmed argues that her book does not comprise an archive of feelings, because she does not understand it to be a repository of feelings and emotions itself, she acknowledges it as being adjacent to this archive, tracking “how words for feeling, and objects of feeling, circulate and generate effects” in the world (*Cultural Politics* 14). Ahmed stops short of naming her book as an archive, however, stating that to enact this naming “is a perilous matter; it can suggest that these texts ‘belong’ together, and that the belonging is a mark of one’s presence” (*Cultural Politics* 14). Ahmed therefore offers her book as a “model of the archive” that does not convert the “self into a textual gathering” but rather functions as a “contact zone” (*Cultural Politics* 14). She concludes that, as “a ‘contact writing,’” her book shows how “the personal and the public, the individual and the social ... take shape through each other” and “how they shape each other” (*Cultural Politics* 14). Building on Ahmed’s argument, I posit that scrapbooks can be simultaneously understood as queer archives of feelings and queer contact zones between ephemeral, affectively charged components. As archives of feelings, scrapbooks function as aids to memory, as traces of emotionally charged relationships, as angry tools of resistance, and otherwise as material records of emotional labour expended on people, projects, events, and/or issues that the creator(s) or organization(s) behind the scrapbooks cared to save. Nonetheless, scrapbooks also unavoidably demonstrate to future readers that some of the affective charge that animated their contents for their creator remains beyond the reader’s reach, even as the scrapbooks encourage new affective connections from

their readers. Scrapbooks are therefore palimpsestic in their archiving of feelings. Meanwhile, as contact zones, scrapbooks allow for a promiscuous interaction between their collected ephemera, but due to their “partial, coded” accounts (Tucker et al. 3), they cannot be mistaken for the whole presence of their creator. Moreover, they do not erase the boundaries of their collected components, as the cut-and-paste nature of the pages resist any reading that would see the components as unequivocally belonging together, instead foregrounding the contingency of their creation and the specific languages of juxtaposition forged by their creators.

Understanding scrapbooks as contact zones and archives of feelings also gestures to other ways in which queer archives and scrapbooks can resonate with one another. The history of scrapbooks that I have traced so far shows how cultural producers, including poets, artists, and historians, have turned to scrapbooks as means through which to both express and document their cultures and communities. As Tucker et al. argue, scrapbook makers “circumvent publishing, bypass copyrights, and freely cannibalize printed sources” in order to create “rogue” and “renegade” texts “that both parr[y] with and paralle[l] popular forms” (20). Scrapbooks therefore share with queer archives a duality that brings together cultural producers and archivists, broadly understood, as a crucial component of their nature. Moreover, because of this duality, scrapbooks share a similar vulnerability with queer archives in relation to archival practices. As demonstrated across my introduction and the earlier sections of this chapter, archival practices that are not attuned to the value of scrapbooks as hybrid, ephemeral, and affectively rich texts cause them to be silenced, obscured, or lost. When valued, however, scrapbooks and queer archives show the power of unofficial networks of association that collect and save in the face of oppression, including the networks of bibliophiles that helped to ensure the survival of Cathcart, Dorsey, and Gumby’s collections. I

therefore suggest that studying scrapbooks and the ways in which they have been variously represented or repressed within archives can be used to help reimagine structures for queer archives of ephemera. Likewise, incorporating approaches from queer theory into broader archival practices can help increase the reach of many ephemeral archives, including scrapbooks, whether or not they are queer. Where scrapbooks document queer histories, however, the imperative to read this ephemera as queer and to recognize the overlapping value and vulnerabilities of scrapbooks and queer archives becomes most apparent. The final section of this chapter will therefore turn to a consideration of scrapbooks, including Morgan's, that actively document queerness in a variety of forms.

### *Cut and Queered*

In recognizing and interpreting queer scrapbooking practices, theories of collage prove to be highly relevant,<sup>26</sup> in particular by offering insight into the importance of queer contact—a concept already suggested by Ahmed's notion of a queer archive as a contact zone. As Marjorie Perloff observes, one of collage's central functions "is the refusal to suppress the alterity of elements temporarily united in its structure" (*Futurist Movement* xix), while the French *collage*, literally a pasting, is also "idiomatic for an 'illicit' sexual union, two unrelated 'items,' being pasted or stuck together" ("Collage and Poetry" n.p.). This illicit union harkens back to Gettsy's formulation of queering as a willful adjectival perversion and resonates again in Elizabeth Freeman's assertion that "what makes queer theory queer as opposed to simply deconstructionist is ... its insistence on risking a certain vulgar referentiality, its understanding of the sexual encounter as precisely the body and

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<sup>26</sup> I am grateful to Desmond Huthwaite, whose conference paper "Queer Cuttings Up: Mina Loy via Valerie Solanas" first alerted me to discourses of collage as a queer practice (Huthwaite). This paper was delivered at the University of Oxford's Queer Modernism(s) conference in April 2019 and was generously shared with me by Huthwaite via email.

ego's undoing" (11). Reading these observations on collage and queerness together allows for the illicit contact between discrete, collaged bodies to become a fecund potential site for queerness and enables an understanding of cut-and-paste practices as those that can bring together that which normative society would rather keep apart.

The concept of contact also contributes to understandings of queer archives and acts that can define them in relation to more than the foundation of trauma that informs much of the archive of feelings. As Ahmed argues, there is pleasure in "opening towards others; pleasure orientates bodies towards other bodies in a way that impresses on the surface" (*Cultural Politics* 65). For Ahmed, however, queer contact is not just about any two bodies, but about the "past histories of contact" that come to inform and prefigure contact between specific bodies (*Cultural Politics* 65). By extension, queer contact is not just about sexuality but also about the ways in which "[q]ueer bodies 'gather' in spaces," including through "forms of activism; ways of claiming back the street, as well as the spaces of clubs, bars, parks, and homes" (*Cultural Politics* 65). As Ahmed argues, then, "[q]ueer pleasures put bodies into contact that have been kept apart by the scripts of compulsory heterosexuality" and that can take some "enjoyment of forbidden or barred contact," even as this contact reshapes the bodies involved and creates possibilities for "social forms that are not constrained by the form of the heterosexual couple" (*Cultural Politics* 65). Ahmed therefore asserts that the "hope of queer politics is that bringing us closer to others, from whom we have been barred, might also bring us to different ways of living with others" (*Cultural Politics* 65). As part of this politics, I argue that cut-and-paste practices, including collages and scrapbooks, can be used as a way to bring together different mediating bodies to produce queer contacts among non-humans, whether these are comprised of photographs, erotica, queer mass media, or other

forms of ephemera traditionally barred from the institutional sites of knowledge production and preservation, as well as documenting the historical ways in which oppression has tried to suppress these forms of knowledge. Cut-and-paste practices can therefore contribute to Berlant and Warner's understanding of queer world building by variously validating ephemera and making room for pleasure, as well as allowing for acknowledgements of the legacies of trauma and oppression that Ahmed notes initially puts tension on such queer contacts.

Having established this basis for understanding the role of collage and scrapbooks within queer praxis, including by foregrounding their ability to function as archives of feelings and queer contact zones, I turn now to several examples of queer scrapbooks in order to demonstrate some of the diverse means through which this queerness is expressed as well as providing a context through which to interpret Morgan's own performative interventions. I start first by returning to the mass media scrapbook of Höch, which I argue can be read as a queer archive. Höch had a romantic relationship with Dutch author Til Brugman (1888-1958) from 1926-1929, which caused some controversy while they were together (Blumberg), but it is not simply this biographical detail that leads me to join those few critics<sup>27</sup> who argue for a specifically queer reading of this scrapbook and the many more critics who read Höch's corpus, if not the scrapbook itself, through queer approaches. Rather, I focus on the scrapbook's radical queerness as expressed through a "montage utopia" (Lavin 74), wherein gender roles are questioned through explorations of androgyny and celebrations of women in non-traditional roles, including in

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<sup>27</sup> Although the scrapbook has not been the focus of much Höch scholarship, the lack of queer approaches is notable. For example, in an entire chapter on the scrapbook, Lavin does not mention queerness once, despite her acknowledgements elsewhere that lesbian desire is evident in other of Höch's works, her repeated mention of the ways in which the scrapbook focuses on female and androgynous subjects, and her observation that Höch's scrapbook "is a collection compiled for her [Höch's] own intense visual, sensual, and spiritual pleasure" (Lavin 120). Drawing on Lavin's work, however, Julie Nero's PhD thesis does explicitly read the scrapbook through the lens of queer desire (Nero 137).

physically demanding sports, while also visually celebrating the female form beyond the scope of the male gaze. Moreover, as noted above, these scrapbooks are repeatedly read as both displaying and inspiring a deep pleasure communicated through the cut-and-paste pages and the various relationships constructed between the women that they display. Höch's utopia of the New Woman therefore emerges through performatively queered representations that actively demonstrate the pleasure and resistance Ahmed describes.

In Höch's wider works beyond the scrapbooks, artist and critic Daniel Fountain recognizes this performative queerness when he argues that Höch's cut-and-paste practices function as a way of taking "fragments of culture and reinterpreting dominant cultural norms to produce queer associations" that are not "necessarily based on an artwork's content (although this is sometimes the case)" but are rather queered through their use of "queer concepts, such as humour and camp, inversion and reversal, excess and extremes" (Fountain n.p.). Halberstam also characterizes Höch's other photomontages as "feminist and queer," arguing that these cut-and-paste works "bind the threat of castration to the menace of feminist violence and both to the promise of transformation, not through a positive production of the image but through a negative destruction of it that nonetheless refuses to relinquish pleasure" (*The Queer Art of Failure* 136). For Halberstam, then, montages like Höch's ask their viewer to consider "both productive power, power *for*, but also negative power, or power to unbecome," putting forward the ability to unbecome as an important a form of queer resistance (*The Queer Art of Failure* 136). This necessity of requisite destruction in order to create is writ large in any cut-and-paste practice. Indeed, Höch describes herself and other Dadaists as "engineers" who "were building things" and putting their "works together like fitters" through a creative process that required destruction, even dissection, before creation could begin (qtd.

in Makela 109). Through Höch, however, Fountain and Halberstam recognize the act of cutting as a deconstructive site of resistance to the status quo that must be undertaken in order to enable the queer contact between the images in Höch's photomontages—and, I add, her scrapbook—whether or not the images used are themselves overtly queer.

Another queer female archive can be found in the two private scrapbooks of Ethel May 'Monte' Punshon (1882-1989), which she created over a period of about forty years from the 1920s to the 1950s and which are currently housed in the Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives in Melbourne (Ford 112). Ruth Ford reports that Punshon never identified herself using the term lesbian, and only publicly discussed her relationships with women at the age of 103, which she did for *City Rhythm*, a Melbourne gay magazine, using a "language of female passionate friendship and romantic love" (112). Nonetheless, Ford asserts that "the construction of a subjectivity based upon same sex-love" is evident within her scrapbooks, as is her "passion for women" (111). For Ford, Punshon's scrapbooks show how she "surrounded herself with images of women," especially those depicting women as "aviators, motor-boat racers, racing motorists, jockeys and sailors, ... adventurers and sportswomen," as well as women who queer their gender roles by "claiming masculine privileges in work, dress, sport and recreation" and "eschewing the traditional feminine domestic sphere" (112). Punshon's scrapbooks also include news clippings that depict "women's same-sex love in different forms—women friends and partners, passing women, 'single' independent career women" (Ford 118) and so reflect the somewhat coded language of relationships that Punshon herself used.

Ford argues that Punshon's scrapbooks therefore comprise a "rich autobiographical source for [their] insights into the construction of her [Punshon's]

subjectivity within available discourses" (118). While I do not disagree with Ford, I nonetheless maintain that the scrapbooks' value goes beyond the autobiographical by offering a queered, subversive contact zone between the various identities and representations of women that attracted Punshon's attention in her contemporary and heteronormative mass media. In addition to this contact zone, Punshon's scrapbooks also serve as an archive of feelings by collecting traces of trauma alongside more celebratory images, including "two tragic stories of suicide," which, as Ford notes, gesture toward "the sense of isolation and intense loneliness in which women's same-sex love often resulted" in the mid-twentieth century (118). Like Höch's scrapbooks, then, Punshon's use of cut-and-paste practices to customize mass media objects reveals queer identities and feelings that, while related to her, extend beyond her. The scrapbooks emphasize sites of queerness that have long existed in plain sight for those who know how to read them, including coded expressions of desire, whether or not this desire was able to be fulfilled.

Other scrapbooks turn to more explicit means than those used by Höch or Punshon in their efforts to reveal and construct subversive queer narratives. For example, Richard Meyer and Catherine Lord include a scrapbook by Tim Wood (1924-?), a Sears salesman who lived in San Francisco in the 1950s and '60s, in their book *Art and Queer Culture* (2013). This scrapbook includes "a golden map" of San Francisco that specifies the location of several nude beaches onto which Wood has collaged various images of naked men (Wilcox). By using the authority of a map to demarcate social spaces that exist on the fringes of the mainstream, Wood provides a guide to his queer city and shows the way in which queer spaces are a part of the city's social and material infrastructures, whether or not they are acknowledged by normative society. Meyer and Lord argue further that scrapbooks like Wood's deserve a place next to high art, at least in part because they help to show "how

queer people have defined and occupied their own social spaces over the years, even when they could not publicize either their sexuality or the images that they made depicting it" (Wilcox). Not unlike Wood's assertion of queer spaces on the map, then, Meyer and Lord use Wood's scrapbook as part of their project to show how queer art has always been a part of art history, whether or not it has been recognized.

In an even more explicit example, Carl Van Vechten (1880-1964) compiled approximately twenty scrapbooks, most of which were made in the 1950s and are now held at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Figure 4). These scrapbooks mix Van Vechten's own photography, erotica, and pornographic images with mainstream sources, such as advertisements or newspaper articles, the latter of which deal with topics ranging from homosexual scandals and sport photography to classical art. Although still predominantly visual, Van Vechten's scrapbook pages are more sparing in their style than, for example, Höch's, and are typically organized around a focused message or joke, such as the "Invitation Basket" of Figure 4. Jonathan Weinberg argues that these messages most often take a form that delights in making "the dominant culture's language, the stuff of its crime reports and of its advertising copy" not only acknowledge but actually "speak sexual transgression" through the power of Van Vechten's juxtapositions (31). Weinberg observes that this subversive pursuit is further reflected in the pages' minimalism, which he reads as a formalist choice by Van Vechten to reject high art aesthetics, and even dominant collage aesthetics, in order to instead mimic the printed magazine advertisements that serve as so many of Van Vechten's sources (46-47). Importantly, Weinberg attributes part of Van Vechten's skill in producing these juxtapositions to his time at the *Chicago American* newspaper where "he was asked to clip articles of rival dailies and provide his editor with composite articles" (31). The Van Vechten scrapbooks

therefore performatively queer the words, images, and even methods of writing with scissors employed by the mainstream press to create an alternative queer record that revels in both its humour and illicit contacts while satirizing many of its sources.

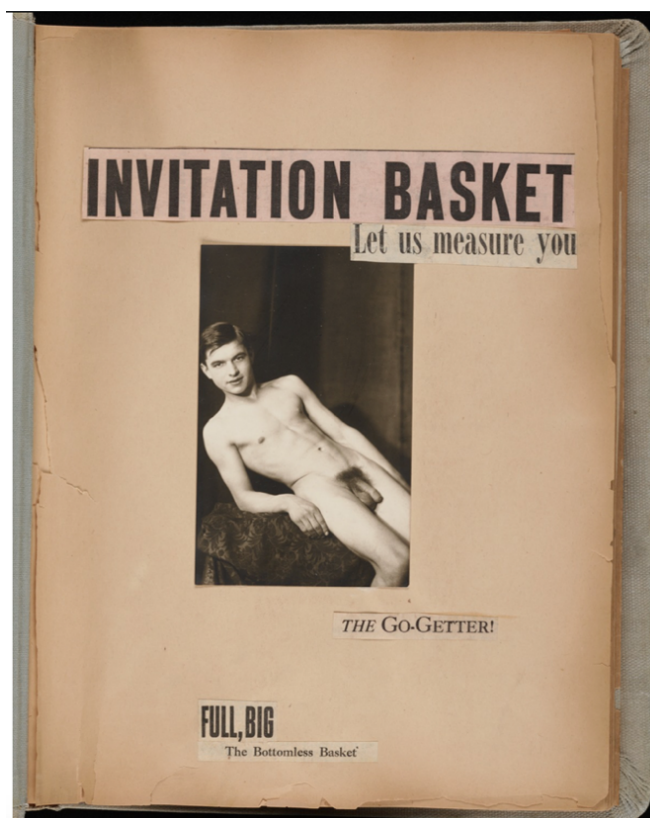


Figure 4: Carl Van Vechten, Scrapbook III, Page 2 (Van Vechten)

Scrapbooks have also been used as ways of queering more personal genres of media, in particular the family album. For example, in a 2017 project titled “MotherWork,” Sandra L. Faulkner discusses her deliberate queering of the baby scrapbook as a site of normative motherhood. She uses the form of the scrapbook as her canvas for poetic interventions informed by queer theory and feminist texts and argues that, as an “ARTIST/FEMINIST/BISEXUAL/mother,” she has taken “an expected activity—scrapbook making—and queer[ed] it by naming the personal detritus of crafting as scholarship, as queer feminist praxis, and as cultural critique” (Faulkner 167). Another example can be found in *A Feast of Scraps* (Figure 5), a photo

assemblage/scrapbook made by Glenn Ligon (b.1960) from 1994-1998 that mixes personal photographs from Ligon's family, touching on "familiar milestones of marriage, birth, military service, and family reunions," with erotic and pornographic images of black men (DeLand 510). Also included on the pages are short lines of text, including phrases like "Daddy" and "Necessity is a mother," that can variously refer to either or both the familial and explicit images (Ligon). As Ligon explains, most of



*Figure 5: Glenn Ligon, A Feast of Scraps (Ligon)*

the pornographic images are themselves cast-off ephemera that he found at Gay Treasures, a second-hand Greenwich Village bookstore, in a box labelled "Black Men" (89). Ligon saw in these images a discarded "chronicle [of] our [black] Histories and desires" as well as a way to visualize that which was necessarily absent from his

own family albums, namely, his “discovery of his sexual attraction to men” and, by extension, all those identities and individuals who are excluded from ‘respectable’ family histories (89). Taking up this interpretive signalling, DeLand argues that Ligon uses the scrapbooks to articulate himself as a black, male, gay subject through a “motley family” of “subjects picked from archives of dubious pedigree” and that, by doing so, he constructs a “queer lineage by filling in the gaps where information has been deliberately effaced, displaced, or disappeared” with a history that is informed by “speculation, fantasy, and desire” (531). In recognizing the ability of Ligon’s scrapbook to speculate and create alternative pasts, DeLand gestures toward the world-building potential of scrapbooks more broadly and signals that, whether these texts are predominantly textual or visual, they engender unique narratives that can be read and interpreted apart from the historical functions of the archive.

When situating Morgan’s scrapbooks within this rich network of queer scrapbooks, it is clear that they share many points of contact. Like almost every scrapbook I have discussed, Morgan relies heavily on mass media images to populate his pages and clearly demonstrates his investment in preserving that which “flashes past in the media” (Morgan, *Nothing Not Giving Messages* 140). He also occasionally mixes these clippings with more personal ephemera, including images of himself, such as baby photographs, self-portraits taken in mirrors, military photographs, and personal snapshots, thereby evoking an echo of the family album. This representation of Morgan across the scrapbooks continues in textual form as well, both through correspondence and letters addressed to Morgan and, more whimsically, through mass media snippets that contain Morgan’s name, such as a clipping reading “Fata Morgana” that appears in *Scrapbook 3* (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 3* 403c). Because these mass media clippings can only speak Morgan’s

name by referring to other people or characters who are not Morgan, however, they have an uncanny effect and act as a caution not to conflate too readily the versions of Morgan presented in the scrapbooks with Morgan himself. Perhaps one of the best examples of these uncanny evocations can be found in *Scrapbook 14*, where Morgan has included the obituary of an American man named Edwin Morgan who died in 1957 at the age of 59 in New York. Not only was this Edwin Morgan similar in age to Morgan, he is also described as an author, poet, and retired high school teacher, all of which overlap with Morgan's own professions. Beneath this clipping, Morgan has included a text-based clipping from an unrelated source that reads, "As Mr Morgan's literary executor I am responsible for collecting the material" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 14* 3009a). Here, the speaking "I" becomes as blurry as the now trebled Morgans, because this "I" could refer either to Morgan in his role as his own executor and archiver, as demonstrated through his scrapbooking practice, to Morgan's collection and preservation of the other Edwin Morgan's obituary, or to an I that is related to a third Mr. Morgan, quite distinct from the other two Edwin Morgans. Alternatively, or simultaneously, the speaking "I" could refer to the scrapbook itself, which will outlast all three Morgans and carries the material responsibility of preserving Morgan's collection of clippings. Like a first-person narrator in a novel or poem, then, Morgan establishes his scrapbooks as texts that use cut-and-paste alphabets to create a persona that is both a part of, and apart from, himself and so should not be used as a way of overcoding the collection. Accordingly, although I do not seek to divorce Morgan's scrapbooks from his identity as a gay man, my approach to close reading these scrapbooks through a lens of queerness works to incorporate this same textual distance by focusing on the performative acts presented by their mediating pages and the resulting effects of these acts.

Much like Höch's multi-media scrapbook, Morgan's collection brings together a range of materials, most of which are not inherently queer in content. By arguing that these scrapbooks, or any of the other discussed scrapbooks, contribute to queer archives, then, I am not attempting to overlook this diversity or to suggest that documenting queerness is their primary goal. The Morgan scrapbooks inspire many readings that do not focus on queerness, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 2, and they resist any attempts at totalizing categorization, not least of all because they were compiled over a period of more than forty years and show changes both across and within volumes. I do, however, argue that these scrapbooks demand an awareness and acknowledgement of queering acts in order to be unfolded. Indeed, one of the most recurrent visual tropes across the scrapbooks is the representation and celebration of the male body. Although queerness can be read through the scrapbooks in a variety of ways, including through Morgan's inclusion of celebrities who exist within LGBTQ+ communities, as well as through his own biography, my close readings focus on the ways in which these images of male bodies are used and the queering effects that they have.

In his use of depictions of the male body, Morgan can be positioned on a spectrum somewhere between Höch's admiring celebration of the female body and Van Vechten's and Ligon's use of explicitly erotic imagery. Although many of the male figures who appear in Morgan's scrapbooks are nude, they rarely show full-frontal nudity. More often, they are positioned in teasing poses that just withhold from view their genitalia or otherwise entice the viewer through playfully suspended visibility (Figures 6 and 7). Morgan also plays with this subtle eroticism through more than the poses of the models depicted. While Van Vechten and Ligon use larger explicit images that become a dominant focus on their pages, Morgan frequently uses very small images of men, many of which echo, and may even be taken from,

photographs in American beefcake magazines (Figure 8). These magazines were particularly popular in the 1950s and were used as a way to circulate homoerotic imagery under the guise of health and fitness publications when such homoerotic images were barred by obscenity laws (Strub 385–86). These images have relied on the queer coding discussed by Muñoz in order to circulate and survive—a coding which Morgan can then be read as re-inscribing and repurposing for use within his own coded collage pages. By subtly incorporating these small images on a majority of the scrapbook pages, Morgan allows them to queer the gestalt of the page without immediately monopolizing the viewer's attention.

In other cases, Morgan uses his aesthetically-attuned skills as a collage artist to incorporate images of nude men, including some larger images, that are camouflaged by the ways in which their visual textures or colours blend with the rest of the page (Figure 9). Not only does this aesthetic camouflage allow the clippings to perform a similarly subtle queering of the page as the use of very small clippings, it also provides a further coding, whereby the eroticism of the image can be obscured or repurposed by its utilization within a piece of art. Like Morgan's deliberately ambiguous love poetry, then, these performative acts of queerness rely on an awareness of a desiring queer subject to activate them fully as queer, while retaining the ability to hide in plain sight for those who do not know how, or who are unwilling, to read them. Moreover, the coded nature of the scrapbooks and their resonance with Morgan's love poetry goes some way in explaining why Morgan felt comfortable enough to put his scrapbooks forward for publication as early as 1953, several decades before he would speak publicly about his sexuality and only one year before the infamous Montagu trials.



Figure 6: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 12, Page 2424, detail



Figure 7: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 4, Page 563, detail



Figure 8: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 2, Page 23, with excerpted and enlarged detail

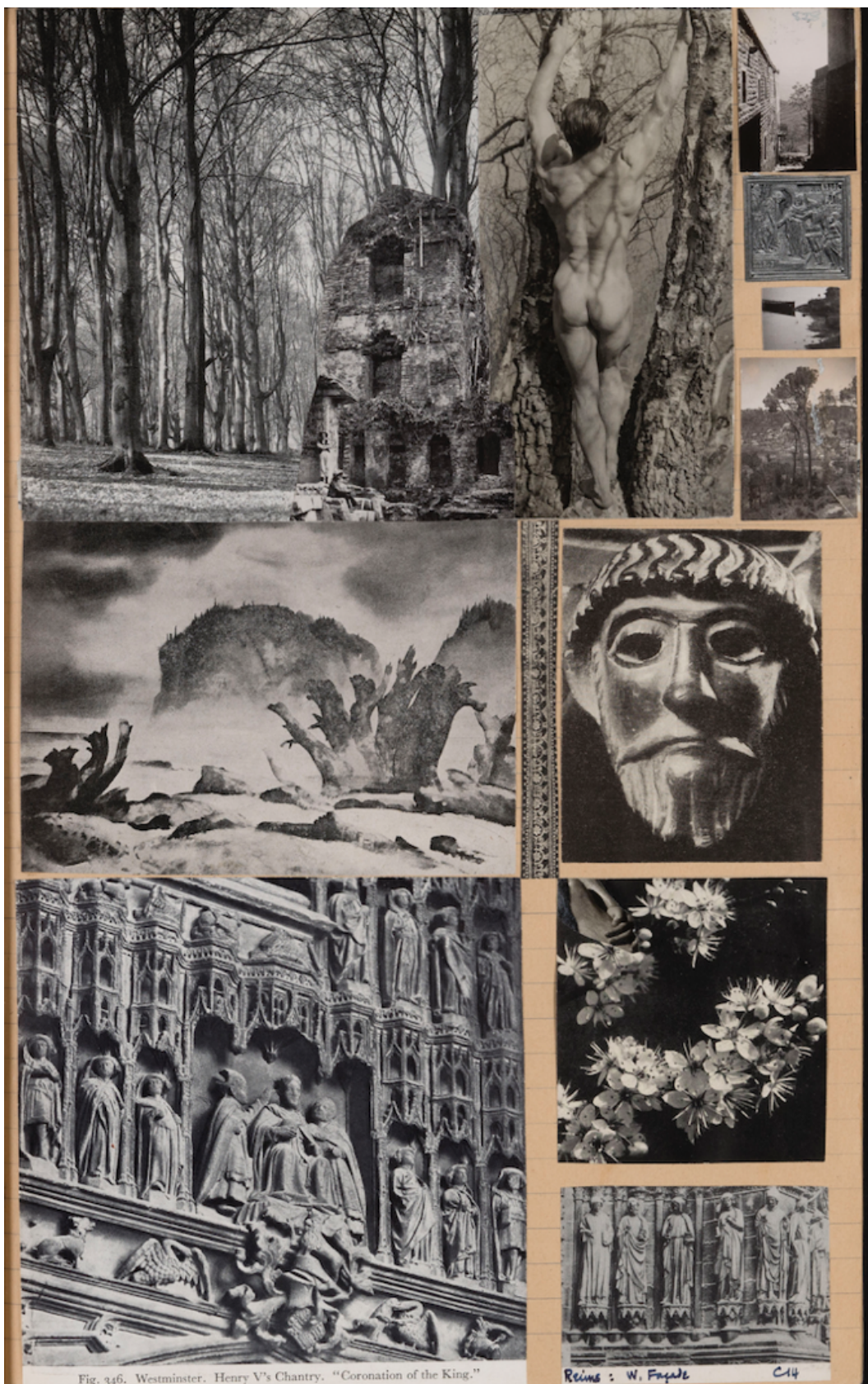


Figure 9: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 6, Page 828

Once the queer nature of the scrapbooks is recognized, it can be traced on almost every page. As Fountain argues for Höch's work, this queering functions, not through the clippings' contents necessarily, but rather through the production of "queer associations" (Fountain n.p.). For example, on page 529 from *Scrapbook 4* (Figure 10) Morgan has included a suggestive, although somewhat ambiguous image, which might either depict a piece of pottery or a plant. Whatever object is actually depicted, however, is of less import than the fact that it is visually suggestive of a penetrative sex act. This explicit association is reinforced by Morgan's inclusion of a small beefcake-style photograph of a man next to the image, which is pasted so that the man is looking up and towards the suggestive image while he flexes in a show of strength. Just above these images are two other clippings, one showing a person who is wearing a hat and whose face is covered by a piece of fabric—possibly a handkerchief—and an unattributed excerpt of Thomas Heywood's "Love's Good-Morrow" poem. In this excerpt, the poem's speaker calls on many types of birds, including a "cock-sparrow," to sing "good morrow" to the speaker's love (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 4* 529). While there is nothing explicitly queer about this poem, its collective juxtaposition and association with the suggestive image and the beefcake-style photograph allows it to become a celebration of speaking queer love. In contrast, the image depicting a person with their face covered can be read as way of reminding the viewer that this celebrated love is one that is often forced into silence and hiding. Despite such forced hiding, this small excerpted collage also emphasizes a naturalness to the queer love it celebrates through the organic aesthetic of the suggestive image, the beefcake man's almost nude body, and the appeal to nature and birds in Heywood's poem. Within this theme of naturalness, the queer association of the collage extends to an enlarged photograph of a snowflake, which is also a well-established natural metaphor for diversity and

uniqueness. Collectively, then, the collage can be read as a form of protest against the discourses that label queer love as unnatural and force it to hide, while celebrating the beauty of love and sexuality in all of its forms, with particular emphasis on those that are queer.

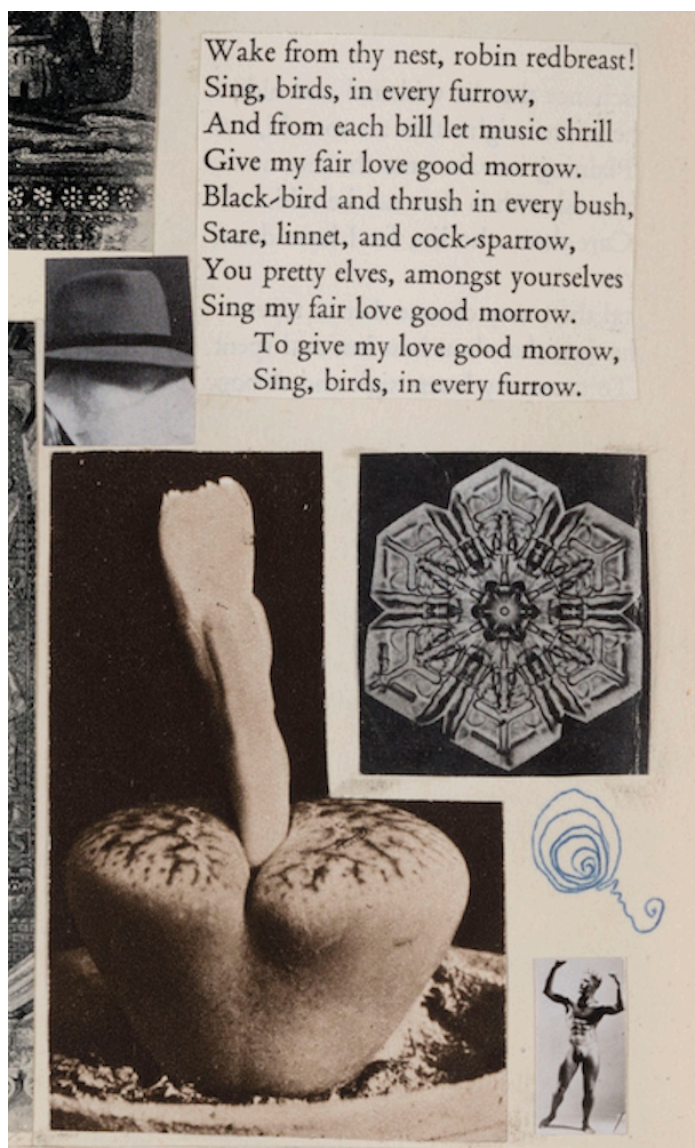


Figure 10: Edwin Morgan, *Scrapbook 4*, Page 529, detail

When Morgan's queer associations are used in conjunction with clippings documenting active oppression at the time of the scrapbooks' creation, their powerful acts of resistance are underscored further. For example, *Scrapbook 12*

includes six pages that feature large newspaper clippings detailing the Montagu trials, including page 2261 (Figure 11). The left-hand side of 2261 is dominated by a large clipping from the *Glasgow Herald* dated 25 March 1954 that details the sentencing of Montagu, Wildeblood, and Pitt-Rivers, with Montagu receiving a twelve-month sentence and Wildeblood and Pitt-Rivers both receiving eighteen-month sentences. This page does not, however, focus solely on the oppressive climate in which these sentences were passed down. Immediately below this large clipping is a smaller, undated clipping, likely from a different source, that describes a scene as airmen McNally and Reynolds left the court room with “a rug over their heads” to a chorus of boos and jeers, thereby reinforcing my reading of the covered face in the previous collage as a form of closeting. The jeering described in this clipping could be an act of homophobia, but may also signal a perhaps unexpected public resistance to the sentencing received by Montagu, Wildeblood and Pitt-Rivers based in part on the testimony of the two airmen (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 2* 2261). Along the bottom of the page, one more small clipping related to the Montagu trials appears, which is dated several months later, on 11 November 1954, and reports that Lord Montagu was released after serving eight of the twelve months in prison to which he was sentenced.

On their own, these clippings reaffirm the Morgan scrapbooks as an archive of the changing social environments, and the real threats, under which Morgan lived his life. Morgan does more than passively archive these fragments, however, as he also activates them within a network of queer contacts and associations that resist oppression and celebrate a queered and adamantly optimistic alternative to the status quo. Crucial to this network is the contact on this page that Morgan enables between the Montagu clippings and a clipped reprint of a *Gazetteer* report dated 1761 that reads, “[o]n Friday evening an eminent tradesman of this city was detected

2261  
**12-MONTH SENTENCE ON LORD MONTAGU**  
 Gt 25-3-1954  
**Verdicts in Indecency Trial**

Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Peter Wildeblood, journalist, and Michael Pitt-Rivers, farmer, were found guilty on certain counts yesterday at the close of their trial at Winchester Assizes on charges of indecency and unnatural offences. Lord Montagu received a 12 months' sentence and Wildeblood and Pitt-Rivers were each sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

No mention was made, before the Court rose, of the outstanding charge against Lord Montagu of committing an indecent assault on a different occasion. This charge is still in the calendar for the present Assizes—as the Judge (Mr Justice Ormerod) mentioned in his summing-up—having been sent for retrial after a disagreement by a jury at the December Assizes.

**THE VERDICTS**

All three accused were found guilty of the charge of conspiring together on divers dates between July 1, 1952, and October 31, 1952, in the counties of Southampton, London, and elsewhere, to incite two airmen, Reynolds and McNally, to commit unnatural offences and gross indecency with male persons.

In accordance with the Judge's direction Lord Montagu was found not guilty on two charges of attempting to commit an unnatural offence with Reynolds during August, 1952, in London, and on August 24, 1952, in the county of Southampton. The jury found him guilty of two charges of committing an act of gross indecency with Reynolds on those dates.

In addition he was found guilty of counselling and procuring Wildeblood to commit an unnatural offence with McNally in the county of Southampton on August 23, 1952.

Wildeblood was found guilty of committing unnatural offences on three occasions with McNally in March, 1952, in London, on August 23, 1952, in Southampton, and between August 24 and September 1, 1952, in Dorset. He was found not guilty of committing an unnatural offence with McNally in November, 1953, in London, but guilty of gross indecency with McNally on that date.

He was found guilty of counselling and procuring Lord Montagu to commit an act of gross indecency with Reynolds and of inciting McNally to commit an act of gross indecency with himself (Wildeblood). He was found not guilty, in accordance with the Judge's direction, of a charge of counselling and procuring Lord Montagu to attempt to commit an unnatural offence with Reynolds.

Pitt-Rivers was found guilty on one charge of committing an unnatural offence with Reynolds in

London between October 1, 1952, and February 23, 1953, and of another charge of attempting to commit an unnatural offence with Reynolds in Dorset between August 24 and September 1, 1952. He was found guilty also of counselling and procuring Wildeblood to commit an unnatural offence with McNally in Dorset between August 24 and September 1, 1952. It was the eighth day of the trial. All three had pled not guilty to an indictment containing 18 counts. The two airmen in the case were Corporal Edward McNally (23) and Aircraftman John Reynolds (21).

**JUDGE'S COMMENTS**

Addressing the three men, and using their full names—"Peter Wildeblood, Edward John Barrington Douglas-Scott-Montagu, and Michael Augustus Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers"—the Judge said:—"You have all three been found guilty of serious offences, you, Montagu, of less serious offences than the other two."

"I have paid the greatest attention to everything said on your behalf by counsel and paid great attention, Wildeblood, particularly to the difficulties which you have, no doubt, encountered, but of course it is quite impossible for these offences to be passed over. I am dealing with you in the most lenient way I possibly can do."

In his summing-up earlier the Judge said that Wildeblood, "who admits he is and has been a sexual invert," had agreed all the way through with the trend of the facts on which the charges were based. "What he says is that although there was a very close friendship between him and McNally there was never at any time any unnatural act or gross indecency between them."

In Lord Montagu's case the evidence as to whether an attempted unnatural offence took place between Lord Montagu and Reynolds rested entirely on the evidence of Reynolds, and the evidence did not go sufficiently far to warrant a verdict of guilty on those two charges. The jury knew that there was still another charge pending against Lord Montagu, but they must not be prejudiced by that. Some criticism had been made of the policy in bringing those particular proceedings at a time when previous charges were still pending against him, but that was a matter about which he and they really could not concern themselves.

A crowd of about 300, including women and children, gathered around the court to watch the departure of the airmen, McNally and Reynolds.

Some booed and jeered as they jumped into a police car and drove away with a rug over their heads.

On Friday evening an eminent tradesman of this city was detected in attempting that horrid sin, now so much in practice, and taken into custody; but on giving 2000 l. security, he was admitted to bail. *Gazetteer*. 1761

**GOOD NEWS BRA**  
 The "Good News" bra stays up.



**ROMAN TEMPLE FIND**

Among the finds made in the ruins of the Roman temple in the City is this one—pictured for the first time—part of a stone figure, probably "Night," one of the traditional attendants of the god Mithras.

September 1954



Two important discoveries were made on the site of the Roman temple in the City of London last week: left, a marble head of the god Mithras, and, right, a marble head of a youth. It was stated last Tuesday that the cost of preserving the temple would be about £500,000. The Minister of Works promised to consider whether and how the money might be raised.

An unnamed Russ engineer on the Moscow radio, acco Reuter, suggests building a dam across the Bering Strait separating the Pacific and the Arctic Oceans. The dam would have a battery of hundreds of pumps to pour warm Pacific water into the cold Arctic. "This would produce an artificial warm current about equal to that of the Gulf Stream, greatly moderating the climate in the Arctic Zone and North-Eastern Asia." *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 9-26-51.



The Jabberwock, an illustration by Mervyn Peake to *Alice Through the Looking Glass*: "... with its head He went galumphing back."

\*\*\* LORD MONTAGU of 7 Beaulieu was released secretly from Wakefield jail yesterday morning after serving eight months of the 12 months' sentence imposed last March. 4



Figure 11: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 12, Page 2261

in attempting that horrid sin, now so much in practice, and taken into custody; but on giving 2000 l. security, he was admitted to bail" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 4* 2261). By juxtaposing the eighteenth-century *Gazetteer* clipping with the three twentieth-century Montagu clippings, Morgan compresses four temporal moments onto one page and provides an effective snapshot of the persecution of queer individuals spanning literal centuries. Without erasing the painful and material effects of this oppression, these four clippings also comprise an elegant and defiant statement that oppression does not wholly win. Although sentenced and made to serve jail time, Montagu, Wildeblood, and Pitt-Rivers were released, as was the unnamed tradesman of the *Gazetteer*. By choosing to bridge the time spanning Montagu's sentencing and release on a single page and by joining the Montagu trials with the story of a man who navigated the same systems of oppression centuries earlier, Morgan allows for proof of the ways in which queer individuals continue to live their truth in the face of persecution.

Once this queer and temporally rich narrative is identified, the rest of the page becomes newly activated and encourages an alertness to other forms of queerness that might be hiding in plain sight. For example, next to the large Montagu clipping and near the center of the page, Morgan has included a small black and white clipping showing a topless, muscular man posing in a sailor's hat. The centrality of this clipping's position counteracts its diminutive size and, despite the fact that there is no explicit imagery in the photograph, the image is clearly admiring of the male form. In the context of Morgan's scrapbooks, then, this image demands to be read through the lens of queer desire. The sailor clipping is also positioned so that the man, whose body is angled towards the right, appears to be turning his back on the large Montagu clipping, in a strong, even if playful, pose with his arms crossed high across his chest. The context and placement of this clipping can therefore be

read as means of centering a defiant representation of queerness on a page rife with examples of this queerness being persecuted. In placing the man so that his back is turned to the Montagu clipping, Morgan has also allowed the man to turn towards another clipping, which depicts German actress Marlene Dietrich (1901-1992) and is dated 1956. This turn is significant because Dietrich famously carried out public relationships with both men and women and played with a fluid gender expression, including by dressing in both men's and women's clothing. Like the small photograph of the man, Dietrich's image is not explicit and in this photograph her gender expression is more normative, as she appears in a long black evening gown. Nonetheless, for those who know her importance within queer histories, she represents yet another act of resistance against the laws and norms that persecuted Montagu, Wildeblood, and Pitt-Rivers.

Other small, even seemingly unrelated, clippings on the page can be read in a similarly optimistic spirit within these queer associations. For example, a small clipping appears next to the *Gazetteer* clipping that reads "GOOD NEWS BRA. The 'Good News' bra stays up" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook* 22261). This clipping offers a surprising moment of levity on the page and can be read as playfully sexual and/or as a coded message to stay positive and lifted on a page with several news clippings that relay news that is far from good. This network of queer affiliation and reading against the grain for clippings that are not overtly queer continues across the page. For example, two other clippings report on a 1954 discovery of a ruined Roman temple buried under the city of London. The heads of two male statues and the body of a third male figure were found amongst the ruins and are depicted in the clippings. In the captions to these images, the clippings report that the heads are believed to belong to the god Mithras and a youth, while the headless figure is hypothesized to be Night, an attendant of Mithras (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 2*

2261). Taken on their own, these clippings about a discovered ruin would not likely be read as queer, but when read as part of Morgan's collaged juxtapositions, they become queered by association and opened to queered ways of reading. Although Mithras is not a queer figure, he is, at least in some historians' estimation, aligned with underground male cults and rites of membership that attest to male homosocial, if not homoerotic, relationships (David). The statues also clearly celebrate the beauty of the male body and a queer reading of these clippings can be pushed to suggest that the story of beautiful male bodies being unearthed resonates with a release and renewal that counteracts the oppression of the legal clippings with which they are put into contact.

As these close readings demonstrate, Morgan's cut-and-paste processes, as well as his languages of juxtaposition, participate in a rich queer praxis that contributes to and is informed by the nonlinear, temporally diverse, and visually complex structures of the scrapbook medium. As much as any of Morgan's poems or interviews, then, these scrapbook pages participate in cultural, artistic, and social constructions of non-traditional queer archives. Moreover, in an argument to which I will return in Chapter 5, I assert that the scrapbooks' queer praxis, including their queered temporality and creation of radical contact zones, comprises a crucial component of their poetics and comes to inform the wider corpus of Morgan's poetic works. I therefore argue that approaching the scrapbooks without taking account of their performatively queered acts of juxtaposition and meaning making is to re-inscribe the acts of oppression that they so clearly defy.

## Chapter 2: Reading Intermediations in the Morgan Scrapbooks

*“The image of Here and Now –  
Defence of the Ephemeral”  
-qtd. in Scrapbook 12, page 2240*

As discussed in Chapter 1, Morgan simultaneously archives and queers the ephemera that he collects through his material practices of scrapbooking, even as these same practices become the grounds on which the scrapbooks are often marginalized and silenced through various archival practices and legal terms of access. As such, my thesis seeks in part to find ways of counteracting the continued marginalization of the Morgan scrapbooks and other texts like them by developing digital prototypes for representing the scrapbooks that learn from their materially-specific practices and that do not trigger copyright restrictions. Before discussing these prototypes, however, I argue in this chapter that the hybrid status of scrapbooks allows them to influence and be influenced by processes of intermediation and thus represents a crucial feature of how these scrapbooks function alongside their queer praxis. Moreover, I will work to show that, in the case of the Morgan scrapbooks, not only their form but also their contents engage in porous relationships with multiple forms of media, whether analog, electronic, or digital. This chapter therefore works to establish that there is more at stake in my selection of Morgan’s scrapbooks for digital interventions and interpretations than improving discoverability and searchability alone—although these are very important outcomes of such digital work. I posit that these digital interventions actually align with and compliment both the intermediated presence of the scrapbooks themselves and the technologically-infused interests that run throughout much of Morgan’s wider poetic corpus.

To show how this intermediation functions in the context of the Morgan scrapbooks, the first section of this chapter will situate the ways in which Morgan’s

scrapbooks, and scrapbooks more generally, offer alternate forms of meaning-making processes to print-based media ecologies that are largely dominated by the form and genre of the printed book. The following section will then turn to a consideration of the ways in which Morgan's technologically-aware scrapbooks can be understood as interacting with and even prefiguring his science-based and science-fiction poetry. Finally, I will turn to a Latourian close reading of *Scrapbook 9*, with a focus on unfolding the ways in which this scrapbook documents several socio-technological developments in the field of photography. With the intermediated nature of Morgan's corpus established, then, I build my argument that Morgan's scrapbooks demand more careful attention and close reading within literary, socio-technological, and historical contexts.

#### *Scrapbooks as an Intermediated Genre*

In order to understand scrapbooks as mediators, I argue that their position as self-consciously intermediated bodies must first be made clear. N. Katherine Hayles introduces the concept of intermediation in her book *My Mother Was a Computer* (2005) to emphasize the "interactions among media," including "interactions between systems of representations, particularly language and code, as well as interactions between modes of representation, particularly analog and digital" (*Mother* 33). Intermediation therefore provides insight into what Bruno Latour refers to as the entangled networks of mediators that variously impact, and are impacted by, one another. Moreover, as Hayles argues, intermediation extends beyond the nonhuman by including "mediating interfaces connecting humans with the intelligent machines that are our collaborators in making, storing, and transmitting informational processes and objects" (*Mother* 33). Going further, she argues that "media effects, to have meaning and significance, must be located within an embodied human world," which includes "complex transactions between bodies

and texts as well as between different forms of media" (*Mother* 7). As a result of these complex interactions, intermediation facilitates "recursive feedback loops" that Hayles sees as occurring when "re-presenting material in a different medium" and that work to change "in the process the modes of sensory input," including "differences in the *kinds* of knowledge represented" (*Electronic Literature* 135, emphasis in original). Importantly, then, across Hayles's evolving theory of intermediation, she does not see intermediation as playing out solely in literal media entanglements but also in the metaphorical structures through which individuals make sense of their worlds and in the types of narratives or knowledges that can be shared.

In order for intermediation to remain a useful term within this thesis, however, it must be differentiated from Latour's understanding of an intermediary. As I discussed in my introduction, Latour uses the term intermediary to denote an artificially stabilized mediator that has been misunderstood as a passive conduit through which meaning can pass unchanged. In contrast, Hayles's intermediation is fully invested in keeping active the differences between mediators and recognizing their roles as originating events within their networks. When these mediators interact, such as, for example, in the feedback loops that are created by the interaction between print books and video games in the creation of electronic literature, Hayles argues that the mediating power of many involved mediators are more fully visible. She also argues that these interactions have effects not only on the media themselves, but on the types of information and narratives created by the media and on the users who think with and through them. By paying attention to processes of *intermediation*, the many mediators involved in a network surrounding a particular form of media can be more fully traced and unpacked, making them less likely to be mistaken for *intermediaries*. Thus, intermediation as a concept is wide-

reaching, allowing for a theoretical framework through which to close read how different types of media interact, resist, resonate with, and shape one another, even as they shape the embodied meaning-making practices of the societies to which they help give rise.

Hayles does not discuss scrapbooks in her theories, but I argue that her explanation of intermediation serves as a productive point of entry into analyzing the adamantly physical processes, including the literal act of cutting from different media sources, that are involved in the creation and interpretation of scrapbooks. Susan Tucker, Patricia P. Buckler, and Katherine Ott describe scrapbooks as “prime examples” of “material and visual” cultures that “lend themselves to analysis with interdisciplinary tools,” because, through their very forms, they examine “the relationship between text or artifact and its social world” (16). Given this interdisciplinarity, I also argue that processes of intermediation are writ large in most scrapbooks, not least of all because their very construction relies on physical, multimedia interactions. In the case of scrapbooks, however, much of the intermediation does not occur through interactions *between* digital and analog media, such as those that Hayles discusses in her analysis of digital subjects and electronic literatures, but rather through interactions *within* analog print categories. Working to unpack the ramification of these intramedial interactions for the scrapbook genre shows the importance of close-reading not only the content but also the media forms of scrapbooks, as well as providing insight into the (often unacknowledged) effects that scrapbooks have on their associated media ecologies, as can be demonstrated through the example of the interactions that are enacted between books and more ephemeral materials like newspaper articles when they are put into contact through scrapbooking processes.

Although it is unsurprising that excerpts from both newspapers and printed books can appear within the pages of scrapbooks, as indeed occurs in Morgan's scrapbooks, these two forms of print media nonetheless occupy different positions within most media ecologies, particularly where questions of value and durability are concerned, meaning that they enter into this interaction on different terms. On the one hand, newspapers as mass media are designed to circulate quickly, without an expectation of longevity, and their value does not reside in any sense of a cohesive object. Rather, newspapers collect disparate pieces of news, allowing readers to skim and read articles in a non-linear order, while the various, unbound sections of a newspaper encourage users to disassemble the bundled pages, making them readily available to further fragmentation through clipping practices. This availability to deconstruction is reinforced by the fact that newspapers are cheaply and routinely produced, thus connecting them to the quotidian and to notions of disposability. Printed books, on the other hand, are valued as whole objects that are designed to be kept and revisited over time. As bound codices, they present readers with a more rigid, linear order enforced by the order of their pages, which ensures that the loss of any one page will be noticed as a loss to the whole. In order to prevent such losses, the paper itself is typically made to last, while the binding and covers, whether in paperback form or cover boards, work together to increase the durability of the book as an object. In the cases of very valuable or rare books, the binding can even be seen by collectors as holding more value than the content of the books' pages.<sup>28</sup> Particularly in these latter cases, then, books become signs of wealth and privilege that exist far from the quotidian.

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<sup>28</sup> Leah Price's *How to do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (2012) provides many other examples of historical uses of books that emphasize their materiality before or even instead of their textuality, including a reminder that when a book was seen to be worn down in the nineteenth century, it would often be turned to wastepaper and scraps for various domestic and commercial uses (Price 231).

Although both forms of print media, then, newspapers and print books occupy distinct positions within social worlds and media ecologies and thus signal differing systems of meaning making to the scrapbook reader who might encounter fragments of them within a scrapbook. Compounding the complexities of any individual clipping, scrapbooks are themselves complicated as media forms, given that they are more durable than loose ephemera like newspapers but more ephemeral than print books. Instead, scrapbooks are what Walter Benjamin refers to as “book-like” objects that exist as the “prismatic fringes of a library” (66), adopting in most cases the bound and covered pages of the codex, but nonetheless retaining ephemeral traits because of their unruly materiality that distance them from being fully accepted as a book. This connection to the ephemeral combined with, for example, the typically gendered view of scrapbooks throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, as discussed in my introduction and Chapter 1, has also meant that scrapbooks are less culturally valued than a printed book, even if they have significant value to their particular owners and creators and a prismatic ability to shed light on the forms that bookishness can take. It is clear, then, that print media ecologies have deeply seated social, historical, and technological hierarchies that impact that ways in which ephemera and print books are used, saved, and valued. By acting as a hybrid point of intermediation for various media forms, including books and newspapers, but extending to periodicals, magazines, personal ephemera, photographs, and many other artifacts, I argue that scrapbooks like Morgan’s both highlight and disrupt these socio-technological hierarchies. This capacity for disruption is evidenced, for example, in Morgan’s construction of queer archives from a mix of mass media and more niche ephemera in his scrapbooks that might otherwise not have been saved. It can also be demonstrated when books,

newspapers, and scrapbooks are approached through the lens of the cutting practices that are necessary to scrapbooking processes.

Even before a clipping has been pasted into the page of a scrapbook, responses to the act of cutting offer a chance to interrogate some of the ingrained hierarchies within the fields of cultural production, which typically place ephemera at the bottom while the whole and almost sacred print book usually reigns supreme. Although the act of cutting comprises an initially destructive act no matter what medium it is enacted upon, when used on a newspaper, cutting is widely understood as a means to extend the life of the extracted clipping beyond the life of the larger newspaper. Moreover, the already eclectic nature of the newspaper means that the clipping is fundamentally informed by juxtaposition, making it a ready fit for relocation to the pages of a scrapbook, for example, or to a folder of other collected clippings. Such a relocation is not a neutral act and, among other effects, it shifts the paradigms through which this clipping will be interpreted. While the newspaper's quotidian character and low cost makes it available as source material to the scrapbook initially, the extracted newspaper clipping is then provided with a hardier media substrate than the broadsheet or the tabloid in the scrapbook's pages. As such, the saved clipping retains, even as it exceeds, the materiality of the newspaper from which it came. For Ellen Gruber Garvey, this transition is so significant that she argues "[t]he act of cutting clippings from the newspapers ... and placing [them] on the page constitutes an intimate act of writing with scissors that converts mass-produced print into manuscript" (*Writing with Scissors* 212). By attaining the status of manuscript, the cut-and-paste newspaper clipping more closely approaches a literary text and so is granted a much larger cultural and historical reach than it may have achieved otherwise. As Garvey notes, many nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century periodicals actively encouraged clipping by their readers (*Writing with*

*Scissors 7*), reinforcing that this cutting activity was viewed through a predominantly positive lens when applied to more ephemeral sources.

While it is clear that affiliations with the book object or manuscript can lend weight and status to the newspaper clipping, the ways in which newspaper clippings and scrapbooks impact print books are perhaps less obvious. Focusing on late-nineteenth- to mid-twentieth-century interactions between literary texts and newspaper clippings, Anke te Heesen argues that both forms were impacted by the expanding “visual variety” within mass media that characterizes this period, as well as by an increased interest in fragmentation and nonlinearity, particularly in the wake of the World Wars. Demonstrating some of the literary responses to this visual variety, te Heesen uses the experimental work of Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) and Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) to argue that authors were turning to the “everyday life captured in paper” by newspapers, posters, and similar urban ephemera, rather than “the bourgeois novel,” as an appropriate medium and/or metaphor for the new realities that they were encountering (227). In contrast with the novel, these quotidian paper media forms offer many advantages, not least of all that they are readily available for fragmentation, including through clipping, and they work to destabilize traditional notions of what is allowed to count as art or as an object worthy of study. Paralleling these literary explorations, the limitless potential of fragmented paper forms as fodder for visual art was likewise being demonstrated, perhaps most particularly through collage and montage movements, such as cubism and Dadaism, as well as through the continued relevance of scrapbooking, which routinely turns the paper scraps of life into something greater than the sum of their parts.

This brief historical account shows that, even in cases where acts of clipping were not performed directly on a print book, the increasing ubiquity of cut-and-

paste practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were influencing the ways in which artists, theorists, and writers engaged with and challenged media categories. Moreover, as te Heesen asserts, mass print media like newspapers prompted “new models of attention, presence, and responsiveness” in audiences, including the increased demand for readers to employ processes of scanning and skimming in their reading practices (226). For example, focusing on the emerging awareness of such practices in a German context, te Heesen points to the introduction of the word *überfliegen* as a way to describe scanning a page, which literally translates to “fly over” (226). That this term emerged indicates not only the changing technological metaphors of the German language, but also the fact that reading practices were evolving and speeding up to the point that a new “technical name” evoking the speed of flight was deemed necessary (226). This technological impact on reading practices is an issue to which I will return in Chapter 4, as I discuss the impact of nonlinear reading as prompted by digital interfaces, including databases, and their parallels with the reading practices prompted by scrapbooks.

For now, however, this discussion demonstrates that the impact of cut-and-paste practices are clearly connected to the functions and uses of the print book and literary practices more broadly, even changing the shape of reading practices and encouraging innovation in the forms of literature. Nonetheless, a recurrent revulsion to the cutting of books remains evident. For example, my introduction discussed the use of commonplace albums as a way of storing excerpts from books and other sources, while pointing out that most commonplacing practices do not cut the extract or quotation from its source, but rather copy it down in order to leave the source intact and so distance themselves from cutting practices. It must be noted that this methodology is at least partially motivated by the traditionally high cost of books, as evidenced by Garvey’s observation that, as “cheap print” became

more readily available in the nineteenth century, “preserving long articles or other works by cutting and pasting appealed to more compilers” (*Writing with Scissors* 15). Moreover, Ann Blair discusses earlier exceptions to the practice of copying rather than clipping in commonplacing, including seventeenth-century notebooks created by Jean-Nicolas de Tralage (1640?-1720?) and those created by a royalist named Sir John Gibson, both of whom include paste-ins of clippings and torn pages from printed books (“Reading Strategies” 27). Cutting from books is not a new practice, then, but even among those who have cut books themselves, Blair’s discussion shows that the dominant hierarchy that privileges the whole printed book remains. She recounts the comments of Scottish printer William Smellie (1740-1795), who described his contributions to the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1768 with “great contempt,” stating that he simply “made a Dictionary of Arts and Science with a *pair of scissors*, clipping out from various books a *quantum sufficit* of matter for the printer” (qtd. in Blair, “Reading Strategies” 27, emphasis in original). Where cutting from a book is permitted, it seems that the book object still loses some intangible social value as soon as scissors render it less than whole. Its pages may still be used and circulated, and its passages may find their way into the manuscript of a new book, but it no longer retains the supposed integrity that it once enjoyed.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, any writing through cut-and-paste processes comprises an act less than

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<sup>29</sup> Book-based art, or art that uses book objects as a substrate to be cut, carved, and otherwise modified, comprise another obvious example wherein cutting books is seen to be acceptable. However, in many cases of book art, the artist will deploy the shock value of seeing a book that can no longer be used as a traditional readerly object as part of the art’s message, thereby indicating the strength of this assumption of wholeness (Stewart xiv–xix). In other examples, the artist will explain that the cut book was one that had been, in one way or another, forgotten and marked for destruction, therefore reframing the intervention as a form of salvation for the book object. Tom Phillips, for example, provides an almost mythic retelling of how cheaply he bought a second-hand copy of an 1892 ninth-edition of William Mallock’s *A Human Document*, which he later altered to create *A Humument*. Although Phillips has dismantled and disfigured several copies of this edition, including by burning and cutting pages, he has also archived one complete and unmodified copy in the Sackner Archive in Miami to ensure that access to the original remains (Phillips 381). He also notes that, since his interventions in the text, the cost of Mallock’s text has increased (Phillips 382), thereby suggesting that its value has been reinvigorated through its contact with *A Humument*.

authorship and produces an object, such as a commonplace album or cut-and-paste dictionary, that remains distinct from the category of book.

A later example of resistance to the act of cutting can be found in a playful it-narrative published in an 1853 edition of *Godey's Lady's Book* magazine. The narrative, titled "The Life and Adventures of a Number of Godey's Lady's Book. Addressed Particularly to Borrowers, Having Been Taken Down in Short-Hand from a Narration Made by Itself, When the Unfortunate Creature Was in a Dilapidated State, from the Treatment Received at the Hands of Cruel Oppressors," describes the degradation of the it-narrator, a *Lady's Book* itself, at the hands of many borrowers and thereby encourages readers to both buy and treasure their own *Lady's Books*.<sup>30</sup> In one incident, the it-narrator describes a lady who turned her scissors on the *Lady's Book* and "clipped out a beautiful poem, by Mrs. Neal, for her scrap-book" (Anonymous, "Godey's Lady's Book" 426). This account calls upon the reader to feel sympathy for the defaced *Lady's Book* and signals the magazine's desire to be treated more like the book its title declares it to be than like a cheap periodical that can be broken into parts. Although the removed clipping will certainly enrich the scrapbook page of the interested lady, it does so at a cost of the it-narrator's body and so is seen as destructive. Moreover, while other paper objects in the *Lady's Book* narrative are anthropomorphized, including a tailor's bill described as having "great airs...because it happened to have a receipt upon it" ("Godey's Lady's Book" 425), the scrapbook to which Mrs. Neal's poem is destined is not. By denying the scrapbook a subjectivity or voice in the narrative, the *Lady's Book*, both as the it-narrator and the publication which contains the it-narrative, implicitly rejects the value of the scrapbook and reinforces the *Lady's Book* as the real site of value.

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<sup>30</sup> My attention was first drawn to this story by its reference in Price (117).

It is precisely this drive to uphold the value of the printed book at the expense of the scrapbook that Morgan's processes resist. Some of the pages from Morgan's scrapbooks, particularly the earlier volumes, have been found by University of Glasgow Special Collections librarian Sarah Hepworth to include clippings cut from the pages of his own printed books, including Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse* and Frederick Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf* (n.p.). In describing Morgan's process, Hepworth states that it is "intensely visual and physical" as Morgan "went beyond note-making in the margins, to cutting up books [shock, horror!], physically sampling material and pasting it into scrapbooks for reference and inspiration" (n.p., square brackets in original). Although Hepworth registers this "shock" and "horror" in a playful manner, she nonetheless does so in acknowledgement of the codes of use that have been breached by Morgan's scissors and is careful to note that archivists "don't welcome *new* additions or deletions to the material in [their] care," lest anyone should mistake an interest in Morgan's processes as an invitation to follow his lead on the books in his library (n.p., emphasis in original). Alongside the act of cutting, however, Morgan performatively resists an interpretation that would see his acts as defacement. As Hepworth observes, some of the cut pages include handwritten notes by Morgan that record and therefore somewhat restore the words that he cut away, while in other instances, Morgan would later patch his cut books with clippings obtained from other sources, thereby turning the traditional book object into a scrapbook of sorts (n.p.). The care that is expended on these book objects, as well as the fact that the books remained in Morgan's possession until his death in 2010, certainly underline that these were not neglected or abused books. Rather, through the intermediation that scrapbooks encourage, Morgan demonstrates how the book object can be opened to the same porous processes of deconstruction and

movability that newspaper and periodical clippings signalled to nineteenth- and twentieth-century users. Moreover, by working against the integrity of the book page as a whole and resisting a hierarchy that would place his scrapbooks at a lower value than the books in his library, Morgan gives the excerpted clippings new and varied possibilities in the pages of his scrapbooks. He therefore transforms his printed books from mass-produced book objects into unique association copies that are valuable in part because of the incisions and additions that he performed.

More than simply rejecting the hierarchical value system of conventional print media ecologies, then, the intermediated nature of scrapbooking as a process allows for alternate systems of value to be introduced through remixing. I will further demonstrate the emergence of these alternate sites of value by returning to the same volume of *Godey's Lady's Book* magazine in which the previously discussed it-narrative appears. This volume contains a letter to the editor that purports to be written by at least two women who describe their use of the *Lady's Book* in terms that are very similar to the uses experienced as abuse by the it-narrator. For example, the letter writers state that they share copies of the *Lady's Book* with their friends and find them very much in demand. They also state that they use the magazine's pictures by "arranging [them] in scrap-books" and maintain that in doing so, they make "every picture ... doubly precious," as it becomes, for example, "associated with some friend, with whom it was an especial favorite" (Anonymous, "Godey's Armchair" 473). Although the editors publish the letter, saying that it is "very complimentary," they nonetheless qualify their praise by stating that the practices described are "a little averse to our views" ("Godey's Armchair" 473), which are likely meant to align more closely with the views of the *Lady's Book* it-narrator. I suggest that the co-occurrence of this letter and the it-narrative in the same issue is not coincidental and that the letter may either have served as an inspiration to

the editors in their decision to commission and include the it-narrative, or the letter may have been written by the editors themselves as a way of suggesting other uses for their magazine and thus appealing to more readers/users. Whether intentionally juxtaposed or not, however, the co-occurrence of the narrative and letter in the *Lady's Book* allows the magazine to speak to two different groups of readers. The letter acts as positive advertisement for the magazine as a valuable source for scraps to be shared among friends, while the it-narrative pleads for the accumulation and preservation of each *Lady's Book* as a collectable volume. Despite the editor's posturing, it is clear that they recognize the import of both forms of valuation, even if they do so in order to sell more magazines.

The example of the *Lady's Book* letter also reiterates what Morgan's library demonstrates, namely, that individuals who greatly value books do not necessarily clip them in order to spoil or defile the source. In many cases, they do so because they value the book objects so highly and because they understand their scrapbooks to hold at least an equal, albeit different, value. As quoted above, the letter writers maintain that by including the *Lady's Book* pictures in their scrapbooks, the personal value of these pictures becomes doubled. Moreover, they argue that the value of the *Lady's Book* itself is increased due to the very fact that it acts as the source of these images, stating that "[f]or the expenditure of three dollars, a subscriber to the 'Lady's book' may obtain as many pictures as fifty times that sum of money could have purchased in any other way" ("Godey's Armchair" 473). Whether as a marketing ploy or a genuine expression of sentiment, this letter asserts that the affective value of the images usurps the financial value of the *Lady's Book*, thereby encouraging and justifying the initial financial outlay.

As such, the letter's framing of the emotional value of scrapbooks can be read through Sara Ahmed's articulation of an affective economy, wherein emotions

“do things” and “align individuals with communities” (“Affective Economies” 119), while also demonstrating the ways in which scrapbooks can redefine measures of value. By harnessing the cultural legitimacy of the book object form, even while resisting some of the social hierarchies and codes of use attached to book objects, scrapbooks can carve out democratic space for the ephemera that they preserve without wholly sacrificing these items’ individuality and the affective relationships they evoke. Thus, examples like the *Lady’s Book* letter and Morgan’s cut books illustrate how scrapbooks as intermediated mediators can undermine the artificial claim to wholeness that book objects have come to embody, reveal a book object as a material source that can be cut from and valued simultaneously, and introduce alternative sites of value, including affective economies.

By arguing that the act of cutting a book or any other source does not *have* to entail a disregard or disrespect for the cut object, I am not, however, arguing that scrapbooks need *always* be derived from sources that their creators value. Just as a loved book or a valued piece of ephemera can be utilized in a scrapbooking process, so too can sources that the scrapbooker does not endorse or from which they wish to signal their distance. Extracts from these sources and the affect that they inspire might be used to document injustice, to subvert their sources, to make visible latent but repressed narratives, or to otherwise read and write with scissors against the grain. Certainly, in the cases of Morgan’s scrapbooks and other queer scrapbooks discussed in Chapter 1, including those of Carl Van Vechten, the mainstream, heteronormative press is recontextualized and brought into what Elizabeth Freeman refers to as a specific form of “vulgar referentiality” (11), which queers by association and shows latent homosocial and homoerotic undercurrents. Deliberate misreadings, rereadings, and revaluations such as these are just as important to the

affective and democratizing functions of scrapbooks as their ability to archive that which is treasured.

A particularly compelling example of the import of using clipping practices to read with scissors against the grain is provided by work undertaken by Theodore Dwight Weld (1803-1895), Angelina Grimké (1805-1879), and Sarah Grimké (1792-1873) as they compiled and authored *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839). In order to write this text, Weld, Grimké, and Grimké read, copied, clipped, and sorted thousands of advertisements for runaway enslaved individuals and articles from white slaveholders' presses. Clearly, Weld, Grimké, and Grimké did not value the slaveholders' press nor did they valorize it as a form of media that deserved to be protected. Rather, they made use of the material within these papers to create a damning informational archive "about the routine and accepted torture of enslaved people," thereby "turn[ing] the slaveholders' press against itself" (Garvey, *Writing with Scissors* 235). In other words, by using and preserving pieces of that which they condemned, Weld, Grimké, and Grimké produced a piece of anti-slavery literature that could not be denied by slaveowners. Garvey also argues that the processes of data extraction used by Weld, Grimké, and Grimké helped to showcase the power of the clipping and would be "routinized and commercialized in the clipping bureaus that took off in the 1890s" (*Writing with Scissors* 235). Thus, the influence of *American Slavery As It Is* proves to be multifaceted and deeply connected to its use of the newspaper clipping, both as a way to manage, search, and make sense of information and as way to subvert the sources from which it is cut.

The subversive functions of queer scrapbooks and *American Slavery As It Is* also shed light on a reason for some of the anxieties surrounding clipping practices more broadly. By excerpting, clipping, and writing with scissors, the deconstruction

of a text is made physical and the freely circulating clipping can be used in ways never imagined, let alone intended, by those who first brought it into being, including authors, editors, and publishers. The intermediated practices of the scrapbooker therefore exemplify those of the bricoleur, whom Jacques Derrida describes through the theories of Claude Levi-Strauss. As Derrida explains, the bricoleur is one who “uses ‘the means at hand,’ whether or not these means are “especially conceived with an eye to the operation for which they are to used,” in order to borrow “one’s concept from the text of a heritage which is more or less coherent or ruined” (360). In his discussion, however, Derrida asserts that, although the bricoleur seems to derive difference from its juxtaposition with a mythical engineer, or one who “construct[s] the totality of his language, syntax, and lexicon ... ‘out of nothing,’ ‘out of whole cloth,’” focusing on this perceived difference is in fact to miss the point (360). Derrida maintains instead that the figure of the engineer dissolves as soon as it is “admitted that every finite discourse is bound by a certain *bricolage*,” and so the activity of using the means at hand cannot, itself, designate the process of bricolage (360). Instead, Derrida focuses on what he refers to as the “mythopoetical virtue” of bricolage, which arises in the “stated abandonment of all reference to a *center*, to a *subject*, to a privileged *reference*, to an *original*, or to an absolute *archid*” (361, emphasis in original). The bricoleur is therefore distinguished from the engineer, not by using the means at hand, but by committing to this “virtue,” wherein adherence to a privileged reference is destabilized and normative or hegemonic hierarchies are decentered as sites of truth value.

Approached through the concept of bricolage, the democratic functions of scrapbooks as intermediated mediators become clearer. Rather than attempting to smooth over difference or adhere to established conventions of use, scrapbooks allow a revelling in the many fragments they bring together, with or without the

official authority to do so. Whether these fragments are ephemeral traces of fleeting affective experiences, the deconstructed pages of a durable book object, or something else entirely, the scrapbook page affords each collected component space to showcase its medium, its histories, and its affective connections without privileging any specific origin or original. Put in Latourian terms, scrapbooks make visible the fact that any mediator brings with it an indelible history that shapes the meanings it creates and continues to interact with every other mediator that arises within its networks. Scrapbookers themselves also demonstrate a deeply deconstructive impulse by relying on processes that perform acts of destruction and preservation simultaneously. As Peggy Kamuf states, deconstruction is often perceived as “essentially destructive,” but she argues instead that deconstruction dismantles “the opposition between preservation and destruction” and “takes place along the divided, ruined border of this alternative” (151). In other words, for Kamuf, no act of preservation or destruction takes place without some trace of the opposing effect. For example, when ephemera is archived, even in a scrapbook, its character as something fleeting and utterly of its moment is changed, altered, or even destroyed, but this partial preservation, even in a ruined state, nonetheless allows it to attest to the events or experiences to which it contributed and holds space for both memory and imagination. In contraposition, the example of *American Slavery As It Is* shows that, despite this text’s focus on dismantling systems of slavery, it necessarily preserves the words of the slaveholders and presses it resists. Scrapbooks are therefore fully entangled in the fecund, ruined border between preservation and destruction described by Kamuf. As both tools and products of bricolage, scrapbooks underscore the ways in which even objects that seem to be created through processes more representative of Derrida’s engineer, including the authorship and publication of a print book, only “more or less” obscure the heritage

of ruined texts from which they draw and thus the ways in which all texts rely on bricolage to exist.

As this first section has worked to show, then, the cut-and-paste practices associated with scrapbooking contribute to intermediated feedback loops that prompt new forms of reading, writing, and information management, while their hybrid media presence provides new perspectives on the various media that are brought into interaction through these practices, including the fragmented processes that are required to create any text. Scrapbooks therefore become a highly productive point of entry into understanding the various mediating networks within which they are situated. Moreover, attention to the media presence of scrapbooks demonstrates the ways in which they participate in both the literal media entanglements and metaphoric relationships that socialize technologies, particularly within the print medium. While this is true for most, if not all, scrapbooks, I argue that Morgan's scrapbooks show a pronounced interest in revealing not only the ways in which print technologies are socialized, but also technologies more widely defined. This enlarged scope for the Morgan scrapbooks arises through the ways in which Morgan uses the form of the scrapbooks to document technologically-focused content, as well as through his demonstrated wider poetic interest in technology and science. The following section will therefore discuss Morgan's particular investments in deconstructing the perceived divide between science and art across his works, before the final section turns to a close reading of the scrapbooks themselves.

#### *Morgan's Poetic Deconstructions of the Two Cultures Debate*

In his 1959 Rede Lecture, C.P. Snow (1905-1980) famously put forward an argument for what he perceived as two opposed cultures: one of traditional, literary intellectuals and one of progressive, future-oriented scientists. As these descriptions

indicate, Snow was not simply demarcating two categories within society, but rather unequivocally favouring what he sees as the scientific culture. He claims that “[i]f we forget the scientific culture, the rest of western intellectuals have never tried, wanted, or been able to understand the industrial revolution, much less accept it” because “[i]ntellectuals, in particular literary intellectuals, are natural Luddites” (23). Morgan’s *oeuvre*, to say nothing today of the ever-growing paradigm of digital humanities research and projects, including my own thesis, stand in stark defiance of Snow’s dismissive and demonstrably narrow assessment of either “culture.” Rather than dismissing Snow’s stance completely out of hand, however, Morgan approached it as a challenge. In a prescient 1963 essay, Morgan suggests that even if a dichotomy like the one advocated by Snow was possible in the past, it must necessarily belong, “after all, to a pre-cybernetic, pre-computer age, which will soon be rapidly receding from us” (*Essays* 19). Morgan concedes, however, to Snow’s observation that “[i]t is bizarre how very little of twentieth-century science has been assimilated into twentieth-century art” (Snow 17). Morgan argues that

whatever reservations one may have about that lecture, Snow’s implied and stated criticisms of modern poets were well justified ... It is only indeed by an extraordinary ingrownness and willful self-blinkering that modern poetry has managed to preserve its purity from contamination by the dominant interest of the age [the world of science] (*Essays* 17).

Thus, for Morgan, it is not that literature attracts natural Luddites, but only that an unnecessary divide has been erected and maintained between the stuff of science and the stuff of literature.

Morgan’s efforts to resist, deconstruct, and subvert this two cultures divide are highly evident. As he states, the “[l]inks between poetry and science, far from being rare and strange, are actually quite hard to avoid, if one takes the whole history of poetry into account” (“Poetry” 27) and there are numerous examples in

his critical and poetic work that seek to draw out exactly that history. For example, Morgan explains in an interview with Marco Fazzini that

I have never felt this split between science and the artist that many people feel. Nowadays one comes up against the sheer problem of specialization, of mathematics, of very technical vocabulary. I admired Hugh MacDiarmid for his attempts to deal with this problem of how to bring scientific and technological words into poetry. I found these poems very interesting. In my own poetry it was not so much the problem of bringing into it a lot of technological words as of taking certain themes which seemed to be pressing ... I think that when space explorations began to be possible, when they began to be part of human experience and not just science fictions as they had been when I was a boy, I started to write about these things. I did it in such a way that actually the scientific content in my own science fiction poems, the "Particle Poems," try to say something about the particle. I also like to imagine projection into the future (Fazzini 49).

With this statement, Morgan places himself into a Scottish-based poetic conversation that includes his contemporaries—in this case, MacDiarmid (1892-1978)—even as Morgan distinguishes his own poetic approach from that of MacDiarmid's and indicates his belief in the insights and speculative possibilities that poetry can offer to complex scientific and technological themes. Morgan therefore begins to gesture towards what he sees as the symbiotic relationship between science and poetry.

In another critical essay focused on the links between science and poetry, Morgan praises Walt Whitman (1819-1892) for his scientific and technological attentiveness. He argues that Whitman understood the value of the cross-pollination between science and humanities disciplines and asserts that Whitman demonstrates how the poet can "be a mediator between the complex technological modern world and the ordinary person who lives in the world" by making "dry facts ... vivid" and "science ... humanized" (Morgan, *Essays* 5). Given Morgan's praise of Whitman through this lens of science, it is significant that, as discussed in my introduction, Morgan described his scrapbooks as "a Whitmanian reflecting glass of 'the world'" (qtd. in McGonigal, *Dragon* 117), thereby signalling his understanding of these

scrapbooks as mediators invested in similar processes whereby dry facts are made vivid. Morgan likewise expresses his agreement with William Wordsworth's vision for poetry as expressed in the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1802). As Morgan explains, the Preface imagines "a more positive co-operation by which poets will be 'carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of the science itself'" (*Essays* 203) and "trac[ing] patterns which science cannot yet describe" (*Essays* 210). While Morgan joins Wordsworth in arguing for the ways in which poetry can benefit science, however, he also argues for the ways in which poetry needs to be attentive to science in order to stay relevant. Morgan explains, once again positioning himself alongside other poets that he admires, that "poetry needs greater humanity; but it must be the humanity of man within his whole environment: not just the drop of dew, the rose, the lock of hair, but the orbiting rocket in Anselm Hollo, the lobotomy in Allen Ginsberg, the lunar mountains in Hugh MacDiarmid" (*Essays* 15). Thus, in an intertextual understanding of the histories and futures of both science and art, extending from written language through to computers and space rockets, Morgan sees a hybrid and evolving interplay between the two cultures that renders an argument for a cultural divide most untenable.

Crucially, this creative engagement with both art and science is something for which Morgan's poetry is praised in the critical discourse surrounding his work. For example, in characterizing Morgan's poetry, Chris Jones focuses on the fact that, "[h]owever 'unpoetic' it might seem, and however much it challenges the clichéd stereotypical view of what poetry reflects (which would, in itself, please Morgan), this fascination with technology, machinery, and scientific endeavor" permeates Morgan's corpus (58). Similarly, Stephen Fox argues that Morgan's poetry demonstrates "the rapid evolution of his interests" and "parallels the lightning speed of the modern evolution of science and technology," both of which "emphasize

progress and newness" (76). Fox then cites Robin Hamilton to argue that Morgan's science fiction and concrete poetry, as well as other types of his poems, "celebrate the lyricism of science through the mutation of language" (qtd. in Fox 76), thereby signalling a recognition of language and the poetic form as types of technology. Alan Raich similarly emphasizes the technological contributions of Morgan's poetry, arguing that "Morgan's technical adaptation and dealing with popular cultural material opened new possibilities in Scottish poetry" (xiv). Moreover, Raich argues that, although Morgan never owned a computer himself, "he wrote poems as if computer-designed, probing serious political questions about technology's effects, never shy of worst scenarios, always seeing virtues in possibility" (xiv). Raich's readings suggest that Morgan's technological engagements were not enacted to shore up a naïve blind faith in technology; rather, his optimism about technology proves to be all the more resilient and purposeful given that it is aware of the problems and dangers that might seek to threaten that optimism.

Across these critical engagements, then, the lens of science becomes a crucial point of entry into Morgan's poems, including those that do not necessarily take on scientific topics, but that use their forms to engage with scientific or technological processes, such as both analog and digital writing technologies. For example, Morgan's first poetry collection *The Second Life* (1968) became the first computer type-set book in Scotland,<sup>31</sup> thereby demonstrating Morgan's openness to new

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<sup>31</sup> As reported by Alastair McCleery, *The Second Life was "[c]omputer typeset in 12pt Scotch Roman by R. & R. Clark using the Monotype Corporation's equipment and ICT1900 computer"* (147). It should be noted that the Scotch Roman typeface has a complicated history. The term "*Scotch Roman*" itself only originated "in the United States towards the end of the 19th century" and was likely derived from "*Scotch-face*, the name given to some types of the typefounder S. N. Dickinson in Boston (Mosley n.p.). The Scotch-face is described as "a small, neat, round letter, with long ascenders, and not noticeably condensed or compressed" (qtd. in Mosley n.p.). These types are said to have been made according to Dickinson's own design by Alexander Wilson & Son in Glasgow and were first cast by him in 1839 with matrices imported from Scotland" (Mosley n.p.). As such, the Scotch Roman typeface retains ties with Scotland and would not be an unconscious choice by Morgan and his publishers for his self-consciously Scottish text.

technological mediations in his work. Speaking about the publication of this collection, James McGonigal reports that Morgan proved highly adept at “deploying the different alphabet and signs involved in computer language,” which enabled him to help edit his book digitally before it went to press (*Dragon* 197). McGonigal also notes that Morgan’s relationship with computers was not without frustrations, as Morgan repeatedly encountered errors of alignment and other typographical issues that arose in the translation from typewriter to computer, which he worked diligently to correct (*Dragon* 197). Even these frustrations seem to have been used as creative inspiration for Morgan, however, as they are recognizable in Morgan’s statement that he is interested in

the relations that will exist between computer creativity and human creativity, the challenge to the second from the first, the probability of a new approach to at least some aspects of poetry, even a deliberate emulation of the so-called blunders or digressions which at times arise (one would say) creatively within a computer context (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 258).

Morgan therefore shows his willingness to observe how computers and similar technologies change the ways that people interact with literature and the world.

Working to unpack the influence of the computer on Morgan’s processes, topics, and poetic forms, Fox argues for an understanding of concrete poetry, and Morgan’s concrete poems in particular, as a technologically-saturated genre. As he explains, the “earliest modern concrete poems depended on the technology of their day, that is, on paintings and photographs, as in Apollinaire’s ‘calligrammes,’ where words are structured to show objects such as a fountain or bird,” while later examples, such as the work of “e e cummings, distort language via the typewriter, including spacing and punctuation, to suggest movement and emotion instead of overt representation of an object” (82). To situate Morgan within this tradition, Fox turns to Morgan’s well-known emergent poem “Message Clear.” This poem finds its voice in fragmented phrases and iterative rewritings drawn from a single line of text,

until the poem's final, emergent sentence reveals itself, which, in the case of "Message Clear," proves to be "i am the resurrection and the life" (*Collected Poems* 159). Fox argues that fragmented emergent poems like "Message Clear" are technological in their aesthetics, including a "binomial appearance" and a linguistic presence that seems "spliced together by machine logic," and thus owe a great deal to Morgan's engagement with the changes that computer technologies were introducing into both art and society (73–74). Jones offers a similar reading of the aesthetics of Morgan's emergent poems, arguing that their

visual effect ... is of gazing at the frenzied motion of atomic or molecular particles colliding and rebounding across the page, making fortuitous 'chance' associations before stabilizing in form into the final sentence (although the extent to which significant structures are produced by chance, or are inevitable, is something that these poems ask of both linguistics and particle physics)" (163).

In order to describe and understand the effects of Morgan's emergent poems, then, both Fox and Jones turn to the poems' entanglement with technology, while Jones also incorporates analogies of science into his discussion, thereby showing Morgan's transgression of the two cultures divide even when his poetry does not explicitly discuss science.

As such, for Fox, the questions of either chance or purposeful meaning that Jones emphasizes in his reading of "Message Clear" are not the greatest contributions of the poem. Instead, Fox argues that the true triumph of "Message Clear" and other emergent poems lies in the ways that they fuse "a machine logic with the sensuousness that is a requisite for all poetry" (86). He demonstrates this claim through his reading of "Message Clear" by arguing that because "all the letters from the last line are present from the beginning of the poem and in the same order and relative position to each other," it gives "a very solid impression that the message, much disguised and concealed, is also latent even when it seems least apparent" (85), such as in the painful line "i die a mere sect," which nonetheless

retains the potential to transform into “i am the resurrection and the life” (*Collected Poems* 159). Fox therefore characterizes Morgan as a “syncretist who exploits a technological mind-set in order to reveal a beating human heart” (86)—a characterization that I argue proves equally true when Morgan as scrapbooker is also considered.

Alongside Morgan’s concrete poetry, his science fiction poetry has drawn similarly technologically-focused critiques and readings. Within this body of criticism, Morgan’s formal choices are again remarked upon, with emphasis on the fact that he wrote science fiction poetry, rather than prose. As McAllister explains, a “frequent assumption in sf criticism is that prose, the novel in particular, is the central science-fictional form,” as evidenced by critics such as Fredric Jameson “highlight[ing] the genre’s debt to nineteenth-century historical novels,” as well as foundational science fiction critics such as Darko Suvin acknowledging “the ‘deep affinities’ between poetry and sf but nevertheless den[ying] their possible fusion” (4). Morgan suggests, however, that this reliance on prose began to decrease as technology advanced. He argues that with

space exploration it was as if for the first time life was really catching up with science fiction, and somehow it seemed to be more of a subject for poetry ... quite a lot of poets began to feel that you would write *genuine* poetry which would once perhaps have been called science fiction, and perhaps you would still call it that, but nevertheless it has a basis in what is happening in the sense that the area for human operations is moving out, it’s extending itself to other places than earth (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 134).

When writing science fiction, then, Morgan refuses to overlook the interconnectivity between the fictive and the real, art and science. As such, many of Morgan’s poems sit uneasily within the science fiction genre, being, perhaps, too science and not enough fiction, or too poetic. For McAllister, however, this difference signals part of the strength of Morgan’s science fictional poems. As he argues, without making “a priori claims about the relationship between sf ontology and poetic form,” Morgan

shows how the combination of these two literary forms “creates rich opportunities that do not necessarily exist in prose” (19). McAllister continues, stating that although “most histories of sf recognize the genre’s conceptual innovations while slighting its ‘artistic’ or ‘literary’ technique,” Morgan’s “poetry, translations, and critical writings contradict this narrative” by emphasizing the poetic side of science (1). Similarly, Donald Gibson asserts in his PhD thesis that Morgan’s “engagement with technology, in its widest sense, is thorough to the point of completeness,” including both technologies associated with science, such as “computers, cryptography, cameras, and tape recorders,” and the “advanced technical skills of the literary type, form, metre, rhyme, and cadence,” which are “the bedrock of Morgan’s entire canon” (174–75). Gibson therefore argues that within Morgan’s poetry “the value of the conceits of imagined science, such as dematerialisation beams, time travel, telepathy, and so on, lies not in what can be said about the science, but in what can be said about the poetry which includes such materials,” making this “imagined science” most effective as a “poetic device” (174). By merging the technologies of science with those of literature, Morgan performatively demonstrates the intersection and intermediation of these two fields and, by turning to poetry to express his science fictional imaginings within the literary field, he enables contact between the technologies of fiction and those of poetry, which are similar but nonetheless distinct.

Morgan therefore proves himself to be an intermediated as well as intertextual poet and I argue that these characteristics are reflected in, and prompted by, Morgan’s investment in scrapbooking. As the preceding section demonstrated, scrapbooking arises through the explicit interactions between different types of media, each of which bring their own mediating realities and possibilities. By remaining open to these mediating effects and experimenting with

their combination, first in his scrapbooks and then in his poetry, Morgan allows them to shape his systems of information management and forms of creative expression, thereby demonstrating what Hayles argues, namely, that “we think through, with, and alongside media” (*How We Think* 1). Whether working in the medium of a scrapbook or a sonnet, Morgan demonstrates his skill in attuning himself to the potential of his chosen media as a technology itself, even as his processes show his openness to the effects of intermediation, wherein his scrapbooking practices and poetic style come to influence each other, as I will argue more fully in Chapter 5. These intermediated feedback loops that connect the scrapbooks and the poetry are no less worthy of attention than Morgan’s engagement with other technological developments, such as his interest in the interactions between computers and poetry so celebrated in the critical scholarship. For most of Morgan’s life, however, the scrapbooks were not taken up as part of his poetic corpus and it has only been since the early 2010s that the importance of these scrapbooks to understanding Morgan’s poetry has begun to be argued.

This critical attention on the scrapbooks began in earnest with Hepworth and McGonigal’s 2012 article “Ana, Morgana, Morganiana,” which, as stated in my introduction, argues that the scrapbooks provide “an oblique imagistic commentary on the moral complexities of the modern world” (12). Since then, McGonigal has further argued that each scrapbook page “presents poised intersections between past, present and future,” and so demonstrates that “[t]ransposing images and ideas beyond historical chronology ... was an early focus of intellectual and aesthetic interest [for Morgan] that would come to shape his later poetry” (“The Once and Future Pilot” 18). Similarly, Dorothy McMillan uses the scrapbooks as way to understand Morgan’s poetry, although with a more overt focus on what the poems and the scrapbooks reveal about Morgan’s ability to “mix the sugar and the piss” in

both forms of art, as well as the insight they offer into Morgan's life (35). McMillan's reading is therefore a more biographically-focused reading than that enacted by McGonigal and Hepworth.

With these exceptions of Hepworth and McGonigal's joint article and McMillan's chapter, I have found no published scholarship on Morgan's scrapbooks that starts with the explicit aim of close reading the scrapbooks as texts in and of themselves; instead, the majority of critical work that mentions the scrapbooks does so in order to offer them as a brief foil to the poetry that remains primary in the analysis. In other words, the scrapbooks are approached most often as what McMillan calls "a hinterland to Morgan's life and productions" (38). Meanwhile, the visual and textual grammars created by the scrapbooks, their availability to close reading, and their ability to prompt unfoldings of the mediators that they collect remains largely untapped. By choosing to center the scrapbooks in my close-reading practices and digital engagements across this thesis, I argue that the scrapbooks are worthy of study in and of themselves and that they are no less effective than Morgan's poetry in their ability to bring art and science into conversation. Contributing to this argument, the final section of this chapter will perform a Latourian close reading of *Scrapbook 9* in order to demonstrate the insights these texts can offer when effort is made to unfold as many of the mediators that the scrapbooks collect as possible.

#### *Close Reading War/Photography in Scrapbook 9*

Through both the form and content of the clippings and ephemera that they collect, Morgan's scrapbooks offer access to mid-twentieth-century media contexts and narratives that were used to present newly evolving technologies to public audiences. Part of what Morgan's scrapbooks archive, then, is the socialization and interpretation of technologies through multiple media sources as they entered into

the collective consciousness of Scotland and the wider world. As such, they offer insights into some of the perspectives, anxieties, and imagined worlds that these developments inspired before they were fully enmeshed in modern media ecologies and mediating networks. Moreover, Morgan's collection of these various narratives demonstrates a developing poetics that variously plays with, comments on, and critiques the technologies that drew his interest. I argue that the scrapbooks offer an early glimpse into the techniques that Morgan would later use to draw science and poetics into conversation within many of his creative works, as discussed in the preceding section.

As I discussed in my introduction, Latour argues that the more familiar and enmeshed in modern mediating networks a technological process becomes, the more difficult it also becomes to appreciate the changes in perspective and action that were engendered by this technology in earlier stages of its development. In other words, as mediators become more familiar, they are increasingly treated as intermediaries (*Modern* 79–82). Looking back historically to appreciate the effects a mediator had when it was newly introduced, adapted, and/or socialized can work to resist this collapse into the status of intermediary and to make visible the impact that a mediator has since had across its networks. I argue that Morgan's scrapbooks are particularly well-suited to enable such a historical assessment of many mid-twentieth-century technological developments, which I will demonstrate by turning to the example of the field of photography as its development is documented in the scrapbooks.

Morgan's sixteen scrapbooks are highly visual and photographs feature prominently on almost every page, which makes for an eclectic mix of photographic subjects available for study. These photographs act as aesthetic provocations, not only because they are visually intriguing, but because, as Susan Sontag describes,

there are both temporal and affective dimensions to the power of photographs. She explains that

[t]he familiarity of certain photographs builds our sense of the present and immediate past. Photographs lay down routes of reference, and serve as totems of causes: sentiment is more likely to crystallize around a photograph than around a verbal slogan. And photographs help construct—and revise—our sense of a more distant past, with the posthumous shocks engineered by the circulation of hitherto unknown photographs. Photographs that everyone recognizes are now a constituent part of what a society chooses to think about, or declares that it has chosen to think about. It calls these ideas “memories,” and that is, over the long run, a fiction (*Regarding* 76).

Fictive as their framing narratives may be, Sontag recognizes that photographs hold cultural power and those that are celebrated, circulated, and/or saved can provide substantial insight into the events and cultures that they simultaneously document and, at least in part, help to create. Like texts, photographs are embedded within ideological and narrative frameworks that shape what they mean and how they function, making them available for close reading. Moreover, the twentieth century saw an expansion in the production, uses, and circulation of photographs, which brought about thorough-going changes in the ways that twentieth-century researchers, governments, media organizations, and readers/viewers were engaging with their surrounding worlds. Given this range of effects, Sontag has referred to photography as “the principal modern means for enlarging the world” (*At the Same Time* 127). What cannot be forgotten when working to better understand this modern means, however, is that the technological changes associated with photography are as highly social in their motivations and effects as the photographs that they enable. As Latour insists, technology affords new forms of action and perspectives to the human while humans design and deploy technology. Efforts to interpret the mediating effects of a photograph can therefore be expanded by also taking into account the socio-technological elements behind the photograph.

*Scrapbook 9* contains a wide array of clippings that directly comment on the expanding scope of photography and provides a vantage point from which to consider the roots and socialization of both the technology and products of the “modern means” of photography. In fact, 35 of the 322 pages in *Scrapbook 9*, or about 11%, contain photographs that are described in captions or articles as being of interest in part because of their explicit connection to technological photographic processes. Focusing on these pages and their clippings therefore provides a way of filtering out some of the noise of the range of photography included in the scrapbooks and zeroing in on some of the more novel technological processes that were deemed worthy of comment in the mid-twentieth century. These clippings also help to show the many other mediators, including militaristic and weapon technologies, that are entangled in the development of photography and reveal some of the ethical dimensions embedded into the history of photography. As such, Morgan’s scrapbooks allow a moralistic reading of the history of photography, if morality is understood in the way that Latour proposes. As explained in my introduction, Latour asserts that morality unfolds through the exploration of mediators and “is concerned with the *quality* of this exploration, with the number of mediators it leaves in its wake, always wanting to verify if it proliferates the greatest possible number of actants that claim to exist” (“Morality” 256, emphasis in original). To discuss the socio-technological network of photography without unfolding other connected mediators, including military technologies, that circulate in these same networks would be to ignore morality as understood by Latour.

Reading *Scrapbook 9* through its technologically-focused photography clippings demonstrates how scrapbooks encourage fragmented reading practices informed by what could be likened to clipping through attention, or in other words, scanning through the books until items of interest are identified and selected for

more thorough reading. As Jessica Pressman urges in her discussion of electronic literatures, in a statement that I argue applies just as well to scrapbooks,

one cannot simply focus on textual formal devices but must consider how they are formatted and in which contextual networks they are produced, distributed, and accessed. This means a merger of formalism and textual studies, aesthetics and media studies. We can retain the productive and illuminative pleasures of formalist close reading while simultaneously recognizing and examining the material and historical contexts in which a literary work operates. We can also complicate simplistic distinctions between science and art, poetics and technology (*Digital Modernism* 22).

Guided by Pressman's description of a holistic close reading, as well as Rita Felski's concept of Latourian "mid-level" readings "across multiple texts rather than a deep and intensive reading of a single text" (741), my aim in this section is not to provide a comprehensive or totalizing history of photography and its technologies, but rather to close read the pieces of this history that Morgan chose to extract and mix into the pages of his scrapbooks. By putting these clippings into conversation with one another and with other clippings in the books, I will demonstrate the ways in which the developing technology of photography was providing new perspectives on lived and imagined worlds alike. I will also demonstrate how Morgan's cut-and-paste poetic practices work to explore, play with, and critique these newly available perspectives, with a particular focus on the fraught militaristic entanglements that reveal themselves in the development of photography.

Making use of the nonlinear and intersecting temporalities of the scrapbook medium, *Scrapbook 9* shows an interest not only in photography contemporary to the scrapbook's creation, but also in earlier, historical forms of photography. Page 1582, for example, features a clipping of a republished 1844 photograph depicting several men, including William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), who was an early pioneer of photography. The men are shown in front of a low building and are variously engaged in the demonstration of different photographic processes. The black and white photograph is captioned as:

Century-old photograph taken in 1844 depicts the photography studio of Fox Talbot (probably the man in center). The picture, which was intended as a demonstration of what the camera could do, shows copying, portraiture, outdoor printing, photographing statue. What the man kneeling at right is doing is not known (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9*, 1582).

By showing both the manual processes and the various types of equipment that were required to produce photographs in the early years of photography, this 'meta-photograph' makes visible the entanglement of human and machine in intermediated processes. The caption also attests to the fact that certain historical processes, such as the one being conducted by "the man kneeling at right," have begun to fade from contemporary memory and so become a present absence in the photograph. The photograph therefore stands as a way to mark how far photographic technology has come in the century that exists between the photograph's initial production and its inclusion in the publication from which it was clipped by Morgan, even as it acts as an intriguing sociological object that has the capacity to produce the posthumous jolts to which Sontag referred.

Morgan's interest in the early history of photography continues in other clippings included in *Scrapbook 9*. For example, pages 1713 and 1714 include four photographs taken during the Crimean War in 1855 by Roger Fenton (1819-1869)—a man widely acknowledged as one of the world's first war photographers. Morgan has added handwritten labels to each of the four photographs, and while it is clear that the subjects of the photographs are of interest to him, given that places and names of individuals are included in these captions, he has also made a separate note on each photograph indicating that it was taken by Fenton. These handwritten captions suggest that the photographs' historical significance to Morgan is increased by their connection to Fenton. As Sontag discusses, Fenton was not a photographer who just happened to capture the Crimean War, nor was he a soldier himself; rather, he was hired by the British Government and each of his images were intended to

“drum up support for soldiers’ sacrifice” in the face of an increasingly unpopular war (*Regarding* 42). As such, Fenton was told not to photograph “the dead, the maimed, or the ill” and focused instead on “rendering the war as a dignified all-male group outing,” fundamentally tying these photographs to a male homosocial fiction that is propagandist in nature (*Regarding* 43). Bound up in some of photography’s earliest uses, then, the fictions that inform it are shown to shape both what is included and excluded from the camera frame, while also bearing a military connection in the popularization and socialization of this technology.

Page 1503 focuses on another crucial figure in the history of photography, namely, French inventor, journalist, aeronaut, and photographer, Gaspard Félix Tournachon (1820-1910), better known as Nadar. Among many other contributions to the field of photography, Nadar produced the first aerial photographs, which were taken from the basket of his hot air balloon in 1858. Although these photographs have not survived, the event of their production is well remarked upon, including in a large clipping from *Lilliput* magazine, titled “The Photographic Work of Nadar with a Commentary by T. W. Earp,” which Morgan has featured prominently at the top of his scrapbook page. The clipping provides further information on Nadar’s life, stating that Jules Verne used him as “the model for the hero” for *De la Terre á la Lune* (1865), that he served as “commander of a balloonists’ company” in the 1870-71 Siege of Paris, during which he organized balloon flights to carry mail, and that he was “honoured as a survivor of a romantic past and as the chief sponsor of the camera’s coming-of-age” through to his death in 1910 (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook* 91503). As part of this coming-of-age for the camera, Nadar was celebrated for his compelling portrait photographs and Morgan has surrounded the *Lilliput* clipping with several other clippings showing some of Nadar’s celebrity portraits, including those of Verne and Charles Baudelaire. It is evident that Morgan is interested in the celebrities who

are depicted on this page, not least of all because figures such as Verne and Baudelaire are recurring subjects throughout the scrapbooks; however, the large clipping foregrounding Nadar at the top of this page asserts that, as with the Fenton photographs, the intrigue of these particular photographs also arises in no small part because of their production at Nadar's hand.

Across these three historical examples, who and what is behind the camera proves to be as important to Morgan's curation as what is happening within the scope of the image. Moreover, Morgan has compiled a brief snapshot of the early development of photography through these clippings in such a way that this technology is humanised. Whether through the lens of a hired photographer tasked with creating propaganda, the enterprising actions of individuals like Talbot and Nadar, or even the individuals that served as photographic subjects, these photographs begin to shed light on how the camera provided new means for the human as artistic subject, the human eye as amplified by the camera lens, and the human as viewer of these photographs. Morgan's interest in photography therefore signals itself to be fundamentally socio-technological, as well as historical.

Not all aspects of photography prove humanizing, however, and although Fenton was prevented from photographing the dead during the Crimean War in 1855, war photography since that time has gradually moved towards a more documentary, albeit still ultimately fictionalized, ethos and includes as its subject more of the hardships and losses intrinsic to wars. Sontag argues that by the twentieth century, photojournalism had come "into its own," assisted in particular by the effects of World War II. As she explains, this war can be understood as "the least controversial of modern wars" because its "justness was sealed by the full revelation of Nazi evil"—a revelation that was carried out in no small part through photographs (*Regarding* 30). As such, photographs of mass graves and emaciated

prisoners of the death camps, both alive and dead, were widely circulated, becoming canonical and shaping the ways that future war atrocities would be photographed (*Regarding* 75). Some of these circulating photographs would even be taken from Nazi archives themselves. In this fraught connection between war and photography, Morgan's scrapbooks yet again offer evidence, with three different pages (pp. 1501, 1587, and 1626) from *Scrapbook 9* including horrific black and white photographs from the Belsen concentration camp in northern Germany, as well as page 1548, which includes a photograph of children who were imprisoned at the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland.

Taking just one of these images as an example (Figure 12) demonstrates the dehumanizing effects of these photographs. The image appears on page 1626 and shows the bodies of two emaciated men who have died and are laid haphazardly on the ground. Morgan has clipped the image to include its caption, which states "[t]he incredible emaciation of bodies not long dead can hardly be believed," although Morgan has crossed out the word "incredible" in blue ink (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1626). The abject voyeurism of this photograph and the reduction of the humans captured in its frame to mere "bodies not long dead" attests to the ways in which photographs such as this one seek a shocked response from their audience at a high cost to the humanity of those that they capture. Morgan's act of striking the word "incredible" resists this sensationalizing framing, at least in part, but in the face of the horrific suffering represented in the image, it seems a small act. Nonetheless, when this photograph is contextualized within Morgan's wider collection of clippings across the scrapbooks, including many that are explicitly anti-war, as well as amongst the other clippings on this same page, Morgan's act of protest begins to speak louder. Directly below the image from Belsen, Morgan has included a photograph from the Tehran Conference in 1943, which brought together Joseph

Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Roosevelt in a coordinated Western Allies effort against Germany and Japan (Office of the Historian). This photograph's inclusion below the Belsen image can be read as a juxtaposition of the Western Allies against the crimes of the Nazis, and thus could illustrate the importance of the Conference's action. A more ambiguous reading is also possible, however, because despite the historical importance of the Conference to the outcome of the war, it was an effort that came too late for the men in the Belsen photograph. Moreover, the image functions as another 'meta-photograph,' showing a crowd of cameramen in the foreground, all of which are focused on Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt, who appear in the background. This flood of activity around high-powered men can be read as a comment on a misdirection of attention and a loss of focus on the real costs of war represented in the Belsen photograph.



Figure 12: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 9, Page 1626, detail

Whether used as a piece of sensationalized media or in service of a commemorating effort, images such as the Belsen photograph have left an indelible mark on the collective memories and archives of war, thereby becoming a crucial piece of the cultural imaginary surrounding World War II. For Sontag, the tension between the dehumanizing effects of photographs like those taken at concentration camps and their stark connection to memory illustrates that “[h]arrowing photographs” are effective in maintaining their power to shock and will work to “haunt” their viewers long after the photograph’s contemporary moment (*Regarding* 89). As such, she resists the idea that a viewer will unavoidably become desensitized to repeated viewings of shocking images, but she maintains that no photograph—shocking or not—can act as a means of understanding in and of itself (*Regarding* 116). For understanding to take place, Sontag argues that narratives and reasons for looking must be added, some of which become more socially and politically permissible than others. On the one hand, it is widely accepted that photographs such as the image of the men who died at Belsen can represent a way of documenting history and resisting the possibility of another atrocity on the scale of the Holocaust. Although subsequent history illustrates that atrocities and genocides have continued not only to be committed but sanctioned by governments in multiple instances, this approach remains a powerful framing reference for why these photographs should be viewed. On the other hand, Sontag argues that certain narratives are suppressed and even labelled as unpatriotic, such as those that approach similar war photographs, including images from the atomic bomb attacks on Japan, as evidence for “use of disproportionate firepower in war” by the United States (*Regarding* 94). *Scrapbook 9* indicates Morgan’s sympathies with these latter narratives, as well as his resistance to such suppression of criticism. For example, on page 1511, Morgan includes a large 1948 Glasgow Herald clipping that quotes

the United States Atomic Energy Commission in their statement that “if atomic scientists continue to be made the butts of ‘un-American smears,’ the United States might find itself without enough of them to keep its lead in essential atomic research and in the further refinement and stockpiling of the atom bomb” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9*). Although Morgan does not include any marginalia or explicit critique of the Commission’s statement, his very inclusion of it in the context of his demonstrably anti-war scrapbooks indicates that he does not side with the Commission. Instead, his act of clipping offers an implicit critique that signals his willingness to resist the supposed “patriotic” stance offered by the Commission in favour of those more suppressed critiques to which Sontag refers.

In order to trace how these suppressed critiques relate to photography specifically, I turn my focus to the development of aerial photography, which underwent several thorough-going changes from the first aerial photographs taken by Nadar in 1858 to 1948, when Morgan began compiling *Scrapbook 9*. The first photographs taken from airplanes emerged in 1908 and during the World Wars, aerial photography was used for both reconnaissance and military cartographic purposes, with a School of Photography being established by the War Office in England in 1915 (Cable n.p.). *Scrapbook 9* includes several examples of modern aerial photographs, many of which depict cityscapes and geological landscapes, including several landscape photographs that are cited as being the property of the Air Force. One such example can be found on page 1592, which includes a large aerial photograph of Mount McKinley, Alaska (Figure 13). The photograph’s caption states that it was taken by “the 46<sup>th</sup> Reconnaissance Squadron of the Air Force” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9*, 1592), which refers to a squadron based in Alaska and deployed in 1946 to monitor the Arctic for signs of Soviet activity or threat (Maurer 718). Although this detail may seem incidental, governmental and military citations

such as this point to the fact that press bodies did not initially own the necessary means to take aerial photographs themselves and underscores the deep roots that link the development of aerial photography with military bodies.

The reconnaissance background of the photograph indicates that it is highly unlikely that the image was intended for public viewership when it was first taken, but that the reconnaissance significance of this photograph had receded by the time it was recirculated in the mass media publication from which it was clipped by Morgan. Once no longer being used as a surveillance artifact, then, the photograph was deployed as a public object of interest, showing the snow-covered terrain of the summit, North Peak, and South Peak of McKinley and attesting to the power of the photograph that was able to capture a “vertical relief” of over “12000 feet” in one frame (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1592). In this way, well before Morgan recontextualized the photograph in the pages of his scrapbooks, the once-military photograph was already entangled in processes of repurposing and recontextualization that share much in common with scrapbook clipping practices. Whether intentional or not, such repurposing has the effect of, in Sontag’s terms, revising memory in order to change what a civilian public might chose to think about when presented with these photographs. In other words, the reuse of this photograph in a nature photography context shifts its narrative framing away from fears of Soviet action to a celebration of the majesty of nature and the power of American technology. Within the scrapbook, this repurposing is reinforced through the collaged addition of a black and white photograph of a young man’s face onto the larger photograph, which Morgan has positioned so that the man appears to be looking down at the mountainous landscape, albeit at a somewhat denaturalized angle. The addition of this figure emphasizes the technological marvel of the photograph, as well as its civilian audience. Through this scrapbook poetics that



**AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH** of McKinley shows the mountain from a point directly above its summit. At the lower left is North Peak. Just on the edge of the photo-

graph at the upper left is South Peak. This photograph made by the 46th Reconnaissance Squadron of the Air Force, shows a vertical relief of more than 12,000 feet

*Figure 13: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 9, Page 1592, detail*

draws on the juxtaposition of the photograph, the caption, and the collaged addition, the layers of meaning that have accumulated around the landscape photograph are demonstrated in material form, including an indication of the ways in which military bodies began to reframe their intelligence operations following World War II for a public audience at the beginning of the Cold War.

While the Mount McKinley photograph demonstrates an existing repurposing of a military photograph as a nature photograph, Morgan also uses the poetic juxtapositions within the scrapbooks to play with this overlap between nature and military photographs, as can be demonstrated by a turn to the many photographs in *Scrapbook 9* that depict volcanic eruptions. Among these eruption images are a photograph of the Perícutin volcano erupting in Mexico, which appears next the Belsen image discussed above (Figure 12), and a photograph showing Mount Vesuvius erupting in March 1944, the caption for which credits it to a “U.S. Navy official” (Figure 14). At first glance, the Vesuvius photograph in particular seems to reveal a similar underlying connection to war as that which I have just discussed in relation to the Mount McKinley photograph, given that it was taken by a member of the Navy during World War II, even if it is not a reconnaissance object, and was likely published in the context of a nature photograph. I argue, however, that both the Perícutin and the Vesuvius photographs, as well as the many other volcanic eruption photographs throughout *Scrapbook 9*, bear a particular metaphoric connection to war that the Mount McKinley photograph does not. I assert that each of these eruption photographs share an aesthetic similarity with the iconic images of mushroom clouds that were becoming so familiar to viewers at the beginning of the Cold War. I therefore posit that Morgan utilizes this resonance as an aesthetic provocation.

Flipping through the pages of *Scrapbook 9*, a viewer could easily confuse many of the eruption photographs with mushroom clouds and might only become aware of this misreading upon closer inspection of the image or its caption. This aesthetic resonance is made stronger by the fact that Morgan has also included photographs of actual mushroom clouds and nuclear explosions throughout *Scrapbook 9*, such as a full-colour photograph of a 1951 atomic explosion in Nevada that appears on page 1731. The aesthetic crossover therefore asks that the scrapbook reader not rely solely on quick scanning practices to interpret these images, which also suggesting the need for a more careful close reading of mass media images more broadly. Moreover, as some surveillance and strategic photographs were being re-contextualized within the contexts of nature photography in order to reframe their utility, the juxtapositions of Morgan's scrapbooks resist seeing nature photographs as either neutral or depoliticized. Instead, the scrapbooks reemphasize these images' connections to the development of weapons of mass destruction by allowing potential misreadings of the volcano photographs for mushroom clouds. Moreover, placed alongside the photograph of the men at Belsen on page 1626, the Perícutin photograph adds a metaphorical representation of the explosive violence of war to the highly explicit Belsen image. Collectively, these two violent photographs jar with the contained media spectacle shown in the photograph of the Tehran Conference and can be read as a way of foreshadowing the culpability that this group must bear for the devastating nuclear attacks on Japan. As such, the blurring of volcanoes erupting and atomic bombs denoting creates a highly political and critical anti-war statement.



Figure 14: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 9, Page 1621, detail

In other examples, Morgan's photography clippings point to the ways in which military technologies themselves, not just the resulting photographs or other outputs of these technologies, were being repurposed and used to argue for the social utility of military technology in the wake of the World Wars. For example, by 1950, technologies intended for military reconnaissance were being deployed for aerial weather-reconnaissance under the joint organization of the United States Weather Bureau, Air Force, and Navy and "airborne weather stations" were providing vital data on hurricanes and other extreme weather events (Brown 543). On page 1756 of *Scrapbook 9*, Morgan includes a photograph that was published in a 1950 *National Geographic Magazine* article reporting on this weather reconnaissance research. The image, captioned as "And there I was, five miles up,

looking a hurricane right in the eye” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9*,1756), depicts a large mass of clouds with a dark section towards the right of the frame and so offers a novel, bird’s-eye view of a natural phenomenon at a time when a large percentage of the *National Geographic’s* readership would be unlikely to have been on an airplane themselves (Figure 15). A sub-caption provides further context for the image, stating:

This historic view of the calm core of a hurricane was shot near Key West from an Air Force plane flying far above the storm. The dark area is the cylinder-shaped vortex that extends from land or sea to the hurricane’s top, here only about 20,000 feet (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9*,1756).

The photograph is then attributed to “John Randazzo from Press Association,” rather than to any military body. Quite distinct from the strategic surveillance background of the Mount McKinley photograph or even the vaguely attributed photograph of the Mount Vesuvius eruption, this caption and citation indicate that, from the moment of its creation, the hurricane photograph was intended for a public audience as it was taken by a press body. Despite the differences surrounding the creation of the hurricane photograph, however, the caption still indicates that it was taken from an Air Force plane and so the photograph remains connected to a mediating network of technologies with roots in military organizations. The photograph also indirectly argues for the usefulness of the Air Force and its technologies outwith combat and can therefore still be read as a strategic military artifact, albeit one aimed not at combat but at the socialization of a military presence in noncombative research.

The normalization of military technologies, including through photographs like the hurricane photograph, had wide-reaching effects on the metaphoric and imaginative structures of the mid-twentieth century, as can be traced by a close reading inspired by another clipping on page 1756. Just above the hurricane image, Morgan has included a black and white photograph of Salvador Dalí’s 1951 painting *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* (Figure 15). The Dalí clipping does not immediately



Figure 15: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 9, Page 1756, detail

seem to comment on the hurricane photograph, especially as it is surrounded by other, more obviously relevant clippings that discuss the painting's 1952 acquisition by Tom Honeyman for Glasgow Museums. Nevertheless, the positioning of *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* above the hurricane photograph encourages a closer comparison of these two seemingly disparate images. When approached through a comparative reading, the extreme angle of Christ on the cross as he hovers over the world below comes to reflect the bird's-eye view of the hurricane offered through Randazzo's lens and can even be read in parallel with the collaged young man added to the Mount McKinley photograph at an unnatural angle. Pushing this comparison further allows the perspectives of Randazzo and Jesus to become interchangeable, such that the hurricane becomes what Jesus sees while looking down and Randazzo's camera becomes a substitute for the holy perspective. Morgan's juxtaposition of these two images on the page of his scrapbook allows them to illustrate the implicit link between advances in photography, military technology, and surrealist art, as well as underscoring some of the ways in which photographic technology was offering human beings previously inaccessible, even supernatural, perspectives.

A further connection between the hurricane photograph and the Dalí paintings as products of a post-World War era is established on two later pages. On pages 1765 and 1766, Morgan collects several other clippings relating to the Dalí painting, one of which is a large newspaper clipping from *The Bulletin* dated 1951. The clipping reports that Dalí categorized *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* as part of his "atomic art" and quotes Dalí as explaining that, for him, this self-defined category reflects his intent to paint "in constant explosion, in atomic explosion, in nuclear bombing" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1765). *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* is, at least initially, a confusing inclusion in Dalí's atomic art category, as it is not a

fragmented image and emulates a classic oil painting aesthetic that is largely cohesive. A second clipping on these pages, however, illuminates the atomic connection in more detail. The black and white clipping shows two side-by-side drawings, one of an inverted triangle on a dark background with a circle at the center of its apex and one of an inverted triangle being ripped apart by an explosion that starts from a circular hole at its center. The caption for these drawings describes them as being early inspirations for *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* and quotes segments of a statement made by Dalí in which he explained the diagrams. For the purposes of this discussion, however, I quote the full statement on which the caption draws. Dalí gives the diagram and the painting a mythic framing, stating that:

In the first place, in 1950, I had a 'cosmic dream' in which I saw this image [the inverted triangles] in colour and which in my dream represented the 'nucleus of the atom'. This nucleus later took on a metaphysical sense; I considered it 'the very unity of the universe,' the Christ! In the second place, when, thanks to the instructions of Father Bruno, a Carmelite, *I saw the Christ drawn by Saint John of the Cross*, I worked out geometrically a triangle and a circle that aesthetically summarized all my previous experiments, and I inscribed Christ in the triangle (Descharnes and Nèret 168–69, emphasis in original).

This statement discusses the joint influences of scientific, religious, and even mystic forces on Dalí's painting, while gesturing to the way in which Dalí's interest in finding a metaphysical truth that connects the universe is at least partially spurred on by his abject fascination with nuclear physics and quantum theory in the wake of the atom bomb. When understood as atomic art, the classic style and unified palette of the *Christ of Saint John of the Cross* painting can be noticed as jarring with the extremity of the angles at which Christ is shown and begins to reveal this unity as more fragile than it might first appear. Indeed, the apparent unity of this painting opens more fully if it is approached as a response to radical fragmentation and a seeking out of new perspectives amidst the debris of many other fractured worldviews. Just as deconstruction relies on both destruction and preservation to function, Dalí's Christ

is both the whole and exploding inverted triangles, allowing the painting to hide within its unity a profound disunity that is brought into being because of the effects of war. In Morgan's scrapbook, the painting therefore joins the hurricane photograph as examples of visual media that offer new world perspectives through means that are both a part of, even if slightly apart from, technologies of war.

One of the most famous examples of a world-altering perspective that owes its existence to technologies of war, however, is the No. 13 captured German V2 rocket that, in 1946, was modified and launched from White Sands, New Mexico with a DeVry 35mm black and white camera to produce the first ever images of the Earth as viewed from space. Page 1771 includes a colour photograph of the No. 13 rocket, which was clipped from the *National Geographic Magazine* and includes a caption that reads, "A V-2 Rocket, Built to Spread Death, Prepares to Explore the Upper Air for Science" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1771). The caption therefore immediately makes explicit the recontextualization of this technology that the United States government was working to achieve. A sub-caption explains further that the "captured German missile will rise 80 miles or more with American research implements" and that the photograph shows preparations for launch, including "a transport wagon [that] delivers and erects the 14-ton burden at the launching platform at White Sands Proving Ground, New Mexico" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1771). This subcaption works to distance the United States from the war implications of the rocket, emphasizing the weapon's German descent and its improvement with the addition of home-grown "American research implements" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1771). Directly across from this image, on page 1772, Morgan has included a second clipping from the same *National Geographic Magazine* article, this time showing the launch of the rocket in a series of four colour photographs. The caption for this second clipping reads, "With a Deafening Rumble,

Spouting Smoke and Flame, the Rocket Rises Slowly at First, Then Picks Up Terrific Speed" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1772). Its sub-caption continues, stating

Pictures show the missile at the moment of firing; one second later; three seconds later at 100 feet; and the vapour trail left behind as it reaches 20 miles. Winds twist the vapour trail. The V-2 consumes its 10 tons of liquid oxygen-fuel in only 60 seconds, then travels by momentum (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1772).

The moment that would launch aerial photography into a never-before-accessed space is therefore captured for print media through the use of photography and shared with the world in colour images—a publishing decision that itself underscores the importance that the *National Geographic Magazine* placed on the launch, given that colour publication represented a significantly higher cost than black and white publication. Collectively, these two images celebrate American ingenuity and signal the scientific improvements that the future might offer, while invoking the language of science to underpin a nationalist discourse.

Morgan's documentation of the V2 rockets extends beyond these two clippings to include a third that appears on page 1518.<sup>32</sup> In this third clipping, however, the perspective shifts from photographs *of* the V2 to photographs *from* the V2. Page 1518 is devoted almost entirely to a full-page clipping that itself contains three large photographs: one showing the curve of the Earth as revealed through a mosaic of photographs taken by the V2 from 60 miles up; one a detail photograph showing a close up of the curve of the Earth, which was used in the first mosaic; and one a second mosaic of photographs taken a year after the V2 launch from an Aerobee rocket 57 miles above the Earth's surface. The mediating effect that

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<sup>32</sup> Morgan also includes a fourth clipping in *Scrapbook 9* that addresses both the V2 rocket and photographic technologies. This fourth clipping shows images taken with an In Schlieren Camera, which captures "waves of different density in the surrounding air" and so allows forces such as air currents created by the heat from a human hand to be captured on film. The clipping includes several examples of images taken with the camera, including one depicting pressure being released from the "fuel injector of V-2 rocket" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1691).

these photographs have on both the physical and metaphoric networks in which they participate is brought into sharp focus by the scrapbook's preservation of their contemporary circulation and framing for a public audience, in which the novelty of their existence demands comment and contextualization. From a twenty-first-century position, wherein multiple generations have grown up with photographs of the Earth from space being both common and familiar, it can be somewhat jolting to remember that before 1946, no one had seen the Earth from the perspective offered in these first two V2 photographs. The curve of the Earth was theorized and generally accepted as a scientific fact, supported by, for example, telescopic images of other planets, but it had never before been visually documented. Both the publication from which Morgan extracted this clipping and Morgan's decision to affix the whole page to his scrapbook emphasize the importance of the photographs and grant a large format to the photographs that are themselves invested in expanding the literal worldview of their viewers. At the same time, the two mosaics featured on this page denaturalize the photograph form, because they do not represent an image captured in a single frame, but rather show the technological manipulation of several images to create the mosaic, therefore introducing novel intermediating processes to these already novel images.

Additionally, Morgan uses page 1518 to provide a quick snapshot of some of the social ramifications of the V2 photographs, which he does through his characteristic humour and socio-technological awareness. He has pasted two text-based clippings on top of the large detail photograph of the curved Earth on page 1518, both of which refer to debates that the images were inspiring. One clipping discusses the Christian Catholic Church sect based at Zion, Illinois, a sect which believes the world to be flat. Despite having seen the rocket photographs, the "overseer of the sect", M. J. Mintern is said to have dismissed the images and

countered with a statement saying, “When you have something really worth while [sic] in the way of proof that the earth is spherical, let me know” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1518). By pasting this clipping on to the momentous photograph, Morgan creates a satirical juxtaposition wherein Mintern’s denial of the photograph as something “worthwhile” is challenged by the photograph’s presence as well as by the fact that Morgan makes it serve as an encompassing substrate for the text clipping. Further enhancing the juxtapositions on this page, Morgan has pasted a second text-based clipping onto the detail photograph in which an unidentified speaker wonders “which direction the Lord is coming from” when “religionists” discuss the second coming, because if “the earth is a ball” then “every direction would be up” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1518). The speaker then asks “how could the Lord and his crowd hop on with the earth going hell west and crooked through space?” (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1518). This humorous clipping gestures in a simple manner to some of the ways in which the progress of science can challenge or undermine religious ideals and truisms. Furthermore, within the juxtaposed poetics of the scrapbook, the parallel between Jesus in Dalí’s painting and the hurricane photograph is brought to mind, but instead of focusing on the elevation of the camera to the level of a god, this association emphasizes the way in which the camera can unseat religion as a site of truth, leaving only those, like Mintern, who would deny their own senses in order to cling to past beliefs.

As celebrated and inciting as the rocket images are, an unfolding of their mediating networks reveals the fraught moral position that they occupy. Not only do the V2 photographs derive from a weapon that was built to kill and circulate as the property of government organizations who profit from war, they are also produced under the direction the V2 Upper Atmosphere Panel, a military organization that was headed by former Nazi engineer Wernher Von Braun (1912-

1977). In opposition to the V2 rocket caption discussed above, which sought to attribute the weapon to the Germans and the scientific equipment to the Americans, the photographs and the rocket behind them do not adhere to neat nationalistic fictions of good versus bad war technologies. Indeed, Ryan Edgington asserts that these photographs of the Earth are an “ancillary product” of the wider V2 Upper Atmosphere Panel’s “military endeavour[s],” which first used photography on V2 rockets in an attempt to improve the rocket’s design and control as a weapon (365–66). Edgington states further that the social significance of the photographic images was exploited, particularly by Clyde T. Holliday, the scientist who built the V2 camera system and constructed the mosaics included in the large clipping on page 1518. Edgington argues that Holliday used the Earth images to propel simultaneously the promise that Earth photography could make “life easier for everyday peoples” and, especially as the images had the effect of making space itself seem closer and more accessible, to drive support for the “militarization of space” (363). As Edgington explicates, arguing for the benefits of a scientifically-engineered future was an effort in which many fields of science were engaged and visual aids were widely used, but the photographs of the Earth taken from 60 miles up and from a perspective that superseded even the more natural bird’s-eye view images like the hurricane photograph proved to be particularly compelling. The V2 rocket images demonstrated a sense of orderly unity to the Earth, not unlike the unity that Dalí imagined through the figure of Christ, and sparked ideas about how this technology could be used in other scientific fields, such as meteorology, to help better people’s lives.

Much more insidious than advocating for improved life through scientific research was the goal of the militarization of space. As Edgington asserts, the V2 photographs demonstrate the ability of the American government to experiment in

“reconnoitering people and places from the upper atmosphere” under the gaze of an “all-seeing flying eye” (368). The reconnoitering was framed as a social good and a feat of benevolent technology in order to elide the more invasive potentials of its use. Edgington also points to the fact that Holliday chose a Western worldview to showcase this first panorama of the Earth from space, despite the fact that he had over 200 images from many points on the globe to choose from. For Edgington, this positioning of the United States as the center of the world worked to shore up a Western-dominated narrative, in which “the triumphant human mastery of the West” is coupled with an image that ties it “to the cosmos” (367). At the same time, the mosaic image subtly underscores “the military competition to establish scientific and technological control of space and Earth” by showing the ways in which technology could now capture, frame, and reduce the United States in one compiled image (367). An unspoken implication of threat is therefore suggested, wherein the United States are framed as a possible target if they are not in control of these technologies. While the rocket photographs seem to re-appropriate tools of war for peaceful means, then, an unfolding of their networks as prompted by the scrapbooks indicates the ways in which they were being honed as a type of social weapon in the early years of the Cold War to support the military endeavours of American government organizations.

In addition to the V2 rocket images, the large clipping of the curved Earth photographs on page 1518 includes photographs taken from an Aerobee rocket, which points to the next phase of experimentation in aerial photography as explored by the United States government and indicates how successful the V2 images were in garnering widespread support for this type of technological research activity. Although the V2 rockets were extremely valuable to American advances in aerial photography, they were also highly expensive and designed with many heavy

weapon features not necessary for more scientifically-focused launches. As a result, the research arms of the United States Navy worked with the Applied Physics Laboratory and the Aerojet Corporation to design smaller, cheaper rockets, the first widely-used instantiations of which were the Aerobees (Wells et al. 121–23). The first Aerobee was launched in 1947 and produced the photographs that form the second mosaic published in the large clipping on page 1518. In the following decades, hundreds more Aerobee rockets would be launched. Like the V2 rockets, then, the Aerobees demonstrate the ways in which the Air Force and the Navy found ways to justify and fund their continued presence following the World Wars and therefore effectively helped to fuel Cold War research.

In 1949, alongside the development of the Aerobees, the United States Naval Research Laboratory also built the Viking rocket series, which were larger than the Aerobees, but still smaller than the V2s, and were eventually used as the prototype for the Vanguard launch vehicle (Wells et al. 93). Like the Aerobees, the Viking rockets were used for scientific launches and, in 1951, *Life International* published an article showing photographs produced by the Viking 7. Morgan includes a clipping from this article on page 1736 of *Scrapbook 9*, which reproduces a photograph taken from 135 miles above the Earth's surface that captures an area over two-thirds the size of the United States in a single shot, thereby making it the highest photograph of the Earth taken to that point in history. The clipping also includes a graphical map of the United States with the area photographed by the rocket highlighted. This connection to the map is telling, because, as these aerial developments progressed, the artistic overview that a map provides began to merge conceptually with photographic images that could finally achieve a mappable scale and thus began to add to the symbolic associations connected to the map, while also showing the stylized and necessarily fictionalized nature of the map. Moreover, this

clipping makes visible the rapidly increasing pace of developments in aerial photography, such that the span of only five years enabled a shift from a photograph taken 60 miles up in 1947 to one taken 135 miles up in 1951. As I will discuss further in Chapter 5, the importance of altered and nonlinear temporalities emerges as a crucial tool within Morgan's poetic practices, both for the scrapbooks and his written works, and due to the compressed temporalities of the scrapbooks and the non-sequential, kaleidoscoped order of the various clippings, which causes recent images to be interrupted by and intermingled with the mid-nineteenth century images discussed earlier, the speed of this development seems even faster in the space of the Morgan scrapbooks.

*Scrapbook 9* also makes clear that these rapid technological developments in photography and scientific research methods are paralleled by similarly rapid advancements in weapons technologies. The first trials of the atomic bomb were conducted on 16 July 1945 at Jornada Del Muerto, New Mexico, only about 100 miles from White Sands, where the V2 rocket was launched a year later. On 6 and 9 August 1945, less than a month after the Jornada del Muerto tests, two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan respectively. Page 1600 in *Scrapbook 9* includes a large black and white photograph that shows a devastated view of Hiroshima after the horrific bombing. Facing this image, on Page 1599, Morgan has included several newspaper clippings from 1950 discussing "the Hydrogen Bomb Dilemma" and the fact that this new technology threatens even greater magnitudes of damage than the atomic bomb. Less than a year after these newspaper clippings, six years after the attacks on Japan, and in the same year as the ostensibly peaceful Viking 7 was launched, the 1951 atomic explosion depicted on page 1731 took place. I mentioned this photograph above in my discussion of its resonances with the volcanic eruption photographs, but I return to it in more detail here. The bomb was

denotated at Frenchmen Flat, Nevada on 2 February 1951 as one of many nuclear tests that the United States conducted throughout the 1950s. Underscoring the contradictions evident in a government-sanctioned bomb exploding outwith formal combat, Morgan has pasted a text-based clipping into the upper left corner of the explosion photograph that reads “New Peace” and, above both clippings, he has included another text-based clipping that reads “IL NUOVO GIOCATTOLO-MIRACOLO,” or “the new miracle toy” (Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1731). This critique of a false peace is picked up repeatedly throughout the scrapbooks, such as in Morgan’s inclusion of a undated clipping on page 1599 that reports on the Vatican’s stated position that the ongoing military efforts to build and test the bomb are “a sad commentary on the world’s ability to insure peace except by force,” even as they then quickly justify the “American manufacture of the bomb because of the ‘mysterious power’ explosions in Russia” (Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1599). In this statement, as with the description of the V2 rocket, the United States is framed as a reactive party which has been forced into contact with a weapon, rather than as an aggressor on the world stage, despite the fact that its technological advancements and dominant control of nuclear technologies attest very much to the opposite state of affairs. Morgan’s scrapbooks and their many mediating fragments, including the rocket photographs and the evidence of the rapid evolution of atomic warfare, resist this nationalistic, victimizing discourse and becomes what the Vatican statement falls short of, namely, a forceful critique of the United States and their tactics of war.

Perhaps the clearest visual metaphor for the entanglement of the atomic bomb with the rocket photographs can be found beyond the pages *Scrapbook 9* on page 2246 in *Scrapbook 12*. This page includes a black and white newspaper photograph showing a vast mushroom cloud in the early stages of its formation as it looms over a dark mass that at first glance could be read as a body of water (Figure

16). The photograph is undated, but as *Scrapbook 12* was compiled between 1954-1960, it is likely the product of one of the many geographically distributed nuclear tests conducted in the 1950s. The photograph's caption, however, reveals it to be more than a photograph of a mushroom cloud by providing context for the dark mass below the cloud. The caption reads: "The mushroom spreads 100 miles wide and spirals 25 miles high. At the foot of the picture is the earth's curve" (qtd. in Morgan, *Scrapbook 12* 2247). In this one photograph, then, the aerial photography technologies that achieved new heights in the 1940s and 1950s through the merger of military technology and scientific research are explicitly joined to the nuclear weapons research with which they were always entangled and indeed helped fund. From the vantage point of these new aerial perspectives, the photograph shows the looming and encompassing global threat posed by weapons of mass destruction, which literally hang over the Earth in the form of a billowing mushroom cloud.

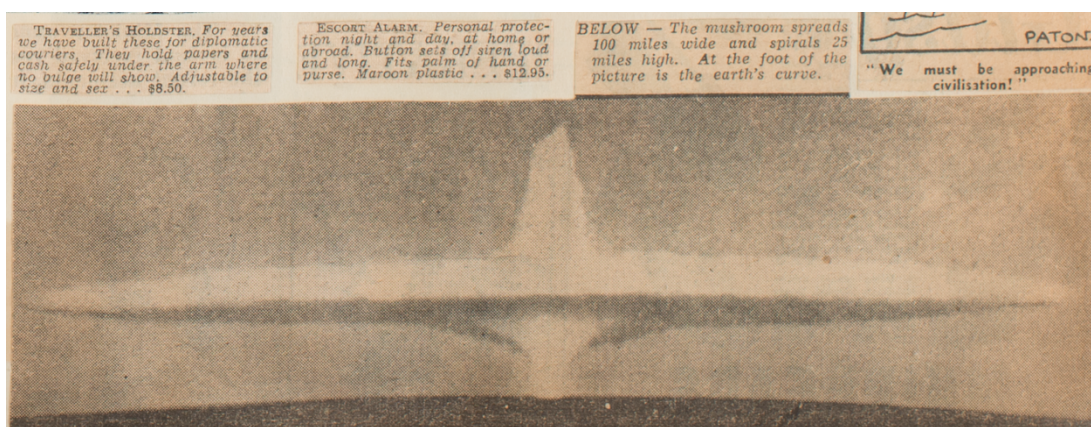


Figure 16: Edwin Morgan, *Scrapbook 12*, Page 2246, detail

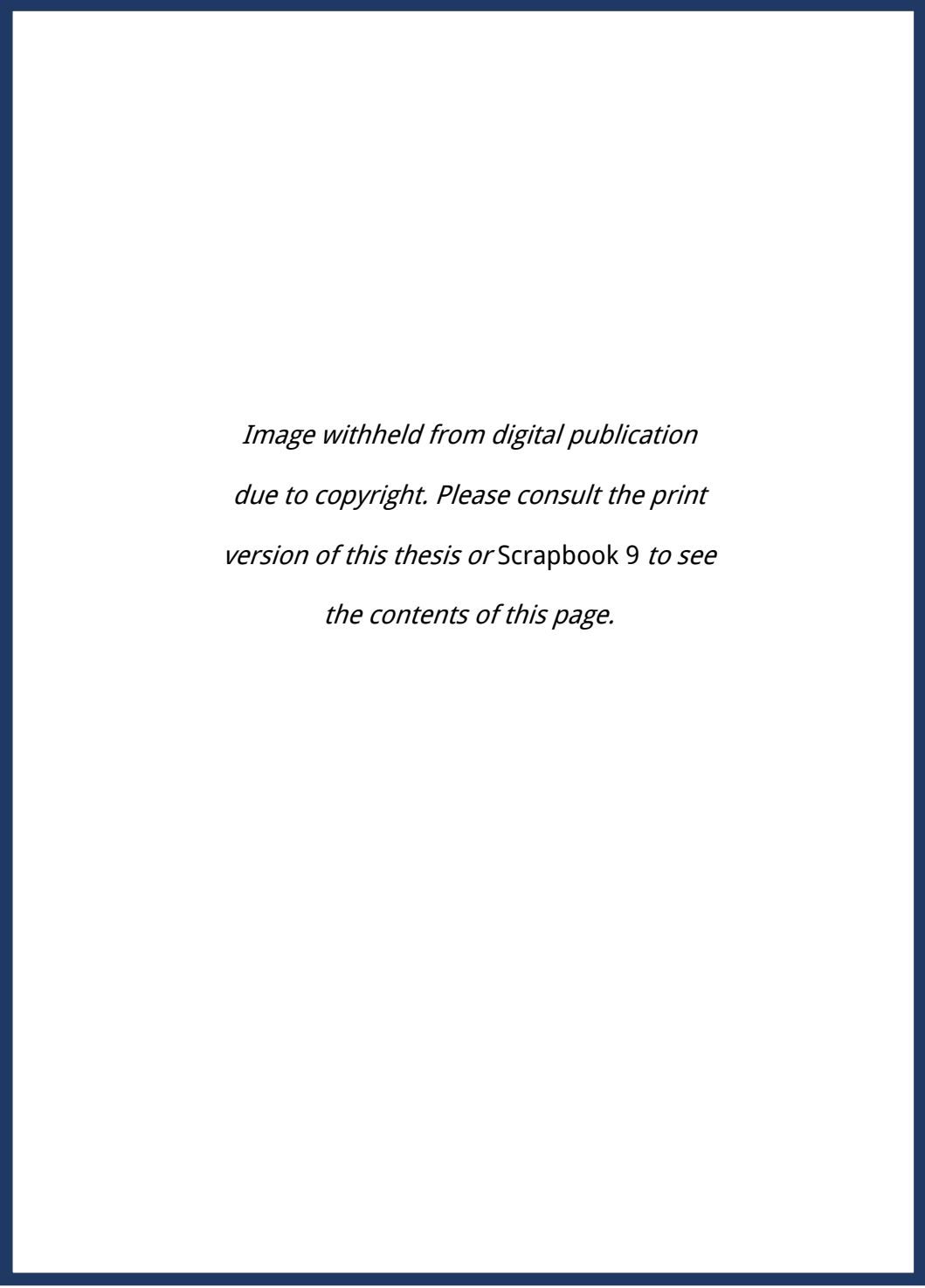
As my close reading has shown, the narratives made possible by the scrapbooks allows a tracing of these lines of descent and entanglement, following from Fenton's propaganda photographs through images of World War II atrocities to the concurrent development of aerial photography and atomic technologies.

While the mushroom cloud photograph would be powerful in any context, when it is read through this specific network of interconnected mediators brought to life by the scrapbooks, it gains particular resonance. As such, the mushroom cloud photograph demonstrates the ways in which Morgan's scrapbooks and the affordances of cut-and-paste processes can build meaning by excising various clippings from their sources and placing them into contact with one another. Through this physical and temporal juxtaposition, certain aspects of the clippings can be emphasized, some of which might not be readily apparent if the clipping were to be accessed in another context, such as the acute resonance between photographs of the Earth's curve and nuclear technologies, while the temporal distance between multiple clippings can be collapsed. The insights offered by these clippings and their contents therefore prove to be highly media specific and tied to the mediating characteristics of the scrapbook form.

This discussion makes clear that neither Morgan's scrapbooks or poetry shy away from critiques that reveal the more fraught and problematic aspects of technological development. What my reading of the kaleidoscoped history of photography contained in *Scrapbook 9* has not emphasized so far, however, is Morgan's persistent and buoyant optimism for both technology and human development in the face of problems. Alongside Morgan's curation of photographs that allow for a moralistic unfolding of the implications of photography technologies and their entanglement with military acts of war, Morgan also collects many photographs that are emphatically hopeful. The final close reading that I will perform in this chapter therefore focuses on one particular example of this more hopeful engagement with photography in the pages of *Scrapbook 9*.

In October 1951, *Life Magazine* published a photo essay titled "Geography of the Universe," which featured several large black and white photographs of the

universe that were facilitated by a 200-inch Hale telescope “capable of reaching one billion light years into space” and captured by a “wide-angle, 48-inch Schmidt” camera (Stanush 94). Much more than a technical marvel, the article emphasizes that these technologies could enable scientists to “verify or disprove man’s previous notions about the structure of the universe and many of his philosophical concepts,” indicating that wider public interest was least partially attuned to the socio-technological and metaphorical implications of advancements such as these. Morgan includes two full-page clippings from this photo essay on pages 1705 and 1706 of *Scrapbook 9*, each of which contain two black and white photographs (Figure 17). The clipping on page 1705 depicts a spiral galaxy, Messier 104, and a ring nebula that is described in the caption as having a blue star at its center. The photographs on page 1706 depict three large galaxies, which are approximately seven million light years away from Earth and are captured together in one photograph, and a two-part whirlpool nebula, Messier 51, which is said in the caption to have been first recognized through a telescope in 1845 by William Parsons, Earl of Rosse (1800-1867). To each of the four images, Morgan has added a collage element: a black and white magnified photograph of a snowflake pasted onto the corner of the snowy-looking spiral galaxy, a cropped, colour photograph of a blue gemstone set in an oval band pasted onto the photograph of the Ring Nebula, a black and white image of Beethoven’s head that floats in the upper right corner of the image of the three galaxies, and a colour, artistic representation of the 200-inch mirror used by the Hale telescope in the corner of the Messier 51 photograph. With each of these collage additions, Morgan plays with the aesthetic and technological possibilities that the larger images offer, whether by linking the images to an aesthetic counterpart, such as the blue ring, or drawing a link between the technological trail of mediators that led up to the emergence of these photographs, extending from



*Image withheld from digital publication  
due to copyright. Please consult the print  
version of this thesis or Scrapbook 9 to see  
the contents of this page.*

*Figure 17: Edwin Morgan, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1705-1706*

Parson's telescope in 1845 to the Hale telescope in 1951. These collages therefore emphasize Morgan's playful wonder as activated by the new perspectives in the photographs.

Although Morgan typically uses the perimeters of the single page as an aesthetic unit in the construction of his scrapbooks, pages 1705 and 1706 are one of the relatively few examples in the scrapbooks where Morgan chooses to make full use of the double-page spread. Each of the large black and white clippings stay confined to their respective pages, but the two pages mirror each other in layout. Extended along the top of both pages, Morgan has also included several text-based clippings that collectively comprise a collaged poem. One of the lines from this poem, which reads “Living in Everyman’s Every/Man’s Hope” (Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1705–06), runs across both pages, thereby strengthening a reading of the double-page spread as a unit of meaning and allowing this central phrase to function as a title for the whole collaged piece. Coupled with the aesthetically spacious double-page spread and the expansive views provided by the photographs, this title works to signal a hopefulness and sense of possibility inspired by the space photographs, which is compounded when the rest of the text-based clippings along the top of the page are read together. Collectively, these clippings read:

In those words through which I move /  
 Ego doceo sine strepitu verborum/  
 Diffungunt animi terrors, moenia mundi  
     discedunt, todum video per inane geri res/  
 Living in/ Everyman’s/ Every/Man’s/ Hope/  
 'O frati,' dissi, 'che per cento milia  
     perigli siete giunti all'occidente,  
     a questa tanto picciola vigilia  
     de' vostri sensi ch'è del rimanente  
     non vogliate negar l'esperienza  
     di retro al sol, del mondo senza gente.  
 Considerate la vostra semenza:  
     fatti non foste a viver come bruti,  
     ma per seguir virtute e canoscenza' (Morgan, *Scrapbook 9* 1705–06).<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> In my citation of this poem, the final line of each individual clipping is indicated by a backslash.

In order to unpack this collaged poem, which derives from a variety of sources, the individual pieces first have to be contextualized and explained, therefore relying on a Latourian unfolding of these excised mediators.

The first line, reading “In those words through which I move,” is a quotation from Scottish poet W. S. Graham’s (1918-1986) poem “Listen. Put on Morning.” Beginning this collaged poem with a Scottish voice connects Scotland, and specifically Scotland’s poetry, to a wide universe of possibilities. Moreover, as Graham is a poet who revels in the richness of languages and the worlds that can be evoked through words, Morgan has selected a line that is both indicative of Graham’s broader works and a fitting beginning for a collaged poem that sits alongside photographs of new-found worlds in the cosmos. The next line, “Ego doceo sine strepitu verborum,” comes from *De Imitatione Christi Libri IV* by Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471) and roughly translates to “I teach without noise of words.” In the context of the preceding quotation from Graham, which describes words as the medium of the speaker’s movement, as well as the switch from English to Latin that takes place across the two clippings, this second line suggests a method of communication and demonstration that offers clarity outside of the daily usages of language, for instance through a visual means like photography and the rich meanings set in motion when words and images are juxtaposed.

The following lines shed further light on the nature of this nonverbal language. These lines are extracted from *De Reraum Natura* by Lucretius (c.99BC-c.55BC), and are translated by Eva Noller as “the terrors of the mind are dispelled, the walls of the world part asunder, I see things in operation throughout the whole void” (qtd. in Noller 11). These lines are best understood as part of Lucretius’s broader theories, which, as Noller explains, deal explicitly with “gaining knowledge of things” (1–2). Lucretius believes that the pursuit of “real” knowledge drives out

fear, which he understands as a psychic barrier to knowledge, and dissolves the “ramparts of the world” or the physical barriers to knowledge (1–2). When these two barriers are removed, Noller asserts that the “Lucretian inquirer” is allowed to see into the “secrets of nature” by occupying “the position of a distant observer” (2). For Lucretius, this distance occurs as a space that opens up in front of the observer “in a horizontal movement,” such that “what was hidden before is revealed and permits an outlook on what lies beyond the *moenia mundi*” (2). Thus, Noller concludes that, for Lucretius, gaining “knowledge about the inner mechanisms of the universe is presented ... in spatial terms and imagery, and at the same time, creates the impression of temporal simultaneity” that must be narrated and put into a chronological order after the fact by the observer (2–3). This dense passage therefore describes a process wherein a distant observer is granted access to spatial and temporal knowledge that supersedes words and that opens up a space through which they can see into the cosmos. As such, Morgan can be understood as using this ancient text to provide a prescient, philosophical description of the telescopic photographs that have been taken from a distance of many light years and that allow for new forms of knowledge beyond the everyday to be imagined.

The poem then briefly returns to English and offers the line “Living/ in Everyman’s/ Every/Man’s hope,” which is wholly constructed by Morgan through clipped fragments, rather than quoting from any existing literature. Following the Lucretius quotation, this line suggests that the desire for knowledge described by Lucretius is not a rarified state, but rather a common one that exists in some form in everyone. This reading is reinforced by the final passages of the collaged poem, which are derived from *The Divine Comedy – Inferno 26* by Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) and are translated by H. F. Cary as:

O brothers! I began, 'who to the west  
 'Through perils without number now have reach'd;  
 'To this the short remaining watch, that yet  
 'Our senses have to wake, refuse not proof  
 'Of the unpeopled world, following the track  
 'Of Phoebus.  
 Call to mind from whence ye sprang:  
 'Ye were not form'd to live the life of brutes,  
 'But virtue to pursue and knowledge high.' (Alighieri 58).

Thus, Morgan's collaged poem does not end with an individualistic drive for knowledge that he himself or the speaker of the poem would hoard in taking up the position of a Lucretian inquirer in front of these photographs. Rather, the poem ends with a call for anyone, indeed for the "Every/Man" of the poem's proxy-title, to use these photographs as a reminder that the "perils without number," including the acts of war with which photography is so entangled, are not what humans were "form'd" to do. Instead, Morgan's collaged poem asks the viewer to look at the universe through the lens of the camera and allow their "senses to awake" to the fact that there are words and worlds not yet known and better possibilities on the horizon. When first broken into its parts and then understood collectively, this small collaged poem uses the voices of poets temporally separated by centuries and speaking in multiple languages to address the wonder of the universe as its photographic image crosses time and space to become visible for the everyday modern viewer. Moreover, by relying on the voices of these disparate poets who have come before him, Morgan signals his own commitment to the interconnectivity of people across time and space and allows his scrapbooks to attest to the ways in which, as Latour argues, "[n]othing, not even the human, is for itself or by itself, but always *by other things* and *for other things*" ("Morality" 256, emphasis in original).

Across these examples, I have worked to demonstrate how Morgan uses the form of the scrapbook, its function as an aesthetic provocation, its commitment to mixed-media, and its blend of visual and textual poetics to speak in a temporally-

rich language of juxtaposition that breaks down the two cultures divide. By focusing on the theme of photography and its world-expanding capabilities, I have also demonstrated how the Morgan scrapbooks can be unfolded through a Latourian close reading that works to understand and interpret the scrapbook's poetics. With this foundation established, I will demonstrate throughout the rest of this thesis the ways in which the scrapbooks' entanglement with mixed temporalities, speculative futures, and openness to intermediation suggests that Morgan's scrapbooks are particularly well-suited to digital interventions. Opening the Morgan scrapbooks to forms of data capture and visualization through digital databases and prototypes not only offers a way past issues of access that currently prevent the scrapbooks from participating more fully in digital media ecologies, but also continues the scrapbooks' tradition of learning to think with and alongside media.



### Chapter 3: Researching the Morgan Scrapbooks Through Design

*“It remains to describe  
the pièce de résistance  
of the display of fantasy”  
—qtd. in Scrapbook 9, Page 1501*

In Chapter 2, I showed that, due to the intermediated nature of the scrapbooks and Morgan’s poetic investment in making visible the links between science and art, the scrapbooks’ modes of meaning creation depend in part on their readers acknowledging them as technologically-saturated mediators. Chapter 2 also performed a close reading of the scrapbooks through a Latourian unfolding of some of the mediators that are brought together in the pages of the scrapbooks. In this chapter, I unpack the scrapbooks further by engaging in a ‘research through design’ (RtD) process that puts them into conversation with digital tools and interfaces. Working with an eight-page subset of the scrapbooks, I will discuss two digital prototypes that were built through this RtD process. Not only do these digital interventions align with and continue the technologically-focused and speculative work that much of Morgan’s scrapbooks and broader corpus are committed to, they also work to reconceptualize the copyright barriers facing the Morgan scrapbooks as creative constraints by seeking out innovative ways of representing the scrapbooks that do not rely on facsimile reproductions.

This chapter argues first that, like scrapbooks, prototypes must be understood as media-specific mediators. I will therefore unpack some of the ways in which prototypes have been theorized, with particular emphasis on how prototypes can comprise arguments that are shared through making. This discussion will also address the speculative functions of prototypes as boundary objects and will argue that these prototypes perform similar functions to those of speculative texts that allow for possible futures to be made visible to multiple readers. The second section of my chapter will focus on the use of data visualizations

as tools to help make discoverable and searchable cultural collections. In particular, I will assess four existing visualization prototypes that work to offer their users rich-prospect browsing and generous interfaces. This chapter's final section will then introduce the two RtD prototypes that I developed collaboratively with Akmal Putra<sup>34</sup> for the eight-page subset from the Morgan scrapbooks, as well as an eye-tracking experiment that was conducted using the scrapbook pages and three of Morgan's concrete poems. This RtD process enables me to put into practice the theoretical arguments that this chapter's first two sections will establish and demonstrates the value of engaging complex print mediators like the Morgan scrapbooks through prototypical explorations.

### *Fictionality and Futurity in Prototyping*

As my preceding chapters have demonstrated, scrapbooks create meaning through their juxtapositions and the ways in which they physically, contextually, and temporally remix the sources that they utilize. While the cut-and-paste activities that supply the alphabet for the scrapbooker-as-author are writ large in any scrapbook, Ellen Gruber Garvey's description of scrapbooking as a process of "performing archivalness" indicates that the less tangible processes and performances that go into making scrapbooks are an equally crucial part of understanding how they function as mediating objects. Indeed, scrapbooking techniques give rise to unique forms of knowledge that would not otherwise be possible and demonstrate that making is a form of knowledge. In the case of the Morgan scrapbooks specifically, I have argued that they can be read as engaging in a queer praxis of cut and paste, as

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<sup>34</sup> Putra undertook this collaborative project as his Advanced MSc. thesis in Design Informatics at the University of Edinburgh. In our division of labour, I built and populated the database, while Putra performed the machinic deformations of the pages, including the K-means clustering and Canny Line Detections. Putra also coded the interfaces based on our collaborative design decisions. Our eye-tracking experiment was collaboratively designed and conducted, with expert assistance from Dr. Robin Hill. Putra's MSc thesis is available through the University of Edinburgh (Putra) and Putra and I have a co-authored journal article discussing our collaboration and results (Moynihan and Putra).

discussed in Chapter 1, and as speaking through a technologically-aware poetics, as discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 will also discuss in more detail how scrapbooks can be understood as information management tools that prefigure databases, while Chapter 5 considers how the Morgan scrapbooks create queer temporalities, which then recur across Morgan's poetic corpus. Each of these readings relies on the fact that the scrapbooks reclassify, reinterpret, and remake their collected materials through the act of scrapbooking. In this way, scrapbooks can come to parallel what design communities refer to as 'research through design.' As Abigail C. Durrant, John Vines, and Jayne Wallace explain, RtD is a "foundational concept," rather than a single or "formal methodological approach," that refers to a "practice-based inquiry that generates transferrable knowledge" through made objects or prototypes, whether analog or digital (3). The transferability of knowledge is crucial to differentiating RtD objects, because as Pieter Stappers and Elisa Giaccardi emphasize, although all design requires research, "not every design process yields knowledge that is (made) *available to others*" (sec.43.1.5, emphasis in original). RtD therefore works to harness the mediating potential of the objects it produces in order to make explicit the kinds of knowledge that, in Latour's terms, it "transform[s], translate[s], distort[s], and modif[ies]" (*Reassembling* 39). In seeking to share meaning through a created and actively mediating object, RtD objects are motivated by a drive similar to scrapbooks' performative archivalness and, for both scrapbooks and RtD objects, the act of making explicitly informs the meanings that are shared.

Despite this commitment to communicative materialities, RtD objects often face challenges of legibility within text-dominated media ecologies not unlike those challenges that have kept scrapbooks sidelined in many literary and archival environments. Bruce Brown et al. observe that design communities "struggle with developing processes and formats to share and sustain the knowledge that is made

through making,” and suggest that this “may be because objects do not circulate through the world in the same way that text does” or because the knowledge “that is embodied in and expressed through objects” requires new means of communication in order to be effectively relayed (1). RtD objects, including digital prototypes, are also often overlooked as simply an early stage of a tool or product that has yet to be finalized or as a fleeting object that is of little use outside of its specific research project. As such, I have helped to argue elsewhere that “prototypes share many of the same fringe characteristics as scrapbooks, including a sense of ephemerality” and “difficulty with preservation and categorization” (Moynihan and Putra n.p.). Given the overlap between scrapbooks and RtD objects, both in their commitment to making as knowledge and in the challenges they pose to traditional forms of knowledge circulation, I argue that scrapbooks are well-suited to, and underutilized in, RtD explorations.

Using RtD to explore the Morgan scrapbooks offers a way to tackle the due diligence and copyright restrictions that currently prevent users from accessing the scrapbooks in digital spaces. As established in my introduction, the third-party materials collected in the Morgan scrapbooks are part of the “twentieth-century black hole” of information, or the large body of twentieth-century cultural materials that currently exist in analog forms but are blocked from online participation because of, for example, prohibitive due diligence restrictions and risk-averse institutional policies. By engaging with the Morgan scrapbooks through RtD processes, however, these barriers can be reconceptualized as creative constraints. My project works to develop innovative digital prototypes that are inspired by the scrapbooks’ embodied, transmittable knowledges and based on the creation of rich metadata and innovative visualizations, instead of copyright-restricted facsimiles. I further assert that, even if copyright was not an impeding factor, breaking away from

a passive facsimile that does little to engage with the media-specific properties of the scrapbooks allows for a deeper engagement with the forms of meaning making that the scrapbooks embody, including the scrapbooks' own commitment to making as a form of knowledge. As such, tracing how the Morgan scrapbooks shape, speak back to, and resist the resulting RtD prototypes that attempt to remediate them can reassert the value of the analog texts as mediators, while also showing the interpretive possibilities afforded to the scrapbooks when they are brought into contact with the potential transformations enabled by digital mediators.

I also argue that the content, and not just the materiality, of the Morgan scrapbooks make them particularly compatible with RtD processes and acts of speculative prototyping. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Morgan's scrapbooks can be read as participating within his efforts to break down the perceived divide between science and art and to remain open to a variety of technological mediators, including computational devices, when considering the new possibilities that they might afford his poetics. Speaking about these poetics, Morgan himself states that his poetry is interested in "the workings of the imagination and in how scientific facts and discoveries could be opened out fictionally within a broader context of human experience" ("Poetry and Virtual Realities" 40). Morgan also states that while he frequently turned to "science-fiction proper" in pursuit of these interests, he maintained that these explorations were only 'fictional' because they were based on "something not yet discovered or materialized, or something thought at present to be impossible" ("Poetry and Virtual Realities" 40). For Morgan, most of his science fiction contained the possibility to be proven true, because "many of the things we call impossible will turn out someday not to be so" ("Poetry and Virtual Realities" 40-41). Similarly, Donald Gibson describes Morgan's poetry and scrapbooks through ardently technological terms, stating that Morgan's integration of technology and

technical skill functions as “art in the manner of craft” wherein “his poems are intricately designed ... objects created with the same merged skills of hand, eye, and mind that are abundantly demonstrated in concrete physical form in the ... scrapbooks” (174–75). As such, Morgan’s poetics, whether expressed through his poems or scrapbooks, can be understood as a form of experimental prototyping intended to reveal what can be created through the mediators of language, visual images, and paper media. Researching Morgan’s scrapbooks through RtD processes that assess the ways in which Morgan’s technologically-attuned poetics communicate therefore has the potential to contribute to efforts to increase the legibility of both scrapbooks and RtD prototypes in twenty-first-century media ecologies.

Morgan’s interest in imagining the impossible turned possible gestures toward another significant connection between his scrapbooks and RtD processes, namely, their mutual engagement with fictionality and futurity. Although the scrapbooks are not strictly fictional, given that they include many news media and other non-fictional sources, they resonate with Morgan’s science fictional works, because, as demonstrated above and in Chapter 2, Morgan did not adhere to a strict divide between science and science fiction. As Brian McAllister summarizes, Morgan approached science fiction as “the hypothetical postulation of that not *yet* discovered” and so treated it “simply as the creative wing of science” (n.18, emphasis in original). The scrapbooks’ pervasive documentation of new, proposed, and even whimsically imagined technological advancements coupled with Morgan’s tracking of expanding frontiers, such as space exploration, allows these scrapbooks to participate in Morgan’s speculative imaginings of possible futures. In the case of the scrapbooks, I argue that this technologically-attuned openness to the future can be found even where futurity as such is not being explicitly discussed. For example,

engaging in scrapbooking as performed archivalness requires an imagined posterity that will, at least theoretically, inherit the compiled texts and so speaks to a future yet to come. Similarly, Morgan's construction of each scrapbook over multiple years shows his willingness to create with an eye towards that which is unknown and future, given that each page had to be constructed over time with spaces left for those clippings that Morgan had not yet found—even those clippings that had not yet been printed and circulated—but would eventually be juxtaposed with the already selected clippings. As I worked to show in Chapter 2, Morgan also used his poetics, whether in the scrapbooks or his written texts, to draw attention to the dangers and potentials for misuse that are created in the wake of new technological advancements. In these cases, his speculative vision offers social critiques to help shape his present and perhaps avoid particular futures. Although Morgan created the scrapbooks with fragments of his past and present, then, the impact and potentials of the possible futures suggested by these fragments are rarely out of sight.

Prototypes show a similar entanglement with fictionalized futures that remain relevant to their present moment. Digital media scholars Gabriella Arrigoni and Tom Schofield explain that, within computer science and design, prototypes are broadly understood as manifestations of ideas used “to test possibilities” and to share these ideas “with stakeholders (managers, collaborators, prospective users)” (26). Given this communicative capacity, Arrigoni and Schofield emphasize that prototypes hold the potential to “materialise visions for the future, catalyse creativity ... and quickly generate new avenues of development” by allowing the consideration of “non-actual” elements associated with the prototype's use (26). When used in these fictive ways, Arrigoni and Schofield argue that prototypes become “prompt[s] for critique, reflection and debate” and participate in speculative but “plausible

situations” that effectively “materialise an alternative world” (34). To rephrase this process in Latourian terms, the creation of a material prototype, whether analog or digital, activates a new mediator as an originating event, as well a cluster of new connections within the mediator’s associated networks, each of which suggest different ways, or alternative worlds, in which this mediator could be deployed. Stan Ruecker and Jennifer Roberts-Smith offer further nuance in understanding how the prototype materializes these alternative worlds by explaining that “the objects of design research are distinct in the sense that” that they do not necessarily create “something totally new, but rather an understanding of preferred futures” and suggest “how to plan to get there” (11). As a result, Ruecker and Roberts-Smith argue that the “primary mode of studying the future, absent time machines, is to make informed speculations about the future,” usually in the form of prototypes, and to study these materialized speculations (12). What becomes clear in both of these discussions of prototypes is that addressing futures in design spaces leads to the need to create a shareable artifact that can be used to imagine and activate these otherwise intangible futures. The created prototype in this fictional capacity can therefore be likened to Donna Haraway’s cyborg that is at once “a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction” (Haraway 5). In other words, because the creation of a prototype is also the activation of an originating event that alters the perceptibility and possibilities of the networks in which it circulates, the speculative futures that it inspires are no less socially real for those that unfold and think through the prototype than the prototype itself. In this way, prototypes come to resonate with fictional texts, particularly science fiction texts, that allow readers to think collectively and individually through alternative futures, whether or not these futures ever come to pass.

The ability of texts and prototypes to make tangible otherwise intangible concepts for both individuals and groups signals their role as what sociologist Susan Leigh Star has termed “boundary objects,” or objects that “have different meanings in different social worlds” while still having a structure that is “common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable” across worlds (Bowker and Star 297). Star first noticed boundary objects with James Griesemer when they observed that animal specimens in Berkeley’s Museum of Vertebrate Zoology were interpreted very differently by “amateur collectors” and “professional biologists,” despite being the “‘same’ specimens” and being recognizable to each group (Star and Griesemer 407). She then worked with informatics professor Geoffrey C. Bowker in their co-authored book *Sorting Things Out* (1999) to more thoroughly articulate boundary objects in other situations. Bowker and Star state that boundary objects must be “plastic enough to adapt to local needs” and “robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites,” as well as asserting that the “creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting communities” (297). Boundary objects are therefore crucial to interdisciplinary work, such as my own thesis project, and often take the form of prototypes that allow communication between different domain experts, who can, in turn, provide multiple perspectives on the value of the prototype. As such, prototypes that function successfully as boundary objects can be understood as actively recognized mediators that are both familiar enough to be engaging and unfamiliar enough to avoid being dismissed as intermediaries.

While it is clear that prototypes can function as boundary objects, texts are less often discussed as boundary objects, despite the fact that, as Star and Griesemer’s example of the animal specimens shows, a boundary object can be any mediator that enables exchange across communities. In particular, the science

fiction genre demonstrates an active investment in transgressing boundaries, as evident in its hybrid title alone, and the ways in which science fiction literature has informed scientific and technological advances attests to its capabilities as a boundary object. For example, Jules Verne's *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865) and H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1901)—two of the most canonically famous examples of early science fictional texts—engage in imaginative explorations of space travel to the moon. Showing the impact these novels had well beyond the limits of the literary community, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky (1857-1935), Robert Hutchings Goddard (1882-1945), and Hermann Oberth (1894-1989), all of whom are routinely credited with pioneering first-generation space technologies in the early twentieth century, cite one or both of these novels as having influenced their early thinking about space travel (Logsdon n.p.). In 2017, Eliot Peper traced the influence of other science fiction texts on the tech industry for the *Harvard Business Review*, citing examples such as William Gibson's introduction of the concept of "cyberspace" in *Neuromancer* (1984), *Star Trek's* communicator as an early inspiration for the mobile phone, and the role of Neal Stephenson's novels *Snow Crash* (1992) and *The Diamond Age* (1995) within work such as Jeff Bezos's creation of the Kindle and Sergey Brin's research into virtual reality (Peper n.p.). That same year, Amy Gibbs wrote an article for PricewaterhouseCoopers that also focused on connections between science fiction and real-world technologies, stating that

Ray Bradbury imagined earbuds in 1953 (*Fahrenheit 451*), Aldous Huxley, antidepressants in 1931 (*Brave New World*), Arthur C. Clarke, computer tablets with digital newspapers (*2001: A Space Odyssey*, 1968), and of course, George Orwell who, in 1949, when even colour television wasn't yet being broadcast, predicted the always televised surveillance state in *1984* (n.p.).

Both Peper and Gibbs argue that, given this fecund history of synchronicity between science fiction and new technologies, the creative perspectives offered by science

fiction books, television, and films should be recognized as a rich resource for business leaders.

Indeed, many large multinational companies, including Boeing and Intel, as well as venture capital firms such as Lux Capital, are investing in science fictional ideas as precisely such a resource and turning these speculative fictions into profitable realities (Burdick; Marinova). As Anne Burdick explains, “corporations and startups sometimes use fictitious future scenarios to identify new opportunities, test high risk concepts, inspire teams toward a common goal, and generate consumer interest” (14). She describes, for example, work by David Johnson at Intel to produce what he calls “Science Fiction Prototyping,” or prototypes based on “a combination of ethnography, trend analysis, and technology developments” (15). These prototypes are shared in the form of “comic books, films, and short stories” and offer “fictitious futures that cast forward the effects of nascent technology developments at Intel and in computer science more broadly” (15–16). In doing so, they also concretely demonstrate the ability of a text to function as both a prototype and a boundary object and show that, in the business world of science and technology, science fiction texts are read, not as engaging stories or through cultural critiques, but as resources for potential business ideas and models.

Although tech industries are drawing inspiration from humanities-based mediators, including science fiction narratives, critics such as Burdick argue that “humanities-based future scenarios are largely absent” within the resulting processes and products (14). For example, critical interrogations of the entanglement of science fiction and technological developments as described above would quickly identify the Western, white, and male-dominated trend in the science fictional voices that are given space and used as inspiration. Meanwhile, intersectional humanities approaches are well positioned to ask questions about

whose future is being imagined and, just as importantly, whose is being excluded. Hyphen-Labs is an international collective that was founded by Carmen Aguilar y Wedge and Ece Tankal in 2014 to center the voices of women of colour who work “at the intersection of technology, art, science, and the future” (Hyphen-Labs n.p.). One of their projects, titled NeuroSpeculative AfroFeminism (NSAF), is a virtual-reality narrative written to combat the lack of representation of black women in technology fields. The fictional NSAF lab offers products that “range from sunblock for traveling through the multiverse, to earrings embedded with cameras that offer protection and visibility” (n.p.). While obviously fantastic, the presentations of these products in the narrative nonetheless address issues such as the fact that many skincare products, like sunscreen, are designed for white bodies first. Moreover, the VR experience is set “in a Neurocosmetology lab where black women are pioneering techniques of brain optimization and cognitive enhancement,” thereby “showing images of empowered black women” while presenting “content made for and by women of colour” (n.p.). Hyphen-Labs therefore indicates the importance of intersectionality in design and can be understood, at least in part, as an example of what Johanna Drucker calls “speculative computing” or “a set of principles through which to push back on the cultural authority by which computational methods instrumentalize their effects across many disciplines” (*SpecLab* 5). With Bethany Nowwiskie, Drucker also argues that speculative computing “extends the recognition that interpretation takes place from inside a system, rather than from outside” and so makes it possible for “subjective interpretation to have a role in shaping the processes, not just the structures, of digital humanities” (Drucker and Nowwiskie 442). Burdick offers a similar reading of speculative design, arguing that humanists can enrich speculative design spaces by

suggesting new understandings through speculation, challenging new thinking about that which doesn't yet exist, generating an ongoing exchange of perspectives and ideas, encouraging skepticism and a critical mindset, and creating an awareness of the positionality of designers and that which they create (29).

In line with the power of making as knowledge that scrapbooks and prototypes already demonstrate, then, Hyphen-Lab, Drucker, and Burdick affirm that when subjective interpretations are undertaken rigorously, they create space for the formation of new knowledge, rather than simply descriptive or even predictive outcomes.

Adding to the calls from researchers like Burdick and Drucker for more humanities-based interventions into commercial and technological fields, there are calls from within the science fiction community itself. For example, Ursula K. Le Guin used her 2014 National Book Awards speech to emphasize books as tools of change that can offer alternative futures that exist apart from the seemingly "inescapable" power of capitalism (Le Guin n.p.). She argues, however, that in order for these speculative worlds to be written, books must be recognized as more than "just commodities" (n.p.), thereby resisting the reduction of books to profit-making objects, whether as commodities for sale or as resources to mine for business ideas. Moreover, I add that critical interventions like Le Guin's indicate the need to hold space for Latourian cycles of concern that assess the moral implications of developments that might arise from humanities-based boundary objects as originating events. The fact that cultural artifacts like science fiction texts are being employed as boundary objects in technological developments that ultimately shape the way in which knowledge is saved, shared, and circulated is an important acknowledgement of these texts' value. This collective of voices from across design, digital humanities, and literary fields affirms, however, that the involvement of these cultural artifacts needs to signal the beginning of a conversation involving voices

from both the sciences and the humanities, not a substitution for these conversations. As Burdick asserts, in order to ensure that the “culture, values, and practices of the humanities are not excluded from future technologies,” the “speculative inventiveness of design” needs to be integrated with “the critical interpretation of the humanities” (14). In the context of imagining digital modes for representing cultural collections such as the Morgan scrapbooks, these critical humanities-based approaches are highly relevant, given that the domain experts for cultural collections are very often situated within humanities disciplines.

What becomes increasingly clear through examples like NSAF and the critical interventions discussed above is that, as Alan Galey and Ruecker argue, “the process of designing may be used simultaneously for creating an artifact and as a process of critical interpretation” and thus that prototypes can, and usually do, “contain arguments that advance knowledge about the world” (406). By designing a prototype and/or a product, modes of knowledge production are altered and information is created. Galey and Ruecker state that the arguments prototypes advance can be traced by the affordances they offer to their disciplines or fields, the ways that they become defensible through the “heuristic evaluation” of these affordances, their ability to address possible objections to the affordances, and the ways that they prove substantive over time through the “intellectual importance and practical value” of these affordances (412–13). Galey and Ruecker also address the affinity between prototypes and literature that I have been discussing, arguing that book history and design both offer perspectives “on the ethos of *thinking through making*” and that “[Lev] Manovich’s assertion that ‘every prototype is a theory’ has a counterpart in Bernard Cerquiglini’s claim for textual scholarship that ‘every edition is a theory’” (407). As such, they see the fields of book history and digital humanities as being similarly invested in showing authorship as only “one activity among many,

including *designing, manufacturing, modifying, reading,*" all of which shape the meaning of books and digital artifacts (408, emphasis in original). Galey and Ruecker therefore assert that prototypes deserve the same careful critical attention that books or articles are granted in the humanities. In other words, if humanities perspectives are to be made present in design and technology spaces, prototypes and digital tools need to be brought within the purview of humanities' critical discourses as well.

By working to build digital prototypes for the Morgan scrapbooks, my project responds directly to Galey and Ruecker's approach. Rather than allowing the scrapbooks to fall out of view because of copyright restrictions or simply digitizing them through standardized, facsimile-based means that do not take up the scrapbooks' own speculative investments in order to imagine new interfaces, I seek to engage critically with the scrapbooks as rich mediators and fecund boundary objects. As my approach to the creation of digital prototypes inspired by the Morgan scrapbooks utilizes both databases and visualization interfaces, the following section turns to a consideration of what is at stake in the choice to argue through prototypical data visualizations specifically.

#### *Data Visualizations and Generous Interfaces*

Latour argues that the established print modes of disseminating research and information have come to rely so heavily on particular forms of data visualizations that it is difficult to "think of what it is to know something without indexes, bibliographies, dictionaries, papers with references, tables, columns, photographs, peaks, spots, bands" and so on ("Visualisation" 13). Latour acknowledges that such methods of information management and presentation are at least partially required due to the human need to classify and group things before making sense of them. He explains, using the example of hypothetical museum

artifacts, that “[c]ollections are essential” for the objects to make sense in relation to one another, but that even when “the archives are well-kept, the labels are in place, and the specimens do not decay,” large collections quickly become “too much for one ‘mind’ to handle” (“Visualisation” 16). As a result, “the collection will be drawn, written, recoded” through secondary means, or “inscriptions,” in order to make the labels and specimens, as well as the collection itself, more manageable (“Visualisation” 16). Similarly, Latour argues that researchers in scientific and technology fields compete amongst themselves to find encompassing representations that support their arguments and, in this pursuit, they work to “mobilize larger and larger numbers of events” at once, which is done most effectively through visual means of inscription, such as “charts, graphs, and graphics” (“Visualisation” 17). Writing in 1986, Latour was already arguing that journal articles and similar publications increasingly “include more and more layers of graphic display” and strive for a “greater merging of figures, numbers, and letters,” all of which is “greatly facilitated” by the seemingly “homogenous treatment” of data “as binary units in and by computers” (“Visualisation” 17). In the more than thirty years that have elapsed since Latour made his observation, the layers of graphic display and the incorporation of data into binary units have only increased, and Latour cautions that this “*cascade* of ever simplified inscriptions” can prove counterproductive to the goal of knowledge production that it initially worked to support (“Visualisation” 16). This counterproductivity arises because there is an inherent loss of complexity that occurs as increasingly more unlike things are grouped together through inscription (“Visualisation” 16). Furthermore, “each new collection, each new labelling, each new redrawing” increases the amount of effort needed to unfold the differences between the collected elements and, thus, increases “the cost of dissenting” from this collection (“Visualisation” 17). Whether

in museum collections or scientific arguments, Latour insists that these cascading visual inscriptions become powerful rhetorical devices that are distinct from the mediators that they purport to represent. Any one of these inscriptions has the potential to oversimplify an argument to such a degree that it “turn[s] an incredible statement into a credible one” that is then uncritically “passed along without further modification” or unfolding (“Visualisation” 17). While some inscriptions are clearly valuable—even unavoidable—Latour’s analysis demonstrates the risks of allowing these inscriptions to be overlooked as intermediaries or objective summations of facts, and insists that they be consistently questioned, treated as contingent, and resisted where they prove to suppress, rather than encourage, critical analysis.

Writing in 2017, Drucker arrives at a similar conclusion to Latour’s 1986 argument about visualizations and other modes of inscriptions, although she focuses on the impact within the humanities specifically. Like Latour, Drucker acknowledges the human need to focus on excerpts or collections from larger material histories in order to make sense of particular objects of study, including through humanities approaches such as close reading (“Why Distant Reading Isn’t” 632). As methods from humanities computing and now digital humanities have come to inform the ways in which texts are studied, Drucker also argues that information visualizations, which she defines as “metrics expressed as graphics,” have risen in importance (“Why Distant Reading Isn’t” 632). As she and Nowwiskie explain, “visualization tools have long been a part of the analysis of statistical methods in digital humanities,” but rather than being read as objects of study themselves, these visualizations are treated as “a secondary and subservient ‘display’ of information” (436) and thus become the intermediaries that Latour cautioned against. Drucker also notes that, “[m]ost, if not all, of the visualizations adopted by humanists, such as GIS mapping, graphs, and charts, were developed in

other disciplines” and so speak through “a rhetoric taken wholesale from the techniques of the empirical sciences that conceals their epistemological bias under a guise of familiarity” (*Graphesis* 125). Drucker therefore draws attention to the potential for suppressing, instead of encouraging, argument associated with visualization tools that are accepted too passively and that allow the presentation of an argument to appear as the presentation of fact. As Drucker summarizes,

[t]he specific semantics and rhetoric of visual epistemological systems are underanalyzed, and the elaborate processes of mediation and remediation are generally overlooked. We are reading (in the cognitive-hermeneutic sense) the artifacts of a process as if they are the actual phenomena. The visualizations are assertions read as declarations (“Why Distant Reading Isn’t” 633).

Drucker’s argument therefore demonstrates the continued relevance of Latour’s critique, while also underscoring the problematic results of the gap between humanities and scientific communities discussed in the previous section. If we as humanities scholars and practitioners do not critically engage with the development of tools for analysis and techniques for visualization as they rapidly expand in the digital world, we not only limit ourselves to working with tools designed without humanistic potentialities in mind but also leave ourselves ill-equipped to engage in close readings of these tools and their outputs, including visualizations.

Across data visualization, human computer interaction (HCI), and digital humanities fields, work is being done to bridge the gap between scientific-, technological-, and humanities-based inquiry, as well as between visual and textual literacies. Drucker argues for what she has termed “graphesis,” or “the idea that an image, like a text, is an aesthetic provocation, a field of potentialities, in which a viewer intervenes” and creates knowledge “through a dynamic process” (“Graphesis” 36). As an example of how graphesis can prompt an activation, or re-mediation, of visual tools, Drucker points to the graphical nature of interfaces as a mediating structure, rather than just a point of access to the computational processes

happening at the data access layer, or back end. As she explains, once an interface is approached as a visual structure that guides the user through codes, visual cues, and modes of reading, it becomes clear that an “[i]nterface *is what we read and how we read* combined through engagement, it is a provocation to cognitive experience, but it is also an enunciative apparatus” (*Graphesis* 147, emphasis in original). Prototypes and interfaces approached through graphesis do not try to avoid the human need to collect or use inscriptions to make meaning, but rather make room for recognizing contingency and subjectivity in these processes, and thus acknowledge their presence as arguments.

Burdick explains graphesis further, using the metaphor of a *Wunderkammer*, or the cabinets of curiosities, to which, as discussed in my introduction, scrapbooks have also been compared. As Burdick argues, *Wunderkammers* and graphesis similarly “presen[t] a set of elements, relationships, and rules of engagement” that require “a user/viewer/reader to derive meaning by ‘computing’<sup>35</sup>—by combining and constructing relationships between the parts—in order to produce their own distinct meaning” (24). Burdick’s comparison to the *Wunderkammers* signals that pre-digital collection structures that enable subjective, largely visual arrangements of collected elements, including scrapbooks, can both speak to and through processes of graphesis. Working to engage the Morgan scrapbooks as examples of precisely such predigital structures, as well as graphical aesthetic provocations, therefore emerges as a key motivation for my RtD prototypes.

Other visualization projects focused on cultural collections have set a precedent for my work on the Morgan scrapbooks. In particular, I am compelled by

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<sup>35</sup> The term “computing” as applied to human actions predates modern usage of the term to refer to machines. Hayles notes how “in the 1930s and 1940s, people who were employed to do calculations—and it was predominantly women who performed this clerical labor—were called ‘computers’” (*Mother* 1).

dynamic visualizations developed for cultural collections that have been theorized as “rich-prospect browsers” (Ruecker et al.) or “generous interfaces” (Whitelaw). Ruecker, Milena Radzikowska, and Stefan Sinclair define rich-prospect browsers as those that display “a visual representation of every item in a given collection, combined with tools for manipulating the display” (3). They explain that, “to be of the greatest value, a rich-prospect interface needs to ... provide a set of appropriate tools that can take advantage of the visible representation of items in the collection,” including zooming, panning, grouping, opening, and structuring (153–54). The user is thereby presented with a rich array of information and provided with specific means enabled by the interface as a mediator to shape that information to their own subjective interests and research questions. Moreover, the rich-prospect browser simultaneously gives rise to and functions as a mediated reading of its collection. Similarly, a generous interface is defined by Mitchell Whitelaw as one that moves beyond query-based search interfaces in representing “the scale and richness of its collection” (para.3). Rather than relying on a query field, which requires some knowledge of effective keywords, generous interfaces provide “multiple ways in” to the collection, support “exploration as well as the focused enquiry where search excels,” and “enrich interpretation by revealing relationships and structures within a collection” (para.3). Both rich-prospect browsers and generous interfaces require their designers, researchers, and developers to be familiar with the character of the collections that they represent and to make decisions about what tools will be beneficial to that collection’s unfolding. As Ruecker et al. argue, this required awareness extends to an acknowledgement that “not all collections are going to be amenable to rich-prospect display, since some may contain too many items” or the items’ heterogeneity may demand “more complex forms of representation that combine tags, attributes, or contents” beyond

those able to be represented collection-wide (175). Rich-prospect browsers and generous interfaces therefore resist the kind of collapsing of difference that Latour warned against and that processes of close reading also forestall. When employed rigorously, these interfaces take seriously their mediating roles as originating events and are constructed in order to acknowledge their role in fundamentally shaping the available meanings and readings for the cultural collections they transform.

Turning to examples of existing rich-prospect browsers and generous interfaces allows for a consideration of the benefits, contributions, and challenges that they prompt, while also showing how bespoke interfaces for cultural collections have been developing over the past decade. I begin with Alice Thudt, Uta Hinrichs, and Sheelagh Carpendale's Bohemian Bookshelf interface, which is designed as a means of digitally navigating library holdings. Thudt et al. describe the Bohemian Bookshelf as an effort to remediate the ways in which physical library shelves encourage "serendipitous discoveries," such as stumbling upon a previously unknown book while browsing shelves, perhaps while looking for a different, known book (1461). Thudt et al. report that serendipity "has been found to be an important factor in information seeking, research, and ideation" and yet, "the approach of most search interfaces to digital data collections is targeted toward 'minimizing the number of *possibly irrelevant* objects' rather than 'maximizing the number of possible *relevant* objects'" (1469, emphasis in original). Working with a subset of 250 books, Thudt et al. therefore developed a series of five interlinked visualizations that take an "abstract, metaphoric approach" to the library collection in order to "evoke curiosity and promote a playful exploration" (1364). Each of the visualizations "increase[s] the number of possible adjacencies" between books by "leveraging content-related as well as physical characteristics of books" (1364). Reflecting this dual focus on content and object, the five visualizations organize the books by

author, content-related keywords, page count, cover colour, and temporal aspect<sup>36</sup> respectively (Figure 18). Emphasizing the serendipitous aims of the project, all five visualizations are shown on the user's screen at the same time and selecting a book in any visualization causes the other visualizations to reorient to the selected book. The interrelated nature of the data shows the many simultaneous connections that any one book has, while also allowing detailed explorations of the many books grouped together within each characteristic. The Bohemian Bookshelf therefore analyzes and creatively engages with the ways in which users access information, whether in analog and digital spaces, while also reading the book object as a rich mediator that can inspire digital modes of data visualization.



Figure 18: Thudt et al., *Bohemian Bookshelf*, *Son of the Sword* (2001) Selected (<http://www.alicethudt.de/BohemianBookshelf/>)

<sup>36</sup> The temporal aspect is expressed as the relationship between the book's publication year and the era on which the contents focus. Using these temporal marks, each book is plotted on two timelines, thus indicating whether the book addresses a historical period, its own contemporary moment, or a period in the future (at the time of its publication).

In analyzing the hermeneutic potentials of the Bohemian Bookshelf, Thudt et al.'s user studies show their prototype to be largely successful in demonstrating the viability of integrating serendipity into design interfaces. Looking ahead to future developments, however, they acknowledge that scaling the visualizations upwards from the 250 books in their subset to the many thousands of books that comprise most library holdings would require further aggregation of the data points (1469), which also indicates a potential for a cascade of oversimplifying inscriptions as cautioned against by Latour. They also note that, although users responded positively to the open-ended nature of the Bohemian Bookshelf, users also requested more means of specifying a particular book or topic of interest, which indicates the importance of integrating both "targeted and open-ended *serendipitous* exploration strategies using information visualization" (1469, emphasis in original). While I agree with Thudt et al.'s assessment of this finding, I suggest that it also gestures toward another underlying issue, namely, that, as Ruecker et al. have observed, "randomness makes people nervous" and users have generally come to expect a level of control in interfaces (Ruecker et al. 176). Although a balance must be struck between searchability and serendipitous discovery, I argue that granting an interface room to push back against the control of the user and to provide unexpected discoveries, not unlike opening a scrapbook to a random page, offers opportunities for innovation in interface generosity and ways of resisting passive and rehearsed patterns of use.

Another fecund example of a generous interface can be found in the outputs of the Stuff of Science Fiction project, whose research team I have been a part of since 2013. This interdisciplinary project brings together researchers from both humanities and information visualization fields and focuses on the Bob Gibson Anthologies of Speculative Fiction collection, which consists of "888 hand-crafted

fanzine-like booklets that include more than 10,000 published SF works,” ranging in date from 1840-1990 (Hinrichs et al., “Sandcastles” 8). These anthologies are handmade, annotated, and bound by Canadian collector Robert (Bob) Gibson (1908-2001) and the collection is currently housed in the University of Calgary’s Special Collections. This project asserts that “from a literary studies perspective, the Gibson Anthologies promise to elucidate the evolution of the SF genre as driven by popular periodicals,” while from “a visualization perspective,” they pose “new questions about how to facilitate exploration and analysis” of digitized forms of the anthologies (“Sandcastles” 8). Our collaboration resulted in the Speculative W@nderverse tool, which consists of four interlinked and simultaneously displayed visualizations (Figure 19). These visualizations include an itemized list of the individual anthology items, through which users can access an abstract for each item, as well as a link to facsimile versions where permitted by copyright; a bar-chart timeline of the items’ years of publication; a content keyword tag cloud representing keywords assigned to each item; and a bubble diagram visualizing the bespoke symbols that Gibson used to code his anthology items. Additionally, the symbols are surrounded by a tree diagram showing the hierarchical relationships of the assigned content keywords under nine main keyword headings (Figure 19).

The W@nderverse has helped to answer some of our research questions about the shape of early science fiction by making visible, for example, the importance of supernatural topics to early science fiction and showing an unacknowledged group of female writers who contributed the genre’s development (Forlini, Hinrichs, and Moynihan, para.7), while also proving to be an engaging tool for uninitiated users to explore the contents of the Gibson anthologies through the visualizations (para.26). We acknowledge, however, that this interface “raises more questions than it can answer,” including questions about how the material qualities of the anthologies



Visualization sandcastles also demonstrate the value of detaching visualization prototypes from industry-driven and instrumental aims and reasserting them as objects to think with and through, especially in RtD contexts.

The Past Visions project is another explicitly interdisciplinary RtD project, which brings together art historians, designers, and computer scientists to visualize a collection of drawings belonging to King Frederick William IV of Prussia (1795-1861), held at the Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg (Glinka et al., para.12). The project aims to investigate “how visualization can reconcile the perpetuated antagonism between qualitative and quantitative methods of distant and close viewing of cultural collections” (para.13). In seeking a user-centered design approach, the design team, Katrin Glinka, Christopher Pietsch, and Marian Dörk, held two workshops with the other domain experts, one unstructured and one led, in order to “create collages from sample material with the aim to tease out promising relationships among objects” (19). These collages were then used to identify “dimensions and parameters that were both appealing from an art historical point of view and offered interesting challenges for visualization research and design” (para.20). Glinka et al.’s use of collages as boundary objects for their interdisciplinary research reasserts the powerful and democratic nature of paper-based practices, such as collage, even within digital processes,<sup>37</sup> as well as reaffirming the underacknowledged relevance of cut-and-paste mediators, like scrapbooks, to digital media practices.

Based on these workshops, Glinka et al. created two interlinked visualizations that initially visualized 1500 of the 6905 drawings in the collection (Figure 20). The

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<sup>37</sup> For expanded discussions of the use of paper prototyping in creating data visualizations, see, for example, Giorgia Lupi and Stefanie Posavec’s *Dear Data* project, wherein they mailed each other fifty-two paper postcard data visualizations using data that they collected from their everyday lives over the course of a year (Lupi and Posavec).

first of these visualizations represents thematic keywords based on the drawings, while the other distributes images of the drawings along a biographical and historical timeline. As with the Bohemian Bookshelf and the W@nderverse, both visualizations are presented to the user simultaneously. The interface also allows users to filter the images by keyword, to zoom in on any particular drawing, and to see more detail about events on the timeline. The visualization therefore prioritizes thematic and temporal aspects of the collection and provides users with a means of oscillating between aggregate and individual, or distant and close, modes of reading (para.40). In assessing this tool, Glinka et al. suggest that a collection with “a higher contrast and broader palette of colours” than the largely black and white drawings of King Frederick’s collection would help to make the distant viewing mode of this visualization more engaging (para.39). This analysis indicates the role that the materiality of the collection plays in its successful remediation into different formats, as well as demonstrating how specific aesthetic provocations are created through aggregation that might not be relevant when viewing individual items, such as the collective colour palette of a group of drawings. In addition to the aesthetic features of the collection, Glinka et al. acknowledge that their dataset contains relatively complete temporal data, which allows their timeline feature to function effectively; however, temporal uncertainty is a feature of many collections and there remains a need to experiment with ways of reflecting this temporal uncertainty for other collections (para.39). Certainly, for the complex, nonlinear, and even sometimes elided temporalities of scrapbooks, this reliance on linear temporal distributions would prove difficult.

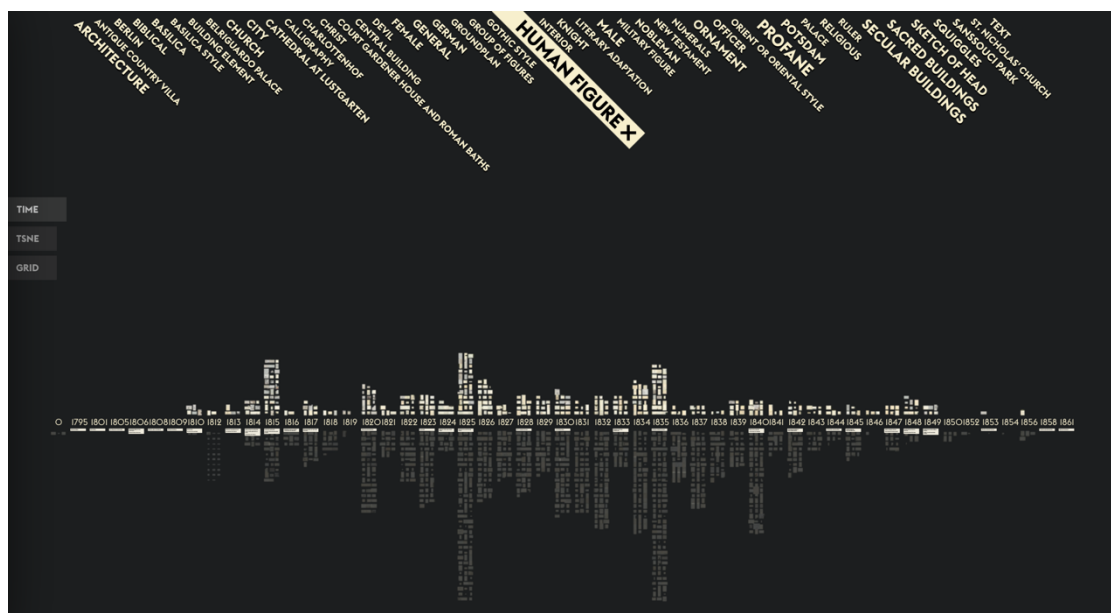


Figure 20: Glinka et al., *Past Visions*, 'Human Figure' Keyword Selected (<https://uclab.fh-potsdam.de/fw4/en/vis/>)

Since the Past Visions project first published their prototype in 2017, the prototype has been developed and expanded to create what is now called Vikus Viewer, which Pietsch describes as an “advanced web-based visualization system that arranges thousands of cultural artifacts on a dynamic canvas and supports the exploration of thematic and temporal patterns of large collections, while providing rapid access to high-resolution imagery” (n.p.). This tool has been used to represent all 6905 drawings by King Frederick, rather than the 1500-page subset used in the Past Visions iteration of the prototype, as well as being utilized to visualize 3273 books in the library of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), 212 pamphlets from the Seven Years’ War period (1756-1763), 1506 coins of Brandenburg-Prussian origin dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, 986 images by Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), and 5949 protest signs collected after the Boston Women’s March on 21 January 2017. While clearly an effective way of providing access to, and improving the browsability of, facsimiles for large collections, the Vikus Viewer, like the original Past Visions project prototype, remains temporally

restrictive in two ways. First, the Vikus Viewer continues to show a reliance on linear temporality. For example, every collection visualized by the Vikus Viewer is represented as adhering to a linear temporal timeline with no uncertain or outlying items. The only exception to this is the Women's March collection, as the signs in that collection all bear the same date. In visualizing the Women's March signs, the Vikus Viewer simply eliminates the timeline dimension and the sign facsimiles are represented in a grid layout. The Vikus Viewer does not offer an alternative interpretive dimension for grouping or displaying those collections for which a temporal linearity is not relevant or possible, but instead subtracts a dimension from the overview.<sup>38</sup> As with the Past Visions prototype, then, temporally complex objects like scrapbooks lose a dimension of representation within this system and their own modes of temporality are suppressed. Secondly, with the exception of the Women's March signs, every collection visualized through the Vikus Viewer to date is pre-twentieth century, which likely reflects the fact that this system relies on high-resolution facsimile images for its visual presence and navigation and thus encounters fewer copyright issues with these earlier collections. For twentieth-century collections like the Morgan scrapbooks, as well as collections that are otherwise restricted in ways that prevent their digital representation through facsimile, the Vikus Viewer becomes much more difficult to implement.

A recent project by Mark-Jan Bludau, Dörk, and Frank Heidmann carries out work similar to that of the Past Visions and Vikus Viewer projects by experimenting

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<sup>38</sup> The Vikus Viewer includes an additional data view for the Women's March protest signs and the Van Gogh collections on a separate panel from the overview. This view visualizes the images using t-Distributed Stochastic Neighbor Embedding (t-SNE), which groups similar objects along established dimensions. The Vikus Viewer's public-facing explanatory files do not specify the selected dimensions for these t-SNE visualizations, but it appears to be grouping the images based on dominant colours or perhaps visual textures. These t-SNE views align with other visualization projects that interpret image collections by comparison through visual dimensions, such as Lev Manovich's comparison of brightness and hue across the paintings of Piet Mondrian (1905-1917) and Mark Rothko (1938-1953) (Manovich, "Mondrian vs Rothko" n.p.).

with the ways in which a collection can be represented and engaged through the use of dynamically integrated facsimiles. Bludau et al. focus on almost 1600 pieces of ephemera from the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century collection of papers belonging to Raoul Hausmann (1886-1971), currently held at the Berlinische Galerie. Hausmann is considered a central figure in the Dadaist movements in Berlin and his archive includes collages, photomontages, clippings, and correspondence.<sup>39</sup> Like the Past Visions project, Bludau et al. conducted a co-design workshop that asked participants to engage in collage activities to reveal connections amongst the collection pieces before deciding on their design (n.p.). Their resulting prototypical interface functions through two modes. First, it offers users an overview of the collection through three interlinked visualizations: a display of facsimile images from the whole collection arranged by media category; a vertical timeline, which includes a grouping for undated items; and a diagram indicating people who are related to the collection (Figure 21). A search bar is also included on this overview page that allows users to filter by keyword, such as 'Dada'. If a user clicks on any individual item, the secondary modes of the visualization are activated, which Bludau et al. refer to as the perspective views. These perspective views allow a user to explore the relationships and connections of an individual item within the rest of the collection as represented through three dimensions: affiliation through metadata attributes, such as media type; temporal proximity (Figure 22); and similarity of content-based keywords (n.p.). As such, Bludau et al. explain that they enable their users to engage in serendipitous discovery, while also providing a mix

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<sup>39</sup> These papers include correspondence with Hannah Höch. The project does not discuss, however, that Hausmann carried out a fraught affair with Höch from 1915-1922, during which time he was married with a child. Personal papers across their archives reveal that Hausmann was violent, even to the point of describing fantasies about killing Höch, and that she underwent two abortions during the time that she was with Hausmann (cf. Makela 119-22). In light of this history, Bludau et al.'s choice to visualize Hausmann's papers instead of Höch's, which are housed in the same institution as Hausmann's and include her scrapbook, therefore bears interrogation.

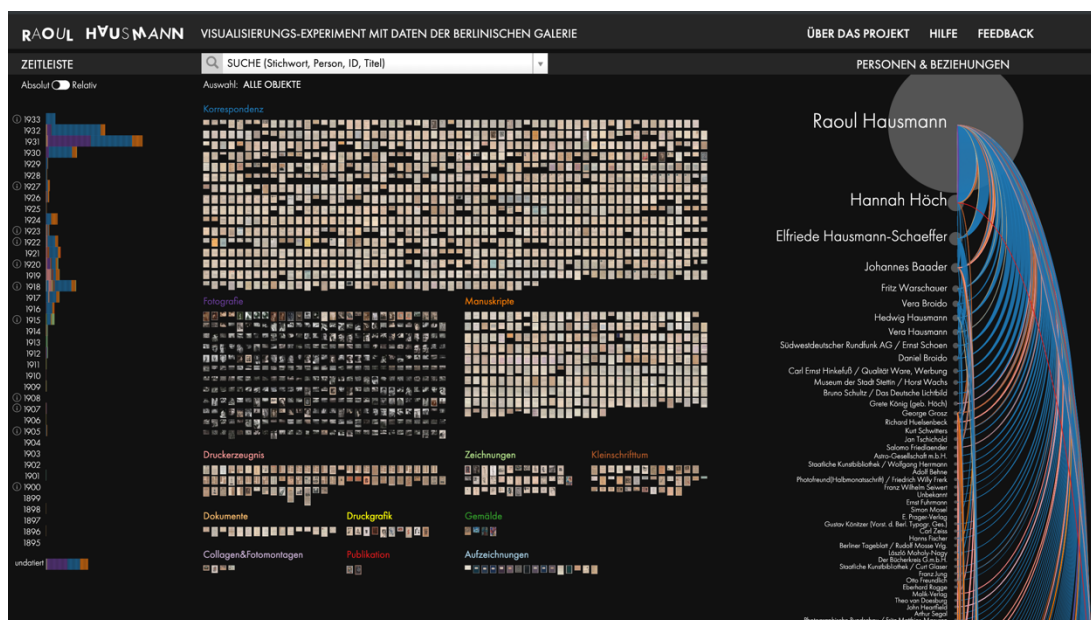


Figure 21: Bludau et al., Raoul Hausmann, Home View (<https://uclab.fh-potsdam.de/hausmann/>)

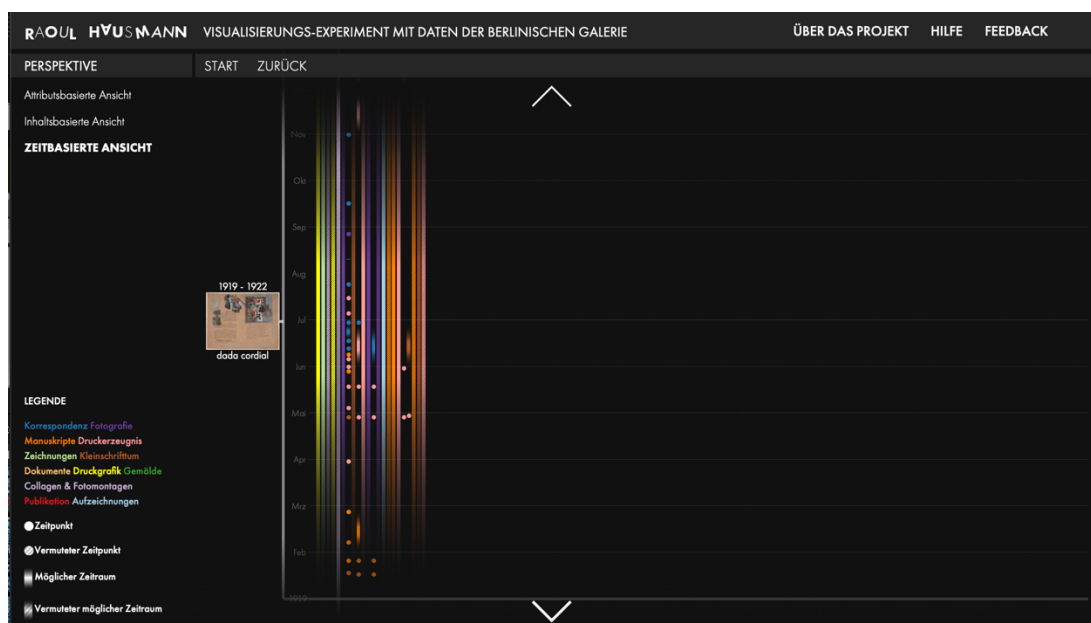


Figure 22, Bludau et al., Raoul Hausmann, Temporal View, 'dada cordial' Collage Selected

of high-level overviews and more detailed close readings of the collection materials, demonstrating the ways in which “individual relations” between collection items “can be just as important as an overview of the whole” (n.p.).

The Hausmann interface demonstrates some of the possibilities of interconnected data points and allows for a range of views for its represented collection. Some of the visualizations, particularly the temporal perspective view (Figure 22), also begin to move away from a reliance on facsimiles of the collection, instead representing media types through colours and charting these as bands on the timeline. Navigating and interpreting these more abstract visualizations is less intuitive, however, and the abstracted visual elements bear little connection to the specific aesthetics of the collection. Given the facts that Hausmann created collages and photomontages and that Bludau et al. utilized collage in their co-design workshops, I suggest that the aesthetics of collage could have been used to a fuller potential in this interface, particularly in the perspective views. Instead, both the metadata and keyword views represent the relationships between the collection items in a linear manner, with the object of interest at the center of the visualization and objects with similar attributes shown above and below the selected object based on their temporal proximity. Representing these connections in a more playful or nonlinear manner could increase the generosity of these perspective views, while also allowing for more of the character of the collection and the design process to be made visible. The prototype therefore shows its value as both a developing mode of visualization and a visualization sandcastle that documents a variety of experimental views on the Hausmann collection while prompting new questions.

These four projects represent a snapshot of work being done to visualize literary and cultural collections and, when taken together, they indicate several crucial trends and areas for expansion. To begin with, all four of these projects recognize the need to explore their collections through multiple visualizations, whether these views are simultaneous, as with the Bohemian Bookshelf, the W@nderverse, and the Vikus Viewer, or more discrete, as with the Hausmann

prototype. Dörk, Pietsch, and Gabriel Credico argue that “the complexity of a cultural collection cannot be distilled into one singular visualization,” and that “multi-view” approaches consistently prove themselves better suited to this complexity (Dörk et al. 45). In organizing multiple views and ordering the data, however, there is a recurrent recourse to linear temporalities and timelines, which clearly serves some collections well, including, for example, museum collections looking to trace the development of a genre or an artist’s style over a period of time. For other collections, however, such as the Women’s March posters, which were all collected on the same day, this kind of temporal organization proves less valuable. I have also suggested above that scrapbooks’ multiple and fragmented temporalities, which include the dates of the book’s compilation, the date of creation or publication of the various clippings, and, in the case of facsimiles or photographed artworks, the date of the original artifact’s production, are often suppressed in linear representations of scrapbooks. Moreover, scrapbooks are examples of analogue media that can provide multiple views on their data, including in cases where scrapbooks collect several copies or versions of the same item, news event, or artwork. Adhering to linear representations of time not only underserves these complex texts but also misses an opportunity to explore these alternative modes of organization and representation.

Across these interface examples, I have also noted the recurrent reliance on facsimile reproductions of collection materials. As with recourses to linear temporalities, this reliance has a dual impact. First, as I have touched on above, this recourse makes the interface designs much more difficult to apply to those collections that cannot be represented through facsimiles, whether because of copyright restrictions, material fragility that prevents their digital reproduction, or some other barrier. Secondly, it allows the interface to appear as if it is engaging

with the materiality of the collection without having to remediate this materiality in meaningful ways into the design of the interface. Of the four examples I discussed, only the Bohemian Bookshelf and, to a lesser degree, the W@nderverse unfold the material aspects of their collections. For the W@nderverse, this unfolding occurs predominantly through the aesthetic impact of the stylized symbols designed by Gibson to code his stories. Meanwhile, the Bohemian Bookshelf shows a more experimental interest in colour cover and number of pages as both design prompts and interpretive functions. There is clearly room for much more work in examining the mediating effects of materiality in the visualization of cultural collections. As Stefania Forlini, Hinrichs, and John Brosz argue in relation to digitized print text archives,

digitization is often preserving only part of the cultural significance of print materials, and digital archives are promoting only a small fraction of the many ways in which we might interact with and experience cultural collections. The pervasive privileging of content (narrowly defined) might help explain why, for example, many readers find that digitized texts 'lack feeling' ... and it helps explain the often uninspired reading interfaces for digitized print collections (8)

This statement can be extended beyond textual archives to most cultural collections and indicates that both the collection of interest and the visualization suffer by this oversight. I therefore argue that honing an awareness of the materiality of a collection reveals itself to be an important component of the deep awareness that Ruecker et al. and Whitelaw state is needed in order to develop effective rich-prospect browsers and generous interfaces. Reflecting my efforts to put into practice the development of this type of awareness for the Morgan scrapbooks, the final section of this chapter will turn to a discussion of the first two digital prototypes that my project has developed.

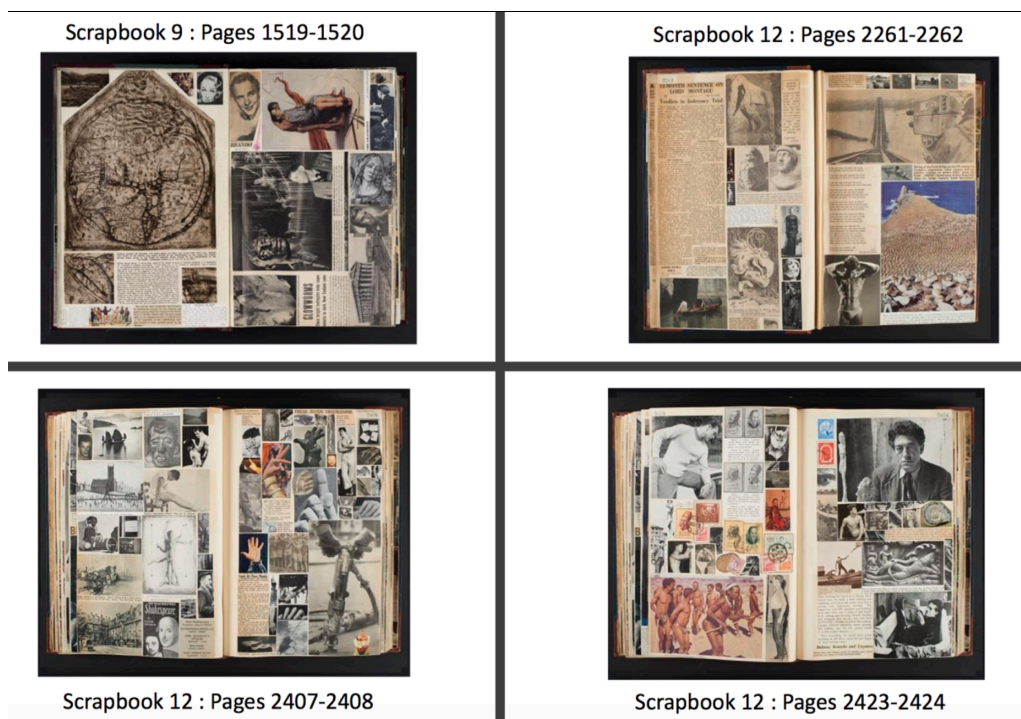
### *RtD Prototypes and Eye-Tracking for the Morgan Scrapbooks*

The RtD prototypes that I will introduce in this section were designed in collaboration with Putra over the 2016-2017 academic year. For these initial prototypes, we focused on an eight-page subsection of the Morgan scrapbooks comprised of pages 2261, 2262, 2407, 2408, 2423, and 2424 from *Scrapbook 12* and pages 1519 and 1520 from *Scrapbook 9* (Figure 23).<sup>40</sup> These pages became the basis for a MariaDB relational database that I designed in order to collect rich metadata and to explore the ways in which the scrapbooks could be deformed, deconstructed, and visualized through this metadata. The database consists of eight tables, which collect information at the book, page, item, and item component levels, as well as collecting information on clipping sources and people affiliated with individual clippings (e.g. Author, Illustrator/Artist, Depicted in Clipping, etc.) where applicable. I also created columns that collect computational metadata, such as the item components' size in pixels, page position, and dominant colours.<sup>41</sup> For the purposes of this database, I define an item component as the individual occurrences of images and text that make up a clipping or item, such as, for example, the image and line(s) of text that collectively create a captioned photograph. Although these components are included in the same clipping, each has an aesthetic and interpretive function, with the caption and image lending each other new associations (Williams 112). As

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<sup>40</sup> The University of Glasgow Library Special Collections and the Edwin Morgan Trust generously granted us access to digital facsimiles of these pages. Although we could feasibly have ensured copyright clearance for most of the clippings in our small sample set, the *Digitising the Edwin Morgan Scrapbooks* project proves that any interface relying on the display of such facsimiles would not be viable for the whole collection. We therefore utilized these facsimiles as a form of data but not as a visual component of our prototypes.

<sup>41</sup> Extracting the dominant colours was done using OpenCV and Scikit-learn.org. Putra analyzed each component with a K-means clustering algorithm, which groups a component's pixels into a specified number of colour categories (k) based on the nearest centroid, or mean, and thus shows the dominant colours for each component. Although this tool is effective in extracting colours and grouping them into a pre-specified number of k-value clusters, the algorithm proved ineffective at automatically detecting a reasonable number of clusters for the clippings in our dataset. We therefore created these clusters manually. In cases of black-and-white or grey-scale clippings, we specified two or three clusters, while for colour clippings, we specified as many as eight. In future, however, we would like to see this process become automated (Putra 43).



*Figure 23: Morgan Scrapbooks, Pages 1519/1520, 2407/2408, 2261/2262, and 2423/2424*

such, a captioned and an uncaptioned photograph invoke different mixes of literacies in their viewers. The component table allows both photographs and captions, for example, to be analyzed in the database separately. Furthermore, by making the item component the smallest unit of meaning within the database, we were experimenting with a fine granularity of detail in recording metadata for the scrapbooks in order to zoom in on some of the mediating factors that are at work within even a single clipping. Within our database, we collected data for 167 items and 224 item components.

Designing a database and establishing the terms that will inform the data structures therefore prove themselves to be interpretive acts from the very beginning, which, as I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 4, shapes the forms of meaning-making that are either enabled or foreclosed by this database. Given the same eight pages from the Morgan scrapbooks that Putra and I worked with, another research team would have undoubtedly constructed a different database

with different tables and columns. The database is reflective of our own research interests and serves as an archive of the features and aspects of the scrapbooks that came to be important in our readings. Becoming familiar with our data also helped to shape the next stages of our project, particularly in seeking out ways to think beyond facsimiles. Resisting the dematerialization of cultural collections evident in many standard search interfaces, our RtD process seeks to engage with the materiality of the scrapbooks and to find ways of allowing their presence as aesthetic provocations to inform our design choices.

We first explored computational means of detecting the edges of the clippings on each page, which, if effective, would allow us to extract each clipping computationally. This experiment resulted in two line renderings of double-page spreads for pages 1519/1520, shown in Figure 24, and 2423/2424, both of which were produced by Putra using the Canny algorithm for line detection (Putra 42). These renderings demonstrated to us that the algorithm was highly efficient at reproducing the pages' images and text in what resembles a photographic negative, but the edges of many clippings themselves, especially when overlapping or part of a collage, proved to be too subtle for detection through this means. The experiment therefore became a small sandcastle within our process, prompting us in new directions, while also showing the ways in which the scrapbooks' very construction could resist computational deformation. Instead of automated extraction, we had to employ a manual, albeit digitally remediated, form of cut and paste to extract each item and component within our subset. The work of deforming the scrapbooks therefore required us to re-enact, and to appreciate more fully, the painstaking labour expended by Morgan as he manually clipped each item for his scrapbooks.



*Figure 24: Canny Line Detection Rendering, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1519/1520*

Acknowledging the scrapbooks, pages, clippings, and even components as aesthetic provocations demands that any visualizations and remediations take into account their visual impact. As Garvey argues of trade card scrapbooks, creators often construct “elaborate, even quilt-like patterns, using the cards’ colours, intensity, or design as compositional elements,” thereby demonstrating and developing the scrapbookers’ “ability to make fine distinctions in shades and combinations of colour” (“Scrapbook” 109). Morgan’s scrapbooks show a similar attention to colour, with some pages constructed, for example, using a uniform black and white palette that makes the collective collage seem to speak as a whole, while other pages are more fractured, with bursts of colour on a predominantly black and white page. These compositional elements of the collected items on a scrapbook page create a gestalt—sometimes synchronized, sometimes cacophonous—that is rapidly communicated to the reader. Given the importance of

this gestalt and the role of materiality within it, we decided to focus our first prototype on unfolding some of the factors that contribute to it.

Examining the gestalt of a page does not require a strict adherence to the facsimile nor does it rule out modes of playful exploration. Drucker explains that German gestalt psychologist, Max Wertheimer (1880-1943), discovered “that certain principles governed the processing of visual phenomena into patterns of cognitive perception,” namely, that “rules of proximity, closure, similarity, and continuity were governed by the way the eye grouped objects, followed cues about direction, and read properties of shape, tone, or orientation” (“Graphesis” 29). Drucker also explains, however, that “the determination of rules governing human visual activity” are highly complex and “emergent,” depending on “tasks, drives, and circumstances to shape the way communication between eye and mind process stimuli,” not just mechanical rules (“Graphesis” 29). Drucker argues elsewhere that more recent eye-tracking experiments have proven that readers are at least equally driven “by whim and mood as by tasks and goals,” meaning that an interface, a book, or any other mediator offered for interpretation will be produced through readings that are “necessarily ... act[s] of ‘deformance’” (“Reading Interface” 215). Although gestalt is highly important to how the scrapbook pages’ function as mediators, their gestalt is not a stable attribute that is passed seamlessly to each reader. Instead, it is a contributing factor in repeated acts of deformance. Our intervention in visualizing the factors contributing to the gestalt of the pages can therefore be understood as a manifestation of one of these deformances.

I argue that the deformance and parsing of a gestalt experience also functions as a form of close reading and defamiliarization. As Manovich, Jeremy Douglass, and Tara Zepel argue, “[w]hen we look at images normally, we experience all their visual dimensions at once,” but when “we separate these dimensions using digital image

analysis and visualization, we break this gestalt experience” and allow the examination of “a set of images along a singular visual dimension” in a powerful mechanism of defamiliarization (*ostranenie*)” (38). As science fiction literature frequently demonstrates, defamiliarization is a powerful mode of critique and analysis, allowing for the mediating functions of an object to be considered from new vantage points. The aim for our first prototype therefore became to develop an interface for the scrapbooks that would visualize, defamiliarize, and examine our extracted clipping components by focusing on particular visual dimensions. We started by focusing on the range of colours across the scrapbook pages, particularly in light of the clear effect that colours have in directing vision. We also included within this focus a consideration of the visual impact of the size, number, and layout of arranged clippings and components on the scrapbook pages.

#### *i. Colour Collage*

Putra first plotted the center point of each item component onto a canvas representing the double-page spread from which the component was manually extracted. This process resulted in a coordinate map of the components’ center point locations (Figure 25). Putra then deformed each component into a pie chart showing the component’s dominant colours as determined by the K-means clustering algorithm described above. Each pie chart was sized to reflect the size in pixels of its represented component and plotted onto the double-page canvas, ensuring that the center point of the pie chart aligned with the center-point coordinate of the component it represented. The resulting visualizations of our eight-page subset are shown in Figure 26. These abstracted visualizations defamiliarize the scrapbook pages while ensuring that the materiality of their components does not become a footnote in an ekphrastic description of either the page or the clipping. Despite the lack of traditional identifying features, such as text

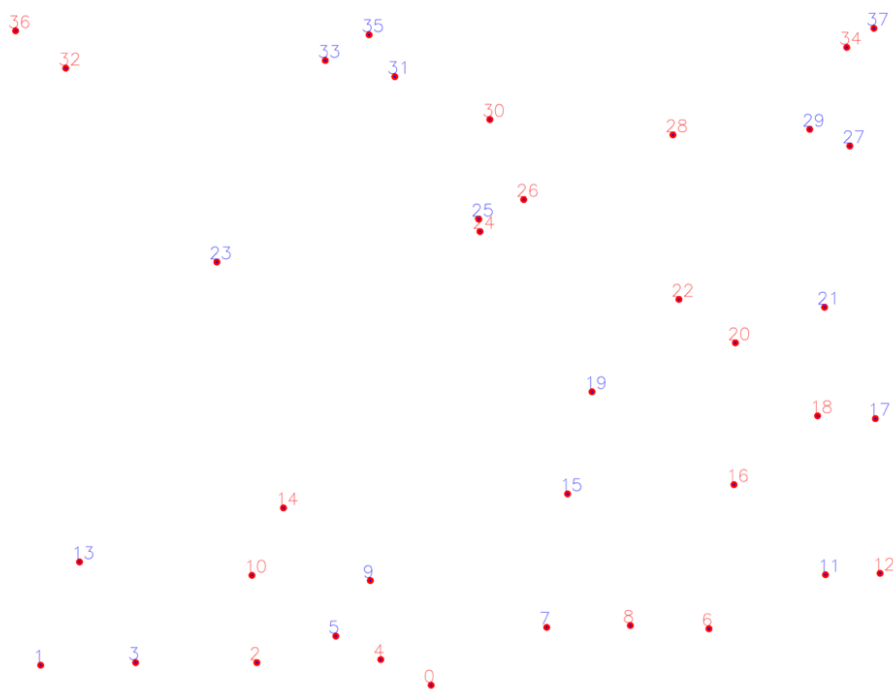


Figure 25, Center Point Map, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1519/1520

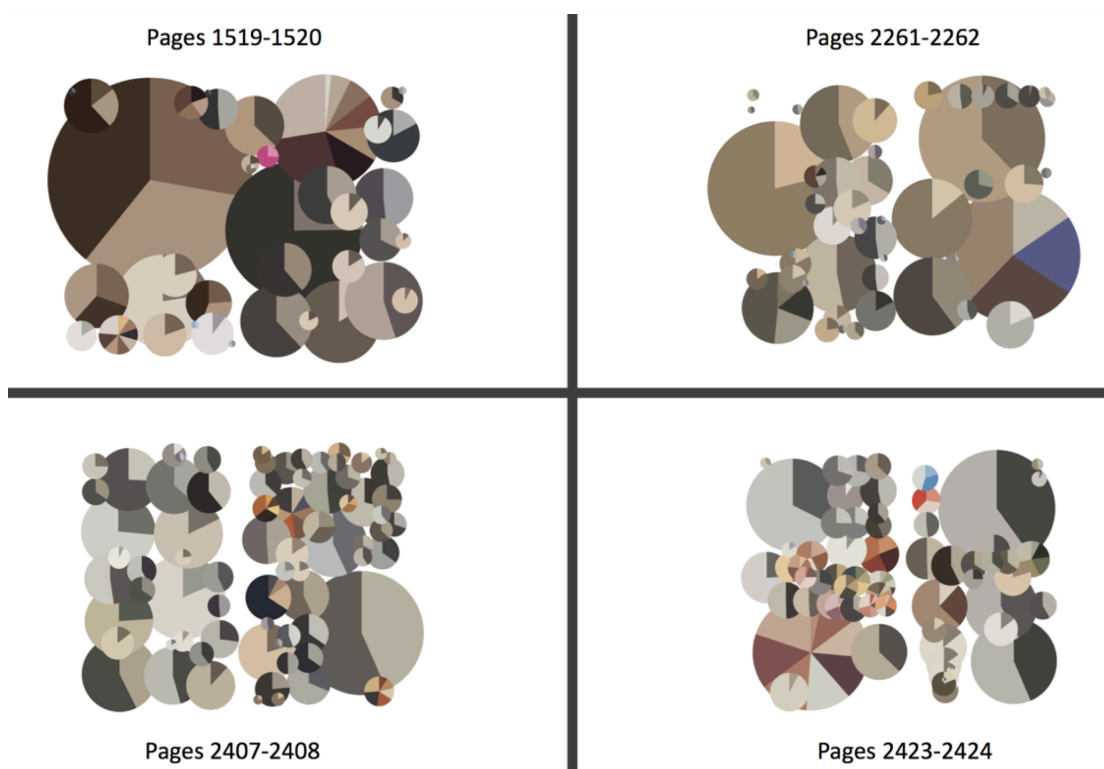
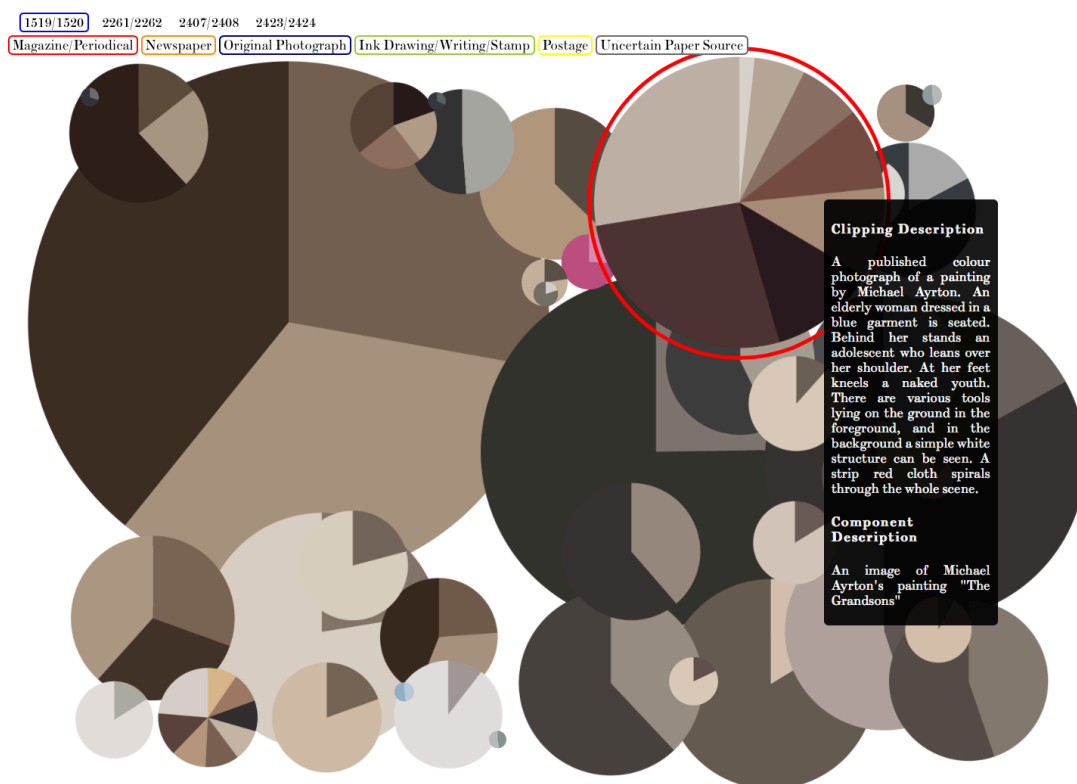


Figure 26: Pie Chart Visualizations for Double-Page Spreads

or representational images, no two pie-chart visualizations in our subset look alike. The layered pie charts create a distinct thumbprint for each page, thereby attesting to the significance of the colour, size, layout, and number of clippings in determining each page's visual character. These visualizations also attest to the value of collecting data at a component level, rather than at clipping or page levels. Analyzing the dominant colours, size, and location of each component provides a much richer representation of the page, which allows its character to be represented more distinctly. With fewer data points, the individual aspects of the page would be condensed and would lead to less distinct visualizations. At the component level, small but distinctive features, such as ink annotations written by Morgan on the clippings, are allowed to maintain their presence in the visualization.

These static visualizations became the foundation for an interactive interface that we call the Colour Collage, which can be accessed online at <http://ed-morgan.com/scripts/circles.php> (Figure 27). Each double-page visualization is turned into a page in the interface and users can toggle between page sets by using the navigation buttons along the top of the screen. A box appears around the selected page set to indicate which visualization is currently shown on the screen. Hovering over a component's pie chart brings up a text-based abstract describing both the component and the clipping from which it was extracted. Clicking on a component's pie chart in the visualization causes its abstract to stay selected, while clicking on the pie chart again deselects it. A coloured 'halo' or ring also appears around the pie chart on hover or click, the colour of which corresponds to a colour-coded list of media sources that appears below the navigation buttons at the top of the screen (Magazine/Periodical, Newspaper, Original Photograph, Ink Drawing/Writing/Stamp, Postage, Uncertain Paper Source). By referring to this list, the colour of the halo indicates the medium of the clipping for the selected

component. The colour-coded media list also acts as a click-based filter. Clicking on any media type along the top of the page filters the pie charts, so that only those affiliated with the selected medium appear. Clicking the media type again resets the filter. This interface therefore foregrounds the defamiliarized visualizations of the page's aesthetic features and uses them a means through which to guide a user's exploration of the scrapbooks' metadata.



*Figure 27: Colour Collage Interface, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1519/1520 Selected*

When assessing the Colour Collage as a generous or rich-prospect interface, it is clear that it offers a different version of generosity than the four projects discussed in the previous section. The Colour Collage does not offer a search mechanism to allow “focused enquiry” (Whitelaw, para.3) or multiple options for “manipulating the display” of the items visualized (Ruecker et al. 3). Furthermore, it does not provide “a visual representation of every item” in the scrapbooks

simultaneously (Ruecker et al. 3), nor is it feasible for the interface to become scalable to the entire collection. Our design process requires hand cropping, individually specifying K-means clustering groupings, and populating descriptive fields in multiple database tables for each component, all of which means that the labour required to represent the approximately 52,000 clippings in the Morgan scrapbooks through these processes proves untenable. Moreover, as the interface offers users a page-level view of the scrapbooks with no targeted searchability, it would quickly become monotonous across the more than 3600 pages in the collection and would be unlikely to retain the interest of its users. The interface offers generosity in other ways, however, as it provides immediate points of entry to the data it represents, requiring no prior knowledge of the collection from users and allowing the textual metadata for the represented page to be discovered organically through engagement with the visual prototype. As such, the interface allows the temporally-complex and visually-dense page to persist as a structuring unit of meaning and allows each page to be considered as a micro-collection within the broader collection. While multiple visualization views on aggregated cultural collections have proven to be the most effective way of representing complexity, I argue that representing a collection at multiple scales, including through smaller subgroups, can provide access to equally important aspects of a collection's complexity. Precisely by not focusing on the whole collection, the Colour Collage is able to show a finer grain of detail for its selected pages and encourages a more focused reading of these pages, both by us as researchers and by our users.

Nonetheless, there are many features of the scrapbooks that the Colour Collage interface does not represent and thus many questions that it cannot answer. For example, the interface intentionally downplays the content of the scrapbooks, such that Morgan's language of juxtaposition, which brings together text and images

to inflect the scrapbooks with humour, critical commentary, and radical queerness, is significantly downplayed by association. Likewise, because of our intentional focus on colour and size as specific visual features, much of the visual richness of the pages outside of these dimensions is necessarily absent, including images of recognizable people or well-known art pieces, that might otherwise draw a viewer's attention. These elisions are done to home in on the less noticeable aspects of the page, however, which, in the case of the Colour Collage interface, includes the impact of the components' colour, size, layout, and number. This interface therefore focuses on the Morgan scrapbooks as artistic artifacts and aesthetic provocations with multiple visual dimensions, while still allowing the user to preview some of the content that can be found in the scrapbooks. In these ways, the interface adds value both as an exploration into the utilization of rich metadata, such as pixel size and dominant colour, that are not typically captured for cultural collection items, and as a sensitizing introduction to the content curated by the Morgan scrapbooks.

#### *ii. Eye-Tracking Experiment*

Through our RtD process of building the Colour Collage interface, Putra and I discovered new questions in relation to the Morgan scrapbooks. In particular, we became interested in exploring whether or not the same clipping components would function as a focal point between the abstracted visualizations and facsimiles of the original scrapbook pages. In other words, we sought to discover if the Colour Collage re-inscribed similar patterns of viewing to the scrapbooks or if it invoked new ones. Eye-tracking has been used across a wide range of disciplines, including psychology, developmental studies, HCI, design, linguistics, fine art, and literature, to name only a few, and has contributed to the identification of particular trends in human

attention.<sup>42</sup> Of course, as Drucker asserts above, no act of human interpretation is governed by exact rules but understanding these general trends can suggest the extent to which the Morgan scrapbooks and the RtD visualizations developed in my project align with or resist typical viewing patterns.

A range of scanning techniques for textual objects have been recorded, including for example the F-shaped pattern of reading, whereby readers use a horizontal movement to read in full the first several lines of text before reading less of each line and eventually scanning downwards in a vertical pattern (Pernice n.p.). This pattern of reading is typically utilized when individuals are confronted with an undifferentiated block of text and has been found to occur both in languages written left to right and those written right to left, with the F-pattern mirrored for texts in the second category (Pernice n.p.). Other scanning patterns include a spotted pattern, used when scanning for particular and formally recognizable information, such as an address, a signature, or a hyperlink, and a layer-cake pattern, which occurs when readers scan headings and subheadings but skip the text below (Pernice n.p.). Eye-tracking has also revealed that attention times differ depending on whether people are reading text or interpreting images. During reading, “average

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<sup>42</sup> According to Andrew T. Duchowski, visual attention has been studied for more than a century, with eye-tracking emerging as a clear technique in 1967 (6). Although eye-tracking is used to test a variety of features of vision and information processing, it is particularly useful in providing insight into attention. Duchowski explains that “attention provides the ‘glue’ that integrates the separated features in a particular location so that the conjunction (i.e., the object) is perceived as a unified whole” (10). He explains further that “attention selects features from a master map of locations showing *where* all the feature boundaries are located, but not *what* those features are” in order to fill in the blanks (10, emphasis in original). To track this attention, most eye-tracking focuses on the foveal gaze direction, with fovea referring to a “small depression” of “the retina of the eye” where visual acuity is at its highest (“Fovea, n.” n.p.). In particular, eye-tracking takes account of three primary movements of the foveal gaze: fixations, or the micro “eye movements that stabilize the retina over a stationary object of interest”; smooth pursuits, or slow tracking movements used to follow a moving object of interest; and saccades, or “rapid eye movements used in repositioning the fovea to a new location in the visual environment” that can be either voluntary or reflexive (42–46). Using these three movements, attention can be estimated, with “fixations naturally correspond[ing] to the desire to maintain one’s gaze on an object of interest” and pursuits demonstrating the same desire for “objects in smooth motion” (47). Meanwhile, “[s]accades are considered manifestations of the desire to voluntarily change the focus of attention” when studying or switching away from an object or scene of interest (47).

fixation durations are around a quarter of a second (225ms) and the average saccade size is about 2 degrees of visual angle (approximately 8 letter spaces)" (Knowles et al. 89). Meanwhile, when scanning a visual scene, fixations are longer, at "around 330ms," and saccades extend to an average of "4 degrees of visual angle, which is equivalent to 16 character spaces" (Knowles et al. 89). When presented with a visual scene rather than a text, patterns are also less sequential and "more varied and multidirectional" (Knowles et al. 89). When looking at images, the human eye is shown to be overwhelmingly drawn to faces, especially to the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears, and attention increases when there are two or more faces to compare (Duchowski 239). This attraction persists whether or not the face is human and even for objects or arrangements of objects that lend themselves easily to pareidolia.

Given that the Morgan scrapbooks offer a mixture of images and text in various sizes and degrees of colour, this eye-tracking research suggests that the reading practices used to engage each scrapbook page will be heavily impacted by its particular combinations, rather than invoking a standardized mode of attention across the whole collection. For example, text-heavy scrapbook pages are more likely to be accessed through text scanning and close reading, while heavily visual pages will likely be approached in less sequential ways. Likewise, strong visual images, such as those of faces, are likely to receive much more attention on the pages that they appear than other clippings on these same pages. In contrast, the Colour Collage visualizations suppress much of this visual variety, because every page, whether predominantly image-based or textual, has been abstracted and deformed into pie charts that leave nothing to distinguish visually, for example, those clippings showing text or images of people from any others. These visualizations are therefore likely to prompt much more consistent viewing modes across images than the scrapbook page facsimiles and are likely to reflect the less

systematic responses recorded when viewers are presented with visual rather than textual mediators.

Based on these questions and hypotheses, Putra and I undertook an eye-tracking experiment in February 2017 with twenty-eight volunteer participants.<sup>43</sup> Although this experiment was largely exploratory within our RtD process, it allowed us to consider aspects of the Morgan scrapbooks that we had not yet interrogated. Our experiment presented the participants with four full-size images of the double-page spreads that make up our subset, as well as eight cropped images showing groups of smaller clippings extracted from each of the eight pages. These cropped images were used because our experiment did not allow users to zoom in on the scrapbook pages, as the recording equipment required static images. The cropped images therefore allowed us to consider how viewing patterns changed when our participants were confronted with a zoomed-in view of a few clippings as opposed to a full double-page scrapbook facsimile. In addition to these two forms of facsimile images, we included our two Canny line detection renderings and our four static pie chart visualizations. Finally, we included three of Morgan's concrete poems, "Archives," "Pomander," and "Siesta of a Hungarian Snake" ("Siesta"). These poems were included because previous eye-tracking experiments, such as those of Kim Knowles, Anna Katharina Schaffner, and Ulrich Weger, have shown that concrete and

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<sup>43</sup> To conduct the experiment, we used a table-top mounted SR Research EyeLink 1000 device, which tracks eye movement through pupil detection and through a cornea reflection produced by an infrared light directed at the participant's eye, which is invisible to the participant. We asked our participants to use a chin rest in order to keep them at a uniform distance from the computer screen and to minimize head movement that can confuse eye-tracking. At the beginning of each experiment, we showed our participants two double-page spreads, 2251/2252 and 2243/2244, from the Morgan scrapbooks that are outside of our sample subset. These were used as training images to allow our participants to get used to the experiment before we showed them images from our subset. Our experiment collected data from academic volunteer participants who self-selected in response to an email invitation. Our participants range in age from eighteen to fifty-five years old and represent eleven different disciplinary backgrounds, including Design Informatics, Business, English Literature, and Medicine.

visual poetry often disrupt traditional reading modes.<sup>44</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, I present our eye-tracking results predominantly through heat maps that aggregate the eye-tracking data from our twenty-eight participants to show “hotspots” or dominant areas of focus for each image. We also collected qualitative surveys from our participants after the eye-tracking portion of the experiment in order to record their described impressions of the images.

As the heat maps for our four double-page spreads show (Figure 28), hotspots appear wherever there is legible text available to the participants. Our most text-heavy pages, 2261/2262, show that the text-based objects attracted more attention from our participants than other items on these pages. It is also clear, however, that the longer sections of text were read in a manner reflective of the F-pattern scanning, in that the first several lines are read in full with attention rapidly tapering off for the later lines. It is clear that the Morgan scrapbooks, while being marginalized and undervalued as texts, nevertheless still make themselves available to the reading modes on which many other texts rely. In contrast, pages 2407/2408 and 2423/2424 are the most image-heavy pages in our subset and the multiple hotspots across these pages indicate that participants engaged with a more varied sampling of the images than they did when compared with the text-heavy pages. All eight of our pages included images of faces and, consistent with existing eye-

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<sup>44</sup> Based on their research, Knowles et al. argue that while “relatively linear visual poems are ... more likely to attract a linear reading pattern (reading direction from top to bottom),” “more irregular visual poems ... in which space plays a more prominent role” will elicit “more diverse and subjective responses from the participants,” making it more difficult to detect general patterns (98). They also articulate four observations based on this effect. First, “when participants encounter linguistic signs that are arranged in pictorial but ordered fashion, the primary instinct is still to adopt a classical reading approach” (98). Second, “when the sign systems are mixed together in a more radical fashion... the confusion as to which perceptual mode they [the participants] should adopt is visible in their eye movements” (98). Third, for poems in which “conceptual and material empty space overlap... participants often fixate on the empty space while they ponder the meaning of the poem” (99). Fourth, “aesthetic ratings of these poems seem to be related to the connection between liking and recognizing, and to the amount of cognitive effort the poems require” among the participants they observed (99).

tracking findings, these faces recur as hotspots across the eight pages, regardless of whether the page is primarily textual or image-based, although these hotspots show a somewhat decreased intensity on the heavily text-based pages.

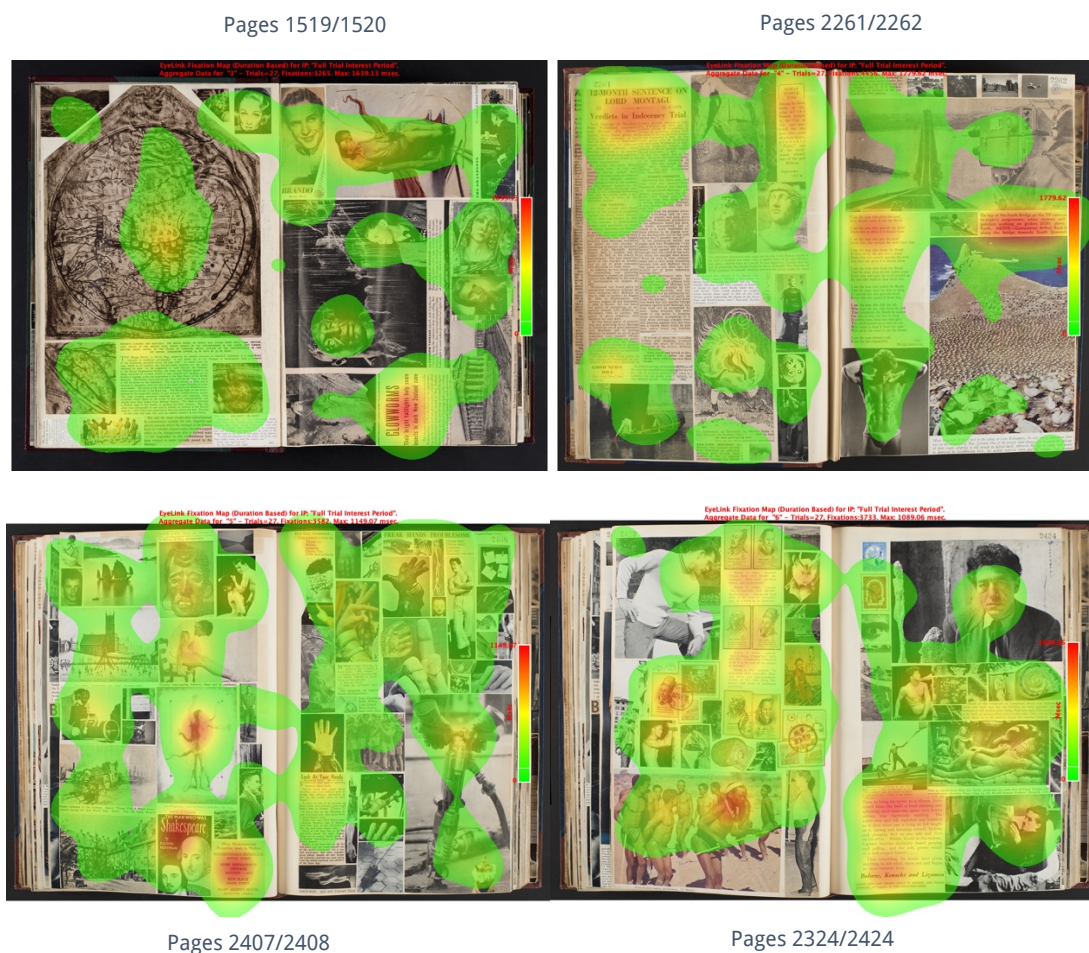


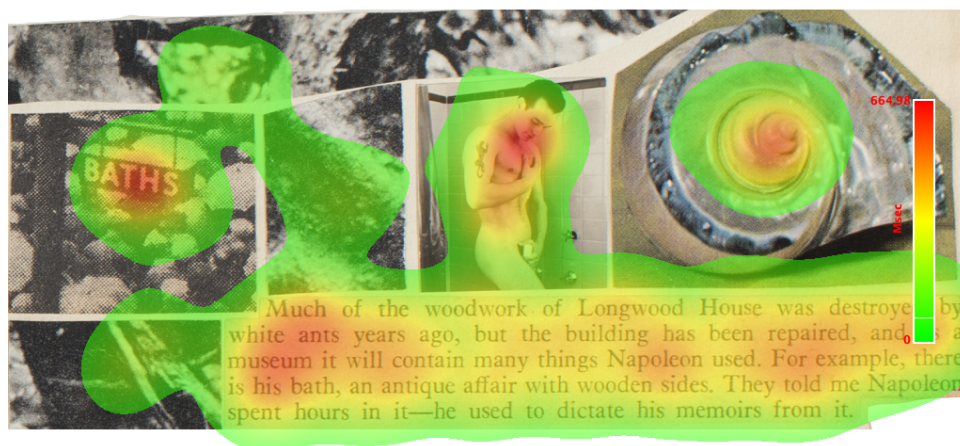
Figure 28: Heat Maps for Morgan Scrapbooks, Double-Page Facsimiles

When our participants were shown the cropped images from the eight pages, many of the trends described for the full double-page spreads persist. Where legible text is presented in the cropped images, for example, the participants again focused on the text. As these cropped images show small sections of the larger page, however, the segments of included text are short and the heatmaps show that most participants read this text in its entirety without resorting to scanning (Figure 29). Another familiar trend recurred from the larger images, in that faces continue to

attract attention from participants. In some cases, the people and faces that attracted attention in the cropped images were the same faces that occurred as hotspots in the double-page images, such as the photograph of Marlene Dietrich on page 1519 or the two faces collaged onto a black and white photograph of a cave on page 1520. In other cases, however, the cropped images show new faces garnering attention from our participants, especially in cases where the cropped images included faces that were too small to be noticeable when shown as part of the

Page 2424

**Eyeliink Fixation Map (Duration Based) for IP: "Full Trial Interest Period".  
Aggregate Data for "14" - Trials=27, Fixations:2208. Max: 664.98 msec.**



Page 1520

Page 1519

**Eyeliink Fixation Map (Duration Based) for IP: "Full Trial Interest Period".  
Aggregate Data for "7" - Trials=27, Fixations:1057. Max: 1565.19 msec.**

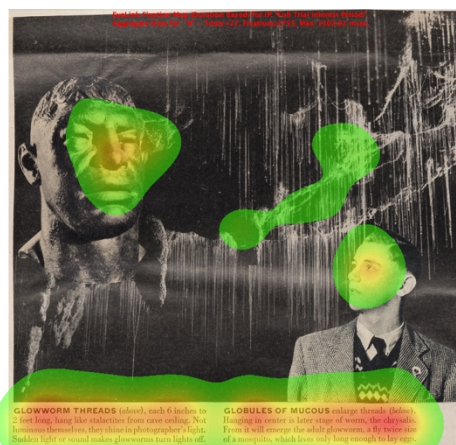
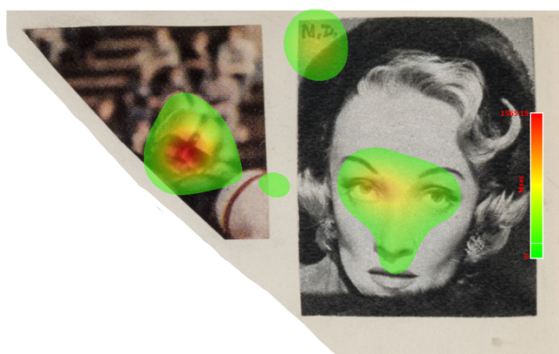


Figure 29: Selected Heat Maps for Morgan Scrapbooks, Cropped Facsimiles

double-page spreads, such as the colour photograph of a helmeted sports player pasted next to the photograph of Dietrich on page 1519 and the black and white photograph of a nude man showering on page 2424 (Figure 29). This finding demonstrates the value of offering multiple views on the scrapbooks that provide access to alternate scales or extracted images in order to allow the user to appreciate the richness and detail of each page. It also attests to the subtle ways in which Morgan inserts figures, such as the nude man showering, into his collages. Without becoming the center of attention, these figures exert influence on the overall page and, as I argued in Chapter 1, can participate in a subtle and subversive queering of the page.

After viewing the double-page and cropped facsimile images, our participants were shown the line and pie chart visualizations, which enabled us to compare results from the double-page scrapbook images to results from our abstracted visual representations of these same pages. An overview of the comparative statistics for the double-page facsimile and visualizations is provided in the three bar charts shown in Figure 30, with blue bars indicating the facsimiles, orange bars indicating the Canny line renderings, and grey bars indicating the Colour Collages. The first chart shows that, on average, participants spent more time looking at the double-page facsimile images than they did for either of the two visualization types. The second chart shows that the double-page facsimile images also encouraged more individual fixation points (moments when the eye pauses on a specific feature or area of interest). These results are not surprising, given the density and complexity of information available in the original images. Significantly, however, this trend shifts when we consider how long our participants dwelled on each fixation area for the various images. The third bar chart shows that, although people spent less time looking at either of the visualizations than the facsimiles overall, they

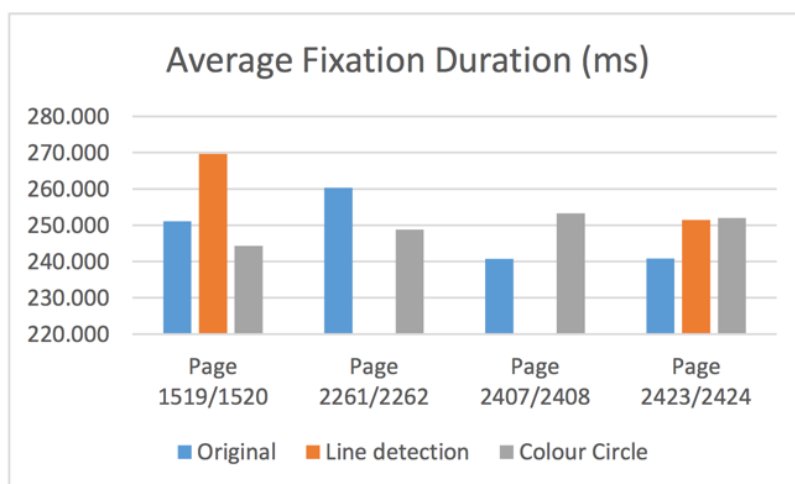
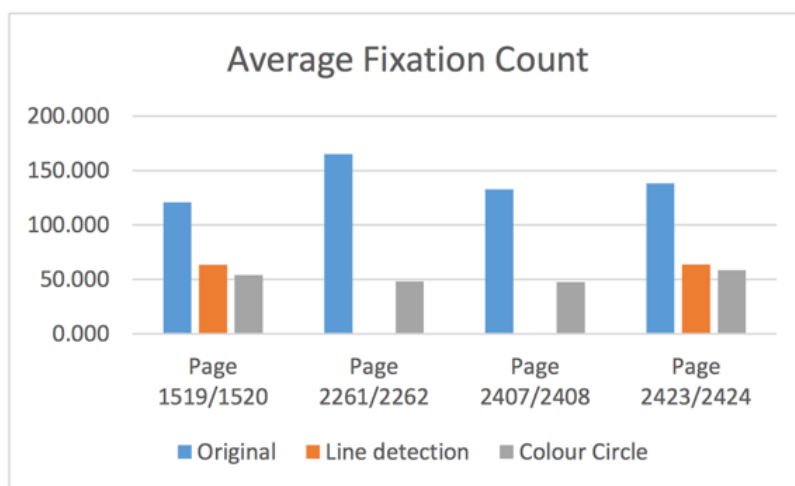
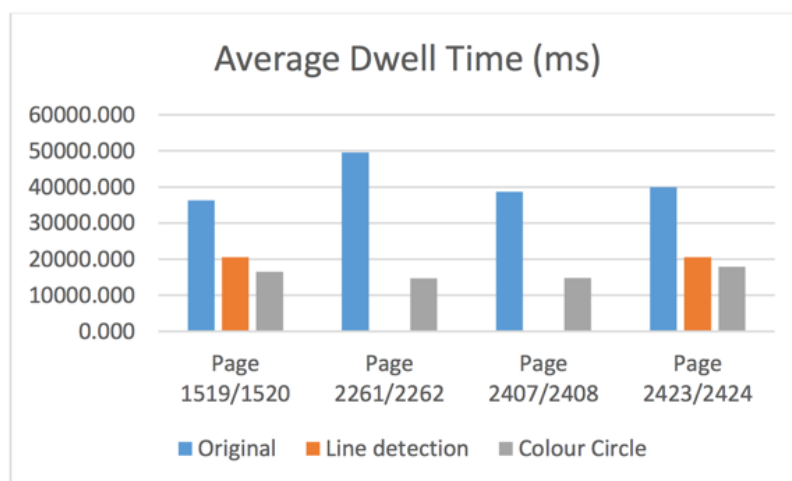


Figure 30: Summary Statistics for Morgan Eye-Tracking Experiment (Putra 80)

nonetheless spent more time on each fixation point that developed for the visualizations. In other words, while participants focused on fewer points or features of the abstract visualizations, they spent more time on each feature that attracted their attention in these visualizations relative to the duration of time that they looked at the whole image. This result supports Knowles et al.'s argument that viewers tend to spend more time on fixation points when looking at visual images and also likely reflects the more abstract interpretative work required by these visualizations from our participants.

The qualitative survey data from our eye-tracking participants offers insight into the interpretive processes that our participants undertook to make sense of the visualizations. In regard to the Canny line renderings, two participants (p1, 14) described them as being "artistic" or an "artwork" and some participants compared them to other objects, including "blueprints" (p10), a PC start-up screen (p7), and a "carving" (p20), indicating the metaphoric connections inspired by the images apart from the scrapbooks. Although we showed these defamiliarized line renderings to the participants without contextualizing information, however, most participants eventually recognized the images as being derived from the scrapbook pages. Some participants described a satisfying moment of recognition (p2, 9, 18, 21), but for many other participants (p1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 27) this recognition inspired frustration, as these participants felt that the renderings prevented them from reading the text or seeing the images clearly. Our surveys show that these Canny visualizations received significantly more negative ratings than any other visualization. Thus, the short overall viewing time with longer relative fixation points likely developed as participants zeroed in on the key features of the line renderings that triggered recognition and then quickly moved to the next image once they had established the mental connection with the facsimile pages, particularly as the

participants characterized these line renderings as less legible counterparts to the facsimiles.

This described process of recognition and frustration also provides an explanation for the sharp decline in average fixation duration between the first and second line rendering (shown in the third table of Figure 30) because, by the time the participants were shown the second line rendering, they were already initiated as to what the image was and had decided how it functioned. This analysis is further supported by comparing two heat map images of the fixation points for the double-page scrapbook facsimile and the line rendering for pages 1519/1520 (Figure 31). The most noticeable difference in hotspots between the two images takes place over the block of text along the lower edge of page 1520 that reads "GLOWWORMS". In the facsimile image, this block of text was a dominant hotspot, but in the line rendering, this same section of text drew much less attention, reflecting the lack of textual engagement commented on by the participants. Meanwhile, the rest of the hotspots remain markedly similar between the two images, especially where images of human faces are concerned, and indicate that recognition of the similarity between the two pages would likely have been activated quickly for the participants once these image-based features were noticed, allowing them to move on. Although these line detection renderings could be considered less deformed or abstracted than our pie chart visualizations, the eye-tracking findings and survey data together suggest that their near-representation was not effective in encouraging participants to engage with the images. Moreover, the line renderings as remediations do not appear to highlight new areas of interest on the scrapbook pages to the participants.

As with the line renderings, we showed the pie chart visualizations to our participants without contextualizing information. Our survey information shows that several participants still readily identified these visualizations as "pie charts"

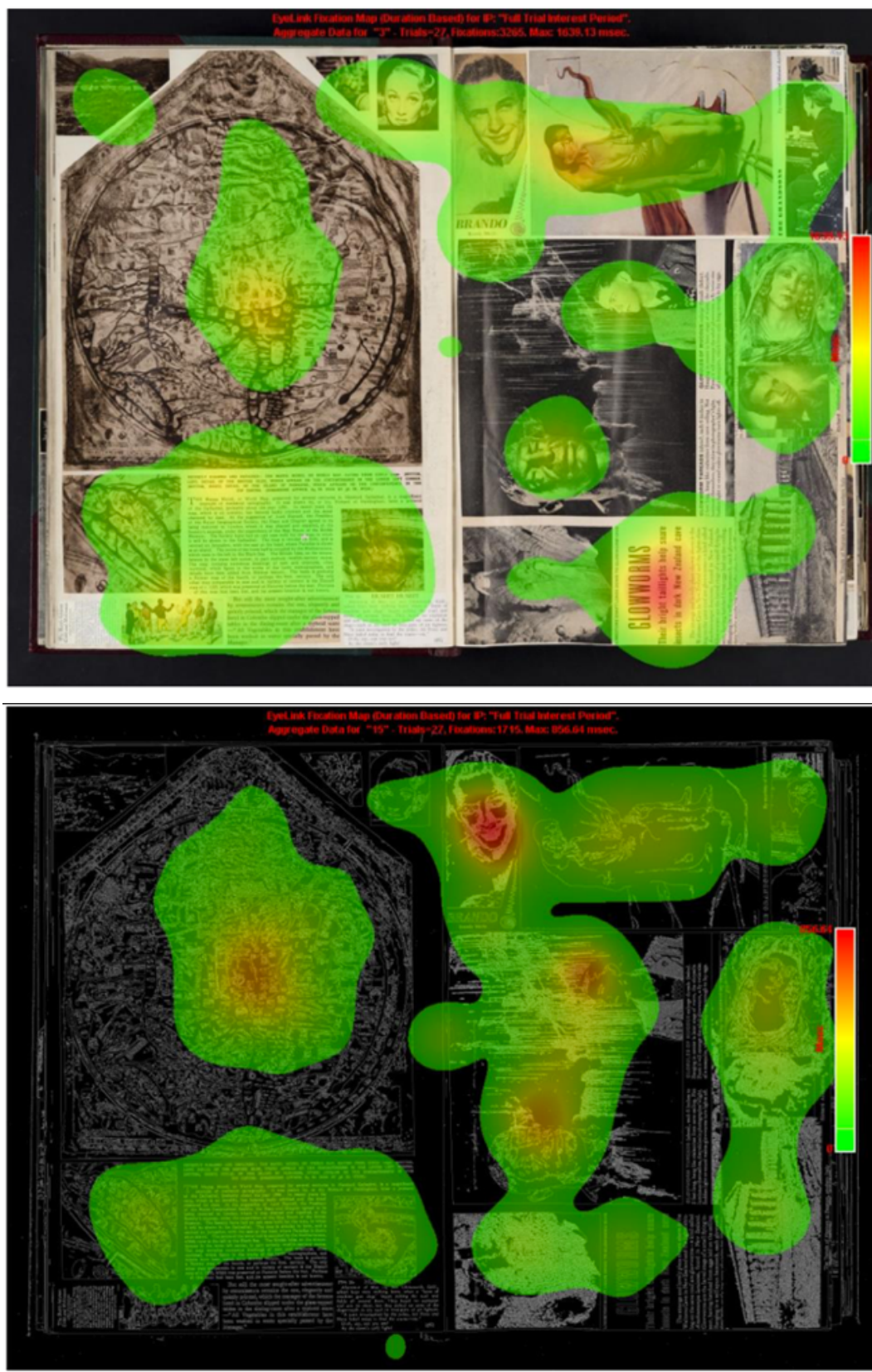


Figure 31: Heat Maps for Facsimile and Canny Images, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1519/1520

(p1, 7, 20, 24) or “artistic pie charts” (p3) based on the scrapbook pages. While p5 did not identify the visualizations as including pie charts, they nonetheless speculated on if the colours were related to themes on the scrapbook pages and considered what the differing sizes of the colourful circles might mean, such as hypothesizing that bigger circles might represent clippings deemed to be more important or interesting. Additionally, p12 described the pie chart visualizations as a way of guiding the viewer’s attention “gently” to different aspects of the scrapbook pages, although they did not specify what aspects these might be. Although several other participants stated that they were not aware that the pie charts represented the scrapbook pages (p3, 10, 15, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 26), the visualizations prompted comments on the aesthetic and even affective effect of the colours and shape of the pie charts, with one participant calling the visualizations “calming” (p26) and another calling them “relaxing” (p20). Our participant surveys therefore indicate that the pie chart visualizations sparked the participants’ interpretive interests, whether or not they were recognized as being related to the scrapbook pages.

Despite the interest that our participants described for the pie charts, these visualizations display a continuity of visual forms and a lack of text, which may have contributed to the fact that their heat maps and summary statistics both show fewer fixation points and shorter overall viewing times than for the facsimile images. Like the line renderings, however, the pie charts also prompted longer fixation periods on points of interest as a proportion of the overall viewing time than the facsimile pages, likely reflecting the interpretive work that the participants described themselves as undertaking when presented with these visualizations. In contrast to the line detection renderings, comparing the heat maps of the facsimiles to their respective pie chart visualizations shows that the fixation patterns change considerably, indicating the direct effects that our emphasis on colour in the pie

chart visualizations has on viewers and showing that these visualizations do indeed prompt their own patterns of viewing. For example, Figure 32 compares the facsimile and pie chart visualization heat maps for pages 1519/1520. Although many of the same general areas of the page drew attention in both images, the pie chart heat map shows a concentration on groups of items, rather than on specific items, with the more densely populated places on the page attracting the most attention, while the facsimiles show attention to particular clippings. This attention to groups of items recurs in the heat maps for pages 2407/2408 (Figure 33), with the facsimile heat map showing a focused interest on several particular clippings, while the pie chart heat map shows attention where several pie charts are grouped together. This finding signals the importance of page density and arrangement of clippings on the gestalt of the pages, with the pie chart visualizations allowing the effects of grouping on attention to become more isolated and therefore evident.

Both of the pie chart heat maps in Figures 32 and 33 also show a new hotspot that the facsimile images do not. On page 1520, a small pink ink spiral drawn by Morgan on the scrapbook page near the image of Marlon Brando drew almost no attention in the facsimile image. Meanwhile, in the pie chart heat map, the chart representing this pink drawing becomes the most dominant hotspot on the page. Likewise, on page 2408, a cropped photograph of a woman's hand held in what resembles a mudra position becomes a dominant hotspot in the pie chart heat map, while it drew relatively little attention in its facsimile version. The sudden draw to both of these images is easily traced to the dominant splash of colour they add to otherwise earth-toned pages when colour becomes the dominant dimension through which these pages are represented. The facsimile images and the visualizations therefore highlight different features of the scrapbook pages and allow for different facets of their mediating effects to be noticed.

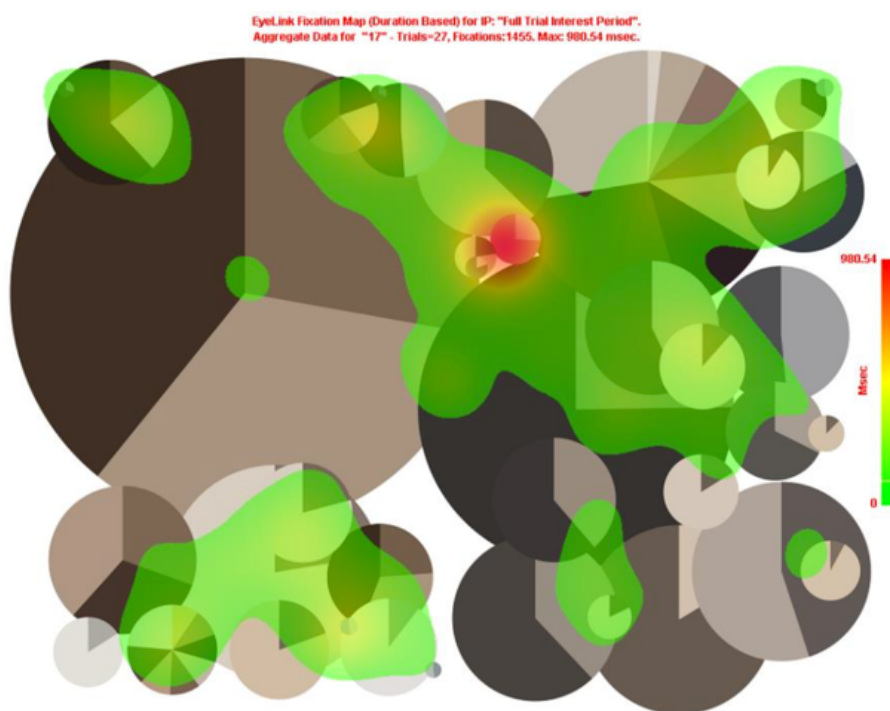
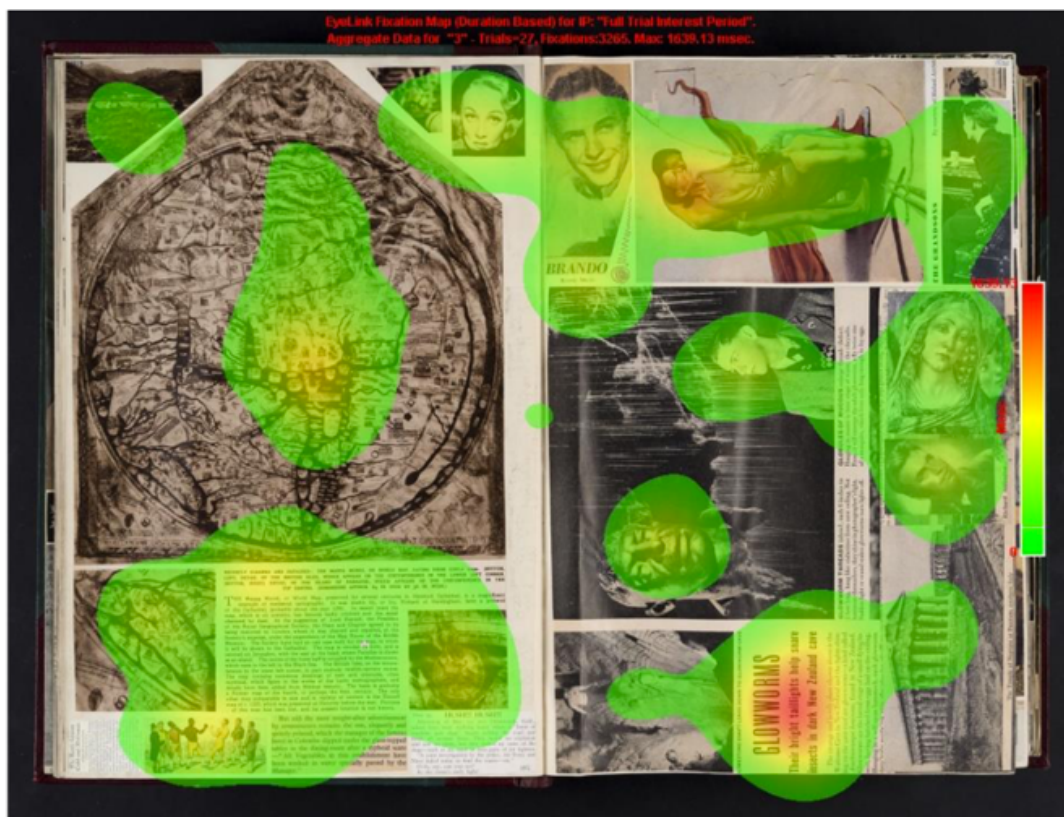


Figure 32: Comparing Heat Maps for Facsimile and Pie Charts, Scrapbook 9, Pages 1519/1520

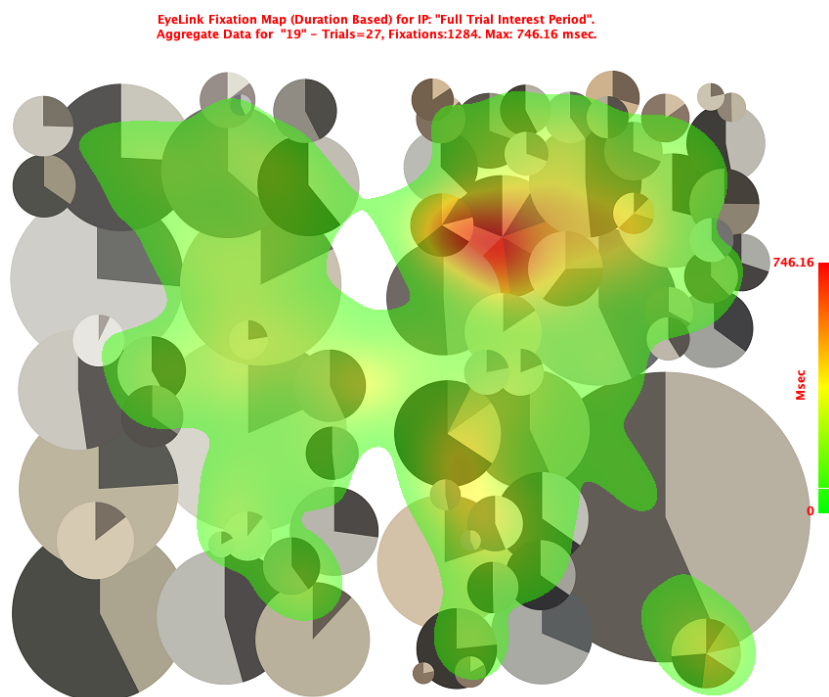
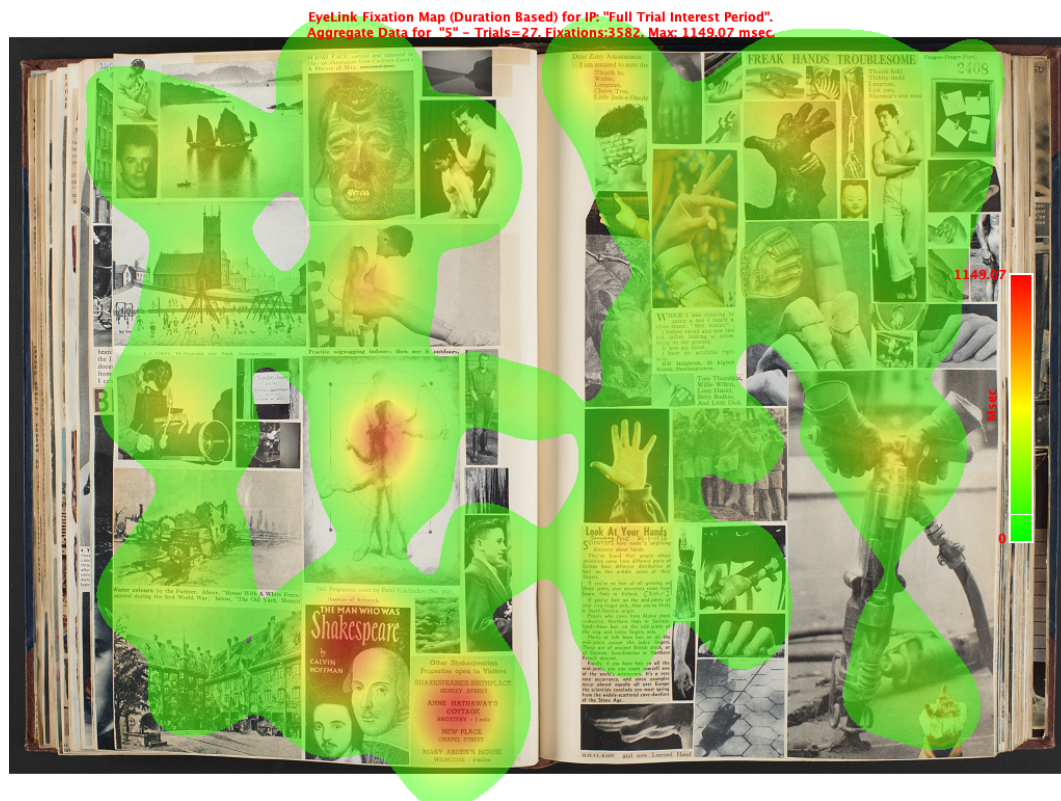


Figure 33: Comparing Heat Maps for Facsimile and Pie Charts, Scrapbook 12, Pages 2407/2408

It is clear from these eye-tracking results that the Morgan scrapbooks function through a wide range of visual and textual reading modes, requiring their audiences to scan the page in order to fill in the details of their initial gestalt-based impressions and to switch between more and less sequential tasks, including reading text on the one hand and scanning a complex visual collage on the other. Scrapbooks are not, however, the only medium that requires this oscillation between reading and viewing to derive meaning. Concrete and other visual forms of poetry actively rely on these same oscillations, as well as on re-evaluations of “basic assumptions about the functions of and conventions associated with different sign systems” (Knowles et al. 100). In eye-tracking studies focused on readers confronted with spatially-complex and nonlinear poetry, for example, Andrew Michael Roberts, Jane Stabler, and Martin H. Fischer found “evidence of a shift from reading to ‘scanning,’ where scanning can be defined as the relative predominance of vertical and/or diagonal eye movements, compared to the standard horizontal saccades and return sweeps from the end of one line to the start of the next” (31). Knowles et al. argue that such scanning and oscillation can contribute to the reader’s enjoyment of the text. They state that “people do not merely collect verbal information dictated by the symbolic entities (the letters) on the page” but rather “relish the arrangement of the letters while forming an interpretation and judgement” (92).<sup>45</sup> Our eye-tracking of Morgan’s concrete poems supports these findings and demonstrates that the rich interpretive activities required by concrete poems encourage participants to reread portions, or even the entirety, of the poems. Like the scrapbooks, then, Morgan’s concrete poetry

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<sup>45</sup> Our surveys indicate that the participants in our study generally enjoyed viewing the concrete poems, with several participants commenting on the poems’ humour, playfulness, and the interesting ways in which the words and images were made to interact. Several participants were from disciplines outside of the humanities, however, and several others identified themselves as not speaking English as their first language. Participants from these two groups repeatedly commented that, even if they liked the poems, they did not feel that they understood them.

straddles the boundary between graphesis and text and indicates the fecund possibilities offered by approaching the scrapbooks as a form of concrete poetry.

The heat map for "Archives" (Figure 34) indicates that our participants read the first several lines of this poem before then skipping over the repetitive middle lines and arriving at the spaces created by the missing letters at the end of the poem. These speaking spaces suddenly recaptured the participants' attention and, in many cases, caused their gaze to then oscillate between the first few and final few lines as they worked to interpret these visual and textual gaps. In contrast, the heat map for "Pomander" (Figure 35) shows a steadier reading pattern, with every line attracting fixation points, even if the first several lines receive more attention. This reading pattern could indicate that participants began to skim the lower lines or that the first lines demanded more attention until the readers developed a sense of the poem's style and pacing. When compared with "Archives", "Pomander" shows more total fixation points (3324 compared to 1916 for "Archives"), most of which are held for a shorter duration of time. This indicates that "Pomander" encouraged a more systematic, and thus faster, pace of reading than "Archives". "Pomander" also seems to have encouraged less of an oscillation between image and text when compared with "Archives", despite the concrete shape of "Pomander", and as it was read in a more linear fashion, thereby supporting Knowles et al.'s finding that "relatively linear visual poems are ... more likely to attract a linear reading pattern (reading direction from top to bottom)" than "more irregular visual poems" (98). The heat map for the final poem, "Siesta" (Figure 36), displays 1169 fixations, none of which were held for longer than 519 milliseconds, thus indicating that our participants spent the least amount of time on this poem when compared with either "Pomander" or "Archives". Given the limited textual information in "Siesta," however, this shortened attention period does not necessarily denote a lack of interest. Indeed, "Siesta" prompted



EyeLink Fixation Map (Duration Based) for IP: "Full Trial Interest Period".  
Trial Data for Group "Z2" - Trials=28, Fixations:1221, Max: 582.29 msec.

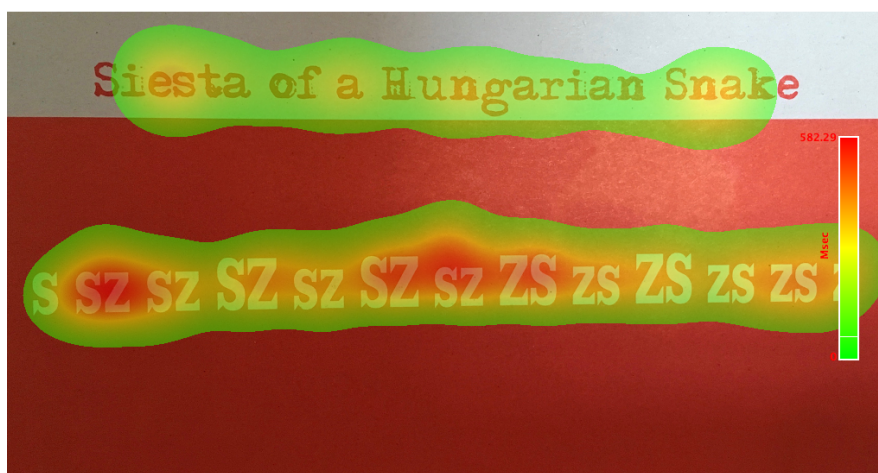


Figure 36: Heat Map for "Siesta of a Hungarian Snake" by Edwin Morgan

repeated oscillations between the body and title of the poem from its readers, with the body being scanned by most participants multiple times, as can be seen in the several saccades shown on the fixation map between the title and poem for p1 (Figure 37). The limited semantic information in the poem also places particular emphasis on the visual image created by its letters. "Siesta" can therefore be understood as functioning in a manner similar to a captioned image, with the image being scanned and the title supplying supplementary information that is then collected and used to reassess the image in a back-and-forth interpretive process.

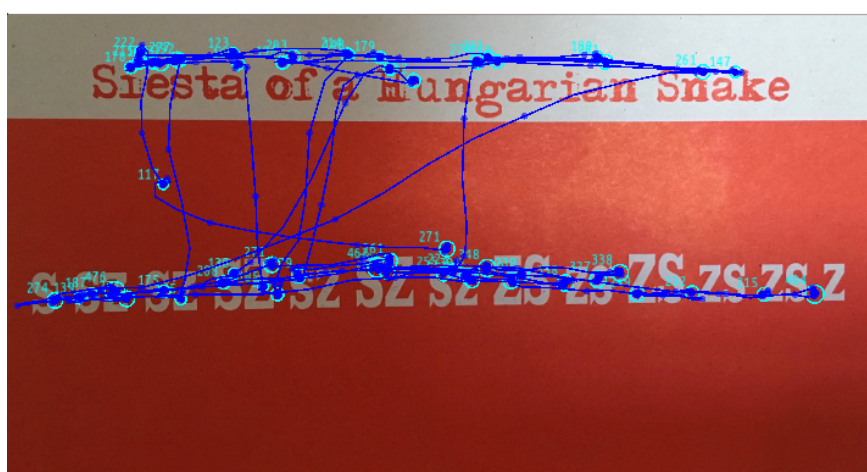


Figure 37: Fixation and Saccade Map, Participant 1, "Siesta of a Hungarian Snake"



which poem. The maps therefore comprise a visual archive of embodied action and can be read as a form of intermediated art. Moreover, the maps echo the Colour Collage pie charts that deform and abstract the scrapbook pages to focus on the non-textual components of their aesthetic provocations and reveal fundamental features of their mediating structures.

### *iii. Constellation Interface*

The final stage of my RtD collaboration with Putra returns to the metadata collected in our database for the eight-page subset and, taking into account the benefit of multiple views for cultural collections, seeks to build a different interface from the same data. Not only does this challenge present us with the opportunity to apply what we learned about the scrapbooks and our data through the Colour Collage interface and the eye-tracking experiments to the development of a new prototype, it also allows us to demonstrate the fecundity of even a small dataset. The Colour Collage interface is by no means authoritative and its position as a subjective interpretation is emphasized by showing how a vastly different interface can arise from the same data. The Colour Collage interface retains the page as an organizing structure and so does not allow for clipping components to communicate actively across pages or books. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, however, Morgan's scrapbooks build narratives, observations, and critiques that can be traced throughout the whole collection. Our second visualization therefore seeks to provide the components in our subset with greater opportunities to demonstrate their connections and intersections beyond the boundaries of a single page. In order to achieve this aim, we began by atomizing the page and conceiving of an interface that would present the components collectively.

Reflecting Morgan's interest in space and our own research interests in tracing connections among components, we adopted a constellatory theme for this second

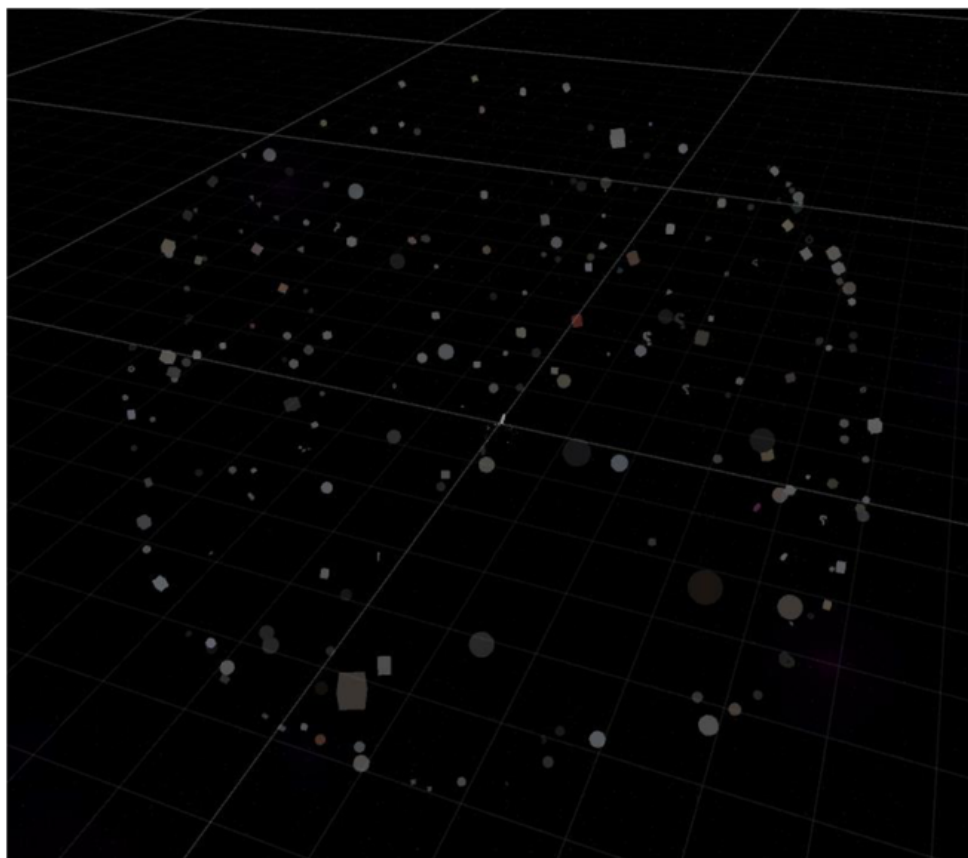
prototype. We conceived of a 360-degree, 3D environment that allows each of the scrapbook components to become a free-floating object in a spherical space, which we call the Constellation interface. Every component in our subset is shown simultaneously and is randomly distributed within this interface. While the Colour Collage interface focuses on abstracting the visual components of the scrapbook pages, this interface focuses more explicitly on deconstructing the scrapbooks' informational structures and recreating the nonlinearity that characterizes so many scrapbooks. Figure 39 shows the Constellation interface from the macro level, with all 224 clipping components represented as a floating geometrical object in space.<sup>46</sup> The prototype can be accessed online at <http://ed-morgan.com/show/index.html>.<sup>47</sup>

When a user launches the Constellation interface, they are positioned in the center of the 3D sphere with the components distributed around them (Figure 40). As the components are distributed in 3D space, not all of them are visible at one time from the user eye-level view and users are required to direct the camera left, right, up, and down using their mouse in order to explore the interface. The Constellation interface therefore allows users to direct their own explorations. As stated above, each component from our eight-page subset is represented as a geometric object in the visualization, which, in turn, represents a category of clipping component, such as Original Photograph, Printed Text, and Postage Stamp. A legend for these objects is provided to the user (Figure 41). The colour of each object in the interface reflects the dominant colour for the component it represents, which is determined for each component by the same K-means clustering algorithm Putra

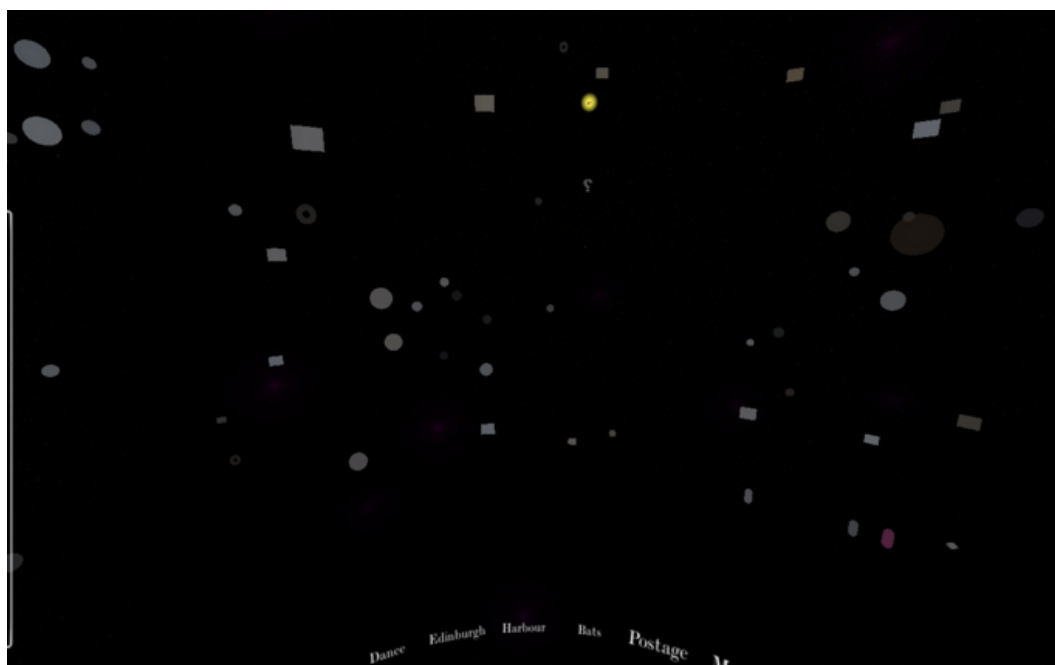
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<sup>46</sup> Putra developed the prototype on the game development platform Unity, using the C# scripting language and Microsoft Visual Studio. Unity is then connected with a php back end that accesses the MariaDB database and retrieves information, such as the clipping and component descriptions, colour values, and medium for each component (Putra 47).

<sup>47</sup> The visualization is designed for use with the Chrome browser and, as it has not been scaled for small screens or for touch interfaces, is best accessed on a desktop.



*Figure 39: Bird's Eye View of the Constellation Interface*



*Figure 40: User's Eye-Level View of the Constellation Interface*



*Figure 41: Constellation Interface Object Legend*

used in our Colour Collage visualizations. The objects are distributed in three horizontal bands across the Constellation sky based on how they have been layered onto the scrapbook page by Morgan,<sup>48</sup> but are otherwise arranged randomly and are redistributed each time the page is refreshed. This interface plays with the way that a scrapbook can be opened onto any page and read in any order, while also providing users with new perspectives on the data each time they engage with the prototype.

The Constellation interface also allows for closer examination of the objects in its universe. If an object is clicked in the Constellation, the user's screen zooms in to that object and displays a detailed panel that provides information on the component it represents. For example, Figure 42 shows the zoomed-in panel for the pink ink drawing from page 1520 that I discussed in the eye-tracking discussion above. On the right side of the panel, the full K-means colour values for the selected

<sup>48</sup> This layering information has been captured in the database through a z-index rating that we assigned to each clipping component. Those in the lowest band are rated 0, meaning they have been drawn directly on the scrapbook page. Those in the middle band are rated 1, meaning they have been pasted onto the page. Those in the highest band have been rated 2 or higher, meaning they have been pasted onto (an)other clipping(s).

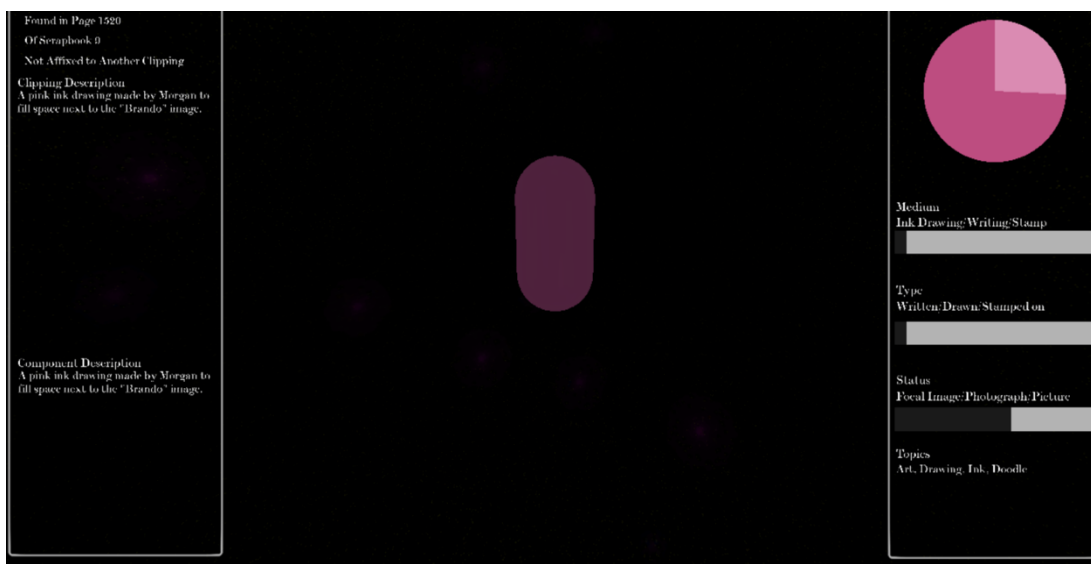


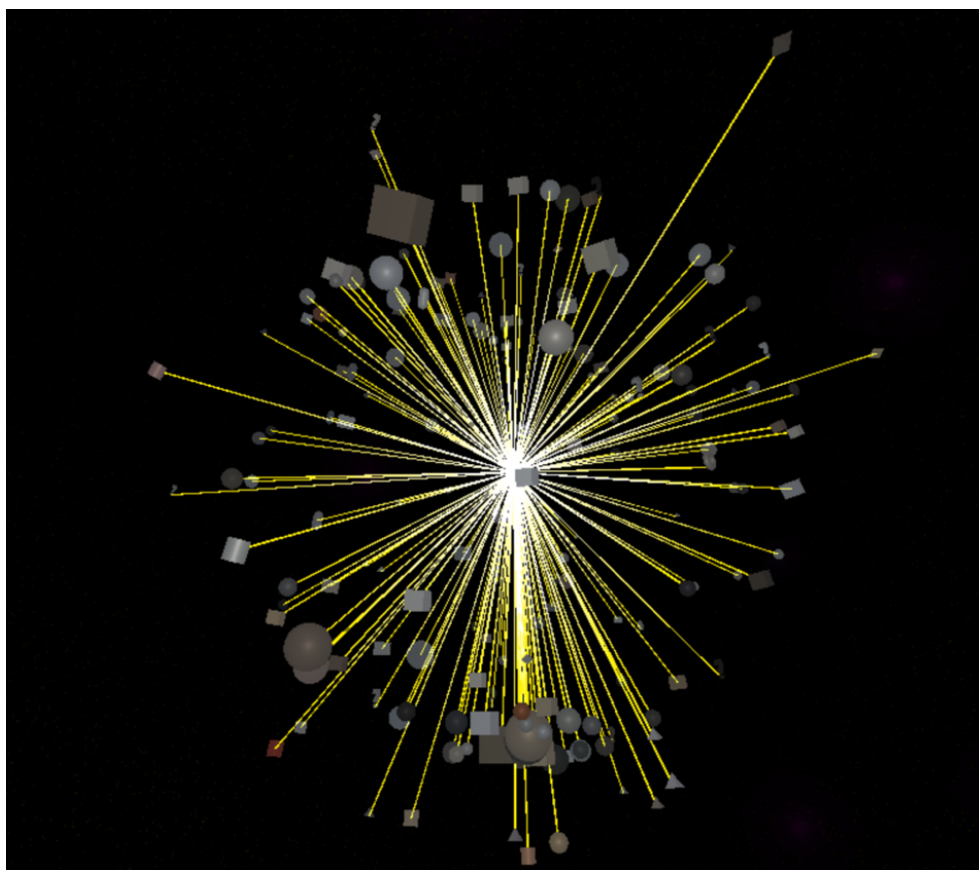
Figure 42: Constellation Interface, Item-Level View for Ink Drawing, Scrapbook 9, Page 1520

component are provided through a colour pie-chart, as well as component statistics, such as keywords, medium, status (e.g. Marginalia, Caption), and type (e.g. Handwritten/Drawn/Stamped, Collage). Below the component's specific medium, type, and status, bar graphs indicate the frequency with which these same features appear across our data set. These bar charts therefore seek to provide perspective on the broader collection by allowing the user to assess whether this component's attributes are common or relatively unique within the collection. On the left side of the zoomed-in panel, the component's page number and scrapbook number are provided, and a descriptive abstract is given at both the clipping and component levels. Clicking on the selected object at the center of the screen deselects the component and returns the user to the original Constellation perspective.

In order to explore the relationships between the constellations of scrapbook components, there are two filtering tools built into this prototype, each of which offer different points of entry into the data. For users interested in the materiality of the scrapbooks or the types of media that Morgan incorporated into his scrapbooks, a pop-out menu to the left of the screen enables a filter that causes



the grouped components from our dataset that are included in *Scrapbook 12* when book-level grouping is selected.<sup>49</sup> This grouping function allows the user to specify the level at which they wish to explore the relationships between the components, rather than being forced to navigate by, for example, page-level. Without fully



*Figure 44: Constellation Interface with Components from Scrapbook 12 Grouped*

relying on the page or the book as a structure of meaning, then, the Constellation interface allows these mediating structures to be variously de/reconstructed. Moreover, both the filters and grouping functions can be used in combination with one another, thereby allowing users to explore, for example, the occurrences of a

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<sup>49</sup> When grouped, components are connected to their particular cluster by yellow lines. The length of the line roughly corresponds to the z-index rating that organized the components within the three horizon bands, described above

particular media type or keyword within the components for a particular scrapbook grouping. Each time the group or filter functions are engaged or reset, the Constellation objects are redistributed on the screen, thereby requiring users to remain active in seeking out the results of their request. As such, the Constellation interface does not allow the organizing structures of the filters to override the randomness that the interface is invested in exploring. The interface also resists providing users with an easy interface that fades into the background, instead demanding continual manipulation.

Compared with the Colour Collage interface, the Constellation interface performs distinctly different aspects of generosity and rich-prospect browsing. This interface clearly allows for an overview of the components in our subset and offers multiple points of entry into the data, based on keywords, media category, and grouping, as well as offering a transition to viewing information about a particular component from within the subset more closely. Meanwhile, the filtering and grouping tools allows users to manipulate the display and explore how the components intersect within these categories. By ensuring randomized placements of the objects within these filters and views, the interface also enables serendipitous discovery.

There are, however, many more facets of the Constellation interface that exist at odds with generous and rich-prospect browsing. While the scale of the visualization works for our small subset, it is apparent that visualizing the whole of the scrapbook collection through this mode would become untenable. Apart from the same issues of labour-intensive data curation and design processes that have already been discussed for the Colour Collage interface, the Constellation would become overpopulated if made to visualize the whole of the Morgan scrapbook collection to the point where discerning individual objects in the interface would

become almost impossible. In considering the Constellation interface through the lens of generosity, one of the most salient issues to emerge is that the randomized and changing nature of the visualization does not serve a researcher looking for repeatable and traceable views on the data, and thus departs from the aim of generous interfaces to support both exploration and more focused enquiry.

Our prototype sacrifices this repeatability, however, in an attempt to remediate the lively playfulness of the scrapbooks and the surprising ways in which information can present itself when flipping through the scrapbook pages. In doing so, we argue that the Constellation interface attempts to remind users of the processes of constitutive interpretation that are enacted when approaching any text, even if some texts have become so familiar that this process goes unnoticed. Moreover, our departure from the aims of an interface directed towards a research end-user is deliberate. While we would ideally like our prototype to be able to speak to both academic and public audiences, the difficulty of building one tool to reach both of these audiences simultaneously is indicated by the paucity of projects that even attempt to do so.<sup>50</sup> We therefore expect the Constellation interface to serve an interested, but largely, or even wholly, uninitiated audience that would approach this prototype in a spirit of exploration, with the hope that they would become inspired to approach the physical scrapbooks in order to conduct more targeted reading and/or research later. We do acknowledge that additional functionalities, such as the ability to save certain discoveries or views, in the interface would better balance serendipitous discoveries with repeatable views.

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<sup>50</sup> As Hinrichs, Forlini, and I have argued, “[a]lthough digital humanities projects typically welcome public outreach, we know of no case study in the context of literary research where both public and academic audiences have been explicitly considered. Similarly, while case studies in information visualization have shown their suitability for casual, public audiences on the one hand and for domain experts on the other, few address simultaneously a range of expert and casual audiences” (Hinrichs et al., “Speculative Practices” 431)

In considering how this prototype could be built upon and improved, our user studies indicate that the geometric objects in the Constellation interface are overcomplicated, as these objects bear a spurious relationship to the clipping types that they represent and so require extra interpretive effort on the part of the viewer. We acknowledge that the interface would function better with the use of more skeuomorphic designs to represent the scrapbook components. Another impediment to user engagement is that, much like the Past Visions project, many components in our subset have a muted or earthy tone as their dominant colour. As such, the Constellation interface's aesthetic presence is impacted, resulting in a fairly dark visualization with limited colour distinction between the Constellation's objects. We have hypothesized that, instead of extracting dominant colours, we could manually select the most visually distinct colour in each clipping to help introduce more visual variety. Finally, our user studies indicate that the zoomed-in component panel and, in particular, this panel's bar charts are not clear to users, causing undue confusion. More design work is clearly required to make this panel legible and useful to users. In assessing the Constellation visualization, I therefore argue that, unlike the Colour Collage, which proved to be a simple and direct proof of concept, the Constellation visualization functions as Hinrichs et al.'s understanding of an exploratory visualization sandcastle that prompts questions about how the interface could be rescaled or reconceived in order to better engage the complex connections amongst the scrapbooks' data that it foregrounds.

Across this chapter, I have shown the ways in which science fiction narratives, scrapbooks, and prototypes can function as boundary objects that enable arguments and share knowledge through practices of making, as well as the ways in which the copyright barriers facing the Morgan scrapbooks can be re-conceptualized as creative constraints within an RtD process. In taking on this challenge to build our

own prototypes, Putra and I demonstrate the value of disrupting the reliance on facsimile reproductions, which is dominant within cultural collection visualizations. Our project also demonstrates the availability of scrapbooks to RtD processes, showing how even the ways in which the Morgan scrapbooks resist digital processes offer opportunities for reflection. Through the prototypes that Putra and I built, as well as the eye-tracking experiments that we undertook, the scrapbooks are unfolded as highly communicative mediators that challenge their audiences, encourage embodied interpretive practices, and inspire visually playful prototypes that can deconstruct the scrapbooks' mediating materialities. Building on the fecund discoveries and questions raised in this RtD project, my next chapter outlines a third prototype that I helped to build through another collaboration that was undertaken from 2017-2019.

## Chapter 4: Exploring the Morgan Scrapbooks through Database Aesthetics

*SCRAP MANAGER*  
*Old-established Scottish company*  
*requires MANAGER for*  
*SCRAP DEPARTMENT*  
—*qtd. in Scrapbook 14, page 2689c*

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the Colour Collage and Constellation prototypes defamiliarize aspects of the scrapbooks' aesthetic provocations and mediating structures through digital means. By bringing the analog scrapbooks into contact with the mediating potentials of the digital and showing their productive interactivity, the prototypes reassert the value of investing in tailored interfaces for cultural artifacts, especially when these artifacts face barriers to facsimile reproduction. The prototypes also prompt new research questions when they are engaged and analyzed as mediators in their own right. Building from the Colour Collage and Constellation interfaces, then, this chapter focuses on my efforts to engage with a larger dataset taken from the Morgan scrapbooks and to explore the visualization potentials enabled by this change in scale. This third prototype focuses on the networks of association that the Morgan scrapbooks both reveal and create between the people, places, and sources that appear in the scrapbooks.

This change in focus requires a return to the data structures my project uses to collect metadata. As discussed in Chapter 3, the decision to use the clipping component as the base unit of meaning in my initial database means that each individual clipping is represented in two tables, once at the clipping level and, in our subset, from one up to as many as eight times at the component level. The initial focus on the scrapbooks' visual and material presence also shapes the columns under which the data is collected in the database and emphasize component size, page orientation, colour values, and medium. As such, this database proves effective in remediating certain aspects of the scrapbooks' visual information into machine-

readable forms, while being less suited to showcasing the content of the clippings. Rephrased in Alan Galey and Stan Ruecker's terms, the affordances that the first database offers, and thereby the means through which it argues, emphasize the clippings as material artifacts that are of interest in and of themselves, with their content being highlighted to a much lesser extent.

Although the Morgan scrapbooks are visual artifacts that communicate through graphesis and prompt an awareness of their presence as aesthetic provocations, it is also true that, as my thesis has demonstrated so far, the contents of the scrapbooks hold social, poetic, technological, and ethical value. In order to complement the more materially-focused database behind the Collage and Constellation visualizations, then, this stage of my RtD process starts by building a new database that shifts focus onto the scrapbooks' contents as well as onto their function as tools of information management. By excerpting information from primary sources and personal experiences, Morgan's scrapbooks provide a curated snapshot of the mid-twentieth-century events, people, and issues that attracted his attention. The scrapbooks thereby filter the overabundance of information circulating in the mass media to provide a curated selection of ephemera related to these interests. When considered through this lens, the scrapbooks indicate the ways in which they accord with modern information management tools, including databases, and I assert that a more explicit unpacking of this affinity offers productive inroads for ways of remediating scrapbooks into online environments.

This chapter proceeds by first considering the points of comparison and contrast between scrapbooks and databases before then turning to an analysis of my restructured database and a third prototypical interface based on this database, titled *Working from Scraps (WfS)*. This interface was designed in collaboration with

Jonathan Armoza, PhD candidate at NYU.<sup>51</sup> As this chapter will show, WfS is invested in a database aesthetics and takes seriously the ways in which scrapbooks and databases as forms prove mutually illuminating. Additionally, as with the Colour Collage and Constellation prototypes, the value of WfS emerges in part through the ways that it falls short of representing the scrapbooks and thus through the opportunities that it offers to think through the limits of databases in representing cultural heritage artifacts like the Morgan scrapbooks.

### *Scrapbooks as Information Management Tools*

Twenty-first-century readers are not widely trained to read through the logic of scrapbooks directly, but scrapbooks have remained an active mediator within a variety of media ecologies, including through their shaping influence on digital media. Ellen Gruber Garvey points, for example, to the role that scrapbooking played in the development of early twentieth-century clipping bureaus, which she argues “exten[d] the logic of scrapbooks” (*Writing with Scissors* 242), not least of all because these bureaus used similar clipping practices as those of domestic scrapbookers and often produced their own scrapbooks, some of which were “sumptuously bound,” to provide their clients with collections of clippings in a browsable object (*Writing with Scissors* 243). Garvey argues that this information management legacy carries through to the digital age, with “the foundations of more recent filtering of information via digital methods, namely Google, LexisNexis, blogging, [and] personal sharable note-taking applications such as Evernote and Zotero” lying at least partially in scrapbooking and clipping bureau practices (*Writing with Scissors* 235).

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<sup>51</sup> This interface was built as part of a Carnegie Trust funded grant headed by Dr. Anouk Lang (PI) in 2017. I built and populated the database underlying the interface and Armoza designed and coded the interface based on our collaborative design decisions and goals using the Vue.js framework. He also wrote custom Python scripts that interpret the database for use in the interface. In addition to managing the project, Lang created visualizations, including a network graph, and topic models based on the free-form keywords that I assigned to each page of the scrapbooks. Lang, Armoza, and I presented on this collaboration at the DH2019 conference in Utrecht (Moynihan et al.).

My introduction similarly discussed how critics such as Katie Day Good and Debora Lui trace a direct line of descent from scrapbooks to more recent social media platforms, such as Pinterest. Much more than recounting a distant historical connection between scrapbooks and modern technologies, then, Garvey and Lui show the ways in which scrapbooks have remained intertwined within contemporary media ecologies.

Other acknowledgements of the connection between scrapbooks and databases can be found in the language used to discuss scrapbooks. For example, Michael Cox describes the nineteenth- and twentieth-century American scrapbooks of newspaperman James A. Lowry as an “irreplaceable database” and argues that scrapbooks offer a “useful compendium of information on a particular subject [that exist] in one easy to use medium pasted on a page” (66), thus emphasizing their information management abilities. In her thesis on the history of American scrapbooks, Leigh Ina Hunt uses the media theory of Janice R. Walker to argue that both pre- and post-digital scrapbookers continue and reprise “a pre-modern era of rhetoric” that Walker refers to as “a shared database of communal knowledge” (Hunt 221). Moreover, Hunt states that Walker positions the internet as similarly reprising this rhetoric, thus indicating a mutual understanding of scrapbooks and the internet as forms of cultural database, as well as signalling another one of the ways through which scrapbooks remain relevant in digital media ecologies.

Working to understand the cultural position of databases therefore emerges as a way to better articulate the mediating functions of scrapbooks. Lev Manovich has notably argued for the database as the “key form of cultural expression” in the computer age (“Database” 40). As Manovich explains, a database is broadly defined in computer science as “a structured collection of data” and can take a variety of analog and digital forms (*Language* 214). When used computationally, databases

“access, sort and re-organize millions of records,” contain different media types, and “assume multiple indexing of data, since each record besides the data itself contains a number of fields with user-defined values” (*Language* 214). In addition to these tasks of preservation and access, however, Manovich argues that the database as a form “migrate[s] back into culture at large, both literally and conceptually” through what he terms a “transcoding principle” (*Language* 214). This principle<sup>52</sup> refers to the ways in which human culture and computer technologies have become interpermeated and, as an example of such transcoding, Manovich argues that a “library, a museum—in fact, any large collection of cultural data—is replaced by a computer database,” while at the same time, “a computer database becomes a new metaphor which we use to conceptualize individual and cultural memory, a collection of documents or objects, and other phenomena and experiences” (*Language* 214). In what Ed Folsom refers to as Manovich’s “most provocative claim” (1574), Manovich then posits that databases not only replace archives but also exist in opposition to narrative, because databases rely on an adamant unordered listing of the world, while narrative meaning relies on the creation of “a cause-and-effect trajectory” (*Language* 225). As such, Manovich declares databases and narrative to be “natural enemies” (*Language* 225) and suggests that the transcoding of cultural processes away from narrative through the presence of the database can be traced in the meaning-making practices of new media objects. He argues that

[m]any new media objects do not tell stories; they don’t have a beginning or end; in fact, they don’t have any development, thematically, formally, or otherwise which would organize their elements into a sequence. Instead, they are collections of individual items ... Indeed if ... the world appears to us as an endless and unstructured collection of images, texts, and other data

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<sup>52</sup> Manovich is not alone in attempting to describe this interplay between humans and technology. For example, Hayles describes what she terms a “technogenetic spiral,” wherein human attention “is engaged in a feedback loop with the technological environment” that operates through both “the unconscious and nonconscious processes that affect ... the mechanisms of selection themselves” (*How We Think* 104). In other words, she argues that “technical beings and living beings are involved in continuous reciprocal causation in which both groups change together in coordinating and indeed synergistic ways” (*How We Think* 104).

records, it is only appropriate that we will be moved to model it as a database. But it is also appropriate that we would want to develop poetics, aesthetics, and ethics of this database (*Language* 219).

While I agree that articulating poetics, aesthetics, and ethics both of and for databases is a necessary praxis given the ubiquity of databases and the extent of their reach, I join critics including Jessica Pressman and N. Katherine Hayles who resist this posited divide between narrative and database, and assert that it is premised on similar false dichotomies to those undergirding the two cultures debate, discussed in Chapter 2. Later in this chapter, I will also discuss how I join with critics, including Folsom and Jerome McGann, to resist a conceptual collapse of archives, cultural collections, and libraries into databases.

Like Manovich, Pressman recognizes the mediating specificities of databases, but argues that “databases are not just repositories for storing data” but also “structures that organize, prioritize, and shape information” with meaningful effects on the interpretive possibilities that they can offer (*Digital Modernism* 102). Thus, Pressman asserts the ways in which databases go beyond a listing of their collected data and prove to be embroiled in interpretive practices. Hayles similarly subverts Manovich’s claim that database and narrative are enemies by arguing for them as “natural symbionts” (“Narrative” 1603). For Hayles, this symbiosis occurs because databases “construct relational juxtapositions” but are effectively “helpless to interpret or explain them” in meaningful ways without narrative, while narrative “needs database in the computationally intensive culture of the new millennium to enhance its cultural authority and test the generality of its insights” (“Narrative” 1603). This critical discussion therefore demonstrates that, although the narratives used to make sense of information presented through database models are transcoded with the media-specific forms of meaning creation that databases usher into being, they remain forms of narrative nonetheless. I also add that any

discussion of narrative needs to take into account the many forms of nonlinear narrative that have existed since long before the digital database and so complicate a definition of narrative like Manovich's that is premised on sequence.

As a practical example that serves to ground the critical discussion above, the field of prosopography has begun to intervene in how databases are structured and prove that databases can either suppress narratives if they are not deployed carefully or be used to enable new narratives. Alison Booth explains that prosopography is "the representation of a collective history through sets of names, images, and narratives, in forms that range from pantheons to databases" (273). Although traditionally used to describe collective biographies or as a historiographical method to help fill in partial records, prosopography has been taken up in the construction of databases, specifically where a flattening or standardizing of the data would negate its value or where existing structures of classification have been identified as oppressively reductive, such as in representing gender. For example, Michelle Schwartz and Constance Crompton's Lesbian and Gay Liberation in Canada project utilized time-bound fields to enter multiple gender identities for individuals included in their prosopographic database, therefore allowing for a fuller representation of these individuals' experiences and identities over time (Schwartz and Crompton). The recording of these various identities is crucial to creating an effective narrative for the individuals represented in the database. Not unlike a scrapbook, then, prosopography relies on fragmentary and partial data to convey its meanings, while also representing a polyvocal means through which to subvert dominant narratives and hegemonic structures, even while creating space for new narratives.

Scrapbooks also parallel databases in that, as a result of the ways in which they eschew the necessity of a sequentially expressed narrative, they rely on their

readers to play a role in activating the messages that they present. As Kristin Gilger argues,

[t]he [scrapbook] reader can focus on any one element and move in any direction at any time ... th[e] page, and the scrapbook collection as a whole, even encourages such a disorderly reading in order to allow the reader to orchestrate a number of possible relationships that connect the pasted elements and to see the collection as a paradoxically fragmented whole. Readers ... are therefore assigned an active interpretive role and must think through the significance and implications of particular arrangements (122).

This meandering mode of reading introduces a found poetics into the reading practices surrounding scrapbooks, while also encouraging the kind of Latourian close readings that I demonstrated in Chapter 2. Moreover, the experience of being presented with several pieces of information, each of which bears some connection to the others but which requires interpretation to see these connections clearly, is one with which any database user is familiar. As such, readers of scrapbooks and databases have to work similarly to become familiar with not only the collected data, but also the particular functionalities, aesthetic cues, and provocations—what could collectively be understood as the generic conventions—of the data structures they engage. Scrapbooks therefore gesture to what Hayles asserts regarding databases: without the necessary inductions to the mediating structures of either a database or a scrapbook, their many narrative possibilities can be rendered invisible or inaccessible to the reader.

I also argue that as meandering reading practices become more prevalent in digital media ecologies, including through hyperlinked and fragmented social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook, scrapbooks can become more legible to audiences that may have previously found their fragmented forms too alienating or labour intensive. An example of digital meandering reading can be found in what Hayles describes as “hyper reading,” or a digitally-informed reading practice that “includes skimming, scanning, fragmenting, and juxtaposing text” in a “strategic

response to an information-intensive environment" (*How We Think* 12). She continues, stating that in "digital environments, hyper reading has become a necessity" because "it enables the reader quickly to construct landscapes of associated research fields and subfields; it shows ranges of possibilities; it identifies texts and passages most relevant to a given query; and it easily juxtaposes many different texts and passages" (*How We Think* 62). This hyper reading is required because, although the digital is ideally associated with a searchable, query-based presentation of information that produces specific results, in practice digital search tools throw up noise, including both spurious and serendipitous results, and can be hosted on interfaces that are cluttered or otherwise difficult to navigate. Moreover, the sheer expanse of digital data, whether presented in an orderly fashion or not, requires interpretative strategies to filter this data for the user's purposes. Digital interfaces and databases can therefore reflect some of the same difficulties that scrapbooks face in regard to information management and retrieval, as all three are tools of excision that create and curate meaning from juxtaposed fragments of wider sources but do so through output forms that can be messy and contingent, therefore requiring interpretive labour from the reader.

My RtD process described in this chapter considers how changes in reading practices prompted by the digital can clear new space for twenty-first-century readers to learn from the forms of reading that scrapbooks engender while also using the affordances granted by digital tools to find new ways of presenting the rich stores of information contained within scrapbooks that have been overlooked because of their material difficulties. As Hayles argues, "changes in narrative functionalities are deeper than the structural or thematic characteristics of a specific genre, for they shift the embodied responses and expectations that different kinds of textualities evoke" and thus "transform the environment as a whole," even for

media that “are not directly involved with the new media” that prompted the shift (*Posthuman* 48). Hayles’s description therefore resonates with Latour’s understanding of interconnected mediators that each comprise an originating event within their networks and asserts that vantage points are always evolving within mediating networks from which new perspectives on a variety of mediators can be achieved. As an example of these new perspectives, Hayles gestures to the ways in which her own appreciation for print texts expanded once these texts were contrasted with digital texts, including a new awareness of the fact that print pages do not shut down or disappear from view the way a digital text can.

Literature and media critic Yves Citton provides another example of digitally-inspired perspectives on reading in his discussion of the effects of digital cut-and-paste tools on modern readers, explaining that,

[t]hrough the extensive use of the copy, search, cut, and paste functions and the practices of sampling, inserting, transferring, syndicating, and editing, it is not only the integrity and the borders of the text that are altered and need to be reassessed; the reader’s relation to readable data is mutating as well....to read is no longer only to decipher, nor merely to reconstruct or deconstruct, but also to reuse, reshape, and over-code” (744).

For Citton, over-coding comprises an act of reading that questions the very codes that generate data and searches for “opportunities for alteration” (745). Citton’s argument suggests that, if the nineteenth and twentieth centuries largely shored up the value of the text-based book object, the twenty-first century can be seen as carrying out a rapid unbinding of the boundaries of the book, including through ways that I argue make new space for understanding the scrappy aesthetics of scrapbooks. Moreover, I argue that the forms of reading encouraged by digital cut-and-paste practices allow for theoretical frameworks through which to understand scrapbooks. Read through Citton’s argument, for example, scrapbooks like Morgan’s, Monte Punshon’s, and Carl Van Vechten’s, discussed in Chapter 1, can be understood as over-coding the heteronormative mass-media sources that they

subversively queer and introducing changes into the archival record of these sources by reading and writing against the grain.

Hyper reading, overcoding, and similar digitally-inspired tactics can therefore encourage approaches to scrapbooks that remain open to their dual narrative and information management possibilities. Describing the childhood scrapbook<sup>53</sup> of author Willa Cather (1873-1947), for example, Jennifer Bradley points out its layered modes of meaning creation and multiple interests, stating that “the items contained in the scrapbook suggest and invite narratives” that allow the reader to “learn about history, social conditions, and consumer trends, as well as Cather’s childhood and imagination” (186). Similarly, Jennifer L. Buckler argues for the increased interpretive potentials of (auto)biographical scrapbooks when they are placed within a constellation of contemporary sources. She explains that, while these scrapbooks can present “discrete pieces of life writing and personal records,” the records are entangled within autobiographical and historical contexts that help to illuminate their signifying potentials (61). Buckler therefore argues that scrapbooks become “more completely realized when supplemented by strata of letters, family history, public history, and contemporaneous newspaper accounts” that showcase, for example, the ways in which the scrapbooks mix the public and private (61). Like a database, then, a scrapbook’s narratives are presented in fragmented forms, often without context and without the aid of a cohesive, immediately apparent narrative structure that orders the presented elements, but, as Buckler articulates, these eclectic pieces are constellatory points in broader and necessarily contingent stories to which the scrapbook’s disparate pieces provide multiple points of access. Even when a clipping’s original context cannot be found or the details of a scrapbook

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<sup>53</sup> This scrapbook is housed in the Willa Cather Pioneer Memorial and Educational Foundation, Red Cloud, Nebraska.

owner's personal history is absent, scrapbooks create space for imaginative and speculative engagements by showing that a context is missing. Scrapbooks can prevent the fragments that they save from becoming an 'unknown unknown' within the historical and cultural records, thereby signaling the presence of stories, histories, and contexts without imposing a totalizing logic that can be implicit in more linear acts of narrativization.

The aesthetic, material, and narrative openness to fragmentation within scrapbooks also allows them to speak back to Manovich's previously noted description of the database as a response to a world that feels "endless and unstructured" (*Language* 219). Scrapbooks, and other cut-and-paste texts like commonplace books, have been used as tools for managing an informational world that feels endless and unstructured since well before the emergence of digital databases, as reflected in their material structures as texts. Bartholomew Brinkman explains that

[t]he scrapbook is an open-ended accumulation, into which another item can always be added. The scrap of verse, the hastily scrawled letter, the photograph or playbill that may have planted the seed of an idea that would eventually bear fruit as a stanza or sequence—all are potentially significant. Once selected and inserted into the scrapbook, these items resonate with others and the collection as a whole takes on new meaning (33).

The open and nonlinear structures of scrapbooks therefore grant them a plasticity and a means through which to remain open to the mediating possibilities of their many collected fragments and their Latourian networks. Scrapbooks can also participate in a reshaping of the book object as mediator, as the collected fragments push against the material structures of the book, distend its covers, and overload its pages. As such, neither scrapbooks nor databases are defined by a finite set of data and are instead informed by a porousness that characteristically attempts to make room for more.

Moreover, given the ways in which I have demonstrated across this thesis that scrapbooks are deeply politicized, democratic, and aestheticized texts, I posit that their responses to a world that seems endless and unstructured are particularly well-suited to help inform the poetics, aesthetics, and ethics of databases that Manovich calls for in his discussion of new media objects. Scrapbooks do not pretend to be neutral objects and instead showcase the acts of collection, cut, and paste that bring them into being while remaining open to the influence of new additions and foregrounding the mediating impact of every item brought together in their pages. Instead of emptying contents of their individuality, scrapbooks derive their material impact from the traces they collect from other sources, as well as from the concert, or even the cacophony, of voices that speak through their sources. Understanding how scrapbooks express their poetics, aesthetics, and ethics can help to unpack the ways in which databases do similar work, while also pointing out some ways in which scrapbooks may be better suited than databases for this particular work, despite the resonances between scrapbooks and databases expressed in this chapter so far.

My RtD process therefore pursues the creation of a database and an interface that showcase the role of the Morgan scrapbooks in managing information and activating mediating networks as a way of parsing how scrapbooks and databases both align with and depart from each other in productive ways. Before describing the prototype that resulted from this pursuit in the third section of this chapter, the following section parses the ways in which scrapbooks and databases retain many differences, despite the points of comparison discussed above. I argue that using databases to deform and close-read scrapbooks not only offers ways of making scrapbooks more visible, but also provides an opportunity to consider how forms of databases could be expanded and improved.

*The Media Specificities of Scrapbooks and Databases*

Understanding the ways in which scrapbooks and databases diverge is an important step in understanding what is at stake in remediating a scrapbook into a database and rendering a database more scrapbook-like. Indeed, unlike databases, scrapbooks are often disparaged as tools of information management, as Garvey notes in her discussion of clipping bureaus when she cites Robert Luce, owner of Luce Clipping Bureau, as complaining “that scrapbooks were a poor way to organize information,” despite their use within the bureau (*Writing with Scissors* 243). Garvey does not elaborate on Luce’s complaints, but from a commercial point of view, the labour and resources that go into creating a scrapbook are certainly onerous. Moreover, if a clipping bureau intends to use a scrapbook as a way to organize clippings into categories, then separate sections within the scrapbook, or even separate volumes, will likely be required. Even within these sections, the necessity of pasting down clippings in the books forces clipping bureau employees to make decisions about the specific placement and juxtapositions of various fragments that will shape future interpretations. If collected into a scrapbook under a single dominant keyword, for example, a clipping that might fit into two or more categories must sacrifice some of its alternative or supplemental meanings, at least temporarily, to become part of a scrapbook that attaches it more strongly to one particular category. If the level of the page is used as a further form of classification, with pages organized around a particular sub-theme, the act of pasting a clipping onto one page or another will further stabilize the lenses through which it is likely to be read.

The pasted and bound format of scrapbooks therefore begins to contrast, rather than align, with other information management techniques of the early twentieth century. These other techniques, such as vertical filing, offer a different

perspective on the development of proto-databases in paper-based systems than those that are made visible by scrapbooks. As explained by Craig Robertson in his history of twentieth-century information work, vertical filing

gave the conception of information as discrete bits a more tangible presence. The move to store loose paper in folders rather than bound in books enhanced how paper articulated information as a unit. In comparison to a bound volume, a single sheet of paper offered less content and more flexibility, which led to promises of increased exactness and ease of access to information (958).

This type of filing system was adopted by many clipping bureaus and the reasons for which vertical filing was (and is) valued shows that movability and detachability were being recognized as crucial to information management. Although scrapbooks certainly rely on this same movability through their initial cut-and-paste construction, the fact remains that a scrapbook is usually a bound volume with ordered pages and affixed clippings. This structure represents a point of departure between scrapbooks and both vertical filing and modern computational databases, which offer more opportunities for shifting categorization under customized and changing queries. Moreover, although scrapbooks are clearly invested in forms of information management and performing archivalness, many simultaneously foreground their other functions, including as aesthetic provocations and artistic objects, thereby contrasting with tools like vertical filings systems that are more consistently focused on clerical uses.

As such, scrapbooks face seemingly contradictory critiques: on the one hand, some scrapbooks, like Morgan's, can be considered too eclectic for individuals who would approach them in an effort to create a streamlined tool of information access; on the other hand, scrapbooks more single-minded than Morgan's can be critiqued for limiting the possibilities of use for the clippings that they contain. This tension suggests that talking about scrapbooks as an undifferentiated generic category that aligns with database logics obscures the ways in which some scrapbooks are better

than others at performing particular aspects of databases, such as filtered views or flexible categorization. Moreover, this tension suggests that any style of bound scrapbook can be critiqued for imposing ordered structures of access on their users due to their bookishness in ways that databases resist.

These seemingly contradictory critiques therefore bring to light a crux of exclusion that scrapbooks face, namely that, because they are hybrid, multi-modal objects, they are disadvantaged along multiple axes simultaneously. From the perspective of information management practices, scrapbooks can be seen by practitioners such as Luce as being too bookish, while from a literary scholarship perspective, scrapbooks are often overlooked as texts for not being literary enough, particularly if they communicate through pages that are predominantly visual, rather than text-based. Indeed, where scrapbooks rich in visual content are concerned, their modes of meaning creation are problematic for both literary *and* information management domains, because, in addition to being overlooked by literary domains in favor of text, visual/pictorial modes of meaning creation are much harder to parse through databases, most of which are designed with text or numbers as the default form of data.

Similarly, while the cut-and-paste excerpted logic of scrapbooks is fundamental to the ways in which databases have been conceptualized, and resonates with digital practices such as hyper-reading, Manovich provides context for how the adamantly paper-based and material form of this process can work to push scrapbooks further into the background in the digital age. He explains that

[t]he practice of putting together a media object from already existing and commercially distributed media elements already existed with old media, but new media technology further standardizes it and makes it much easier to perform. What before involved scissors and glue now involves simply clicking on "cut" and "paste". And, by encoding the operations of selection and combination into the very interfaces of authoring and editing software, new media "legitimizes" them. Pulling elements from databases and libraries

becomes the default; creating them from scratch becomes an exception. (*Language* 130).

While for much of the twentieth-century, scrapbooks were being denied legitimacy because of, for example, increasingly rigid copyright restrictions and denigration through gendered framings, digital media finally began to reaffirm cut-and-paste technologies as legitimate modes of knowledge production. This legitimacy has only recently begun to filter down to scrapbooks, however, because the remediated forms of cut and paste emphasize digital means of creation, not physical, paper-based means, and, as discussed Chapter 3, scrapbooks often resist standardized forms of digitization. This media-based mismatch between scrapbooks and digital technologies compounds further because, as Manovich continues, digital cut-and-paste also “made [the] media universe much more self-referential” by making it so that “all media objects” are “designed, stored and distributed using a single machine—computer” that eases the processes of borrowing “elements from already existing objects” (*Language* 131). While freeing for the practice of cut-and-paste as a digital tool, then, and acting as a boon to certain forms of digital scrapbooking, this self-referentiality obscures the debt that digital tools owe to historical paper-based scrapbooks, while also rendering these paper-based texts less visible within digital media ecologies that are fascinated by their own digital reflections.

The question of the role of paper-based artifacts in a digitally-focused and database-backed world prompts a return to the debate surrounding Manovich’s argument regarding the interaction of databases and archives. As quoted in the previous section, Manovich states that archives are being substituted by databases and his works have contributed to debates regarding the relationship between databases and physical archives. As Folsom argues, and as scrapbooks demonstrate, “the physicality of archive makes it essentially different from database,” with archives containing rich stores of physical information beyond that which databases

can capture and databases providing data with a malleability and portability beyond the limits of the archive (1576). Folsom does not therefore disparage the database form in favour of archives but emphasizes the ways in which both archives and databases are irreducible to the form of the other. Nonetheless, Folsom joins Manovich in acknowledging the form of the database as a new, twenty-first-century genre and includes within its purview *The Walt Whitman Archive* that Folsom founded with Kenneth M. Price in the 1990s. Jerome McGann responds to both Manovich and Folsom, rejecting *The Walt Whitman Archive* as a database itself, stating that it is rather an interface for a “markup structure” (1588), and arguing that Folsom’s position repeats what McGann understands to be Manovich’s initial error, namely, an acceptance of a divide between the “archive as reified knowledge” and the “database as liberated knowledge” (1590). In substantiating this critique, McGann argues that databases are no more or less free than an archival institution, such as a library, because “[n]o database can function without a user interface” and thus the interface is at least as important as the database in determining the openness of the data (1588). He argues further that while digital databases typically exist apart from their interfaces, the physical interfaces of archives, such as card catalogues, show themselves to be what McGann calls an “interfaced database,” or a tool that blends the role of interface and database by storing the information on the same substrate through which the user accesses the information (1590). While McGann does not argue that these physically interfaced databases are superior to digital databases, he does argue that they provide different affordances to their users and that understanding and utilizing these affordances shows the unique value of both.

I assert that scrapbooks are at once archived and archiving objects and thus align with McGann’s concept of interfaced databases. A scrapbook is simultaneously

a collection of sources that are archived by the scrapbook, enacting the role of database, and a discrete and archivable object itself that becomes the interpretive interface through which the scrapbook's collected data is accessed, aesthetically framed, and networked. Approaching scrapbooks as interfaced databases begins to make clear the ways in which scrapbooks are both like and unlike databases. They resemble databases in the ways that they bring together disparate pieces of information, rely on creative narratives from their users to make sense of the juxtapositions that they offer, and allow for the individual items that they archive to be read on their own or placed in concert with the rest of the collection. Scrapbooks differ from databases, however, in that they explicitly merge their own materiality as bound book objects, as well as that of their constituent artifacts, with their content in order to speak. Scrapbooks thereby foreground the ways in which they have changed the mediating function of the scraps that they collect, as well as implicitly asserting that the narratives they enable would change were the scrapbook's materiality to be altered. To recall Latour, a scrapbook is not unique based on the simple fact that its informational components rely in part on their physical instantiations to communicate, as all mediators do this; rather, what makes a scrapbook unique are the ways in which it makes visible this contingency.

In contrast to scrapbooks, databases are founded on the idea that information can be seamlessly communicated across multiple platforms without significant change. As already indicated by Manovich's identification of the digital obfuscation of physical cut-and-paste-techniques, this perceived dematerialization of data has been a recurrent topic within media theory and critique. Hayles identified one of the "defining characteristic[s] of the present cultural moment [in 1999]" to be "the belief that information can circulate unchanged among different material substrates" (*Posthuman* 1-2). Pressman unpacks this myth of

dematerialization and the role of databases within it by using the theories of Alan Liu. She states that

Liu describes the operational logic of the twentieth century as a belief in the ability to separate content and form. This separation, of course, is the foundational concept of information and communication theory. Communication theory, which intersects with and influences the development of digital computing, dictates that a message must be capable of being separated from its material instantiation in order to be transmitted across channels and distances so that it can reach the intended receiver. In its current digital manifestation, Liu explains, the “ideology of division between form and presentation” becomes “a religion of text encoding and databases.” This religion supplies ... the idea that specific bodies don’t matter (*Digital Modernism* 132).

If a narrative of dematerialization has been crucial for information to be understood as being able to matter in twentieth- and twenty-first-century informational practices, it is no wonder that scrapbooks have remained largely obscure and marginalized. The belief that form can be divided from presentation is one that scrapbooks as interfaced databases adamantly resist, not least of all because many of the clippings and items that they collect are not facsimiles or data interpretations, but fragments or excerpts from their primary sources and thus rely on their materiality for their mobility and incorporation. Moreover, as I have worked to show across this thesis, many scrapbooks, including Morgan’s, are invested in saving precisely those precarious bodies that society has devalued, including, as Chapter 1 demonstrated, ephemeral materials that comprise a queer archive.

The narrative of digital dematerialization is also one that many critics, including Hayles, Latour, Liu, and Pressman, push back against. As Pressman states, “[i]n both real space and cyberspace, interfaces mediate and shape meaning” and so, whether “they are built of flesh, code, or text, bodies exist, perform, and operate within specific networks and systems of protocols” (*Digital Modernism* 34–35). While scrapbooks clearly demonstrate the veracity of Pressman’s assessment, it is no less true of databases. Understanding the ways in which scrapbooks utilize, rather than

resist, their materiality as interfaced databases, then, can begin to suggest ways that digital databases can be constructed and read more consciously. The structure of a database determines what questions users can ask of it, as indicated by my own decisions to depart from the database underpinning the *Colour Collage* and *Constellation* interfaces in favor of an alternative database design more focused on the clipping contents. No database will be all-encompassing and, in cases of deforming scrapbooks through databases, any design must take seriously the ways in which the materiality of the scrapbooks mediates the meanings of their content, what is lost when that materiality is remediated into digital spaces, and which aspects of the scrapbooks' physically interfaced databases are amenable to digital engagement.

One way to acknowledge the role played by this physicality is offered through a database aesthetic, which Christiane Paul defines as the "aesthetic principles applied in imposing the logic of the database to any type of information, filtering data collections, and visualizing data" (95). Kristin Veel observes that database aesthetics can be found in "films, literature and art that rely on gemmating plot structures and the shuffling of fragments rather than linear progression" and, thus, database aesthetics "inscribes itself in a long cultural tradition of fragmentation, excess and the challenge to linearity" (310). While a database aesthetic in the digital age is not surprising, given Manovich's identification of the transcoding principle and the cultural ubiquity of databases, the "long cultural tradition" referenced by Veel is perhaps less obvious. In Pressman's discussion, she takes modernist novels as her entry point into this long tradition, which not only showcases the transcoding of databases into narratives, but also helps articulate the ways in which narratives have prefigured and indeed generically informed the development of digital databases. Pressman focuses on stream of consciousness narration in James Joyce and, in

particular, the rhetoric of “Ithaca” in *Ulysses* (1922), to argue that well before digital databases were part of the cultural imaginary, Joyce “depict[ed] the experience of retrieving information from a database” through a “formal structure of query and response” and “focus[ed] attention on how information is processed” and memory is accessed through the pages of the book (*Digital Modernism* 111). Moreover, citing Derrida in his 1982 “Two Words for Joyce” essay, Pressman states that *Ulysses* leaves readers with the feeling that fully unpacking “the database aesthetics of Joyce’s novels would require an actual database, ‘a machine capable of integrating all the variables, all the quantitative or qualitative factors’” (*Digital Modernism* 121). *Ulysses* therefore “exposes the materiality of its medium (the book) to be a precursor to digital databases,” while also welcoming, or even demanding, forms of augmented reading (*Digital Modernism* 113). By considering the way in which books like *Ulysses* utilize database aesthetics, Pressman further complicates the perceived disjuncture between narrative and databases and begins to clear the way for the bookishness of scrapbooks to be reclaimed as a strength, rather than a weakness, in their means of information management. To Veel and Pressman’s examples of the database aesthetic, then, I add scrapbooks and argue that the critical acknowledgement of the affinity between databases and scrapbooks expressed by Garvey and others can be productively understood as a tacit acknowledgement of the ways in which scrapbooks participate in and rely on what has come to be known as this database aesthetic.

By presenting the relationship between scrapbooks and databases not as a directly mappable correspondence, but rather as one which participates in an aesthetic that has been differently integrated into various media structures, scrapbooks retain their identity as the physically- and materially-specific interfaces that they are, which includes their ephemeral yet bookish presence, while still

acknowledging their mutual entanglement with databases. Focusing on the database aesthetic of scrapbooks and working to understand them as interfaced databases also allows for a consideration of how scrapbooks differ from each other and how they show the capacious ability of the codex to hold much more than simply text and thus its potential as a multi-media archive. Moreover, parsing the types of aesthetic provocations and structures of data that an individual scrapbook utilizes can help to identify both the challenges and opportunities that the scrapbook will encounter in its remediation into a digital database.

For instance, some scrapbooks are more heavily invested in their role as tools of information management, with their database aesthetic typically foregrounding individual clippings by presenting more streamlined and even minimalist pages. An example of this type of scrapbook can be found in the *Symbolae Scoticae*, an eight-volume, nineteenth-century scrapbook collection compiled by naturalist Adam White (1817-1879) held at the University of Edinburgh Library Special Collections under shelfmark Coll-10 (GB 237). In these scrapbooks, the majority of pages contain a single etching, drawing, or representation depicting locations around Scotland, with each scrapbook further focused on particular places or regions in Scotland, such as Edinburgh in Volume 1 and Midlothian, East Lothian and West Lothian in Volume 2 (White). While the scrapbooks contain ample evidence of curation, the gestalt of each page becomes almost synonymous with the gestalt of the clipping, and the medium of the scrapbook risks receding into the background due to its role as substrate for the collected clippings. The *Symbolae Scoticae* also emphasizes some guiding interpretive structures for their readers, including through their inclusion of volume titles, which designate places in Scotland as the topic of interest, and through the minimalism of their pages, which reduces the potential narrative pathways within their found poetics of juxtaposition and

encourages more focused attention on each individual item within the scrapbooks. I therefore argue that the database aesthetic presented by *Symbolae Scoticae* can be understood as a form of query response, similar to the filtered results offered by a database in response to a particular search term or perimeter, wherein the query is set by the scrapbook creator and the information contained in the pages is categorized and collected under the overarching heading of interest. This heading does not wholly describe the scrapbook clippings, however, and interpreting the information contained within the clippings through a database or other deformational means would enable a consideration of other themes that might emerge through the collective voice of the clippings as a group.

In other cases, scrapbooks can more forcefully assert themselves as interpretive interfaces that present contingent juxtapositions of disparate sources through the medium of their pages and the mixed media of their sources, as can be seen in the highly eclectic Morgan scrapbooks. Particularly in the case of these more unwieldy and varied scrapbooks, wherein there are multiple clippings on each page and a less strictly articulated organizing principle behind their curation, the reader constructs an interpretation of the various pieces of information through practices akin to hyper reading. As with more minimalist scrapbooks like *Symbolae Scoticae*, deforming the contents of Morgan's eclectic scrapbooks into data components through a database allows for overarching patterns and themes across the collection to become more readily legible. It must also be acknowledged, however, that the clippings derive part of their meaning from their complex juxtapositions at the level of the page in the Morgan scrapbooks and mapping these juxtapositions proves more difficult through a database form. Similarly, the unique gestalt of each page for the Morgan scrapbooks impacts significantly on the scrapbooks' possible meanings and aesthetic provocations, as I worked to show with the Colour Collage

interface and through our eye-tracking results in Chapter 3. Categorization for individual pages, as well as for the broader collection, prove difficult and any database structure designed for scrapbooks such as Morgan's must take into account the diversity of their sources and the loss of complexity that will necessarily occur in their remediation. The next section of this chapter will discuss my project's efforts to grapple with these challenges and opportunities in order to design an interface that remediates these texts through a database aesthetic.

### *Working from Scraps Interface*

The aim of this phase of my RtD process is to explore the Morgan scrapbooks through a focus on the networks of people, places, and sources that the scrapbooks create. In order to make my representation of these networks meaningful, I have discussed above the need to capture a larger dataset than the one backing the Colour Collage and Constellation interfaces. I therefore expanded my sample size to 205 pages from the Morgan scrapbooks, which includes the eight pages that formed my first subset and incorporates additional data for approximately the first fifty pages from four scrapbooks. The subset is comprised of pages 215-263 from *Scrapbook 1*, pages 795b-844 from *Scrapbook 6*, pages 1487a-1538 from *Scrapbook 9*, and pages 2239c-2288, 2407-2408, and 2423-2424 from *Scrapbook 12*. With this larger subset, I attempt to provide insight into the networks that develop within and between books through Morgan's cut-and-paste poetics. I have also discussed above how this expanded dataset requires a reconsideration of the data structures used for my first database. In designing the new database, I depart from using either the clipping or clipping components as the base units of meaning, given the prohibitive amount of labour that such a detailed parsing across multiple tables would require for the 205-page dataset. I instead focus on creating descriptions at the page level, thereby reducing the number of separate database entries that each scrapbook

page requires. Every clipping is described as part of this page-level description, however, which ensures that the mediating presence of each clipping is still given a voice within the database.

In addition to the natural language descriptions, the page-level table also includes two keyword fields to assist in the categorization of the pages and to offer high-level interpretive insight into the topics and themes that occur across the scrapbooks. The first keyword field records free-form keywords, which are created through my close-reading of the pages and so can be understood as a form of folksonomy, or a user-generated system of classification. In creating these page-level keyword lists, I do not assign a keyword to every clipping on the page, nor do I place a limit on the number of keywords that a clipping can contribute to the page categorization. Some clippings, such as a painting of the Virgin Mary, for example, might therefore contribute several keywords to the page's categorization (e.g. 'Art', 'Painting', 'Religion', 'Women'), while a small, decorative clipping might not be represented through a keyword at all. The second keyword field uses hierarchical keywords from the UK Archival Thesaurus (UKAT), allowing the database to communicate more readily with library and archive systems by using a controlled topic vocabulary to categorize the page and creating potentials for linked data through these keywords in future. As with the free-form keywords, I do not limit the number of UKAT keywords that can be applied to either a clipping or a page.

The use of these two keyword formats works to emphasize some of the strengths and weaknesses of each type of keyword. For example, in addition to allowing the scrapbook categorizations to be legible to other archival systems, the UKAT list provides a broad range of existing keywords, which provide ideas for relevant topic categories that may not have occurred to me otherwise. Despite UKAT's range, however, the necessity of the free-form keywords persists, as there

are many pages that require keywords not available in UKAT, such as my identification of a need for the keyword 'Celebrity' to make visible Morgan's interest in collecting clippings on public figures, including Marlene Dietrich, Nadar, and other celebrities discussed in this thesis. Moreover, due to the hierarchical nature of the UKAT list, certain child keywords are attached to parent categories that are not indicative of how I intend the keyword to be applied to the scrapbook page. For example, the keyword 'Gender' redirects to 'Gender Roles' in UKAT and is a child of the category 'Social Roles'. While related, issues of gender roles and gender more broadly are distinct concepts and cannot be collapsed into one another. In cases such as this, the use of free-form keywords allows for a more flexible categorization approach that can respond to the nuances of the page without overdetermining them.

The distribution of the forty most frequently occurring free-form keywords across my 205-page dataset is shown in Figure 45. This figure clearly illustrates that 'Art,' 'Men,' and 'Animals' are dominant across the subset. Although 'Homosexuality' is a keyword used in the database, it does not occur in the top forty keywords for my subset, and this result may seem at odds with the queer potentials of the scrapbooks that I have argued for across this thesis. This result, however, is reflective of the decisions that I made in constructing the free-form keyword lists. Some clippings, such as those relating to the Montagu trials, were coded with the keyword 'Homosexuality,' as they contain clear discussions of individuals based on their sexual identities or perceived sexual expressions. In the cases of the small beefcake-style clippings of naked men, however, I did not want to overdetermine their presence in the database by labelling them as an explicitly homosexual, rather than as a queering/queered, or even an intentionally ambiguous, item. As such, I chose to assign keywords such as 'Men', 'Male Body', and 'Nude' to these images, all

of which are keywords that do occur in Figure 45, in order to reflect the images' ability to function through ambiguity and codedness. Nonetheless, this is an interpretive choice that impacts the nature of the data and I acknowledge that it has an effect of diminishing overt acknowledgements of queerness for this collection.

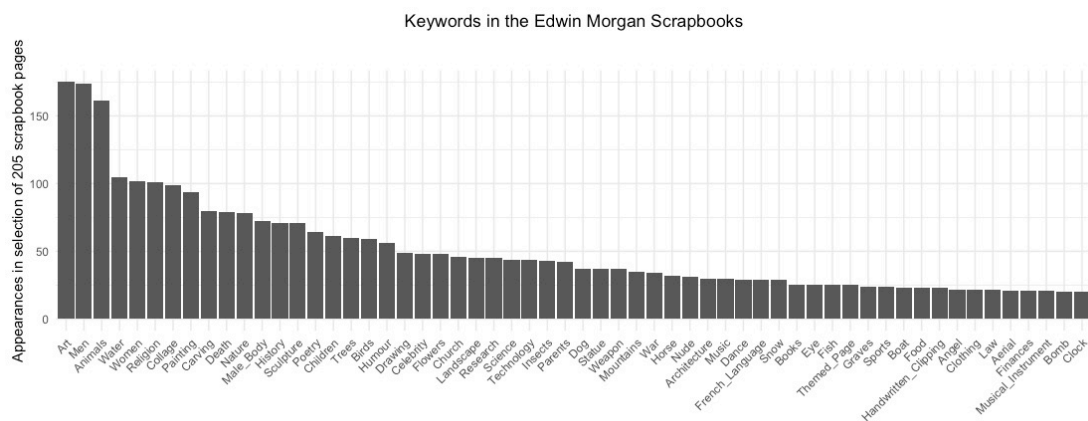


Figure 45: Top Forty Keywords by Frequency in the Morgan Scrapbooks (Lang and Moynihan)

As this discussion of keywords indicates, every choice about the structure of a database shapes it as a mediator and curates its data in ways that impact the narrative and interpretive potentials for any outputs based on this data. Before discussing the WfS interface, I therefore outline the basic structures of my developed database to make the interpretive decisions impacting my subset as transparent as possible. Figure 46 shows a map of the database that I constructed for the 205-page subset. As shown in the map, the central table for this database is the page-level table (*Scrapbook\_Page* in Figure 46), which includes fields for the natural language descriptions, the assigned free-form keywords, and the UKAT keywords. This table then connects to a book-level table (*Scrapbook*), which links each page to the scrapbook within which it appears and provides information, such as date and page range, for each scrapbook. The page-level table also connects to the *Page\_Associated\_People*, *Page\_Places\_Named*, and *Page\_Associated\_Sources*

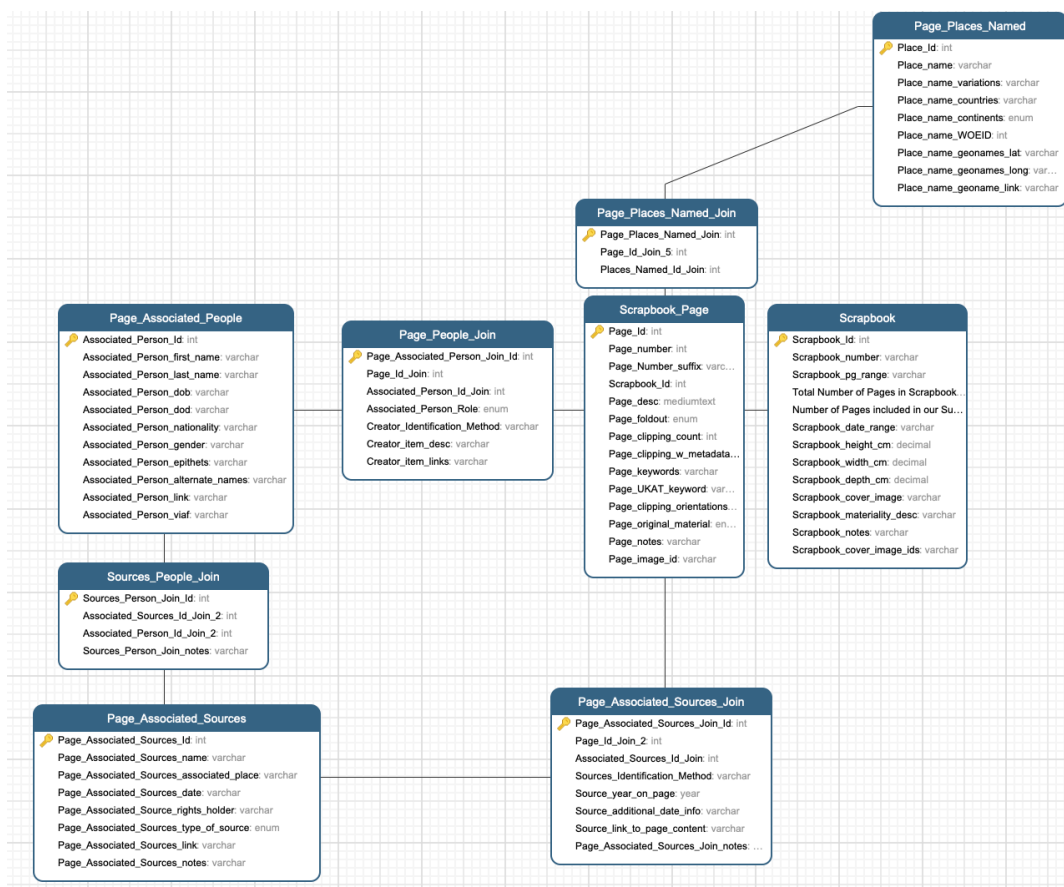


Figure 46: Working from Scrap Database, Table View

tables, which I detail below and which record information about the scrapbooks' collected people, places, and sources. As the pages' relationship with these people, places, and sources are many-to-many (with one person, for example, being able to appear on many pages and one page being able to contain more than one representation of the same person), I also describe the join tables used to manage these multi-directional relationships.

The *Page\_Associated\_Person* table records any known identifying information, such as name(s), date of birth, gender, profession, and nationality, for each person listed within it. It also includes a field to record hyperlinks to relevant online pages, such as the individual's Wikipedia page, wherever such a link is available. Based on feedback from librarians and archivists, this table was expanded

to include a second field for a Virtual International Authority File (VIAF) link, which is a digital service that is used by libraries and archives worldwide to match and link authority records across collections. A join table (*Page\_People\_Join*) then links people to the pages on which their image, work, or name appears and specifies their role on this page.<sup>54</sup> A second join table (*Sources\_People\_Join*) links sources and people for instances where I could identify an author, artist, or creator for particular sources.

In order to represent some of the many places associated with the scrapbooks, I determined that the database would record any place named in a clipping. As such, the *Page\_Places\_Named* table does not necessarily represent data for the setting of the clippings, nor their place of publication, but rather the places that serve as subjects for the clippings and allows for one clipping to contribute multiple places named to the database. The *Page\_Places\_Named* table records both the place name and the continent for each place named in the subset, with the continent field including an 'Imaginary' category for clippings that describe places such as Heaven, Hell, or Wonderland, as well as a 'Not Applicable' category for places such as a planet where a continent does not apply. This table also records a longitude, latitude, and geonames link for each named place, wherever such information is relevant. A join table (*Page\_Placed\_Named\_Join*) then connects each named place to the pages on which it is named.

Finally, the *Page\_Associated\_Sources* table records the source type for the scrapbook clippings, including through source categories such as 'Source Poem/Literature', 'Newspaper', or 'Original Art Object'.<sup>55</sup> I used digital search tools

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<sup>54</sup> The full list of possible roles has evolved in response to the demands of the pages and currently includes: 'Author/Writer', 'Illustrator/Artist', 'Photographer', 'Editor', 'Translator', 'Scribe', 'Named in clipping', 'Depicted in clipping', and 'Inventor/Designer/Engineer'.

<sup>55</sup> The 'Original Art Object' category is used primarily in reference to clippings that are photographs of other artworks, such as paintings or sculptures, and identifies the original artwork

such as TinEye image searches and Google text searches, to identify clippings and seek out digital surrogates available online for as many clippings as possible. Links to any surrogates found are recorded through this table, which enables the database to offer a digital version of the sources used by Morgan, even if users cannot be granted access to the facsimiles of Morgan's pages containing these sources. This table also makes note of any tools, such as Google searches, used to identify surrogates or sources. All listed sources are then connected to their relevant pages through the *Page\_Associated\_Sources\_Join* table.

While this database departs from the aesthetically-focused machine reading fields of the first database, as discussed in Chapter 3, the new database focuses on exploiting the hyperlinked potentials of the digital in order to make searchable and discoverable the networks of people, places named, and sources that Morgan activates through the pages of his scrapbooks. Nonetheless, data entry still requires a significant amount of labour. Based on the data structure above, I spent approximately one hour per double-page spread on the initial parsing of the scrapbook data, meaning that the basic data entry for the 205-page subset required approximately 103 hours of labour. The data then had to be cleaned and, after this initial data entry, I engaged in user studies with librarians, archivists, and volunteer participants, which I will discuss below and which prompted changes and additions to some of the database tables, including the addition of the VIAF and UKAT fields. The labour required for these changes is more difficult to calculate, as it includes, for example, parsing the user feedback. Focusing on the population of the new fields added to the database, however, I estimate that each double-page spread required approximately thirty-five additional minutes of labour, which brings the total labour

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depicted or reproduced. This category also includes original works of art made by, for example, Morgan, if they are included in their original form in the scrapbook pages.

required to collect the data for the 205 pages to about 160 hours. Based on these numbers, I estimate that each of the roughly 1823 double-page spreads in the Morgan scrapbooks could be entered into the existing database and cleaned by one person working full-time in about seventy-six weeks.<sup>56</sup> While this is clearly a substantial time commitment, it is much lower than the eight years that the Digitising the Edwin Morgan Scrapbooks (DEMS) project estimated would be required for the due diligence searches on just the orphan works in the Morgan scrapbooks (Deazley et al.). These figures reassert the value of expending energy on creating customized databases and other forms of dynamic fair dealing in cases where due diligence requirements restrict facsimile reproduction.

Beyond the copyright constraints, accounting for the labour required to parse the scrapbooks' contents into my database offers a new lens through which to appreciate the labour that Morgan expended in constructing the scrapbooks in the first place. While my processes of deconstructing the scrapbook pages into their component parts in the database is guided by Morgan's clippings, Morgan's labour would have included engaging with thousands of articles and images that did not make it into the scrapbooks, not to mention the careful and even tedious work required to clip the selected items and decide on their placement within the scrapbooks. As a researcher, then, the process of data curation as enacted through data entry provides me with a new appreciation for Morgan's labour and allows me to engage in a process of "slow digitization" (Prescott and Hughes, para.5) for the scrapbooks, which are themselves slow, labour-intensive artifacts. Such a speaking-back of the scrapbooks and their labour recalls Hayles's newfound appreciation for her print books once seen through the lens of the digital and reasserts the value of

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<sup>56</sup> This calculation is based on a full-time work week of 38 hours  $([1823 \text{ spreads} * 95 \text{ mins per spread} = 2886.4 \text{ hours}] / 38 \text{ hours per week} = 75.9 \text{ weeks})$

making as a form of knowledge creation. Moreover, I argue that the iterative processes involved in this data-based labour can be compared to close reading practices, as they enabled me to develop a deep familiarity with the networks of people, places named, and sources in the scrapbooks that I might not otherwise have gained.

By focusing on the hyperlinked potentials of digital media, this database also offers a quantitative reaffirmation of what scrapbooks scholars argue, namely, that scrapbooks contain materials, stories, and histories that are often otherwise absent from both historical records and cultural collections. Across my 205-page subset, I found some identifying information, such as date or source, for 1030, or 43%, of 2391 individual clippings, indicating that approximately 57% of the clippings in my sample are likely orphan works.<sup>57</sup> This finding is in agreement with the DEMS project, which estimates that 52% of the clippings in the Morgan scrapbooks are orphan works (Deazley et al.). Moreover, even for those clippings that have an identifiable source, finding digital surrogates proved to be difficult. Of the 877 sources that I was able to at least partially identify in my subset, I found digital surrogates for 513, or 58%, meaning that for 42% no such surrogates were found. Although the number of found surrogates is high enough to justify the effort expended in seeking them out, the number of missing surrogates indicates that, even amongst the identified sources within the Morgan scrapbooks, such as newspaper articles and magazine clippings, many have not been digitized or made available to online audiences,

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<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that I have not performed exhaustive due diligence searches on the orphan works in my subset, as that was not the focus of my project, and more in-depth searches may cause the number of orphan works to decrease. It is also likely that a number of the partially identified sources, however, particularly those identified only with a date, are also orphan works, which would counteract this decrease, and so allows this number to remain effective for my purposes here.

thereby increasing the importance of digitally sharing the data contained in the scrapbooks.

By aggregating the scrapbooks' data, the database also allows for certain patterns in Morgan's processes of collecting and curation to be quantified. For example, of the 946 individuals that were named, depicted, or involved in the creation of the clippings in the 205-page subset, only 100, or approximately 10.5%, were women. In contrast, 796, or 84%, were men, 47 were individuals for whom a gender was not known (typically when identified by initials only), and 3 were figures, such as the personification of Death, for whom gender is not applicable. This gender disparity shows that, although Morgan's scrapbooks are marginalized in many ways, they nonetheless re-inscribe other systems of privilege, such as the over-valuation and over-representation of men and their works in cultural archives. Similarly, although I have not recorded race as a field in my database, the overwhelming majority of the clippings depict white individuals. Moreover, 71.7% of the places named in my dataset are from Europe or North America. These statistics point to the need to find other scrapbooks and archives of ephemera contemporary to Morgan's from women, people of colour, and perspectives beyond a Western context in order to provide a more inclusive perspective on mid-twentieth-century Scotland and events such as the Cold War, while also re-emphasizing how skewed towards white men many canons of art and literature are. Nonetheless, Morgan's scrapbooks were created through his own subjectivity as a queer man and this particular collection also demands to be read from the perspective of archiving a queer male experience at a time when this subject position was still illegal and denigrated. Collecting the scrapbooks' various points of data therefore helps to make visible some of the biases within the data, as well as adding a quantitative affirmation of the importance of particular themes and conceits within the

scrapbooks. As such, the database offers vantage points from which to acknowledge the limits and contributions of the scrapbooks.

Despite the strengths of the revised database, it remains true that it is unable to provide access to the physical, visual, and material aesthetics of Morgan's rich, collaged pages that speak through their specific juxtapositions. Some of these juxtapositions are completely lost in the transference of the data from the scrapbook page to this database, such as the particular order of the clippings on the page. Similarly, although the database provides links to the digital surrogates where possible, it does not retain Morgan's act of cutting. For example, twenty-one of the pages in *Scrapbook 9* include small excerpted clippings taken from *The Triumph of Death* (c.1562), painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Figure 47 shows these individual clippings, as well as the page numbers on which they occur. Figure 48 maps these clippings onto the full image of the painting by using red lines to indicate Morgan's act of cutting and shows that Morgan deconstructed and distributed most of the painting throughout the pages of *Scrapbook 9*. Within the database, however, this act of clipping is much harder to represent. Each of the twenty-one pages would be linked to the widely-available digital surrogate for *The Triumph of Death* through the database, but with no way of indicating which piece of the painting was included by Morgan or what visual effect this extraction has had in, for example, emphasizing the drama of the small scene hidden within the larger image. The only way that my database is currently equipped to mitigate this loss of information is through the natural language descriptions of the pages, wherein I state that the included clipping is an excerpt and describe it in brief terms. This example therefore begins to demonstrate how the material practices and presence of the scrapbooks resists their deformation into database form.

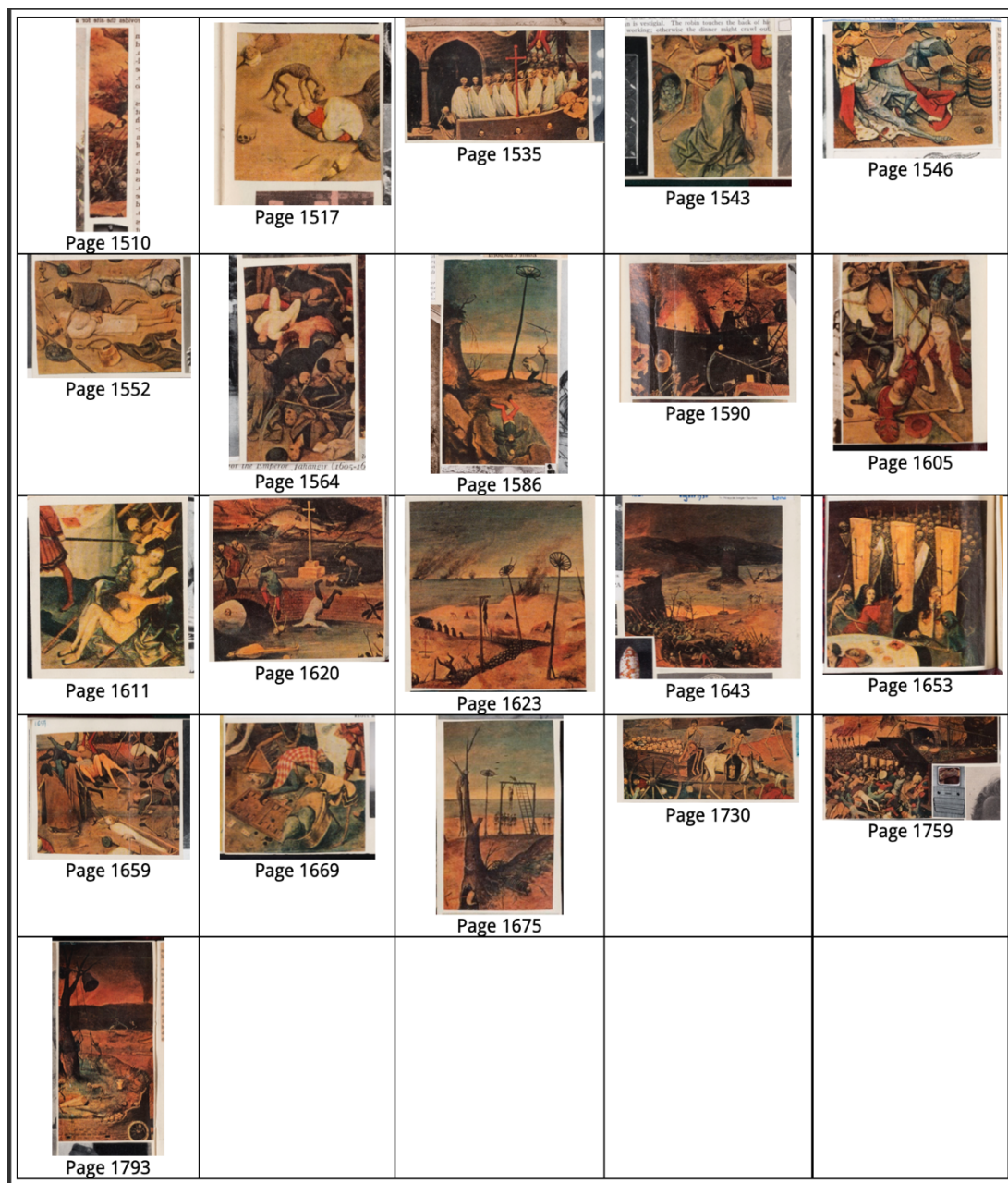


Figure 47: Excerpted Clippings of The Triumph of Death found in Scrapbook 9

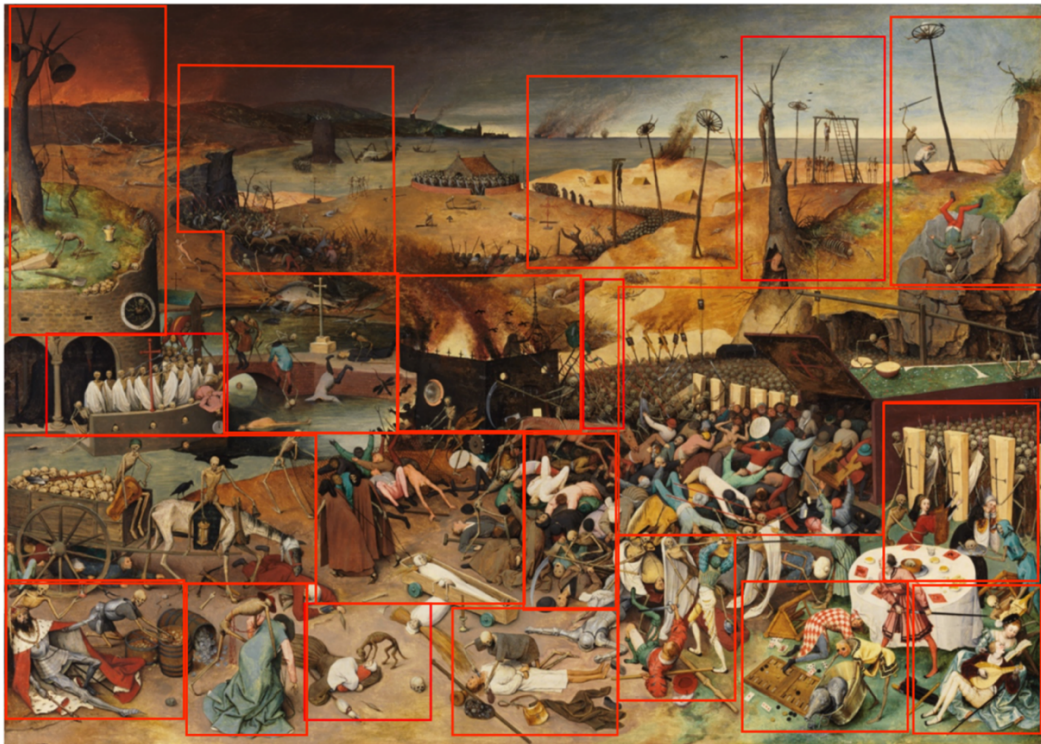


Figure 48: Bruegel, *The Triumph of Death*, as Divided by Morgan's Clipping in Scrapbook 9  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/The Triumph of Death by Pieter Bruegel the Elder.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/The_Triumph_of_Death_by_Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder.jpg)

While the database sacrifices much of the visual richness of the scrapbooks, it enables the creation of other forms of visual engagement, including through the creation of the WfS interface that Armoza and I collaborated to build. The remainder of this chapter turns to an analysis of this interface and the perspectives it offers on the scrapbook data parsed through the database. Together, Armoza and I determined that this interface would have three main goals. First, the interface needed to prove its scalability. Although our subset represents only 205 of the over 3600 pages from the scrapbooks, we wanted to design an interface that would be feasibly scalable to the whole collection. Not only does this allow the interface to prove its viability for the Morgan collection as a whole, it also allows the interface to offer itself as a conceptual framework that can be communicated and applied to other collections of ephemera. Second, as with the Constellation and Colour Collage visualizations, the WfS interface aims to explore avenues of rich-prospect browsing

and generosity through interface design. Taking into the account the ways in which my project's previous interfaces lacked targeted searchability, as discussed in Chapter 3, Armoza and I also decided to focus more explicitly on striking a balance between serendipitous discovery and searchability. Third, we approached the interface as a way to showcase and provide access to the dense networks of affiliation that the Morgan scrapbooks create through their juxtaposition and collection of a wide range of people, places, and sources. We sought to ensure that the WfS interface would preserve some sense of the meandering nature of these affiliations, while also enabling users to employ the affordances of the digital when navigate through these networks in ways not enabled by the scrapbooks.

The resulting WfS interface can be accessed at <http://working-from-scraps.herokuapp.com>. When the interface is first accessed, it provides a high-level overview of the collection that becomes an immediate point of entry into scrapbooks' data for both uninitiated and initiated users. As shown in Figure 49, the top of the home screen displays photographs of the four scrapbook covers, beside which is a box containing descriptions of some of the characteristics of our 205-page subset, including an accounting of how many clippings have been dated, sourced, or both. Figure 49 also shows how the rest of the collection-level view foregrounds our focus on people, places named, and sources by providing visual representations of the data collected under these three categories. The coloured pie charts show the distribution of people in the scrapbooks divided by role, places named in the scrapbooks divided by continent, and identified sources in the scrapbooks divided by type of source. Bar charts under each category show the frequencies of people, places named, and sources for each scrapbook. Finally, searchable tables are provided for each category, thereby allowing users to explore the data either by

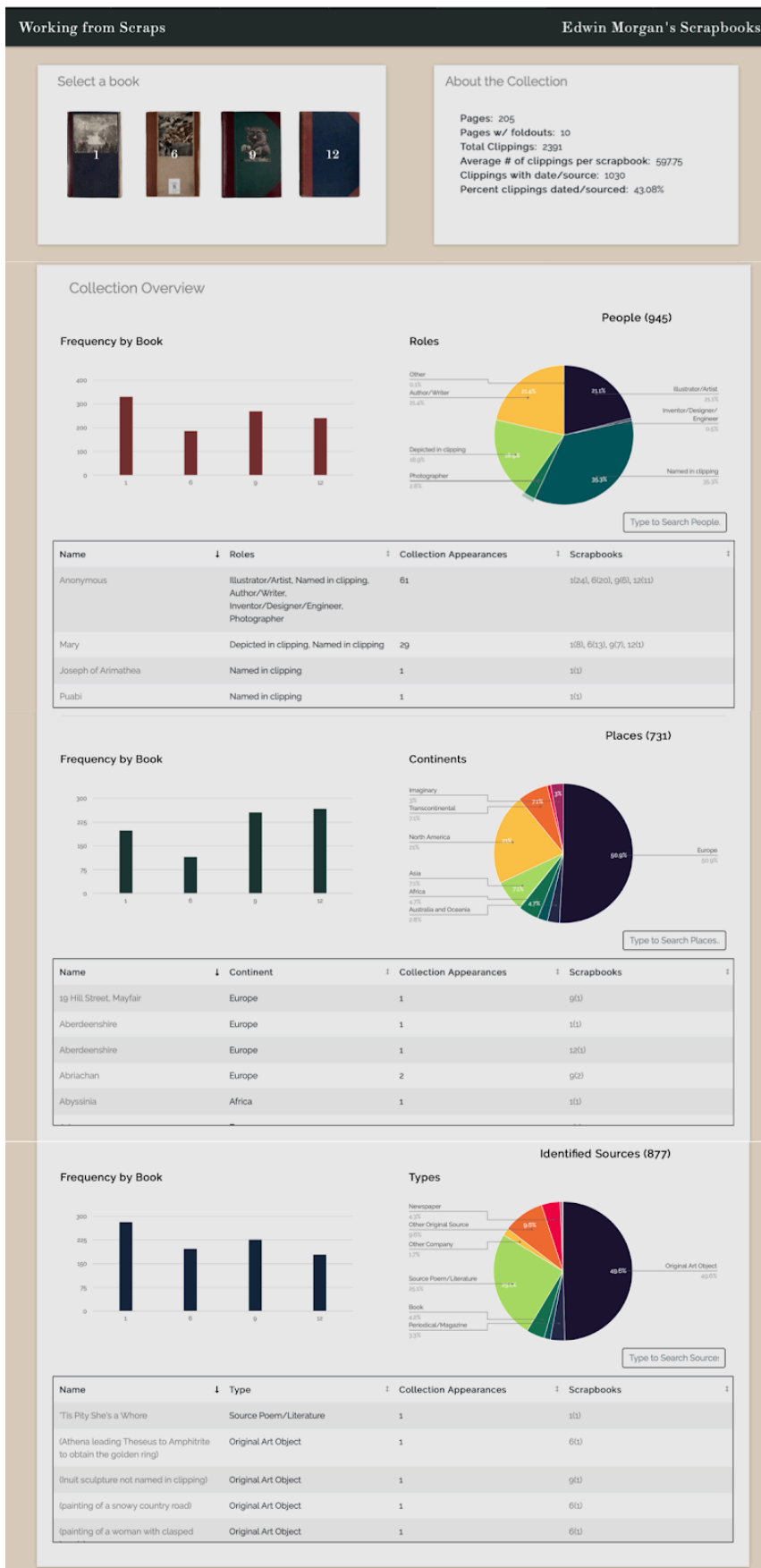


Figure 49: Collections-Level Overview of Working From Scraps Interface

scrolling or by targeted searching through a search bar.<sup>58</sup> Each column within these searchable tables is equipped with an arrow icon that can be clicked in order to reorganize the order of the data on the basis of the selected column. For example, users can sort people in ascending or descending order based on the frequency of that person's appearance across the collection or users can group places alphabetically by continent. These tables therefore emphasize our interface's commitment to both a database aesthetic and interface generosity.

The searchable tables can also be used as a way of accessing hyperlinked data in the database. Clicking on any of the people, places named, or sources in the tables takes users to a detail page view that describes the selected item, as shown in Figure 50. Under the heading 'In the Collection', this view provides an overview of where else in the scrapbook the person, place, or source is referenced. The view shown in Figure 50, for example, shows that Lord Montagu is featured within our subset seven times on six pages within one scrapbook. Each of these occurrences is further hyperlinked, so users can navigate from the detail view to a page-level view (discussed in more detail below) for the pages on which the selected person, place, or source appears. Figure 50 also shows three icons under the heading of 'Co-Occurrences' along the top of the detail view. When clicked by users, these icons activate a sidebar that displays a list of the people, places, or sources that co-occur on the same scrapbook pages as the selected item. As such, these icons allow users to explore the scrapbooks serendipitously through the lens of the selected person, place named, or source. In Figure 50, for example, the person icon has been selected, causing the side bar to populate with information on people who co-occur on the same pages as Lord Montagu. Unsurprisingly, Peter Wildeblood, Edward

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<sup>58</sup> In future iterations of the project, we would like the search bars attached to these tables to offer auto-complete suggestions based on the table contents to increase the generosity of the interface.

## Edward John Barrington Douglas-Scott-Montagu

Co-occurrences

## Working from Scraps

**About this person**

a.k.a.: 3rd Baron Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord Montagu

**birth:** 20 October 1926

**death:** 31 August 2015

**Gender:** Male

**Nationality:** English

**Epithet(s):** Lord, politician

**Alternative Name(s):** 3rd Baron Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, Lord Montagu

**Back to Collection**

**In the collection**

Featured 7 times in 1 scrapbooks across 6 pages

**Scrapbook:** 12

**Pages:** 2247, 2249, 2251, 2253, 2259, 2261

**Other People in the Collection (946)**

Name	Roles	Collection Appearances	Scrapbooks
Anonymous	Illustrator/Artist, Named in clipping, Author/Writer, Inventor/Designer/Engineer	62	1(25), 6(20), 9(6), 12(11)

**Co-occurrences**

**Peter Wildeblood**

Co-occurrence on pages: 7

**b.:** 19 May 1923

**d.:** 14 November 1999

**Gender:** Male

**Nationality:** Anglo-Canadian

**Epithet(s):** writer, gay rights campaigner

**Edward McNally**

Co-occurrence on pages: 6

**Gender:** Male

**John Reynolds**

Co-occurrence on pages: 5

**Gender:** Male

**Alternative Name(s):** Johnny

**Michael Augustus Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers**

Co-occurrence on pages: 4

**b.:** 27 May 1917

**d.:** December 1999

Figure 50: Working from Scraps Interface, Person-Level View, Lord Montagu Selected, with Co-Occurring People Shown

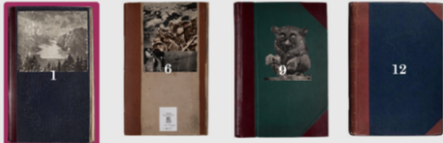
McNally, John Reynolds, and Michael Pitt-Rivers are the first results in this list. Any one of these results could be clicked in order to navigate to that individual's detail view within the interface. Along the bottom of the detail view screen, the same searchable table that was shown on the collection-level overview is provided, therefore allowing more focused database-style searches to be conducted from the detail pages as well.

From the person-, page-, or source-level detail pages, users can return to the collection-level overview of the interface by clicking on the 'Back to Collection' button. The collection overview therefore acts as the WfS home page and resets the interface to the views that users started with. Additionally, this home page allows users to filter the collection overview to see results that are focused on a particular scrapbook. The four colour photographs of the scrapbook covers shown at the top of the home page (Figure 49) can be clicked to activate these filters. Clicking on the image of *Scrapbook 1*, for example, causes the interface to shift, with the colour scheme changing to reflect the colours of the selected scrapbook cover and the pie charts and tables updating to show the distribution of people, places named, and sources for this scrapbook only, as shown in Figure 51. The descriptive box adjusts to provide a physical description of the selected scrapbook, as well as providing a hyperlinked list of the free-form keywords that occur within that scrapbook. The bar charts no longer appear, as the frequency counts across scrapbooks are not relevant for this view, and the searchable tables are adjusted to show only the data related to the selected scrapbook. Not only does this filtering allow for an overview of the data collected for each scrapbook, it also allows for a comparison of the shifts that take place across scrapbooks but are obscured in higher-level data. For example, comparing the People pie chart for the collection level (Figure 49) to the corresponding pie chart for people in *Scrapbook 1* (Figure 51), it becomes clear that

Working from Scraps

Scrapbook 1

Select a book



Back to Collection

Inside this Book

About this Book

Date: 1931-1953  
 Pages: 215c-402b  
 Dimensions (cm): 20w x 32h x 4d  
 Total Clippings: 719  
 Clippings with date/source: 382  
 Percent clippings dated/sourced: 53.13%

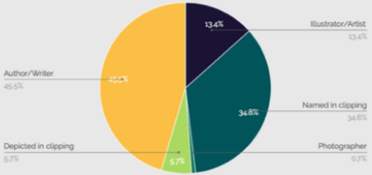
Materiality:  
 Course navy blue cover with faux-leather burgundy binding. There is a black and white photograph of a lake and mountains pasted onto the front cover likely clipped from a magazine (possibly showing L. [read more](#))

Notes:  
 Although Morgan gives this book that date range 1931-1953, he also notes the early materials for this book were rearranged from small blotters in 1937.

Keywords:  
 Leaf, Lead, Poetry, Moon, [read more](#)

Book Overview

Roles

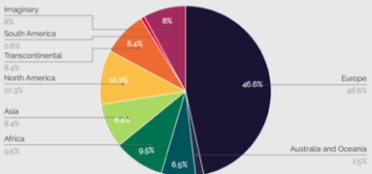


People (334)

Type to Search People...

Name	Roles	Page Appearances
Anonymous	Illustrator/Artist, Named in clipping, Author/Writer, Inventor/Designer/Engineer, Photographer	216, 220, 221, 225, 226, 228, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 245, 251, 252, 256, 257
Mary	Depicted in clipping, Named in clipping	219, 232, 233, 242, 243, 245, 247, 259
Joseph of Arimathea	Named in clipping	230
Puabi	Named in clipping	245
Pseinphae	Named in clipping	246

Continents

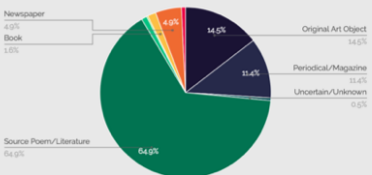


Places (201)

Type to Search Places...

Name	Continent	Page Appearances
Aberdeenshire	Europe	230
Abyssinia	Africa	216
Adare	Europe	240
Afghanistan	Asia	216
Africa	Africa	219, 261
Ak Bulak	Transcontinental	256
Alaska	North America	253

Types



Identified Sources (285)

Type to Search Sources...

Name	Type	Page Appearances
'Tis Pity She's a Whore	Source Poem/Literature	229
A Defence of Poetry	Source Poem/Literature	236
A Poem: Sacred to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton	Source Poem/Literature	216
A Saint About to Fall	Source Poem/Literature	227
A Tragedy or Interlude Manifesting	Source Poem/Literature	219

Figure 51: Working from Scraps Interface, Scrapbook 1 Overview

*Scrapbook 1* features a much higher percentage of authors (45.5%) than the rest of our subset (where authors comprise only 21.3% of represented people) and reflects the more literary focus of Morgan's earlier scrapbooks. While not showcasing the scrapbooks' visual presence as aesthetic provocations, then, these data

visualizations work to prompt their own provocations and suggest avenues for exploration into the scrapbooks.

Once the interface is filtered by book, users are presented with a new button underneath the scrapbook icons, which reads 'Inside this Book' (Figure 51). When clicked, this button takes the user to a page-level view, as seen in Figure 52. This view displays both a page-level and clipping-level natural language description. The clipping-level description further divides the clippings into groups of either 'Identified' or 'Unidentified' in an attempt to keep the layers of uncertainty associated with the scrapbooks and their often-unsourced clippings visible to users. Within these descriptions, the names of people act as a hyperlink that connects back to the detailed person view described above.

Similar to the 'Co-Occurrences' icons on the detail views, icons appear at the top of the page-level screen under the title 'Occurrences,' which users can click in order to generate a list on the right-hand side of the page that shows the people, places named, or sources that occur on the selected page. Figure 52 shows the view for page 215d from *Scrapbook 1* when occurrences of people is selected. From any of the individual detail or page-level views, users are also provided with external links where available for the items shown in the occurrences or co-occurrences side bars. These links include the VIAF and Wikipedia pages for people, the geonames links for places, and the digital surrogates for sources, thereby enabling users to transition from reading the contents of the scrapbooks to reading about their context outwith the scrapbooks and back again.

As such, the interface resists linear navigations by creating a daisy-chain of information that users can navigate in many, rhizomatic directions based both on their existing interests and on serendipitous alignments of the data that are revealed through use of the interface. For example, users could start with an interest in seeing

Scrapbook 1
p. 215d

Navigation

⏪
⏩
⏴
⏵

Occurrences

👤
📄
📍

Back to Book

215d

▼

**About this page**

**Clippings:** 3

**Keywords:** Animals, Art, Drawing, Fairy, Fish, History, Mythical, Phoenix, Water, Women

**UKAT Keywords:**  
 UKAT2.40 Geography and oceanography; Marine Life, UKAT2.50 Hydrology; Water, UKAT2.75 Natural Sciences; Animals, UKAT2.75 Natural sciences; Fish, UKAT3.25 History, UKAT3.25 History; Mythology, UKAT3.4... [read more](#)

**Foldout:** N

**Clipping orientations:** portrait

**Contains original material:** N

**Description:**  
 This page sparse page is black and white and is comprised of one large reproduction of a drawing by Wu Wei and two smaller clippings. There is a lot of blank space around the three clippings. The clippings are arranged in the portrait page orientation

**Identified Clippings:**

- a large black and white reproduction of a drawing by Wu Wei depicting a woman and a phoenix, captioned as: "Fairy and Phoenix. By Wu Wei. (1458-1508 AD) Ink, lightly coloured, on silk. 58 in. by 37 1/2 in."

**Unidentified Clippings:**

- a text-based clipping, which reads: "OUTER WORLD AND INNER LIFE / By these things men live. In all these is the life of my spirit"
- a black and white photograph of a fish, either taken underwater or through the glass of an aquarium.

[read less](#)

**People on this page**

Wu Wei

Occurrences on page: 1

Roles on page: Illustrator/Artist

b.: c.1458

d.: 1508

Gender: Male

Nationality: Chinese

Epithet(s): artist

In the Scrapbooks

On the Internet

VIAF

Figure 52: Working from Scraps Interface, Page-Level View, Scrapbook 1, Page 215d, Occurrences of People Selected

where Morgan is featured in his own scrapbooks, followed by reading the description of a page on which one of these occurrences takes place and then linking to a digital surrogate of a piece of art that co-occurs on that same page.<sup>59</sup> As such, WfS invests in the fragmented reading practices encouraged by both scrapbooks and hyper reading in order to depart from an interface that organizes data through more linear means and to invest in remediated meandering reading practices.

Although the primary focus of WfS is not the aesthetic impact of the Morgan scrapbooks, the interface incorporates some aesthetic cues that link it back to the scrapbooks. As already discussed, the interface uses the covers of the scrapbooks as the icons for filtering the overview information by scrapbook, while also internalizing the colour scheme of that scrapbook when a book is selected, therefore visually signaling the shift away from the collection-level overview. When viewing data pertaining to the content of the pages, such as on the detail or page-level views, the interface shifts to a cream background that is used to suggest the page of a scrapbook. The line dividing the descriptions from the side bar lists of occurring or co-occurring people, places, and sources is also designed to suggest the gutter of an open-faced book. The interface titles along the top of the page appear in the Scotch Roman typeface, which, although not connected specifically to the scrapbooks, is a type-face that Morgan used in his published collections of poetry and which speaks to a Scottish print history, as discussed in Chapter 2. WfS therefore takes its aesthetic inspirations from both the Morgan scrapbooks specifically and a database aesthetic generally to guide its users and remediate the scrapbooks. These aesthetic cues can be understood as intertextual echoes that operate, not through quotations or words, but rather through material cultures, and indicate the ways in which digital

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<sup>59</sup> A video showing an example of these meandering associations and the ways in which the interface can be navigated is included on our project website <http://digitaldecoupage.llc.ed.ac.uk>

remediations can exceed the textual to encompass mediating characteristics, such as page structures and fonts, that scrapbooks are so adept at making visible.

As a generous interface, WfS proves successful on many fronts. Both the database and the interface are scalable for the entire Morgan collection and provide multiple points of entry into the data for users, including through both targeted searches enabled by the searchable person, places named, and sources tables and serendipitous discoveries enabled by, for example, the occurrences and co-occurrences across pages and scrapbooks. The interface exploits the potentials of the digital as a means of manipulating and navigating the scrapbook data, therefore allowing users to trace keywords, subjects, or topics of interest in ways that are much harder to do when reading or navigating the scrapbooks as physical objects. Additionally, the interface's use of hyperlinks to connect digital surrogates to the scrapbook items not only provides access to images and text that appear in the scrapbooks, but also enables readings of the digital contexts that have accrued for these items. Much more than either the Constellation or the Colour Collage interfaces, then, WfS presents itself as a useful tool for researchers, as well as casual users. More searchability could still be added, as the interface does not currently offer a search bar that would allow users to type in keywords of interest, for example, nor does it provide filters for the scrapbooks' contents that would allow a focused consideration of, for instance, clippings created by women. While there is room for this interface to grow, it proves to be a highly effective prototypical tool in navigating the rich networks of people, places named, and sources that Morgan has juxtaposed through pathways that take inspiration from the scrapbooks' structures of data.

As a digital resource, the code for WfS also proves generous. Armoza built the interface using the Vue.js framework, which allows each view in the interface to

be defined separately within the interface's code and to function independently of the other views. Thus, another researcher could use Armoza's code and change the page-level views, while leaving the collection-level view intact, in order to experiment with their own visions for how the page-level data could be represented. Alternatively, Armoza's code could function as an active template for other researchers to use and customize for their own datasets. With this possibility in mind, and in keeping with the open scholarship ethos of the digital humanities more broadly, Armoza has made the Python script that transforms the database and the code for the interface available through GitHub (Armoza). As such, the interface and its code exist as boundary objects that enable communication and the sharing of knowledge in a variety of ways, proving themselves to valuable contributions resulting from our RtD process.

Over the course of our RtD work, I conducted two open-house events in Spring 2018 for the WfS interface, one at the University of Edinburgh and one at the University of Glasgow. These events were used to showcase the interface and ask for feedback on its use-value to participants. I asked participants to fill in a voluntary survey for the interface and across the two events I collected thirteen surveys.<sup>60</sup> The responses to these surveys prompted some practical changes during the interface design, including the addition of the VIAF link fields and the use of the UKAT keywords discussed above. Other feedback provided more qualitative assessments of the interface. In response to the question "How likely are you to revisit the interface" on a scale of 1-5, 69% of participants answered with a 4 or higher, indicating that they were likely or very likely to revisit. Participants were then asked to describe what they would use the interface for if they did return and responses

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<sup>60</sup> Of the participants, two were Book History MSc students, six were English Literature PhD students, three were archivists, one was a research associate with a PhD in Medieval books, and one was a Senior Lecturer in English.

indicate that WfS is successful in encouraging dynamic interactions with its data. One participant stated that they would revisit “to learn more about the scrapbooks and their content out of personal interest,” as well as suggesting some research-based use due to the fact that they were “interested in commonplace books so its [sic] interesting to think about the comparisons” with the scrapbooks (p5). Meanwhile, a second participant stated that “Working from Scraps has so much information and different ways to explore it. I esp. like the co-occurrences - they help you get a sense of the scrapbooks” (p2), indicating a personal interest in using the interface as a way to explore the scrapbooks. Another participant similarly focused on wanting to return to explore the interlinked nature of the data, stating that they found the interface to be “very fun because tags, people, &c—all the linked data—lets you follow up specific ideas & topics. Way to see how Morgan was using a source or concept even in separate places - therefore in some ways more navigable than the actual artifact, I assume” (p3). This participant’s feedback reaffirms our own assertion that exploiting the features of the digital, instead of representing print mediators through digital facsimile, is an effective means of remediation and encourages engagement with the data in ways distinct from the scrapbooks themselves. Additionally, two participants cited teaching as their reason to return to the interface (p4, 12). Across these responses, it is clear that WfS enables users to engage with the networked data that the scrapbooks collect and that it succeeds in encouraging some users not only to return to the interface themselves, but to direct future users, such as students, to it.

The user feedback also points to questions that our participants were not able to answer through the interface. One participant stated that they were “researching gender and metadata at the moment” and “would like to see gender being a searchable + browsable category integrated into the sites,” particularly to

ask questions such as whether or not “gender as a category presents potential issues or is especially relevant” (p13). Given the ways in which the Morgan scrapbooks underrepresent women, as discussed earlier in this chapter, it is clear that gender is an important dimension to characterizing the scrapbooks’ data and one that the database is equipped to answer questions about. Nonetheless, this feedback highlights that the WfS interface does not currently support targeted investigations on the issue of gender due to its lack of customized, filtered searches for this dimension and that the existing visualizations for people, which focus on role, suppress other characteristics of the data on people, including where gender is concerned. Expanding the interface’s search and visualization capabilities in these directions represents a key area of future development for this prototype.

Although not raised by any of my participants, the interface also does not emphasize or make searchable the queer nature of the Morgan scrapbooks. Most of the beefcake-style images of men discussed in Chapter 1, for example, are largely orphan works with very little contextualizing information and, as I was unable to find digital surrogates for them, they are not represented through digital hyperlinks in the database. Although each of these clippings is described in the database through the page-level descriptions and is traceable through keywords such as ‘Male Body’, their power to function as an aesthetic provocation and their ability to play with notions of desire through playful posing or camouflaged queer coding is minimized. The loss of the queered aesthetic impact of these images compounds the unintentional loss of queer representation that was enacted by my interpretive choice, discussed above, to categorize these images of nude men through more ambiguous keywords, rather than through explicit terms, such as homosexuality. The radical queerness that is such a crucial component of the scrapbooks therefore exists as a submerged feature of the data in much of the WfS database and interface.

In considering ways to minimize this obfuscation, WfS as an RtD prototype and visualization sandcastle prompts me to return to the nature of the data structures to ask how the database and interface design could be more explicitly queered. One possible avenue for exploration emerges from the fact that, although the WfS data diminishes the visual codes of the scrapbooks, including its queered provocations, the data's descriptive nature can also counteract the diminutive size of many of the more explicit images in the scrapbooks. Within the database, every clipping is provided with a full description in the page-level description field, no matter how small the clipping in question is. While a small image could be easily overlooked by a viewer scanning a busy scrapbook page, then, the natural-language page-level descriptions and their bullet-point clipping descriptions diminish the importance of the clipping's size or visual attractiveness as factors in its noticeability. As such, the prevalent presence of the small images of nude men becomes differently available to the interface reader than to the scrapbook viewer and might become more readily apparent in this form to some users. Using the interface as a means to draw more attention to smaller elements that the scrapbooks code or camouflage is therefore a potential means of harnessing the media specificity of this database in order to explore the queer provocations in the scrapbook data more fully.

Similarly, grouping keywords that co-occur across the scrapbooks and making patterns in the keywords more visible suggests other avenues for reintroducing queerness into the interface. As the forty most frequent keywords across our subset, shown in Figure 45, suggest, there are several keywords that could be visually clustered and opened for analysis under a queer reading of the scrapbooks, including 'Male Body,' 'Nude,' and 'Men.' These keywords could also be analyzed for their co-occurrences with keywords such as 'Art' and 'Religion' to

consider how Morgan brought together images traditionally associated with conservative values, such as religious paintings, with more provocatively queer images, as well as the parallels that Morgan's juxtapositions between these two types of images reveals about each of them. Providing more means to cluster these keywords and assess their associated connections through the WfS interface therefore emerges as a fecund possibility for future expansion.

These prompts for future iterations of the WfS interface demonstrates the value of continuing RtD digital explorations for the Morgan scrapbooks well beyond the three prototypes that I have discussed in this thesis. Moreover, considering the various ways in which the RtD prototypes fail to capture crucial aspects of the scrapbooks attests to the value of the print scrapbooks and highlights the efficacy of these texts as interfaced databases that enable complex interactions between their material structures, their visual presence, and their content. With this new appreciation for the scrapbooks and their particular mix of visual and textual provocations, my final chapter turns away from digital mediations of the scrapbooks in order to reconsider how the physical scrapbooks' data structures, and in particular their destabilization of, and departure from, linear temporalities, can be used to trace the shaping influence of the scrapbooks on Morgan's other poetic pursuits. I argue that Morgan's nonlinear temporalities can be productively read through queer theories of time and that these destabilized temporalities suggest not only another dimension through which to consider how to queer a database, for example, but also the ways in which the interpretive insights gained from learning to read the scrapbooks' poetics can be applied well beyond the scrapbooks themselves.

## Chapter 5: Queer Temporalities and the Scrapbooks' Afterlife

*Make a gay end  
fling over everything from now till fall  
—qtd. in Scrapbook 9, page 1807*

While Chapters 3 and 4 have shown the ways in which the prototypical interfaces my project developed for the Morgan scrapbooks make visible some of the possibilities, challenges, and productive points of tension that are generated through the interaction of the media-specific analog scrapbooks with digital media, this final chapter builds on my assertion that Morgan's scrapbooks are entangled with technological mediators and digital media ecologies whether or not they are being accessed through digital means. Moreover, this chapter demonstrates the scrapbooks as being temporally-complex mediators that shape both the narratives and narrative forms found across Morgan's rich corpus long after he stopped making his scrapbooks as such. In this pursuit, the first section of this chapter considers the ways in which Morgan's works, including his scrapbooks, can be understood through Jessica Pressman's definitions of both modernism and digital modernism and thus within a larger multi-modal literary tradition. The following section considers the afterlife of the scrapbooks and the legacy of their clipping practices within Morgan's wider *oeuvre* as part of this literary tradition. The final two sections then turn to queer theories of time in order to theorize what is at stake in the destabilizations of temporality that are at play in Morgan's cut-and-paste poetics before undertaking queer close-readings of Morgan's poetry in light of this established theoretical framework. Using the lenses of (digital) modernisms and the radical potentials of queer temporalities, then, this chapter argues for the ways in which close reading scrapbooks can enrich the study of a variety of texts and literary forms across genres and media categories.

*Digital Modernisms*

Pressman defines modernism, not as a literary period or historical category, but rather as “a strategy of innovation that employs the media of its time to reform and refashion older literary practices to produce new art” and so argues that it is a strategy that “is centrally about media” (*Digital Modernism* 3–4). She then introduces what she terms ‘digital modernism,’ defining it as a “strategy of renovation that purchases cultural capital from the literary canon in order to validate [its] newness and demand critical attention in the form of close reading” through digital modes (*Digital Modernism* 2). In other words, she describes digital modernism as being a strategy centrally motivated by an “impetus to return to and reconsider the past in light of the current, medial moment” (*Digital Modernism* 54)—a definition which I argue aligns closely with the ethos of my RtD processes. Pressman provides specific examples of digital modernism through electronic literature, such as William Poundstone’s *Project for the Tachistoscope {Bottomless Pit}*, which she reads as forging “a conceptual parallel between subliminal advertising and concrete poetry,” while also drawing the reader’s attention to the digital reading machines that enable its poetics (*Digital Modernism* 66). As such, Pressman’s explication of digital modernism provides a new lens through which to make legible digital objects that turn to literary and historical texts as their inspiration, including the prototypes developed as part of my project’s RtD processes.

Pressman also argues that developments from print-based to digital-based media ecologies, “modernism to postmodernism, [and] humanism to posthumanism” occur through complex back-and-forth processes that “complicat[e] linear narratives” about progress and connect “modernism and digital modernism by way of literary experiments in representing consciousness distributed across media” (*Digital Modernism* 120). As such, Pressman emphasizes that examples of

modernist and digital modernist texts can—and indeed do—overlap. For example, she uses James Joyce’s modernist novel *Ulysses* and its “database aesthetic,” as discussed in Chapter 4, to connect *Ulysses* simultaneously to contemporaneous “experiments in predigital technological hypertexts” and to creative engagements with modern digital databases (*Digital Modernism* 107). Similarly, Pressman describes the work of Marshall McLuhan as emerging not only at “the midpoint of the twentieth century,” when an analysis of “the world in the midst of transformation due to medial shift” was required, but also at “a midpoint between modernism and digital modernism” (*Digital Modernism* 54–55). She argues that McLuhan’s graphically-designed texts, including *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects* (1967), attest to the ways in which the “new media environment” surrounding McLuhan “promot[ed] an understanding of ... the previous print epoch” and she discusses the ways in which these texts analyze, for example, the new temporalities introduced by the electronic age, particularly where speed is concerned (*Digital Modernism* 52–54). The texts that Pressman studies, as well as the technologies that she references, therefore leave room for a wide understanding of what can count as participating in the strategies of digital modernism, including predigital literary experiments, while also revealing some of the layered and heterogenous “places, times and agents” that Latour reminds us assemble in any text or technology (Latour, “Morality” 249).

Pressman’s acknowledgement of the destabilization of linear and progressive narratives regarding both the medial lineage of digital modernism and its relationship to modernism is not, however, her main focus. Instead, her broader pursuit reasserts the value of close, media-specific readings for both modernist and digital modernist texts. As such, Pressman’s discussions only begin to scratch the surface of the forms that this resistance to temporal linearity can take within

modernist practices. Moreover, Pressman chooses to close read the remediation of established modernist literary texts, including *Ulysses*, that are, as she rightly shows, overlooked in their contribution to digital literatures but are nonetheless canonical and repeatedly put into conversation with texts and histories not contemporaneous with their own. Her argument therefore leaves unaddressed what can be gained by turning to more marginalized modernist texts, voices, and media when tracing (digital) modernisms.

I assert that Morgan's *oeuvre* offers a particularly relevant body of work within which to continue this expansion of digital modernism beyond established modernist canons and normative temporalities. First, however, it must be acknowledged that Morgan is undoubtedly foregrounded within the Scottish literary canon, as evidenced by his status as the first Poet Makar of Scotland and by his continued presence on required reading lists in Scotland, such as the SQA National 5 English list. This presence in Scottish literature is bolstered by intersecting systems of privilege, because as a white, cis, highly-educated male in a Western society, Morgan had access to publication, archives, and audiences in ways that many others do not. Without erasing or underestimating this privilege, it remains that Morgan has been marginalized and pushed to the edges of modernist canons outside of Scotland. After the death of Ted Hughes in 1998, Chris Jones recounts that Morgan seemed to some a good candidate for poet laureate; however, "as a gay man, and as a supporter of Scottish political independence," other, louder voices rejected Morgan as "too radical and controversial" (157). While Morgan's relative positions of power have assured his place within Scottish canons, then, being a gay man writing from a minor nation that is often overlooked or subsumed into English literary histories has negatively impacted his position in other ways. Consequently, Morgan has remained a largely unacknowledged force within modernist poetry canons that

are typically dominated by English and American authors, such as W. H. Auden, T.S. Eliot, Marianne Moore, Ezra Pound, and Gertrude Stein, to name only a few.

The boundaries of the canon recede even further into the distance when considered in relation to Morgan's scrapbooks. To speak of the literary canon in relationship to scrapbooks is almost impossible, given the multiple ways in which they are marginalized and devalued as texts, as demonstrated across this thesis. Recent critical efforts are, however, beginning to shed light on the modernist potentials of scrapbooks. For example, Bartholomew Brinkman reads modernist poetry scrapbooks as being "homologous to the modern poetry archive" and argues that these scrapbooks are "themselves complex and self-consciously organized cultural objects, often revealing processes of modern poetic production and reception" and so should be "studied as modern texts in their own right" (24). Tucker et al. also recognize the modernist potentials of scrapbooks, stating that

[i]f scrapbooks can be distilled to one overarching interpretive theme, it is that of rupture. Scrapbooks shuffle and recombine the coordinates of time, space, location, voice, and memory. What could be more emblematic of the fractured narratives of modernity than scrapbooks? (16).

Thus, for Tucker et al., non-linear, ruptured, and even simultaneous modernist temporalities are not only evident in scrapbooks, but are fundamental to the ways in which these texts make and communicate meaning. Despite these modernist parallels in both Morgan's poetry and scrapbooks, however, it remains true that they exist at a remove from the canonical modernist texts that Pressman sees as offering legitimation to digital modernism.

In working to contextualize Morgan's poetic *oeuvre* in relation to both modernist and digital modernist strategies, Colin Nicholson's critical analysis proves useful. Nicholson argues that Morgan's approach to modernism and poetry turns away from "the Eliot-Pound axis still influential at mid-twentieth century" and complicates the "culturally privileged sense of predominantly Anglo-American post-

war reinventions of modernism” by translating and actively engaging with work by international poets, including Russian Futurists, in particular Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1917), and South American concrete poets, such as the Brazilian *Noigandres* group (7). Moreover, Nicholson emphasizes that Morgan experimented “with revolutionary modernism during the mid-1950s and later, before the term Modernism had achieved critical currency, when Scots language use was a highly politicised medium, [and] when English poetry was becoming associated with the post-imperial conservatism of Movement poetry” (60–61). Similar to McLuhan, then, Morgan writes from a mid-point between modernism and digital modernism, although from a distinctly Scottish cultural position. Given this positionality, Nicholson credits Morgan with “nothing less than a reconstructed modernism which both challenges its English valences ... and subverts its United States incarnation” (7). Nicholson’s explication of the liminal nature of Morgan’s written corpus serves as a clear indication of the important perspectives that are excluded if Morgan’s less canonical, but no less modernist, *oeuvre* is left out in relation to concepts such as digital modernism.

Moreover, much of Morgan’s technologically-focused poetry resonates with Pressman’s media-based definitions of (digital) modernisms. Chapter 2 discussed how this technology reveals itself both through innovations in poetic form, as with Morgan’s concrete and emergent poems, and in the world of technological developments for publishing poetry, such as photocopying and computer typesetting. I also discussed how Morgan uses technology as a subject within his poetry. For example, his *From the Video Box* sequence of poems draws inspiration from actual video boxes, “where viewers can record their reactions to television programmes, as shown in Gus MacDonald’s Channel 4 programme, ‘Right to Reply’” (Morgan, *Collected Poems* 480). Morgan therefore shows a willingness to allow his

poetry to be shaped and intermediated by multiple forms of technology and media, which includes, as I argue across this chapter, his scrapbooks. Reading Morgan's poetry for its resonances with his scrapbooking practices demonstrates the media-specific intertextual echoes that occur across these creative forms as a result of their mutual entanglement in webs of analog, electronic, and digital mediators and so contributes to an awareness of the forms that (digital) modernisms can take.

The critical value of reading Morgan's scrapbooks and poetry alongside each other has been gestured to elsewhere, such as in David Kinloch's discussion of Morgan's first major volume of poetry, *The Second Life* (1968). Kinloch notes the text's physical materiality, which includes differently coloured pages and complex typographical arrangements, and suggests that "it may be worthwhile contemplating *The Second Life* first and foremost as an extraordinary object rather than a book, a cousin perhaps of Morgan's decades-long compilation of scrapbooks" ("Full Flourish" 42). Similarly, Dorothy McMillan compares *The Second Life* to Morgan's scrapbooks, describing both as volumes in which "production matters" (34). McMillan also asserts that the rawness of the scrapbooks can help to "counter the persistent gentification of Edwin Morgan," or the "pulling of his teeth," that she perceives in approaches to Morgan's poetry since his death (35). Elsewhere, McGonigal draws attention to a more conceptual affinity between the scrapbooks and poem "25" in Morgan's *From the Video Box*. The poem's speaker describes watching a televised jigsaw puzzle competition final that consists of one man putting together a puzzle over six days and nights. The puzzle is said to depict a single, "featureless" stretch of the Atlantic sea and to have been "Hand-cut by a fiendish jigger to simulate, / but not to have, identical beaks and bays" (*Collected Poems* 498). McGonigal reads this strange puzzle as "hark[ening] back to Morgan's early mosaic-making construction of the Scrapbook pages and his patient creation of a differently patterned reality,

fitted together from pieces of other particular times and space in a new medium” (“The Once and Future Pilot” 24). These three critical examples indicate that Morgan’s works after his scrapbooks remain connected to the material grammars and poetics of the scrapbooks in ways that warrant a more thorough-going analysis.

In explicitly pursuing this genealogy and tracing its impacts on Morgan’s poetics, I focus on the ruptured modern temporalities that Tucker et al. use to characterize scrapbooks and the ways in which similar ruptures occur within Morgan’s poetry. For example, Nicholson argues that Morgan’s science fiction poetry uses “futuristic memory” as a way to think and feel about “scientific possibility” and “to internalise responses for speaking subjects” (127–28). McGonigal similarly focuses on the role of time in Morgan’s poetry, arguing that “[t]ime, not space, was, for Morgan, the final frontier” and asserting that Morgan’s interest in nonlinear temporalities extends beyond their usefulness as plot devices (“The Once and Future Pilot” 17). Instead, he suggests an affinity between Morgan’s use of time and J. W. Dunne’s systems of parapsychology and post-Einsteinian physics of spacetime, especially in regard to Dunne’s articulation of

an observing consciousness in the second time-dimension which thereby possesses a wider angle of vision than the sleeping dreamer in the narrow dimension of our present historical world of instants and memories, passing and past. This wider angle allows the observer ... to see future events that hence can become embedded in the dream material. Whether or not this is true, it is noteworthy that an observer figure, or band of observers, become central to Morgan's science fiction poems (“The Once and Future Pilot” 17).

Indeed, these temporally ambiguous observing figures feature prominently in one of Morgan’s most celebrated science-inflected poetry collections, *Sonnets from Scotland* (1984). For McGonigal, the “travelling visitants” in *Sonnets* “are the fullest manifestation” of Morgan’s spacetime observers and he argues that this collection demonstrates the power of science fictional poetry, “with the traditional sonnet form here appearing to act as a reassuringly familiar field to catch or record such

forces, alien though not unfriendly" ("The Once and Future Pilot" 18). Morgan is thus shown to participate in the ethos of digital modernism by turning to an authoritative literary form (the sonnet) in order to lend legitimacy to a more technologically experimental poetics, while also offering a temporally-complex social commentary on his own present-day Scotland.

Given the importance of *Sonnets* to understanding the role of Morgan's observing figures and his strategies of temporality, a recounting of this collection's events is warranted. *Sonnets* is told from the perspective of alien figures that can move freely through time and space, allowing them to observe moments across Scotland's history; however, the history includes both alternate pasts and speculative, even surreal, futures. The first sonnet records observations of the volcanic eruptions that laid the foundations of Scotland, literally engaging in a process of world building, before other poems move across topics as diverse as post-glacial times, an observation of the Picts, and suggestions that Scotland became an independent country, raised first in "Post Referendum," which ends with a spinning coin, and later revisited in "The Coin," wherein the observers find a worn, but undated so temporally ambiguous, one pound coin stamped with "Republica Scotorum." Other poems ventriloquize historical Scottish figures, including mathematician Peter Guthrie Tait (1831-1901), geologist James Hutton (1726-1797), who is placed into conversation with poet Robert Burns (1759-1796) in "Theory of the Earth," and Lady Grange (1679-1745), a Scottish woman who was famously kidnapped and held captive on the St Kilda islands in the eighteenth century following her threat to reveal her husband as a Jacobite. "Computer Error: Neutron Strike" recounts observed acts of war, including a deadly neutron strike unleashed by machine error. In "Outward Bound" and "On Jupiter," Scotland is given freedom of movement and is observed to be floating away from Earth, coming at last to rest

on Jupiter. In the streets of this shifted Scotland, the alien observers admit that they “lost all track of time” (*Collected Poems* 456), until the final sonnet, “The Summons,” calls them back to their headquarters. The observers say they are “loath to go” (*Collected Poems* 457) and the sequence ends with a somewhat heavy liftoff for the observers, while the people of Scotland-on-Jupiter begin to wake and start their mornings. This collection’s temporally-complex and layered stories therefore emphasize the historical, present, and future entanglements of humans with both technology and nature, suggest Morgan’s political stances regarding issues such as Scotland’s independence, and act as a whimsical love letter from the observers to humankind, despite humanity’s capacity to bring about calamity. Moreover, in these poems, Scotland is an explicitly intertextual and intermediated creation that arises from the intersection of many temporalities, people, materials, and even planets for Morgan, who seeks out voices for as many of these as he can, much as he does in his intermediated and polyvocal scrapbooks.

I argue further that the observing figures in *Sonnets* and elsewhere in Morgan’s poetic corpus closely echo the Lucretian observer of the “Everyman” collage poem found in *Scrapbook 9*, which I analyzed in Chapter 2. This connection suggests that Morgan’s use of observing figures as a way to offer new perspectives and express hope did not occur for the first time in his published poems but rather in his scrapbooks. Similarly, I argue that the form of *Sonnets* relies on a scrapbook poetics, as the observers share with both the reader and their headquarters a fragmented collection of excised narratives that are curated through their own experiences. This sonnet sequence therefore shows the continued effect of Morgan’s initial, temporally-complex forays into information management, sense-making, and curation through his scrapbooks, and suggests that his practices of

clipping, reading, and writing through cut-and-paste means have left an indelible mark on his later works.

As suggested by *Sonnets*, Morgan often used his home country, as well as his home city, as sources of poetic inspiration. This intermingling of fact and fiction, the personal and public, likewise finds its precedent in the scrapbooks. For Morgan, Glasgow is a layered temporal site, with past, present, and future intersecting in ways that are specifically tied to the attitudes of the city's inhabitants. As he states, he "like[s] the modernity in Glasgow" and

think[s] of Glasgow as being a place that is quite willing to renew itself in a fairly devastating sort of way. The drawing in of horns that's been going on in the 1980s, against the changes of the 1960s and 1970s ... is not something that pleases me tremendously because I like to think of the new buildings going up, even the Red Roads flats. I think these are feelings that are more West of Scotland than East of Scotland, more Glasgow than Edinburgh (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 183).

In this quotation, Morgan demonstrates his openness to change and modernity and uses this same openness to characterise Glasgow and its temporal relationships as being distinct from its neighbouring UNESCO-protected city of Edinburgh. Morgan's description of Glasgow also recalls Peggy Kamuf's description of deconstruction as an act that blurs the boundaries between preservation and destruction (151), and, like his scrapbooks, shows the regenerative possibilities offered through acts that cut away or dismantle existing structures while juxtaposing differently constructed and temporally-specific elements in one space.

Morgan's experience of Glasgow as a temporally-complex city is further compounded by his subject position as a gay man. McGonigal explains,

[L]iving as a gay poet and academic in this mainly proletarian city [of Glasgow], Morgan's daily experience was that of a person who travels simultaneously in multiple spheres—of sexual habits, social class codes, technological and also aesthetic experimentation. Past and present experiences intersected with future potential, this last being a political as well as a poetic conviction ("The Once and Future Pilot" 20).

Affirming McGonigal's observations about these layered experiences, as well as the politics of Morgan's poetry, Morgan himself speaks about the way in which life in the city of Glasgow shaped his relationship to the present, and encouraged him to return to, or reread, past events to make space for them. He states that

[t]o look too long at anyone is dangerous (in Glasgow at any rate – I don't know about other places), and so the rapid flickering scan is characteristic of the urban poet. The many minute impressions are a shorthand which he can expand later within the (slightly) less nervous world of the poem (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 252).

Not unlike the scanning eye of a scrapbook maker, which can seize onto clippings in a flash of interest in order to make space for them and return to them later, this description sees Morgan mentally collecting shorthand clippings that document his social experiences and creating greater space to reflect on them in a safer environment. Although Morgan does not explicitly reference his own sexuality as contributing to the danger in this act of collecting, at least part of this danger inheres in the gaze of a gay man directed at other men who may react violently to such a gaze if it is recognized. Thus, Morgan's experiences of simultaneity, juxtaposition, rupture, and nonlinearity in the wake of the growing variety and wide-spread impact of fast-paced mass media forms during the mid-twentieth century are compounded by the urban social spheres that he moved and wrote through as a gay man in Glasgow.

Morgan's focus on Glasgow is also notable as a distinct resonance between Morgan's *oeuvre* and canonical modernist themes, in this case, the twentieth-century city. The modernist canon is rife with cities used as setting and metaphor, but in Morgan's case, difference is offered by the fact that the cities of his poems are versions, not of London or Paris, but of Glasgow.<sup>61</sup> Here, again, the scrapbooks show

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<sup>61</sup> Morgan was aware of the importance of his resistance to more canonical urban settings: "I feel very strongly about the *immediate* environment of Glasgow, you see, and have written often about that. I suppose that is partly natural because I live there, but there is probably also a little

an early precedent for Morgan's urban interests, which display many clippings of new developments, architecture, and city skylines that all attest to what Robyn Marsack describes as the scrapbooks' "precociously modernist and continuously urban sensibility" (105). I add that, as the small figures of nude or nearly nude men hide amongst these urban-inflected pages, they encourage meandering readings that seek out queer contact and can be likened to a form of cruising through reading that harken back to Morgan's own cruising in 1950s Glasgow.<sup>62</sup> Thus, as Marsack argues, both Morgan's poetry and scrapbooks perform the modernist city in ways similar to what Malcom Bradbury calls "the environment of personal consciousness, flickering impressions, Baudelaire's city of crowds, Dostoevsky's encounters from the underground, Corbière's (and Eliot's) *mélange adultère de tout*" (qtd. in Marsack 105), while remaining fundamentally distinct from the examples in this modernist list by relying on the partially queered version of Glasgow that acts as Morgan's ur-city.

Whether focusing on a video box that records responses to television programs, recounting a journey through space and time, or remediating a queer city, Morgan's poetry proves the applicability of including noncanonical texts and genres within the scope of Pressman's (digital) modernisms. Moreover, as Latour, Hayles, and other media critics contend, meanings cannot be separated from the media that helped engender them and examining the explicit afterlife of Morgan's scrapbooking practices proves illuminating to his wider poetic works, including

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slice of the deliberate about that too, to let people in London or wherever know that here is someone living in and writing about Glasgow of all places!" (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 81, emphasis in original)

<sup>62</sup> The relationship between queer acts of reading and cruising have been drawn elsewhere, such as in José Muñoz's argument that his book *Cruising Utopia* "asks one to cruise the fields of the visual and not so visual in an effort to see in the anticipatory illumination of the utopian" and to "approach the queer critiques from a renewed and newly animated sense of the social, carefully cruising for the varied potentialities that may abound within that field" (*Cruising Utopia* 18).

where questions of media and nonlinear temporalities are concerned. While the examples discussed in this section have focused predominantly on the poetic and conceptual resonances between Morgan's poetry and his scrapbooks, the following section considers how Morgan's use of physical scraps—not just the concept of them—persists well beyond his scrapbooking practices.

### *The Scrapbooks' Afterlife*

Across his creative processes, Morgan demonstrates an awareness of, and a concern for, the speed at which information was created, displayed, and obscured in the ephemeral mass media technologies of the twentieth century. He also often addresses his belief in the ability of creative endeavours like poetry and, I add, scrapbooking to intercede on this rapidity. In regard to his poetry that is inspired by current events, Morgan states that

[a] great deal that happens simply flashes past in the media—whether it's radio, television, or newspapers—often things that are of the greatest importance flash past, and nothing really fixes them . . . I think poets also can do something about this . . . I was, really, I suppose, saying 'Here are all these events being recorded very briefly in newspapers—not followed up, many of them—just there, perhaps even for one day—of great interest whether they're perhaps strange or comic or frightening or bizarre or whatever, but of great human interest' (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 140).

As a way of capturing this flashing ephemera, Morgan kept collections of ephemera and clippings in folders. Like his scrapbooks, these folders enabled Morgan to return to this ephemera in his own time, after which point he could make these fragments new and offer them back to his readers, both present and future. Some of these folders were collected over long periods of time under specific subject headings such as "Homosexuality" and "Cybernetics." These folders remain accessible, as they are included in the Morgan papers archived by the University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.

Evidence of the poetic effect of these clippings likewise persists, including in two self-styled poetic forms, which Morgan terms Newspoems and Instamatic poems respectively and which he describes in a 1972 interview with John Schofield. He first explains the Newspoems, stating that, “[o]ne of the things I’ve been doing more of is what I call a news poem—really a sort of collage poetry which consists of things that are cut out of newspapers and magazines in such a way that a message not intended in the original context suddenly appears” (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 52). The resulting Newspoems are often funny, using fortuitous alignments of words on the original pages that Morgan cut and photocopied to create riddles and poems. One such poem is titled “Notice in Hell” and reads: “HALT / ‘COMMIT ADULTARY” (*Collected Poems* 119). Like Morgan’s scrapbooks, these poems engage the form and materiality of the newspaper to reveal messages that are hidden in plain sight for those who know how to read them. The cut-and-paste and scanning skills that Morgan honed when creating his scrapbooks are also evident within the processes needed to create the Newspoems.

Morgan then describes his Instamatic poems, stating that they are “based upon actual things which have happened as reported in the newspapers or on television” and created as he tries to “imagine somebody had been there with an instamatic camera, and quickly taken a photograph” (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 52). He states that his goal with the poems inspired by these events is to present the “whole thing ... directly in economic, visual terms” (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 52). These poems demonstrate the influence of new technological mediators, including the instamatic camera, on Morgan’s processes of meaning making, and offer another point in the constellation of photographic mediators that my readings in Chapter 2 worked to trace. In stark contrast to the Newspoems, however, the Instamatic poems tell stories that are dark, surreal, and even grotesque, such as a

poem in which a man commits suicide by using a hand drill to drill holes into his own head. The importance of this darker turn and the newspaper clippings that inspired it are emphasized by Morgan in another interview that he gave in 1975 with Marshall Walker. He states that

[h]ere is a book [Instamatic Poems] saying that everything is not quite as rosy as one might be inclined to think. It did seem to be done quite naturally in the sense that I collected a fair hive of cuttings over a period of weeks and months without picking them out and writing about them and just seeing which ones seemed to survive as being still interesting, worth writing about a few months later or even almost a year later, I threw away a lot of the cuttings. These just happened to be the ones that still seemed to be worth doing something with. I wasn't particularly aware of it as being a collection of specially macabre or cruel or frightening cuttings ... I don't think it shows any special macabre quality in *me* to pick it out. It was there in several papers. (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 74, emphasis in original).

In this quotation, Morgan positions himself as a secondary or mediated bystander in relation to the clippings, giving them much more agency in the creation of the Instamatic poems than himself. As he presents his process, the newspaper tells the story, while he simply notices and clips it, therefore describing a writing with scissors that is prefigured in scrapbooking. Furthermore, Morgan as writer, whether of scrapbooks or poems, positions himself as porous and open to the information that circulates around him, writing about and with the human and nonhuman actants in which he finds himself invested.

Morgan's entanglement of his writing process with the newspaper media that serve as both source and subject has an important effect on what is at stake within his poetry. While Pressman sees digital modernists as reaching strategically for the canon of literature to legitimize their creative media endeavours, Morgan's Newspoems and Instamatic poems rely on their mass media sources of information for this same purpose. Regarding the Instamatic poems, Edgecombe argues that that "the 'actuality of historicity'—a file of newspaper cuttings—anchors the dark materials the poet has foregrounded, anchors them for inspection even as they

canalize the 'abysmal forces' of the grotesque" (85–86). Without a connection to the "actuality of historicity," the Instamatic poems might seem trivial and macabre, with little import beyond a shocking spectacle. When provided instead as a poetic archive of events that might otherwise, in Morgan's words, "flash past" (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 140), these poems gain more import and reflect the performed archivalness that Garvey uses to describe scrapbooking processes. In this archival role, the poems extract moments of history out of time and offer their remediated forms for inspection away from the noise of the news sources they came from, while implicitly asking readers to consider how they might have missed such events in their mass media forms.

In the case of the Newspoems, the importance of the newspaper clipping as mediator comes in to play as these poems perform a deliberate misreading of a relatively mundane, but pervasive, media object. As Morgan asserts, the Newspoems remind readers that "much if not most of human perception is misperception" and "sugges[t] an extraordinary subliminal web of meanings" that might affect readers of the ordinary newspaper page in ways that "their conscious mind is happily unaware of" (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 261–62). In this way, the Newspoems reveal an awareness of coded strategies not unlike those that I read in Chapter 1 through the scrapbooks' inclusion of small or otherwise camouflaged images of nude and nearly nude men. Similarly, the Newspoems' focus on misperceptions calls to mind the visual similarities that Morgan leveraged between the volcanic eruptions and atomic mushroom clouds discussed in Chapter 2. Both the Newspoems and the scrapbooks therefore use their creative interventions into the newspaper medium as a way to explore and comment on how this medium shapes the ways that readers think. Whether in service of humor or a stark indictment of human indifference, Morgan's scrapbooks, Newspoems, and

Instamatic poems prove to be centrally about media and ask their readers to consider not only the medium of the poetic text, but the medium of the sources that his poetics remediate.

As a result of Morgan's trail of clipped ephemera, whether in scrapbooks or folders, readers of Morgan's archive are able to trace the material remnants of his developing and diverging interests over time, stretching more or less continuously from his boyhood to the last decade of his life. Across this archive, issues that impact gay and queer individuals across Scotland prove to be a recurrent topic. In addition to the queer archives offered by the scrapbooks, the subject folder titled "Homosexuality" proves particularly valuable in this regard. For example, this folder includes a letter written by Morgan and dated 1 May 2000. This letter therefore coincides with widespread debates in Britain on whether or not to repeal Section 28, which, as briefly discussed in Chapter 1, prohibited local authorities from "intentionally promot[ing] homosexuality or publish[ing] material with the intention of promoting homosexuality" and "promot[ing] the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship" (*Local Government Act 1988: Section 28*). Morgan speaks about the effects of the discrimination and hatred espoused during these debates and asks

[h]ow then do you regard the language of Cardinal Winning<sup>63</sup> and his friends in the hierarchy, when they are discussing Section 28? Here are some favourite words: perverted, perversion, inherently disordered, unnatural. How do you think I, as a gay man trying to lead a decent life, feel when I read or hear such language and realize it is directed at me and many of my friends?" (personal letter in Morgan, *Subject Folder: Homosexuality*).

This letter is accompanied in the folder by dozens of clippings that attest to precisely the language and acrid environment that Morgan decries in this letter, as well as to

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<sup>63</sup> Thomas Joseph Winning (1925-2001) was the Scottish Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church from 1985-2001 and vigorously opposed the Section 28 repeal. He repeatedly maligned the LGBTQ+ community, including through comments that "compared gay rights campaigners to the Nazis" (McNair 31).

acts of persistence and celebration in the face of such oppression within LGBTQ+ communities. As I will discuss later, Morgan returns to the Section 28 debates in one of his later poems, further demonstrating the alignment between his archival and poetic interests. Moreover, this letter and its related clippings demonstrate that, well beyond the 1980 decriminalization of homosexuality in Scotland, Morgan was painfully aware of his own precarity and alterity in a society that continued to mark him and anyone else not adhering to the codes of heteronormativity as unnatural, even after he felt able to speak about his sexuality publicly.

Given the importance of Morgan's papers, scrapbooks, and poetry to queer Scottish archives, I argue that understanding the radical potentials offered by the fragmented temporalities within Morgan's scrapbook poetics requires an examination through a lens of queerness. J. Halberstam articulates that "[q]ueer uses of time and space develop, at least in part, in opposition to the institutions of family, heterosexuality, and reproduction" and that

[i]f we try to think about queerness as an outcome of strange temporalities, imaginative life schedules, and eccentric economic practices, we detach queerness from sexual identity and come closer to understanding Foucault's comment ... that "homosexuality threatens people as a 'way of life' rather than as a way of having sex" (*In a Queer Time and Place* 12).

Certainly, the language of Section 28, which explicitly marked any familial relationship founded on homosexuality as not only unacceptable, but as "pretended," shows the recent efforts by heteronormative culture to suppress any perceived threat to family structure and normative ways of life supposedly posed by homosexuality. That this fear has a temporal dimension is perhaps less obvious, however, and recent queer theory such as Halberstam's proves invaluable in laying bare the importance of this dimension.

*Queer Temporalities*

Halberstam argues that “queer subcultures produce alternative temporalities by allowing their participants to believe that their futures can be imagined according to logics that lie outside of those paradigmatic markers of life experience—namely, birth, marriage, reproduction, and death” (*In a Queer Time and Place* 13). While a lifestyle unscripted by a teleological structuring of these life experiences does not threaten the individual lifestyles of those who do identify with and can achieve these experiences, it does threaten the assumed natural state of these experiences and so challenges their dominant and default position as an assessment of a life well-lived. It also challenges the narrative of linear and future-oriented progress that these experiences attempt to mark, namely, that one matures into marriage and parenthood as natural progressions of life before entering a well-earned old age and eventually a comfortable death, buoyed by the proxy-longevity that the continued life of one’s children promises.

Due to this reliance on the hope of an assured future and assumed longevity in normative temporalities, Halberstam argues that “[q]ueer time perhaps emerges most spectacularly, at the end of the twentieth century, from within those gay communities whose horizons of possibility have been severely diminished by the AIDS epidemic” (*In a Queer Time and Place* 13). While the truth of this statement is evident, especially in the American postmodern context within which Halberstam situates *In a Queer Time and Place*, I join with queer theorists, including Elizabeth Freeman and Benjamin Bateman, who acknowledge the equal importance of the modernist period in the development and articulation of queer time.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, Freeman and Bateman’s theories of queer temporalities share an explicit pursuit of

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<sup>64</sup> Halberstam briefly gestures toward this affinity, stating that “[q]ueer time, as it flashes into view in the heart of a crisis, exploits the potential of what Charles-Pierre Baudelaire called in relation to modernism ‘The transient, the fleeting, the contingent’” (*In a Queer Time and Place* 14).

hope that acknowledges the role of trauma, pain, and death, such as those instigated by the AIDS epidemic, without allowing them to become totalizing characteristics, which resonates strongly with the cautious optimism that Morgan brings to his creative works.

In her book, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (2010), Freeman explicates her concept of “chrononormativity,” which she defines as “the use of time to organize individual human bodies toward maximum productivity” in a way that “turns mere existence into a form of mastery” (3). She couples this term with Dana Luciano’s “chronobiopolitics,” or “the sexual arrangement of the time of life” of entire populations, in order to argue that,

in a chronobiological society, the state and other institutions, including representational apparatuses, link properly temporalized bodies to narratives of movement and change. These are teleological schemes of events or strategies for living ... [and] so-called personal histories become legible only within a state-sponsored timeline (3–4).

Although chrononormativity may change in its manifestations—in a shift from seasonally-structured agrarian labour, for example, to industrially-structured wage-work—Freeman maintains that across social and historical structures, chrononormativity “institutionally and culturally enforce[s] rhythms, or timings” that materially “shape flesh into legible, acceptable embodiment” (4). To be out of step with these rhythms is to be out of step with society, and thus to be rendered unintelligible to those whose lives the rhythms contains.

Freeman argues, however, that during the early foundations of the modernist period a historically-specific challenge to chrononormativity arose, due in part to a convergence of “the appearance of sexual identity as a field of knowledge and self-description” that allowed identities of homosexuality and other forms of “sexual dissidents” to be vocalized as various challenges to more linear conceptualizations of time (7). As Freeman states,

sexual dissidents have also in many ways been produced by, or at least emerged in tandem with, a sense of 'modern' temporality. The double-time of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was somewhat different from the highly gendered, sacred time of antebellum domesticity: rather than evoking timelessness, it tracked in signs of fractured time. Its signature was interruptive archaisms: flickering signs of other historical moments and possibilities that materialized time as always already wounded. Thus gay men, lesbians, and other 'perverts' have also served as figures for history, for either civilization's decline or a sublimely futuristic release from nature, or both (7).

This nascent strain of resistance to chrononormativity would, rather fittingly, not proceed in a straight line. For example, the experiences of World War I and II furthered awarenesses of time as broken, fractured, and, in cases of post-traumatic stress, even repeating, not to mention creating an environment wherein young men sent to war created strong homosocial and/or homoerotic bonds to survive. Nonetheless, these same wartime experiences created a shoring up of national protectionist feelings around the nuclear family and reinforced the need for the rebirth of new generations, counter to which, in Freeman's formulation, queer relationships stand in for the decline of civilization. Nonetheless, Freeman opens up to view a particularly modernist space in which a historically-specific, yet porously open, queer temporality was figured.

Bateman specifically zooms in to this modernist period in his book *The Modernist Art of Queer Survival* (2017) and argues that the authors whose work he takes as his case studies, namely Henry James (1843-1916), Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), E. M. Forster (1879-1970), and Willa Cather (1873-1947), display their own versions of a "lived queerness" that "animates their different but also provocatively resonant efforts to detach futurity from conventional scripts, to loosen the grip of biological determinism, and to widen the experiential and affective parameters of individual lives" (Bateman 4). Thus, Bateman continues, "queer survival for this modernist ensemble is not only the survival of explicitly queer persons, ideas, and sensibilities," but also "a queer approach to survival in which weakness, frangibility, uncertainty,

dispossession, senescence, indistinction, and even morbidity play a vital role" (5). In other words, Bateman turns to the modernist canon not simply to reclaim or illuminate queer approaches to survival for those who are gay but to show that queering survival means opening up multiple spaces for expression and identities that can be available to anyone. Morgan's work, however, serves as a practical reminder that, as with Pressman's digital modernism, Bateman's modernist theories can be nuanced by a turn away from the established canon of modernism in seeking out such queer survivals.

For example, Bateman's thesis maintains a hopeful turn that refuses to relegate queer temporalities solely to an extended present that disavows any future, even if queer subjects reject conventional scripts for what futurity should look like. Through the notion of "queer invitations," which recalls Sara Ahmed's queer contact and is a type of open-ended interpellation into a non-normative relationality, Bateman asserts that space can be made for "queerness both now and in the future" (81). As he understands them, queer invitations can persist across time and install a

temporality through which queerness can linger, circulate, and ultimately survive while concomitantly making queerness appear, excitingly and certainly precariously, in the present. Which means that the queer invitation illuminates alternative life trajectories ... for anyone sufficiently unsettled and curious to give it the time of day (81).

Bateman's articulation of this queer invitation provides a multi-faceted mode through which to read for queerness in a variety of texts, including his own reading of Forster's *Howards End* (1910), wherein he argues that Forster creates a "fragile space of invention and exploration" that questions what and who can be connected, even as Forster struggles under the weight of acknowledging the "difficulties of circumventing convention in pursuit of intimacies" (68). Morgan's participation in this differently imagined, inviting future is also evident, but in markedly different ways to Forster's. One of the most prominent examples of such an act of queer

invitation in Morgan's corpus can be found in his love poems that, while unapologetically queer, address an open-ended, non-gendered you that allows a reader of any gender and/or sexual orientation to be interpellated into this queer space. While Forster's text struggles under the weight of convention, then, Morgan's poems celebrate successful connections in spite of them.

Other examples of queer invitations can be found in Morgan's speculative science-fiction poems that project bodies, languages, and subjectivities into imagined futures that are not necessarily queer but that require re-imaginings of what the future might look like and who might be visible and/or powerful in these spaces. Rather than simply projecting a sentiment for future connection, these science fiction poems race into an alternate future and invite their readers to follow. Allowing these less canonical versions of queer invitations to participate in the theorization of queer temporalities therefore provides examples from multiple genres and prompts a consideration of how a more diverse range of queer invitations differ from, and possibility illuminate, one another.

While Bateman focuses on the future in his discussions of queer temporality, Freeman includes a more explicit focus on the role of the past. She argues that a "stubborn lingering of pastness (whether it appears as anachronistic style, as the reappearance of bygone events in the symptom, or as arrested development) is a hallmark of queer affect: a 'revolution' in the old sense of the word, as a turning back" (8). Freeman traces this act of revolution to Derridean hauntological "ethics of responsibility toward the other across time—toward the dead or toward that which was impossible in a given historical moment," wherein each of these manifest as "calls for a different future which we cannot but answer with imperfect and incomplete reparations" (9). This ethics therefore aligns with Latourian morality, in which the greatest number of mediators and actants are sought out across disparate

spaces, temporalities, and modes of action. Paraphrasing Derrida, Freeman argues that we are “bound not only to history (that is, we do not make it just as we please), but also, and crucially, to the other who always takes precedence and has priority and thus splits our selfhood, detours our forward-moving agency” and ensures that “time does not heal but further fissures history” (9). In Freeman’s haunted relation to history, which she summarizes as a “more sensate, sensory historical method,” the past is never simply past, nor can there be a present, let alone a future, that does not result from some relationship to this past.

Within Morgan’s corpus, the past shows its effects in the numerous ways, including through the many people, places, and even materials, such as stones, to which Morgan gives voice in his poetry, but one of his clearest explorations of the haunted nature of this past occurs in his science fiction poem, “In Sobieski’s Shield.” This poem begins with a male narrator who has been de- and then re-materialized along with his family to a new planet in the Sobieski’s Shield constellation. The man puzzles over his new ontology and wonders whether he is the same person as he was before the dematerialization. He then notices a new heart-shaped mark on his arm that causes him to flash back to memories from World War I, during which time he saw a dead man’s arm protruding from a puddle, bearing a heart tattoo. The man starts with this fearful symmetry and proclaims, “my god the heart on my arm my second birth mark / the rematerialization has picked up these fragments I have a graft of war and ancient agony forgive / me my dead helper” (*Collected Poems* 197). In this moment, the man sees himself, the human subject, as a text that has been read, cut, and pasted together by a machine. He believes that his memories of this other, partial man have been interpreted and recombined, just as his own genetic codes and atoms have been in the de/rematerialization processes, and have caused him to come out with a grafted piece of another. The ambiguity of the second

birthmark also raises the possibility, however, that the narrator has simply imbued this mark with extra meaning, suggesting that it is he, and not the machine, who has turned his newly rematerialized body into a text to be read. In either case, the poem shows that the trace of the other has not been erased, at least not for the narrator, even in a rematerialized body on a new planet that was previously unpopulated.

In this haunted state, the narrator nevertheless finds hope and a reason to move forward. His final lines invite his wife and son, but also, by extension, the dead man who is grafted to him, to “take our second / like our first life out from the dome are the suits / ready the mineral storm is quieter it’s hard / to go let’s go” (*Collected Poems* 197). These final lines echo the absurd closing lines of Samuel Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot* (1953) and *The Unnamable* (1953) and, like their Beckettian predecessors, the narrator’s lines could imply a facile resistance to the larger forces of immobilization. The line break that separates “it’s hard” from the closing line suggests, however, that there is more hope for these second life travellers than there may have seemed to be for their absurdist counterparts. As a result of this line break, the poem ends with an isolated infinitive “to go” followed by the active invitation “let’s go,” thereby indicating both the possibility of action and companionship in this action. Although “it’s hard,” nevertheless, all that is required “to go” is, simply, to decide to go together.

This gift of optimism in Morgan’s poetry is in line with Bateman’s thesis of survival and Freeman’s rejection that a sensate history must be one that is bound to a version of the past through pain. Indeed, Freeman asks, “why is it that even in queer theory, only pain seems so socially and theoretically generative” and why must sensation itself, from Freud forward, be couched in terms of “phallicizing constructions” (12). In answer to her own queries, Freeman asserts that “suffering need not be the only food the ancestors offer” (19). Without erasing the realities of

pain and trauma, Freeman sees a radical potential in other affective relationships, including longing and erotics, allowing her to paint a picture of a “lusting queer archivist” who gazes hungrily into a past that once excluded them, not to feed “hatred but entitlement, not the spirit of sacrifice but a commitment to bodily potentiality that ... heterosexuality [cannot] fully contain” and thus to a new present based on a remade and remixed past (19). As one analogy of Morgan’s rapacious, juxtaposed, and intertextual temporalities, enacted through his scrapbooks and his poetry, I find this queer archivist to be a rich and evocative image that provides a point of comparison with Morgan’s optimism and his prescient futurisms that are nonetheless shot through with a deep respect for—and a tireless willingness to remix—the past. Given the importance of not just nonlinear but queered time within Morgan’s *oeuvre*, then, the final section of this chapter turns to three examples from Morgan’s poetry that collectively demonstrate some of the ways in which Morgan brought about his own versions of queered time.

#### *Queered Time in Morgan’s Poetry*

Although Morgan’s collection *The Second Life* was written in 1963 and published in 1968, when there was still great risk involved in coming out as gay in Scotland, Morgan’s oft-cited poem from this collection “Glasgow Green” is identified by Morgan as being “a clear declaration” of homosexuality” (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 144) and “a sort of gay lib poem before there was such a thing” (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 172). Morgan characterizes it as enacting a “plea for some kind of recognition or liberation or acceptance” by attesting to the violence and precarity inherent to the lives of queer individuals forced to live on the fringes of society (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 172). Furthermore, Morgan states that “Glasgow Green” is a condensation of more than one frightening experience that he had while cruising in Glasgow, but that, for him, there was “yet something quite positive in it

[the frightening encounter]" and that "the poem gained meaning from this" mixed emotional response (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 172). "Glasgow Green" therefore offers an important point from which to consider Morgan's hopefulness in the face of fear, while also revealing his use of queer temporalities to show as always already queer the urban spaces that the poem remediates, even if many of his readers would rather avoid this queerness.

"Glasgow Green" opens at "Clammy midnight" on the banks of the river Clyde in Glasgow and the first voice to speak above a "cough" or a "mutter" is a shouted "No!" that indicates distress but "leads to nothing but silence" in response (*Collected Poems* 168). The next stanza begins with a large section of dialogue written to reflect the Glaswegian dialect and spoken by a character who is likely a Glasgow hard man, but could perhaps be a crooked cop. The violent dialogue reads:

'What d'ye mean see me again?  
 D'ye think I came here jist for that?  
 I'm no finished with you yet.  
 I can get the boys t'ye, they're no that faur away.  
 You wouldny like that eh? Look there's no two ways about it.  
 Christ but I'm gaun to have you Mac  
 if it takes all night, turn over you bastard  
 turn over, I'll - ' (*Collected Poems* 168).

At the moment when the dialogue most likely changes from verbal threats to explicit sexual violence, the scene of violence is broken by the narrator, although not for the victim, but for the reader. The narrator interjects on the dialogue and declares, "Cut the scene. / Here there's no crying for help, / it must be acted out, again, again" (*Collected Poems* 169). Although this line signals the ability of the poet to shape what the reader can and cannot see, it also signals the traumatically repetitive and cyclical nature of the poem's temporality that starts the violence again each time the poem is read, in spite of the shouted "No" with which it begins. In light of this nonlinear temporality and the narrator's imperative statement that the violence "must be acted out, again, again" the speaker's dialogue demands a re-reading and, in the

process, becomes layered with excess meaning. Upon a second reading, when the hard man/cop asks “D’ye think I came here jist for that? / I’m no finished with you yet,” the re-reader sees the “jist for that” not as a kiss or some other sexual exchange, mutually enjoyable until that moment, but rather a “jist” that dismisses a single assault as not enough. Likewise, the demand that the victim “turn over” suddenly gains a doubled meaning that includes the turning back and starting again that a re-reading performs.

As nightmarish as this traumatically altered temporal landscape is, the narrator does not allow the reader to believe that the scene was simply staged, even if the narrator can “cut the scene.” The narrator states bluntly, “This is not a delicate nightmare / you carry to the point of fear / and wake from, it is life, the sweat / is real, the wrestling under a bush / is real, the dirty starless river / is the real Clyde” (*Collected Poems* 168). For the first time, the “you” is not referring to the victim, but rather to the reader, interpolating them into the Glaswegian world of the poem. Reinforcing this reality of place and person, the repetition of “is real” and “is the real” at the start of the final three lines in this quotation leaves the reader with no escape into the comfort of fiction. This scene is all too real for those who live it, including Morgan himself, and every turn away from or unwillingness to see this violence becomes complicit in its instigation.

At the end of its third stanza, “Glasgow Green” introduces another temporal dimension to the world of the poem. In addition to the repetitive violence, the space of the Green is overlaid with two versions of itself: that of the dark, foggy river that shrouds heard but unseen acts of violence at the beginning of the poem and that of a green space during the day where “women watch” and “children play” (*Collected Poems* 168). These two extremes, of childhood innocence and violent sexual assaults, are set at opposing ends of a spectrum, both of which are bound up in the

other, as illustrated when the narrator asks, "How shall the race be served?" and answers, "It shall be served by anguish / as well as by children at play" (*Collected Poems* 168). This two-part answer gestures to the fact that the victim in the park and even the hard man were once children and that they do not inherently belong to the underbelly of the Green. The answer also gestures to a way out of the nightmare by suggesting that the dark will be reclaimed not by ignoring those who exist there or by disavowing its presence but rather by intermingling the two overlaid worlds such that the best of each will flourish.

With this possible hope established, the poem's closing lines work to destabilize the presumed dominance and majority position of the heterosexual chrononormativity of the Green as represented by the women and their children who oversee the space during the day. The conclusion reads,

Let the women sit in the Green  
and rock their prams as the sheets  
blow and whip in the sunlight.  
But the beds of married love  
are islands in the sea of desire.  
Its waves break here, in this park,  
splashing the flesh as it trembles  
like driftwood in the dark (*Collected Poems* 169).

With this final turn, the poem disavows the park as a heteronormative space that has been secretly corrupted in the dark and positions it instead as a watershed space where the bonds of oppression that have forced individuals like the victim from the start of the poem into the dark are beginning to break and rupture. The "sea of desire" surrounds the "beds of married love," "splashing" and announcing its presence in the voice of the Clyde, which is one of the few voices that exists in both versions of the Green. Without suppressing the right of heterosexual ways of life to exist, the poem refuses to acknowledge their claim to supremacy and works to show the violent costs, as well as the implicit fallacy, of such a claim. Thus, as Morgan identified himself, the poem remains hopeful, even while condemning the

oppressive forces it abhors and calling out complicity, in order to suggest that the queered space of the Green might yet be reclaimed.

I argue that this poem, written while Morgan was still actively scrapbooking, demonstrates a remediation of several strategies that Morgan used to construct his scrapbooks. "Glasgow Green" relies on the intermingling of the public and the private to create a juxtaposed narrative that develops through extracted scenes, such as the attack from the hard man that the reader arrives at *in media res*. Although more narratively consistent and linear than a scrapbook page, the poem's suggestion that the scenes must be read and reread implies that a nonlinear reading practice is still expected. Moreover, this poem overlays multiple temporalities, including the night scene, the day scene, and the reader's temporality, to create a complex juxtaposition. Although this poem is not explicitly connected to scrapbooking, learning to read it as part of a mediating network that includes the scrapbooks allows for an expanded appreciation of its form and participation within queered temporalities.

A later poem by Morgan, titled "Section 28," uses queered temporalities to posit a similarly optimistic, albeit more comedic, message to that of "Glasgow Green". "Section 28" was published as the fifth poem in the "Changing Glasgow 1999-2001" sequence, which itself appeared in Morgan's 2002 collection *Cathures*.<sup>65</sup> The poem ventriloquizes God and humorously, but firmly, denies Cardinal Winning, one of the most virulently homophobic Scottish supporters of Section 28, as discussed above, a place in heaven. The poem's first lines read, "God said to Winning: You are

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<sup>65</sup> As evidenced by the title *Cathures*, which is an earlier Cumbric name for Glasgow, this collection is invested in revealing the palimpsestic changes that allow the past to creep in and colour the present, and so signals the collection's broad participation in non-linear temporalities. For example, the opening poem of the "Changing Glasgow 1999-2001" sequence, titled "Banks and After," discusses the gentrification of Glasgow and cautions diners of the many "bistros, hogsheads, and gaucho grills" to "please beware: / The past may still be lurking there" (*Cathures* 31).

not. / Winning I mean" (*Cathures* 35). Morgan's God then chastises Winning, describing him as "unsound, my mannie, unsound" (*Cathures* 35). By using "my mannie," a diminutive Scots term that loosely means a small man or boy, when calling out Winning's "unsound" position in the eyes of God, Morgan allows his own subject position to seep into the authority of the poem, while also signalling how deeply out of step with a modernizing, and increasingly liberal, Scotland he sees Winning. "Section 28" also jabs at Brian Souter, a Scottish businessman who campaigned heavily in favor of Section 28, by suggesting that Winning should "buy a copy" of God's "New Authorized Version," which rejects homophobia, even if only to "Squeeze it out of Souter's poppy" (*Cathures* 35). With God's chastising done, he then offers Winning a question in the penultimate line of the poem, asking "What can you learn from my abjuring," to which God answers, "The last seat went to Alan Turing" (*Cathures* 35).<sup>66</sup> While "Glasgow Green" can be understood as a coded gay liberation poem, "Section 28" adamantly proclaims its queer politics through every line and reference that it makes. It also joins with the Instamatic and Newspoems as a remediation of news media into poetic form, given its use of contemporary news and public figures as poetic subjects and its relationship to the clippings collected in the "Homosexuality" folder, as discussed above.

When considering the temporalities at play within this small poem, it is important to note that Morgan wrote it while the Section 28 debates were still ongoing and that the final repeal of the section from the *Local Government Act* would not take place until 2003, a year after the publication of *Cathures*. As such, the poem's opening declarative statement, given in the present tense and stating

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<sup>66</sup> Alan Turing's (1912-1954) tragic history is well known, so I will only briefly summarize it here. After his contributions at Bletchley Park during World War II, Turing was convicted in 1952 of gross indecency, removed from his university post, and sentenced to chemical castration, eventually dying at the age of only forty-two after either accidentally or intentionally ingesting cyanide.

that “You are not. / Winning, I mean” (*Cathures* 35), was a comment on a speculative and hoped for future outcome regarding the debates at the time of poem’s publication. The poem’s comingling of present and historical figures, such as Winning and Turing, in the world of the poem further complicates its temporality. Reading this poem on the other side of the 2003 repeal adds yet another temporal dimension, wherein God’s declarative lines can be understood as comprising an accurate predication of the Section 28 outcomes, even if this predicted outcome is now a past event.

Taken on its own, however, the complex layering of past, present, and future within “Section 28” is not enough to say that this poem is invested in specifically queer, rather than just generally nonlinear, temporalities. Instead, what solidifies this poem’s participation in queer temporalities is its disruption of the chrononormative life to afterlife progressions in which Winning and other followers of the Christian faith are invested. It bears re-emphasizing that Winning is a Catholic Cardinal, and so would naturally assume that his place in heaven is assured. Meanwhile, within the world of “Section 28,” the God that Winning purports to serve admonishes him as “backward” and “unsound” before stating that Winning’s “favourite sound-bite, gay perversion, / is not in my New Authorized Version” (*Cathures* 35), thereby suggesting that Winning has not been acting in ways that align with the will or the word of God. The final lines of the poem turn from chastising Winning to acknowledging the presence of those, including Turing, for whom repeals of legislation like Section 28 will come too late. Moreover, the poem reaches out across the divide of history and death to share its victory over Winning with Turing and to place Turing in a safe space that adamantly rejects the homophobia that oppressed him throughout his life. The temporal queering of the poem therefore

directly supports and intensifies much of the poem's optimism, as well as its specific political articulations.

The final poetic example that I will discuss as a means of demonstrating Morgan's creation of queered temporalities is his 100-poem sequence "The New Divan" that first appeared in his 1977 poetry collection of the same name. The poems within the sequence are, as Morgan describes them, "very loosely linked together" (qtd. in Edgecombe 46) and draw on a vast array of experience, some personal, some historical, and some invoking the mythical. Much different to the poems that recreate and remediate either Glasgow or Scotland, "The New Divan" is a whirling, unsettled sequence, with images of desert landscapes, misty valleys, more and less sordid tent interiors, and even gravesides that create a distinct sense of displacement. Morgan trades in orientalisating and exoticizing discourses when rendering this world, including through figures of "princes," "viziers," a "belly-dancer," a "ruffian sage," a "flying carpet," and a "dancing-boy" with his "half-tame monkey", both from the "high Afghan mountains." This orientalism is then fed back, and at times even amplified, in the language of some critics, including Kinloch, who unapologetically describes the sequence as "an otherwise bewildering kaleidoscope of oriental images that often dissolve into more familiar western and northern domestic scenes" ("The Case of the Missing War" 86). In "The New Divan," then, we are faced with one of the effects of Morgan's place within intersecting systems of privilege and oppression. Although this poem can be read as an attempt by Morgan to internationalize his poetry and British modernism beyond Western influences, it remains the case that he is a white man whose primary experiences with Lebanon and North Africa occurred during his time with the Royal Medical Corps during World War II. Thus, this poetry sequence comes filtered through Morgan's implicit and internalized cultural biases and harmfully reductive stereotypes.

Given the orientalism of "The New Divan," it is worth making clear why I have included this sequence for study in my chapter. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge the problems, as well as the triumphs, of Morgan's *oeuvre*. Particularly in cases of marginalized figures, it can be all too tempting to speak only of their successes, especially when arguing for their increased recognition. As I have already discussed, however, Morgan's privileges and their effects cannot be erased in acknowledging his works and the legacy that they leave, some of which needs to be resisted. Secondly, I have chosen to study this sequence because, as problematic as it is, it exists as an important landmark within the queered narratives and temporalities offered by Morgan's *oeuvre*. Without excusing the orientalism of "The New Divan," it retains importance in its efforts to offer queer experiences in the setting of war and its ability to showcase the poetic effects of incorporating a scrapbook-like temporal aesthetic into a narrative structure, particularly one concerned with memory and trauma.

Beginning with the sequence and collection title, the importance of collected fragments is writ large. As Morgan explains, in Arabic or Persian poetry, a 'divan' refers to an eclectic collection of poems that are not read in a linear fashion, but instead invite the reader to "enter" and "move around," while being encouraged to "cast your eye here and there, you look, you pick, you perhaps retrace your steps" (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 136). Like a clipping in a scrapbook, each poem offers a window into a larger world than itself, while also enabling a juxtaposed reading of the many worlds brought into conversation by the poems' collective presence in the sequence. In crafting such juxtapositions, both on the pages of the scrapbooks and in the world of "The New Divan," Morgan makes use of his own life experiences as they mingle with multiple other stories, histories, and happenings. Of course, even though "The New Divan" draws on Morgan's wartime experiences and on his

experiences of homosexual desire, lust, and love in this setting, it also includes many fictional elements and cannot be read wholly as autobiography. Just as the Morgan of the scrapbooks is a composite figure comprised of many layered scraps and contexts, so too is the Morgan of "The New Divan" a fiction.

One effect of the scrappy nature of the 100 poems that comprise "The New Divan" is that the sequence seems not only out of place, but also, as Roderick Wilson characterizes it, "fascinatingly out-of-time" (qtd. in Edgecombe 82). Characters dart through the reader's experience and days and nights follow fast on each other's heels in ways that can cause the reader to question if they are seeing different nights or just different iterations of the same night. In some poems, the characters are positioned outside of time, such as in poem "92", in which "Angels with abacuses" watch the war unfold, "shrug now", and simply "let computers mess the injuries / let computers mess the injuries / let computers miss the injuries / let computers moss the injuries / let computers muss the injuries / of merely mortal times" (*Collected Poems* 327). In this atemporal formulation of the passage of time, the immortal angels are unperturbed by mortal affairs and leave impassive machines to take stock of the causalities, even while acknowledging that these machines might also "miss the injuries" or incorrectly "mess" up the calculations. Poem "92" therefore illustrates the overlapping ways in which both war and notions of im/mortality can disrupt concepts of linear time and empathy.

Morgan's sequence is not only about this disruption to linear time generally, however, but also about the specifically queered ways in which these disruptions destabilize chrononormativity. As Kinloch argues, "The New Divan" presents "a gay man's war, that cannot be articulated in the same manner as his heterosexual compatriots" ("The Case of the Missing War" 101). Thus, in the midst of images of orientalism and attempts to characterize a war that was felt most acutely through a

lack of its direct presence in Morgan's experience, Morgan interweaves stories of homosexual desire and love. For example, poem "86" focuses on a fictionalized version of Cosgrove, a straight Glaswegian man who Morgan served with and whom Morgan attests that he loved (*Nothing Not Giving Messages* 148). In "86," this unrequited love is made clear, as are the restrictions that prevented Morgan from expressing his desire, as the poem begins with the lines "Not in Kings Regulations, to be in love. / Cosgrove I gave the flower to, joking" (*Collected Poems* 325). This opening therefore identifies both the illegality of homosexuality during World War II and Cosgrove's naivety regarding the speaker's true feelings as impediments that force the speaker to give his sign of love in jest rather than earnest. As such, the speaker concludes the poem by admitting that, "To tell the truth he [Cosgrove] knew no more of what I felt than of tomorrow. / Gallus, he cared little of that (*Collected Poems* 325). The speaker also states, however, that even though his feelings have gone unnoticed, they have stood the test of time and he retains certain connections to this naïve love. He states that "I've not lost / his photograph. Yesterday, tomorrow / he slumbers in a word" (*Collected Poems* 325). The speaker therefore retains his access to this long-harboured love through the nonhuman actants of a photograph and of the poem itself. While this reference to a preserved photograph can function metaphorically, it also bears a more concrete connection to Morgan's scrapbooks, where several photographs of the real Cosgrove appear, including on page 612 in *Scrapbook 4*, where Cosgrove is photographed in uniform. "86" therefore comprises an intertextual poem that destabilizes the temporal divide between the narrating soldier and Cosgrove, as well as that between Morgan as poet authoring "The New Divan" and the experiences that inspired this poem, in order to show that this divisive temporality is fragile enough to be shattered through the presence of something as simple, yet powerful, as a photograph or a word.

Another poem in the sequence, poem "98," speaks of a different, much more physical and fleeting, homosexual encounter than that described between the soldier and Cosgrove. This poem opens with a *double entendre*, reading "You came under my mosquito-net / many times/ till you were posted far off" (*Collected Poems* 329), and speaks to a physical connection grasped when it could be, before the legal authority attempted to enforce heterosexual order once again. The speaker observes that, at the time, "I was innocent enough / to think the posting was accidental" and says that there was hardly time to say goodbye (*Collected Poems* 329). And yet, the poem does not dwell on this enforced separation, acknowledging instead that "It was enough; the body, not the heart" and that, regardless, the relationship would finally have eventually had "to be thrown away" (*Collected Poems* 329). With this poem, Morgan absolves the speaker of any shame over his choice to privilege a physical connection over a romantic one and effectively undermines the legal control exercised over this relationship, given that it was not a relationship that the speaker expresses a need to have continued much longer. This poem therefore offers a subversive resistance to repressive laws by reasserting some control by the speaker and allowing these preserved memories to become something much more enduring than either the relationship itself or the laws that sought to prevent it.

The final poem of the sequence, "100," brings together these various fragments of both a gay man's war and the weight of the past in order to look to the future. In a line that recalls the grafted other of "In Sobieski's Shield", the poem's speaker states that "The dead climb with us like the living to the edge" and thus that moving forward requires contending with a sea of "memories crowding in from human kind" to the "other sea-cave / of my head" (*Collected Poems* 330). In response to this haunted mass of fragmented people, experiences, and emotions, the speaker reaches for "a shred of sailcloth," itself a "relic of a gale," and uses it "to bind the

leaves of my divan" (*Collected Poems* 330). This poem therefore signals "The New Divan" as a response to Morgan's own crowd of wartime memories that demand creative acts of performing archivalness, in this case enacted through poetic remediation. Importantly, however, the poem does not describe the authoring of a uniform text, but rather an eclectic, fragmented collection of detritus held together and carried forward through the use of a scrap of sailcloth. The created divan therefore emerges as an apt metaphor for both Morgan's poetry collection and his scrapbooks, while also demonstrating the ways in which the practice of scrapbooking continues to shape Morgan's modes of sense-making. Describing this final poem in a way that could be as well applied to the scrapbooks as to "The New Divan," Edgecombe observes that,

[i]f the sea is eternity, then the divan is an act of salvage, a retrieval of flotsam and jetsam, one piece of which Morgan turns, by a ritual metaphor, into binding for the book. This partly explains the fragmentary nature and shifting dissolutions of the poem. Morgan has improvised a structure, like the artefacts of a hero in a Robinsonade, from the cast-up, cast-off materials of history (82).

"The New Divan" therefore proclaims itself as a tool of salvage that values the queer, ephemeral scraps of history in a variety of forms and that refuses to turn away from the more difficult or painful pieces of the past when moving forward into the future. In this way, "The New Divan" offers a bridge between past and future and serves as both an archive of feelings and a queer contact zone for past moments that were not allowed to be reflected on in full at the time of their occurrence.

Collectively the three poetic examples discussed in this section powerfully illustrate the ways in which Morgan develops and plays with queer temporalities, particularly the ways in which he inflects these poems with the fragmentary and scrappy temporalities that he first began developing in his scrapbooks. As such, I argue that Morgan's rich *oeuvre*, including both his poetry and his scrapbooks, demonstrates that there is much to be gained by turning to individuals and works

that lie beyond the strict perimeters of the modernist canon for the continued development of theories such as digital modernisms and queer temporalities. Moreover, Morgan's corpus offers examples of lives lived and stories told outside of the hetero-and chrononormative formats that often dictate what is legible and recognizable.

## Conclusion

*"It's time we went," Morgan said, rising.*  
—*qtd. in Scrapbook 12, page 2558*

Across my discussions of the queer, material, intermediated, and fragmented (hi)stories that the Morgan scrapbooks both create and provide access to, I have relied on material theories, including those of Bruno Latour, that resist notions of "self-contained" texts in favour of addressing "the diverse resources that go into the composition of the text and the range of material and social networks that entextualize the artifact" (Canagarajah 26). Moreover, this material turn enables a broad understanding of the texts and objects available to close reading, as well as emphasizing the capacity for the "material environment ... to act" (Canagarajah 18), as reflected, for example, in N. Katherine Hayles's tracings of the ways in which media shapes the metaphors and meaning-making activities through which humans makes sense of the world (Hayles, *How We Think*). As such, my thesis close reads not only Morgan's scrapbooks but also prototypes, interfaces, and databases and addresses the ways in which scrapbooks are entangled in various media ecologies and mediating networks.

By situating Morgan's scrapbooks within these materialist contexts through my approach, I acknowledge the textual status, rich material grammars, and continued relevance, even in increasingly digital media ecologies, of these scrapbooks and of scrapbooks more broadly. As I discussed in the introduction to this thesis, cultural and literary scrapbook scholarship is in its infancy and, so far, it has largely worked to acknowledge the importance of scrapbooks as amateur archives of personal histories that are created by people and groups often denied access to other mainstream sources of publication. While these considerations are important, including for Morgan's queer, Scottish scrapbooks, I assert that efforts to read scrapbooks beyond the biographies of either their creators or subjects must be

undertaken in order to more fully appreciate scrapbooks as texts. In analyzing the Morgan scrapbooks throughout this thesis, I have maintained a focus on Latourian practices of unfolding and what Rita Felski calls a “lateral reading across multiple texts” (741), which has enabled me to trace a wide range of mediators and mediating practices associated with the scrapbooks. For example, I have demonstrated the visual coding of the scrapbook pages, including both structural aspects, such as the impact of colour and clipping density on the gestalt of the page, and conceptual codes, such as their instigation of queer contacts. Additionally, I traced the archival and informational management capacities of the scrapbooks, including their role as interfaced databases that incorporate material excerpts of that to which they provide access, even as they re-mediate and re-shape these excerpts. I have also shown how Morgan’s specific scrapbook poetics, including his investment in nonlinear and queered temporalities, have a material afterlife that extends across his poetic *oeuvre* and shows the literary value of learning to read scrapbooks when interpreting other forms and genres. Underlying my approach, then, has been an adherence to a Latourian mode of morality, which approaches every mediator as an interconnected actant and works to acknowledge as many networked actants as possible, whether these are newspaper clippings, digital databases, or something else entirely.

The close readings that I performed on the Morgan scrapbooks also both inform and are informed by the digital prototypes that I built based on these texts. Rather than focusing on facsimile reproductions of these pages, the use of which would be complicated by due diligence and copyright requirements as made clear by projects such as *Digitizing the Edwin Morgan Scrapbooks*, I made a deliberate choice to focus on defamiliarized and deformed representations of the scrapbook data in order to offer new insights into the networks of media forms, topics, people,

places, and sources that the scrapbooks create and activate, as well as into the effects of the scrapbook pages as aesthetic provocations. The resulting three prototypical interfaces—the Colour Collage, Constellation, and Working from Scraps interfaces—and the data collected through my project’s eye-tracking experiments variously showcase the rich potentials of remediating and learning from scrapbook data in digital contexts. Approaching both the scrapbooks and my prototypes as texts therefore brings to light new layers of meaning and new actants to be considered. Nonetheless, my assessments of these prototypes also emphasize where they fall short and thus the ways in which a loss of the scrapbooks’ media-specific qualities and modes of display necessarily results in losses of meaning. As such, these prototypes reveal themselves to be productive “visualization sandcastles” (Hinrichs et al., “Sandcastles”) that open the scrapbook data to digital users, even as they raise questions, suggest new avenues of exploration, and increase appreciation for the Morgan scrapbooks as media-specific print mediators.

In looking forward to future directions for the Morgan scrapbooks, there are many exciting possibilities that have yet to be explored. In addition to the countless readings that could be performed on the scrapbooks through lenses such as the multiple languages, sources, artistic forms, and individuals that their clippings collect, there are multiple opportunities for further digital explorations of the scrapbooks suggested by my RtD processes. For example, my predominantly visual deformations of the scrapbook pages raises questions about how these digital explorations could be expanded through sonic or haptic technologies. Various auditory cues, including skeuomorphic clips, such as the sound of crinkling newspaper, and more general cues, such as humming or beeps with adjustable frequencies or speeds, could be incorporated into an interface for the scrapbooks and used to signal different clippings or media types to users. Haptic tools could be

introduced to explore what might be referred to as the topography of the page, that is, the various ridges, edges, and overlapping seams created by Morgan's layered pasting. When reading the Morgan scrapbooks, I have often found that my fingers alert me to some small clipping that is pasted onto a larger item and that my eyes have missed. In a remediated digital form, the shape of each pasted-in item could be outlined and represented through an interface that then allows users to explore these pages haptically using tools such as the prototypical haptic tabletop puck designed by Miguel Nacenta at the University of Calgary Interactions Lab. This handheld object functions in much the same way as a computer mouse, except that it also interprets textures, boundaries, and topographies through a vibrating pin that provides tactile feedback to the user's finger (UofCInteractionsLab1). Adding these additional interpretive dimensions offers new ways of appreciating the Morgan scrapbooks and their specific meaning-making structures, while also continuing to explore the logics of scrapbooks through their remediation into digital modes and increasing the accessibility of the Morgan scrapbook data for users with visual impairments.

My collaborative RtD processes also reveal some of the difficulties that scrapbooks like Morgan's present to automated modes of data extraction. While these difficulties encourage a "slow digitization" (Prescott and Hughes, para.5) approach to the scrapbooks, which I have argued allowed me to develop a greatly expanded appreciation of the scrapbooks and the labour that Morgan invested in their creation, further explorations are warranted into how computer vision and other assisted modes of extraction, identification, and classification can be used to increase the online discoverability of scrapbooks and their contents. With this goal in mind, Luke Bugler at the University of St Andrews dedicated his 2018 senior honours undergraduate thesis to the development of a prototypical tool that uses

computer vision techniques to detect and segment various clippings from the Morgan scrapbook pages (Bugler). While Bugler's tool remains prototypical at this point, the expansion of projects such as his represents a rich avenue of future exploration for the Morgan scrapbooks, as well as for other ephemeral artifacts.

While my thesis emphasizes the specific poetics of the Morgan scrapbooks and argues for the ways in which they communicate socio-technological, political, artistic, and literary narratives through their juxtaposed and myriad clippings, I have also shown that these scrapbooks are only one point in a constellation of many ephemeral archives that likewise demand careful engagements and unfoldings. Many other scrapbooks, albums, folios, folders, and various ephemeral media comprise points of access into (hi)stories that are currently suppressed and rendered largely invisible in archives around the world. I therefore conceive of this thesis as demonstrating the value of extended analyses of such ephemera and suggesting some of the ways in which the media specificities of the digital can be used to bring new attention and access to these archives. As such, my thesis exists as a point in a Latourian cycle of concern that can prompt new unfoldings of the many scrapbooks and similar texts that exist in networks adjacent to the Morgan scrapbooks and thus contribute to a continued effort to give voice to as many (hi)stories and actants as possible.



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