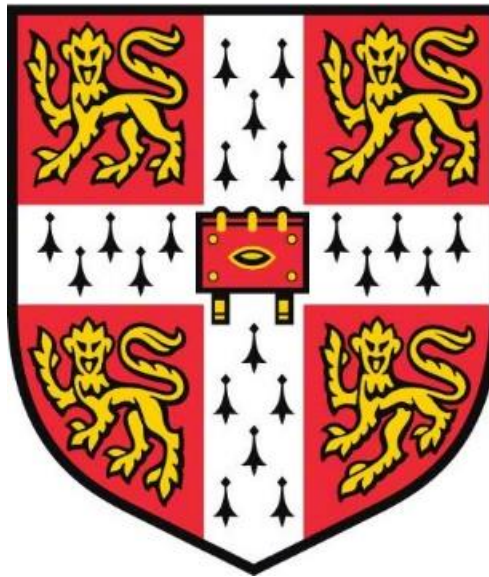


**Fragmentary Connections: Authorship,
Curation, and Absence in Polar
Scrapbooking, 1870-1920**

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Declaration:

I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work, and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration with others, except where clearly acknowledged within the text or in the frontmatter. It has not been submitted in whole or in part for a degree at this or any other University. This dissertation does not exceed the prescribed word limit of 20,000 words, excluding the cover page, acknowledgements, table of contents, footnotes, appendices, and list of references.

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I would like to express my thanks to the Cambridge Trust for their financial support, and for making this wonderful opportunity possible for me.

Finally, having spent a year exploring the experiences of loved ones who were divided by precarious and frightening circumstances, I would like to thank my own loved ones for their continued support, encouragement, and love. As much as I would love to, I cannot paste the hours of video calls and phone conversations into my own scrapbook, but the words of kindness, care, and reassurance shared within them are more precious to me than I can say.

Abstract:

This dissertation will explore two sets of family scrapbooks held in the Scott Polar Research Institute (SPRI)'s archives, examining them as historical sources in their own right, and subsequently for the alternative narratives and experiences of polar expeditions that they offer to our historic understandings of exploration. These are unusual, heterogenous, and relatively unexplored sources; curated from a variety of press clippings, letters, images, and expedition ephemera, these volumes were made to preserve a narrative of the explorer's life story, lived experiences, and movements by those that they left behind. I will examine these sources for the alternative perspectives of polar exploration that the family expressed through their collection, and to examine how these accounts shifted in the light of the explorer's death. Combining frameworks from the academic literature on scrapbooking with discussions from several other disciplines, I will take an interdisciplinary approach to these sources, reading them both for their ephemera, and as a whole narrative, as individual sources, and together as representations of polar scrapbooking, in order to explore these overlooked sources for all that they are, and all that they represent.

My research questions are anchored in the three themes that run throughout this dissertation. The first theme, authorship, is explored by asking whose voices are prominent or conspicuously absent within the sources in order to examine the combined effort and layers of narration that build up the scrapbook's overarching accounts. The second, curation, examines the material culture of the scrapbooks. Through examining the most common forms of ephemera in the scrapbooks, and how each scrapbooker ordered and captioned their collections, we can gain a sense of the scrapbook's purpose, and how this changed over time. The final theme, absence, explores the emotional histories of the scrapbooks, and how this influenced their changes in purpose. Originally curated to soothe familial anxieties during their loved one's precarious absences, I ask how the news of their deaths altered the sources' collections and purposes as their creator scrambled to preserve a cohesive memory of their loved ones.

My primary research has been impacted by the ongoing restrictions necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic. Although my scope was limited to two sets of scrapbooks, my sources have revealed a number of valuable conclusions when read together; and the sheer variety within the scrapbooks in the SPRI archives create an interesting scope for further study. The two sources in question are markedly different in format, with the six large scrapbooks detailing Lieutenant Wyatt Rawson's naval and exploratory career standing far larger in scope and scale than the single volume narrating the Antarctic experiences of Victor ('Vic') Hayward. These unique sets of sources offer valuable, alternative narratives of the experiences of polar exploration. I hope to show how these narratives can expand and enhance our understandings of historic polar exploration to account for the long-lasting impacts that these expeditions had on those that the explorers left behind.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The historical literature surrounding polar exploration between 1870 and 1920 has been heavily shaped by the continued revision and reworking of familiar narratives, accounts, and understandings of memorable expeditions. Names such as Scott, Amundsen, and Shackleton may not spark the same levels of public fervour as they did in their own time, yet their actions as 'heroic explorers' are still recognised within Britain's collective memory today. Familiar snippets such as Oates' "I'm just going outside and may be some time," or photographs of ships trapped in thick ice emphasise the continued separation of explorers and expeditions from the more familiar landscapes of their home nation.

Typical expedition narratives begin with the ship's departure from a familiar British-controlled port, and end with their safe return, framing the expedition exclusively in terms of the party and their actions. Despite the expressions of longing for home and loved ones that appear in each reprint of explorers' accounts, the family and domestic sphere remain curiously absent within polar literature. In modern accounts of these expeditions, some of the ship's members are granted a brief biography, mentioning his domestic circumstances and any children he may have had. Beyond this, however, the responses of those at home to their loved ones' exploration efforts are rarely, if ever, seen within the dominant narratives.

However, work is now being done to disrupt this focus, and to enhance our understandings of exploration accounts within this period. Adriana Craciun's work on the print culture and alternative narratives of polar exploration has been key to furthering this discussion. More broadly, works such as John MacKenzie's

Propaganda and Empire,¹ Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren's *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*,² and David Lambert and Adam Lester's *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire*³ have been key to contextualising the imperial mindsets within which these explorers lived and were celebrated. Claire Warrior's recent work on polar families and the role of explorers' descendants in shaping the memory of their relative's actions has been crucial to this effort, and also to this dissertation.⁴ In line with Warrior's discussion of how families work to remember their relatives through collections of relevant objects, both within the home, and within museum contexts, this dissertation explores how the immediate families of two explorers worked to sustain their connections with their absent loved ones, and to memorialise them after their deaths. Through the examination of two sets of scrapbooks held in the Scott Polar Research Institute's archives, I hope to locate the understandings, experiences, and emotional impacts that expeditions brought to the explorer's families, and thus to bring an alternative, unheard set of voices to the discussion of familiar exploration narratives.

Unlike the most familiar expedition accounts, these narratives were not curated in hindsight of the expedition's events; instead, they provide a unique perspective on the key events in each explorer's career as they unfolded, combining their loved one's narration of their first-hand experiences with information gleaned from other sources throughout his extended absence. These narratives are told through the

¹ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

² Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (eds.), *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

³ David Lambert and Adam Lester, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴ Claire Warrior, *Rekindling Histories: Families and British Polar Exploration*, (unpublished PhD, University of Cambridge, 2016).

eyes of those who were not personally involved in the expedition, yet were directly impacted by its outcome, and by the risk posed to their loved ones. Through the continued collection of ephemera, and its curation into a scrapbook format, we see family members taking care to preserve and narrate the significant events of their loved one's careers and lives, marking out his achievements, and creating a tangible sense of 'their' absent hero through scraps of press clippings, photographs, letters, and other collectible materials as a space to 'find' him both during his precarious absence, and following his death. These alternative narratives have rarely been heard and are often assumed to have been lost; however, the curation of these ephemera collections preserve the experiences of explorer's families told in their own terms, and bring a valuable new insight into how these groups mitigated and remembered their loved one. The stories of the two men at the heart of this study are told in the appendix.

1.2 Methodology

As this project has evolved, so have my research questions and methodology. A wide-ranging, interdisciplinary approach has been vital to creating a framework of research that can make the most of these sources for what they are, rather than interrogating them for what they are not. Most importantly, it has become apparent that these sources are not chronological recollections of a single polar expedition; nor were they intended to be. These are family documents that trace and memorialise emotionally charged moments throughout the explorer's absence. It is vital to approach these documents with sensitivity and patience to gain a sense of familiarity with the family's characters and circumstances. This in itself is something of a methodological challenge; as unique collections of ephemera, these sources are unpublished, and in the case of the Rawson scrapbooks, uncopied because the

archive does not have the rights to reproduce them.⁵ Without the possibility of digitisation, the extended closure of the archives in 2021 inevitably limited my direct access to the scrapbooks. I have, however, been fortunate to have been able to see every scrapbook at least once, and to have accessed contextual information such as census records to make the most of each source despite the limited time that I could spend with them. By anchoring my research in the three strands of authorship, curation, and absence, I shaped my research questions to allow myself to work through the scrapbooks rapidly whilst picking out vital information to build up a sense of the voices, ephemera, and intimate relationships shown within each volume, and across the scrapbooks as a whole. My research questions have been positioned to read these sources not only as the expedition narratives that brought them to the SPRI archives, but also as albums of an individual family's experience of their loved ones' careers and their family circumstances within the context of their historic, social, and cultural moments. They fall into four categories, as follows:

1. Whose voices are most prominent within the scrapbooks? Are any of those that we might have expected absent from the books? This allows us to examine the first theme of authorship, and the layered nature of the voices that help to build up the narratives and understandings within the source.
2. What is contained within the scrapbooks? What types of ephemera are most common within each volume, and do these trends extend across both sets of sources? Likewise, are there any pieces of ephemera that are unusual or surprising to find within a domestically sourced scrapbook? Do these trends continue throughout the scrapbook, appear only for a set period of time, or become disrupted?
3. Building upon the previous questions, are there any sudden shifts or changes

⁵ This is also the reason behind the lack of images throughout this dissertation.

within the scrapbook, its narrative, or its curation style? In particular, how is the collection altered by the news of each man's death, and by the scrapbooker's emotional response to their loss?

4. Finally, taking the sources together – where do the themes identified within the two sources overlap, and where do they differ? Despite the differences in family circumstances and historic or cultural moments between the two, are there any trends that we can read across the two to develop and further our understandings of the family's experiences of their loved one's absences in precarious places, and of polar exploration historiography more broadly?

With these questions in mind, I have worked through nearly 2500 pages of scrapbook material to untangle the domestic narratives and understandings of a loved one's actions, absences, and deaths in precarious and foreign circumstances. Curated for family use rather than for the researcher, they provide a powerful glimpse into loving relationships that were separated by ongoing expeditions and warfare, and the desperation for news of their wellbeing. However, they also show us how the scrapbooker altered their collection following their loved one's death to create an intimate space within which to process their grief and to provide the family with a memorial of the man they knew, rather than the 'heroic' portrayal of his character that the press had created. Although complex, these sources provide a valuable insight into a different side of the expedition experience, and these insights can bring fresh new voices and perspectives into our more familiar polar historiography.

2. Scrapbooking in Academia

The academic discussion on scrapbooking combines broad discussions taking place across a variety of academic fields such as material culture, book history, and archival studies with key ideas from other disciplines such as memory studies, historic geography, and relevant historiographies. In this literature review, I will introduce the current key literature on scrapbooks, and demonstrate how it speaks to the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach to scrapbooks as historic sources in their own right, as well as for their potential contributions to dominant historiography. Having discussed the key academic threads and ideas required to make the most of these sources, I will introduce the three themes at the heart of this dissertation to demonstrate how these components can be balanced in various ways to reveal more of the hidden histories held within these sources.

2.1 Developing an Interdisciplinary Field

Having emerged over the last few decades, the academic discussion on scrapbooks is currently conducted mainly through single chapters or articles from a diverse range of disciplines. In her 2018 literature review discussing ephemera collections, Jennifer Black describes these collections, and the scrapbook in particular, as an ‘outlier’ within her field of material studies;⁶ a descriptor that could easily be applied to their position within other disciplines, including literary histories, archive and museum studies, sociology, historic geography, family history, and memory studies. Black also highlights Ellen Gruber Garvey’s *Writing With Scissors*⁷

⁶ Jennifer M. Black, “Gender in the Academy: Recovering the Hidden Histories of Women’s Scholarship on Scrapbooks and Albums”, *Material Culture*, 50 (2), (2018), 38-52, p. 40.

⁷ Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

as a seminal work on scrapbooking, and as one of the rare examples of an extended study of scrapbooking as a culturally-motivated genre, rather than a single chapter, or a study focused on a single historical group or moment.⁸ Garvey's work engages with case studies from a broad range of historic periods and communities to explore the cultural shifts that led to the rise of scrapbooking in 19th Century America. From community-based scrapbooks that celebrated African American lives and achievements, to suffragettes' collections of press reports on their speeches, to press clipping collections made to process the explosion of news from the ongoing American Civil War, Garvey produces a wide-ranging assessment of the emergence, purposes, and processes of scrapbooking.

Garvey also raises the vital issue of how the scrapbook is altered once it is removed from its creator and placed into the hands of researchers or archivists. Whether this impact is shown in the loss of vital contextual information due to the lack of captions, or the more fundamental alteration of deconstructing the book for microfilming purposes, or to keep only the original material for the archive collection,⁹ these changes and processes must be acknowledged when working with scrapbooks. The loss of the creator's voice or influence on the scrapbook is a theme picked up by a variety of academics working on scrapbooks or similar sources due to powerful impact that their absence has on how the scrapbook is read. In her study of early 21st Century scrapbooking, Danille Elise Christensen remarks that some scrapbookers deliberately left out certain pieces of vital contextual information in order to prompt questions and the opportunity to retell the story to a new audience; a choice made under the assumption that they would be present whenever the book

⁸ Black, p. 46.

⁹ Garvey, p. 211-213.

was read.¹⁰ Without the creator present to explain their curation choices and the narratives that they were trying to tell, the researcher is unable to access vital, implicit, and irreplaceable information that inherently shaped the source – and this absence of voice must be acknowledged as a key part of the scrapbook’s narrative and history. Martha Langford usefully describes this as the sources in their present form being what is left after the removal of each source’s ‘oral scaffolding’.¹¹ Thus the conversation begun by Garvey, and extended by the ongoing, interdisciplinary discussions regarding the impacts of these sources’ transition from creator to archive, forms a vital thread that runs across the genre of scrapbooks and other ephemera collections.

This discussion of each source’s narrative journey from scattered ephemera to an individual’s collection, and this collection’s transition to the archives, also leads us to the issue of the sources’ temporality, and the wider issue of defining the boundaries of the scrapbooking genre as a whole. Scrapbooks, as Garvey argues, are not objective, chronological recordings of events, but a reflection of the creator’s own priorities, circumstances, and understandings throughout the scrapbook’s curation;¹² factors which did not necessarily remain static throughout the book’s creation. In their study of 19th Century New England’s ‘socio-literary culture’, Ronald and Mary Zboray describe a diary that shifted to become a ‘friendship album’ compiled of condolence letters and poems about grief and loss that had been sent to the creator

¹⁰ Danille Elise Christensen, “(Not) Going Public: Mediating Reception and Managing Visibility in Contemporary Scrapbook Performance”, in *Material Vernaculars: Objects, Images, and Their Social Worlds* (ed. Jason Baird Jackson), (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016) p. 53.

¹¹ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), p. 20-21.

¹² Garvey, p. 121.

following her partner's death.¹³ The changeable nature of these sources contributes to the difficulties of defining the scrapbooking genre. According to Zboray and Zboray, 'scrapbook' is frequently used as an umbrella term for a variety of sources within academic and archival spaces, despite these sources sharing characteristics with other genres such as albums, diaries, accounting ledgers, or commonplace books.¹⁴ The term, therefore, is used to encompass sources that cross various boundaries, ranging from the more arbitrary boundaries of archival or institutional categorisation, to the purposes that these sources served in its creator's daily life, such as accounting ledgers or logbooks¹⁵ which blurred the lines between the needs and priorities of the individual's professional and domestic spheres. Therefore, attempting to devise set criteria for the scrapbooking genre that allows for the wide variation between these sources is both somewhat unproductive, and rejects the fundamental nature of scrapbooks as sources shaped by the individual creator's access to relevant ephemera that could be curated to retell their own narratives of events.

This irregularity may appear to be an unnecessary challenge to the researcher when other, more familiar and accessible sources exist; yet scrapbooks provide a unique insight into the narratives and understandings of those whose voices are often overlooked or generalised within current historiography. As Adriana Craciun and Luisa Calè argue, these sources lie beyond the categories of institutionally defined disciplines; and therefore, they offer a valuable, alternative form of knowledge that

¹³ Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, "Is It a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit? Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives", *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 44 (1), (2009), p. 109-110.

¹⁴ Zboray and Zboray, p. 102.

¹⁵ For discussion of this side of logbooks, see Megan Barford, "Fugitive Hydrography: The Nautical Magazine and the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, c.1832-1850", *International Journal of Maritime History*, 27 (2), (2015).

can add to our current understandings of the past.¹⁶ The value of these sources lies in their irregularity, and the fresh insights that they can bring to familiar narratives, rather than in their ability to repeat the evidence and sources that underpin our current, dominant historiographies. This possibility has drawn a variety of historians to explore these sources for their insight a certain historic moment or culture. Works such as Susan Stabile's *Memory's Daughters*,¹⁷ and those by Garvey, and Zboray and Zboray provide a snapshot into the ephemera, cultures, communities, and collective memories of significant events during the scrapbooker's lifetime. The study of albums also overlaps with these studies, such as Felix Driver's exploration of the scientific travel albums made by John Linton Palmer,¹⁸ and Langford's study of orality and social history in the McCord Museum of Canadian History's collection of photo albums. These scholars bring a wide range of approaches and disciplines to the scrapbooks, yet all of them treat them as intriguing, fresh and valuable sources of insight into their period of study that can broaden or contradict the ideas that underpin the dominant historiographies.

These sources can also contribute to historical studies of the book or print cultures. Luisa Calè's work on 'extra-illustration', for example, examines the rebinding of books with additional clippings, pages, or images to explore how mass-printed texts were made unique to their owner,¹⁹ while Anke te Heesen identifies the scrapbook as a part of the rise of the newspaper clipping's popularity in the early 20th Century.²⁰

¹⁶ Luisa Calè and Adriana Craciun, "The Disorder of Things", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45 (1), (2011), 1-13, p. 1.

¹⁷ Susan Stabile, *Memory's Daughters: The Material Culture of Remembrance in Eighteenth-Century America*, (New York: Cornell University, 2004).

¹⁸ Felix Driver, "Material memories of travel: the albums of a Victorian naval surgeon", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 69 (2020).

¹⁹ Luisa Calè, "Extra-Illustration and Ephemera: Altered Books and the Alternative Forms of the Fugitive Page", *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 44 (2), (2020), p. 111.

²⁰ Anke te Heesen, *The Newspaper Clipping: a modern paper object*, trans. by Lori Lantz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 26-27.

Scrapbooks can offer alternative insights into a wide range of cultural moments, shifts, and practices; however, it is crucial to acknowledge the open, interdisciplinary approach taken to each source in order to reach these conclusions. The current academic discussion on scrapbooking as a genre provides a valuable basis to work from, but a deeper understanding of individual scrapbook sources, with all their irregularities, requires an approach built with a variety of other contextual components in mind.

2.2 Contextual Components

Expanding our scope beyond discussions of scrapbooks as a genre and cultural medium to include ideas from other disciplines develops our understandings of the source within all its contexts. Some of the issues addressed in the previous section, such as the impacts of the sources' temporality, and their transferral from a family context to the archives, can be accounted for more fully by reading scrapbooking literature alongside archive, material culture, authorship, and memory studies. This allows us to examine how the sources have been altered and imbued with new narrators or meanings during their transition from newspaper clippings to the scrapbook, and then to the archive catalogue where their value for research is defined by the institution's priorities. With this in mind as an example of the necessity of the wide-ranging contexts needed to create a full understanding of these changeable sources, I will now highlight two more contextual components that are particularly relevant to this study – the historic moment and its influence on the scrapbooking process; and the domestic sphere, and the scrapbook's place within it. Through this, I hope to explore a selection of the literature relevant to this study, and to show more broadly the value of taking an interdisciplinary approach that embraces

these factors throughout the study, rather than drawing on them only when they are explicitly relevant.

A thorough understanding of the cultural and historical moments and mindsets that these scrapbooks were created within is key to unpicking and understanding the narratives retold within them. The British imperial mindset maintained a powerful influence on both public and personal understandings during this period, as narratives of imperial expansion efforts abroad were retold and celebrated through extensive press coverage in the metropole; and, in turn, influenced how these events were understood within the domestic sphere. My two sets of sources are temporally close; however, developments in imperial expansion and warfare, national mindsets, and polar exploration created a significant cultural divide between the 1870s and 1914, which must be understood and accounted for from both a top-down and bottom-up point of view. The substantial volume of press clippings throughout both sets of scrapbooks speak to the significance of the late Victorian boom in printing technologies and culture; and particularly its power to bring national ideals of imperialism, heroism, and British superiority into the home. Scholars such as MacKenzie, Cubitt and Warren, and Lambert and Lester have demonstrated the multifaceted power and influence of imperial mindsets within this period, and acknowledge the role of national institutions such as the press in reinforcing and distributing these ideas to a wide range of audiences.

These powerful cultural ideas and frameworks are particularly relevant to this study due to their influence on national expectations and understandings of polar expeditions and explorers, especially as the archetypal figure of the 'heroic explorer'

became more familiar and profitable. Hester Blum²¹ and Janice Cavell²² have both examined the role of the press and print culture in constructing British understandings and narratives of polar exploration. The scrapbook takes this construction of understanding one step further, as it demonstrates how families of individual explorers interpreted and recontextualised these nationally distributed narratives to focus on 'their' explorer's actions. It is vital to acknowledge the ways in which these narratives were empowered and communicated to the public during this period, and how the individual scrapbooker recontextualised and rationalised them against their own knowledge of events as shaped through the lens of their loved ones. A further exploration of the developments in printing technologies, and their role in the creation of new national heroes, is found in Appendix 2.

This raises another crucial component of working with scrapbooks; that of familial circumstances and contexts, and their impact on how these more general, cultural ideas were interpreted within the domestic context of the scrapbook. Questions of class, age, gender, location, and employment inherently shaped each family member's perceptions of their loved ones' exploratory aims, and of the risks, hopes, and experiences that the polar regions could be expected to offer them; these perceptions and understandings underpin the scrapbook's narratives. Therefore, academic literature on the family and the home are a vital addition to the understandings that we have developed from the study of imperialistic ideas, press influence, and social histories in this period. Claire Warrior's work on polar families has been vital to bringing out key discussions regarding family connections built

²¹ Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

²² Janice Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

around and despite the explorer's absence,²³ a theme which is continued within this dissertation. Likewise, the works of Daniel Miller,²⁴ and Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling²⁵ have provided new insights into the geographies and material cultures of the home; a theme which is extended by Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey to explore the impact and irrevocable upheaval of a loved one's death upon the domestic sphere, and the ephemera contained within it.²⁶ These discussions all bring useful contextual insights to the unique narratives presented within the scrapbooks. When read together, these components create a fuller contextual understanding that enables us to take a more interdisciplinary approach to the scrapbooks as sources in themselves, rather than as potential sources of familiar material that adheres or adds to the dominant historiographies of polar exploration.

2.3 Three Themes

These frameworks and discussions were key to the selection of my three themes of authorship, curation, and absence, which I will use to explore the scrapbooks to their fullest in each of their forms through combining these contextual components in several ways. I will conclude this literature review by introducing these themes, placing them within their academic and cultural contexts, and highlighting any key discussions that surround them. These themes have been selected to make the most of the scrapbooks by examining each source in detail, before reading them alongside one another to gain a clearer insight into the narratives and emotional family histories that the scrapbooks were made to recount and preserve.

²³ Warrior, 2016.

²⁴ Daniel Miller (ed.), *Home Possessions: Material Culture behind closed doors* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

²⁵ Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

²⁶ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey (eds.), *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

The theme of authorship works to uncover the unheard voices and narratives found within the collected ephemera. These narratives encompass several perspectives, such as those expressed in the press, and those of the individual's social networks. Having 'gleaned' and clipped any new information regarding their loved one,²⁷ the scrapbooker could then preserve them in their collection alongside other ephemera from their daily life to create a more cohesive narrative of their loved one's lives. The collection therefore forms a multivocal narrative of each man; yet many of those voices have been anonymised by time and the transition into the archives. With no curator identified within the text, and many pieces of ephemera left unattributed, we must look to the contents and contexts of the scrapbook for answers. This theme speaks to the complexity of authorship within scrapbook sources, and the necessity of examining both the scrapbook's narratives, and the historical, social, and cultural influences that shaped the cohesive, multivocal account that we see today.

The theme of curation is closely linked with that of authorship and narrative, as the anonymised ephemera is collected and transformed from individual scraps into the scrapbooker's personalised narrative. This theme extends beyond the collection of snippets to the deliberate, intentional organisation of selected ephemera into a form that the scrapbooker valued. This theme requires an interdisciplinary approach to understand and contextualise each piece of ephemera in its own right, and for its position and purpose within the collection. While the two sets of sources share a number of forms of ephemera, such as newspaper clippings, family photographs, and letters, they are curated in unique ways which made the collections useful, legible, and meaningful to their creator. This theme draws upon ideas from material culture, print history, and memory studies to work with the dynamic nature of the

²⁷ Garvey, p. 47.

collection, and to read the ephemera both separately and together in order to gain a sense of the creator's priorities, understandings, and memories that shaped the scrapbook's narrative.

The final theme of absence explores the emotional histories revealed within the scrapbooks. This is a commonly identified theme across the scrapbooking genre, displaying the very human need to mitigate the anxieties caused by the precarious absence of a loved one in a dangerous situation. Ranging from the American Civil War as discussed by Garvey, the merchant navy as seen in Zboray and Zboray's work, and Driver's explorers, to absences that blurred these category boundaries, such as Rawson's extensive naval, military, and exploratory work, the scrapbooks reveal a shared experience of familial anxiety that cuts across a wide swathe of sociocultural contexts to reach individual families in their own unique circumstances. These sources granted the creator a space within which to locate and trace their loved ones throughout their absence in order to mitigate these anxieties; a factor which became even more poignant following their deaths. These sources provide us with a powerful and personal insight into the relationships between families and 'their' explorer, both during his lifetime and in the aftermath of his death. The ephemera collected juxtaposes the press narratives of lost loved ones with their own domestic ephemera and emotional responses to these significant events and losses, and thus highlights these overlooked, emotional, and intimate narratives into discussions of historic polar exploration.

Scrapbooks as a source are incredibly diverse in nature; yet their potential is enhanced by reading them in line with a wide variety of contexts, ranging from temporally relevant scrapbooks and other accounts of the events to a wide-ranging, interdisciplinary selection of academic discussions and literatures. The narratives,

absences, anxieties, and grief expressed and processed within these sources ring true across many nations, sources, conflicts, cultural shifts and familial circumstances. From the American Civil War to the Antarctic Barrier, long naval voyages to the Western Front, the process of maintaining and curating a scrapbook to maintain a tangible connection with absent loved ones transgress the usual boundaries of genre and historiography to reveal an alternative, emotional view of imperial endeavours in this period.

3. Finding a Voice: Authorship in the Scrapbook

The theme of authorship is prominent within academic fields such as book, manuscript, and literature studies; and the discussions surrounding Victorian and exploration narratives are no exception to this rule. The question of how the author's lived experiences, understandings, and socio-cultural contexts influenced the narratives that they created is vital to working with individuals' accounts of historical events. Craciun highlights the role of social groups in shaping the authorship of accounts, with social networks such as the workplace, the home, and public social spaces all contributing to and influencing the viewpoints and contexts that coloured an individual's narration.²⁸ The narratives retold within scrapbooks, however, present a significant challenge to the typical applications of authorship studies, due to the fact that they tend to be unattributed. Unlike journals, letters, or diaries, there is no singular, named author identified within the text, and therefore if the memory of the scrapbooker's identity has not been preserved alongside the scrapbook itself, this crucial information can easily become permanently lost. In this chapter, I will discuss the challenges and limitations of retracing and identifying individuals who may have contributed to the scrapbooks, before examining the contextual influences that the press, and the historic moment more broadly, had upon these sources. Finally, I will examine the layers of authorship preserved in the collection of ephemera generated by each explorer's social networks to show how the scrapbooker's collection aided their reconstruction of their loved one's lives by narrating moments that they did not witness, and extending the narrative beyond a single expedition or commission.

²⁸ Craciun, p. 5.

3.1 'Gleaning' authorship

The difficulties of tracing the provenance of these sources begins with the creator's assumption that they would be present to answer any questions raised by the scrapbooks when the collection was shared with new audiences. Without these casual oral structures and answers, the researcher must examine the ephemera itself for hints of their curator's identity, such as who might have had access to these domestic materials, and who might have wanted to preserve them. Addressed letters from the scrapbook's subject can provide a useful first step in this process; for example, many of Rawson's letters are addressed to "my dear father and mother"²⁹, with his siblings and wife as the other most frequent addressees. When these letters are held against other ephemera within the collection, such as a school prospectus, exam papers, photographs of Rawson as a child, and his birth certificate, it seems likely that this collection of scrapbooks was at least started by a parental figure.

This inference seems to make logical sense; however, it must be made cautiously, and with the acknowledgement that it will likely never be confirmed as fact. Langford warns of the powerful 'mirage' of identifying the scrapbooks' original or 'pure' meaning through archival research, as while these sources grant us access to intimate family papers, we can only ever read them as a retranslation of the creator's unwritten intentions and experiences through the lens of our own time.³⁰ A clear example of this issue is seen in my research into the possible creators of the Hayward scrapbook. While the two preserved letters from Vic himself were

²⁹ E.g., Letter from Wyatt Rawson to Christopher and Ellen Rawson, 10th September 1882, in *Family Records: Wyatt Rawson*, Vol 6, c.1866-1896, held in the Scott Polar Research Institute archives, Cambridge, MS 2106, p. 8.

³⁰ Langford, p. 19.

addressed to his mother,³¹ the other letters were either written by or in response to his father, Francis Checkley Hayward. These include several responses from Emily Shackleton, and later Ernest Shackleton, as well as a letter to his eldest son informing him of Stan's death at Ypres. The presence of these objects within the scrapbook would suggest that he was a primary creator; however, the final clippings within the volume date from December 1947 – and as Hayward Snr's death was recorded in 1933,³² it follows that the scrapbook cannot be his work alone. His wife, Mary Jane Hayward, died nine months later in 1934,³³ leaving Vic's eldest brother, Frank Charles Hayward as the only remaining addressee; and as he lived until 1949,³⁴ it is plausible that he may have been the one to complete the scrapbook. However, this suggestion raises as many questions as it answers. If Frank Hayward Jr was the one to complete the scrapbook, what state had he inherited it in? Has he altered any of the contents? Or was the scrapbook his work alone, and compiled using his father's records following his death? This is a typical example of how the mirage of a re-identified creator can be dispelled by the appearance of further, unanswerable questions. Without a named creator, however, we are forced to read the scrapbook's narratives not as an individual's understandings of events, but as a shared narrative experience that had echoes across the entire family. The scrapbook harnesses ephemera generated by several individuals in order to create an alternative, multivocal narrative that combines the lived experiences and localised

³¹ Letter from Victor Hayward to his mother, 24th November 1914, in *Scrapbook*, c. 1914-1947, held within the Scott Polar Research Institute archives, Cambridge, MS 2308), p. 53-57.

³² Francis C. Hayward entry, Godstone District Deaths, October-December 1933, vol. 2a, p. 329. Accessed on <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=7V9AOSDhH52o%2BR3rHB%2BReg&scan=1> on 17/05/21.

³³ Mary J. Hayward entry, Surrey S.E. District Deaths, July-September 1934, vol. 2a, p. 266. Accessed on <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=xQmjlYxRhFMAQfOAGU6ExQ&scan=1> on 17/05/21.

³⁴ Frank C. Hayward entry, Edmonton District Deaths, October-December 1949, vol. 5e, p. 355. Accessed on <https://www.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/information.pl?cite=Des4AAanzFobCaSLoYEdecQ&scan=1> on 17/05/21.

knowledge of individuals into an account that differs from the dominant narrative;³⁵ in this case, the scrapbooks grant us insight into the familial experience of polar exploration. Rather than being passive witnesses to events, or, as Warrior positions them, an assumed yet absent presence,³⁶ these sources show how two polar families took agency in shaping their understandings of their loved ones' movements and experiences, and expressed them through their collected clippings, ephemera, and memories within the scrapbooks. This multi-layered, alternative account of familiar historical events is valuable, and holds more potential for further research than the continuous hunt for concrete evidence of the curator's identity, or for additions to the more familiar histories of polar exploration.

3.2 Reclaiming 'Their' Hero

The extensive press coverage of significant events abroad superimposed the national narratives of British military and moral superiority onto particular events.³⁷ So-called 'heroic' exploration was not exempt from this – Felix Driver highlights the style of 'exploration by warfare' that was controversial in its own time, as explorers such as Henry Morton Stanley provoked bloody conflicts with indigenous communities during their expeditions, thus uniting his exploratory aims with a display of military superiority.³⁸ This speaks to the vital discussion of how the boundaries between military and exploration service could become blurred; and likewise, how the resulting constructions of heroism could be influenced and distorted by the close

³⁵ Sven Ouzman, "The Beauty of Letting Go: Fragmentary Museums and Archaeologies of Archive" in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Godsen, and Ruth Phillips (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), p. 289.

³⁶ Warrior, p. 18.

³⁷ For an exploration of the late Victorian boom in print culture, and its role in creating new national heroes, see Appendix 2.

³⁸ Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), p. 132.

alignment of these two powerful concepts. The subjects of these scrapbooks are no exception. Rawson's early career provides a clear example; his naval position on HMS *Active* led him to become part of the Ashanti expedition, and then to serve in the war that followed – thus his naval commission led him not only to exploration work, but also to participate in naval warfare as well as land-based conflicts. The boundaries of his chosen career became blurred by the needs of his commanders; and his capability to adapt to his circumstances saw him being celebrated as a hero more broadly, without pause to untangle the threads of service that had led to his fame.

These ideas of military and exploratory heroism are visible within the national narratives on polar exploration, both within the press and extended published accounts. Craciun highlights the Admiralty's influence in shaping public narratives of polar exploration,³⁹ which the institution maintained by seizing every expedition member's records, logbooks, and journals upon their return. I would argue that the scrapbook's 'author's' choice to include or omit these institutional narratives is telling. In line with Craciun's suggestion that 'hidden histories' can be harnessed to disrupt or enhance the dominant narratives,⁴⁰ we can use scrapbooks to trace the families' willingness or unwillingness to preserve press perspectives within their own narrative of the individual's life. Both creators opted to retain much of the press' portrayal of their loved one, including the framing narratives of heroism, gallantry, sacrifice, and Christian duty to the nation. However, these narratives did not fully represent the man that the scrapbooker knew, and were therefore recontextualised by placing

³⁹ Craciun, p. 23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

them alongside personal memories and domestic ephemera that only they had access to.

The news of Vic Hayward's death reached Britain in 1917, in a moment of total war; thus, despite never having served in a military setting, and with his death on the sea ice standing in stark contrast with those lost on the Western Front, his loss and legacy were framed within the context of the ongoing war. This is seen in the reports on the medals that Hayward was posthumously awarded; the Polar Medal, and the Albert Medal for "gallant conduct in saving and endeavouring to save life"⁴¹. A clipping from *The Children's Newspaper* brings the militarised reconstruction of Hayward's death to the forefront of its narrative. The report itself is broadly similar to the others, giving a brief summary of the expedition and naming the medal's recipients – however, one of the subtitles, "War-Time Heroes Who Did Not Know What was Happening"⁴² reframes the account and transports the explorers into the post-war context that dominated this historic and cultural moment. The presence of this clipping shows that the scrapbooker was at least unwilling to reject this retranslation of Hayward's actions into a military context. It is placed opposite a copy of the *Daily Sketch* report on the investiture,⁴³ with its photograph of Frank Hayward Snr receiving the medals on Vic's behalf. This juxtaposition forces us to read these clippings together as two parts of the same narrative: one with its focus on heroic ideals, and the other on the family's loss.

In a similar vein, the Rawson scrapbooks trace and acknowledge the heroic reconstruction of Wyatt's career after his death. The most telling example of this

⁴¹ Hayward, p. 62.

⁴² "March of Four Heroes", *The Children's Newspaper*, 21st July 1923, in Hayward, p. 30.

⁴³ Hayward, p. 31.

emerged several months after his death, when the press began to report his alleged dying words to General Wolseley – “General, did I lead them straight?” Reportedly taken from an oral account of the battle by a Mr Godsen, this line first appeared in the *Army and Navy Gazette* on 27th January, followed by *The Times* and *The World* on 31st January, and *The Naval Gazette* on 3rd March; all of which are preserved within the scrapbook.⁴⁴ This demonstrates how the press continued to repeat, recontextualise, and celebrate Rawson’s life and ‘heroic’ sacrifice for public consumption. This, in turn, furthered the account’s reach, as the quote later appeared in church sermons, two of which are preserved within the scrapbook.⁴⁵ Here we can see the process of creating a new national hero in motion, with press coverage first making Rawson a recognisable figure, then into a heroic one, before being selected as a praiseworthy example of Christian duty by members of the clergy. Cubitt describes this process in terms of reconstruction, as instead of simply being honoured, the new hero’s life narrative was reshaped into one that held a collective, emotional meaning for the public.⁴⁶ The Rawson scrapbooker did not reject these evolving narratives and continued to collect them as they evolved within the press. However, their focus, as demonstrated by their continued curation and handwriting, remained on preserving as much personal material as possible, and therefore domestic ephemera, such as letters or official communications, were also copied out or placed into labelled envelopes.

In both sets of sources, we see the scrapbooker’s willingness to collect these flattering, if embellished, news reports, for their direct mentions of the explorer’s life and legacy. However, these reports are given a new dimension by their placements

⁴⁴ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 266.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283, 287.

⁴⁶ Cubitt and Warren, p. 3.

alongside family ephemera that provided a sense of each explorer's familial relationships and character in a way that public accounts could not. Whether this is seen in Rawson's complaints that he was "frightful in French" during his lieutenant's exams,⁴⁷ or Hayward's concern that he was getting "awfully fat" while waiting to depart for Antarctica,⁴⁸ we can see the authentic explorer, perceived flaws and all, through the lens of those who knew him best.

3.3 Layers of Translation

The deliberate recontextualising of press accounts through the use of familial ephemera is part of a broader discussion on the varied layers of authorship. The scrapbooker created a web of voices that provides a sense of the networks that their loved one had been a part of, and preserves these networks as a part of his life narrative. In this section, I will explore the layered authorship created within the scrapbooks, and how placing these voices in context of one another allows them to be translated from their original purpose, and into the wider scrapbook narrative.

Stabile presents a useful model of 'memory' versus 'collective reminiscence.'⁴⁹ The press employed the latter in order to create an emotional public impression of and response to absent explorer; yet these accounts could not invoke the lived memories that the explorer's social networks remembered him by. The family could have some influence on the translation process within their own sphere, yet the public memory of 'their' explorer's legacy was largely out of their control. The scrapbooks therefore provide us with their curator's alternative translation of their loved one's life story.

⁴⁷ Wyatt Rawson to his parents, 9th September 1873, Vol. 1, p. 40.

⁴⁸ Vic Hayward to his mother, 21st December 1914, p. 59-61.

⁴⁹ Stabile, p. 14.

This multivocal narrative blurs the boundaries between the public and the personal. We hear the reporter's voice in the press clippings, and the family's through their collection of photographs, letters and other intensely personal ephemera, such as the lock of Rawson's hair in the sixth scrapbook.⁵⁰ There are a number of more fleeting layers of authorship in-between, which can provide a sense of the extensive social and official networks that each explorer moved through. The roles of these networks within the lives of individuals are often overlooked yet bring valuable perspectives to this narrative.

These networks are visible in the collection of various social invitations; ranging from dance cards, exhibition flyers, and programmes for plays and concerts to dinner invitations, place cards, and menus, some form of this social ephemera appears in some kind in each of the six scrapbooks. These objects trace Rawson's movements across a variety of venues, from ships' balls in the first and fifth scrapbooks, to celebratory banquets in the first and fourth, to RGS dinners in the second volume, and expedition-based play bills in the third and fourth. This ephemera shows Rawson's social networks that built upon, yet extended beyond, his professional and familial connections, and thus grants us a glimpse into the networks that were not preserved within press reports, crew lists, or family trees, nor in the scrapbooker's first-hand memory. The curator's choice to collect these materials acknowledges that their presence can extend the scrapbook's narrative beyond their own memories, and ensures that these events and connections are preserved as a part of their loved one's lived experiences away from home.

⁵⁰ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 176.

The other key voice that appears alongside the press and the domestic sphere within both scrapbooks is that of institutional officials from the military or expedition offices. Rather than being part of each man's personal social network, these official telegrams and letters provided authoritative information to the families – whether this was good news, such as the telegrams and memorandums from the naval authorities informing his family of his special promotion to Commander;⁵¹ or official notifications of each man's death from the local authorities. These authorities vary across and within the scrapbooks – for Rawson, news of his deterioration and subsequent death came from a variety of institutions, including the Admiralty,⁵² the Secretary of Transport,⁵³ and even from Queen Victoria, who had been informed of Rawson's death due to his previous position on the Royal Yacht.⁵⁴ The various institutional structures of military, government, and royalty are clearly visible in this case, and add another official, yet personalised, perspective to the heavy press coverage of Rawson's death.

The cases of the two Hayward brothers reveal how social networks were sometimes forced to be the voice relaying bad news when institutional channels became overwhelmed. Despite having died within a month of one another, the difficulty of transmitting news home from the Antarctic meant that the family were informed of Vic's death almost a year after the fact. Unlike in Rawson's case, the deaths of both sons were known long before the official confirmation arrived. The news of Vic's death in the Antarctic had been published in the papers on the 6th February 1917; and despite the Australian High Commissioner having written when the news

⁵¹ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 39-42.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 160

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

reached him on 5th February, his letter reached the family on 22nd and could only confirm what they already knew. The delivery of the news of Stan's death at Ypres also showed the ongoing strain on these institutions, as the news took six weeks to be officially confirmed,⁵⁵ long after the family received a letter from a comrade.⁵⁶

This confused and scrambled transmission of the news shows a stark difference between the two historic moments and institutions that these scrapbooks relied upon. Despite the rapid technological developments between 1882 and 1916, the sharp increase in casualties during the Great War, and the shift away from heroic celebration in the national press meant that individual families were less likely to be informed swiftly either by the authorities or published casualty lists in the papers. Therefore, while the authorities and press reports had been a key part in informing the families and friends of Vic Hayward and Rawson of their deaths, the authorship of Stan's death is shaped by starkly different components that placed the onus on his comrade to report his death, and then upon his family to pass this on to the rest of his social network. This demonstrates how vital these social networks were to conveying important information, certainty or closure to anxious or grieving families when the institutions were overwhelmed. In Rawson's case, these networks were powerful enough to deliver the news swiftly, and before the press announcements reached the family; for the Haywards however, this was made impossible by the distance that the news needed to travel, and the burden of other news that was deemed vital to report during this time. This gives us a sense of the variety of authors involved in narrating each man's story – through a combination of news reports, authority figures, institutional offices, and social connections, the news that

⁵⁵ Minister of Militia and Defence, Ottawa, to Frank C. Hayward, July 5th, 1916, in Hayward, p. 75; "Certificate of Death", Pay and Record Office to Frank C. Hayward, 21st July 1916, in Hayward, p. 76.

⁵⁶ Lieutenant W. G. Hamilton to Frank C. Hayward, 23rd June 1916, in Hayward, p. 72-74.

each man couldn't communicate for himself was transmitted throughout his social network from a variety of perspectives; and when collated together into the scrapbook, these strands of narrative are combined to demonstrate the impact of the end of each individual's life across their social network.

These sources do not lend themselves to a typical examination of authorship. Rather than presenting a chronological and accessible narrative of expedition or wartime events, the scrapbooks instead present something akin to what Blunt and Dowling define as 'life stories' – the study of individuals through their own words and experiences.⁵⁷ In this case, we see the words of both the individual and their broader networks, whether professional, familial, or social, used to narrate and commemorate the life that he led, as collated by an individual at the heart of his familial network. This style of authorship extends the historical study of each individual beyond the restriction of a single part of his life; rather than focusing on their exploratory or military service, their perception and legacy within the press, or his relationships with those at home, this layered authorship allows us to examine his life in the contexts of all of these networks in one, detailed narrative. No matter how little material may have been preserved from some networks, the scrapbook houses and provides evidence of his involvement with each through carefully collected snippets of information. In the absence of the man himself to tell his own story or mark out his priorities for himself, the creator instead collected as much of his life story as possible, and incorporated as many voices from his social networks as they could, into a tangible, cohesive narrative that could preserve a sense of his character

⁵⁷ Blunt and Dowling, p. 33.

and lifetime, even when the original contexts, creators, and oral structures have all passed away.

4. Taking Shape: Curating the Scrapbook

The discussion of the layered authorship that underpins scrapbook narratives is a vital one – however, in order to discuss this fully we must also examine the ephemera that these narratives are built upon. These are dynamic, changeable collections that were deliberately ordered within a particular historical moment to suit the families’ needs. Through the intentional process of curating and captioning their collections, the family could translate mass produced media into a format that held personal memories; or in te Heesen’s words, preserving transient clippings by creating a ‘paper persona’ that memorialized the individual and his actions.⁵⁸ On their own, these scraps could have remained just that – however, as Garvey argues, by collecting and collating these snippets, the creator showed faith in their future usefulness;⁵⁹ and therefore collected and curated⁵⁹ them into something ‘more’ than scraps that could hold both a cohesive narrative of events, and difficult emotional memories that were hard to express in words. In this chapter, I will discuss the variety of materials held within these scrapbooks, beginning with the most frequently found objects, and then shifting to the more unusual ephemera found within the Rawson scrapbooks. I argue that this grants us a useful insight into the potential motivations and purposes that the scrapbooks represented for each family, and also forces us to treat them as unique and individual sources in their own right, rather than as representations of a genre.

⁵⁸ Te Heesen, p. 239.

⁵⁹ Garvey, p. 8.

4.1: Foundational Ephemera

The scrapbook genre encompasses a huge variety of collections, curation methods, and ephemeral forms, some of which are more commonly found within the genre than others. The Rawson scrapbooks are a useful example of how a collection built from the typical scrapbooking materials of clippings, photographs, and letters can be expanded far beyond these boundaries by the unique nature of an individual's lived experiences, and the scrapbooker's continued collection of the ephemera generated by these experiences.

The newspaper clipping is one of the most common forms of ephemera within the scrapbooking genre. These clippings, carefully selected from the mass produced newspapers, dominate not only the Hayward and Rawson scrapbooks, but also other scrapbooks held in the SPRI archives, including those curated by Mrs Scott⁶⁰ and Mrs Ferrar⁶¹ during the Discovery expedition (1901-1904), and by T.M. Bruce following the death of William Speirs Bruce in 1921.⁶² These scrapbooks span a variety of expeditions and cultural shifts, yet they are all the result of an explorer's family member selecting sections of mass publications that they felt were important or relevant, and curating these clippings in order to expand their understanding and narrative of events.⁶³ These reports form the narrative backbone of each scrapbook; and as Te Heesen argues, present us with a precise, unparalleled snapshot of how significant historic moments unfolded within the press.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Hannah Scott, *Discovery Expedition 1901-04, Press Cuttings*, held at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, MS1961/1.

⁶¹ Mrs. H.T. Ferrar, *Discovery Expedition 1901-04, Press Cuttings*, held at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, MS1961/2.

⁶² T.M. Bruce, *Scrapbook: W. S. Bruce*, c.1921-1954, held at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge, MS 1892/1.

⁶³ Te Heesen, p. 253.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

The scrapbooks both draw from a wide variety of papers. Some of the key national papers, such as the *Times*, the *Daily Express*, and the *Evening News* are present in both sources, and appear often when fresh or significant news of expeditions or military engagements broke in Britain. These periods tend to generate the greatest volume of material for the scrapbooks. Several other papers were also clipped and preserved within the scrapbooks, as the families turned to smaller, more localised newspapers for new information on their loved one's actions or wellbeing. The Hayward scrapbook often draws on the local *Willesden Chronicle*, which provided accounts of the *Endurance* expedition's progress with a particular focus on Vic as a known figure in the local community, and that sometimes contained extra childhood anecdotes, excerpts from letters, and contextual information about the rest of the family.⁶⁵ The Rawson scrapbooks drew from a wide variety of papers in order to trace crew members that Wyatt had served with. Ranging from reports on the deaths of past comrades⁶⁶ to brief accounts of the Nares expedition in the *Leeds Mercury* and *The Hour* during the wait for news in the winter of 1874-1875,⁶⁷ these clippings demonstrate the broad range of events that the scrapbooker selected to preserve as a part of their loved one's life story, and the results of their ongoing search for relevant material beyond the most common and accessible national papers to make the most of the booming press market.

Both Garvey and te Heesen argue that this boom in the printing industry made it more desirable to clip and collect newspaper snippets. Garvey argues that the opportunity to collect clippings without having to copy them out by hand enabled

⁶⁵ Hayward, p.1.

⁶⁶ E.g., *Carnarvon and Newhigh Herald* reports, Rawson, Vol. 3., p.16.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180-181.

scrapbookers to preserve larger quantities of news.⁶⁸ Te Heesen also picks up on this, as well as highlighting the improved quality and increased quantity of illustrations, photographs, and images used in these papers for their extra appeal to scrapbookers.⁶⁹ This development is particularly prominent in the Rawson scrapbooks. Each scrapbook contains at least one illustrated supplement to reports from *The Graphic* or *The Illustrated London News*, which are carefully preserved in their entirety. Sometimes these were interspersed with letters from the same period, as seen in the twenty-two page section taken from the *Illustrated London News* in the first two weeks of March 1878, and pasted into the fifth volume.⁷⁰ These illustrations were small enough that two could fit onto a page, or for letters to be placed next to them, including one from Rawson to his father,⁷¹ and one to his brother,⁷² demonstrating once again how the curator enhanced and recontextualised national narratives by placing them in such close proximity with personal accounts and ephemera.

However, while plenty of clippings books exist within the archives at SPRI, my sources do not fit into this category, as the collected ephemera ranges beyond the materials made available by the press to incorporate objects that were only available to the family. Photographs played a large part of this, with each Rawson scrapbook beginning with several pages of family portraits, and photographs of both Vic and Stan Hayward scattered throughout their scrapbook. This is not to say that images of the men published in the press were not also collected into the scrapbook; but, as Langford argues, the family photograph's role in these collections was shaped by the

⁶⁸ Garvey, p. 91.

⁶⁹ Te Heesen, p. 7.

⁷⁰ Rawson, Vol. 5, p. 3-25.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

emotions and memories from when they were taken, which inherently increases their value to the scrapbooker as a memento over those published from an outside source.⁷³ Published images were curated and refocused onto the scrapbook's focus – for example, the three copies of a postcard depicting the 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada on Salisbury Plain are marked up with a line that picks Stan Hayward out from the crowd. One is pasted in place alongside other photos of him, with captions detailing his name, where the photograph was taken, who was in it, and that Stan had been “Killed in Action (France), 13th June 1916.”⁷⁴ The other two copies are loose; one picks him out as “Stan”, while the other was once pasted face down to show the inscription on the other side, which lists his full name, battalion, regiment, and cause of death. These publicly produced images are therefore repurposed to memorialise a single lost family member, rather than the actions of whole battalions, writing their own family narratives of loss on top of those that were perpetuated by the producers. By juxtaposing these published images with those taken by or with the family, the scrapbooker carefully preserved every image they could find of their lost loved ones, and thus enhanced the scrapbook's memorialising power by imbuing images produced for a general audience with domestic, intimate family memories of the man they knew onto the image presented and published to the public.

However, while photographs granted the family a snapshot of their memories with their absent loved ones, letters allowed them to gain a sense of their actions and wellbeing during their absence. *Warrior* highlights the importance of letter-writing in tracing the expedition's movements, and sustaining close relationships during the explorer's absence. Unlike journals or reports, the explorer's letters were not seized

⁷³ Langford, p. 61.

⁷⁴ Hayward, *Scrapbook*, p. 66.

by the Admiralty upon his return, allowing for a more intimate and familiar tone to be used within these private communications.⁷⁵ Both the Hayward and Rawson scrapbooks contain letters from the periods surrounding the expeditions, and the Rawson scrapbook in particular provides a useful insight to how these lines of communication could break down during polar expeditions. For example, there is a relative absence of letters between the family in the second half of the third volume, following the expedition's departure from Disko Bay. However, this was not due to a lack of letters being written – there are clippings of instructions of which ships could carry letters to the expedition within the scrapbook⁷⁶ – but rather that the letters did not reach the expedition. This grants us unusual insight into the fragility of communications during these expeditions.

In Rawson's case, in the absence of a response, the family were unaware that their only thread of communication with Wyatt had become severed until a response from Wyatt to his father informed them that the expedition had not received any letters from the ship in question, and thus assumed them lost.⁷⁷ However, in the aftermath of his safe return, the discussion of what happened to these letters drops out of the scrapbook until the final volume; and, poignantly, until Rawson's final letter home. This letter is pasted opposite a selection of Christmas and New Year's cards, which, as Wyatt writes, had eventually reached him in October 1882 after they had been retrieved from their cache in the Arctic.⁷⁸ This situation shows the family's dedicated attempts to communicate across great distances and extended absences, and the ongoing value placed upon the letters, even when they were read under

⁷⁵ Warrior, p. 58.

⁷⁶ Rawson, Vol. 3, p. 190-191.

⁷⁷ Wyatt Rawson to Christopher Rawson, 16th October 1876, in Rawson, Vol. 3, p. 209.

⁷⁸ Communications between Christopher and Wyatt Rawson, in Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 7-8.

circumstances that had removed them from their intended or original contexts. In this case, the letters were six years late, and reached their recipient in Egypt rather than the Arctic.

These three forms of ephemera work together to build a strong foundation for the scrapbooks' narratives and memorialisation. The Rawson collection, however, ranges far beyond these typical forms of scrapbook ephemera; and this variety is an intriguing addition to explore when working with them as a source. It is important to acknowledge that this diversity results in part from two interlinking factors; while the ephemera in this collection is greater in both variety and volume, the scrapbooker was also actively collecting material for a greater period of Rawson's life, thus allowing more time for ephemera to have been generated and collected within.

Unlike the Hayward scrapbook, these volumes do not begin at the point of departure for an expedition, but rather span Rawson's whole career, beginning with his arrival in England as a naval cadet, and ending with letters written by his children to their grandparents. This collection therefore accounts for a greater range of lived experiences and contains ephemera that each of these life stages generated. These vary from Rawson's exam papers,⁷⁹ to ferns from the Ashanti War⁸⁰ and Arctic mosses,⁸¹ menus from his honeymoon in the fifth volume,⁸² and his campaign medals, which are combined with some of his father's in the first.⁸³ The sheer variety of objects collected shows how temporary ephemera became valuable to the collector due to its biographical connection with their loved one. In many households, this ephemera would either have been discarded or become lost over time once it

⁷⁹ Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 17.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 117.

⁸¹ Rawson, Vol. 4, p. 178.

⁸² Rawson, Vol. 5, p. 191.

⁸³ Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 23.

was no longer useful to the family; however, in the absence of a loved one, these snippets appeared more valuable for their ability to invoke the memories and connections at the heart of their narratives of Rawson's life. Here we see how material cultures could play a part in continually reshaping relationships between family members, and between them and their objects within a domestic context; a theme highlighted by Daniel Miller in his study of the material cultures of the home.⁸⁴

This is seen not only in the collected ephemera, but also in the books that these collections were held in. The Rawson scrapbooks consist of large volumes, approximately 400 pages in length, with Wyatt's name handwritten on the leather cover, and embossed along the spine of each volume. The scrapbooker clearly placed great value on the scrapbooks, both in their completed form, and also for the reassuring process of curating them, to the extent that he apparently gifted blank volumes to others. A letter from the father of one of Rawson's comrades on the Nares expedition thanked Christopher Rawson for "the magnificent volume for my boys' memorabilia";⁸⁵ presumably, this volume was similar to those that housed Rawson's collection, and thus this act speaks to the value of the scrapbook in the creator's daily life. After twelve years of careful curation, the scrapbooker was clearly committed to his own collection, and the gifting of a similar volume to the father of another explorer suggests that he hoped that the act of tracing the expedition through ephemera could bring the same sense of reassurance and meaning to its recipient during a time of mutual concern for their absent sons' safety.

These purpose-made volumes are indicative of the Rawson scrapbooker's deliberate choice to collect and curate ephemera related to Wyatt's movements and career.

⁸⁴ Daniel Miller, (ed.), *Home Possessions: Material Culture behind closed doors* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 9.

⁸⁵ Rev. Charles R. Conybere to Christopher Rawson, 24th June 1875, in Vol. 3, p. 71.

They stand in stark contrast with the upside-down figuring book that houses the Hayward scrapbook, and its somewhat abrupt starting point of the two brothers' near-simultaneous departures for foreign and precarious settings. The anticipated duration of the two different collections shaped the types of ephemera that were available to and selected by the collector, as did the contexts of the moment that each snippet entered the collection, and the purposes that the scrapbooks were created to fulfil. By selecting and recontextualising each snippet, the scrapbooker translated the collection through their own lens in order to create and curate a narrative order that was most legible, useful, and timely for their own needs and purposes.

4.2 – Chronology and Ordering

Unlike typical historical sources, the collective nature of scrapbooks does not lend them to an objective account formed in hindsight, or indeed to chronology. Despite the creator's best attempts to create a cohesive narrative of events through the use of newspaper clippings, this narrative becomes disordered by the disruptive, inconsistent arrival of information and ephemera.⁸⁶ Garvey argues that the researcher can read these sources in a both in a non-chronological and a chronological order; but that regardless of this, the central focus of the narrative is the creator's attempt to relive and preserve the events which were most important to them.⁸⁷ The combination of this with the lack of an anticipated or intended endpoint for the scrapbook hampered the creator's ability to create an intentionally ordered, chronological collection.⁸⁸ However, whilst acknowledging these factors, we must

⁸⁶ Zboray and Zboray, p. 115.

⁸⁷ Garvey, p. 98.

⁸⁸ Te Heesen, p. 27.

also account for the creator's attempts to counteract them through curation choices, or any alterations that have been made in hindsight of significant events in order to shape the narratives that they hoped to preserve. The two sets of sources display their own distinctive intentions within their methods of curation and ordering of the ephemera, as well as the different ways that the scrapbook's narratives were shaken or disrupted by the sudden deaths of their loved ones, and the ensuing shift of purpose from tracing lives in action to memorializing the lost.

Each scrapbooker ordered their collections in distinctive ways; the Hayward scrapbooker mostly organised their ephemera by type, while the Rawson scrapbooker attempted to maintain a chronological order throughout the scrapbooks, despite the colossal amounts of ephemera in the collections. Neither of these curation styles are absolutes across the volume, but they offer an interesting dichotomy to work with. For the most part, the Hayward scrapbook moves from clippings, to letters, to material from the Great War, and ends with reports regarding the loss of Vic Hayward and Captain Mackintosh in 1916. This is indicative of a scrapbook made with at least some sense of hindsight, rather than being assembled in the moment. However, a number of small clippings escape the first section, such as that one report immediately following the Great War material on the funeral of a family member following an military air accident,⁸⁹ or the repeated clipping from the investiture of Vic's Albert Medal after his final letters home.⁹⁰ This demonstrates that this curation system was not absolute, but rather an attempt to separate out the individuals in the scrapbook to ensure that their narratives could stand alone, rather than becoming jumbled with one another.

⁸⁹ Hayward, p. 80.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

This was not an issue for the Rawson scrapbooker; with only one life story to narrate, they therefore attempted to maintain a sense of chronology. However, the sheer amount of ephemera generated by significant events within Rawson's career caused the scrapbooks to become somewhat overcrowded, making it more difficult to maintain a chronological order. For example, the fourth scrapbook opens with clippings regarding the return of the Nares expedition. The return was first marked in the third scrapbook, filling the final thirty pages with press accounts and telegraphs; likewise, the first eighty pages of the fourth volume are taken up with press reports and a number of dinner invitations and menus. The letters congratulating Wyatt on his return from family, friends, comrades, and his new fiancée only appear after this section is complete, despite having arrived at various points during the two months narrated by these press clippings. The letters are collected into pages containing nothing but letters in groups of between ten and twenty, instead of being pasted in as they arrived. This may have been an entirely practical choice, as the creator collected such large sections of newspaper that the clippings filled each page completely, and thus the leftover letters were gathered together at the first possible opportunity. Alternatively, this prioritisation of clippings over letters may be indicative of the creator attempting to ensure that he had preserved a clear narrative of the expedition and the controversies that followed it through the clippings,⁹¹ before the letters added more voices into the fray. Either option, however, speaks to the overwhelming amount of ephemera that was generated or sent to the scrapbooker in this period, especially considering the months of silence that had preceded it.

⁹¹ Clare Pettit, "Exploration in Print: From the Miscellany to the Newspaper" in *Reinterpreting Exploration: The West in the World*, ed. Dane Kennedy, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 82-83.

These deliberate, yet different, styles of curation echo Garvey's description of the scrapbooker curating their collection in order to lead their reader to the narrative or understanding that they hoped to retell.⁹² However, the nature of these collections makes them inherently vulnerable to cracks appearing in the consistent, cohesive narratives that the scrapbooker worked hard to create, and even more so during the most fast-moving or emotionally challenging moments or events. Some of these cracks were simply caused by the time that ephemera took to reach the scrapbooker, such as Rawson's certificates and notifications of promotions or appointments that often appear a few months after they came into effect due to the time it took for their intended recipient to send them home for the scrapbook collection.

Both scrapbooks also contain a number of loose objects that, unlike the others, do not appear to have been pasted in at any point. The Hayward scrapbook's final communications, requesting copies of the Antarctic epitaph to Hayward and his companions in 1947, are tucked into the scrapbook following the other news clippings in an attempt to keep similar materials together.⁹³ The telegraphs from both Ernest and Emily Shackleton, expressing their sympathies at the news of Vic's death, are also loosely tucked into the letters from their senders, thus preserving these brief messages alongside their more extensive forms.⁹⁴ Both sets of scrapbooks also hold loose objects in their covers – in the Hayward scrapbook this is the set of reports written by his comrades about the search for the two missing men after they vanished on the sea ice;⁹⁵ likewise, Rawson's lieutenant's certificates are

⁹² Garvey, p. 207.

⁹³ Hayward, p. 33.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43-47.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82-103.

loosely stacked and pinned into the back pages of the final volume. These materials became difficult to place within the scrapbook narrative in the aftermath of each man's death, as the life narratives that the scrapbooker had expected to narrate were abruptly ended. Therefore, unlike the other loose materials, these materials are left outside the scrapbook's narrative as their presence spoke to the unknown possibilities that had been lost with each man; the certificates spoke to a career cut short after a number of improbable recoveries, and the reports did not return any certainty or comfort in the aftermath of Hayward's disappearance. In the light of their loved ones' deaths, according to Hallam and Hockey, these pieces of ephemera were given new meanings and contexts,⁹⁶ as the scrapbookers held onto these material objects to fill the absence that their loved ones had left behind as a way to recall their relationships and treasured shared experiences.⁹⁷

These loose objects show how the creators' narratives and curation systems were profoundly disrupted in the aftermath of their loss, leaving them simultaneously unable to place these remaining objects and searching for something to fill their absence rather than leaving the blank pages to speak only of their loss. For the Haywards, this led to a continued search for answers through the collection and constant reviewing of the expedition reports. The Rawson scrapbook, on the other hand, refocused onto the family more broadly, collecting letters from Wyatt's widow and his daughters,⁹⁸ as well as advertisements for concerts that she organised,⁹⁹ and ending the scrapbook with photos and letters of condolence following the death of Wyatt's mother in September 1894.¹⁰⁰ This type of refocusing was not unusual

⁹⁶ Hallam and Hockey, p. 13.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁸ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 340-346.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 325-326.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 349-350.

following a tragedy; Zboray and Zboray cite a similar case of a woman's diary that became a 'friendship album' after her partner fell ill and died at sea.¹⁰¹ This transition occurred as her familiar but anxious wait for news of his safety or potential return was abruptly ended, and replaced with unexpected grief, and as her social network rallied to support her with the letters and clippings found in this album. By continuing to collect following the death of each individual, the creator of each scrapbook attempted to somewhat fill the absence their loved one had left behind, and to continue his life narrative in some form. These responses are again indicative of the roles and motivations that the scrapbooks played within each family, with the Rawson volumes creating a picture of the family more broadly, and the Hayward scrapbook attempting to process their grief and find closure after the sudden deaths of the two youngest brothers shocked the family. These motivations, emotions, and disruptive losses are visible in the curator's attempts to continue their narratives despite the profound grief that these events caused, as the families searched for a way to cope with the fact that the familial life stories that they had expected to share had been suddenly and abruptly brought to an end.

4.3 – In the Margins

The ordering and recontextualizing of ephemera, and the telling absences and disruptions found within these systems, give useful insights into the creator's understandings of the material available to them, and how they translated this into their own narratives. However, the appearance of marginalia in these sources takes this a step further as each creator imposed his own words onto the ephemera at hand to place it within his own contextual understanding. Driver highlights how

¹⁰¹ Zboray and Zboray, p. 109.

powerful the addition of captioning ephemera can be in identifying and categorising material objects, both in the hands of the original creator, and once they have entered museum or archive spaces.¹⁰² However, Garvey demonstrates that the appearance of captions or marginalia in scrapbooks is rare, and does not tend to shed light on why each piece of ephemera was kept, due to the creator's assumption that they would be present to answer any future questions about their collections.¹⁰³ Reading these two arguments together demonstrates the potential power of marginalia in shaping the ways in which we read these collections, whilst also acknowledging the trends and rarities of marginalia for scrapbooks specifically. These unique comments of curation can therefore offer a range of insights to the researcher; and while the meanings of some have become lost with their creators, the rare moments of direct comment are intensely valuable to explore, perhaps more so due to their relative rarity within the sources.

Once again, we see two very different styles of captioning and marginalia within these sources, as each creator literally added their own meanings onto their collection as invoked by the connections that a certain snippet invoked within their narrative.¹⁰⁴ The Rawson scrapbooker was a meticulous captioner as well as collector; their handwriting is present amongst the ephemera in all six volumes, showing the careful process of refocusing each piece to highlight their family. References to family members, and especially to the two sons serving in the Navy were not only clipped, but often marked up with lines along the margins of relevant paragraphs, or with 'x's to draw the eye through the report's narrative to focus onto

¹⁰² Driver, p. 32-34.

¹⁰³ Garvey, p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 20-21.

the Rawson role within the event. Likewise, the collected monthly officers' lists were either cropped down to remove all but the two Rawson names, or marked up to highlight their names among the sea of other officers. Having gone to the effort of painstakingly collecting relevant articles to the brothers' actions, the Rawson scrapbooker took this one step further by picking them out within their own collection so that their names could be found at a glance. In this way, they converted the mass media productions into a personal record first by clipping,¹⁰⁵ and then with his own marginalia. Likewise, each photograph of the ships that Rawson served on was marked up with the ship's name, the captain's name, and then Rawson's name and rank for that commission.¹⁰⁶ As well as picking Rawson's name out from the long crew lists, the scrapbooker's captioning places him in context of the ship itself, perhaps to create a visual aid for picturing his 'home away from home' during his long absences.

However, the greatest concentration of marginalia is found in the letters. Having removed the majority of the letters from their original envelopes, the creator placed them into identical pale blue envelopes, and labelled each one with the sender's name, the date, and a brief summary of the letter's contents – an endeavour which they carried out across the entire thirty-year span covered within the scrapbooks. In some cases, such as when copies of Rawson's orders or journals reached home, the creator went one step further and copied them out by hand, ensuring that they had a physical, clear copy of the documents that shaped and traced Rawson's career. The amount of time and care devoted to curating and captioning the letters in this way speaks to the emotional power and investment that they invoked for the

¹⁰⁵ Te Heesen, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., "H.M.S. Discovery. Captain H.F. Stephenson. Wyatt Rawson, Third Lieutenant." Rawson, Vol. 3, p. 33.

scrapbooker, and the value that they placed upon having the letters clearly labelled and available at a glance. A final, poignant addition found on a small number of letters makes this particularly clear – that of fingerprints across the letter and its envelope. These unintentional yet telling additions are perhaps clearest on the letter labelled as “Wyatt’s last letter before Tel-EI-Kebir”.¹⁰⁷ This letter is full of fond remarks, and mentions the arrival of the lost Christmas cards, before ending with hopes that “we will meet again very soon.” With the knowledge of the slow death that Rawson suffered far from home a few weeks later, this letter was clearly read and reread, as is shown by the fingerprints visible in smudged pencil both on the envelope, and on the letter itself. Within a sea of carefully curated, captioned, and marked up ephemera, these inconspicuous and unintentional additions to this final letter is a telling sign of how grief could retranslate sixteen years’ worth of carefully curated ephemera from its role in tracing and celebrating Rawson’s movements and achievements into a premature memorial for a life cut short.

In line with the previous discussion of the differences between the two scrapbookers’ styles of curation, the marginalia in the Hayward scrapbook is more irregular.

Beyond the handwritten date and source of each clipping, there are few regular sites of captioning, with the most common addition being the underlining of phrases in letters or marking up of photographs. Sections of Vic’s letters are underlined in blue pencil, usually picking out either personal achievements or opinions. In the first letter, a line informing his mother that “I am Secretary now”¹⁰⁸ is both underlined and marked with a large blue ‘X’ to highlight his new position; perhaps as a reminder of news to pass on to his broader social network, or perhaps as a simple moment of

¹⁰⁷ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Vic Hayward to Mary Hayward, 14th November 1914, in Hayward, p. 55.

pride in their loved one's achievements. Likewise in the second letter, Vic's praises and descriptions of his comrades are underlined.¹⁰⁹ Through this, we see the creator picking out the names of those who were important to Vic and creating a sense of who would be with him during their long and precarious absence. Much like the photographs of Rawson's ships, many of the photographs in the Hayward scrapbooks are captioned; in group photographs, both Vic and Stan are picked out with arrows pointing to them, making them immediately visible to the reader. Particularly in the crowded regiment photographs of Stan, this is a valuable addition; and in later photographs clipped from the newspaper *Khaki*, the published captions are copied out by hand to locate Stan and preserve some sense of his military life.¹¹⁰ Even when detailed information wasn't available, the scrapbooker still attempted to caption each photo with the information he had to hand, with the final photograph of Stan being captioned simply as "somewhere in France."¹¹¹ In the absence of regular, basic information, the scrapbooker copied down everything that was available in order to preserve a sense of his son's location and wellbeing; even though these reassurances, much like the captions, were regularly absent.

On two occasions, however, there are cases of ephemera being marked with interjections or comments by the scrapbooker. The first of these is on the official notification of Vic's death, upon which the death date is underlined and labelled as "mother's birthday."¹¹² This contextualises the date not only for its emotional poignancy, although this is powerful in its own right, but also recontextualises the official, distanced writing of the Australian High Commissioner into a frame of

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 21st December 1914, p. 60.

¹¹⁰ "Britain in Wartime", *Khaki*, March 1915, in Hayward, p. 67.

¹¹¹ Hayward, p. 68.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

reference known only to Hayward's relatives, thus anchoring the tragedy within the family calendar. The other set of interjections are found on the set of reports on the circumstances surrounding Vic's death tucked into the cover of the scrapbook. The same blue underlining as found in the letters is also present here, highlighting a comment in Richards' report that "Hayward went out, and on coming back looked rather doubtful."¹¹³ Later on, in Wild's report, a handwritten comment questions the dates given in the report, comparing it to Stevens' report, and also to the date given in the *Daily Chronicle's* report on the tragedy.¹¹⁴ This shows the scrapbooker not only reading the reports, but also actively engaging with and questioning their contents in an attempt to come to terms with Hayward's disappearance by combining and recontextualising any information they could find into their own understandings of events.

In these two distinct styles of marginalia, we can see the thoughts, priorities, and emotional needs of the scrapbookers as transcribed onto their collected ephemera. By marking up their collection, they refocused the broader lists, articles, and photographs around their absent loved ones, ensuring that each man could still be located within the scrapbooks. This personalising touch joins ranks with the deliberate collection of certain types of ephemera, and the processes of ordering their collections to preserve the meanings and memories held by each object, and to shape the narratives to their own understandings of events that happened beyond their control.

These collections, despite being somewhat similar in content, have been heavily shaped by individual collector's intentions, as well as by the period of time that they

¹¹³ Richard W. Richards, in Hayward, p. 87.

¹¹⁴ H.E. Wild, in Hayward, p. 89.

collected ephemera for, and by their somewhat limited access to this ephemera. Despite the clear differences between the two scrapbookers collection, curation, and captioning processes, and the motivations behind creating and curating the scrapbook in general, both sources show a family member's attempt to shape their narrative and experiences of their loved one's absence, and to find him among the scraps; both while he was serving far from home, and after his death. These collections were then reframed through a lens of grief and the search for any final scraps to fill the gap where more life ephemera should have been, demonstrating once again the layered understandings and dynamic family relationships that can be found and mobilised within the scrapbook's history.

5. Bridging the Gap: Mitigating Absence through Scrapbooking

Having examined the individuals and ephemera that make up the scrapbooks, the question of the potential purposes of the scrapbook remains. In many cases across the genre this seems to be inextricably connected to the ongoing sense of a loved one's absence. The scrapbook reflects how the family coped with its subject's absence by collecting and curating snippets of information or sentimental material into one space, where it could then be used to invoke a sense of the missing individual. Within this chapter, I will examine how these collections shifted as the status of each man's absence changed. With the collections having begun assuming that the men's absences were precarious, yet temporary, the scrapbooks display the transformation of each narrative as press reports of their actions abroad were replaced by announcements of deaths far from home. This abruptly ended hopes for a safe reunion, and left the family searching for closure, trying to 'find' their lost loved one through the snippets that they had left behind.

5.1 Understandings of Absence: A Family Affair

When exploring the families' attempts to mitigate and process the absence of loved ones, it is crucial to acknowledge how each family's circumstances may have shaped their individual understandings of absence, and how this in turn shaped the scrapbook's narratives. The widespread imperial expansion that occurred in this period means that we cannot assume that the absences narrated in the scrapbooks were the only extended absences that each family experienced; and therefore, it is vital to acknowledge this, and to ask why it was these narratives in particular that the creators chose to preserve.

The Rawson family had a history of moving across large distances; in 1859, the family of eleven left their home in Britain, and moved to Lennoxville, Quebec; or, in the scrapbooker's words, as found in the brief timeline of Wyatt's early years in the front pages of the first scrapbook, "Went to Canada, 1859."¹¹⁵ This move took place when Christopher Rawson Snr was made District Paymaster of the Militia in Lower Canada, and saw the family settling in Quebec for approximately ten years.¹¹⁶ The family began to disperse during each, as each son either remained or was sent back to Britain for his education. The eldest son studied at Eton, before joining the family in Quebec in 1865; meanwhile, the other two began their careers as British Naval Cadets. Harry Rawson had enlisted as a cadet two years before the family moved; Wyatt, however, was sent to join North Grove School in Dartmouth, Britain in 1866, aged 13.¹¹⁷ The scrapbooker begins their narrative here; not with the sons remaining in Britain, nor with the family in their new home, but with a single family member setting out alone on the long journey back to Britain and into a new, unfamiliar environment. The subsequent scrapbooks tend to continue this theme, using ephemera to trace where each family member was, where they crossed paths, and what they saw and experienced while they were apart.

Tellingly, the scrapbook holds little to no ephemera that was generated within the home; there are glancing telegraphs informing the household of when trains were due to arrive,¹¹⁸ and family photographs taken in London studios,¹¹⁹ yet the home itself is rarely visible within the scrapbooks. This falls in line with McCorristine's

¹¹⁵ Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 1a.

¹¹⁶ Jean-Marie Dubois, Gérard Côté, Derek Booth, and members of the Comité de toponymie of the City of Sherbrooke, "Rawson Road: a family that settled in Lennoxville in 1859", *The Record*, 27th September 2016, <<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/4123784>> [accessed 06/06/2021], p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 30-31.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 40.

¹¹⁹ E.g., Rawson, Vol. 5, p. 8a-9a.

description of an imperial world held together across great distances by the power of material objects, letters, and fond thoughts shared between loved ones during their separation.¹²⁰ These types of ephemera were clearly valued and collected by the scrapbooker; yet for the duration of each man's return home these materials were apparently either not generated, or not collected, perhaps due to the reduced need to create a sense of family through objects in these periods. These relationships were shaped by the distances that regularly separated and reunited various members of the family as they moved across the globe throughout their lifetimes.

This routine movement of individuals across the imperial globe is described by Lambert and Lester in terms of "imperial careers"; the repeated movement from metropole to colony for a time, before moving abroad to start the cycle again.¹²¹ The scrapbook can therefore give us a glimpse into the life histories of these individuals and their familial relationships throughout their careers, as well as granting us a sense of the spatial aspects that can help to also reconstruct their 'life geographies'.¹²² These collections are the result of the scrapbooker's efforts to curate a tangible sense of the significant events in the individual's life by placing ephemera sent home from the absent individual's current location alongside the perspectives reported in the press, and thus creating a dynamic portrayal of his international career. While these extended absences were not unusual for the Rawson family, they were still deemed to be worthy of the large amounts of time and effort committed to creating these detailed narratives of events in order to fill the divide between family members. The nuance of these scrapbook's potential

¹²⁰ McCorristine, p. 134.

¹²¹ David Lambert and Adam Lester, *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careerism in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 1-2.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

purposes has been lost with their creators – whether they were meant for use during the individual’s absence to keep the connection between him and the scrapbooker; for the absent man’s own use, perhaps to show to his children as a souvenir of his illustrious career; or even as a precursor to a biography or memoir. These possible purposes are intriguing to explore; however, the focus of these collections was not on these possibilities, but rather on the present moment or the very recent past as more detailed ephemera was curated into the collection as it arrived. This focus did not discount the ability of future events to reshape and recontextualise the ephemera that had come before it, especially when these events appear later on within the collections. This collection in particular traces Rawson’s absence through the shift from long commissions away from home to the permanence of death, marking his absence out as worthy of comment in scrapbook form, despite the familial familiarity with absence and distance separating its members.

The Haywards were also familiar with imperial absences, as Stan and Vic had also spent time in Canada in the decade before the scrapbooker began their collection. Stan was living there when the scrapbook begins, and Vic had spent several months “roughing it” on a North Canadian ranch in 1907.¹²³ These movements did not cause the Hayward family to begin a scrapbook, whereas each man’s future journeys to the Ross Sea, or across the Western Front did. There are two potential and connected reasons for this disparity – the ability to traverse these distances either through letter-writing or visiting, and the new sense of threat that these new theatres of empire offered. In a letter written following Stan’s death, his parents mention that he had “offered his services to his King and Country at Montreal immediately [after] war

¹²³ Wilson McOrist, *Shackleton’s Heroes: The Epic Story of the men who kept the Endurance expedition alive* (London: The Robson Press, 2015), p. 20.

was declared – at which time we were in Canada on a visit.”¹²⁴ This quote neatly juxtaposes the two absences; the familiar, yet distant home that Stan had made for himself, and that they had visited, and one that was starkly unfamiliar despite being geographically closer to home. Unlike the Rawsons, there was no apparent military thread within the Hayward family; Frank Hayward Snr was a railway clerk, and his eldest son a manager in a local mill, and thus this routine of precarious, extended absences being followed by a safe reunion was foreign to the family. This also speaks to the striking class differences between the two families; for while the Rawsons held a social position that allowed for fairly consistent, if brief, mentions in the press, the Haywards instead had to rely on their own communications, conducted through letters and travel, to stay informed of their loved ones’ movements and experiences. The scrapbooks therefore open in a moment of manifold anxieties, with the two brothers leaving the foreign yet familiar spaces where they were safe and able to stay in semi-regular contact, for a new location that was both unreachable and actively dangerous, leaving the family without the reassurance of familiarity or relative safety, and with no way to ease their concerns through receiving word of their wellbeing for long periods of time. With this unsettling silence approaching, the scrapbook opens with the collection of any scraps that mentioned either brother as the family scrambled for news, and for something tangible to bridge this unfamiliar silence during their absences.

In these two sources, we see two very different family experiences of absence during military or polar expeditions, played out in collected ephemera. One was started to trace a boy’s journey in and out of the domestic sphere as he developed his own ‘imperial career’ that followed his father and brother path into the military, and then

¹²⁴ Hayward, undated, p. 78.

expanded this into the unfamiliar realms of exploration. The other was hastily started as two sons departed from familiar, safe surroundings into unreachable, precarious ones in quick succession, thus severing the reassuring constancy of communication by post. These contextualising factors are vital to working with the idea of absence within these scrapbooks; as whilst the collections share similar types of ephemera, the individual familial circumstances and contexts shaped how each creator curated these snippets into the narratives and understandings found in the scrapbooks, and thus must be taken into account when making comparisons between sources.

5.2 Tracing Movements and Acknowledging Absence

The question of how these absences were acknowledged within the scrapbooks is crucial to this discussion. These were not spaces made for the families to pretend that their loved ones are still present and in the home; but rather a portal to finding them abroad and tracing their movements and actions during their absence. By collecting ephemera, and gleaning the relevant information from it, each family was able to create their own understandings of where their loved one was, and what he might be doing, seeing, or experiencing.¹²⁵ The collection of press clippings was a vital part of this process, allowing the scrapbooker to trace their loved one's ship or regiment to ensure their continued wellbeing and safe arrival. In this section, I will explore two of the main methods of mitigating and acknowledging these absences found within the scrapbooks; the use of press material to search for information and reassurance, and each explorer's attempts to mitigate the anxieties that their absence caused. The scrapbooks demonstrate how the whole family attempted to cope with the uncertainty of a precarious absence by creating a

¹²⁵ Garvey, p. 47.

tangible record of the absent member's movements; either in his own words when these were available, or through the monitoring of press reports when these, too, were absent.

The use of clippings and scrapbooking to trace loved ones' movements when they were away for extended periods is common across the genre. Garvey gives the example a father who monitored the regiment lists of American Civil War for any news of his sons' locations and safety; and in the aftermath of their distant deaths, shifted to collecting poetry that mourned the loss of so many lives.¹²⁶ Regardless of the reason for the absence, the printing boom and the subsequent increase in the variety of news available created more opportunities for families to find information on their loved ones' circumstances. In some cases, this news was somewhat mundane; the first Rawson scrapbook contains clippings from each time Wyatt's ship, HMS *Active* docked, recommissioned, or departed during its time as flagship to the squadron serving along the west coast of Africa;¹²⁷ likewise, the Admiralty's monthly officers' lists are a constant feature throughout all six volumes, despite them varying very little. In the case of the ship reports, the argument that this is a collector tracing his son's movements holds well, as the meticulous, continuous presence of these clippings demonstrates the close attention that he paid to the press reports in the hopes of updates of a safe passage to a new location. The officers' lists, however, offer less information or reassurance of the two Rawson brothers' safety – yet each is still marked up to pick them out from amongst the other officers serving that month. In the absence of fresh information regarding the brothers, their continued presence in these lists allowed the collector a simple yet tangible and

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 119-120.

¹²⁷ E.g., Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 50.

consistent touchstone with his sons. To many readers, these lists would be discarded with the rest of the previous day's paper; yet by imbuing each scrap with this purpose, the creator gave it a new value and significance. Garvey enhances this point with her argument that the value of these scraps was reliant on the context that the scrapbooker placed them within; without this framing, the scraps could easily return to being seen as disposable waste.¹²⁸ In the eyes of the Rawson scrapbooker, these clippings were a source of reassurance in the moment of their publication, with the brothers' names being consistently repeated, even in their absence as they worked their ways across the globe.

However, the reassuring nature of the press relied on regular news; and in Vic Hayward's case, the intermittent nature of reports of expedition events could also generate more anxiety during the long wait for answers and proved a poor replacement for the personal letters that the family was accustomed to relying upon. The scrapbook opens with reports of the *Aurora* having been blown adrift, leaving the Ross Sea party – including Vic – stranded with barely enough supplies to last until the following summer. Of the eight pages of press clippings detailing the *Aurora*'s precarious drift back to New Zealand, the vast majority focus on the threat to Shackleton's safety and his attempt to cross the Antarctic continent;¹²⁹ and only the *Willesden Chronicle* mentions Hayward by name, with a photograph of "our own local hero" attached.¹³⁰ This plays neatly into Warrior's argument of how elite names within polar exploration could bring important expedition news to light through their hero status,¹³¹ but could simultaneously overwrite the presence or roles of other

¹²⁸ Garvey, p. 215.

¹²⁹ Hayward, p. 2-9.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³¹ Warrior, p. 23-24.

expedition members.¹³² Thus while the name of the *Endurance* and Shackleton could carry the reports home, they brought little reassurance to the Haywards, especially as there was no possibility of any updates or answers regarding the party's safety arriving to ease their concerns for the foreseeable future. The scrapbook shows how Frank Hayward Snr had attempted to uncover any more information on the Ross Sea party's circumstances through a concerned letter to Emily Shackleton; yet her only suggestion was to monitor the *Daily Chronicle* as a source for any further news.¹³³ These examples show the power of clippings to both relieve and worsen the anxieties of those whose loved ones were abroad in precarious circumstances. If consistent, systematic, regular news was available, as was generated by Rawson's continued military service, then reassurance could be drawn from the rhythm of collecting new snippets of information at regular intervals. However, when the news was sporadic yet alarming, they could have the opposite effect, as flurries of press speculation brought no reliable information regarding Hayward's wellbeing and left the family to wait another year for any more answers.

Another powerful vehicle in this system of mitigating and acknowledging absence, however, was letters from the absent men themselves, as they attempted to soothe the concerns of those that they had left behind. Both explorers attempted to mitigate the strain that their absence placed upon their relationships, and to demonstrate that they were well and happy through their displays of affection and cheerfulness. In the moment of writing, these comments were small additions to longer letters detailing their adventures and perspectives on their new surroundings; however, Langford shows how these pieces of ephemera can create a sense of foreshadowing by

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹³³ Emily Shackleton to Frank Hayward, 30th March 1916, in Hayward, p. 39-41.

showing us what the families' relationships had been like before a life-altering tragedy permanently changed how these letters could be read and re-read.¹³⁴ To the researcher, with their knowledge of how events would unfold, the chronological ordering of these letters provide a sense of how these relationships were altered by the deaths of each man through the visible changes within the scrapbook's narrative.

The scrapbook only contains two letters from Vic himself; however, these grant us a sense of how he used his letters to mitigate his family's concerns by attempting to remain in touch with family events, and to transfer home as much news as he could via a number of different recipients in order to reassure his loved ones, and to maintain a sense of their familiar habits of communication. Some of this is simple, and perhaps predictable; good wishes being sent for Christmas and the New Year, for example, acknowledge his absence at the usual family event without labouring his absence.¹³⁵ He ends the letter with a postscript: "Ethel [his fiancée] will be able to give you further news etc."¹³⁶ Through this we can infer that Hayward had written several other letters at the same time, and used this to convey as much news home by sharing separate information with different recipients. Through this, he was able both to communicate with more of his social network, and to reassure as many people as he could with good and happy news. However, one passage jars with the jovial tone of the letter, as Hayward asks his mother to "look after Ethel for my sake... if you can make it easier for both of us, as I know you can, I ask you from the bottom of my heart to do so."¹³⁷ This simultaneously acknowledges the strain that his absence is causing, and gives the two women a way to communicate new

¹³⁴ Langford, p. 74.

¹³⁵ Hayward to his mother, November 24th, 1914, in Hayward, p. 57.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 56.

information on his wellbeing, and of his affection, to mitigate his absence and hopefully to reassure them both from the other side of the globe. This letter is a useful example of how an explorer might attempt to acknowledge and mitigate the emotional impacts of his absence; by engaging with family events from afar, and writing to as many members as possible, as well as quietly asking for certain individuals to take care of one another while he was away.

Rawson's letters tend to be less emotionally charged, perhaps due to the routine nature of his absences; yet they also see him working to engage with circumstances at home. These range from messages of concern and good wishes whenever his parents had been unwell, to those of shock and sympathy when conflicts between his father and his employers led to their having to move from the family home after "all that you have gone through".¹³⁸ The letters regularly end with a request to "give a kiss to dear Mother for me" and other attempts to ensure that his affections reached home during his absence.

The presence of these letters alongside the press clippings shows how each family attempted to mitigate, acknowledge, and learn to live with the long silences caused by these absences by collecting ephemera to fill the gap left behind by the individual's absence from the home.¹³⁹ Each scrapbooker curated them to create a tangible space within which to find their loved ones during their continued absences.

5.3 Absences made Permanent: Processing Grief in Paper

As discussed in the previous section, the present-moment nature of the scrapbook's contents reflects a family's attempt to mitigate their loved one's absence

¹³⁸ Wyatt Rawson to his parents, April 4th, 1878, in Rawson, Vol. 5, p. 60.

¹³⁹ Hallam and Hockey, p. 25.

through tangible objects until his return. However, the news of their deaths permanently altered the collections as the fears that the scrapbooks had been used to mitigate against became reality. This transformed the scrapbooks from mediators for family relationships into a memorial space to find the lost family member, and to relive the hopes and expectations of a future that had been cut short. The scrapbooks therefore became a placeholder for the rituals of mourning that would usually have helped the family to process their loss and find closure. In this section, I will explore how the press evolved from a source of reassuring updates to one that continued to repeat the news that the families had dreaded, as well how the creator's grief led them to reshape their collections to create a narrative memory of their lost loved one, and to preserve a sense of the men that they had been.

The press played two very different roles in reporting the deaths of Rawson and Hayward. While Rawson's condition was mentioned in daily reports throughout the week leading up to his death, and his 'sacrifice' lionised in the aftermath of his passing, Hayward's death was reported at the end of each paper's report of the Ross Sea Party's actions, and could not provide any more answers or closure to his grieving family. In both cases, the scrapbook displays the disintegration of the reassuring role that the press had previously played, and how these reports instead began to heighten the family's sense of loss.

The Battle of Tel-EI-Kebir was not the first time that the press had reported Rawson seriously injured; during the Ashanti War, he had been shot through the thigh and reported under the category of "wounded (severely)."¹⁴⁰ Thus when he did not appear in the casualty lists following Tel-EI-Kebir, the scrapbooker seems to have

¹⁴⁰ E.g., *The Evening Standard*, March 2nd, 1874, in Rawson, Vol. 1, p. 142.

collected these as part of the narrative of a bloody conflict, gathering thirteen pages' worth of clippings from five different papers on the day that the news broke.

However, two pages later we find several telegrams from Harry informing the family that Wyatt was "on board hospital ship HMS *Carthage*, shot entered right side came out left in no pain now but wound dangerous. Sir Garnet thanked him for his gallantry tell Maud [Wyatt's wife]." ¹⁴¹ This was the start of a series of mixed messages that are carefully preserved within the scrapbook. Throughout the week leading up to Rawson's death, the press continued to report that his condition was "critical", but that in the popular words of his commander, Sir Garnet Wolseley, "accounts of Lieutenant Rawson's condition are slightly more favourable." ¹⁴² Some papers cited an official line that there were "hopes for all except, perhaps, Rawson", ¹⁴³ but the majority framed Rawson's injury around the possibility of his recovery, while his newly heightened hero status saw these comments being granted regular coverage in the national press

Without any concrete information of Rawson's condition, his family were able to continue to hope for his recovery without knowing quite how serious his injuries were; as McCorristine argues, hope was a powerful force in these circumstances, as the absence of any evidence of death or injury allowed the families to hope for better news to arrive. ¹⁴⁴ Rawson's brother continued to write in an attempt to warn his family that "he is *very* badly hit" to the extent that "this blow... has taken all life out of me." ¹⁴⁵ Harry saw Wyatt daily until the day before his death, when the hospital ship departed for Britain, leaving him as the only family without the half-blind hope that

¹⁴¹ Harry Rawson to Christopher Rawson in Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 32.

¹⁴² E.g., *ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁴ McCorristine, p. 101.

¹⁴⁵ Harry Rawson to Christopher Rawson, September 19th, 1882, in Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 61.

the press had given those at home. This letter was written shortly after Harry last saw his brother; and two days later, the news that he had passed away as the ship arrived in Malta began to reach the family via formal letters.

There is a stark contrast between these formal messages and the press coverage, with the official notifications moving more quickly than the press. The quote from Wolseley describing Rawson's condition as "slightly more favourable" was printed on the day of his death (21st September) and the day after; and despite knowing that this information was false, the scrapbooker continued to gather these clippings into the scrapbook as a part of their account. This misreporting can be mostly attributed to the logistical challenge that the huge number of names and conditions present to the press. However, the same quote appeared in *The Times* a week after Rawson's death;¹⁴⁶ this clipping is juxtaposed with the obituary of Rawson that the same paper had published a few days before, alongside five from other papers such as the *Morning Post*, the *Standard*, and the *Daily News*.¹⁴⁷ This demonstrates how the speed at which international news travelled could be just as disruptive to the press narratives of events as it was to the scrapbook's account; and how the inconsistencies in public accounts interrupted the new narrative of grief that the scrapbooker was beginning to create.

The fact that these two clippings are placed opposite one another in the scrapbook is also telling of the change in curation in the aftermath of Rawson's death. Previously the material had been curated into a mostly chronological narrative of events, yet this clipping takes us back to the period before Rawson's death, despite being surrounded by obituaries, and following several pages of letters, telegrams, and

¹⁴⁶ *The Times*, September 28th, 1882, in Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 169.

¹⁴⁷ Rawson, Vol. 6, p. 167-168.

handwritten copies of other messages dating from the 21st-22nd September.¹⁴⁸

Having suddenly received a flood of irrefutable and life-altering news after a series of reassuringly vague updates on Rawson's condition, the scrapbooker worked to preserve the ephemera as neatly and coherently as he could, rather than trying to maintain the exact order that it had arrived in, creating a record that could be looked back upon once their grief, and the volume of communication, was less overwhelming. Their focus shifted from meticulously preserving press scraps to copying out several letters, such as that from the hospital ship's chaplain with its reassurance that Wyatt had "died peacefully and painlessly".¹⁴⁹ The soothing nature of regular press coverage had been replaced with a new national narrative of Wyatt as the fallen hero, expressed through illustrated obituaries and proposed memorials, in line with the ongoing cultural shift towards the glorification of death in battle for one's country,¹⁵⁰ as identified by Stephanie Barczewski. The continued presence of these clippings suggests that the scrapbooker did not reject this glorification; yet the process of meticulously collecting press clippings had ceased to fill the comforting or useful role that they had previously been used for. Instead, we can see the scrapbooker turning to focus on copying out and captioning the letters of sorrow, sympathy, and reassurance from family friends received in the aftermath of Rawson's death. With their hopes of reunion shattered, the scrapbooker turned to their social networks to glean any final tangible scraps and memories.

Hayward's death, on the other hand, did not suffer from either misreporting or over-reporting. With the final members of the Ross Sea Party returning in 1917, the brief

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 157-164.

¹⁴⁹ Rev. Chapman to Christopher Rawson, September 21st, 1882, in Rawson, Vol 6., p. 161.

¹⁵⁰ Stephanie L. Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies: Scott, Shackleton, and the changing face of heroism*, (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), p. 139.

press coverage that informed the family of his death closely followed the format set out by the *Daily Chronicle's* report due to its exclusive rights to the story, first narrating the near-deadly march south, and ending with a brief summary of the loss of Mackintosh and Hayward. For the average reader, this narrative contained everything that it needed to; yet it provided only one certainty to the family – that their loved one would not be returning. The only information they had was that the two men had not been seen since they set out onto the ice, and that their footprints led to the edge of the ice; thus any questions of the cause of their deaths, or why they had risked crossing the sea ice remained unanswered and unanswerable, leaving them with nothing tangible except Vic's continued absence from the home.

Unlike Rawson's death, the reports of Hayward's fate vanished after a few brief days in lieu of fresh news from the war front; not unlike how Shackleton's return the year before had been wiped from the front pages within two days by the Battle of Jutland. The war had permanently altered and replaced the press interest and public engagement with reports of polar exploration reports. By 1917, the death of so many young men had shattered the perceived nobility of dying for one's country – and in a time of national mourning for so many broken families and friendships, these deaths appeared somewhat pointless in comparison to those in the various theatres of war.¹⁵¹

This altered national perspective had a twofold impact on the Hayward family and their scrapbook, as the lack of press coverage reduced the volume of ephemera available to collect into a tangible memorial to their lost loved one; and the wartime shattering of national ideals left them without a framework within which to rationalise

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 116.

his death. These two factors influenced one another; in a moment when the family were scrambling for answers and closure, the press yielded far less material than it had when the safety of both expeditions was in question a year prior, with the clippings filling under ten pages of the scrapbook.¹⁵² This left the family with what Warrior describes as an ‘absence of memory’ – the family had been left with no bodies, complete answers, or opportunities to grieve, and thus struggled to find closure or process their loss¹⁵³ as the questions of causes and circumstances of death remained unanswered. However, the press was writing not for the individual family, but to a wider public which, having become jaded after three years of total warfare, was less receptive to news of dangerous exploration when each day brought news of more friends, husbands, brothers, and sons killed anonymously and uncontrollably on the Western Front. This moment of massive cultural change left the Hayward family caught in the middle; less than five years had passed since Scott and the polar party had been nationally celebrated and mourned for their heroic Antarctic sacrifice, yet the unimaginable numbers of war casualties for very little gain had shattered the perceived nobility of sacrificing one’s life for the nation.¹⁵⁴ Thus while Stan could be mourned as one of the ‘glorious dead’ of the Great War, Vic’s death could not be justified through this social model; and with the figure of the heroic explorer sacrificing his life in the name of British exploration having become a relic of the pre-war world, the Haywards were left with no framework within which to process their grief.

The rest of the scrapbook shows a family scrambling to collect anything and everything that could be added to the volume as they struggled to process the death

¹⁵² Hayward, p. 16-26. Extra pages granted due to the scanning of loose articles as separate pages for clarity.

¹⁵³ Warrior, p. 142.

¹⁵⁴ Barczewski, p. 140.

as fact without any of the familiar rituals of grief, or a physical body to bury and make the truth impossible to deny,¹⁵⁵ regardless of whether the cause of his death had been uncovered. From the duplicate articles regarding the posthumous medal investiture, to the request for a copy of the Antarctic epitaph to the three dead explorers as found in 1947, sent the same day as the Admiralty offered a copy to the men's relatives,¹⁵⁶ we can see a family continually searching for any scraps of tangible ephemera that mentioned their loved one, even thirty years after he had been reported dead.

In both sets of sources, we see the families searching for news, snippets, and tangible touch points as they struggled to process the sudden and distressing news of their loved one's deaths. Even as the press reports that they had previously relied upon became distorted by influential ideas of heroic sacrifice – one exalted beyond recognition, and the other lost in the rapidly changing mindsets shaped by the ongoing Great War – the family still sought out clippings as tangible remnants of their loved one's existence.

This scramble to collect tangible reminders of the lost positions their deaths as 'vanishing points' for the families.¹⁵⁷ Susie Scott describes this process as the search for 'residue' of lives, as the social networks of the dead search not for what has been lost, but for what could have been if they were still here.¹⁵⁸ This is clearly seen in the final Rawson scrapbook through the shift to collecting ephemera generated by his wife and children, maintaining his place in the family relationships and records even in his physical absence. The continuation of the collection was part of the process of

¹⁵⁵ Hallam and Hockey, p. 105.

¹⁵⁶ Hayward, p. 32-37.

¹⁵⁷ Hallam and Hockey, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Susie Scott, *The Social Life of Nothing: Silence, Invisibility and Emptiness in Tales of Lost Experience*, (London: Routledge, 2019), p. 79.

reshaping the family narratives to acknowledge the loss of a loved one, and of translating a traumatic memory into a narrative memory of the loved one's life and death that the family could live with.¹⁵⁹ This allowed the families to read the material both for the remembered 'then' of the past, but also for the 'now', as they learned to live with their loved one's absence in all but memory. Naturally, this process was unique to each family; as while the Rawson scrapbook shifted to his wider family, the Hayward scrapbook broadened its reach to account for other deaths alongside Vic's, making it a space of memory for both him and Stan as the family learned to cope with their deaths. The marked-up reports tucked into the scrapbook's cover shows that this was not a linear process, as one family member continued the process of questioning and coming to terms with the lack of closure. These scrapbooks show us two families attempting to create a space where they could continue to find, and, in Langford's words, to 'love the dead' in the form of a memorial album that extended the absent man's life story a few steps more with each scrap of ephemera that was carefully curated into the scrapbooks.¹⁶⁰

The theme of absence was a key shaping factor for the scrapbooks from their inception to their final formats. Created within unique family circumstances to meet their individual needs for mitigating the precarious absence of loved ones, the scrapbooks demonstrate how each family attempted to reduce their concern for their loved one's safety by tracing their movements and wellbeing by collecting letters, press clippings, and other ephemera, in some cases across a number of years and extended absences. However, they also give us insight into the limitations of this sense of security as the reliability of the press reports stuttered and slowly fell from

¹⁵⁹ Hallam and Hockey, p. 102.

¹⁶⁰ Langford, p. 63.

usefulness into repeating either untrue or unhelpful information following the deaths of both men, further complicating the process of grieving. Without an easy route to finding closure, the families scrambled to create a tangible space to remember what they had lost, and to cross the divide created by their permanent absence through the memories preserved within the scrapbooks.

6. Conclusion

This study has focused on two unique and complicated sources which highlight the overlooked potential of the scrapbook, and the valuable alternative narratives that have been carefully preserved within it by a dedicated, yet unknown creator. The tendency to privilege first-hand accounts of expeditions within the historic literature of polar explorers, both in terms of published accounts and within the archives, has fuelled powerful academic discussions, yet overlooks the wide variety of alternative narratives that underpinned the events of each expedition. Narratives such as these are found in these scrapbooks but are easily overlooked due to their lack of clear, chronological accounts of expedition events. Yet this dismisses the potential value of these accounts of polar exploration as experienced by those at home, and of the powerful contextualising life histories of the individuals that made up the expedition.

This dissertation has shown how these heterogenous sources can contribute to and enhance our understandings of the circumstances, contexts, and individuals that underpinned familial experiences of polar exploration and imperial warfare alike. These sources were never intended to be read together, or to be taken as examples of the broader scrapbooking genre – these are domestic and intimate histories of a loved one's life and must be treated as such before all else. When placed side by side, however, they have brought light to further questions and opportunities for a broader study into polar scrapbooking. The two sources were created by two very different families, and within two starkly different historical moments, and the addition of more sources will inevitably bring out further divergences in the intentions, processes, and forms of scrapbooking. This distinctiveness adds to the scrapbook's value, showing how a wide range of families adopted broadly similar methods to trace their loved ones' movements and preserve their life stories, yet produced

completely different styles of scrapbook due to the unique ephemera in their possession, and the curation choices made by each scrapbooker.

These sources speak to families' experience of polar exploration in this period, and of their attempts to mitigate the anxieties generated by their loved one's precarious absence. This dissertation has shown how both families created these scrapbooks in order to trace the lives that their loved one's led while they were separated by large imperial distances, generating an ephemeral map of their imperial careers. These collections were not intended to create the illusion that the individual was still present in the home, but to locate them throughout their absence, and to reassure their loved ones of their continued safety until their return. However, these collections were radically transformed by the news of each man's death, as the original purpose of each scrapbook was overturned, and the ephemera retranslated to preserve the memories that were tied up within it. The powerful impact of grief unmitigated by closure or social rituals of mourning developed and reformed the scrapbook from its initial purpose of meeting the families' need for reassurance during the men's temporary absences into a space within their grief could be processed, and where a sense of the lost man's character could be found within the ephemera generated throughout his life and relationships.

These collections of ephemera also provide a valuable, multivocal narrative of each man's life more broadly. By combining ephemera generated within his various social networks into one place, the scrapbooker preserved a sense of his character from the perspectives of his friends, family, comrades, and commanders, and extended this understanding with the press clippings that shaped the 'heroic' portrayal of each man's achievements and careers for the public. This varied account, carefully curated by an unnamed individual out of love for their absent family member, creates

a sense of the men's lived experiences and character throughout their lifetime, and in their families' memories, thereby enhancing the limited image of him found within the first-hand accounts of his brief polar experience.

Scrapbooks are complex, unusual, and unfamiliar sources to work with; however, their alternative accounts of significant events grant us a snapshot of the social, cultural, and domestic contexts that each man lived within, and that shaped his life and career more broadly. The social networks that he moved through have faded away, and yet are preserved through their words and ephemera as a part of his life narrative. These accounts can enhance our understandings of the men that participated in polar exploration, as well as anchoring the familiar historiographical accounts of these expeditions within human, intimate portrayals of those who fuelled them. They narrate the lives of the explorers, but also speak powerfully to the lives of those who lived on to retell their story, and to preserve their memory through the tangible scraps of each man left in their possession for a future within which the other tangential connections within their lives had all been swept away.

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Appendix 1: Biographical notes on Wyatt Rawson (1853-1882) and Victor George Hayward (1887-1916)

This dissertation focuses around two sets of scrapbooks held in the SPRI archives, which were made by the families of Commander Wyatt Rawson and Victor ('Vic') Hayward to trace and memorialise their achievements and actions away from home. Born in 1853, Wyatt Rawson followed his brother's footsteps into the British Navy, joining at the age of 13. His involvement in the Ashanti Expedition (1873-1874), and the war that followed, brought his name to prominence in the British Press. In 1875, he joined the British Arctic Expedition under Sir George Nares in the search for a sea route to the North Pole. Upon his return, he was simultaneously commended for his efforts to keep his men alive when they became seriously ill with scurvy, and involved in the ensuing inquest into what had caused the condition to become so prevalent on the expedition. A few years later, Rawson was assigned to the Royal Yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*; from here, he was personally selected in September 1882 by Sir Garnet Wolseley, his commander at Ashanti, to become an aide-de-camp for the military efforts in Egypt. Using his knowledge of astronomy, Rawson guided the troops by night to the site of the Battle of Tel-El-Kebir, an achievement which saw him promoted to Commander for his "valuable and gallant services."¹⁶¹ However, severe injuries sustained during the battle proved fatal, and Rawson died of his wounds seven days later, aged 29. Rawson had remained in regular contact with his family throughout his career, with many of his fond letters to his parents, siblings, and wife joining other ephemera in narrating his life within six large scrapbooks. He left behind two daughters, one of whom was born within a fortnight

¹⁶¹ Formal Memorandum of Promotion from Admiral Beauchamp Seymour, 16th September 1882, in *Family Records: Wyatt Rawson, Volume 6*, c.1882-1895, held within the Scott Polar Research Institute archives, Cambridge, MS 2106, Volume 6, p. 41.

of his death, whose letters appear alongside their mother's in the ephemera collected in the ten years between his death and the end of the final scrapbook.

Victor George ('Vic') Hayward (1887-1916) was a clerk from London, with a reported sense of adventure. Having learnt to drive sled dogs during while 'roughing it' on a ranch in Northern Canada,¹⁶² Hayward applied to join Shackleton on the *Endurance* expedition for one more adventure before his marriage. He joined the Ross Sea Party under Captain Aeneas Mackintosh, and was involved in the efforts to lay depots for Shackleton's Transantarctic crossing. The party was struck by scurvy, with one of the six members dying on the ice, and both Hayward and Mackintosh becoming dangerously ill by the time they returned to Hut Point. The two men later vanished when a blizzard struck while they were attempting to cross the sea ice to the expedition's base at Cape Evans in May 1916, and no trace of them has ever been found. The scrapbook made by his family recounts not only the ongoing fear for his safety following the expedition's supply ship *Aurora* being blown back to New Zealand in 1915, but also traces Vic's younger brother Stanley ('Stan'), in his service on the Western Front during the Great War. The two men died within three months of each other – Vic in the Antarctic, and Stan at Ypres - yet the news of the former's death did not reach the family until February 1917. The last pieces of ephemera within the scrapbook date from 1947, giving us a view of the long-term impact of these deaths on the family, as well as the impact of the rapid social and cultural changes that took place during the Great War.

Both of these individuals have been somewhat overshadowed within the broader polar historiography of this period; however, in these sources we see their lives and

¹⁶² E.g., "An Antarctic Tragedy", *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6th February 1917, in *Scrapbook*, 1914-1947, held within the Scott Polar Research Institute archives, Cambridge, MS 2308, p. 17.

experiences prioritised over the rest of the expedition, with their names picked out of the more generic expedition and military reports by their loved ones. The two men share a number of coincidental similarities – both travelled to the polar regions in this imperial historical period; both were close to their families; both were killed suddenly and violently, coincidentally at the age of 29; and both have had their stories collected and narrated within family scrapbooks, which have since been passed through the families and then to the SPRI archives. These sources therefore give us a glimpse into their lives beyond their involvement in these expeditions – and thus places their lives as explorers into the context of their wider social network and family relationships.

Appendix 2: Imperial Print Culture and the Creation of the National Hero

The historical, social, and cultural contexts that these scrapbooks were curated within undoubtedly played a role in shaping the texts, regardless of the scrapbooker's own intentions. The two periods of 1866-1896 and 1919-1947 were tumultuous for Britain and its populations, both in terms of the ongoing international developments in exploration, imperial expansion, and global warfare, and for developments closer to home, such as the boom in print culture and press coverage. The rapidly evolving press market ensured that these international developments were consistently traced and reported on as Britain reached the peak of its imperial power, and throughout the world wars that followed. MacKenzie shows how new technologies reduced printing costs and led to an explosion of more diverse and accessible news sources. The reduced prices of newspapers and periodicals led to more papers coming into print, and brought them into a wider variety of homes across the country. These news sources were joined by cheap, collectible, commemorative ephemera such as cigarette cards and postcards, which also depicted significant or newsworthy events.¹⁶³

This increased accessibility brought more news to a wider variety of homes, and in turn allowed the press to report upon and influence public opinion to a greater extent during this period. Both Janice Cavell and Elizabeth Baigent highlight this increased influence, but remark that this was not entirely linear. Cavell cites Marilyn Butler's description of the press as 'culture's medium'¹⁶⁴ to acknowledge the key role of the reader's response to journalism as a shaping factor of the complex press culture in this period.¹⁶⁵ Baigent takes this a step further with her argument that the public's engagement and purchase of particular press material played a vital role in shaping and cementing the position of new national heroes

¹⁶³ MacKenzie, p. 16-17.

¹⁶⁴ Marilyn Butler, "Culture's medium: the role of the review", in *The Cambridge companion to British Romanticism*, (ed. Stuart Curran), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹⁶⁵ Janice Cavell, *Tracing The Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818-1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p. 8-9.

within the public mindset.¹⁶⁶ These arguments show how the public took an active role in engaging with the press reports that were flooding into their homes; and usefully the scrapbook can be used to show how individual families engaged with reports and curated collections of press clippings that directly related to them and their household in their own domestic narrative of events. The scrapbook gave readers a safe place to preserve their collected clippings, and thus a motivation to search through each newspaper for relevant articles that they wished to preserve within their collection. My sources show another step within this process, as both scrapbookers purchased a wide variety of papers in order to find or 'glean' as much information about events or individuals' movements as they could, and in some cases collecting multiple copies of reports that held a sentimental resonance with them. The lack of captions obscures the collector's reason for preserving each clipping in the way that they did; however, an examination of their contents can give us a sense of how they engaged with the press coverage of their loved ones, and thus the extent to which the dominant press narratives permeated these personal collections.

The literature of polar exploration has long relied on the power of the written word to ensure that expedition results, letters, or news reached home safely; however, upon their arrival, these accounts needed to be translated out of their specific expedition context into a more cohesive, shareable, and comprehensible format for the public to be able to understand.¹⁶⁷

The site of translation for public narratives tended to be within the press sphere, or in authorised accounts of the expedition; and as Naylor and Ryan argue, these complete, chronological expedition narratives were key to introducing and selecting the key figures within expeditions who would later become the new 'heroic explorers'.¹⁶⁸ As more reports and accounts were published following the expedition's return, the public familiarity with this

¹⁶⁶ Elizabeth Baigent, "'Deeds not words'? Life writing and early twentieth-century British polar exploration" in *New Spaces of Exploration: Geographies of Discovery in the twentieth century*, ed. Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 24.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁶⁸ Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan, *New Spaces of Exploration: Geographies of Discovery in the twentieth century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 7.

narrative grew, and was affirmed by the explorer's own accounts, and in some cases, biographies of their lives. These biographies offered another form of retranslation. C.I. Hamilton has shown how Victorian biographers revised the lives of naval heroes to fit the moral ideals of their cultural moment, such as the idealised Christian figure of the early Victorian period, or as an example of British power and strength later in the period.¹⁶⁹ He also highlights that these books drew from letterbooks and journals, which were deliberately reframed by the author to fit the intended heroic image;¹⁷⁰ an act that looked over the more informal or domestic nature of the source material in its search for the 'hero', and a risk factor which scrapbook research continues to present today. These processes of translation turned an individual's lived experiences into a more publicly digestible format, beginning in press reports, and leading to more extensive published accounts. Regardless of format, these accounts recontextualised the individual's life in light of the explorers who had come before him, and as a part of the broader national narrative of exploration, blind to the fact that the majority of explorers had spent but a fraction of their careers in the polar regions.

¹⁶⁹ C. I. Hamilton, "Naval Hagiography and the Victorian Hero", *The Historical Journal*, 23 (2), (1980), p. 397-398.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 388-389.