

MODDING AS MAKING

Religious Flap Books Created by Eighteenth-
and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Girls

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Modding is a term we connect to new media and participatory culture. Henry Jenkins, in *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (2008), discusses modding in terms of how gamers make additions to a favorite game by editing source code or using tools that come with the game to produce their own content. Is this practice current only today? How did children in earlier periods, particularly girls, engage in a participatory fashion with their texts and what does this tell us about girlhood? Can an historical angle contribute to scholarly efforts to push girlhood studies beyond a present-day focus? (Mitchell and Reid-Walsh 2008). Here, I explore these questions in relation to three religious flap books¹ created by British or American girls in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, all examples of girl-modified paper media.

Jenkins provides an approach; he gives an historical context to this type of modification of commercial texts by referring to modders and modding as continuing folk traditions associated with America from the earliest days of the settlers. He describes a loose relation in the nineteenth century between domestic cultural production and entertainments such as telling stories, singing songs, making quilts, and dancing where no individual author or artist is credited, and early commercial entertainments such as minstrel shows, circuses, and showboats. He notes, “There was no pure boundary between the emergent commercial culture and the residual folk culture: the commercial culture raided the folk culture and folk culture raided commercial culture” (2008: 139). He goes on to describe the story of American arts in the twentieth century as a displacement of folk culture by mass media. On the one hand, this tended to force the former practices underground, while on the other, fan communities emerged in response to mass media content. He considers that the continuing story in the twenty-first century entails a “public re-emergence of grassroots activity,” as people use the facilities

of digital technology to “archive, annotate, appropriate, and re-circulate” (140) media content.

While Jenkins is not referring to children’s domestic production but to a widespread folk culture, in this chapter I argue that key processes of remaking older commercial texts can be seen in flap books produced by girls in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I demonstrate how in relation to the four processes listed as separate activities (archiving, annotating, appropriating, and recirculating) they merge them. Since the texts consist of words, illustrations, and movable parts, I am interested in how the processes become complex literacy activities.

The core of the chapter is an analysis of three examples of early British or American flap books known to have been created by girls—the first by Eleanor Schanck in 1777, the second by Betsy Lewis, who lived in Dorchester Massachusetts, around 1800, and the third from 1805 by Sally White Dawson, who lived in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia—in comparison with commercially produced texts: Although my examples do not, of course, constitute a sample, I consider whether the girls’ artifacts reveal sociocultural contexts such as education, class, and geographical location.

To begin with, however, I clarify some points about a few aspects of flap books. I describe briefly what flap books are and sketch their history in Anglo-American culture. I also situate the girl-made artifacts in relation to literacy education in earlier centuries, which encompassed writing and drawing as one process.

A flap book is a type of movable book. Bibliographically, movable books are texts in codex form (the conventional book format) in which some of the words and/or illustrations are presented in the format of a mechanical device such as a wheel, tab, slat, or flap. Readers literally “[make] their own meanings” (McKenzie 1999: 19), not only by looking at the words, as in a story book, and gazing at the pictures, as with a picture book, but also by engaging physically with the book object itself by manipulating the components, as in a puzzle, game, or toy (Hurst 1995). Depending on the design, readers engage with a flap book by lifting the flaps up and down or sideways to produce a simple type of changing picture.

Elaborate flap books with beautiful and detailed illustrations were created before the invention of printing to teach anatomy, and they continued to be used as teaching tools during the Renaissance (Montanaro 1993). By the mid seventeenth century, simple flap books consisting of a single piece of paper cut and folded into flaps began to be produced. These were cheap paper artifacts composed of crude woodcut images and simple rhymed verse (Muir 1969). Similar to chapbooks, they were

directed towards a wide audience consisting of the semi-literate and children of different classes.

These flap books were of a religious and moral nature. The earliest known one, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* (1650, 1654), written in verse, was re-published in England from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The 1650 version contained four episodes and that published in 1654 contained five: if examined in the intended order, they feature Adam who transforms into Eve, and then Eve transforming into a mermaid; they may have a Cain and Abel episode; then a lion who transforms into a griffin and then an eagle who steals a child (thus referencing an old myth); then a child as a young man who collects money; finally the miser dies and is transformed into a skeleton. If the flaps fall back down (as they are designed to do), different and incongruous creatures appear that are not in the poem, for example, a merman, and a monster that is both lion and eagle.

Little research has been undertaken about the meanings of the traditional images and words of these texts, and I am wrestling with the challenges of interpretation. The historical circumstances of their publication during the British civil war between the (high Anglican) Royalists and the (reformed) Puritans may offer some clues. For example, since there are slight variations in the lion's face to suggest that of Charles I in the various seventeenth-century editions, this may suggest a political commentary in addition to the apparent religious messages.

The flap book, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*, traveled to America in the late eighteenth century and was re-published there until the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was given a cover and a title directed specifically to children: *Metamorphosis; or, a Transformation of Pictures with Poetical Explanations for the Amusement of Young Persons*. In Pennsylvania it was also published in German.²

The American English-language texts of this work are an elaboration and updating of the British ones. The illustrations are more detailed. For example, in the first episode a snake in an apple tree has been added. When the flap is lifted it appears to move toward Eve! These texts also include an extended religious poem without illustrations but with peritextual matter consisting of the twenty-six-letter alphabet and Arabic numbers one to nine and zero. These bear no relation to the content. It is interesting to note that the peritextual additions seem to be directed toward girls since the letters, numerals, and ornaments against a narrow lined background recall needlework samplers (Swan 1977). Indeed, there is a similarity in the style and content to samplers produced by girls in England and America from the seventeenth century onwards, most extant examples dating from after the execution of Charles I in

1649 (Curry 1975). For example, a sampler created by schoolgirl Sarah Collins in Salem, Massachusetts, dated 1673, owned by the Winterthur Museum, features the alphabet and the girl's name stitched at the bottom of the piece, similar to the way in which the name of the author of the *Metamorphosis*, B. Sands, is usually presented at the end of the flap book.³ Biblical motifs such as representations of Adam, Eve, and the Serpent in the Tree of Knowledge have also existed in sampler work since the seventeenth century (Bausum 2001). A sampler made by an English girl, Hannah Smith, circa 1810, held by the Victoria and Albert Museum, features this scene.⁴ One of the 1814 editions of Benjamin Sands's flap book stresses the intended needlework application, using the entire cover for the title and adding an additional subtitle, *Also, an Alphabet of Large and Small Letters to Aid Females in Marking Linen*. The flap book's elegant illustrations suggest Regency fashion. Another edition, *Metamorphosis, or, A Transformation of Pictures: With Poetical Explanations* (Hale and Hosmer 1814), includes extra illustrations of flower designs and of a girl, wearing a high-waisted dress, sewing (see Reid-Walsh 2012b).

During the same time period, in England and America, families and children made their own versions of *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man*. The earliest known manuscript dates from 1698 (Muir 1969). Most manuscripts date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and many are American (Clive Hurst, personal communication; Welch 1972).

It is not known why this activity was popular. Laura Berry, a curator at the Folk Museum of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Virginia, has speculated that the biblical and moral motifs may have made the projects appropriate for children to engage in, even on the Sabbath (personal communication with Margaret Ryther). Similarly, it is not known how many artifacts exist. Some are in library and museum collections, while others are privately held. I know of twenty-four examples and have seen sixteen flap books to date in different special collections in England and the United States. While a couple of them are pen and ink, most are colored quite vividly, which is part of their charm because they look fresh and new. I have seen a few that include the snake in the apple tree, but not one yet that successfully shows motion. Neither have I seen any that contain the extra verses or the letters, numbers, and ornaments of the American *Metamorphosis*.

Sometimes it is difficult to ascribe a maker, place of manufacture, or date to the homemade flap books, unless there is a provenance or the child has inscribed on the object her or his name and perhaps age, or a date. Many are anonymous, and since these were family activities it is

hard to determine if the final product is a collective effort or one done by the child alone. It is a fascinating endeavor to examine child-made artifacts for clues about the author-illustrator-flap-bookmaker, for the books are examples of juvenilia by ordinary literate children. In this way, the definition of juvenilia is being extended beyond the exceptional child who became a well-known writer or artist.

Seventeenth- to Nineteenth-Century Literacy Education: Writing and Drawing

From the Renaissance until the nineteenth century, writing and drawing were taught generally in the same way. Indeed, the latter was presented as a type of the former. Drawing masters traced the idea back to Aristotle who defined *graphice* as using the pen for both skills (Bermingham 2000). The Renaissance architect Leon Battista Alberti expanded this idea by presenting the technique in both arts as a reduction to key elements. He compared the teaching of writing, which begins with drawing letters, then writing syllables, and then words, with the teaching of painting by first drawing outlines of the planes, then joining the planes together. Common to both sets of practice was the ability to manipulate the line. In both cases there was a part-to-whole logic.

This approach continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in drawing manuals such as *Drawing and Writing*, circa 1730, composed by the father and son George Bickham [1740?], instructions for both were combined and writing was described as an exercise for the hand. Similarly, the *American Drawing Book* (Chapman 1847) opens with a slogan “Any one who can learn to write can learn to draw” (cited in Bermingham 2000: 44). In all periods, however, examples of elaborate art show effectively which skill is more difficult.

For his part, applying ideas of classical education in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, John Locke presented learning to write and learning to draw as a progression that begins with reading English well. In each case he emphasized good technique. With writing, he broke down the stages of calligraphy into a clear sequence for a boy, beginning with how “to hold his pen right, then how to lay his paper, and place his arm and body to it.” Then the boy would copy from a “plate graved with the characters of such a hand as [he liked] best” (section 1693: 160, 214–215). In this context, Locke introduces drawing as a means to “continue the exercise of [the] hand” and improve its use. He argues that drawing is a useful skill for a gentleman, especially when traveling, “as that which helps a man often to express, in a few lines well put

together, what a whole sheet of paper in writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible.” He clarifies that the young man is not seeking to become a painter, but “insight into perspective and skill in drawing, as will enable him to represent tolerably on paper any thing he sees” (section 161, 215).

Gender and Drawing

Locke believed that drawing was a useful skill for everyone (Bermingham 2000). Although the parents of elite boys had commissioned his treatise, and boys were the specific subject, he did not treat girls as being of a different order. Rather, he advocated treating girls as much as possible as one did their brothers, believing that “the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives” (1693: section 9, 89).

In comparison, Rousseau divided his gendered art education into subjects more suitable to males or females and relating the practices to higher ends such as discipline and morality. He advocated that boys learn art in order to acquire “an exactness of eye and flexibility of hand,” and so attain “a clearness of sense-perception” and “good bodily habits” (cited in Bermingham 2000: 168). By contrast, girls should learn art in order to produce needlework, which he (like women moral reformers such as Hannah More and Maria Edgeworth) considered to be both a practical task and a means of inculcating discipline.

Making samplers in particular taught utilitarian and decorative stitches to girls while they were reproducing their moral messages of godliness, obedience, and modesty (Bermingham 2000). Teaching girls and young women botany and how to draw flowers and plants was considered a decorous activity. Girls became acquainted with a beautiful but domesticated nature, at the same time training their minds to think in an orderly fashion.

In the next section, I compare several girl-made manuscripts in relation to the published religious flap discussing how the girls wrote out the words, drew and perhaps colored the pictures, and made the objects out of paper. All the girls appear to have been working from the four-part British text and/or in combination with the American one (itself based on the British text).⁵ I am interested in how the girls apply their literacy knowledge of writing and drawing. Although none of the girls includes the peritextual matter pertaining to needlework, I am intrigued as to how they may be applying skills that they have used on fabric to a paper medium.

Girl-Made Flap Books

Eleanor Schanck's flap book has pen and ink illustrations and is composed of a single sheet of paper folded into four panels. While the date 1777 is inscribed on the text along with her name, where she lived, England or America, is not clear. The images reveal her limited ability to draw but also her ingenuity in design and in interpretation of the presumably religious and traditional text. Her education in literacy and needlework is exhibited as well.

Consistent with the published versions of the flap book, the male figures' clothes are updated to the contemporary period. The costumes of the male characters are all eighteenth-century. The men have chin-length hair, flipped up at the ends, ornate frock coats, and tricorne hats, and one has a cravat. They hold their flowers as if they are offering posies. Even Adam and Eve are not naked; their arms are covered and they wear long drawers. The mermaid's tail is perfunctory.

By contrast, the mythological animals are detailed and domesticated. The lion is transformed into a cat and the griffin into a swan combined with a cat. The eagle is also the swan. This suggests that Eleanor liked drawing cats and swans since she uses the correct terms in the verse by referring to a griffin and to an eagle. Since the images do not accord, this suggests a deliberate decision—a seizing of agency in her drawing in creating a new hybrid monster in the illustrations. The theme of domestication applies to the skeleton as well. It appears to be a man holding his props of an hourglass and cane or scythe dressed in almost a pantomime costume with a black mask, smiling mouth, and with black-covered arms and legs, and a v-shaped variegated design on the chest.

Eleanor's education is suggested by her design sense, her use of roman numerals, and her beautiful handwriting. The needlework aspect is suggested in the additions of the flowery sprigs that represent trees

Figure 11.1 does not appear in the Open Access edition due to rights restrictions.

Figure 11.1. *Eleanor Schanck 1777.* Courtesy: Cotsen Children's Library.

and are most apparent in the elaborate third panel. Here the cross-hatching in the drawings of the heart and moneybag sequence also suggest sampler stitches. The way the elaborate roman numerals of the date are worked around the top ornate figure, resembling a butterfly, MDCC on one side of the image and LXXVII on the other, recalls a sampler.

Eleanor's name appears on the reverse side of the sheet of paper on the back of the third panel, on the flip side of which is the date. There is a faint script that says "her" and perhaps "hand." Her signature is in elegant script. Indeed, her handwriting is so beautiful and clear that it is still easy to read after hundreds of years. This shows her level of penmanship in its application of the tenets as set by educationalists like John Locke. Her creative approach to the illustrations suggests a domestication of a stern and potentially terrifying text if it is to be interpreted literally. Her skill in creating an artifact composed of one sheet carefully folded so that her name appears inscribed on the outside shows her sense of authority as an author. That her name appears to be written on a label proclaims her ownership of the object as if it were a published book (Pearson 1994).

Betsy Lewis's flap book was created circa 1800 in the United States; she writes her location as Dorchester (Massachusetts). Like the other girls' manuscripts, it consists of one sheet of paper folded into flaps. In contrast to the others, it has three panels, the first episode about Adam and Eve being missing.⁶ Since the artifact is composed mainly of water-color illustrations, the visual dimension dominates.

Figure 11.2 does not appear in the Open Access edition due to rights restrictions.

Figure 11.2. *Betsy Lewis* c. 1800. Courtesy: Cotsen Children's Library.

The visual is emphasized further by the layout and design; the neat but utilitarian script occupies less than a third of a leaf, the rest being dominated by the exquisitely rendered, detailed illustrations. Words and images are enclosed in a ribbon-like border that draws the eye in, as to a framed (movable) picture. The impression is of a carefully rendered piece of interactive art with accompanying words.

Since the manuscript does not include the Biblical story and begins with the episode about the lion, as a text the emphasis rests on the sections about the creatures' transformations, the story of the young man stolen by the eagle, and his rise and death. The effect is to reduce the religious teaching but emphasize the moral. Indeed, as I discuss below, the girl has not only apparently studied the illustrations of the published versions in relation to the words, but grasped the movable effects possible in the design and placement of the flaps. These either fall over the midsection of a body or object, creating a split-body effect; provide a view of two separate scenes; or create a split-scene effect as in a comic book (Reid-Walsh 2007). Her adaptation and modifications of these techniques at times create a substantial visual alteration of the published versions.

Each of the creatures, especially the lion and birds, has a character and personality revealed by their stance and attitude. Instead of having the book consist of three separate episodes, Betsy Lewis has drawn the figures in such a way as to connect them with one another, as in a triptych panel painting. The way each is positioned suggests action and emotion: the lion seems to be gazing at the eagle and at the young man in the second episode, while the glamorous young man in the last panel gazes back at the other two. The only isolated figure staring toward the viewer is the skeleton, rendered in black pen and ink, holding a scythe and hourglass. Unlike Eleanor's pantomime-like skeleton, here there is an attempt at anatomy that suggests some training in art.

These visual links occur within the space of individual episodes as well. For example, when the lion transforms into an eagle upon the lifting of the flaps, instead of the eagle being represented stiffly, facing sideways as in the published versions, the eagle looks down at the child he is holding. Similarly, in the next episode this link between the eagle and the human is continued through the eagle's gaze. The most sophisticated depictions occur in the development of this sequence. When the flaps are closed, the words begin in the same way as do the published versions. But unlike the commercial works, Betsy maintains the eagle as a visual presence in her work. The eagle (from the previous sequence) hovers over the head of the young wealthy man who has not only escaped it but has also thrived. The eagle appears to be looking

down at the young man and is holding the top of a heart that is above the young man's head. The image makes sense emblematically for it suggests a connection between the eagle and the person.

Visually, this manuscript is in some ways more coherent than the published texts, which use a split-scene effect that makes no sense when the flaps are closed.⁷ The girl retains the design device, but her visual narrative makes sense even before the leaf is turned down. More surprisingly, this visual coherence continues when the flaps are turned in the opposite way from the directions in the text.

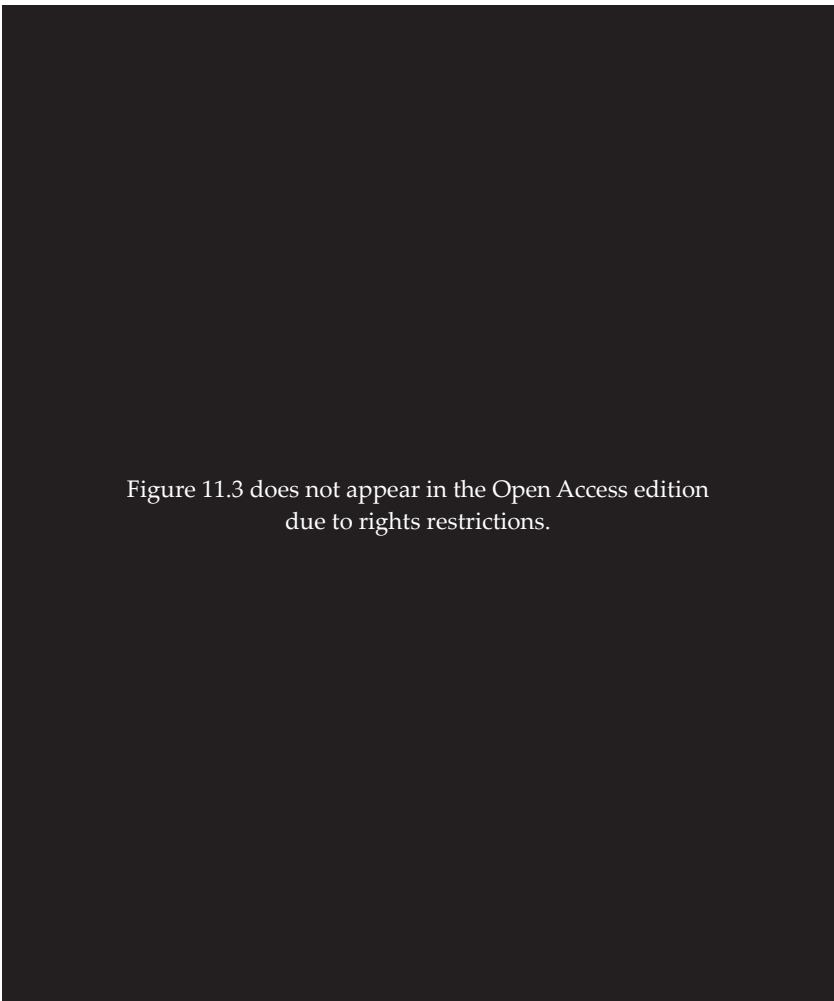


Figure 11.3 does not appear in the Open Access edition due to rights restrictions.

Figure 11.3. *Betsy Lewis <partial mistransformation>*. Courtesy: Cotsen Children's Library.

This photograph shows a flap book with the top flap lifted but the lower one closed (not turned down as is necessary to follow the words in the sequence). This is a lovely mistransformation and is effective in design since the top is the money purse with strings apparently floating over the lower images of flowers and a heart-shaped strawberry.

These images appear to be an ingenious artistic solution to the problems with visual flow in the published versions, for Betsy's art makes sense of each transformation, overriding the words. Notably, the photograph also shows Betsy's self-correction, for there is an error in her transcription. She has crossed out one word that, though illegible, looks like "pound" and has corrected it to "pain."⁸

Sally White Dawson's flap book is mainly pen and brown ink with occasional touches of green and pale pink watercolor (Laura Berry and Margaret Ryther, personal communication). As with the other girl-made religious flap books, this one is based on the four-part British text, *The Beginning, Progress and End of Man* (1650) and the later American

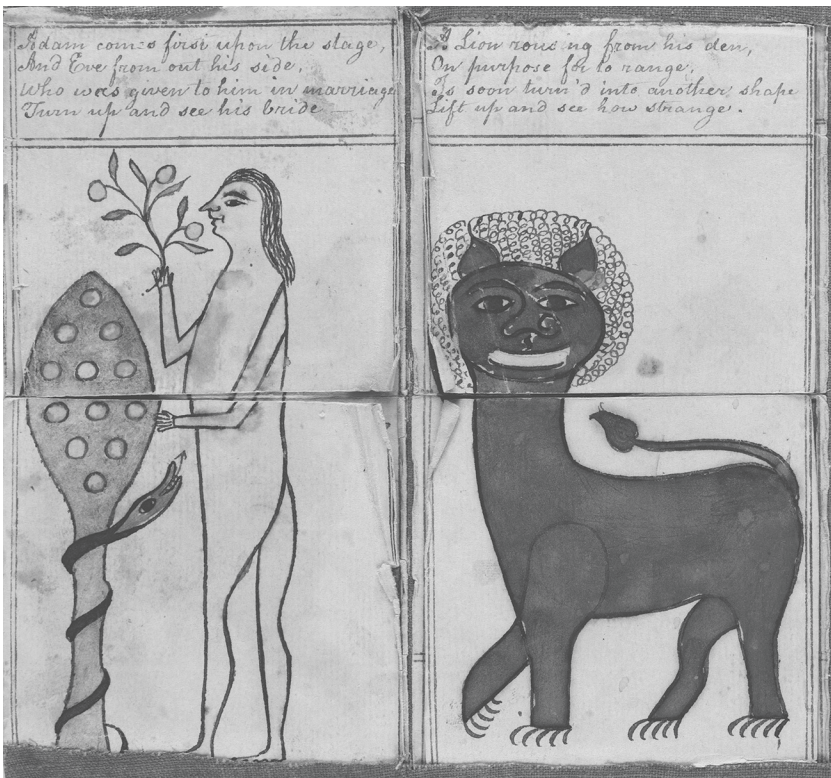


Figure 11.4. Sally White Dawson circa 1805. Courtesy: Margaret Ryther and Laura Berry, the Williamsburg Folks Museum/The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Museum Purchase.

Metamorphosis (1814). In contrast, though, when I saw Sally White Dawson's stylized pale green apple tree with a snake curled around its base, I was struck by how much this illustration appears to be an adaptation of the American flap book. Because of the snake having been drawn on the lower flap but not extended to the top flap, when the flap is lifted the head of the snake does not appear to move. This is comparable to the few other ones I have seen in which the child artists have wrapped the snake around the tree trunk.

As with the other two examples, the most striking differences between the published and handmade version lie in illustrations. Like Eleanor's, Sally's drawing skills seem limited as far as depicting human bodies is concerned, although she has given Adam and Eve slightly different profiles. Again, like Eleanor, she has domesticated the sequence of the lion and griffin, but in her own style. The lion looks like a smiling housecat with long claws, with a lion tail, and a curious but ingenious halo mane; she is creating her own monster.⁹ The griffin (and apparently also an eagle) looks like a domestic fowl (perhaps a chicken). These images suggest that she is drawing creatures with which she is familiar.

As with the other two girls, Sally devotes care to her depictions of flowers. In the episode about the young miser she provides details of three different types of flower that recall sampler art. Like Betsy, Sally makes some effective visual links between the episodes. For example, through the sparing use of pale pink on the apple sprig Adam holds and the flower sprig the young miser holds, she ties the characters together. Similarly, in the final two sequences, she clearly depicts the same man by way of the attire of each, and uses the same distinctively designed moneybag in each.

While there is no name on the document, unlike the other two girl-made flap books, where all I have located so far are the catalogue records, here there is known provenance. Margaret Ryther owns Sally's flap book; it has been passed down through the generations to her. It is known that the flap book was made by her ancestor, Sally White Dawson, of Scottish-Irish descent, who lived in Albermarle County, Virginia, around 1805. It is presently housed in the Folk Museum of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Virginia.

Conclusion: Placing Girls' "Modding" Historically

This discussion of homemade religious flap books made by three girls from the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries, the first either

British or American, and the last two identified as American, reveals insights into a girls' DIY or participatory culture hundreds of years ago. By engaging with the artifacts through looking at the illustrations, reading the words, lifting the flaps up and down, and comparing them with the published versions of similar flap books, it is possible to gain insight into the girls' understandings of the story. Significantly, the flap books reveal a different understanding of girls' literacy education than our own, one that combines writing and drawing as well as copying and creating.

In relation to Henry Jenkins's (2008) anatomy of the process of modding as consisting of appropriating, archiving, annotating, and recirculating, it appears that the girls have merged the various reproductive and creative functions. Each girl has taken a published text (or texts), written out the words and drawn the pictures, and in so doing transformed them into her own creative artifact.¹⁰ This appropriation involves the other functions of archiving and annotating.

Significantly, each girl has maintained the style and format of the commercially produced works. When the flaps are lifted up or down the transformations are consistent with published sequence. In this way, they have created an archive of the artifact. At the same time, within the limits of their skills in writing and drawing, they have annotated the standard religious text and made it their own.

As I have noted, the annotations are primarily visual and are most extensive in the ways in which the girls have drawn and colored the figures, personalized the characters, and implied connections among them. While Eleanor Schanck drew with pen and ink, Betsy Lewis and Sally White Dawson used ink and watercolors. The inclusion of color, to different degrees, is a significant modification in itself, most of the commercial texts, British and American, having black-and-white images.

As I have discussed, the girls tended to domesticate the animals and birds, like turning a lion into a cat, turning a griffin or an eagle into a swan or a chicken, and, on occasion, suggesting relationships between the human characters and the creatures (as in Betsy Lewis's eagle and young man). Indeed Betsy has succeeded in using her own visual logic to transform the images so as to create an improved text, one more coherent than the published originals.

Notably, all the girls have also exhibited skill in drawing flowers, which may relate to their knowledge of floral design for needlework according to the educational beliefs and practices of the period. Depending on their skill and interests they have variously sketched posies in the young men's hands, in the case of Eleanor Schanck; used draw-

ing and exquisite water colors to create floral clusters that, because of their size, appear almost as characters in the scenes in the case of Betsy Lewis; or sparingly used color to connect the flora across different episodes, as in the case of Sally White.

Jenkins's final point about recirculating materials seems to be related to the presumed adult-oriented impetus for the activity. As mentioned above, since the text is of a religious and moral nature, this activity might have been permitted even on the Sabbath. At the same time, within a collective activity or communal setting, since the girls have discriminated between which features to copy, alter, or add to, they are practicing critical literacy skills using writing and drawing equally as means of communication (Locke 1693; Bermingham 2000). This individual critical and creative ability shows how the girls have modified the texts for their own purposes. At the grassroots level, their recirculation adds "value and meaning" and points perhaps to the possibility of "changes in the cultural agenda" (Rose 2013: n.p.). These changes are not spectacular for they have neither added extra episodes nor strayed far from the published texts in relation to the words, or in their sources for the drawings. Rather, the way the girls have formed their drawings and colored the images suggests that each of them has appropriated a purportedly religious text and subtly made it her own. The design of the flap books impels the flaps to fall in the opposite way from the intended religious and moral narrative. How can we think of historical children's play that modifies, and perhaps subverts, the intent of a purportedly religious text? Is this an example of the medieval genre of the "world turned upside down"? (Reid-Walsh 2012b: 70).

The flap books constructed by the three girls, then, give brief glimpses into how girls' DIY or participatory culture flourished in earlier centuries in England and America. Examining their techniques of copying and reworking a commercial text gives a contemporary viewer an glimpse into practices of an earlier, girl-centered domestic culture. The similarity to art illustration and to needlework, samplers in particular, are avenues I wish to explore further in relation to the quiet, contained beauty of their handiwork.

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Notes

1. See <http://sites.psu.edu/play/>
2. For interactive facsimiles of the *Metamorphosis*, please see my project website with Penn State University Libraries: <http://sites.psu.edu/play/>.
3. An image of Sarah Collins's sampler is available on the Winterthur Museum website. <http://museumcollection.winterthur.org>
4. An image of Hannah Smith's sampler is available on the Victorian and Albert Museum website. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O141139/sampler-smith-hannah>
5. These examples form part of an ongoing project on early movable books created for and by children. The first three are housed in the Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University. The fourth is privately owned but held at the Folk Museum in Williamsburg.
6. I need to investigate further to determine why the first section is separate.
7. The illustrations vary in this episode. The British texts show a partial heart over the head of a cavalier, while the American ones show part of a canopied heart over an elegant young man in a landscape. The sequence makes sense only when the leaf is turned down, as directed, to reveal a moneybag.
8. In the 1650 and 1814 texts the word is "same," not "pain" but Betsy keeps the rhyme scheme. Her final two lines follow the American text.
9. I cannot locate a source; it reminds me of halos in religious art and of the iconography of a winged lion with halo representing St. Mark. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lion_of_Saint_Mark.
10. Copying was understood differently in previous centuries before the age of mechanical reproduction. The only originals were God's handiwork. In

modern day terms, educators elided copying and creating, or reproduction and authorship (see discussion in Locke (1693: section 160, 214–215) and Bermingham (2000).

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