

Patchwork Play: Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater and Participatory Media Culture

NICOLE SHERIKO

For the first half of the nineteenth century, as drama proliferated in the licensed and unlicensed theaters of England, a new kind of stage drama appeared on the market – toy theater. Appearing in stationers' shops instead of performance venues, toy theaters were sold as printed sheets of characters, sets, props, proscenium arches, orchestras, and wings that could be decorated, cut out, and assembled to create a paper theater (see fig. 1). Though produced inexpensively on a mass scale, toy theaters were elaborately detailed by artists before and after printing, functioning both as souvenir replicas for theatergoers and as a popular leisure activity for children and adults. Though English toy theater reached its peak around 1810–50, it continued to evolve through penny periodicals and competition with imported foreign models during the second half of the century and lingered in cheaper forms until World War I. It returns again and again across the literature in its wake but remains curiously absent from contemporary criticism.¹ Less ink has been spilled on toy theater as a form in the last 150 years than was probably used to produce it in the decades of its prominence.

As popular media become increasingly central to literary and cultural

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FIGURE 1

Benjamin Pollock (British, 1856–1937), Toy Theater (ca. 1877–1935; wood, cloth, cardboard, and printed and colored paper; 42.6 cm high, by 48.7 cm wide, by 52.2 cm deep). Gift of W. H. Solle, 1938–61–1–a. Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York, N.Y. Photo Credit: Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum/Art Resource, N.Y.

study, toy theater is ripe for critical attention. Other than publications affiliated with museum collections or exhibits, English toy theater has not been the focus of any book-length studies over the past twenty-five years, and the definitive account remains George Speaight's 1969 revision of his 1946 *The History of the English Toy Theatre*.² The essays that do address toy theater seem less interested in its form, patterns of production, and use than in its association with writers and texts. As many of its historians and critics point out, toy theater influenced the later work of numerous literary figures. Charles Dickens (1812–70) and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94) most

famously invoke it, but Lewis Carroll (1832–98), Jack B. Yeats (1871–1957), Aubrey Beardsley (1872–98), John Everett Millais (1829–96), and Ellen Terry (1847–1928), as well as the authors of various nostalgic histories of toy theater, also consumed it as children, many citing it as a “formative influence on their mature aesthetic practice,” as Liz Farr puts it.³ The historian G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936), for example, describes toy theater more broadly as a kind of psychic backdrop for his whole

mind, “something at the back of all my thoughts: very like the back-scene in the theater of things.”⁴ In one of the few essays to engage toy theater substantially, Farr argues that it provided a crucial element of the nineteenth-century boy’s self-construction as a model for the practices of distinguished writers and the desires of middle-class men.⁵ Along these lines, much of the limited criticism on toy theater emphasizes its role in producing artists and their practices, a key to the development of, say, Stevenson and his aesthetics or Winston Churchill and his rhetoric.⁶ While investigations of toy theater’s construction of the self do offer useful insights, they ultimately do not take toy theater as a primary focus of analysis; in these works it becomes a stepping-stone to literary greatness, worth studying because it promises to expand our understanding of more noteworthy aesthetic objects and their producers.⁷

In a similar vein, critics also hold up toy theater as an excellent record of human theater, permitting us a glimpse into what the “real” theaters were like.⁸ Though technically both kinds of theater involve humans (either acting on the stage or manipulating the paper actors), I use the term *human theater* to refer to theater involving performances by human actors. By leveraging the potential strangeness of this term, I mean to challenge the placement of human theater at the center of performance history and resist notions of toy theater’s secondariness. Scenery and costume for human theaters were swiftly altered, disassembled, or repurposed, and toy theaters valuably reproduce and preserve them in minute detail. Toy theater’s sheets indicate the typically broad style of acting, and early versions even indicate which actors played which parts. Yet toy theater does not reproduce human theater so much as it repurposes basic elements of that theater in order to produce new avenues for participating in and contributing to theatrical culture. It invites an engagement with theatrical performance that goes beyond mere spectatorship. The term *toy theater* encompasses a wide array of approaches to using, assembling, arranging, and rearranging the individual paper sheets of characters, props, scen-

ery, and stage materials. When their parts were cut out and assembled into a three-dimensional theater and its cast of performers, these loose sheets called on the consumer as artist, engineer, lighting technician, stage manager, performer, and director. However, toy theater did not necessarily *require* assembly; it was equally marketed to and enjoyed by consumers whose chief delight was in hand-decorating individual sheets and who privileged the scenic design of the sheet over enacting their own private theatricals. The often-cited advertisement of toy theater sheets as “penny plain, two-pence coloured” reflects the many different uses of toy theater and manners of engaging with it.⁹ Similarly suggestive are the directions on the printing firm W. Webb’s printed stage front: “to be used flat or built” (see fig. 2). Some consumers bought plain sheets and used them flat to enjoy the process of coloring; others bought colored sheets and built the theater from them in order to be able to stage their own performances more quickly. Open to decoration, construction, or any combination of these possibilities, toy theater is built on a principle of creative consumer use that transcends the mere replication of human theater.

This vibrant, interactive theatrical practice plays such a vital role in the broader theatrical culture that Speaight privileges toy theater (also known as *juvenile drama*) over human plays, claiming: “The plays themselves are, I suggest, the least important things about the nineteenth-century drama. . . . If you want to study and really enjoy this period of the theatre you cannot do better than start by buying the plays as Juvenile Dramas.”¹⁰ While he may overstate the case, some toy theater did compete in prominence with the human theater so often the focus of toy theater studies. The most popular toy theater play, *The Miller and His Men*, may have initially gained popularity because the stage play was popular (it was first shown on the human stage in 1813), but it endured because it maximized the potential of toy theater.¹¹ Its lasting popularity as a drama is due to



FIGURE 2

A printed stage front before cutting and assembling. Source: William Webb, "Webb's New Stage Front" (London: Webb, ca. 1880). Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library (call no. ART 265172).

the popularity of the toy theater version, which was printed, reprinted, and even issued in new formats for years after the play had left the human stage. Hence, toy theater offers valuable insights into human theater and the aesthetic productions of those who engaged with it as children, but it also rewards attention to its unique forms and patterns of use. These reflect an expansive participatory media culture that reshaped the larger media landscape of nineteenth-century entertainment.

This essay aims most broadly to position toy theater as a vital site of analysis for cultural critics, performance theorists, and media scholars by insisting that it has social value not as an accessory to critically dominant fields of literary and theatrical production but as itself constitutive of nineteenth-century media history and the modes of media

engagement that develop from that period into our own contemporary moment.¹² More particularly, it argues that toy theater, as a key aesthetic, social, and economic engagement with theatrical culture, destabilizes the singular dominance of the human stage. In doing so, it produces a new kind of media landscape driven more fully by consumers' artistic production. I begin by tracing how toy theater leverages stage melodrama's use of tableau as both a static scene and an index of action to create a range of possible ways to participate in the theatricality of toy theater. I draw on a wide range of toy theater character sheets, scenes, and scripts, considering especially the yet-untapped evidence of consumers' creative engagement – hand coloring,

cutting, pasting, and rearranging the original printed sheets.¹³ Through these materials, I describe decorative practices implied by many dominant accounts of the form, performative practices overlooked by those accounts, and the infinite possibilities of blending the two. As the range of stylistic approaches to decorating and repurposing toy theater characters in these archival sheets shows, at the core of toy theater's aesthetics is a notion of patchwork play, whose endless possibilities constitute toy theater as a form distinguished by the process of fracturing and reassembling its elements. Because the participation of the consumer is required to make sense of their many pieces, toy theaters function as a vital site for not only re-membering previous entertainments but also imagining new ones, thereby inspiring a creative production that is not derivative of existing theatrical culture. This imaginative engagement makes toy theater a vital node in an emergent network of entertainments increasingly shaped by the inventive production of consumers. The resulting relationship between artistic consumption and artistic production offers a prehistory as it anticipated and illuminated the rise of twentieth- and twenty-first-century media culture.



On the human melodramatic stage, theatrical performances privilege visual spectacle, taking great pains to present “tumbling waterfalls, speeding trains, and burning ships.”¹⁴ While the patent theaters held a monopoly on staging drama until 1843, nonpatent venues could work around the law by presenting shows without dialogue, producing a wide range of entertainments driven by visual spectacle.¹⁵ Sadler’s Wells presented naval dramas in a real water tank, and Astley’s Royal Amphitheatre brought in live horses for actors to ride in the pit. The same privileging of visual spectacle shapes toy theater. The most popular toy theater play, *The Miller and His Men*, called for expensive and dangerous “red fire” for its final exploding mill scene and also used crackers to produce small explosions, special effects that might seem more practical on a large human stage

than a small paper one.¹⁶ Even though, along with the colza oil footlights, this red fire often threatened to burn down the paper theater (and sometimes succeeded), it was a nonnegotiable feature of toy theater spectacle.¹⁷ As the toy theater practitioner and historian A. E. Wilson (1885–1949) claims: “Red fire to burn” – there was a lavishness about that stage direction that urged one toward recklessness and bankruptcy.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, these logistic and financial pressures did not prevent toy theater consumers from privileging its spectacular qualities.

Toy theater characters too rely on a model of visual spectacle, one defined by a gestural and sartorial vocabulary rather than by an attention to psychology, subjectivity, or interiority.¹⁹ Michael Booth’s foundational catalog of melodramatic types on the stage may contain more psychological complexity than appears in toy theater, but his inclusion of an illustration for each type underscores the extent to which all were visually delineated on the human stage.²⁰ Even in the patent theaters, where characters could speak dialogue and offer interiority, the theaters’ enormous size prevented clear aural transmission and encouraged models of characterization that were visually comprehensible. Wilson’s description of the common range of characters on toy theater sheets fits this mold by invoking them in generally sartorial terms; he sees “sedate, long-skirted columbines, harlequins, pantaloons, strange policemen in top hats, and sprites, Jack Puddings, and goblins,” suggesting that the clothes do not *make* the character but *are* the character.²¹ This primacy of clothing is further emphasized by the guidebooks for drawing toy theater characters from life, which prioritize elaborate clothing surfaces by suggesting that the artist come to the performance with a generic body and face already sketched in a stock melodramatic pose to allow more time during the show for particularizing the sketch with clothing and accessories.²² The very means of producing the character sheets, then, yielded characters defined by their scenic qualities: stock



FIGURE 3

Plate 1 of "Redington's Characters and Scenes in The Corsican Brothers." Note that the five figures at the bottom center and right replicate those in the small illustration at the top center. Source: Folder 27, box 4, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

types reflected through their physical appearance and spatial rather than psychological relationships visible on the page.

The pinnacle of both human theater's and toy theater's focus on character as visual spectacle is the tableau, the stage image that sometimes closed dramatic scenes with characters carefully arranged in dynamic and iconic poses. In human theater, the tableau often presented the apex of a melodrama; acts or scenes sometimes ended in tableaux that pictorially illustrated a climactic moment, crystallizing action and interaction in a reproducible snapshot. These stage images often froze the action at its high point in purposeful arrangements sometimes even explicitly delineated in the printed script. Toy theater often replicates these iconic gestures and clusters

of characters in the character sheets for sale, with characters arranged on the page to duplicate existing stage tableaux or imagine new ones from other scenes.²³ In the Victorian spectacular theater, the practice of treating the stage as a sort of picture made this replication of the human stage in a paintable toy theater sheet intuitive.²⁴ The miniature tableaux that often top the title sheets of toy theater plays, flanked by cutout figures in similar or identical poses, underscore the tableau's line of influence on character sheet postures. The characters on the first sheet of the printing firm J. Reding-

ton's "Characters and Scenes in *The Corsican Brothers*" (1852), for instance, perfectly replicate those contained in the small, detailed tableau at the top center of the page (see fig. 3). The tableau logic of the sheets offered exciting static images while also suggesting dynamic possibilities for play and encouraging a range of decorative and performative practices for toy theater consumers.

For some consumers, the resemblance of the character sheets to tableaux invited their decoration as complete, coherent images. These consumers are overwhelmingly represented among historians of toy theater, who preferred not to stage toy theater plays but to decorate the individual sheets as one might treat a coloring book, seeing the colored images as an end in itself. Robert Louis Stevenson claims that, "when all was painted, it is needless to deny it, all was spoiled," Wilson argues that "base and loathly was the boy who bought his sheets ready-coloured and sacrificed cravenly the joys of craftsmanship and the pride of creation," and *The Times* drama critic John Oxenford (1812–77) insists that receiving a fully colored set of sheets "would have been regarded with the indifference with which an angler would contemplate a basket of killed fish offered as a substitute for his expected day's sport."²⁵

Engaging with toy theater primarily through its intact sheets – the preference of these and many other consumers – is a method fully licensed by the character sheets themselves. The catalog from William West's printing firm explains: "The Whole of the Characters are Finely Engraved, from Original Drawings, in their Exact Costume, and Printed on Fine Drawing Paper, *purposely for Colouring*."²⁶ Such sheets developed alongside the hobby of tinseling portraits, that is, decorating printed illustrations of famous actors in their theatrical roles by laying on a patchwork of paint, swatches of fabric, spangles, armor plates, and in some cases even tiny jewels, thus producing expensive finished portraits that were often framed and displayed as art objects. While few character sheets might have been decorated and displayed in this way, the shops that sold them also stocked tinseling supplies and advertised them in

toy theater scripts. (Redington even calls his shop a "Print and Tinsel Warehouse.") Consumers like Wilson specifically remember "with ecstasy" the decoration process, the "glad toil with paint brush and water-colours, the glue and the cardboard, the glittering frost and tinsel paper."²⁷ Some character sheets (especially, it seems, those for classic dramas like Shakespeare's) strike a balance between actor portraits and simpler characters by including scenery drawn behind them that locates them firmly in a particular location.²⁸ Decorative engagement with toy theater relied on the character sheets' similarity to tableaux for two reasons. First, the visual delineation of character provided elaborate costuming that invited decoration. Second, in order for the sheets to exist compellingly as complete objects, they had to offer a cohesive vision rather than a collection of pieces to be assembled. In that way, they embrace a tableau logic to turn collections of cut-out characters into seemingly inalienable parts of an artistic whole.

The archival traces of toy theater – and its historians – privilege these decorative practices because intact sheets were more often preserved than were cutout characters. However, the predominance of strong preferences for decorating in the early commentary on toy theater obscures the history and rich possibilities of performance. As Speaight points out: "Unfortunately, the people who have written so discursively and so charmingly about the toy theatre have usually been rather unpractical, 'literary' types; the practical boys who made the thing work never seem to have written about it afterwards." Speaight's disagreement with this prioritization of decorating the sheets – "delightful though it is to handle and brood over the sheets, they only really fulfill their destiny and come alive upon the stage itself" – underscores the fact that toy theater functioned differently for different people.²⁹ Speaight speaks as strongly on behalf of performing as other historians do on behalf of decorating. More fundamentally, the oppositional structure of these debates regard-



FIGURE 4

Plate 6 from "Pollock's Characters in The Miller and His Men," showing multiple Lothairs (top row) in similar poses. Source: Folder 21, box 4, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

ing the right way to consume toy theater obscures its essential flexibility and the wide range of possibilities for its use.

A character sheet from *The Miller and His Men* illustrates clearly how even those features that seem intended for decoration as complete tableaux in fact also underpin deeply performative possibilities of use. *The Miller and His Men* offers a fairly normative example because it was printed and engraved by so many different companies and circulated so widely that in some ways it set the standard for later toy theater plays.³⁰ First, the sheets visually convey not only the characters' underlying qualities through gesture but also their relationships to one another through their relative positioning on the page. The most common character sheet pose involves having one leg bent, a posture that enables relational attitudes: that characters lean toward or away from

each other indicates something about their relationship.³¹ Characters are often deliberately grouped together on the page in dialogue with enemies or friends. In the printing firm B. Pollock's character sheet from *The Miller and His Men* (see fig. 4), for example, the protagonist Lothair is drawn as if engaged in a sword fight with the figure to the left of him, Grindoff, who is the play's chief antagonist. While this character sheet provides multiple versions of Lothair from climactic moments in the play, even these seem interchangeable. All three Lothairs in the top row lean toward Grindoff at almost the same angle, and, even if Claudine is added to be carried by Lothair, he still holds his sword in a position that allows him to

participate in the fight. Even as the sheet produces multiple Lothairs, it retains the character's core relational attitude toward Grindoff, suggesting that the tableau mode of the sheets creates character as a visual relation in space rather than an interpersonal, dialogic one.

These poses and positionings suggest that the character sheet has a coherence all its own and actually offers valuable information about the relationships among characters that would be lost in cutting them apart. At the same time, however, the poses it presents offer a dynamism well suited to the characters being moved around the stage, already conveying a sense of motion through shifting strands of hair and pieces of costume. Character as a visual relation in space is as achievable in the choreography of a performance as it is on the printed sheet. The clear attitudes to the left or the right serve as mnemonic devices for how to align characters in performance (e.g., the consumer must make sure to end up with Lothair on the right in order to perform his fight with Grindoff successfully). Importantly, they also allow the performer to extend the logic of relational attitudes to convey new ideas. Characters drawn leaning toward each other may swap positions in performance in order to suggest disdain or a refusal to fight that is not suggested by the original sheets.

A second key feature of toy theater character sheets that offers possibilities for both decoration and performance is the mixture of separable and inseparable figures. Some sheets make their orientation toward performance clearer by including characters or figures that interrupt a tableau and seemingly demand to be cut out. The coach placed vertically between two characters in Skelt's *The Brigand* (1829) interrupts the otherwise straightforward tableau they produce together and bisects the neatly colored ground the consumer has added to unite all the characters in a single scene (see fig. 5). Such characters appear throughout the sheets, placed upside down or otherwise oriented to maximize page space rather than contribute to a cohesive page image. But, while these characters disrupt the sheets, they simultaneously of-

fer opportunities for decorating as individual objects or portraits. In other cases, characters seem too integrated in the tableau to be separated. In the *Corsican Brothers* plate (fig. 3), two characters overlap with the miniature title tableau in such a way that they blend into its trees. One sword is even partially miscolored as a tree branch, suggesting that decorating overrides cutting. Though in this and other sheets many characters appear as separate entities on the page – much like two of the Lothairs – some seem to suggest that they should not or cannot be cut apart. Some characters are obviously inextricable from others. In the plate from *The Miller and His Men* (fig. 4), for example, one of the Lothairs carries Claudine. The directors who wish to cut out their characters for production cannot cut these two apart, just as they cannot cut apart the conjoined figures of the captain, the doctor, and Louis in the *Corsican Brothers* sheet (fig. 3). Conjoined main characters appear throughout sheets, regardless of the publisher issuing them. In addition, bandits, brigands, and especially soldiers and dancers are very often drawn as a single unit that serves almost as a scenic backdrop for the action (fig. 5). Sometimes these small conjoined figure tableaux were new characters added in the shift from human to toy theater, offering the performer more figures to play with, and also giving the decorator more miniature scenes to embellish. Webb's toy theater version of *The Miller and His Men*, for example, introduces dancing "Zingari" who function as one moving unit.³² Dancers were likely to be moved – wiggled back and forth on the metal slides – during the performance, but groups of carousers or soldiers were often pasted to wooden blocks to set the scene. They became backdrops for action and in their immobility further highlight their status as small tableaux.

However, even if the conjoined nature of these pairs and groups of characters seems to suggest their usefulness as coherent images to be decorated, it also enables efficiencies of movement well suited to performance. Having Lothair



already attached to Claudine saves the performer a tricky maneuver, and conjoined dancers and soldiers are more easily moved as a unit. Imagine a troop of soldiers moving as one across the stage. The ground often drawn beneath such a group's feet, along with the characters' shadows, seems to anchor them to the floor as a single visual unit (as in figs. 3–5), but such anchoring does not necessarily imply immobility. The common ground suggests that these characters share the same space: whether it recalls the theater boards on which the characters could stand or the sheet itself as an illustrated world depends on how the owner aims to use it. The stage tableau presents a moment of frozen action at its most dynamic. In its character sheet versions, decorators could leverage what is frozen, while performers could leverage the potential for action and enliven the static gestures through play.

Patchwork Play

FIGURE 5

Plate 7 from "Skelton's Characters in The Brigand," showing a group of generic brigands. Source: Folder 7, box 5, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

The character sheets' borrowing of the melodramatic stage tableau as a structural principle, then, does not so much reproduce human theater as offer a way to forge new imaginative creations. Characters defined less by their particular stage role and more by their clothing and gestures appealed to owners who desired to embellish them as well as to owners who saw the chief pleasure of toy theater as its performance. While such owners might stage the entire original play once, the delight of toy theater characters—like the dolls or tin soldiers that were also popular—endured in their potential to create endless adventures. The generic gestures and faces allow for flexibility, and the stock costuming indicates a rough skeleton around which one might build new

characters or narratives, freeing these figures from their original names and narratives. Owners who were unfamiliar with the original stories, had lost their acting scripts or never purchased them, and thus had no sense of who the characters were supposed to be could instead engage toy theater characters by choosing favorites to play with solely on the basis of their appearance, thus privileging recognizable and spectacular types – the swashbuckling pirate, the damsel in distress – over any particular figure in a play. Decorators too could make use of the generalized features and dress to act as costume designers, imagining the aesthetic world these characters belong to. The generic faces and poses of the body thus became, rather than black boxes obscuring the particulars of the play, blank slates for imagining new stories.

In *The Miller and His Men*, for example, these sheets introduce a mix-and-match principle by including multiple versions of the same character to be swapped out to perform different kinds of actions. If this principle is extended beyond the original play, the characters can be transformed in a variety of imaginative ways. Lothair might rescue Claudine and carry her off into a romance, leaving the bandits behind to pursue a new adventure (imagining a sort of sequel to the original tale), or, by swapping out one version of his character for another, a performer might introduce the sword-brandishing Lothair earlier than the original play demands, thus hastening his moment of swashbuckling heroism. The owner might reimagine the characters, using the figure of Lothair carrying Claudine, not to make him rescue her and carry her to safety, but to establish him as a villain who kidnaps her and carries her off to his lair. Alternatively, the owner might assign the figure Lothair a new identity, pair him off with a renamed villain or sidekick from another play, and imagine an entirely new adventure. The varying poses of toy theater characters enable each main character to accomplish almost anything, but even those characters without multiple poses, like the almost scenic groups of soldiers pasted to blocks, prove generic enough to be deployed in almost any scenario.³³

The possibilities for tweaking the narrative and characters (or creating entirely new ones) are virtually endless. This modularity is the delight of toy theater performers, who imagine the characters as alienable not only from their tableau-like sheets but also from their originally prescribed roles and plays.

The stock nature of the characters as well as the fact that they were almost always produced in the same standard size on character sheets suggests an owner's ability to intermix characters from different plays.³⁴ The sheet makers' economically motivated decision to recycle some old scenery for newly printed toy theater plays also suggests that a kind of interchangeability is knowingly built into the sheets, thus allowing the worlds of different toy theater plays to collide. Funnily enough, in archives such recycling often earns these sheets a spot in the "miscellaneous" folder, an appropriate location for these artifacts because it replicates the eclectic collections of individual owners.³⁵ The mixing of cut-out figures, then, allows not only the reassembly of existing shows but also the production of new ones. We should think of the recycled, patchwork quality of toy theater performance not as secondary and derivative but as a primary form of imaginative labor.

The flexibility built into each sheet underscores the extent to which toy theater offers more than one compelling way of using its elements. As historians' heated debates over decorating versus performing further make clear, the question of what constitutes toy theater as a form remains up for debate. While some saw decorating as an end in itself, others saw it as the first step before cutting and assembling, using cutout figures to make new tableaux or rehearse and stage a play. Still others bought the sheets already colored to skip ahead to playing. Others, of course, may simply have enjoyed collecting sheets from favorite plays without any plans for further ornamentation or performance. For Speaight, the "destiny" of toy theater sheets is to become a performance, making the sheets themselves

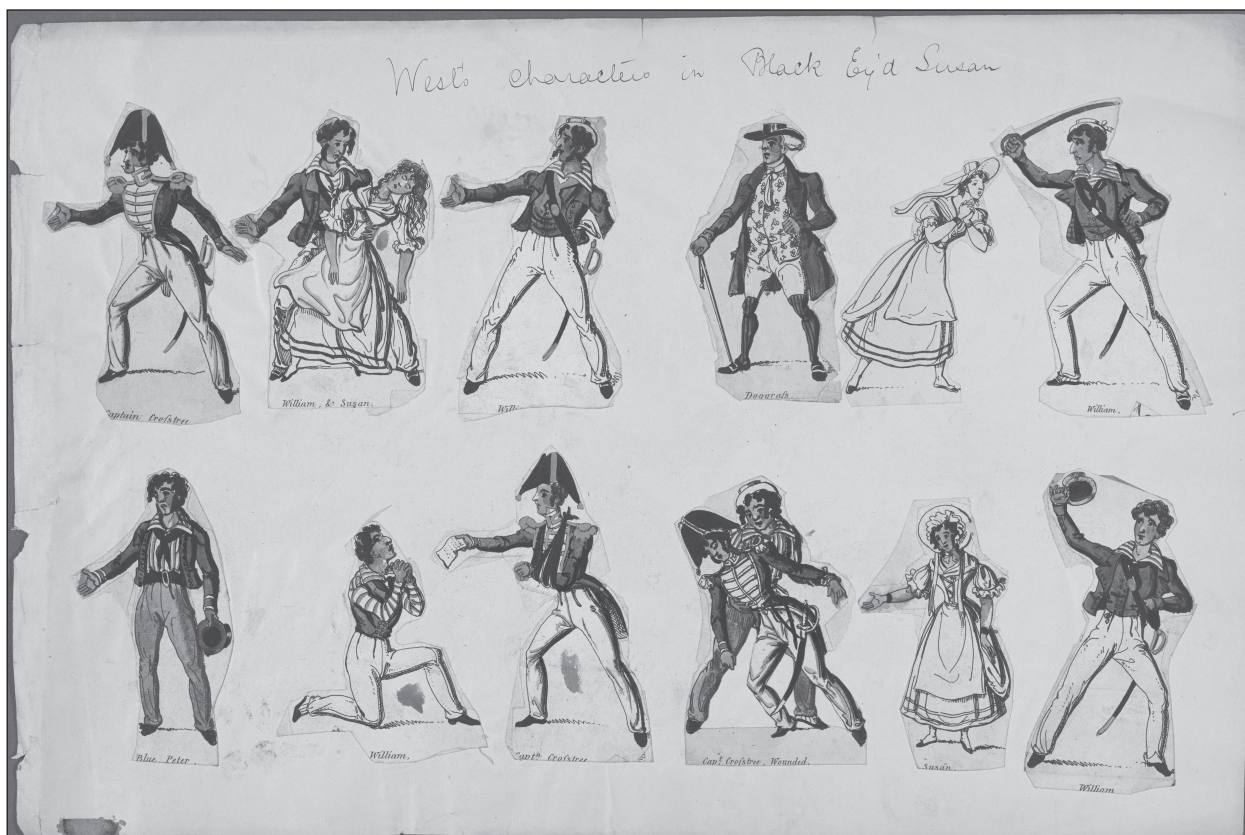


FIGURE 6

A selection of West's characters in Black Eyed Susan cut out and pasted onto a new sheet of paper. The lack of flat bottoms on these cutouts suggests that they were never inserted into flat metal slides for use in a performance, being cut out instead for an altogether different purpose. Source: Folder 3, box 9, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

fragments that require assembly. For the decorators, by contrast, the sheets are not fragments at all but artistic wholes, and cutting them apart is a process not of creation but of destruction. For those considering toy theater as a souvenir with which to restage human theater, the sheets already fragment the original play, and it is paradoxically only by cutting the characters apart that the original play can be reassembled. For those considering toy theater as a set of tools for theatrical production, there is no original production to reassemble, only a new one to assemble for the first time.

Endless permutations of these options appear in the archives, even though for practical reasons the intact sheet remains the primary material. Cutout characters survive, both loose for performance and pasted onto sheets of paper in new arrangements either by collectors or by owners, suggesting that even those in the decorative rather than the performative camp found a range of ways to imagine the character sheets as raw ma-

terial (see fig. 6). These owners have taken the performer's interest in cutting out characters and combined it with the decorator's tendency to see the characters on a sheet as a coherent, pleasing image, cutting out characters to make not new plays but what are effectively new sheets. In this way, even those sheets seemingly made for performance (with upside-down characters and sideways coaches) find new uses among decorators. This range of engagements is made possible by the sheets themselves, which are built and advertised to enable many different forms of play simultaneously.

The print sellers frame the notion of a complete play in a productively ambiguous way that advertises toy theater's flexibility as a form. The printing firm

J. Bailey's sheets, for instance, are typical in containing some version of the running head "Complete in 5 Plates of Characters, 8 Scenes, & 5 portraits," but does that mean that the toy theater will be completed by the purchase of these eighteen items or that the buyer must do the work of completion (painting, cutting, etc.)?³⁶ That is, does *complete* function as an adjective describing the sheets or a verb directing necessary work? Is toy theater complete only in the aggregate, or is each sheet complete in itself? Archivists sometimes classify toy theaters as complete or incomplete on the basis of whether all the plates are present, but often beautifully decorated collections of sheets have been bound together by owners with string despite not containing every sheet. In addition, print sellers' advertising seems to suggest that the consumer can produce a complete collection by purchasing items not restricted to the original sheets.³⁷ Pollock's scripts advertise, "These Prices are with Books of Words complete," suggesting that the script is a required element, but the script can be bundled with either colored or uncolored sheets and might contain directions for how to color, suggesting a range of different models of completeness.³⁸ Webb's scripts, like many others, advertise: "[Webb] also publishes Drop Scenes, Orchestras, Top Drops, Foot Pieces, Proscenium Wings, Fairy Scenes, &c., suited to the above. / Every requisite for the Juvenile Theatre, such as PAINTS, BRUSHES, FROST, &c. / Halfpenny Characters of all kinds kept in stock. Tinsel Dots, Stars, &c. kept."³⁹ This suggests that there are many more pieces "requisite" for what the magazine *The Boys of England* (1866–99) calls "complete plays for home amusement."⁴⁰ The stage may or may not be required for a complete entertainment, and, as we have already seen in Webb's multipurpose stage front that was available for "built" construction or "flat" decoration, the stage itself could be considered a completed object in either form. What constitutes a complete toy theater depends entirely on the consumer's mode of engagement.

What is ultimately essential to toy theater as a form, then, is not any particular type of engagement or model of

completeness but the demand for creative consumer engagement produced by the form's limitless potential. The formal flexibility that enabled consumers to define their own practices, their own relationships between any number of collected toy theater elements, and their own sense of toy theater's purpose lies at the heart of a media culture increasingly defined by consumer participation in reshaping modes of popular entertainment. Whether painting or cutting, assembling or disassembling, staging or watching a toy theater performance, consuming toy theater involves far more than simply paying for it. It is the loss of this interactive mode of consumption that toy theater owners feared as toy theater began to decline. Wilson's prioritizing of the spectacle of the sheets is closely intertwined with his ability to paint them: "Fancy a penny plain, twopence coloured version of one of Ibsen's social dramas! . . . Where would be the chance for the verdant greens, the rich reds, the violent purples, the glorious blues of the paint box?"⁴¹ A toy theater character sheet of an Ibsen play, with the century's increasingly monochromatic dress and the realist theater's increasingly subtle gestural styles, offers more limited opportunities for a consumer who loves to use the bold colors of his paint box. What distinguishes toy theater from other similar items like lithographic actor portraits, precinematic toys, and photography is precisely its need to be constructed rather than simply observed.

Consumers of toy theater not only participated in the local act of engaging with their own toy theater but also became a part of the much larger media landscape to which toy theater belonged. Their participation produced new characters, stories, and visual spectacles, making toy theater a vehicle for imagination rather than just memory of the human stage. Whether engaged as performance or decorative art, toy theaters could be used to transform mass-produced, preset figures into something new. In that process, consumers became producers, and the larger entertainment

REDINGTON'S

SCRAPS



IN RUTLANDSHIRE.



IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

London, Pub. by J. REDINGTON, 208, Hoxton Old Town & sold by J. WEBB, 75 Brick Lane S^t Lukes

FIGURE 7

One of "Redington's Scraps" offering more fodder for inventive play. Source: Folder 35, box 4, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library.

industry adjusted to include that production. At the level of the individual shop, stationers explicitly encouraged both narrative and decorative invention in their customers' use of toy theater. In addition to selling tinsel and other decorative items, shops also sold backdrops and sheets of nonspecific characters not belonging to any play; West printed sheets of "Fairy Cars" and "Good & Evil Genies," and Redington printed "New Fairies," "New Demons," and "New Foot Soldiers" available in many types of national dress and ready like a bag of green army men for any adventure.⁴² The existence of a genre of sheets literally called *scraps* – which contained small generic scenes to be repurposed – underscores toy theater's commitment to encouraging inventive assemblages (see fig. 7).⁴³

One shop owner even encouraged invention to the point of financially rewarding it, printing "a booklet of plain scenes and characters, to be coloured and submitted with a toy theatre acting version for a prize of £20 and a toy theatre."⁴⁴ Consumers become the producers of new plays as toy theater becomes a site for debuting rather than duplicating dramas.

In the media landscape beyond stationery shops and parlor performances, toy theater as a form became an inspiration for rather than a derivative of human stage performance. In the increasingly saturated print market of serialized stories and penny dreadfuls, boys' magazines appealed to readers by including

for free or a nominal charge sheets of toy theater characters for the stories unfolding in their pages. In 1866, *The Boys of England* published the first English toy theater play not based on a stage play, *Alone in the Pirate's Lair*, which was inspired by one of its serialized stories.⁴⁵ Soon, the play ended up on the human stage, and other original toy theater plays began to see similar stagings. Stage plays inspired by prose works were not a new phenomenon (see, e.g., the many adaptations of popular novels), but these were the first stories initially theatricalized through toy theater rather than in human theaters.⁴⁶ The original performers of these dramas, then, were the children reading the magazines rather than professional adult actors on the human stage. To this extent, toy theater constituted a kind of amateur theatrical at least as influential as the human amateur theatrical performances also populating the media landscape.⁴⁷ Toy theater's capacity for invention extends even beyond the stage and the broader theatrical community; both Speaight and Mary Louise McKenzie suggest that Stevenson's writing is the narrative version of an imagined toy theater play. As Speaight observes: "[W]hat is *Treasure Island* but one of the piratic dramas retold?"⁴⁸ Such an utterance inverts the usual movement of adaptation from novel to performance, suggesting toy theater as the creative point of origin.

In its interface with wider theatrical and nontheatrical contexts, toy theater models a kind of mass culture dictated not from the top down but from the bottom up, driven by the imaginative potential of a pastime that expands access to theatrical performance. Toy theaters offer another site for performance of old and new dramas, extending theatrical culture into stationer's shops, parlors, and the streets, and thus making it available to a broader social community. As Lynn Voskuil notes, the Victorians felt that shared images had the "capacity to mass them together as a public," and as consumers engaged toy theater they produced a media landscape where images acted through – instead of simply on – the public.⁴⁹ Eileen Blumenthal's categorization of toy theater as a form of world puppetry that performs a kind of public

service also underscores the sense that toy theater has a more significant cultural role than simply being the plaything of many individuals.⁵⁰

In addition to reshaping the modes of sociality around entertainment, toy theater's consumers also became a potent force as creative producers working alongside industrial production of the media landscape. The character decorators in particular asserted a surprising degree of agency as they negotiated toy theater's combination of craft and industrial labor. In her work on miniature forms, Susan Stewart claims: "We cannot separate the function of the miniature from a nostalgia for preindustrial labor, a nostalgia for craft."⁵¹ This nostalgia is fulfilled by the artistic process of individually decorating the small characters, the part of the process that many historians and owners of toy theaters insist is the most pleasurable. Early tinseling of theatrical figures involved embellishing mass-printed portraits by cutting sheets of foil to the right size for armor and decorations, but as the hobby grew in popularity portrait artists began to standardize the shapes and sizes of armor and decoration, and foil producers began to standardize foil cutouts, pulling what had been an amateur and individualized craft back toward mass production. Performance of toy theater, too, found itself in tension with commercial forces aiming to co-opt that creativity; as we have already seen, contests to invent new plays were deployed as marketing tools, and new toy theater plays eventually found their way to the human stages.

As the line between consumers and producers blurred, the nineteenth-century entertainment industry became a feedback loop of attempts to capitalize on and mass-produce the original artisanal production of consumers, who in turn endeavored to individualize mass-produced entertainment in inventive new ways. As toy theater prompted the entertainment industry to consider the original creative output of consumers, it became an early instance of a highly participatory multimedia landscape that

characterized the more heavily theorized mass media cultures of the late twentieth century and the twenty-first century. This *participatory culture*, as the comparative media scholar Henry Jenkins describes it, destabilizes and renegotiates the relationship between consumers and producers of media.⁵² In contemporary media studies – especially in Jenkins’s work on fan culture – creative consumer production decenters commercially produced media and its producers as cultural authorities, thus offering much more than an economic intervention in the entertainment sphere.⁵³ By helping produce an expansive and variegated media landscape, toy theater proves critical to an understanding of nineteenth-century mass culture. It is not accessory to but constitutive of theater and modes of performance beyond the human stage. In this sense, toy theater is as vitally important to the history of theater and media studies as it is to a history of things, children’s toys, or collectibles. Considering it as a visual art, a site of performance, and a paradigm-shifting engagement with mass media offers nineteenth-century studies new insights not just into the creative work of celebrated individuals but also into mass culture, print culture, sociality, and theatricality. Toy theater offers critics an especially fertile ground for rethinking these histories, encouraging divergent approaches to its form as it invites critics to engage its processes of disassembly and reassembly in their own work to imagine new critical possibilities.

NOTES

I thank Matthew Buckley and the reading room staff at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

1. While toy theater was relatively short-lived in the nineteenth century, the form has much older roots. Eileen Blumenthal’s history of global puppetry notes that “Sebastian Serlio’s 1545 handbook on stage design suggests crafting pasteboard characters and moving them along grooves on the floor,” thus locating toy theater at the foundation of perspectival scenery and modern theater design. See Eileen Blumenthal, *Puppetry: A World History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams,

2005), 15. The form may date back to antiquity. See Richard Beacham, “Heron of Alexandria’s ‘Toy Theatre’ Automaton: Reality, Allusion and Illusion,” in *Theatre, Performance and Analogue Technology: Historical Interfaces and Intermedialities*, ed. Kara Reilly (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 15–39. Though no longer carrying the same cultural import, toy theaters remain for sale at Pollock’s Toy Museum in London, which descended from Benjamin Pollock’s original stationer’s shop and now houses many fully assembled and decorated examples on display.

2. George Speaight, *The History of the English Toy Theatre* (1946), rev. ed. (London: Studio Vista, 1969). The most recent book-length study, Peter Baldwin’s *Toy Theatres of the World* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1992), largely situates English toy theater by placing it alongside traditions from around the world; Baldwin’s indebtedness to Speaight’s history is underscored by Speaight’s contributing a foreword to the book.

3. Liz Farr, “Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections: The Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater, Boyhood, and Aesthetic Play,” in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 43–61, 43. See also Robert Louis Stevenson, “A Penny Plain, Two Pence Coloured,” in *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson* (London: Heinemann, 1924), 103–9. William Thackeray’s (1811–63) *Vanity Fair* (1847) also mentions characters playing with a toy theater. See William Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 715 (chap. 56).

4. G. K. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1936), 32.

5. Farr, “Paper Dreams,” 44. On toy theater as introducing the literary aesthetics of Romanticism to children, see Suzanne Rahn, *Rediscoveries in Children’s Literature* (New York: Garland, 1995; reprint, New York: Routledge, 2011), 23–38 (“Wild Models of the World: The Lure of the Toy Theater”), 34.

6. On Stevenson and his aesthetics, see Mary Louise McKenzie, “The Toy Theatre, Romance, and *Treasure Island*: The Artistry of R.L.S.,” *English Studies in Canada* 8, no. 4 (1982): 409–21. On Churchill’s wartime rhetoric as inflected by *The Miller and His Men* specifically, see Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 182.

7. McKenzie (“The Toy Theatre, Romance, and *Treasure Island*”), e.g., leverages toy theater as a means to study Stevenson rather than considering it as worthy of study in and of itself.

8. Bill Hurlbut’s “Toy Theater Documentation: *The Miller and His Men*” (*Theatre Studies* 26 [1979]: 152–60), e.g., does not document toy theater but uses it to document human

theater performance, explicitly claiming that this is one of its primary values.

9. In addition to frequent passing references to the phrase, both Stevenson and A. E. Wilson use *penny plain, twopence coloured* to title their studies of toy theater. See Stevenson, "A Penny Plain, Two Pence Coloured"; and A. E. Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured* (London: George G. Harrap, 1932).

10. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 33. It is worth remembering that, though terms like *juvenile drama* often associate toy theater with child's play, some of the most financially and imaginatively invested owners were adults who became devoted craftsmen and collectors. The connection between literary figures and toy theater also serves as a potent reminder of these adults at play whose experiences and lifelong expertise can be invisible to a critical history sometimes myopically focused on the child.

11. Because toy theater sheets themselves are often undated, the dates provided parenthetically for the plays are those of the original human theater productions on which the toy theater versions were often based. All information about dates is taken from Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, app. B.

12. In doing so, this project fits into the emerging field of media archaeology and proposes one site for it to consider in the nineteenth century. For a general introduction to media archaeology as a field excavating the roots of contemporary media culture in earlier paradigms, see Jussi Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).

13. For the sake of expanding the range of toy theater sheets digitized for study, I reproduce here some examples not yet cited by any major study, all selected from the Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection in the New York Public Library's Billy Rose Theatre Division. This collection's addition to the library in 1998 postdates the publication of most toy theater studies, and its use brings a North American collection to bear on scholarship overwhelmingly produced on the basis of British archives. Also worthy of study are the Alfred Lunt Collection of toy theaters at the Museum of the City of New York, the theater collection of the Harvard College Library, and the Juvenile Drama Collection at the University of Toronto.

14. Lynn Voskuil, "Feeling Public: Sensation Theater, Commodity Culture, and the Victorian Public Sphere," *Victorian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2002): 245–74, 245.

15. On the prohibition of dialogue, see Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 17.

16. The exploding mill as the height of spectacle becomes the iconic image for *The*

Miller and His Men and sometimes also for toy theater generally. See, e.g., the small illustrations on "Hodgson's Theatrical Characters: *Miller & His Men*," pl. 10, and the first page of the later "Hodgson's New & Improved Characters in the *Miller & His Men*," both folder 28, box 3, Arthur Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library (hereafter Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection).

17. For an anecdotal description of a personal performance of *The Miller and His Men* during which one of the characters caught fire and the entire theater then burned to ashes, see Charles B. Cochran, foreword to Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 7–9, 8.

18. Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 25.

19. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 16.

20. Michael Booth, *English Melodrama* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965), 15–36.

21. Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 20. We might even suggest that clothing determines gender in toy theater and that the generalized unfeminine expressions partly explain why so many owners and historians refer to the female characters as unattractive or "hard favoured." Stevenson's description of the "extreme hard favour of the heroine" has been included and seconded in many successive accounts. See Stevenson, "A Penny Plain, Two Pence Coloured," 107.

22. An instructional sheet on sketching characters published by Hodgson & Co. survives in the Harvard Theatre Collection and is reproduced in Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 119.

23. Toy theater play scripts also sometimes replicate the human theater convention of indicating the "Disposition of the Characters at the Fall of the Curtain" by printing a horizontal list of names from left to right of how the characters should be spatially arranged. See the final page of *State Secrets* from Dicks' Standard Plays, box 10, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

24. Booth claims that, by 1850, looking at and designing the stage as a picture was an automatic response. See Michael Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850–1910* (Boston: Routledge, 1981), 10.

25. Stevenson, "A Penny Plain, Two Pence Coloured," 106; Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 21; John Oxenford, "The Toy Theatre," *The Era Almanack* (London: Frederic Ledger, 1871), 67–68.

26. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 41 (emphasis added). Speaight here cites what he believes to be the only known copy of this

catalog, housed in the British Museum.

27. Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 22. See also, e.g., the back cover advertisements on Mathews's and Webb's scripts announcing "Mathews' superior tinsel," "celebrated English frost" (*frost* being another word for *tinsel*), and "Tinsel Dots, Stars, &c." for sale, box 11, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. See also the front and back cover advertisements on Redington's play scripts, box 11, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

28. See, e.g., Hodgson's sheets for *Macbeth*, folder 25, box 3, and *Romeo and Juliet*, folder 28, box 3, both Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. The fact that Hodgson sold differently sized and detailed characters suggests that there was a market for both highly decorative and playable characters.

29. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 106, 107.

30. *The Miller and His Men* existed in at least forty issues (some new, some reprints, and some piracies) from at least twenty-nine different publishers and was sold in many shops in different sizes. It circulated in roughly ten times as many issues as the average toy theater play and still two to three times more than the most popular ones. For publishing information on various toy theater plays, see Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, app. B.

31. For a discussion of the bent leg pose, see Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 17. On typical toy theater stances, see also Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 32.

32. See "Webb's Characters in *The Miller and His Men*," pl. 9, folder 6, box 7, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. For discussion, see Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 87.

33. That the characters' many poses are productively interchangeable almost to the point of confusion is evident in a set of directions printed on the bottom of a set of sheets from *The Boys of England's The Forty Thieves* suggesting how best to organize and label the characters by scene so as not to confuse them. See folder 22, box 7, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

34. On the standardization of character size, see Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 58.

35. See, e.g., Greene's scene of a generic cottage with a church steeple in the background, explicitly labeled for use in certain scenes in the *Battle of Waterloo*, *The Life of a Soldier*, *Wreck Ashore*, and *Black Eyed Susan*, folder 2, box 2, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. Skelt (taking over for the late Lloyd) indicates general scenery in the same way. See folder 30, box 5, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. This practice of generic scenery likely replicates the recy-

cling of scenery on the human stage, a flexibility imported to toy theater.

36. See Bailey's sheets for *Der Freischutz*, folder 2, box 1, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

37. For an example of a bound collection of colored sheets that are not complete in the sense of containing a copy of every sheet, see "Park's Characters & Scenes in *The Wood Demon*," folder 4, box 4, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

38. See the back cover advertisements for Pollock's toy theater scripts, box 11, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. A script for *Jack Cade* published in *The Boys of England* includes a full page of directions for coloring the characters and scenes, indicating specific colors for each element. See box 12, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

39. See the back cover advertisements on Webb's scripts for *The Battles of Balaklava and Inkerman* and others, box 11, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

40. *The Boys of England* lists sheets, scripts, stage fronts and stages, lamps, and slides in different sections but all under the heading "Complete Plays," so it remains open how much is required for completeness. See the back cover advertisement for *The Boys of England's Mazeppa*, box 10, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

41. Wilson, *Penny Plain, Twopence Coloured*, 38. Despite Wilson's rejection of Ibsen as fit for toy theater, the extent to which *A Doll's House* shares some tropes with toy theater is worth considering. Toy theaters themselves occupy a middle space between puppet shows and doll houses. In addition, Nora's dedication to the scenic appearance of the Christmas tree and the opening's material focus on objects, Nora's interjection of wild dancing to the scene, and her sense of being a plaything recall toy theater. Her resistance to socially prescribed roles at the end of the play might be read as resistance to the stock type characterization that drove toy and earlier theaters and renders her a paper doll.

42. For examples of stock backdrops, see the collection of Park's scenes, folder 4, box 4, and Hodgson's scenes, folder 38, box 3, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection. See also "West's New Plate of Fairy Cars" and "West's New Plate of Good & Evil Genies," folder 17, box 7, and "Redington's New Foot Soldiers," "Redington's New Fairies," and "Redington's New Demons," folder 27, box 4, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

43. The two sheets of "Redington's Scraps," e.g., show double copies of small cottages or famous English castles perhaps meant as a backdrop or a small movable set piece. See folder 35, box 4, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collec-

tion. A back cover advertisement for Webb's *The Battle of Alma* states that his shop also sells "Scraps." See box 11, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

44. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 186.

45. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 141. A copy of *The Boys of England's Alone in the Pirate's Lair* is preserved in box 10, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

46. Anne Humpherys argues: "The turning of novels into plays was a common, nay it seems a mandatory, part of the theatrical scene during the entire nineteenth century." Anne Humpherys, "Victorian Stage Adaptations and Novel Appropriations," in *Charles Dickens in Context*, ed. Sally Ledger and Holly Furneaux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39–44, 39. See also, e.g., *Dramatic Dickens*, ed. Carol Hanbery-MacKay (London: Macmillan, 1989); and Patsy Stoneman, "Inside Out: *Jane Eyre* on the Victorian Stage," *Brontë Studies* 34, no. 2 (July 2009): 147–54.

47. Much has been made of writers' (especially Dickens's) involvement with such amateur theatricals, and these should be considered alongside toy theater, whose scripts themselves advertise guidebooks for amateur actors of human theater. See, e.g., back cover advertisements for the Dicks' Standard Plays' versions of *The Pilot*, *Black Eyed Susan*, *The Brigand*, and *Rob Roy Macgregor; or, "Auld Lang Syne,"* box 10, Weyhe Toy Theatre Collection.

48. Speaight, *English Toy Theatre*, 182. See also McKenzie, "The Toy Theatre, Romance, and *Treasure Island*."

49. Voskuil, "Feeling Public," 250.

50. Blumenthal, *Puppetry*, 187–207. Blumenthal describes puppet theater's social service work in terms of child care, education, health care, commerce, and law enforcement. *Ibid.*, 187.

51. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 68.

52. Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 3.

53. See also Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (1992; reprint, New York: Routledge, 2013).

