



Adventures of Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe (<http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00053424/00001>, University of Florida Digital Collections)

‘The Delights of a Plunge into the Unknown’: Reimagining Children’s Adventure Literature in the Nineteenth Century

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“Yes, I will be ready,’ she called back cheerfully, and sprang out of bed to make a hasty toilet, which was to be followed by an equally hasty breakfast, and then, heigho for the delights of a plunge into the unknown!”¹

Cicely Frome, the Captain’s Daughter by Bessie Marchant, 1900

“The foregoing pages, incomplete though they are, will have shown at least how overwhelming is the supply of printed matter for the young. To over-rate the importance of the influence of such a supply on the national character and culture is impossible.”²

Juvenile Literature As It Is by Edward Salmon, 1888

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the reading materials available to British children had grown from a scant collection of religious and educational texts to thousands of titles encompassing everything from fairy tales and folk legends to adventure stories, school stories, and historical fiction. Between the years 1850 and 1910 popular children’s authors could easily write and sell over a hundred different titles over the course of their careers; publishers included upward of twenty pages of advertising in the back of each volume;³ and dozens of magazines were founded for the express purpose of amusing children.⁴ Among the diverse offerings “the delights of the unknown” held a particular draw. However, as the adventure genre swelled in popularity among children, adults looked on

1 Bessie Marchant *Cicely Frome, the Captain’s Daughter* (Edinburgh: Nimmo, Hay and Mitchell, 1900), 74.

2 Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, (London: Henry Drane, 1888), 209.

3 e.g. Marchant, *Cicely Frome, the Captain’s Daughter*, back pages.

4 Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 68-70.

with apprehension. As scholar Edward Salmon clearly articulated in the above excerpt from a literature review, children's reading habits were believed to be of critical importance to both their individual well-being and the well-being of the entire nation. Yet while adults in this period had many conversations about what children *should* read, what children *wanted* to read was far less discussed.

Unfortunately, adults' overbearing and prescriptive discourse on children's literature in the nineteenth century has shaped modern historical studies of the adventure genre: modern scholars have continued to focus on authorial and parental intentions for children rather than on the experience of children themselves. Children are unhappily relegated to the sidelines, described as merely passive receptors of imperial or masculine ideologies.⁵ Regrettably, by failing to consider children's perspectives in their analyses, historians have prevented themselves from seeing the valuable insights on Victorian middle-class mentalities these texts can offer. By re-introducing children's experiences as readers into an analysis of adventure literature, I will demonstrate how children's books and magazines together reveal the creation of a new children's culture in this period; which, although built on the aspirations and anxieties of adults, ultimately could not be understood by them. Articulating what this new children's culture consisted of and understanding how it was formed sheds light on the mindset a generation in the midst of rapid social and economic change.

While explaining why the quantity and quality of publications for children rapidly grew and changed in this period is fairly straightforward, understanding the rise of the adventure genre proves more difficult. The growth of publications for children in general can be attributed to a combination of advances in printing and transportation, educational reforms, economic growth and changing conceptions of childhood. Advances in printing technologies and transportation networks over the course of the nineteenth century made it easier and cheaper for publishers to produce and move materials. An increasingly literate and economically stable audience provided a new and quickly expanding group of consumers. And the validation of childhood as a distinct period of life provided a new market for educational and entertaining publications that specifically targeted children. But despite the enormous popularity and tremendous output of authors like George A Henty, William G A Kingston, and L T Meade, their names are virtually unrecognizable today. An explanation of such a topical phenomenon must appeal to a particular cultural mindset, which in turn reveals important aspects of both adults and children's cultural identities.

Unfortunately, the first historians to analyze these

5 Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.); Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997); Dennis Butts, "Shaping Boyhood: Empire Builders and Adventurers," in *Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. Peter Hunt (New York: Routledge, 1996).

publications focused exclusively on adults; consequently they determined adventure literature was simply part of Britain's imperial project, written to train new imperial citizens.⁶ Historian Martin Green articulated the earliest and strongest form of this argument, which underlined the imperial and masculine aspects of adventure fiction for all ages. He wrote:

The adventure tales that formed the light reading of Englishmen for two hundred years and more after *Robinson Crusoe* were, in fact, the energizing myth of English imperialism. They were, collectively, the story England told itself as it went to sleep at night; and, in the form of its dreams, they charged England's will with the energy to go out into the world and explore, conquer, and rule.⁷

This line of argumentation has been continued by historians like Richard Phillips and Dennis Butts, who see children's publications as being "dominated by male values," and providing their readers with an "unquestioning acceptance of the legitimacy of British rule."⁸ More recent historians, including Michelle Smith and Sally Mitchell, have challenged the "boys only" characterization of the adventure genre, pointing to both the substantial number of adventure stories published for girls and girls' evident enjoyment of "boys' books" as evidence for their arguments.⁹ But their analyses have maintained a division between girls and boys as well as a division between home and empire by arguing that adventure stories represented either girls' particular versions of imperialism,¹⁰ or that they illustrated the creation of a separate girl's print culture domestically.¹¹ These arguments all fail to take children's own perspectives as readers into account, and consequently these historians limited the potential of their analyses and presupposed their own conclusions. Advocacy for certain gender roles and imperial ideologies certainly existed in Victorian adventure literature, along with certain views on social morality, charity, religion, industrialization, urbanization and education; but none of these things was the motivating cause of its popularity. To really understand why adventure was so popular among children, and subsequently what cultural attitude it represents, we should instead turn to those that made it so: the child readers themselves.

I will argue that instead of simply reflecting back the pedagogic intent of the adults who wrote, published, and purchased them, children's adventure literature reflected how it felt to be a child in this period. In a market that was overwhelmed with publications aimed at them, children decided to make

6 Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, xi.

7 Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, 3.

8 Butts, "Shaping Boyhood: Empire Builders and Adventurers," in *Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, 332.

9 Sally Mitchell, *New Girl: Girls Culture in England, 1880- 1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.)

10 Michelle J. Smith *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls, 1889-1915* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.)

11 Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls Culture in England 1880-1915*.

the adventure genre popular because those stories contained themes that children strongly connected to: the exclusion or marginalization of adult figures, the possibility of economic self-sufficiency, and the ability for self-creation. These themes, shared by fictional and non-fictional publications, came out of the particular aspirations and anxieties of the middle class environment these children grew up in. In this environment adventure novels played a critical role: although realistic in setting, descriptions, and characters, they essentially depicted fantasy worlds in which children could encounter, combat, and overcome real world anxieties.

The popularity of the genre, however, was unexpected by contemporary adults, who expressed their surprise and uncertainty about understanding children's changing tastes in surveys and book reviews. Likewise surprising to adults was the fact that children did not exclusively read in the gender categories defined by authors and publishers. Adults' surprise in response to children's reading habits, combined with the major themes of adventure stories themselves, illustrate how children's publications in the nineteenth century heralded the creation of an independent children's culture in which children could play an active role and from which adults were excluded.

Despite children's increased ability to choose their own books, the consumers of children's literature in the nineteenth remained a combination of adults and children. Consequently, in order to argue that the content of children's adventure stories corresponded to children's needs and desires, we need a way to separate children's and adults' influences on these texts. One such method of separation is the consideration of fictional adventure stories in parallel with the non-fictional materials, like magazines, that children read as well. By recreating the environment in which children would have consumed adventure stories through our consideration of magazines and of relevant historical context, the aspects of adventure that were most pertinent to children will become evident. Fictional novels and non-fictional magazines offer different, but complementary, perspectives on childhood.

While magazines reacted more quickly to changing tastes and had more direct lines of communication with their readers, they were constrained by the presence of authoritative adults and of their pragmatism. Books, on the other hand, were limited by their slow production and one-sided communication, but offered rich imaginative spaces in which children could recreate their own worlds in the absence of adults. Significantly, adventure novels also made use of a plot structure that was much older than the genre itself. Thus, the central themes of the genre should be thought of as period-specific versions of universal themes rather than as hyper-topical imperial and masculine tropes. Re-integrating the central themes of children's adventure into a broader historical context therefore demonstrates the creation of a children's culture that had little imperial or hyper-masculine basis.

Themes of Adventure and Their Historical Contexts

Three main themes emerged from adventure novels in the nineteenth century: the marginalization of adult figures in children's lives, children's capacity for independence and self-

sufficiency, and the possibility of self-creation. Echoed in non-fictional magazines, these themes had important bearing on children's everyday lives and experiences at the end of nineteenth century. This can be confirmed by noting the parallels between these themes and the historic situation of the middle class from which they emerged. In both books and magazines, adults were marginalized or disappeared altogether, enabling children to enter adult society as equals. In novels, parental figures usually died or were removed through similar circumstances. This often served as a motivation for the story. For example, in Chapter Two in *Cicely Frome, the Captain's Daughter* the protagonist received news that her father had died at sea.¹² Main characters were often introduced as orphans with less authoritative adults filling parental roles: like an uncle, or an older brother.¹³ If the character's parents were still alive, they were usually separated from the children through some exceptional circumstance. It is worth noting that the removal of parents was not always a traumatic experience, and children sometimes elected to leave their parents voluntarily.¹⁴ This suggests that the marginalization of adults was a necessary removal of authority figures, which allows the child protagonists to act independently.

The most important effect of the removal of adult figures is that child protagonists were either separated from adult society altogether, or were granted the same freedom and liberties as an adult. The former usually occurred in an isolated setting: the children are captured by natives, isolated on a homestead, or shipwrecked on a desert island.¹⁵ But even if children were not separated completely from adult society, they were accepted into it as equals. Interestingly, in these cases the adults would often take on some childlike characteristics. A child character working on a ship, for example, discovers the sailors do not drink, smoke, swear, or otherwise act in disreputable ways. In *By Name or Fame*, the author described rough and tumble life on board a fishing vessel in the following way:

The skipper was kind and forbearing; he neither ill-treated the boys himself or permitted any of the crew to do so, and everything went on regularly and comfortably. There were a few books on board, and of an evening after the trawl was lowered, and before the watch below had turned into their bunks, William, who was the best reader on board, would be asked to read aloud for a while.

12 Bessie Marchant, *Cicely Frome, the Captain's Daughter* (Edinburgh: Nimmo, Hay and Mitchell, 1900).

13 Marchant, *The Half-Moon Girl*; William H G Kingston, *Manco the Peruvian chief, or, an Englishman's Adventures in the Lands of the Incas* (London: Collins Clear Type Press, 1900).

14 William H. G. Kingston, *A Voyage Round the World; a Book for Boys* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1879); George A. Henty, *In the Hands of the Cave-Dweller* (London: Blackie and Sons, 1890).

15 R.M. Ballantyne, *The Pirate City: an Algerine Tale* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1974); Marchant, *The Sisters of Silver Creek*; R. M. Ballantyne, *The Coral Island: A Tale of the Pacific Ocean* (London: Nisbet, 1913).

Sometimes there were songs, and as the *Kitty* was fortunate, and her taking of fish good, the men were all cheerful and good-tempered.¹⁶

This representative passage not only illustrates how adults were described in a way that makes them lose their authority and their potential danger, it also demonstrates how children were often singled out as exceptional even among adults, through their cleverness, their ability to read, or their bravery. Removal from adult society or exceptionalism within it allowed child protagonists to prove themselves without the aid of adults, surely an attractive quality to their readers.

When adults did appear in adventure books, they were often treated in dismissive or diminutive ways, allowing children to take control of their situations. One way this was done was by having adults characters admit a child's superiority, as in *Captain Bayley's Heir* when an adult says "I should prefer taking the general verdict of the School [your classmates] ... boys are seldom far out in their estimate of persons; they have more instinct than men, and a boy seldom far wrong in his estimate of character."¹⁷ To a similar end, adults were often described as ridiculous, boring, or ineffective. In *Waihoua, the New Zealand Girl*, a neighbour was described as follows: "Mr. Nicholas Spears rolled his round eyes about, and twitched his mouth in such a curious manner when he spoke, that Lucy could scarcely refrain from laughing outright." Less dramatic adults were presented as boring, or sadly diminished from their youthful vigor. Again, from *Cicely Frome*, "Cicely had always looked down upon [their neighbors] as uninteresting, and not worth knowing; but even the most commonplace and ordinary people come in useful at a pinch."¹⁸ Such dismissive commentary was sometimes accompanied by the subtle suggestion that life declined rapidly after childhood ended, as is seen in the novel *One in Ten Thousand*: "like many other women of the middle class, she had sunk since her marriage from the trim, pretty girl to the somewhat slatternly matron."¹⁹ In a similar vein, adults were sometimes described as downright useless, as the protagonist of *Maori and Settler* comments on his father:

His father he regarded with a somewhat contemptuous kind of affection. He did not doubt that he was a very learned man, but he had small patience with his inability to make up his mind, his total want of energy, and his habit of leaving everything for his wife to decide upon and carry out.²⁰

In situations in these novels in which adults appeared inferior to children, they were often also cast on children's mercy, either as vanquished villains, or as those needing care. In the

villainous role, adults were perceived as having various character flaws. In *The Sisters of Silver Creek*, the villainous adult was a neighboring shop-keeper, who makes injurious loans, and was introduced as having "a surly voice, like a dog that wants to bite."²¹ Earlier in that same novel, one of the sisters asserted her authority over the greedy loan collector:

Kitty did not laugh, however, but bowed the money lender out with such grave dignity that he caught himself bowing in return in a manner so servile that he became downright angry because he felt so mean in the presence of this girl, with her air of grand superiority.²²

When adults were not antagonists, their status was lowered by being put under children's care or protection. For example, in *The Sisters of Silver Creek*, the sisters "rescued" an abused servant from the home of the villainous shop-keeper, and subsequently cared for this old woman just as one would a child.²³ And in *One in Ten Thousand*, the protagonist was driven to distress by her attempts to limit the spending habits of her invalid, foolish, and money-mismanaging mother.²⁴ This final role reversal offered children the ultimate authority over adults: not only were children portrayed as knowing better, they were actively allowed to control adults' actions.

Magazines also demonstrated the marginalization of adult figures, or at least parents, through the way readers consumed those magazines and the resulting communities that formed. By all reading the same magazines, vast networks of children shared the same reading material and sensibilities. This was enhanced by the cultural communities these magazines actively created through write-in contests, letters, advice columns and societies like *Atalanta's* Scholarship and Reading Union. This had the potential to create bonds between children quite far away from each other by giving them a common identity and set of references through the magazine. This was heightened by children reading the same kinds of novels, particularly if children exchanged the novels or borrowed them from a common source. Magazines illustrated a new community for children outside of the family unit, one in which parents did not necessarily have a place. This figurative removal of parents and their control corresponded to their literal removal in fictional texts.

Historically, the marginalization of adults, especially parents, from magazines and adventure stories can be connected to a growing separation between parents and their children over the course of the nineteenth century. This process was accelerated by new forms of education alongside an increased focus on independent self-improvement. Over the course of the nineteenth century parents became less involved in their own children's education. As middle class families increasingly had the means to do so, it became a marker of success to send chil-

16 George Henty, *For Name or Fame; or, Through Afghan Passes* (London: Blackie and Sons, 1886), 51.

17 George A Henty, *Captain Bayley's Heir, a Tale of the Gold Fields of California* (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons, 1905), 134.

18 Marchant, *Cicely Frome*, 169.

19 L.T. Meade, *A Girl in Ten Thousand*, 75.

20 George A Henty, *Maori and Settler: a Story of the New Zealand War* (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons, 1891), 8.

21 Bessie Marchant, *The Sisters of Silver Creek*, (Edinburgh: Blackie and Sons, 1908), 58.

22 Marchant, *The Sisters of Silver Creek*, 25.

23 Marchant, *The Sisters of Silver Creek*.

24 Meade, *One in Ten Thousand*.

dren away to the boarding schools that had previously been the exclusive domain of the gentry.²⁵ So although parents were still responsible for their children's education, they were less directly involved in it; once in a school setting, children were in community dominated by their peers, which accelerated the widening gap between them and adults.

This separation points to creation of a children's culture that would not have been accessible to adults, even if they read the same materials. If parents did choose to investigate what their children were reading, they could not have possibly had the same responses as children; adults neither grew up in the same context as their child, nor were reading the texts at the same age. Educating children in general is built on a particular paradox: children are educated for the future using the tools of the present.²⁶ The reverse is just as true. Though children's authors, educators, and parents drew on their personal experiences of childhood to sympathize with children, circumstances had changed significantly enough between the two generations that adults could not fully understand what it was like to be a child in these decades. And, as children were increasingly involved in communities dominated by their peers, they reaffirmed their similarities with other children as well as their separation from adults. This seems to be one major reason children identified strongly with the fictional protagonists of adventure novels, who, once separated from adults, formed communities in which adults neither existed nor were required.

The second major theme shared between these novels and magazines was built on the marginalization of adult figures: the ability of children to be economically and socially self-sufficient. In novels, economic crises and rewards were incredibly prominent and economic worries often served as the motivation for many plot points. The protagonists were often in pursuit of a will or inheritance; for example, in *The Young Rajah*, the protagonist was searching for a long-lost will in order to prove his inheritance of his father's land, and in *The Half Moon Girl*, the protagonist's journey was motivated by the necessity of discovering which month a distant relative had died in order to settle a disputed will. If the motivating plot development was not a search for a lost will or missing inheritance, the conclusion of the plot was often a legally acquired economic stability through advantageous marriage or a sudden windfall. For example, in *By Name or Fame*, the protagonist discovered he is the lost son of landed gentry and thereby acquired land and a fortune of his own;²⁷ while in *In the Hands of the Cave Dwellers*, the protagonist rescued and subsequently married the daughter of a wealthy Mexican cattle rancher.²⁸

But this reward of economic stability only came after the child protagonists in these novels demonstrated their ability to work for their own self-sufficiency, often learning the satisfaction of honest labor along the way. An excellent example of

this can be found in *The Sisters of Silver Creek*, in which three orphaned sisters immigrated to Canada to live with an uncle after the death of their mother, only to discover upon their arrival that their uncle has died in apparent poverty. Nevertheless, the three young sisters established a functional and flourishing homestead, selling the products of their farm to support themselves. Eventually, they discovered their uncle was secretly quite rich indeed; but before finding his stash of silver hidden in the attic of their small farmhouse they learned to enjoy working. One character reflected: "as time went on, and she with her sisters began to feel the joy of earning money, and the bliss of independence, this feverish unrest about the riches, which perhaps had no existence, began to subside."²⁹

Magazines had a more pragmatic take on the importance of self-sufficiency and the benefits of hard work. This economic attitude aligned with decidedly middle class aspirations and anxieties in this period tied to their unique social status and identity in Victorian consumer culture. As a class with little historical precedent for their identity, attitudes towards employment and consumption were critical to the middle class.³⁰ Historically, leisure had been associated with the upper class, and thus with nobility, refinement and respectability, while work was seen as unfortunate, unpleasant and the mark of inferior character. But while the middle class had the financial means to emulate the consumption and lifestyle of the upper class, they did not have the independent fortunes or land inheritances that would have allowed them to do so without working. Their solution was to invert the values associated with work and leisure. Instead of thinking of working for a living as unsavory, the middle class recast certain kinds of work as an indication of strong moral character.³¹ Excessive leisure was then redefined as decadent, lazy and immoral.³² But at the same time, the middle class aspired to the standard of leisure set up the upper class, and this contradiction between work and leisure was visible in the child protagonists' struggles in adventure novels.

The tension underlying middle class identity, in which upper class lifestyles were both glorified and rejected, is amply visible in this literature's not uncommon instances of secret noble heritages and sudden windfalls. Through these plot devices, there seemed to be a tacit acknowledgement that to be truly comfortable, one must in fact have an inheritance or an estate. This delicate balance between rejecting upper class values about work and leisure while secretly aspiring to particular aspects of them seems to characterize the experience of a middle class still struggling to figure out its own identity. As parents hoped their children's generation would have a higher standard of life, children felt increased pressure to improve their own economic situation. In this context, the sudden windfall or vast undiscovered inheritance after slight work is the perfect form of wish fulfillment for these children: allowing them to both fulfill the

25 Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians*, 126.

26 Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines, 1751- 1945*, 45.

27 Henty, *For Name or Fame*.

28 Henty, *In the Hands of the Cave Dwellers*.

29 Marchant, *Sisters of Silver Creek*, 174.

30 Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 15.

31 Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 71.

32 Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 71.

moral requirements of hard work and to live the life of leisure to which they aspired.

The theme of economic self-sufficiency, while drawn from the anxieties and aspirations of the adults around them, also played a key role in the creation of a separate children's culture. The economic self-sufficiency demonstrated by protagonists in adventure novels echoed a new self-sufficiency that children in fact had. As the time between infancy and adult responsibilities lengthened, children had the ability to take jobs and earn money. This meant children had the economic means to make their own choices about the materials they consumed; and, for middle class children as for middle class adults, consumption played an important role in forming identity. Consequently, children were able to pick and choose what they wanted from the vast body of publications provided for them. The decisions made with this newfound agency aided the creation of a separate culture in which adults were not needed and could not entirely control.

Together, the marginalization of adult figures and potential for economic self-sufficiency created the basis for the third major theme of children's adventure literature: the ability for self-creation. Adventure novels offered the ideal space for self-creation; by removing child protagonists from their homes and society and setting them in open, unformed spaces, protagonists were given the ability to create their world however they chose. Adventures take place in liminal spaces that are ambiguous and malleable, spaces that "for all [their] local color and detailed natural history... [are] blank, unknown space, somewhat frightening but ultimately malleable"³³ In this environment, societal norms could be blurred, allowing new possibilities for both boys' and girls' behavior. As Philips argues, "although superficially confined to male dominated regions far from home, adventure occupies ambivalent space in which boundaries between home and away, women and men may become fuzzy and unstable."³⁴ The flexibilities of these settings allowed male and female protagonists alike to reconstruct their own versions of masculinity and femininity. Within the space carved out by adventure novels children were able to create their own identities; and the identities they created most closely reflected their own hopes and desires.

The malleability of adventure spaces was used most dramatically in regards to gender, as we see especially clearly in Meade's and Marchant's texts. Meade, more liberal, shaped her protagonists to embody the qualities she though were most important for "new girls." Her female protagonists capably and happily took control of problems, and lived working and active lives. In *A Countess of Canada* a female character happily joins her father on a long and arduous journey, brushing off opposition with "a merry laugh," saying, "It is work for a girl if a girl has got it to do."³⁵ This attitude is shared by Marchant. In *Cicely Frome*, in addition to being able to "hunt, fish and row,"

the girl protagonist enjoyed shooting; when she is invited on a hunt she responds "eagerly": "I should love it. I haven't touched a gun for a fortnight, and was desperately afraid the rains would be on us before I had another chance."³⁶ Even in books by male authors like Henty, female characters enjoyed the same excitement as boys. When facing a storm at sea, one such intrepid girl remarks:

I shall be glad for the sake of the others," Marion replied, "for the sea to go down. Father and mother are both quite worn out; for it is almost impossible for them to sleep, as they might be thrown out of their berths if they did not hold on. For myself, I am in no hurry for the gale to be over, it is so magnificently grand."³⁷

The idea of self-creation was also important for boys, although it was less dramatic as it was less of a challenge to traditional gender expectations in this period. Nevertheless, there were many instances when male characters went against their parents' wishes and are subsequently cast out to fend for themselves. In *With Kitchener in the Soudan*, the father of the main character was disowned for an objectionable marriage; he subsequently changed his name and moves his young family to Egypt.³⁸ In *In the Hands of the Cave Dwellers*, the protagonist fled his intended career as a clerk in his father's business to have his own adventures at sea.³⁹ Such plots result in an increased emphasis on taking action and proving oneself through personal deeds; once separated from society, often through shipwrecks, boys eagerly reformed their own societies with their own particular rules and practices.

Empowering children to decide their own futures accelerated the creation of a separate children's culture; as children read about "new" girls and boys, their notions of societal norms changed, and they absorbed the message they could in turn change those norms themselves. Removing adults from meaningful roles within these stories gave children the opportunity to construct their own imagined worlds. Removing adults from children's shared society in real life gave children some small opportunities to challenge accepted norms. Adult authors did not seem to have been aware of this effect of their novels; perhaps because they felt comfortable with the bending of societal norms in the exceptional and fictional world of adventure. But for the children who were reading those texts, each encounter with an exceptional story made the story seem a little less exceptional. Thus, the more children consumed adventure novels where rules are changed in exceptional circumstances, the less rigid those rules seemed. This further distanced children's attitudes from adults' by giving the two generations different baselines.

Through this description and historical contextual-

36 Marchant, *Cicely Frome*, 129.

37 George Henty, *Maori and Settler (Maori and settler: a Story of the New Zealand War* (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons, 1891), 91.

38 George A Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan: a story of Atbara and Omdurma* (London: Blackie and Sons, 1903).

39 Henty, *In the Hands of the Cave Dwellers*.

33 Philips, *Mapping Men & Empire*, 42.

34 Philips, *Mapping Men & Empire*, 89.

35 Marchant, *A Countess from Canada*, (Toronto: Musson, 1911).

ization of the major themes in these novels and magazines, it should become clear that, from the readers' perspective, the main purpose of adventure literature was not to train imperial citizens. The settings of the novels, goals of their protagonists, and eventual rewards all have more to do with middle class aspirations than promoting a masculine, imperial project. We can conclude, then, that what made adventure novels so successful was in fact their emphasis on the themes which most resonated with children: the capacity for self-sufficiency and the ability for self-creation. These themes aligned well with the hopes and fears of the middle class audience towards whom these novels and magazines were directed. As one historian claims: "this new type of fiction, with its clever mixture of betterment and excitement, must have been especially appealing to boys who had been raised to propriety and abnegation and were facing new demands and liberties."⁴⁰

Adventure novels promoted characters who had the requisite courage, ability and flexibility to navigate new and unknown worlds, paired with the reassurance that not only would they be successful, they would have fun. Ultimately, adventure stories created a picture of childhood in which children were in control of their own fates; and this is what children liked enough to make these stories so popular in the nineteenth century.

Adult Commentary on Children's Literature

The character of adult commentary on children's reading habits supports the emergence of a separate children's culture in this period: such commentary further emphasized the distance between adults' expectations for children's tastes and children's actual tastes. The mere existence of such commentary already begins to demonstrate these points; by taking the time to research and understand children's tastes, adults both validated children's abilities to choose their own literature and acknowledged their own limited understanding of children's choices. The contents of adult commentary further emphasized this distance by articulating a tension between what adults thought children *should* enjoy reading and what children *did* enjoy reading. Victorian adults cared deeply about children's reading habits and were willing to compromise their standards to appeal to children's tastes. But despite their best efforts, adults only partially understood what children wanted and consequently were concerned and frustrated with the reading patterns they observed.

Adults were strongly motivated to provide children with proper reading material because they believed that what a child read could fundamentally influence his/her moral character and future prospects. As the publishing industry expanded over the second half of the century the variety of material to which children had access increased, as had children's ability to purchase those materials themselves. Victorian adults firmly believed that reading "sensational" or lowbrow literature not only

reflected poorly on the child's character, but could lead them astray into acting out those books' plots. As one such dramatic account remarked:

Some time ago a youth was so maddened by reading one of the tales provided for his entertainment that he shot dead his father and brother. Another young fellow in the habit of purchasing these weekly 'dreadful' was apprehended on a charge of unlawfully keeping firearms in his room. A clerk who had devoted his leisure to a study of Harrison Ainsworth's novels tried to induce his master to leave his bedroom by mewing like a cat at his door, and awaited his exit with a handkerchief charged with chloroform. Having rendered his employer insensible, it was his object to steal the cashbox. His plan failed, and he was taken into custody.⁴¹

A similar account of using an adventure book as a guide for action is presented in the same text, as the author continued:

This exploit was eclipsed by that of some half-dozen lads, who, after reading a boys' weekly- a copy of which they had carefully included in their cargo- started off in an open boat down the Thames on their way to Australia! When caught they were found to have provided themselves with revolver, powder, shot and biscuits.⁴²

The potential for poorly chosen reading material to lead children to a "disastrous moral fall,"⁴³ was not limited to books marketed to boys. As one author warns, "that which their sisters read is in no way superior;" reading cheap romances had the potential to permanently ruin these susceptible young minds' hopes for future domestic bliss.⁴⁴ So, although the content of books and magazines had superficially shifted from overtly moralistic to entertaining over the nineteenth century; such commentary demonstrated the extent to which children's reading habits were still of critical importance to adults.

However, despite these concerns it seems adults at the end of the nineteenth century could not quite figure out what children did in fact want to read. As one author explained:

In the circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that slowly but surely two questions are beginning to occupy a pace in the literary discussion of the day. First, what do children read? Second, what is written for them? Little seems to be known by the general public on either point. Everyone can tell you what he or she read in early youth....no reliable data exist as to the work of individual writers for the young, or the precise nature of the books read by the rising generation.⁴⁵

Adults' subsequent attempts to determine an answer to these questions took the form of both surveys and reviews. In response to an increasing anxiety about children's reading

41 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 190

42 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 191.

43 Salmon, "What Girls Read," 522.

44 Salmon, "What Girls Read," 523.

45 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 12.

40 Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines*, 107.

habits, a general survey was taken in 1884 by Charles Welsh. The survey was conducted by sending a circular to “numerous schools for boys and girls” throughout England, with a variety of questions, including:

What is your favorite book, and why do you like it best? Who is your favorite author? Who is your favorite writer of fiction? Which of his books do you like best? What other writers of fiction do you like? Which is your favorite magazine and why do you prefer it? . . . what histories have you read? What biographies? What travels? What other books? What pieces of poetry do you like best?⁴⁶

This survey received close to 2,000 written responses from children between ten to nineteen years old: 790 boys and a little over 1,000 girls.⁴⁷ The sheer number of respondents illustrates how strongly children were invested in their own reading choices. The results of this survey were subsequently analyzed and published by Edward Salmon in 1886 in two articles titled, “What the Working Class Reads,” and “What Girls Read.”^{48 49} Salmon then published a more comprehensive book in 1888 titled *Juvenile Literature as It Is*, which included a more substantial description of the survey’s results, some children’s written responses, and more of his own analysis.

A different perspective on children’s reading habits can be found in newspaper reviews of recently published book for children. Written by adults for other adults, these columns offered advice for choosing books that would please both adults and children. One such series was a regular column published in the popular newspaper *The Graphic* titled “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” from 1893 to 1900. Publishers did a roaring trade around Christmas, selling not only novels but bound annals of some of the more widely circulated periodicals like *Boys Own* and *Atalanta*. As one newspaper editor writes “every Christmas the favorite writers for boys provide the popular dish of sensation stories, variously sea soned to suit various taste.”⁵⁰ Like Salmon’s texts, these reviews had a specific purpose in mind: to guide adults to appropriate books to purchase as gifts, but the resulting reviews are telling of both children’s perceived tastes and adults’ reactions to them.

These two perspectives on children’s reading habits, although different in form and audience, shared their intentions and results. Both Salmon’s scholarly analysis and *The Graphic*’s consumer-minded descriptions served as guides for adults to children’s tastes. The simple fact that adults needed and wanted such guides demonstrates both an increasing separation between the two generations and adults’ growing willingness to cater to children’s tastes. In both sources, we can see children’s tastes diverged from adults’ expectations and wishes in three main areas: in the kind of content children want, in the way

lessons are presented and in the way gendered books are consumed.

In these reviews, adults first noted children’s evolving tastes in their expressions of desire for more excitement and adventure in their stories. Newspaper reviews stated this rather bluntly: as one column that negatively reviewed the reprint of an older text remarked:

The child of our own day, accustomed to lively and tastefully illustrate books, would make rather a wry face if presented with some of the literature intended to amuse the child of a century, or even a half century ago. . . . Instead of sensation stories they would get didactic, improving narratives about painfully good boys and girls, while the humor of the drawings would hardly appeal to modern childish taste.⁵¹

Other newspaper reviews reiterated this theme, noting that when a protagonist is unsympathetic, “the self-denying young man. . . is a little too perfect to be natural.”⁵² The writer of another column remarks “nowadays young people are apt to complain the [Sir Walter Scott’s] works are too full of introduction and length description,”⁵³ before suggesting shorter and presumably more entertaining equivalents. Books were often praised for their “perilous journeys” and “vivid battles” while “interest kept up” appeared to be a major selling point.

Along with underlying children’s diminished patience with the slow, dense stories of before, newspapers articles emphasized how entertaining details, believability and vivid cultural detail also maintained children’s interest. One book was praised for “a pleasant, sensible story of everyday life and realistic girls, not unlikely heroines.”⁵⁴ Another author was recognized for having “a happy knack of describing rustic sights and scenes, while his account of Moujik folklore is equally interesting.”⁵⁵ Such reviews stressed the importance of books being descriptive, believable and accurate if children were to enjoy them. Additionally, newspapers reviews noted the new emphasis on economic challenges and rewards in children’s literature. One editor writes “in these modern times. . . most of the adventured seek money rather than glory, and it is quite remarkable how many of the boys’ books deal with the quest for hidden treasure.”⁵⁶ Another notes the importance of children learning to support themselves on their own. The surprise expressed over these developments demonstrated that adults did not expect to find such themes entertaining to children.

Salmon’s text likewise picks out the importance of including entertaining and informative qualities to engage children’s interest. In response to a review claiming that the author Mayne Reid was a favorite of children, Salmon asserted that “the verdict was quite mistaken. The majority of Mayne Reid

46 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as it Is*, 13.

47 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as it Is*, 14, 21.

48 Salmon “What the Working Class Reads” *Nineteenth Century*, 1886.

49 Salmon “What Girls Read” *Nineteenth Century*, 1886.

50 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, November 26, 1898.

51 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic* December 3, 1898.

52 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, December 2, 1893.

53 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, December 22, 1894.

54 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic* December 22, 1894.

55 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, December 14, 1895.

56 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, November 26, 1898.

was too fond of natural history and detail to be palatable to the youthful mind.⁵⁷ But of popular children's author Ballantyne, Salmon only had words of praise, writing:

Science, indeed, without being made ridiculous, under Mr Ballantyne's touch becomes humorous. Could a scientific lecture be delivered in brighter form than the following, or a better illustration be given of the precise method in which what are commonly called "dry" subjects can be brought successfully to the attention of youth?⁵⁸

The books that were most successful were those that adapted to children's changing tastes, becoming faster-paced, more humorous, and more exciting, a phenomenon to which both newspaper reviews and Salmon's analysis attested.

As children's tastes changed and their options grew more numerous, adults were confronted with a difficult problem: how could they incorporate the necessary moral instruction without driving children away? Salmon tackled this problem in fairly standard way: "When books were few and far between," he writes, "an author might indulge in long-winded dissertations almost to his heart's content. Now, if he has a moral to point, he must point it in the facts of his narrative."⁵⁹ Newspapers reviewers agreed with Salmon's assessment: if a lesson was to be successful, it had to take a back seat to the entertaining aspects of the novel. Books were praised when they manage to cleverly hide moral within an amusing plot. Of once such book the editor admiringly wrote that the author's "moral is driven home in such an unassuming fashion it may well yield fruit."⁶⁰ A similar book was praised for its dual accomplishments: "it will do girls good to read, as well as amuse them thoroughly."⁶¹ Such commentary marks how adults were becoming willing to consider what children wanted while attempting to give them what they needed, underlining children's control over their reading habits.

Likewise, authors were mostly highly praised when they understood "not only childish ways and fancies, but of what will appeal to the childish mind."⁶² This praise emphasizes several important implications of adults' commentary on children's literature. First, the praise that the author understands "childish ways and fancies" demonstrates that adults believed children had a special kind of mental life that was not accessible to most adults. Granting this independent mental life was an important prerequisite for the formation of an exclusionary children's culture; adults could not fully understand children even if they wanted to. The second part of this praise, that the author could pick "what appeals to the childish mind", spoke to adults' willingness to make concessions to children's tastes. Publishers were completely on board with this; even religious publishing houses like T. Nelson, for example, explicitly shied

away from publishing "goody-goody" stories.⁶³ So although adults certainly did not want to completely relinquish control over what children consumed, they seem to have been increasingly aware that they had to modify their stories to suite children's tastes.

Nonetheless, the single biggest shock to adults who inquired into children's tastes was the discrepancies between the gender to which reading materials were marketed, and the gender that actually read them. Practically every book or magazine for children out of infancy in this period was specified as "for girls" or "for boys", whether in the title itself, through the publishers advertising, or through reviews. For example, some texts would have titles like *My First Voyage to Southern Seas, a Book for Boys* or *The Palace Beautiful: a Story for Girls*.⁶⁴ Others would be parts of publishers' series with a title like "The Boy's Own Library." And columns in *The Graphic* separated books specifically for girls in sections with titles like "A Garden of Girls," "Books for Girls" or "Our Girls Again."⁶⁵ Many adults seem to have assumed children adhered to these categories, but both newspapers reviews and Salmon's surveys illustrate how this was not the case.

When Salmon received girls' responses to queries about their favorite author or favorite books, he was astounded. When asked "Who is your favorite author?" girls returned the following results:

Author	Number	Percentage*	Main Genre*
Charles Dickens	330	33%	Adult Fiction
Sir Walter Scott	226	22.6%	Adult Fiction
C. Kingsley	91	9.1%	Historical Fiction
C.M. Yonge	91	9.1%	Girls Fiction
Shakespeare	73	7.3%	Plays
E. Wetherell	54	5.4%	Religious Fiction
Mrs. Henry Wood	51	5.1%	Girl's Fiction
George Eliot	41	4.1%	Adult Fiction
Lord Lytton	41	4.1%	Adult Fiction
Longfellow	31	3.1%	Literature
Charlotte Maria Tucker (A.L.O.E.)	30	3%	Religious Children's Fiction
Anderson	29	2.9%	Fairy tales
Hesba Sretton	21	2.1%	Religious Children's Fiction
Canon Farrar	19	1.9%	Historical Fiction
Grimm Brothers	19	1.9%	Fairy tales
Thackeray	18	1.8%	Adult Fiction
Mrs. Walton	17	1.7%	Religious Children's Fiction
Melville	17	1.7%	Adult Fiction
W.H.G. Kingston	16	1.6%	Boy's adventure

63 Dempster, Thomas Nelson and Sons in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Study in Motivation, Part 2," 8.

64 William H G Kingston, *My First Voyage to Southern Seas; a Book for Boys* (Edinburgh: Nelson and Son, 1869); L T Meade, *The Palace Beautiful: A Story for Girls* (London: Cassel and Co., 1902).

65 "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic*, November 24, 1894; "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic*, December 8, 1900; "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic*, December 14, 1895.

57 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 35.

58 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 56-7.

59 Salmon, "What Girls Read," 516.

60 "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic*, November 9, 1895.

61 "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic*, December 14, 1895.

62 December, "Our Christmas Bookshelf," *The Graphic* 10, 1898.

“The analysis of the voting,” Salmon writes, “suggests some curious reflections to those who have at all studied ‘girls’ literature.’ Hardly one of the recognized writers for girls is mentioned.”⁶⁶ Instead the survey is topped by two authors who, although very popular, did not even explicitly write “children’s literature” at all: Charles Dickens and Sir Walter Scott, with 330 and 226 votes respectively. They each more than double the votes for the third most popular author, Charles Kingsley, who wrote the popular historical adventure *Westward Ho!* He is tied with the first explicitly “girls” author on the list, C.M. Yonge, likewise with 91. After this, the votes dropped off rapidly, but represented a wide variety of genres, including classics, plays and poetry as well as both boys and girls authors.⁶⁷ The responses for girl’s favorite books revealed a similar misalignment.⁶⁸ These results had more in common with the boys’ favorites than established girls’ authors. And this trend continued in Salmon’s questions about favorite magazines: among the girls *The Boy’s Own* is the second most popular behind *The Girl’s Own*. Clearly the division between boys and girls reading was not as rigid as Salmon expected it to be: as Salmon then observed, “if girls were to choose their own books... they would make a choice for themselves very different from that which their elders make for them.”⁶⁹

Such a conclusion is also visible in newspaper reviews of books, which pointed out girls’ changing tastes and new demands. Many of the books advertised in girls sections had striking similarities to those advertised for boys. In column published in 1894, the editor notes “the Revolt of Daughters has left its mark on most of the fiction provided for girls in their early teens. Heroines are far more emancipated than of yore.”⁷⁰ A year later, the editor noted that the author Mrs. Molesworth, known for her “sweet, wholesome tale[s] of girlish life... goes with the times, so that a New Girl eager to win independence is to be found amongst the attractive feminine gallery of ‘White Turrets.’”⁷¹ In 1898 the editor confirmed girls read those stories intended for boys: “Although girls are not supposed to want such exciting fare as their brothers, they certainly enjoy a spice of adventure to flavor their books.”⁷² In this assessment, the phrase “are not supposed to” takes on particular importance, as it recognized that children were actively challenging adults’ expectations by reading across gender lines.

The predominance of girls reading boys’ books and adults’ ensuing reactions to it raise two different questions: how had girls been accessing these books without adult knowledge, and why were girls not reading the books that had been written for them? The fact that girls had access to these books underscores the limited influence and oversight adults had

over their children’s reading habits. In large Victorian families, books were often passed between siblings: several women later recalled reading their brothers’ books with great gusto and enjoyment in their younger years.⁷³ Additionally, books seem to have been exchanged among friends; advice for getting a friend to return a book being a common subject of advice columns. Thus, we can conclude that not only did girls have the opportunity to read outside of their parents control; they did so frequently enough to list some of those authors as their favorites.

Why girls did not want to read the books provided for them underscores the gap between adults’ suppositions of children’s interests and children’s actual needs in this period. Salmon claimed, rightly, that girls’ literature was failing to serve the needs of girls “today,” needs that had changed drastically even in a twenty-five year period.⁷⁴ This is one of the few points on which girls themselves agreed. One girl who responded to Salmons’ survey is reported as writing back:

Charlotte Yonge’s stories are pretty, and if they were not quite so goody-goody, would be very nice stories of home and everyday life. Anne Beale is still more goody-goody in her style... A great many girls never read so-called ‘girls’ books at all; they prefer those presumably written for boys. Girls as a rule don’t care for Sunday School twaddle; they like a good stirring story, with a plot and some incident and adventures- not a collection of texts and sermons and hymns strung together, with a little ‘Child’s Guide to Knowledge’ sort of conversation. This is also, I am sure, why girls read so many novels of the commoner type- they have, as a rule, nothing else in any way interesting. People try to make boys’ books as exciting and amusing as possible, while we girls, who are much quicker and more imaginative, are very often supposed to read milk-and-watery sorts of stories that we could generally write better ourselves.⁷⁵

Clearly, this passage illustrated the extent to which children did not share the gender expectations pushed by Victorian adults. But this excellent and articulate response underlines the main ways children in general felt underserved by the literature available to them in this period. There is an undercurrent of independence and assertiveness: you cannot understand what we want, but we can get it ourselves.

This sentiment seems to underpin the popularity of the entire adventure genre, as well as its role in building a separate children’s culture over the course of the nineteenth century. Adults could control production, but not reception; the amount of children’s literature available had grown enormously, and children were offered a much wider choice about what they were going to read. Furthermore, children were no longer completely limited by what their parents chose to purchase for them, but through friends, siblings, classrooms, and lending libraries had access to a full range of materials. The results were

66 Salmon, “What Girls Read,” 528.

67 Salmon, “What Girls Read,” 528.

68 See Appendix A, Table III

69 Salmon, “What Girls Read,” 529.

70 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, November 24, 1894.

71 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, November 9, 1895.

72 “Our Christmas Bookshelf,” *The Graphic*, December 10, 1898.

73 Mitchell, *The New Girl*, 115.

74 Salmon, “What Girls Read,” 517.

75 Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 28-9.

twofold. First, there was the outright rejection of specific books: if children found a book sufficiently boring, they simply would not read it. Second was the more troublesome mental rejection of the parts of stories that children found boring: the moral or the lesson. Children's ability to contradict adults' wishes speaks most strongly to the creation of a separate children's culture in which adults were not wanted or needed.

Conclusion

In the second half of the nineteenth century, children's adventure literature emerged in the British literary marketplace. Although the adventure genre never disappeared entirely, the most popular authors of the previous half century faded from view. What is there to be gained by revisiting the rise and fall of this relatively short-lived and topical genre?

From a methodological perspective, the reconsideration of children's adventure literature affirms the incredible potential value that these materials offer as historical resources. Publications for children can be the basis of rich, nuanced and distinctive accounts of the personal identities and collective imaginings of individuals, nations, and other social groups. Unfortunately, a tendency to diminish children as historical actors has been a barrier to the successful use of this source collection; when in fact children's materials offer a particularly rich historical resource precisely because of their unique position between two generations as well as the passionate and intense reactions they attract.

Clearly, literature produced for children rests at the intersection of a number of fundamental but contested conceptions of personal identity, historical memory and the future of society. Children's literature explains how things are now and demonstrates its authors' hopes or fears for the future. It registers society's aspirations and anxieties. It mediates between the experiences of the current generation and the memories of the one before. It provides inroads to the psyches of its consumers, its producers and its commentators. Such a valuable resource should be used more extensively.

Appendix A: Surveys of Children's Reading Habits

Surveys taken by Charles Welsh in 1884, published by Edward Salmon in 1888; fields with * are my own additions.

II. Boys' Favorite Authors, as published in *Juvenile Literature as It Is*, 1888.

Note: Answers to "What is your favorite book?" were all write in; so the results are scattered. Salmon only includes the title in is results.

Author	Number	Percentage*	Main Genre*
Charles Dickens	223	28%	Adult fiction
W.G.H. Kingston	179	23%	Boys Adventure
Walter Scott	128	16%	Adult Fiction
Jules Verne	114	14%	Adventure Fiction
Captain Marryat	102	13%	Boys Adventure
R.M. Ballantyne	67	8%	Boys Adventure
Harrison Ainsworth	61	8%	Historical Adventure
Shakespeare	44	6%	Plays
Mayne Reid	33	4%	Boys Adventure
Lord Lytton	32	4%	Adult Fiction

III. Girls' Favorite Books from *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 1888.

Title	Author*	Number	Genre*
<i>Westward Ho!</i>	Charles Kingsley	34	Children's Adventure
<i>The Wide, Wide World</i>	Susan Warner	29	Religious Fiction
<i>The Bible</i>	N/A	27	Religious
<i>A Peep Behind the Scenes</i>	Mrs. O F Walton	27	Children's fiction
<i>John Halifax, Gentleman</i>	Dinah Maria Craik	25	Fiction
<i>David Copperfield</i>	Charles Dickens	22	Adult Fiction
<i>Little Women</i>	Lousia May Alcott	21	American Fiction
<i>Ivanhoe</i>	Walter Scott	18	Historical Fiction
<i>The Days of Bruce</i>	Grace Aguilar	16	History Nonfiction
<i>The Daisy Chain</i>	Charlotte Yonge	13	Religious Fiction

IV. Boys' Favorite Books from *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, 1888.

Book	Author*	Number	Genre*
<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Daniel Defoe	43	Adventure
<i>Swiss Family Robinson</i>	Johann David Wyss	24	Adventure
<i>Pickwick Papers</i>	Dickens	22	Adult Fiction
<i>Ivanhoe</i>	Walter Scott	20	Romance
<i>Boys' Own Annual</i>	Various	17	Journal
<i>The Bible</i>	Unknown	15	Religious
<i>Tom Brown's Schooldays</i>	Thomas Hughes	15	School Story
<i>Valentine Vox</i>	Henry Cockton	13	-
<i>Vice Versa</i>	-	12	-
<i>St. Winifred's</i>	F W Farrar	11	School Story

V. Children's Favorite Magazine's and Papers from Juvenile Literature as It Is, 1888.

Paper Title	Number (Boys)	Number (Girls)	Total*
The Boy's Own Paper	404	88	492
The Girl's Own Paper	-	315	315
Little Folks	7	71	78
Cassell's Family Magazine	5	35	40
Punch	14	24	38

Appendix B: Books

I. Basic Publication and Setting Information: Author, Title, Year Publisher, Places to which the protagonist travels, and the Year the story is set.

Place(s) traveled to are given with modern names. Omitted are point of origin (usually England or Canada) and places passed through.

Year(s) set: are approximated based on the historical events referenced in the plot or the author's introduction. "Present" means contemporary to publication.

Author	Title	Year	Place(s) traveled to:	Year(s) set:
Ballantyne	<i>The Young Fur Traders</i>	1856	Canada	Present
	<i>The Pirate City: an Algerine Tale</i>	1874	Algeria	1800s-1820s
	<i>The Coral Island: a Tale of the Pacific</i>	1884	Pacific Ocean	1850s-1860s
	<i>The Walrus Hunters: A Romance of the Realms of Ice</i>	1893	North American Arctic	Present
Henty	<i>Captain Bayley's heir: a Tale of the Gold Fields of California</i>	1889	American West	Present
	<i>A Final reckoning; a Tale of Bush Life in Australia</i>	1890	Australia	Early 1800s
	<i>Condemned as a Nihilist: a Story of Escape from Siberia</i>	1892	Russia, Siberia	Present
	<i>For Name or Fame; or, through Afghan passes</i>	1901	Afghanistan	1870s-80s
	<i>The Treasure of the Incas: a Story of Adventure in Peru</i>	1903	Peru	1880s
Kingston	<i>Ned Garth, Made Prisoner in Africa</i>	1862	Indian Ocean	Present
	<i>The Young Rajah</i>	1878	India	Present
	<i>Adventures of Dick Onslow Among the Red Skins</i>	1884	American Midwest	Present
	<i>Manco the Peruvian chief, or, an Englishman's Adventure in the Country of the Incas</i>	1900	Amazon Peru	1800s
	<i>Janet Maclaren: the Faithful Nurse</i>	18--	Canada	Present
Marchant	<i>The Half Moon Girl</i>	1898	India	Present
	<i>Cicely Frome, the Captain's Daughter</i>	1900	India (Ceylon)	Present
	<i>Sisters of Silver Creek</i>	1908	Canada	Present
	<i>A Countess from Canada</i>	1911	Canada	Present
	<i>The Adventurous Seven</i>	1914	Australia	Present
Meade	<i>A Girl in Ten Thousand</i>	1890	London	Present
	<i>A Ring of Rubies</i>	1892	London	1870s
	<i>Light o' the Morning, the Story of an Irish girl</i>	1900	England	1800s
	<i>The Palace Beautiful, a Story for Girls</i>	1902	London	Present
	<i>How it All Came Round</i>	191-	England	Present

II. Plot details, Part I: Background: Protagonist Age, the fate of their Mother and Father, the Reason they must leave home

Age: If an age is not specified the text, age is adolescent (A) for teens and child (C) for preteen. Most books span several years, the age listed is the age at the beginning of the major plot action. Multiple ages are given when there are multiple main characters.

Parent's fates: Fates are given in relation to child, e.g. "runs away," means the child runs away from the mother and father. If parents are not mentioned, listed N/A.

Title	Age	Mother's Fate	Father's Fate	Reason for travel/adventure
<i>The Young Fur Traders</i>	15	Runs away	Runs away	Wants to be a fur trader instead of a clerk
<i>The Pirate City</i>	19	Dead	Travels with	Is on a trading voyage; then captured by Algerian pirates
<i>The Coral Island</i>	15	Leaves willingly	Leaves willingly	Joins crew of ship; then shipwrecked
<i>The Walrus Hunters</i>	A	Leaves willingly	Leaves willingly	Leaves home to hunt walruses; then caught up in war
<i>One of the 28th</i>	19	Poor Widow	Dead	Is captured by a French vessel of the coast of England during the Napoleonic Wars
<i>Captain Bayley's Heir</i>	17	Dead	N/A	To escape an undeserved bad reputation
<i>A Final Reckoning</i>	17	Shop-keeper	Dead	To escape an undeserved bad reputation
<i>Condemned as a Nihilist</i>	16	N/A	In England	To be clerk in fathers company branch; then to escape false imprisonment in Siberia
<i>For Name or Fame</i>	15	Stolen by gypsies	Stolen by gypsies	Joins crew of fishing boat from workhouse; then shipwrecked; then joins British Army
<i>The Treasure of the Incas</i>	25, 15	Dead	Dead	To make his fortune for marriage (older), for fun (younger)
<i>Ned Garth, Made Prisoner in Africa</i>	14	Dead	Dead	To join navy
<i>The Young Rajah</i>	18	Dead	Dead	to recover father's will from an Indian prince and reclaim his rightful inheritance
<i>Adventures of Dick Onslow Among the Red Skins</i>	G	N/A	N/A	Various adventures in the western U.S.
<i>Manco the Peruvian Chief</i>	15	Separated from	Separated from	To escape the capture by the Spanish army; then to find hidden Incan treasure
<i>The Half Moon Girl</i>	16	Dead	Dead	To ascertain uncle's date of death to determine the inheritance of a piece of land
<i>Cicely Frome, the Captain's Daughter</i>	15	Dead	Thought Dead	to join brother in India; then to find and discover truth about father's fate
<i>Sisters of Silver Creek</i>	17, 15, 13	Dead	Dead	To live with uncle after mothers death; then support selves after uncle is found to be dead as well
<i>A Countess from Canada</i>	20s	Dead	Ill	To support family when father falls ill
<i>The Adventurous Seven</i>	19;	Dead	in Australia	To join father after guardian's death; then to find father
<i>A girl in Ten Thousand</i>	20	Negligent	Dead	To become a nurse to support family
<i>Light o' the Morning, the Story of an Irish girl</i>	15	Negligent	Alive	To save family castle after her father's financial ruin
<i>The Palace Beautiful: A Story for Girls</i>	16;13;12	Dead	Dead	To survive on small income after mothers death; to find lost brother
<i>A Ring of Rubies</i>	19	Alive	Negligent	To make money for poor family; to save a special ring from various people who want it
<i>How it All Came Round*</i>	20	Dead	Dead	To rectify the injustice created by maliciously exchanged wills

III. Plot Details: Economic Details: Family's Economic Background, Any Employment undertaken by the protagonist, and Conclusion of story

Economic Background: one of four broad categories: gentry (landed), middle class, working class and settler; further specified with father's profession, if possible.

Employment: job(s) formally or informally done by children in the novel e.g. clerk, establishing homestead, sailor

Reward and Conclusion: If there are multiple main characters, multiple conclusions are listed.

<i>A Ring of Rubies</i>	Middle Class: impoverished	Rents out jewelry	Inherits and marries
<i>How it All Came Round</i>	Middle Class and Working Class	Maid	Sorts out exchanged wills, both live comfortably

<i>Title</i>	Economic Background	Employment	Conclusion
<i>The Young Fur Traders</i>	Settlers	Clerk; fur trader	Comfortable life in Canada, friend marries sister
<i>The Pirate City</i>	Middle class: merchant	Enslaved	Is saved, marries, lives comfortably in England
<i>The Coral Island</i>	Middle class: Sea captain	Joins crew of ship	Saved from shipwrecked island
<i>The Walrus Hunters</i>	Eskimos	Self-sufficiency, hunters	
<i>Captain Bayley's Heir</i>	Middle class: "merchants of the city"	Ships crew, store-clerk, gold miner	Marries and inherits property, becomes member of parliament
<i>A Final reckoning</i>	Working class: shopkeepers	Carpenter	Becomes rich in Australia, returns to England and buys an estate
<i>Condemned as a Nihilist</i>	Middle class: Merchant	Work for father's company	Returns to England to work with father's company
<i>For Name or Fame</i>	Working Class: workhouse	Sailor, soldier	Finds long lost parents, inherits property
<i>The Treasure of the Incas</i>	Middle Class: Out of work lieutenant	No particular	Finds sufficient treasure to marry
<i>Ned Garth, Made Prisoner in Africa</i>	Middle class: navy	Joins navy	Marries childhood friend who comes into unexpected inheritance.
<i>The Young Rajah</i>	Secretly upper class	Sailor	Discovers background, inheritance
<i>Adventures of Dick Onslow Among the Red Skins</i>	Explorer	Explorer	Proceeds to California
<i>Manco the Peruvian Chief</i>	Middle class: merchants	No particular	Finds hidden Aztec treasure
<i>The Half Moon Girl</i>	Gentry	No particular	Recovers inheritance
<i>Cicely Frome, the Captain's Daughter</i>	Middle class	House-keeper for brother; works on farm	Settled comfortably
<i>Sisters of Silver Creek</i>	Middle class, impoverished	Farmers; maid	Finds uncles silver in attic
<i>A Countess from Canada</i>	Settler	Transports things, teaches	Secures family's financial security
<i>The Adventurous Sevens</i>	Middle class, settlers	Settlers	Find father, establish home in Australia
<i>Title</i>	<i>Background</i>	<i>Employment</i>	<i>Conclusion</i>
<i>A Girl in Ten Thousand</i>	Middle class: Country doctor	Nurse	Comes into inheritance, settles debts
<i>Light o' the Morning, the Story of an Irish girl</i>	Gentry	No particular	Saves family castle