



Alice's Academy

Girls on the High Seas: Piratical Play in Arthur Ransome's *Swallows and Amazons*

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Arthur Ransome's classic children's book *Swallows and Amazons* (1930) recounts the sailing adventures of the Walker children on holiday in England's Lake District. While at first blush the novel appears to be about a middle-class family's restful holiday set in the region's idyllic natural scenery, this novel is also teeming with piracy. The story follows the four children—John, Susan, Titty, and Roger Walker, collectively called the Swallows, after their boat—on their sailing adventures when they befriend the tomboyish Blackett sisters, Nancy and Peggy, who sail the Amazon. Together, they engage in various nautical escapades and attempt to defeat their mutual nemesis, the "pirate," Uncle Jim Turner. By 1930, when Ransome published his novel, piracy was no longer a threat to England, having been largely stamped out around the time of the Napoleonic wars.¹ Far from being the scourge of the sea, fictional pirates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began to delight rather than terrify audiences, frequently appearing in children's literature, on stage, and in swashbuckling motion pictures—from Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) to Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Pirates of Penzance* (1879) to a plethora of pirate films, including the popular *Captain Blood* (1924, 1935)². Rather than interact with actual pirates, the Walker children play pirate, drawing on pirate stories and myths inherited through fiction. While it is common for children to reenact the stories they read, the Walker children do not recreate specific plots but rather use an amalgamation of pirate lore—such as walking the plank and unearthing buried treasure—to enhance their imaginative play. Ransome transforms piratical play into a safe form of adventure for childhood development. Crucially, the young girls are just as piratical as the boys. I argue that Ransome infuses this safe form of play with a radical edge—perhaps drawing on piracy's well-established history of defying convention—because it permits young girls to develop outside of traditional domestic roles as they test their skills and find their place in the changing empire.

Scholarship on *Swallows and Amazons* has largely focused on the novel's legacy of imperialism, such that the children play and act as explorers and colonizers as part of the British empire³. Reconsidering Ransome's novel in light of piracy rather than only naval exploration illuminates how Ransome adapted pirate lore as fanciful play so children could safely enact the alluring mystique of piracy, increasingly equated with childhood. Andrew McInness examines how the children must handle what he calls a sense of "belatedness," that as colonizers, they are discovering that other adults already occupy the spaces they intend to explore. For M. Daphne Kutzer, *Swallows and Amazons* concerns not only childhood and maturation but the "hopeful future for Britain, despite the shrinking empire" and a looming second world war (108). Hazel Sheeky Bird contends that the novel engages in the Nelson Tradition, a late-nineteenth-century recuperation of Horatio Nelson that extolled his naval prowess and qualities of duty and

¹ See Peter Earle's *The Pirate Wars* for a comprehensive account of piracy, particularly as it relates to England and English naval history. Earle notes that by 1821, Britain's peacetime naval forces still had 143 vessels and employed 20,000 men (231).

² The films are remakes of Rafael Sabatini's novel *Captain Blood* (1922). The 1924 film was a silent picture while the 1935 Warner Brothers version starred Errol Flynn and was nominated for the Academy Award for Best Picture. (It lost, however, to MGM's *Mutiny on the Bounty*.)

³ For instance, scholars frequently examine the importance of the father, Captain Walker's role in the British navy, the opening epigraph from Keats with references to Homer and Cortez, and the clear influence of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Even the children's baby sister is called Vicky for her resemblance to Queen Victoria, though her name is Bridget.



responsibility (130). This tradition allowed novelists to praise Britain as a maritime power. Sheeky Bird reads the eldest child, John Walker, as a Nelson-in-training, following in the footsteps of his father as he becomes the next generation of great British leader. Yet, despite the plethora of scholarship on the novel's connection to naval imperialism, few scholars concentrate on the role of piracy, itself a key element in British maritime history⁴. Furthermore, this novel not only celebrates piratical play; it also depicts girls, rather than boys, as the pirate characters. If, as Sheeky Bird contends, the Nelson tradition offers young boys, like John Walker, a path to service for the empire, what path exists for young girls who play as pirates?

I argue that *Swallows and Amazons* uses fictionalized pirate lore—such as buried treasure and the black spot—in its quest to transform what it means to “play pirate.” Boys no longer **are** pirates, but rather, all children **play** pirate. Pirates in children's literature have long been associated with young boys. As Bradley Deane contends, late nineteenth-century fiction witnessed a growing trend toward valorizing perpetual boyhood, an idea also popularized in the *Boy's Own Paper*. As play for children became valued and naturalized, it became “easily reconcilable with a ruthless new imperialism” (692) and transformed into what Deane calls the “imperial play ethic” (692) that prizes boys' natural spontaneity and assumes the “boyish spirit was so well-suited for the great game of empire” (693)⁵. Adventure fiction such as *Treasure Island* and *Peter Pan* (1911) doubled down on the belief that at heart men are boys and boys are pirates⁶. Jim Hawkins in *Treasure Island* idolizes the duplicitous Long John Silver as a surrogate father figure, and Peter Pan, the quintessential boy who will never grow up, often switches sides mid-battle to fight alongside the pirates⁷. Comparatively, contemporary fiction for girls often stressed domesticity and being “little women,” as even Wendy Darling knows from an early age she will grow up. Anne Shirley and Pollyanna, despite their bright imaginations and inquisitive spirits, remain in a domestic setting grappling with social pressures to conform to traditional gender roles⁸. Piratical play was now available for all children—girls and boys alike—who could relish in childhood adventure while learning and enacting values of leadership, loyalty, curiosity, and responsibility.

Swallows and Amazons challenges the traditional sexual division of labor by allowing girls to play pirate.⁹ Piracy, in particular, proves an intriguing choice, given its history as a male-dominated profession.¹⁰ Legally, pirates are designated as *hostis humani generis*, or “enemy of mankind,” meaning that they could be prosecuted by any country who captures them.¹¹ In other words, pirates existed without a home, firmly outside of the domestic space. Playing pirate, then, for girls provides a non-domestic space for exploration and adventure, thusly liberating girls from domestic confines and teaching them that they are capable leaders and quick thinkers, prized for their childlike spirit and ingenuity. *Swallows and Amazons* uses piratical play as a safe form of adventure that allows girls to test their boundaries.

⁴ Alexandra Phillips also traces the extensive connections to *Treasure Island* in the novel.

⁵ Joseph Bristow in *Empire Boys* similarly examines the Victorian preoccupation with boyhood and how these young men shaped an empire.

⁶ *Peter Pan* first appeared as a play in 1904, and J.M. Barrie later published a novel-length version in 1911 as *Peter and Wendy*.

⁷ The text also implies that after Captain Hook dies, Peter may take over his piratical role, as Wendy makes new clothes for him from Hook's old garments, and the boys must decide what to do with the ship, the Jolly Roger.

⁸ I am focusing primarily on late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fiction. By 1990, we have Charlotte Doyle in Avi's *The True Confessions of Charlotte Doyle* who becomes a veritable crew member on board a ship, casting off her former high-class lifestyle.

⁹ As I will show, the novel does not completely dispense with traditional roles, as seen with John and Susan acting as surrogate parents while sailing. Yet, their roles as ideal British man- and woman-to-be are not firmly crystallized, as they too indulge in a little piracy.

¹⁰ Indeed, there are very few instances of historical female pirates—really, just three: Anne Bonny, Mary Reed, and Cheng I Sao. Despite the scarcity of historical female pirates, there are countless fictional female pirates, especially in the twentieth century, many of whom are derivatives of Anne Bonny and Mary Reed.

¹¹ Many pirates nevertheless identified with their home nationality. For instance, in Daniel Defoe's *Captain Singleton* (1720), the narrator Bob specifically differentiates himself from the Portuguese pirates, thusly demarcating specific nationalities.



Ransome provides new models of girlhood that allow girls to be curious, strong, and intelligent while still feminine, as they understand how to be national subjects in a changing empire.

Ransome both celebrates and tempers piracy: he draws on fictionalized piracy by including popular pirate iconography, but he also mutes some of the more frightening realities. What is commonly understood as pirate fact is frequently based on fiction, as authors and historians draw on legal and historical documents as well as fiction, which are often blended together.¹² Ransome's most apparent source of pirate lore is *Treasure Island*, a novel the Walker children have evidently read. The children re-name Uncle Jim Turner Captain Flint, after the notorious pirate of *Treasure Island*, who has both a green parrot and a cannon, and Titty and Roger dig up his buried treasure at the end of the novel. Nancy Blackett presents Captain Flint with the "black spot" and later makes him walk the plank—both pirate myths from *Treasure Island*.¹³ Ransome also blends pirate fiction with pirate fact: the Blackett sisters sail under the Jolly Roger;¹⁴ Nancy is a quintessentially pirate name;¹⁵ the children sing historical sea shanties, as music was a significant part of pirate culture, and they compose the ship's articles.¹⁶ The Walker children's boat—the Swallow—was actually the name of real-life eighteenth-century General Ogle's ship that finally captured the elusive and successful Captain Bartholomew Roberts.¹⁷ Ransome thusly engages in the long tradition of expanding and popularizing pirate lore, but also begins to carve a space out for girls previously reserved for boys, as all children read pirate fiction and want to play pirate.

Yet, despite the inclusion of piracy, Ransome tempers some of the historical realities. While much fiction makes piracy seem attractive for adventure and treasure, Ransome also makes piracy extremely safe and does not forgo middle-class principles. For instance, Ransome's depictions starkly contrast images of piracy in *Treasure Island*, where Jim experiences actual danger and kills a man. Whereas past conceptions of boyhood privilege trickery and guile, the *Swallows and Amazons* play fairly and honestly.

¹² Even the seminal 1724 historical work *A General History of the Pyrates*—long attributed to Daniel Defoe but more likely written by an author with the pseudonym Charles Johnson—blends truth and fiction as it adapts both legitimate pirate history and pirate fiction in order to alter images of piracy for its contextual moment and literary purpose. *A General History of the Pyrates*, published in two volumes, provides historical accounts of many of the most famous pirates and has long been a significant source for scholars of pirate history. At its publication, it was also highly popular reading. Though the text claims to be largely historical, the author has changed many pieces and contributed numerous fictional elements, such as filling out the backstories of the popular Anne Bonny and Mary Reed, condemning the successful Captain Avery, and adding entirely fictitious stories, such as that of Captain Misson.

¹³ The black spot is entirely fictional. Walking the plank, though long attributed to piracy, actually only entered historical piracy as a punishment to prisoners in the early nineteenth century. As Peter Earle explains, nineteenth-century Cuban pirates first forced a captured captain to walk the plank in 1822 (222). The phrase "walk the plank," however, was used before pirates actually used it. For instance, Walter Scott's 1820 novel, *The Pirate* features the phrase "walking the plank." Originally, walking the plank was a practice used by slavers (and many pirates did engage in the slave trade): when a slave ship was captured, the crew made the slaves walk the plank to their death in order to collect the insurance money from what was considered lost property. If the slaves died during the sea voyage, the slavers could recover their loss, but if the slaves were captured by another ship, then there was no monetary recuperation. See Burwick and Powell 150–153.

¹⁴ The name "Jolly Roger" comes from the French, *Jolie Rouge*, which translates as "pretty red" or "Old Roger," an English colloquial name for the devil. The red flag was the more dangerous pirate flag, as it signaled that no quarters would be given and all men aboard would be slaughtered. The black flag, which did not appear until the early 1700s, meant quarters would be given and the men would likely live, though their ship would be ransacked. The skull-and-cross bones pattern was not standard, as most pirate ships had their own version of a design stamped upon their flag, such as skeletons, skulls, hearts, and daggers. See also Burwick and Powell 145–148.

¹⁵ Nancy is actually a nickname based on her love of pirates. (Her baptismal name is Ruth.) Nancy is a derivative of the name Ann, but it became a name in its own right in the eighteenth century. Anne Bonny is one of the most famous female historical pirates. There is a character named Nancy in John Cartwright Cross's popular 1798 melodrama, *Blackbeard; or, The Captive Princess*.

¹⁶ Pirate ships were well-regulated with strict hierarchies and clear and enforceable rules. All men had to agree to the pirate articles. Captain Roberts's ship had a particularly well-documented and famous set of articles: gambling was outlawed, men had to keep their weapons cleaned and ready, resources were to be shared, women and boys were not allowed onboard, and musicians must play each day of the week except Sundays (Defoe 211–212).

¹⁷ Peter Hunt has also identified that a sloop named Swallow may have existed in Windermere, where the novel takes place. Ransome based the book on places he vacationed, and the Walker children are based on his friends' Dora and Ernest Altounyan's children (223).



After the Walker children successfully capture the Amazon's boat, John asks Nancy to surrender with "no trickery" to which Nancy responds, "honest pirate," as the children abide by the rules (Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons* 231). Further, Nancy "did not hesitate" to admit that the Swallow "earned" the honor of being the flagship (232). Upon their reconciliation, Captain Flint tells the children, "make peace with me, and we'll have a first-class war at once," explicitly offering to end their actual feud over a misunderstanding about John's honesty and actually play pirate (275-76). Whereas the children's previous "war" had been one based upon injured honor and misunderstandings, their final battle is a staged, safe re-enactment of a pirate war.

Ransome's novel differs from other texts featuring children's interactions with pirates particularly because of Ransome's creation of a safe and idyllic space for piratical play. Compared to Stevenson's and Barrie's stories, in which the children meet and battle actual pirates, the *Swallows and Amazons* only play pirate. They know that Uncle Jim is not a real pirate but eagerly indulge in their imaginations while avoiding real danger. Ransome's later novels in the series that feature pirates—Caribbean pirates in *Peter Duck* (1932) and Chinese pirates in *Missee Lee* (1941)—do so in the context of imaginative stories. The Walkers and Blacketts never actually leave the Lake District. Piratical play also appears in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876). As Mark West notes, Sawyer and his friends reenact specific pirate tales, notably *The Black Avenger*, *Story of the Spanish Main* that first appeared in 1847 (53). Like the Walker children, Sawyer and his friends also adapt pirate stories, in accordance with theories of child's play proposed by Brian Sutton-Smith (54).¹⁸ Tom imagines himself as a pirate, "the Black Avenger of the Spanish Main" and revels in the dangers of piracy that include capturing and burning ships, stealing money and burying it, and killing people. The boys even plot to make people think they have drowned, and then attend their own funerals. Though Twain's and Ransome's fictional children both create worlds based on pirate conventions, Sawyer's piratical play is specifically for boys and often concerns the dangerous aspects of piracy, while the Walker children privilege the adventure. More so, piracy, in *Swallows and Amazons*, becomes a safe way to enjoy imaginative play, work out conflicts, and demonstrate leadership skills. As Anna Bogen claims, play becomes a form of social practice as the children "escape the grim choice of joyless maturity or powerless permanent childhood" (59), using their childhood lesson to inform their futures. In particular, it is piratical play that most deftly facilitates their development, especially for the girls.

The girls' piratical play empowers their development outside of the domestic spaces as they hone their skills and use play as a form of social practice. Bogen asserts that, in children's literature, discovering "an exotic location" often leads to "discovery of self" (54). Playing pirate helps the young girls realize qualities in themselves for which the world does not give them many role models, as it does with young boys. They are also versatile, adventurous, and intelligent. The eight-year-old Titty is easily the most piratical character and, in many ways, defies typical gender conventions in her quest for adventure. She fantasizes about "[sailing] all over the world" (118) to "discover new continents" (Ransome, *Swallows and Amazons* 119).¹⁹ While her older and practical siblings bring along instruction manuals about sailing and cooking, Titty carries *Robinson Crusoe*, aiming to have her own adventure. Indeed, when her siblings venture off to capture the Amazon, she is unafraid to be left alone, relishing in and reenacting her own Crusoe experience. Eager for adventure, she feels "the thing that spoils *Robinson Crusoe*" was that "he came home," for who would want to be rescued "if they had a desert island of their own?" (186). She independently makes camp, wields a knife, and designs a makeshift lighthouse. When her mother shows up as "Man Friday," she performs the domestic work of making tea and cakes, not Titty. Ransome creates a positive female character who shirks domesticity in favor of more rough-and-tumble adventure as one of the privileges of girlhood. Young readers admire Titty: she is, after all, the character who singlehandedly captures the Amazon, engaging in explicit acts of piracy, and refuses to give up on the

¹⁸ In particular, Sutton-Smith highlights the rhetoric of play as progress, the idea that play facilitates children's development (9), and the rhetoric of play as imaginary, which appears frequently in literature and fosters children's creativity (10). Piratical play in *Swallows and Amazons* appears to fall into these two categories as this specific type of play privileges imagination but also facilitates childhood development, particularly for young girls as it actually expands traditional roles.

¹⁹ Comparatively, as the children fantasize in this scene about what they would do after capturing the pirate treasure, Susan wants to "go to the China Seas to see daddy" (119). Here, she reaffirms traditional family structure and gender hierarchy.



buried treasure and saves the day by finding Uncle Jim's stolen property. Her adventurous spirit and childlike wit shine by playing pirate.

Compared to her older siblings, Titty embodies a childhood characterized by imagination and spontaneity rather than rules and manners. Of the four children, she most quickly thinks pirate: when they first see Uncle Jim, Titty immediately decides "he's probably a retired pirate," which Roger supports because he has a parrot. Pirates play a major role in her imagination: when they hear a loud bang, she assumes people are warring with the pirate; she also devises sailing plans to keep an eye on him. She is not only intrigued by pirates but also wants to be one. When Uncle Jim accuses the Walker children of bothering his houseboat, Titty wants to exact piratical revenge, saying the "proper thing to do" is "take his treasure out and sink the galleon or burn it to the water's edge" (153). Burning ships was the pirate Blackbeard's particularly sinister form of revenge; it was more lucrative to commandeer a ship than burn it, for ships were very costly to build.²⁰ Comparatively, the practical John wants to hold a council meeting. The older and sensible Susan sometimes doubts the pirate fantasy: when Titty regretfully bemoans, "I don't suppose we shall ever see the pirates again," Susan counters with, "if they were pirates" (95). In Titty, Ransome offers young readers an image of fanciful and imaginative childhood for girls, one in which children are not scrutinized for decorum, where girls play equally with boys, and where girls express, rather than repress, emotions. More broadly, such piratical play translates into social practice as Titty can develop and grow as she negotiates the changing roles and expectations for women.

A second model of girlhood piracy, Nancy Blackett, the captain of the Amazons, uses piratical play to carve a space outside of domestic convention that permits expanded possibilities for women. She and her sister Peggy independently sail their sloop under the banner of the Jolly Roger, proudly announcing themselves as both pirates and girls. While there are relatively few historical female pirate models, they take the moniker of Amazons after the fierce tribe of warrior women. Though Nancy engages in acts of piracy like Titty—attacking her uncle's houseboat twice, engaging in a deceptive boat theft, and doling out the black spot—she is most similar to John Walker, as she is a natural leader and skilled sailor. It is easy to assume that a maturing girl may fall into a domestic role as Susan has. While John has the established Nelson tradition and the history of the British navy undergirding his leadership skills, Nancy, as a young woman, has fewer models. It is through playing pirate that Nancy showcases leadership, integrity, and intelligence, providing a progressive view of young womanhood.

While Titty models adventurous and rebellious girlhood, Nancy emblemizes female leadership, strength, and skill. Nancy is outspoken and unafraid of traditional authority. She yells at a policeman who wrongly accuses the Walker children of interfering with Uncle Jim's houseboat, and she refuses to submit to John simply because he is older and a boy. To determine who will be commodore, she suggests a test of skill, as merit and leadership should be earned rather than simply assumed. Physically, she is bigger than John and is strong enough to out-row her uncle. She is also a skilled sailor, adeptly leads her sister, teaches John about the markings in the harbor to help navigate, and is integral to the final battle with Captain Flint, which might have "ended with complete defeat of the Swallows if Captain Nancy and her mate, Peggy" had not come aboard (289). Playing pirate provides an avenue for a young girl to enact leadership and integrity outside of traditional domestic roles, suggesting enhanced possibilities for young girls. Childhood as envisioned here is a time of play but also a time to work through skills, challenges, and values that will form their adult lives in a changing world. Indeed, British women had recently earned the vote in 1928, and women were attending university in record numbers. Significantly, the girls grow up during the interwar period, a time when women had played vital roles in World War I and would again contribute to the war effort in just nine short years. In Nancy, as well as Titty, who challenge traditional gender roles through piratical play, Ransome presents a model of girlhood for a new generation.

Though all six children play pirate, the two eldest Walker children, John and Susan, take on roles more consistent with becoming adults, as they occupy a liminal, developmental time between childhood and adulthood. Piracy, in this novel, exists in the realm of childhood. John is negotiating his burgeoning masculinity to take on the role set by his father, himself a British sailor. John, I argue, acts more like a privateer than a pirate. English privateers were sailors commissioned by the Royal Navy to capture pirates. However, the line between privateer and pirate is notoriously blurry as many privateers were

²⁰ *The General History of the Pyrates* notes that Blackbeard—Edward Teach, or Thatch—burned the Boston-based ship Protestant Cæsar "out of spite to the Owner" because several pirates had recently been hanged in Boston. Having already left the ship, the captain and crew lived (Defoe 72).



actually pirates, taking advantage of their legal protections to conduct their illicit crimes, such as the notorious Captain Kidd.²¹ Sometimes sailors began as privateers in wartime but turned pirate in order to sustain their livelihood. Reading how John both is and is not a pirate underscores the important process of maturation, as he is neither child nor adult, but must negotiate this changing role. John operates with a naval-like mentality. He rows with a "navy stroke" as it was a "point of honour that the oars should not splash" (160). When the Swallows plan their attack on the Amazon, John draws on his knowledge of "naval warfare" based on the books he has read (175). Yet, he ultimately leads his crew in acts of piracy: covert operations to steal a rival's boat. On one hand, like a privateer, he is out to capture pirates. On the other, he engages in acts of piracy, sneaking around in the dark to trick his enemy. He takes part in the fun of the final pirate battle with Captain Flint, but while Nancy and Titty tie up Flint and argue that he should walk the plank, John hesitates and suggests they give Flint a fighting chance by untying his arms so he can swim. Playing pirate for John is quite different than for the younger children. As a young, white, middle-class boy, he has expected roles to fill. Though the youngest boy, Roger, relishes in piratical play, John has matured from many of his childhood ways, past only playing pirate and into the realm of privateer and naval man, bound by honor and leadership. Compared to past children's literature, wherein boys could play and never grow up and girls must act in traditional ways, it is John who conforms to convention. In tempering piratical play in John, Ransome solidifies John's place as somewhat outside of childhood: as a privateer, he has one foot in childhood and piracy and the other in adulthood and the navy.

Susan is easily the most traditionally feminine of the characters, and scholars often interpret her as anticipating stepping into her mother's role. She carries the book *Simple Cooking For Small Households* and ensures that camp is ship shape and that her siblings eat their meals and have tea. Yet, I suggest that she is more progressive than past scholarly accounts credit her.²² Though she appears domestic, she is extremely different from traditional female models such as the Blackett's Great Aunt, who appears in the series' second novel, *Swallowdale* (1931). Great Aunt Maria, who is a "terrible stiff," insists her nieces conform to traditional and subdued feminine behavior rather than "rampaging around in a boat" (Ransome, *Swallowdale* 46). Susan's future, however, is not quite so Victorian. She swims well and can sail, as she "of course, was nearly as good a steersman as Captain John" (71). The phrase "of course" is significant: Ransome presents Susan's adept sailing skills as a commonplace rather than a rarity. Susan also demonstrates an intense practicality, for she is industrious and resourceful. Though Titty enjoys their piratical play for the adventure, for Susan, playing pirate is also about skill and being prepared. She is a young woman who can do more than cook; she also sets off to steal a pirate ship. In this light, Susan's play becomes less conventional and more realistic. Susan foreshadows a changing type of woman, one who can have it all: she is skilled in the kitchen and on the high seas. Susan's piratical play, with its blend of practicality and imagination, anticipates a future womanhood distinct from past generations that embraces a new role for women's changing place in the empire.

Piratical play in *Swallows and Amazons* frees children from the external pressures to conform to expected gender conventions and be little adults. Crucially, Ransome's novel allows girls to play pirate, thereby blurring the gender lines and providing new models of girlhood predicated on adventure, spontaneity, ability, and leadership. Their futures will be better off for this childlike play because, as Bogen contends, the novel links "childish imagination" with "an ability to affect the world hitherto reserved for grownups" (60). Particularly with John and Susan, who are nearing adulthood, their play ensures that they avoid replicating past models of adulthood and instead mature as capable individuals in a modern, changing world. Rather than fear pirates, children can learn and grow by acting like them in the safe confines of middle-class childhood.

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²¹ The government issued letters of marque to privateers that authorized the capture of enemy ships. Sir Francis Drake, for instance, carried papers from Elizabeth I to attack Spanish ships. During the famous Captain Kidd's trial, one of his legal defenses was that he had begun in "a laudable Employment," for he had letters of marque (Defoe 450).

²² Wojcik-Andrews, for instance, articulates that Susan, along with her mother, ensure that "the domestic economy... permits the working of the larger economy" (9). McInnes contends that Susan has "most internalized adult socializing systems" (288).



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