OUR MYTHICAL HOPE

The Ancient Myths as Medicine for the Hardships of Life in Children's and Young Adults' Culture

Edited by
Katarzyna Marciniak

OUR MYTHICAL HOPE

Matylda Tracewska, *Our Mythical Childhood* (2013), artwork symbolizing the Programme.

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CONTENTS

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Playing with the Past

Rachel Bryant Davies

"THIS IS THE MODERN HORSE OF TROY": THE TROJAN HORSE AS NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHILDREN'S ENTERTAINMENT AND EDUCATIONAL ANALOGY*

"[T]he horse is the king of nursery [...], the strongest and most used of all toys" – so began a beautifully illustrated article about toy horses in a Victorian children's magazine, *Kind Words for Boys & Girls* (1866). More surprisingly, perhaps, this article presents the Trojan Horse as the quintessential toy horse. Its mythical tale forms a detailed digression from the supposed subject of toys, accompanied by a quarter-page woodcut of a surprisingly lifelike specimen trotting through Troy's crumbled walls (see Fig. 1).

The anonymous author – most likely the magazine's editor, Benjamin Clarke – even exhorted his youthful readers that "next time you play with your wooden *toy* horse [...] remember the wooden *Troy* one".[1] This suggestion was explicitly aimed at "my young friends", the middle-class children to whom this halfpenny weekly was marketed (and subsidized) by the Sunday School Union.[2] Clarke's nine-part series on toys aimed to remind "bigger boys and girls [...] of the happy hours they spent with theirs".[3] Different family members, it seems,

[1] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 11 January 1866, 12 (emphasis in the original). *Kind Words* (1866–1879) later became *Young England* (1879–1937).

[2] Diana Dixon, "Children and the Press, 1866–1914", in Michael Harris and Alan Lee, eds., *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986, 139. The Sunday School Union was a Protestant and later ecumenical educational organization in Great Britain, founded in 1803 and based on the earlier movement of Sunday Schools where underprivileged children were taught reading and writing; eventually, instruction focused on the Bible.

[3] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 4 January 1866, 6.

12   TOYS.

This reminds me of that wonderful horse—the largest that was ever made; but it was not intended as a plaything, nor did the Trojans find it so.

The Greeks, who had been at war with them for many years, and were unable to take Troy, at last made this great horse, and under pretence of presenting an offering to the gods before retiring from the siege, they got the horse taken into the city.

The inhabitants worked away, of course, "*like Trojans;*" but they had their work to do to drag it in. It was so heavy, that they thought it was an animal of some considerable mettle, and how many pounds *Troy weight* it was I cannot tell.

But this *wooden* horse *wouldn't* go in at the gates, so they had to pull down the walls. When they had done admiring this tremendous "gee-gee" they went to bed; when, lo! from the inside of the animal there sprang out hundreds of armed men, who gave the signal to their comrades outside the city, and in they came through the breach in the wall made to admit the horse, and the city of Troy was easily taken.

Now, next time you play with your wooden *toy* horse, remember the wooden *Troy* one.

But it is not every child that gets a chance of riding on a rocking-horse, though there are few who have not had a horse of some kind or other to draw about. Happy are they who have one large enough to ride on, whilst one or two of their companions draw it along. Such a horse is a capital toy indeed. It is strong, it will amuse several at once, and it is cheap. You must not expect him to look as well as his neighbour on the rockers; nevertheless he is well made.

TOYS.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER II.

"A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!"—*Shakespeare.*

UT it is quite time to be going into the nursery, for there are lots of toys on the floor waiting for our notice.

First of all the horse; for if the lion is the "king of the forest," the horse is, I am sure, the king of the nursery. There he stands—if, indeed, his legs will enable him to—the strongest and most used of all toys.

There are many classes of horses, some of which have never yet been exhibited in any horse show; but the place of honour must be given to the rocking-horse, because he is the largest and the best made, and the most expensive. He supports his great load of juvenile humanity without complaining; for see, not only is there one young rider in the saddle, but there are two clinging on to the hind legs on the rocker, two in front in the same position, while one is sitting underneath on the stand. Now, as no horse was ever made to carry six outside, you must not be surprised if, some day, the overladen animal breaks down under such treatment. You are as bad as a man I once heard of, who hired a horse for an afternoon's ride, and was very particular to have a long-backed one, "because," said he, "there are three more to take up at the turnpike."

THE TROJAN HORSE.

Figure 1: The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 11 January 1866, 12. Scan © by the British Library Board, General Reference Collection P.P.5992.h. Used with permission.

would have found suggestions for future amusement, or remembered their own bygone playtimes. The confident statement that "[t]he cheapest kind of horse, and one which no child need be without, is the hobby-horse" because "there are always sticks at hand that will answer the purpose", emphasized the ubiquitous long-lived significance of the Trojan Horse for pedagogy and play that this chapter examines.[4]

Here, I ask how the Trojan Horse was widely transformed in nineteenth-century Britain into a more hopeful plaything for children's consumption. It is usually seen as symbolic of mythical destruction. Secretly filled with soldiers and ostensibly left as a religious offering, the huge, hollow wooden structure enabled the apparently surrendered Greek army to take the city of Troy. Why was it necessary, and how was it even possible, in that time and place, to present disarmed or positive versions of the Trojan Horse? As I have argued elsewhere, the wider Trojan myths were often recast with happy endings in nineteenth-century British comic performances to avoid the logical conclusion of the British Empire's destruction when Britain – especially the metropolis of London – was repeatedly paralleled with ancient ruined powers, such as Troy, Carthage, and Rome.[5] This historical and political moment intersected with a significant milepost in the history of children's literature and material culture: in London, children began to be targeted as consumers by specialist publishers from about 1750.

The flourishing of educational toys and games in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was followed by the increased accessibility of cheaper print for mass audiences and introduction of compulsory education in the late nineteenth century. In addition, there was a trend among Victorian children's writers to sanitize stories to promote notions of childhood innocence.[6] The myth of the Trojan Horse was continuously recreated for various didactic, pedagogical ends, in the guise of a playful amusement. Just as the mythical Horse smuggled Greek soldiers within Troy's city walls, so entertaining accounts of the Horse secreted moral and ideological instruction, shaped by wider cultural discourses surrounding Classical Antiquity and the Trojan War myths of canonical epic literature.

The nineteenth century was also a crucial flashpoint when the historicity of the Trojan War and Troy's location was passionately debated. The Trojan

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[4] The Editor, "Toys", 11 January 1866, 12.

[5] Rachel Bryant Davies, *Troy, Carthage and the Victorians: The Drama of Classical Ruins in the Nineteenth-Century Imagination*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

[6] See, e.g., Gillian Avery, *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770–1950*, Leicester: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975, esp. 143–163.

Horse, the stratagem by which the Greek army smuggled soldiers into the besieged city of Troy, leading to its total destruction, annihilation of the Trojan soldiers, and enslavement of the Trojan women, offers an apparently insurmountable challenge to this volume's theme of "Mythical Hope".[7] Yet, as the *Kind Words* article indicates, and this chapter examines, the Trojan Horse was firmly established as a child's toy by this period. Moreover, the Horse as nineteenth-century entertainment reached a far wider social range than only those families with access to traditional, formal, classical education: a hopeful symbol of the increased mobility promoted by the contemporary preoccupation with playful pedagogy – education in disguise, like Lucretius' sugared pill – for which the Horse was itself such a useful analogy. The cheap-print culture represented by the *Kind Words* article about toy horses unveils the sorts of everyday interactions that can be reconstructed or inferred (to varying degrees) through considering a range of the media and genres through which children experienced classical mythology. Charting the Trojan Horse's reincarnations across these sources demonstrates how deep-rooted the myth is, and how flexibly it was adapted into a narrative of hope.

The classical personification of Hope was familiar to nineteenth-century children as an embodied virtue. Books and cards which illustrated and explained morals using classical mythology flourished in the first half of the century. One example from 1830 (which posed exam questions at the end of each section) represented Hope as a woman wearing green, suckling a child, and holding an anchor.[8] Hope was the virtue perceived as the foundation stone underpinning all others, as was literally depicted in the frontispiece of *Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral, and Divine, for the Improvement and Pastime of Youth* (see Fig. 2). In the image, Hope supports a monument to Filial Duty, Fortitude, Brotherly Love, Friendship, Perseverance, Temperance, Wisdom, and Virtue (to which the angelic mother-figure points the two cherubic children), topped by Charity. Originally written by John Huddlestone Wynne in 1772, the text featured sections on fortitude, perseverance, and "change in human affairs".[9] This last was a common moralistic element – closely related to more

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[7] Even in an "optimistic" reading of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which the fall of Troy explicitly leads to the foundation of Rome, it would be hard to understand the account of the Wooden Horse as hopeful (since it forms the key part of Aeneas' narration to Dido of Troy's fall; *Aen.* 2.1–297).

[8] William Pinnock, *Iconology, or, Emblematic Figures Explained; in Original Essays on Moral and Instructive Subjects, with Seventy-Two Engravings from Ancient Designs*, London: John Harris, 1830.

[9] [John Huddlestone Wynne], *Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral, and Divine, for the Improvement and Pastime of Youth*, 7th ed., London: E. Newbery, 1793.

frequent depictions of fortune and mortality – which drew parallels between ancient ruins and modern cities, or long-dead characters (often from the Trojan War myths) and young readers.[10]

Figure 2: Frontispiece to [John Huddlestone Wynne], *Choice Emblems, Natural, Historical, Fabulous, Moral, and Divine, for the Improvement and Pastime of Youth*, 7th ed., London: E. Newbery, 1793 (ed. pr. 1784). Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

Underlying the Trojan Horse's popularity as an object of imaginative play was the Homeric epics' privileged position as backbone of both popular entertainment and school curricula in nineteenth-century Britain. Even as archaeological

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[10] Fortune is illustrated, e.g., in Samuel Boyse's reference work, which went through at least ten editions in the eighteenth century; see Samuel Boyse, *A New Pantheon, or, Fabulous History of the Heathen Gods, Heroes, Goddesses, &c. Explain'd in a Manner Intirely* [*sic*] *New*, London: J. Newbery, 1753; and in card games such as Étienne de Jouy's *Mythologie*, Paris, ca. 1805, and George Riley's *Celestial Game, or, The History of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses* (in the latter, alongside the exalted company of Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Minerva, and Balance): these items are all held at the Cotsen Children's Collection, Princeton University Library.

discoveries and disappointments in the Troad brought into question the veracity of the Trojan War myths, the epic tales inspired countless stories, puzzles, and other pastimes. And as technological developments created a new market of child consumers and transformed Classical Antiquity into fodder for mass consumption, new relationships emerged between politics, pedagogy, and play. The Trojan Horse is a particularly visible marker of this sort of circulation and transformation of classical mythology. Marketed as a popular family amusement in nineteenth-century Britain, the Horse is an intriguing example of how a weapon of mass destruction – responsible for what is arguably the most notorious massacre from classical mythology – became symbolic of childhood entertainment.

This chapter tells the story of how and why the Trojan War myths were so often retold with "happy endings" that the Wooden Horse came to be seen as a quintessential toy – so ubiquitous that, as the *Kind Words* article recommended, it could be convincingly contrived by poorer children out of non-specific toys and everyday items. Here, I examine how the Trojan Horse was marketed as a vehicle for interactive, educational amusement, and evaluate the wider significance of disarming the Horse, which enabled the transformation of canonical ancient narratives of Troy's destruction into adaptations featuring more hopeful outcomes. Children's encounters with Classical Antiquity span material, visual, and performance media, as well as textual and literary genres. Many products were produced for immediate consumption in apparently transient, non-elite or non-traditional formats, such as the board game, theatrical souvenirs, and magazines analysed in this chapter. Much of this surviving evidence was preserved in private collections or recently rediscovered holdings. The different media encode different assumptions into the reworking of the myth: the Trojan Horse was not always entirely sanitized from bloodshed but, as we shall see, was usually presented as part of a wider, hopeful, and often moralizing story.

When these sorts of ephemeral evidence are juxtaposed, a lively tradition emerges of children's imaginative re-animation of the Trojan Horse, and the enduring commercial and cultural power of a toy which enables children to change the outcome of this most recognizable of ancient myths. Hopeful innovations are informed by wider cultural narratives, for instance, political and educational debates. They also enable us to assess in which contexts children were expected to possess prior knowledge of the Trojan War myths or to be provided with necessary information: in turn, expectations of child consumer interaction afford insights into the levels of social mobility facilitated by such narratives. Of course, the Trojan Horse was, and is, perhaps the most recognizable episode of one

of the best-known ancient myths. But how did children acquire the knowledge that perpetuated this myth's renown, and what was the significance of the myth's revision – usually by adults – for children's instruction and/or amusement?

"A Capital Toy":[11] Interactive Play with Antiquity

The Trojan Horse presented in *Kind Words* is a key example of active interaction with and re-enactment of classical mythology, as well as the social accessibility of this mythical figure and some degree of sanitization in its adaptation. Building on the overwhelming popularity of the Trojan War myths as family entertainment earlier in the century (which had possibly influenced the author's own childhood perceptions of mythology), *Kind Words*' article presents the toy horses which had become family favourites earlier in the century, and epitomizes the surge of periodicals through the second half of the nineteenth century.[12] The new availability of affordable magazines brought classical mythology to ever-wider readerships, especially among children, who were increasingly targeted as consumers.[13] Yet this account of "that wonderful horse – the largest that was ever made" – walks an awkward tightrope: while the image emphasizes its menacing size and "breach in the wall", the synopsis of the myth is full of jokes and shies away from describing any actual combats ("the city of Troy was easily taken").

Unless explicitly retelling ancient epic and tragic accounts of Troy's fall, periodicals tended to follow earlier popular entertainment in avoiding or altering the myth to enable some degree of "happy ever after". Modern Anglo-American popular culture has maintained this trend:[14] the television show *Doctor Who* ("The Myth Makers", dir. Michael Leeston-Smith, 1965), comic film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (dirs. Terry Jones and Terry Gilliam, 1975), American fantasy television series *Xena the Warrior Princess* ("Beware Greeks Bearing Gifts", dir. T.J. Scott, 1996), and, more recently, a comic adventure animation, *Mr. Peabody*

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[11] The Editor, "Toys", 11 January 1866, 12.

[12] See further: Dixon, "Children and the Press", 133, and Kristine Moruzi, "Children's Periodicals", in Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, eds., *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2016, 293–306.

[13] See further: Julia Briggs, Dennis Butts, and Matthew Grenby, eds., *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2008; Dennis Denisoff, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2008.

[14] Excepting the many computer and online strategy and war games, which in any case offer the possibility of altering the course of history.

and Sherman (dir. Rob Minkoff, 2014), all incorporate the Trojan Horse as the vehicle for their humorous (and mostly bloodless), rather than tragic, resolution of conflict. Similarly, in the early to mid-nineteenth century, London's circuses and theatres capitalized on the eager crowds drawn to watch comic re-enactments of the Siege of Troy in which the Wooden Horse played surprising roles to bring about happy endings. At the same time, Trojan War mythology was at the forefront of public awareness throughout the century, especially after Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Hisarlik from the 1870s. Many images and accounts of the exposed ruins and archaeological proceedings, as well as episodes from Homer's and Virgil's epic poems, circulated in children's magazines.[15]

As we shall see, the Horse was employed to teach strategy or promote classical education. But other well-known epic episodes which could achieve those ends were not yet such popular toys: the *Odyssey*'s monstrous Cyclops, for example, achieved notoriety, and fabrication as an action figure, through Ray Harryhausen's film *The 7th Voyage of Sinbad* (dir. Nathan Juran, 1958) and Walt Disney's *Hercules* (dirs. Ron Clements and John Musker, 1997). In contrast, it is easy to recreate the Trojan Horse, as *Kind Words* pointed out, using pre-existing, imaginatively transformed toys or household objects. Moreover, whereas the Cyclops is one of many challenges which mythical heroes must overcome, the Trojan Horse represents the defining moment in the ten-year-long Siege of Troy: the final opportunity to engineer an alternative to the death or slavery of the city's inhabitants. As the following case studies demonstrate, in nineteenth-century adaptations which disarm the Trojan Horse, it still breaks the Siege and ends the war. In such instances, adapting the myth of the Trojan Horse is highly effective in overcoming these mythical disasters.

Toys, games, and shows, alongside stories, facilitated playful encounters with the Horse. Children's periodicals provide the most plentiful accounts of creative reconstruction: the Horse often became the catalyst for reconciliation rather than destructive violence. Story papers were "one of the most widely consumed

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[15] See Susanne Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology: Fictional and Factual Texts in 19th and Early 20th Century Britain*, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015, 209–330; Rachel Bryant Davies, "'An Imaginary Troy': Homeric Pilgrimage, Topography and Archaeology", in Rachel Bryant Davies, *Troy, Carthage and the Victorians: The Drama of Classical Ruins in the Nineteenth-Century Imagination*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 47–124; Rachel Bryant Davies, "'A Subject Which Is Peculiarly Adapted to All Cyclists': Popular Understandings of Classical Archaeology in the Nineteenth-Century Press", in Bernard Lightman and Bennett Zon, eds., *Victorian Culture and the Origin of Disciplines*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2019, 161–187.

forms of entertainment in late Victorian Britain", to quote Kelly Boyd,[16] and so provide vital evidence for assessing the circulation and popular perception of knowledge. They also, as the subtitles to many such publications indicate, tried to balance pedagogical content with playful packaging: *Boys of England* (1874–1900) was subtitled, for example: "a magazine of sport, sensation, fun and instruction", while *Our Young Folk's Weekly Budget* (1871–1896) adopted the motto "To inform. To instruct. To amuse".

Interactions between publication and reader, demonstrated in Marguerite Johnson's chapter about Australian print media,[17] were just as fast-paced in Britain, where child readers submitted essays and poems, entered competitions, and filled editors' letter-bags with comments and questions.[18] Such interactive, ephemeral evidence brings a new perspective onto the (in)efficacy of classical myth among producers and consumers of popular children's culture. Since periodicals could adjust content rapidly to suit backers, purchasers, and readers, they capture cultural discourses in action. They often, as Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth have established regarding scientific articles, functioned as a "conduit" of specialist knowledge, as well as reinforcing cultural mores.[19] Children's periodicals are therefore full of what adults think children should know about and play with – although they could also, to some extent, reconstruct observed or experienced play. But, while we cannot be certain which pages were read, the periodicals discussed here enjoyed loyal readerships and long runs.

As Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah H. Roberts point out, it "has been a widely held tenet of children's literature studies that the child addressed by children's

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[16] Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 49–50.

[17] "'For the Children': Children's Columns in Australian Newspapers during the Great War – Mythic Hope, or Mythic Indoctrination?", in this volume, 145–157.

[18] On the increasing trend to "court the reader's approval", particularly in correspondence, see Diana Dixon, "From Instruction to Amusement: Attitudes of Authority in Children's Periodicals before 1914", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 19.2 (1986), 63–66. For an analysis of classical puzzles, see Rachel Bryant Davies, "'Fun from the Classics': Puzzling Antiquity in *The Boy's Own Paper*", in Rachel Bryant Davies and Barbara Gribling, eds., *Pasts at Play: Childhood Encounters with History in British Culture, 1750–1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 96–112.

[19] Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth, eds., *Science Serialized: Representation of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004, 4. See Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology*, 25, on the additional discourses created by popularization. For periodicals as an index of familiarity with archaeology, see Bryant Davies, "'A Subject Which Is Peculiarly Adapted to All Cyclists'". On the role of periodicals in constructing and perpetuating cultural ideologies, see Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850–1915*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012, and Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain*.

literature is always to some extent an adult projection".[20] On the other hand, Kathryn Gleadle's use of diaries and autobiographies to examine juvenile recreation in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Britain exposed the "[c]omplicated, symbiotic relationship between the worlds of child and adult".[21] In her analysis of British children enacting soldiers during the Napoleonic era, she identifies "a general effect at work" in autobiographies "whereby this cohort of writers constructed and represented their memories through recourse to certain collective discourses and tropes".[22] Likewise, children's periodical writers often explicitly recall their own childhood or, as in the *Kind Words* article, aim to arouse readers' reminiscences through classical mythology. While the injunction in *Kind Words* to imagine a hobby- or rocking-horse as the Trojan Horse may not have been taken up by contemporary children, it suggests the author's own childhood experience. Like Véronique Dasen's *Veni, vidi, ludique* exhibition,[23] this is an experiment in reconstructing historical games from texts and objects.

Gleadle finds that "volunteer play" (her term for children pretending to have enlisted to fight Napoleon in the early nineteenth century) "blurred the boundaries between juvenile play and adult cultures",[24] and posits that "acts of play might function as 'collective cultural production'".[25] Just as this military make-believe proved an effective "index of the effect of war on Georgian sensibilities",[26] I hope to show here that toys, games, and stories marketed for children's consumption – however ephemeral – are equally valid as an index of the perceived cultural function of classical mythology. Toy versions of the Trojan Horse establish the "cultural presence of children",[27] whether real, remembered, or constructed, in narratives of Antiquity's most notorious war.

[20] Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah H. Roberts, *Childhood and the Classics: Britain and America, 1850–1965*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 5. See also Edith Hall, "Our Fabled Childhood: Reflections on the Unsuitability of Aesop to Children", in Katarzyna Marciniak, ed., *Our Mythical Childhood... The Classics and Literature for Children and Young Adults*, "Metaforms: Studies in the Reception of Classical Antiquity" 8, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2016, 173–174.

[21] Kathryn Gleadle, "Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars", *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38.3 (2015), 346.

[22] Ibidem, 337.

[23] *Veni, vidi, ludique. Jeux et jouets dans l'Antiquité*, Caen, Vieux-la-Romaine, May–December 2017.

[24] Gleadle, "Playing at Soldiers", 343.

[25] Ibidem, 337, quoting Ann-Carita Evaldsson and William Corsaro, "Play and Games in the Peer Cultures of Preschool and Preadolescent Children: An Interpretative Approach", *Childhood* 5.4 (1998), 380.

[26] Gleadle, "Playing at Soldiers", 336.

[27] Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, Chicago, IL, and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005, xv.

To assess the significance of altered versions of the Trojan War myth and the cultural (in)efficacy of the Trojan Horse as a symbol of hope, we must consider the expected levels of pre-existing knowledge (or lack) concerning the Trojan War mythology and the Trojan Horse implied in these versions, and the importance attached to them. Given persistent public controversies over the reality of the myth and the sensational identification of the legendary city of Troy in 1874, as well as the myth's long-standing success as popular entertainment, it was familiar enough to be the perfect candidate for adaptation. The Trojan Horse as entertainment across classes and cultural forms therefore brings into focus the dissemination and circulation of mythical knowledge. Against two contrasting pastimes which represent active, material encounters – a board game and a toy-theatre set which reproduced a successful London circus – I will set evidence from periodicals that represent, in ephemeral, textual format, the wider prevalence of repurposed toys and imaginative recreations. I will then briefly trace associations in wider adult, political culture which enabled the Horse to be disarmed, but also complicated its interpretation and didactic appropriation.

"If He'll Promise Not to Kick":[28] Re-Imagining the Trojan War in Pre-1850 Toys and Games

Marketed as entertainment, the tale of the Trojan Horse circulated across a wide social range of participants throughout nineteenth-century Britain. As Clarke's article in *Kind Words* demonstrates, any of its range of readers could, with some encouragement, imagine a stick into a Trojan hobby-horse, and the Trojan War myths reached an even wider spectrum of child and adult spectators onstage, in classical burlesques in London theatres, circuses, and showgrounds. Theatrical souvenirs and board games, however, were more expensive items. Two examples of the Trojan Horse, in an educational board game and a souvenir toy-theatre set of a circus show, reveal how much – and what kind – of prior knowledge about the Trojan Horse was expected in each case, and whether child consumers were expected to recognize deviations from canonical ancient accounts of the Trojan War.

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[28] [John Amherst and Astley's Amphitheatre], *The Siege of Troy, or, The Giant Horse of Sinon: A Grand Spectacle in Three Acts. Juvenile Drama Script*, London: Orlando Hodgson, 1833 (a copy is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum Theatre and Performance collections), Act 2, Scene 4.

One of the most widespread games across Europe since the sixteenth century was the *Game of the Goose*: its racing-track format underpins many subsequent board games. One of the most ambitious is an educational game by a London-based children's publishing pioneer, John Wallis. It comprised a spiral timeline of circular medallions which each illustrated a historical event.[29] Alongside the large folding board (made of paper on a linen backing), players would have used the accompanying thirty-five-page booklet of *Explanation to Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology*. The ultimate aim of the 1814 game is not revealed until the end of this booklet: to arrive at the middle medallion first, and be appointed "First Lord of the Treasury".[30] Both versions were entitled *Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology* (further referenced as Wallis's *Universal History*) and progressed, through space and time, from the biblical account of creation to contemporary Britain. The 1814 first edition surrounded a large portrait of George IV as Prince Regent. The 1840 re-issue replaced his image with six different playing-spaces, including a portrait of Queen Victoria, but in the new central image, a train steamed down a brand-new railway line.[31] All the other images – line drawings which could be intricately hand-coloured or washed with a single colour – remained the same.

The Trojan Horse occupies the thirteenth circle (see Fig. 3). An encampment is suggested behind, but the focus is on the large hatch in his side, through which a bevy of soldiers either embark or disembark (the scene could be the Greek camp or Troy). Visually, this circle stands out in the game: it is the only one where an animal is the focus. The soldiers' bustle below emphasizes the clear sky above the Horse; in contrast, the other circles are filled with activity, landscape, ornate scrolls, or enormous head-and-shoulder portraits. The Horse as symbol of the Trojan War is a striking choice because other wars are depicted through generic motifs, such as the crossed swords that denote "Civil War at Rome" (playing-space 31), the scroll that reads "War with America"

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[29] I am indebted to Barbara Gribling for first discussing this game with me. On Wallis's representation of different historical periods, see Rachel Bryant Davies and Barbara Gribling, "Introduction: Pasts at Play", and Barbara Gribling, "Playing with the Past: Child Consumers, Pedagogy and British History Games, c. 1780–1850", both in Rachel Bryant Davies and Barbara Gribling, eds., *Pasts at Play: Childhood Encounters with History in British Culture, 1750–1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 1–22 and 193–220, respectively.

[30] John Wallis, *Explanation to Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology*, London: J. Wallis, 1814, 17.

[31] The first public railway to use steam locomotives was the Stockton and Darlington Railway (UK), which opened on 27 September 1825; in 1840, the Railway Inspectorate was set up to monitor safety.

(playing-space 124), and battles through combat scenes (for example, "The Battle of Hastings", playing-space 76). That the Trojan War – and Horse – was considered especially important is confirmed by the "Rules", which promoted the acquisition of knowledge about this circle.

Figure 3: Board-game playing-space no. 13, showing the Trojan Horse. Detail from *Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology*, London: J. Wallis, 1840 (ed. pr. 1814). Image courtesy of Princeton University Library.

The "Rules for Playing" laid out in the booklet of *Explanation* reveal that each player started with two dozen counters, of which six each were placed in a common pool.[32] Each turn, players spun a numbered teetotum (a spinning die), proceeded to the appropriate circle, and followed the instructions given

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[32] Wallis, *Explanation*, 3–4.

in the next section of the *Explanation*, the "Chronology of the most remarkable events, from the Creation to the present time". Each circle was briefly named, with directions such as "begin again" (when reaching the "Universal Deluge" playing-space) or "pay 3 to Rome, your more successful rival" (when landing on the medallion labelled "Kingdom of Athens founded").

Wallis's *Universal History* is intriguing. Wallis gave a date for each circle's event, using a calendar era based on biblical events for those "Before Christ". His Anno Mundi chronology runs between Creation in year 1 and the birth of Jesus in Anno Mundi 4000, noting that this was "four years before the commencement of the vulgar Christian era". This system was not Wallis's own invention but was based on seventeenth-century chronologies, such as James Ussher's *Annals of the World* (1650). The Trojan War was set as Anno Mundi 2811, only 1189 years before Christ.[33] Despite the resultant compression of events to match Old Testament arithmetic, it was eleven years later, after the end of the War, in "Anno Mundi 2822", that "Eneas flying from Troy, lands in Italy, whence the Romans pretended to derive their origin" (playing-space 14). Homer's flourishing was placed very specifically, in Anno Mundi 3097, only 275 years after the end of the War.

Players who landed on the Horse were directed to read the explanatory paragraph for "Trojan War" in the longest section of Wallis's booklet, "Outlines of History", which expanded on selected circles. Anyone who had to read aloud was rewarded by a further spin and the acquisition of counters. Although players could easily, in practice, have skipped the reading, knowledge of the Trojan War was so important that circle 16, "Homer Flourished", rewarded players who remembered the Horse's context: "If you can say who he [Homer] was, and what he wrote, receive 2 [tokens] from each player; otherwise, place 6 [tokens] on No. 13 [which the next player who landed would gain], and learn there".[34]

Here is the information to which players were so strictly directed:

> No. 13. The Siege of Ilium, or Troy, was undertaken by the Greeks to recover Helen, the wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta, who had been carried

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[33] Wallis's *Universal History* translates historical events correctly (Years BC = 4004 − Years Anno Mundi), so, e.g., the Battle of Thermopylae in 3524 AM (Anno Mundi) corresponds to 480 BC, and "Carthage in Africa taken and destroyed by the Romans" (playing-space 30) is 3855 AM, or 149 BC (the start of the Third Punic War). Wallis must have been following a revised version of Ussher's chronology, since they agree for Thermopylae, but Ussher placed the destruction of Troy in AM 2820 (1184 BC); see Rev. James Ussher, *The Annals of the World*, London: printed by E. Tyler, for F. Crook and G. Bedell, 1658, 187–190.

[34] Wallis, *Explanation*, 6.

off by Paris, the son of Priam, King of Troy. The armament of the Greeks is said to have consisted of twelve hundred ships and 100,000 men. These were opposed by a still more numerous force, for the King of Troy received assistance from all the neighbouring princes, besides powerful foreign aids. After the siege had lasted ten years, the Greeks became masters of the city by artifice. Homer, in his celebrated poem, "The Iliad", says they introduced a large wooden horse filled with armed men, who, coming out at night, opened the gates and admitted the hostile army; when the greatest part of the inhabitants were [*sic*] put to the sword, the rest carried into captivity, and the city reduced to ashes.[35]

The Horse's role is emphasized at the expense of detailing any combats of heroes; however, this leads Wallis to get his epics mixed up: he credits the Horse to the wrong poem – and possibly even to the wrong author and language, too: this "artifice" and the fall of Troy is not narrated in the *Iliad* ascribed to Homer, but rather in the *Odyssey* (largely in Book 8) and the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Wallis delicately navigates myth and history, supplying specific numbers of ships and men from hearsay, yet emphasizing the canonical status of Greek epic. It is intriguing to imagine how families might have responded to this – rather misleading – synopsis. Those who could have afforded to purchase this game, with its hand-coloured engravings and explanatory booklet, would most likely have included players who could recognize Wallis's mistake: the children of such families would have been in throes of, or waiting to begin, an elite classical education in which Homeric epic and, especially, Virgil's *Aeneid* would play a starring role.[36]

Similarly misleading information, claiming to represent Homer's *Iliad*, emerges from another family entertainment, which was sold from 1833, between the two versions of Wallis's *Universal History*. This was a circus show and its miniature toy-theatre version, *The Giant Horse of Sinon, or, The Siege of Troy* (Astley's Amphitheatre, 1833). Orlando Hodgson, a leading theatrical souvenir publisher, created the toy-theatre version, which began selling within weeks of the show's premiere. The Trojan Horse was the principal attraction of a toy-theatre set which comprised the characters, props, and backdrops necessary to recreate a life-size public entertainment as performed at Astley's Amphitheatre. This fashionable London venue combined arena and stage, and

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[35] Ibidem, 21.

[36] See further: Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830–1960*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

was renowned for its equestrian feats. Shows at Astley's attracted an extremely diverse audience of both genders, and almost all ages and social classes. *The Giant Horse of Sinon, or, The Siege of Troy* was a particular box-office hit in 1833; it was revived in 1840 (the same year as the second issue of Wallis's *Universal History*) and revisited in 1854 as *The Siege of Troy, or, The Miss-Judgment of Paris*.[37]

The Trojan Horse starred in advertisements for the 1833 *Giant Horse* as well as the souvenir miniature-theatre set, marketed on the circus show's success, in which the Horse fills an incredibly detailed double-sized character sheet and a stunning backdrop. Hodgson also published a sixpenny pamphlet of the script, with detailed stage directions from the acting copy, entitled *The Siege of Troy, or, The Giant Horse of Sinon: A Grand Spectacle in Three Acts. Juvenile Drama Script*.[38] In the final backdrop, the Horse adopts a similar stance as in Wallis's circular image, but here, at the circus and in the miniature theatre, the city is already alight.[39] Ironically, in this burlesque Siege of Troy, we do not actually see Troy "reduced to ashes", in Wallis's phrase, and none of the principal characters die.[40] Although stage directions for the final scene dictate that "[t]he Castle and City blazes" and "Priam and Hecuba [are] prisoners", the prisoners are regally dressed, the focus stays on celebratory processions and tableaux, and the hopeful potential for reconciliation remains.

Pandarus (a character known from *Iliad* Book 4) eloquently describes "a horse of large dimensions, whose head touches the clouds, and seems to claim acquaintance with the gods" (*The Siege of Troy, or, The Giant Horse of Sinon*, Act 2, Scene 1), but any mention of the *Aeneid*'s troubling omens is omitted. Its entrance is the occasion for a grand procession (Act 2, Scene 3) and a chorus (Act 2, Scene 4). It is also the excuse for some comedy among the Trojan Sentinels (Act 2, Scene 4):

> *1st Sen.* Come, comrade, all seems quiet, and the horse is not likely to move off. Suppose we have a nap.
> *2nd Sen.* Well, I'll make a pillow of his forefoot, if he'll promise not to kick.

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[37] For an illustrated analysis of these performances and a toy-theatre set, see Rachel Bryant Davies, "'Not Classic, but Quite Correct': The Trojan War at the Circus", in Rachel Bryant Davies, *Troy, Carthage and the Victorians: The Drama of Classical Ruins in the Nineteenth-Century Imagination*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 125–202.

[38] See above, n. 28.

[39] See, e.g., the superb playbill at the Victoria and Albert Museum (S.2–1983); this backdrop is the front cover to Bryant Davies, *Troy, Carthage and the Victorians*.

[40] Wallis, *Explanation*, 21.

Of course, although it remains inanimate, the apparently innocent Horse delivers more menace when Greek soldiers emerge from the flap in the Horse's shoulder (glued onto the miniature card version). But there is a twist which enables the circus to pull off a happy ending. This was the element that really confused some reviewers, leading expensive monthly magazine *The Athenaeum* to conclude that:

> [A]s this theatre is meant mainly for the entertainment of school-boys, little and large, it is lucky that the victors *are* known to them, for really it would be difficult to decide which side has the best of it at Astley's. (Issue of 6 July 1833)

Characters are listed with costume description "as performed at Astley's Amphitheatre", in front of Hodgson's script. However, Paris is a "Grecian", and Menelaus is a Trojan. The fact that the other characters' nationalities are not provided implies that this is a deliberate choice, as do other alterations. For example, Princess Helen, Priam's daughter, is not yet married to Menelaus, whom she insults as a "slave": the plot of this show is Paris and Menelaus' rivalry for her hand in marriage.

A war is indicated, for example by the presence of the Amazons, as well as Priam's suggestion that "many a Trojan mother [will] bless the name of Menelaus", if the siege is lifted. The Horse is still supposedly a peace offering but now comes directly from Paris who is visiting the Trojan "water pageant and fête" (Act 1, Scene 3). These revisions emphasize the importance of entertainment: not only is there a beautifully illustrated scene in the "Amphitheatre of the Ancients", but it is hoped that Paris' enjoyment there will overcome the siege (in fact, he and Menelaus start a succession of single combats). Rather than a vehicle by which Menelaus can reclaim his adulterous wife, the Trojan Horse at Astley's became a means for Paris to win his fairy-tale wedding. The transformation of the Trojan War for an Eastertide family audience plays to the circus's main attraction: the troupe of highly trained horses and riders.

This "equestrian burlesque" at the circus did not go as far as Victorian burlesques which reversed or entirely avoided Troy's destruction. For example, Robert Brough's 1858 *The Iliad, or, The Siege of Troy*, a large-scale Christmas pantomime at the Lyceum Theatre, ends with a solemn procession of the Greek and Trojan chiefs reconciled. Hector, who has rescued Achilles from the River Scamander, pushes Achilles' wheelchair. Despite the journalist Homer's protests that his traditional, epic news report has already been "telegraph'd to press"

for publication in the next day's newspaper, the heroes enact a more hopeful, peaceful outcome.[41]

This "happy ending" is anticipated by Brough's reworking of the Trojan Horse, which Hector accepts as a gift from Ulysses when they meet at a convivial dinner at the Greek camp. In Act 1, Scene 5, "horse-taming Hector" shows off his ultra-modern horse-whispering technique.[42] Hector provides a "Rarey show", in which he spoofs the American horse trainer's humane technique of tying up the horse's foreleg, with a display of taming "a nag of vicious stamp" with drum and penny trumpet.[43] When Ulysses mentions another challenging untameable horse – making it clear to the audience through aside comments that he refers to the Wooden Horse – the comedy lies in how enthusiastically Hector accepts the gift.[44] In this pantomime, Troy's destroyed walls are represented by the free toll-road pass for the "Scaean wicket" that Hector writes out for Ulysses, so as not to put him to any expense.[45] It is significant for the comic role played by this Trojan Horse, and the unexpected reconciliation which Hector and Ulysses' interaction foreshadows, that Brough cut the scene depicting the Greek soldiers hidden inside the Horse: it survives only in the original manuscript submitted for government censorship. It is likely that the resulting more hopeful overall impression of the Horse was not Brough's priority – the burlesque was far longer and with a far larger cast than other Christmas pantomimes and was significantly scaled back after the premiere suffered technical difficulties – but it does mean that, after the opening night, the comic horse-taming scene would have been spectators' impression of the Trojan Horse.

Prices at both Astley's Amphitheatre and the Lyceum Theatre varied sufficiently that, especially since *Giant Horse* and Brough's *Iliad* were timed to premiere over holidays, it is likely that many working-class children would have seen the original performance. However, the miniature *Giant Horse* set would have been expensive. Hodgson's twenty-five sheets cost between one and fourpence each, plus the sixpence script. As in the case of Wallis's *Universal History*, it is likely that owners of Hodgson's set would have known the traditional tale

[41] Robert Brough, *The Iliad, or, The Siege of Troy* (Lyceum Theatre, 1858), Winchester: Hugh Barclay, 1858/1859, Act 1, Scene 8, vv. 79–97, in Rachel Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Theatrical Entertainments after Homer*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, 217–218.

[42] Ibidem, Act 1, Scene 5, vv. 101–164, in Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque*, 192–195.

[43] Ibidem, Act 1, Scene 5, v. 112, in Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque*, 192.

[44] Ibidem, Act 1, Scene 5, v. 127, in Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque*, 193.

[45] Ibidem, Act 1, Scene 5, vv. 160–164, in Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque*, 195.

of the Trojan Horse and so been able to appreciate the circus's comic adaptations. In contrast, periodicals – to which we now turn – reached a wider audience than these preserved pastimes. As a result, they are an especially valuable source, both for classical reception and historical children's literature.

"We All Know about the Trojan Horse":[46] Recognition, Innovation, and Happy Endings in Post-1850 Children's Magazines

Increased literacy rates through the century created a mass market as technological innovations and the reduction of tax (completely repealed by 1816) made printing more commercially viable. The year 1866, an astonishingly energetic period in British children's publishing, saw the emergence of leading titles such as *Kind Words* – which promoted play with Trojan hobby-horses – along with *Chatterbox*, *Aunt Judy's Magazine*, and *Boys of England*. Many (such as *Kind Words*) were sponsored by religious charities. They not only promoted morals but also fostered elite familiarity with Classics for less elite families, in much the same way as some boys' story papers promoted a "public school ethos".[47] Classical education was the key to social mobility: myths such as the Trojan Horse could be supremely accessible.[48] It was also usual for such myths to be sanitized, with bloodshed and other aspects considered inappropriate kept to a minimum, and a hopeful, positive tone maintained. Clarke's feature of the Trojan Horse as everyday toy in *Kind Words*, with which we began, is an example of this approach, applied to perhaps one of the most challenging topics.

A generation or so after Wallis's *Universal History* and Hodgson's *Giant Horse*, Clarke's article in *Kind Words* showed that basic toys or household items could easily be repurposed into pretend Trojan Horses. Despite explaining that the original Horse "was not intended as a plaything, nor did the Trojans find it so", its second issue demonstrated how and why some of the most traditional, generic toys should be reinvented.[49] Although the editor recognized that

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[46] Henry Scott, "The Trojan Horse", *Good Things for the Young of All Ages*, 21 August 1875, 605.

[47] Avery, *Childhood's Pattern*, 194.

[48] On Classics and social mobility, see Edmund Richardson, *Classical Victorians: Scholars, Scoundrels and Generals in the Pursuit of Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013; Henry Stead and Edith Hall, eds., *Greek and Roman Classics in the British Struggle for Social Reform*, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

[49] The Editor, "Toys", 11 January 1866, 12.

"it is not every child that gets a chance of riding on a rocking-horse", he claimed that "there are few who have not had a horse of some kind or other to draw about". His discussion soon focused on "this great horse"' and its strategic use:

> The Greeks, who had been at war with them for many years, and were unable to take Troy [...], and under pretence of presenting an offering to the gods before retiring from the siege, they got the horse taken into the city. [...] But this *wooden* horse *wouldn't* go in at the gates, so they had to pull down the walls. When they had done admiring this tremendous "gee-gee" they went to bed; when, lo! from the inside of the animal there sprang out hundreds of armed men, who gave the signal to their comrades outside the city, and in they came through the breach in the wall made to admit the horse, and the city of Troy was easily taken.[50]

Italicized wordplay, of the kind which pervaded classical burlesques, alongside jokes from earlier in the century, obviously influence the middle paragraph:

> The inhabitants worked away, of course, *"like Trojans;"* but they had their work to do to drag it in. It was so heavy, that they thought it was an animal of some considerable mettle, and how many pounds *Troy weight* it was I cannot tell.[51]

These mitigate the tragic consequences: where Wallis did not mince his words, Clarke omits any specific violence and swiftly returns to safer topics of rocking-horses. This sanitized, playful approach underpinned Clarke's intention for how his articles should be read.[52] His series was not just *about* toys and play; the act of reading itself *was* play. This was clarified in a subsequent issue, when he conversationally ended an article about toy soldiers:

> Well, we must leave the nursery for a while [...]. I trust, you will set to work all the harder for this short recreation we have had. And I do not think you will have got any harm from our being together, but, I trust, some little good, for though we have been at play, there were some lessons that could not help coming up, which thoughtful children will think over, I am sure.[53]

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[50] Ibidem (emphasis in the original to indicate wordplay).

[51] Ibidem (emphasis also in the original). Troy weight is a British measurement system, in use since the Middle Ages, to weigh precious metals and stones.

[52] Compare the sanitization of Aesop's *Fables* in Hall, "Our Fabled Childhood", 173–174.

[53] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 22 February 1866, 61.

At the same time, an explicitly Christian agenda surfaced the week following the Trojan Horse article. The speculation that "Joseph the carpenter made many a toy in his workshop for the child Jesus"[54] became overtly didactic by the late March installation of the series. "Above all other lessons", *Kind Words* preached to its young readers, "lies this one, that it is our heavenly Father [...] [who] offers us greater pleasures and more lasting joys than any this world has to give, whether it be toys when we are children, or riches when we are grown up".[55]

This is a particularly clear example of the delicate balance of pedagogy and play which underpins much, if not all, children's literature, and which many children's periodicals were transparent in acknowledging. As we shall see, stories which mentioned the Trojan Horse negotiated an equally delicate balancing act in assuming, or explaining, prior familiarity with the myth. They also assume a creative approach to existing toys, and to the adaptation and re-enactment of myth of which the *Kind Words* editor must have approved.

The Trojan Horse was not alone in being appropriated for playtime: readers of *Aunt Judy's Magazine* learned about a "remarkable doll" named "Helen, after the beautiful heroine of Troy";[56] *Boys of England* featured a Homeric re-enactment between two brothers combating as Hector and Achilles (ending in an unplanned swim) as the catalyst in a serialized rags-to-riches tale;[57] and, in the transatlantic publication *St. Nicholas*, the Mask of Agamemnon was considered a suitable fancy-dress costume for a boy bearing that unfortunate name.[58] The Trojan Horse, however, could be used both as a symbol of disguise or concealment in children's games, and as an enticing introduction to the Trojan War.

Most brief references which used the Trojan Horse as symbol assume readers' prior knowledge, which would enable them to decode the reference to classical models of disguise and recognize the innovative "happy ending". In an unlikely-sounding school story entitled "Too Fond of Bacon", published by *Boy's Own Magazine*, for example, a Trojan Horse-style strategy brings a schoolboy snow fight to an early end: multiple snow models of pigs act as decoys to allay suspicion from a larger pig concealing a young pupil, "little Arthur Warland", who is thereby able to enter the other team's fort and switch the flags to signal

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[54] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 18 January 1866, 21.

[55] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 22 March 1866, 93.

[56] Anonymous, "Looking Back", *Aunt Judy's Magazine*, [n.d.], 739.

[57] Anonymous, "The Schooldays of Lord Dundreary and Brother Sam", *Boys of England*, 3 February 1882, 297. On these examples of interactive play (nn. 58–60), see further Rachel Bryant Davies, *Classics at Play: Greco-Roman Antiquity in British Children's Culture, 1750–1914*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

[58] Lucretia P. Hale, "The Peterkins Give a Fancy Ball", *St. Nicholas*, 1 November 1881, 26.

victory. The only explanation provided was: "The commander of the attacking party [an older schoolboy] had taken an idea from the well-known story of the Trojan Horse".[59] The reader is expected to know that, while the snow-pig stood in for the Wooden Horse, Arthur Warland replaced the Greek soldiers, while his non-violent switching of team flags supplanted the destruction of an entire city. The reader is also expected to appreciate the humorous incongruity of this practical, playful, and innocent application of an elite, expensive classical education that so prominently featured ancient accounts of warfare.

Occasionally, as in a tale which featured ten years earlier in a different boys' story-collection, *Routledge's Every Boy's Annual*, the stratagem of the Horse provides the key to the entire plot, and so is explained in the dramatic disclosure. Set during the Napoleonic Wars, readers would not have expected a classical lesson. "A Sea Story", contributed by a Lieutenant Low, was told from the viewpoint of the intended (adult) victim of the disguise plot, a British ship's captain. The basic plot is that this British sailor, named George (a stereotypically English hero's name), foils Napoleonic French sailors who have tried, in disguise, to take over his ship. On revealing their conspiracy, George explains, in dramatic fashion, that his knowledge of the Trojan Horse prompted him to recognize the threat to his crew:

> Once upon a time, as old tales begin, there were two nations engaged in deadly strife. Their prowess was the theme of many a wandering minstrel […] narrated in majestic epic, which has enthralled the modern as well as the ancient mind, the story of the fall of Troy. Infatuated Troy! That listened not to the prophetic warnings of Cassandra. Trojan valour succumbed to Grecian guile.[60]

Set among references to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and the myth of Oedipus, the author of this story, Lieutenant C.R. Low, expects readers to recognize the Trojan Horse strategy once the similarity is revealed; his lyrical, enthusiastic explanation above, by far the longest of his literary references, focuses on the Horse's renown. The emphasis that Low places on the cultural significance of the Trojan War and the importance of listening to "prophetic warnings" is no accident: the rescue of the British ship and final reconciliation is only possible because George knew the Greek myth. When unmasking the plot, George asks the French Colonel whether he "remember[s] the story of the wooden horse" (which

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[59] Anonymous ["The author of 'Jam Roley-Poleys', 'Mazeppa', etc."], "Too Fond of Bacon: A School Tale in Two Chapters", *Boy's Own Paper*, 8 January 1881, 238.

[60] C.R. [Charles Rathbone] Low, "A Sea Story", *Routledge's Every Boy's Annual*, 1871, 36.

could be read as an insult implying lack of a classical education and a lucky co-incidence in strategy) and labels the attempted French conspirators "my merry Greeks". The myth of "Grecian guile" enabled George to enact a more hopeful version of "Trojan valour", which saves his crew. The failure of the French sailors' Trojan Horse strategy through awareness of classical mythology learned during a British education ensures that, on this boat at least, there is some peace amid the Napoleonic War. George sets the captured French sailors free, but reveals the traitor, who is gruesomely beheaded in the final line of the story.[61]

This short tale appeared in *Routledge's Every Boy's Annual*, which compiled the year's stories from Edmund Routledge's magazine (1862–1888, under various titles). At sixpence monthly, Routledge "aimed for popularity with reasonable prices", and published in London and New York.[62] A shorter account was similarly embedded into a tale for younger readers of *Little Folks* (1871–1933). *Little Folks* was a monthly which "aimed to please both boys and girls of all ages, social status, and religious affiliation".[63] Despite containing "a lower proportion of original fiction than *Aunt Judy's* or *Good Words for the Young*", it still managed to feature the Trojan Horse at least twice.[64]

The shorter story, entitled "Girls and Boys of Olden Times", not only compares the Trojan Horse with the ubiquitous contemporary Noah's Ark toys, but imagines the Wooden Horse as a staple toy of ancient Athenians. The protagonist, a small boy, is transported by a fairy to ancient Athens to experience everyday life, including the toy Trojan Horse. When he admiringly asks why the Athenians also had toy horses – "whatever made them think of that" – the narrator intervenes to explain:

> It is what they call a Trojan horse, and was invented because of the story of the city of Troy. You will read it when you are bigger, and will find that after being besieged ten years it was taken by means of a stratagem or plot. A big wooden horse was made, and some soldiers put inside it; this was allowed to go into the besieged city, and when once they were inside the soldiers soon let in their friends.[65]

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[61] Ibidem.

[62] Marjory Lang, "Childhood's Champions: Mid-Victorian Children's Periodicals and the Critics", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 13.1/2 (1980), 24.

[63] Ibidem, 25.

[64] Ibidem.

[65] E.M. Waterworth, "Girls and Boys of Olden Times: IV Among the Greeks", *Little Folks*, [n.d., ca. 1895–1905], 214.

We are not privy to the boy's reaction, since the fairy whisks him off to school. Surely, however, the odd level of detail about both the Trojan War and Trojan Horse would have sparked readers' curiosity – and, like Clarke's article, would have suggested repurposing existing toys for imaginative play.

The second Trojan Horse story from *Little Folks* was a lavishly illustrated tale, subtitled a "fairy story", that combines school-story and fairy-tale elements. Contributed by the prolific children's writer and animal welfare campaigner Julia Goddard, "Leonora and the Wooden Horse" provides another intriguing example of such creativity which refashioned pre-existing toys into Trojan Horses. This story celebrates female classical education and imaginative, creative play, which promotes the redemptive potential of the Trojan Horse. Here, a toy Horse becomes a clear symbol of hope – even re-armed with soldiers. Moreover, this story engages explicitly with the acquisition and deployment of classical knowledge in celebrating improvements in girls' education.

Leonora is introduced as a pupil at one of the new girls' high schools. These schools (which charged fees but remained relatively cheap) were still quite new institutions in 1885, when the story was published. The National Union for Improving the Education of Women of All Classes had been founded in 1871 and the following year was renamed the Girls' Day School Trust, which aimed to set up academic secondary schools for girls (by 1900, there were thirty-seven across the country). Leonora was a common name at the time, but Goddard's choice of name for her heroine is possibly a reference to the classically educated American educator and reformer Leonora Beck Ellis (1862–1951). A conscious choice is all the more likely since the name of the heroine's adversary, Ophelia (also that of the fateful heroine in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*), is derived from the Greek 'help' (ὄφελος; *óphelos*): and the Trojan Horse in this story rescues Ophelia. Like her probable namesake, Goddard's Leonora excels at Greek and – in a challenge to stereotypes of boys' and girls' toys – enjoys playing with her toy horse and lead soldiers.

The story opens with Leonora praising the Horse: "Though not of Troy / You are my joy". Leonora explains the Trojan War myths to her wooden horse toy, named after Alexander the Great's warhorse, Bucephalus. She is already "very classical" and "had heard of the famous wooden horse that the Greeks filled with soldiers and the Trojans drew into their city". It is the act of the child retelling the myth in her own voice – and kissing her toy (see Fig. 4) – which animates Bucephalus into a moving, speaking Trojan Horse.[66]

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[66] Julia Goddard, "Leonora and the Wooden Horse: A Fairy Story", *Little Folks*, [1885], 364. The subsequent quotations from this story are from the same edition.

Leonora and the Wooden Horse.

led from the horse. "There
aden soldiers doing nothing.
p in a green paper box with a
top, and *Kürassier* written in
under it.
eter with

a believe
She stared
and he
and she
twinkled.
. just fit
nued the
were to
f my side,
in, and
again. I
now. If you don't do it some

fortably, and when she opened
her friend Ophelia sitting besi
at her. Ophelia wore her ha
pigtail, and went also to the H
"What
said Oph
forfeited
class; I
did Hom
"Buce
me," ans
"Nons
going to
couldn't c
you sham
at home.
Leonor
herself up
"I know it every bit quit

"SHE KISSED THE WOODEN HORSE" (*p.* 364).

Figure 4: Julia Goddard, "Leonora and the Wooden Horse: A Fairy Story", *Little Folks*, [1885], 364. Author's collection, scan by Robin Hellen. Used with his kind permission.

Upon being kissed, Leonora's toy horse speaks, as do Achilles' warhorses once in the *Iliad* (19.404–417). Bucephalus encourages Leonora to cut a hole in his side for her lead soldiers. Rather menacingly, he declares: "If I had soldiers inside me there is no telling what I should do", and complains: "What is the use of being a wooden horse with no soldiers inside me?". The horse instructs Leonora (and *Little Folks'* readers) in the process of remaking him as the Trojan Horse:

> "There are all those leaden soldiers doing nothing. They are shut up in a green paper box […]. They would just fit into me", continued the [horse's] voice, "if you were to cut a piece out of my side, put the soldiers in, and then close it up again. I am hollow, you know […]." (364–365)

When Leonora refuses, the horse ("whether he intended it or not") kicks her, so that she misses school and forfeits her top place in class. This is the catalyst for the story's reinterpretation of the Trojan Horse myth. As Leonora, who has just recited her lesson correctly from her sickbed, is unfairly taunted by her classmate Ophelia that she was "shamming" because she "couldn't do her Greek", the animated horse clatters upstairs (364–365). At this point, the story diverges into a fantastic melange of fairy tales, of the kind that the author often wrote. Rattling with soldiers, the horse carts off Leonora. Her tormentor, Ophelia, emerges from hiding under the bed but becomes lost in fairy tales. She ends up as Little Red Riding Hood threatened by the Wolf, who wants to punish her because "[y]ou know nothing about Troy and Wooden Horses (despite having studied Homer and Virgil) and you did not believe Leonora, who always speaks the truth" (367). However, Bucephalus' army rescues Ophelia from the tree she has become stuck in while escaping the Wolf, and the story ends happily, with the girls as friends and Leonora once more top of the class in Greek.

As this reversal suggests, Goddard's fairy tale emphasizes both Leonora's classical knowledge and her complex reinterpretation of the Horse, who grows large enough for Leonora to ride. This "modern horse of Troy" uses his reinstated firepower, firstly to rescue his owner, Leonora, from bullying in the real world and then, at her request, to rescue her fellow pupil Ophelia from being eaten by Little Red Riding Hood's Wolf in the fantasy land to which he transports them. Although Bucephalus threatens to kick Ophelia as he had Leonora, he not only rescues both girls, but even encourages Ophelia to seek Leonora's forgiveness. Their shared experience in overcoming the daunting world of fairy tales together with the aid of classical Greek myth brings about their reconciliation: "For the sake of the High, friends now are you and I". As the leaden soldiers sing, Bucephalus is a "reformed" and modernized Trojan Horse:

> We're a band of leaden soldiers,
> This is the modern horse of Troy,
> [...]
> Agamemnon and Achilles,
> Priam, Hector, here we be,
> Friend and foe all mixed together
> In reformed society.
>
> (366)

Leonora is initially scared of the re-armed, larger Horse. Remembering "something she had heard at the High School about Greeks and *the tug of war*" (emphasis

in the original), she is concerned about the soldiers fighting, but as "they all began to laugh, [so] Leonora supposed that there was no cause for alarm" (366).

This Trojan Horse, then, is somewhat tamed – in contrast with all Leonora's prior knowledge of the myth – and his reality enhanced by the "velvet saddle-cloth thrown over him to hide the disfigurement" caused by the open hatch, and a "dainty side-saddle" (366). Later, Goddard jokes further with her readers' expectations when Bucephalus, "looking very stiff", emerges from a shed "as if he were being moved on wheels, but he was not". The animated lead soldiers are upset by Ophelia's tears after her encounter with the Wolf. She is trapped up the tree she climbed to escape being eaten, so at Bucephalus' suggestion they "dragged out a small brass cannon" from another of Leonora's toy boxes. This toy cannon also expands to life-size dimensions, and Leonora has to lift a toy soldier up to light the fuse. As "one of the soldiers cried, 'Right-about face'" (368), Goddard deliberately turns the myth upside down: the Greek soldiers rescue a distressed damsel, but without harming anyone.

These comic moments lighten the fairy-tale rhymes in which the girls speak during their adventure: this signals their removal from "reality" and suggests the Horse's status as myth. Even when the Trojan War was considered historical (especially after Schliemann's excavations), the Horse is often told as a fable.[67] It also enables Goddard to navigate the toys' status between reality and im-agination, drawing on the trend for fairy tales by writers such as the Brothers Grimm and E.T.A. Hoffmann at the time. After her adventure, Leonora finds Bucephalus in his stable, in her playroom, magically restored as a wooden toy, "quiet as a lamb [...]. The hole in his side was closed up, and there was no trace of it; and beside him was the green box with the leaden soldiers in it. The brass cannon was also there" (369).

The editor of *Kind Words* would have disapproved of this extent of creativity. Although he promoted using sticks as hobby-horses to imagine the Trojan Horse, he advocated playing with one toy at a time. He might have allowed the soldiers and Bucephalus to coexist, but surely would have balked at the anachronistic "small brass cannon":

> Let there be no crowding the soldiers into Noah's ark, for that would be out of time as well as place; no mixing up the menagerie with the tea set [...].[68]

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[67] See Rev. S. Goldney, "Fables and Fairy Tales", in *Aunt Judy's Annual Volume*, London: Hatchards, 1885, 20: "The wooden horse, by means of which Troy was taken, appears as an elephant in Hindoostan, and is used to secure a desirable son-in-law for a king".

[68] The Editor [Benjamin Clarke], "Toys", *Kind Words for Boys & Girls*, 25 January 1866, 29.

Yet the central concern of Goddard's cautionary tale is the girls' knowledge of Greek, and presumably the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Ability in Classics is central to both girls' identity. As Ophelia muses in fairyland: "If I be I, as I suppose I be […], / The girls all will say, 'You are the top in Greek'". And upon their return, their tussle continues:

> She [Ophelia] arrived at the High School, and entered the class-room just as the girls were all saying in a chorus, just like a Greek play –
> "You are top in Greek!"
> "But she won't be long", said Leonora, "now that I have come back to school." (369)

The moral about Leonora's truthfulness is not laboured: instead, the story's close stresses the importance of classical knowledge: "[S]he always had a strange belief that somehow her strange adventure was owing to learning Greek, and that if it had not been for the *Iliad*, Bucephalus would never have acted in so eccentric a manner". This potentially dangerous knowledge is safer harnessed at school (where it could earn you top marks) than in imaginative play (369).

Goddard, like Wallis, attributes the Trojan Horse to the *Iliad*. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were certainly popular candidates for retelling in periodicals; they provided fodder for prize poems, essays, and competitions. Nonetheless, the Trojan Horse was not a common element in the many retellings of the epics. The Horse is only mentioned three times in the *Odyssey* (4.266–289, 8.492–520, 11.523–533), and elaborate descriptions of monsters, or the Phaeacian scenery, precluded space for describing the bard's songs of Troy. Many retellings of the *Iliad* stuck closely to the epic, and so also did not mention the Horse: one in *Chatterbox* (1866–1953) in 1882 was so faithful that a supplement was included to explain the heroes' fates. It briefly linked the Horse to discoveries at Hisarlik:

> Troy was taken soon after the death of Hector, by means of a wooden horse, which was brought into the city. Inside it several of the bravest Greeks were concealed.[69]

One of the most detailed accounts of the Horse appears in the most eccentric retelling. Three years after *Chatterbox* retold the *Iliad*, *Our Young Folk's*

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[69] Anonymous, "Supplement to the Tales of Troy", *Chatterbox*, 11 November 1882, 407.

Weekly Budget (rebranded as *Young Folk's Paper*) drew on many of the cyclic epics and mythographers' traditions as well as the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* to create a morality tale, dressed up in exciting intrigue and battles. This serialized adaptation ends happily for the protagonists Achilles and Trojan slave-girl Briseis: in this version, the Greek princess Deidamia had married Achilles on Scyros, yet remains unrecognized in her disguise as Briseis – even by Achilles – until their happy reunion, when they are whisked away by the goddess Thetis to escape the fall of Troy and Achilles' fated death.[70] While they watch safely from a ship, the Trojans discover the "monstrous horse, grim and massive" (a description repeated many times) and debate whether to take it into Troy: Aeneas argues against "yon monstrous idol" and spells out the blasphemy of tearing down the god-built city wall for "the object of their infatuation", but, "while the wiser looked on with horror, the rabble harnessed themselves again to the idol, and dragged it up the rough incline".[71]

Serializations of the whole of Virgil's epic, on which the interaction with the Horse was based here, were rare: it was probably less appealing since the *Aeneid* was a school staple, and so, perhaps, too well known.[72] Another story in *Young Folk's*, which was told in 1871 and reprinted in 1889, drew more directly on *Aeneid* 2.13–56:

> Minerva then directed a large horse to be built, wholly of wood, and, when it was completed, the bravest warriors concealed themselves in it [...]. The Trojans, supposing the war to be at an end, [...] drew the mammoth wooden horse into their city, and engaged in riotous feasting. What to do with the horse was a question of serious debate. Some were for burning it, others for throwing it from the city, and others still for consecrating it to Minerva.

Rather than emphasizing the Trojans' blasphemy, this anonymous writer promoted an anti-war message, pointing out that "many die to redeem or redress the wrongs of a few individuals. Who would not wish that it were otherwise?"[73]

All these examples of nineteenth-century children's encounters with the Trojan Horse hinged on the balance between expecting prior knowledge or providing

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[70] Chapter 32: C.A. Read, "Achilles, the Young Hero of Thessaly", *Young Folk's Paper*, 6 June 1885, 388.

[71] Chapter 33: C.A. Read, "Achilles, the Young Hero of Thessaly", *Young Folk's Paper*, 13 June 1885, 403.

[72] *Nota bene*, the *Aeneid* formed the basis for the Wooden Horse in Charlotte M. Yonge, *Aunt Charlotte's Stories of Greek History*, London: Marcus Ward & Co., 1876, 81.

[73] Anonymous, "Tales of Ancient Days", *Our Young Folk's Weekly Budget*, 5 August 1871, 255; reprinted as "Mount Ida, or, The Siege of Troy", *Young Folk's Paper*, 28 September 1889, 203.

sufficient detail for the context. Wallis's *Universal History* game, in which the Trojan Horse symbolized Greek epic, as well as the Trojan War, rewarded players for their knowledge of the accepted version. In allocating the Trojan War, symbolized by the Horse, an equal slot to other historical events, this game promoted Greek epic as a step towards British imperial monarchy and Victorian technological achievement. Yet, while the booklet both offered the opportunity to learn about the Trojan War and Homer, and rewarded players who already knew the Horse's context, or remembered it from reading the *Explanation* earlier in the game, the information given was misleading: so important was the symbolism of the Trojan Horse that it was assumed it must have been part of the canonical *Iliad*.

Players of this game would have been primed to notice innovations, nineteen years after Wallis's first issue, or seven years before his updated version, in the popular entertainments at Astley's Amphitheatre. *Giant Horse* at the circus literally brought the Trojan Horse to life, while the miniature recreation at home enabled family creativity. Both Wallis and Astley emphasized Troy's destruction, but mitigated this loss by highlighting the Trojan Horse as the essential step in the fall of the city and Aeneas' foundation of Rome, or (at the circus) the necessary means to Paris' successful courting of the (unmarried) Helen of Troy.

As in Wallis's game, in which all of history coexisted, and Astley's equestrian extravaganza, in which Egyptian mummies escorted the Horse into Troy, both the stories of "Olden Times" and of Leonora encouraged the juxtaposition of diverse toys. Of course, without using diaries or memoirs, we cannot know how these combinations were played out: whether the Horse was menacing or hopeful, and whether Troy was saved or destroyed. The periodical interpretations of the Trojan Horse, however, which are overtly moralistic, demonstrate more awareness of their readers' likely reactions. The coexistence of accepted versions of the Horse alongside adaptations suggests that readers would have been aware of the innovations.

Tales of the Homeric epics for children usually promoted morals. A story ostensibly about Penelope "the faithful" in *Our Young Folk's* caught boys' interest by starting with the warriors and then stressed how "[b]eauty only never made a man happy, and it never will", while *Girls' Own* emphasized that Helen's "life was darkened by the remembrance of Paris and the noble chiefs who had died for her sake".[74] As we saw, the *Aeneid* was also employed to advance anti-war messages: prior to the interwar split between using classical myth to either

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[74] Anonymous, "Penelope the Faithful", *Our Young Folk's Weekly Budget*, 15 April 1871, 127; Anonymous, "Helen", *Girl's Own Paper*, 18 August 1900, 726.

glorify war or promote peace, analysed by Murnaghan and Roberts, toy soldiers were also divisive.[75] It appears that the Trojan Horse was a prime example. Where "A Sea Story" used the traditional account of Troy's fall to promote the acquisition of strategic knowledge for military victory and personal safety, Leonora's decision to impart her traditional knowledge of the Trojan Horse to her toy causes her potentially dangerous adventures. Transformed into a new Trojan Horse, however, Bucephalus polices the schoolgirls' truthfulness, judges their knowledge of Greek, and is finally an arbiter of mercy and forgiveness.

"A White Patch on Its Nose, and Painted a Beautiful Chocolate Brown":[76] What Was the Significance of Disarming the Trojan Horse?

Happy endings to the Trojan War were common in mid-nineteenth-century burlesques, which saved Troy, had Aeneas become Dido's brother-in-law instead of inciting Carthage's enmity for Rome, and avoided Odysseus killing his wife Penelope's suitors on his return to Ithaca.[77] These comedies, as I have argued elsewhere, evaded or defused the threat to Troy because it had been imagined too similarly to the classical culture of nineteenth-century London (for instance, Troy's Amphitheatre of the Ancients looked suspiciously like Astley's Amphitheatre itself).[78] Wallis's *Universal History* emphasizes the pitfall of this approach, which, as we have seen, underpinned some instances of the Trojan Horse as a toy, and complicated its use in all cases. Wallis's chronological game affirms Troy's destruction, followed by Aeneas' founding of Rome, and Rome's eventual conquest of Britain, leading ultimately to the Christian, British, Regency, and Victorian status quo which was epitomized in the central monarch's portraits.

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[75] Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah H. Roberts, "Armies of Children: War and Peace, Ancient History and Myth in Children's Books after World War One", in Katarzyna Marciniak, ed., *Our Mythical Childhood... The Classics and Literature for Children and Young Adults*, "Metaforms: Studies in the Reception of Classical Antiquity" 8, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2016, 219–240; Kenneth D. Brown, *The British Toy Business: A History since 1700*, London: The Hambledon Press, 1996.

[76] Goddard, "Leonora and the Wooden Horse", 364.

[77] See, e.g., F.C. Burnand, *Dido: A Tragical, Classical, and Original Burlesque in One Act*, London: T.H. Lacy, 1860, and F.C. Burnand, *Ulysses, or, The Iron-Clad Warrior and the Little Tug of War*, London: T.H. Lacy, 1865; for the latter, see Bryant Davies, ed., *Victorian Epic Burlesque*, 219–269.

[78] See Bryant Davies, *Troy, Carthage and the Victorians*, Fig. 3.20 (unpaginated colour plate).

The Trojan Horse as amusement must be coloured by its wider presence in the cultural and political landscape. For instance, the Horse illustrated manufacturers' collecting card sets, a popular marketing tool into the twentieth century, which told the whole story of the Trojan War through visually appealing snapshots.[79] At the other end of the spectrum, overlap between adults' and children's consumption, and visual, literary, and performance cultures is reflected in the fact that a spectacular oil painting of *The Trojan Horse* by Henri-Paul Motte (1874) was reproduced in the children's magazine *Good Things for the Young of All Ages*.[80] Accompanying it was a smattering of passages from the *Aeneid*. Ironically, the rather tedious compilation started with – in untranslated Latin – Horace's opinion of the power of visual evidence (*Ars P.* 179–182). Before stating his preference for the classic 1697 translation of the *Aeneid* over John Conington's much more recent 1866 version, and embarking upon his selection of Trojan Horse descriptions (in Conington's version),[81] the author Henry Scott signalled the myth's wider resonance in nineteenth-century culture and politics: "We have all heard of the Trojan horse, but this picture […] may give us quite new ideas about it".[82]

In the same year that *Kind Words* had advocated playing with Trojan Horses, and well before Schliemann's excavations at Hisarlik suggested the actual destruction of a Troy-like city, the Horse was the subject of several speeches in Parliament. This "greatest single instance of dueling with Latin quotations in the House of Commons"[83] was between William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Robert Lowe (1811–1892), who took over that office on Gladstone's appointment as Prime Minister. Their debates concerned the Reform Bill of 1866, proposed legislation which would extend the vote to skilled working men, enabling roughly one in four, rather than one in five, men to vote. Gladstone's opening speech, in favour of the bill, argued:

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[79] See, e.g., Liebig Company's collectible card series advertising their famous Fleisch-Extract (concentrated beef stock): *The Trojan War*, No. 5 (1892); see Getty Images Hulton Archive Editorial #173343119, https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/the-wooden-horse-is-led-into-the-town-from-engraving-news-photo/173343119 (accessed 4 June 2020).

[80] Scott, "The Trojan Horse", 605.

[81] John Conington, *The Æneid of Virgil, Translated into English Verse*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1866, 35–45.

[82] Scott, "The Trojan Horse", 605.

[83] Joseph S. Meisel, *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012, 148.

> We cannot consent to look upon this large addition, considerable although
> it may be, to the political power of the working classes of this country
> as if it were [...] some Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city,
> and filled with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We
> cannot join in comparing it with that *monstrum infelix* – we cannot say –
>   "– Scandit fatalis machina muros,
>   Fœta armis: mediæque minans illabitur urbi."[84]
> I believe that those persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather
> to be welcomed as you would welcome recruits to your army or children
> to your family.[85]

Although, as Joseph S. Meisel points out, the speeches were also full of
quotations from Shakespeare, the Trojan Horse metaphor was clearly powerful.
Thirty years later, journalists still thought the Trojan Horse's role in political debate
worth explaining. In a public update after his cataract operation, *A Penny Popular
Monthly* informed readers that Gladstone had requested to have *Aeneid* Book 2
read aloud, which, it observed, must be full of memories, "[f]or it is the Second Ae-
neid that contains the story of the Trojan Horse, which figured so copiously in the
great duels between Mr Gladstone and the late Lord Sherbrooke [Robert Lowe]
in the Reform debates of a generation ago". It is fitting that the paper described
Gladstone "reverting to his old hobby-horse": it is entirely likely that he and Lowe
might have played Wallis's *Universal History* as children or even, as young men,
assisted in a family outing to, or recreation of, *Giant Horse* at Astley's.[86]

In subsequent decades, in the wake of Schliemann's claims to have found
Homer's Troy in ruins, as well as Agamemnon's Mycenae, the Horse in adult cul-
ture could be both comic and moralistic. *Funny Folks*, a cheaper, working-class
Punch equivalent, claimed that the existence of the common measure "Troy
weight" confirmed the existence of the city, but declared that what was open
to "grave doubt is that childish story of the wooden horse". This excessive ra-
tionalization disproved the Trojan Horse's existence, while providing a comic
etymology:

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84 *Aen.* 2.237–240; in John Dryden's translation: "At length the fatal fabric mounts the walls,
/ Big with destruction [...]. It enters o'er our heads, and threats the town".

85 Debate following first reading of the Parliamentary Reform – Representation of the People
Bill, 12 March 1866 (*Hansard* 182, col. 59; *Hansard* is the record of UK parliamentary proceedings
at Westminster). See further: Norman Vance, "Virgil and the Nineteenth Century", in Charles Mar-
tindale, ed., *Virgil and His Influence*, Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1984, 169, and Meisel, *Public
Speech and the Culture of Public Life*, 99–102.

86 Anonymous, "A Personal Page", *Picture Politics: A Penny Popular Monthly*, 16 June 1894, 11.

> [I]n taking the city the troops cheered with the usual "Hip, hip", which is short for "Hippos", a horse. Thus it got to be a saying that the city was taken by a horse.[87]

Punch itself, on the other hand, represented the Trojan Horse as a luxury carriage in its 1884 article on "The Horse and How to Ride Him". A cross section reveals a relaxed soldier, still wearing his oversized pith helmet, reclining with a bottle and cup, pulling down the blinds.[88] In an opposite move to the story about Leonora's toy horse, which came alive as it grew and transformed into the Trojan Horse, here a life-size horse, discussed alongside real horses, is imagined transforming into a vehicle.

Such comic associations, in both adults' and children's cultures, complicate interpretation of the Trojan Horse's cultural significance. In the British cultural imagination, reversing the mythical fall of Troy led to uncertainty over historical consequences. Wallis's *Universal History* was unequivocal that Aeneas' foundation of Rome succeeded Troy's fall, and that Britain succeeded Rome. This *translatio imperii*, or transfer of power, was a common feature of political and historical writing.

Periodicals, as we have seen, combined the two approaches: although the myth was subsumed into moral pedagogy and cultural didacticism, the Trojan Horse's universal appeal as entertainment was also emphasized. This was what made an enthusiastic reviewer of the original Astley's *Giant Horse* show declare that the "tale of Troy – nothing less than the Giant Horse himself!" – was an ideal choice for the Easter show at Astley's, that "great event to which childhood begins about Christmas to look forward".[89]

The ultimate happy ending, for the Trojan Horse as well as both Greeks and Trojans, is proposed in an American interwar story. Published in 1829, John and Pauline Crawfords' *Greek Tales for Tiny Tots* included, as Murnaghan and Roberts note, "conspicuously modernising" cartoon-like illustrations for "patently child-oriented revisions of the plot" which "convey to the book's adult reader an adult's knowing sense of the disparity between ancient myths and modern idioms".[90]

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[87] Anonymous, "Historic Doubts: The Trojan Horse", *Funny Folks*, 15 December 1877, 190.

[88] Anonymous, "The Horse and How to Ride Him", *Punch*, 18 October 1884, 181.

[89] *Astley's Clippings from Newspapers, Vol. 3, 1806–1856*, 14 August 1833, item no. 1354, Reconstructing Early Circus, https://dhil.lib.sfu.ca/circus/clipping/2740 (accessed 30 September 2020).

[90] John Raymond Crawford and Pauline Avery Crawford, *Greek Tales for Tiny Tots*, Bloomington, IL: Public School Publishing Company, 1929, mentioned by Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah
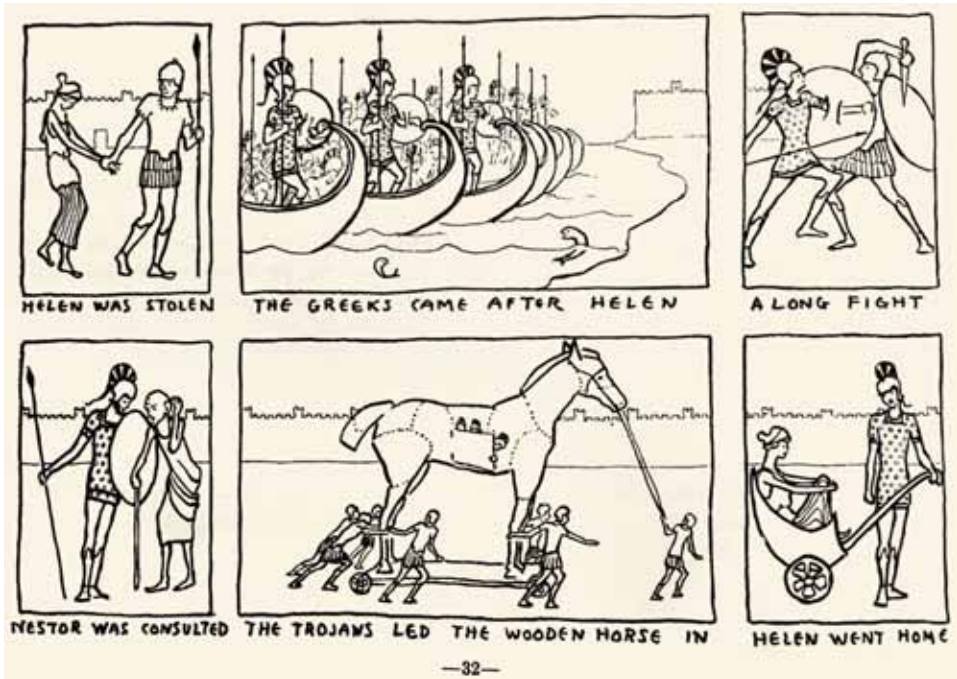
Figure 5: Sequence showing the Trojan Horse, from John Raymond Crawford and Pauline Avery Crawford, *Greek Tales for Tiny Tots*, Bloomington, IL: Public School Publishing Company, 1929, 32. Deborah H. Roberts's collection. Used with her kind permission.

The captions to the storyboard (see Fig. 5) give the barest outline: "Helen was stolen; The Greeks came after Helen; A long fight; Nestor was consulted; The Trojans led the Wooden Horse in; Helen went home", but the accompanying story fills out the details. The Trojan Horse is conceived as a strategy by which to retrieve Helen and end the long war, rather than to destroy the city:

> They fought all that day, and all the next day, and every day for ten whole years. But still they couldn't get into that large and elegant city and rescue their beautiful princess. So there was indeed a state of things. But finally Ulysses said to the Greeks, "If we had a wooden *horse*, we could get her out of *course*."[91]

H. Roberts, "Myth Collections for Children", in Vanda Zajko and Helena Hoyle, eds., *A Handbook to the Reception of Classical Mythology*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017, 94, and discussed by Sheila Murnaghan and Deborah H. Roberts, *Childhood and the Classics*, ch. 3: "'Steeped in Greek Mythology': The First Half of the Twentieth Century", 81–130.

[91] Crawford and Crawford, *Greek Tales for Tiny Tots*, 32 (emphasis in the original).

While the italics suggest the burlesque-style rhyming also adopted by the *Kind Words* article, the subsequent description of Ulysses as an "honourable gentleman" echoes Gladstone and Lowe's parliamentary debates. The description of the horse, however, focuses on its construction and lack of menace:

> So the Greeks got a lot of hammers and saws, and a lot of big nails and a lot of little nails, and they made a huge and enormous wooden horse. And when it was done, they all climbed inside.
> And when the Trojans saw it, they said, "Mercy, the Greeks have gone home, and they have left behind *this* funny old thing". So they dragged the huge and enormous wooden horse into their large and elegant city, and tied it to a tree by the king's palace.
> And when night came, and everything was all dark, the Greeks got out of the horse, without anybody seeing them.[92]

Unsurprisingly, in a book where, as Murnaghan and Roberts explain, Icarus is rescued by a mermaid and Apollo only plays tag with Daphne instead of raping her, after Helen is rescued, "they all lived happily every afterwards". The twist in the tale, however, is like that found in the story of Leonora: the Wooden Horse, explicitly crafted from wood, somehow comes alive. Whereas Bucephalus had participated in an imaginative adventure, however, this horse gets hungry: "[T]he Trojans put their wooden horse in the Zoo, and went to see it every Sunday afternoon, and fed it peanuts, which it loved".[93] This is the end of the Crawfords' story, which surely raises more questions than it solves. Toppling the delicate balance found in periodicals between pedagogy and play, instead of smuggling in ideologically driven education for children under the guise of their amusement, it extends comic reversals of the myth to their (il)logical conclusion.

"Steeds of Magical Capacity":[94] Conclusion

The Trojan Horse remains a powerful political metaphor. While extensive Latin quotations such as Gladstone's no longer feature in *Hansard*, the Trojan Horse is often used as a metaphor. In political satire, a contemporary cartoon by Arend

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[92] Ibidem.

[93] Ibidem.

[94] Newspaper clipping, 14 August 1833, from British Library theatrical scrapbook of newspaper reviews of performances at London circus Astley's Amphitheatre (*Astley's Clippings from Newspapers*).

van Dam imagines President Trump as a Trojan Horse and depicts Russian troops emerging next to the Statue of Liberty as a comment on allegations of electoral interference.[95] In 1991, the phrase "Trojan Horse" recurred in American political news stories over President George H.W. Bush's controversial appointment of Clarence Thomas as Supreme Court Justice. It was possibly in this context that the Horse's starring role on the coveted cover position of *The New Yorker* on 25 November 1991 was seen (see Fig. 6). This image of an imagined stereotypical nursery (by the artist Kathy Osborn, who contributed a series of cover art at the time) is full of primary colours, where alphabet blocks almost spell out Troy. This striking image underscores again how the Trojan Horse epitomizes children's basic toys: a colourful wooden horse and small, white, playful toy soldiers.

Horses, possibly imagined as Trojan ones, are among the earliest surviving evidence for children's toys. In recent memory, a giant Trojan Horse marked the entrance to a toyshop in the Forum of Caesars Palace in Las Vegas, while Fisher-Price made a Trojan Horse, in its "Great Adventures" series, one of its few to animate a specific myth, and the Internet is awash with foam, paper, and plastic Trojan Horses. The commercial appeal of this myth remains strong. It is important to note that many examples of Trojan Horse toys are – like *Kind Words'* hobby-horse suggestion – created by users rather than marketed as such. On LEGO's Ideas platform, where consumers can submit models for consideration to be produced as official, marketed sets, there have been several suggestions of a Trojan Horse, including one with moving joints, opening sides for soldiers to fit inside, and accompanying Scaean Gate (an archway).[96] Another Trojan Horse model, presented on a LEGO consumer's blog, features the Horse facing Troy's walls and heavily fortified Scaean Gate, guarded by Trojan soldiers.[97] Whether or not LEGO ever produces and markets such a set – very few proposals gain the 10,000 supporters in the time frame needed to reach LEGO's "expert review" stage – these online communities reveal that many consumers, including adults, adapt existing leisure items to create and interact with ancient myth in new ways.

The Trojan Horse was, and remains, so widespread as child's entertainment not only because it offers a way in to telling a canonical myth, but also because

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[95] The cartoon is available on Arend van Dam's website: Cartoons, Stripes, Illustraties, http://www.arendvandam.com/actueel.php?position=795 (accessed 25 May 2020).

[96] David Hiller's proposal for a 166-part LEGO Trojan Horse gained 100 supporters by 23 April 2018; see "Product Idea: Trojan Horse", LEGO Ideas, https://ideas.lego.com/projects/e7fe-56bc-7e57-44e6-8c52-bda5bdfddfbf/official_comments#content_nav_tabs (accessed 11 June 2020).

[97] Tommy [Williamson], "Trojan Horse", *BrickNerd*, 23 January 2019, http://bricknerd.com/home/trojan-horse-23-2019 (accessed 10 June 2020).
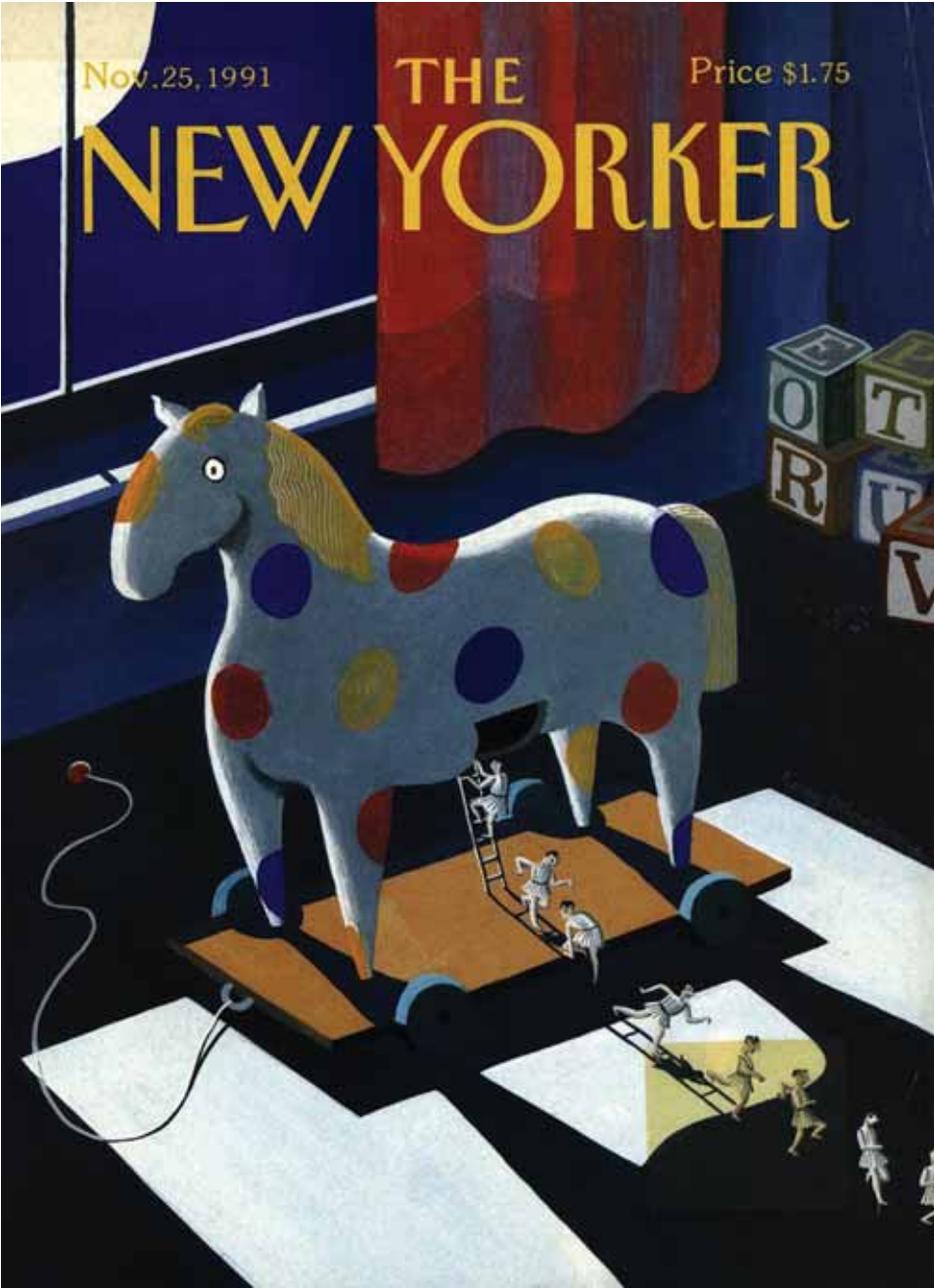
Figure 6: Cover of *The New Yorker*, 25 November 1991. Author's collection, scan by Robin Hellen. Permission to use the image kindly provided by the artist, Kathy Osborn (copyright owner), contacted with the helpful assistance of Susan Eley Fine Art Gallery.

existing toys can, as *Kind Words* so strongly emphasized, be repurposed. In the mid-Victorian toy boom, working-class children played with small wagons and carved animals, while the hobby-horses, rocking-horses, and leaden soldiers featured in *Kind Words* and *Little Folks* inhabited middle-class nurseries.[98] Toys, games, and periodical stories all disseminated specific versions of the Trojan Horse, but also enabled, even encouraged, creative responses. The objects and stories themselves cannot, as Ada Cohen observes, "answer questions such as whether ancient Greek children who played with a terracotta horse of the Geometric period thought they were pulling a horse, or whether they thought they were pulling the Trojan Horse".[99] Starting from the existence of commercial objects, entertainments and stories rely on evidence of use and popularity: reissued games preserved with worn appearances, rave reviews, and a souvenir market, and the fact that periodicals enabled rapid consumer feedback.

These interactive, ephemeral versions of the Trojan Horse afford insights into creative, innovative encounters with accepted classical myth, which were encouraged and enabled throughout the nineteenth century. They also demonstrate overlaps between juvenile, pedagogical, familial, and political spheres. Children were, throughout the century, supported in learning about the Trojan War and Horse. They were also encouraged to experiment with alternate outcomes to the accepted epic narratives. Associations with trickery, blasphemy, and violence remained, as we have seen, in some retellings. Yet the majority of representations disarmed and sanitized the Horse, using the stratagem as a way to bring about an innovative happy ending, prove a moral, and promote the importance of classical knowledge: the surprising popularity of the Trojan Horse, remade for children's amusement, persisted.

This historical case study of the widening accessibility of classical myth shows that the repurposing of the Trojan Horse as child's toy underlines our ability to remake myth; to reshape the stories and change plots so that tragedies can become comedies, and offer hope in difficult times. This distinctive weapon of mass destruction became the symbol of childhood entertainment. Even as the imagery of children's toys encapsulates the dual pedagogic and playful purpose of nineteenth-century children's amusements, the apparent innocence of the Wooden Horse enabled (and still enables) adults to smuggle in ideological education for children under the guise of amusement.

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[98] Brown, *British Toy Business*, 41.

[99] Ada Cohen, "Introduction", in Ada Cohen and Jeremy B. Rutter, eds., *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, "Hesperia Supplement" 41, Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2007, 11.

The book is to be recommended for academics as well as graduate and post-graduate students working on the reception of Classical Antiquity and its trans-formations around the world.

David Movrin, University of Ljubljana
From the editorial review

Our Mythical Hope is the latest collection of articles by scholars participating in an ongoing collaboration to ensure that the beauty and profundity of Classical myth remain known, and (hopefully) remain part of our modern culture. The size of this compendium, the sweep of subjects considered, the involve-ment of leading experts from around the world, all testify to how important and extensive this initiative has become over the last decade. The project's con-tinued commitment to engage all ages, especially the young, and to extend its outreach beyond the Academy merely, makes it a leading model for how research retains its relevance.

Mark O'Connor, Boston College
From the editorial review

Classical Antiquity is a particularly important field in terms of "Hope studies" […]. For centuries, the ancient tradition, and classical mythology in particular, has been a common reference point for whole hosts of creators of culture, across many parts of the world, and with the new media and globalization only increasing its impact. Thus, in our research at this stage, we have decided to study how the authors of literary and audiovisual texts for youth make use of the ancient myths to sup-port their young protagonists (and readers or viewers) in crucial moments of their existence, on their road into adulthood, and in those dark hours when it seems that life is about to shatter and fade away. However, if Hope is summoned in time, the crisis can be overcome and the protagonist grows stronger, with a powerful uplifting message for the public. […] Owing to this, we get a chance to remain true to our ideas, to keep faith in our dreams, and, when the decisive moment comes, to choose not hatred but love, not darkness but light.

Katarzyna Marciniak, University of Warsaw
From the introductory chapter