

# CHASING GEESE: ON THE TRAIL OF FOURTEEN BRITISH-PUBLISHED COPIES OF THE ROYAL PASTIME OF CUPID, OR ENTERTAINING GAME OF THE SNAKE\*

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## Introduction

*The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake* is a variant of *The Game of the Goose*, also known as *The Royal Game of the Goose*. *The Game of the Goose* was a popular game across Europe from the early seventeenth century until the nineteenth century. It is widely accepted as the basic model of the simple board game in which players throw dice to race their single piece around the board.<sup>1</sup> Like *The Game of the Goose*, *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* is a race-game played on a spiral track of 63 spaces or “squares”.

It is a game of pure chance and no strategy or skill is involved in moving the pieces around the board. The aim of the game is to be the first to land on square 63. Players pay a stake into a pool or “kitty” at the start of the game; some hazard squares require the player to pay an additional stake into the pool. Some squares are favourable and advance the player’s piece, while others present hazards, such as making a player miss a turn or two, or move to a particular square, or start again, or remain on the hazard square

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\*The author is grateful to the editor and the reviewer for very helpful and detailed referee’s notes which have been of great benefit to the present paper.

<sup>1</sup>See, for example: Bell, R. C. (1979) *Board and Table Games from Many Civilizations*. Revised edition: two volumes bound as one. New York. Dover. vol. i, pp. 14–16; Parlett, D. (1999) *The Oxford History of Board Games*. Oxford University Press. pp. 88 and 95–98; Goodfellow, C. (2008) *How We Played: Games From Childhood Past*. Stroud. The History Press. pp. 44–45; Seville, A. (2016) *The Royal Game of the Goose: 400 Years of Printed Board Games*. New York. The Grolier Club. pp. 11–12 and *passim*.

until another player's piece lands on the same square. For example, "He that throws upon 5 where the Bridge is, must pay passage, that is, lay down as much as he staked at the first, and so he must go forward to rest on the Chair at 12, till all the rest have played once about" as stated in Rule 4 of Laurie and Whittle's 1794 edition of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*, while a player of the Game of the Goose landing on the bridge space (square 6 in Goose) must similarly "pay a stake for his passage over the bridge and go to Number 12", according to the rules printed on the edition of *The Royal and Entertaining Game of The Goose* published by James Lumsden and Son c. 1810.<sup>2</sup>

While the two games are similar, there are also several significant differences between them. Some of the main differences are visual: the spiral track in the Cupid game is represented as a coiled serpent and the favourable squares are inhabited with a Cupid figure rather than a goose. The track in the Cupid game turns clockwise, while the Goose track spirals anticlockwise. The two games also have a different orientation: the Cupid board has a landscape layout while the earliest Goose designs were set in a portrait format. The rules of the Goose game, typically shown as twelve numbered paragraphs, are conventionally placed in the centre of the game board whilst the twelve rules of the Cupid game are arranged around the outside of the track.

Another key difference between Goose games and Cupid games is that in *The Game of the Goose* the number nine is significant, while in *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* the number seven is significant. That is to say, in Goose games, a goose appears on squares 5, 9, 14, 18, 23, 27, 32, 36, 41, 45, 50, 54 and 59. These are in two sequences, one starting on square 5, the other on square 9. In Cupid games, a Cupid appears in a single sequence on every seventh square: 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 42, 49 and 56.<sup>3</sup> The goose or Cupid square

<sup>2</sup>*The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Published 12 May 1794 by Laurie & Whittle, No. 53 Fleet Street, London. John Johnson Collection: Games Folder (5). Digital Bodleian. Available online: <<https://allegro.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/006839>>.

*The Royal and Entertaining Game of the Goose*. James Lumsden and Son, Glasgow. c. 1800–1820. British Museum 1893,0331.131. Available online: <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1428434&partId=1&searchText=game+snake&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1428434&partId=1&searchText=game+snake&page=1)>.

<sup>3</sup>A Cupid figure also appears in space 18, which is a hazard square. Here, Cupid appears as a statue on a dais, perhaps in a temple and, according to Rule 5, the player who lands here must pay a stake into the kitty ("pay beveridge" in the British editions) and miss two turns. The term "pay beveridge" or "pay beverage" refers to a custom by which someone wearing new clothes for the first time can be inveigled into paying a fine "either in money, drink or kisses" Wright. J., ed. (1898) *The English Dialect*

is favourable in that a player whose turn ends with his piece landing on a such a square advances his piece by the value of the throw that led to him landing on the square.<sup>4</sup>

These early printed board games are ephemeral objects which, unless carefully stored, are likely to be lost or discarded. Indeed, one of the oldest board games in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Museum of Childhood collection is a hand-drawn goose game, dating from about 1800, preserved for posterity perhaps by dint of an earlier owner's inclination to mount the sheet on a wooden board.<sup>5</sup> Other early printed board games might be preserved in a collector's portfolio of prints, as is the case with two of the earliest known examples to be considered below (c. 1690–1700): one in the George Clarke Print Collection, the other in a collection known as The Bute Broad­sides. However, the majority of early printed games have long been discarded or lost, doubtless due to the fragility and ephemeral nature of a sheet of paper, or because they have simply been worn out from use.

Fourteen distinct examples of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* issued by British-based printers or publishers are known to the author (See Table 1). This paper, based on presentations to the annual colloquium of the International Board Game Studies Association at the University of Copenhagen in May 2017 and at the Benaki Museum Annex, Athens, in April 2018, offers a survey of these (all extant bar one, the location of which is now unknown), with suggestions for revised publication dates for several examples.<sup>6</sup> While

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*Dictionary being the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years.* London. Henry Frowde. vol. 1. p. 255. Available online <<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.13022/page/n279>>. Bailey offers “*To pay BEVERAGE* [phrase] to give a treat of wine, drink & co. upon wearing a new suit of cloths” [sic]. See Bailey, N. (1730) *Dictionarium Britannicum or a more Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Printed for T. Cox at the Lamb under the Royal Exchange. London. However, the corresponding text related to landing on space 18 in both the Veuve Petit and Pieter de Jode editions, discussed in the Historical Background section of the present paper, makes no mention of clothing, but refers to paying feudal duty & giving loyalty and homage to Cupid; the Visscher edition makes a similar statement paying Cupid his “Leen-recht”.

<sup>4</sup>Unless the piece is travelling backwards on the track following an “overthrow” at the winning square, in which case the piece won’t advance toward space 63, but will move further away from the finish.

<sup>5</sup>See *The Game of the Goose* (1790–1810) Victorian and Albert Museum MISC.292-1981. Available online: <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O25991/the-game-of-the-goose-board-game-unknown/>>.

<sup>6</sup>Duggan, E. (2017) Chasing Geese: *The Royal Pastime of Cupid or entertaining Game of the Snake*. Presentation to XX Annual International Board Game Studies Colloquium, University of Copenhagen. 17–20 May 2017. Available online: <[https://www.academia.edu/32979744/Chasing\\_Geese\\_The\\_Royal\\_Pastime\\_of\\_](https://www.academia.edu/32979744/Chasing_Geese_The_Royal_Pastime_of_)

the focus of this paper is on British-published editions, it should be stated *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* appears to be of French origin. The earliest known French edition, *Le Jeu Royal de Cupidon, autrement appellé passe-temps d'Amour* (Fig. 1) was published in Paris, ca. 1640 (but probably printed from an earlier block), while a Spanish language edition, *El Juego Real de Cupido, Otramente Llamado el Passa Tiempo de Amor*, with a similar design and iconography, was published in Antwerp, c. 1620 (Fig. 2). The central design in both these editions shows three couples in an enclosed garden. Another edition, with a different design, which is copied in the earliest British-published editions, has the title *Het Nieuw Slange Spel, anders genaemt Konincklycke Tytkorting van Cupio* (Fig. 25) and was published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Vischer, ca. 1625–1640.<sup>7</sup> Some discussion of the historical background will set out the relation between these earliest examples of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* before the present paper considers the British published editions and concludes with a discussion of “rough music” and Visscher’s peasant dance design.

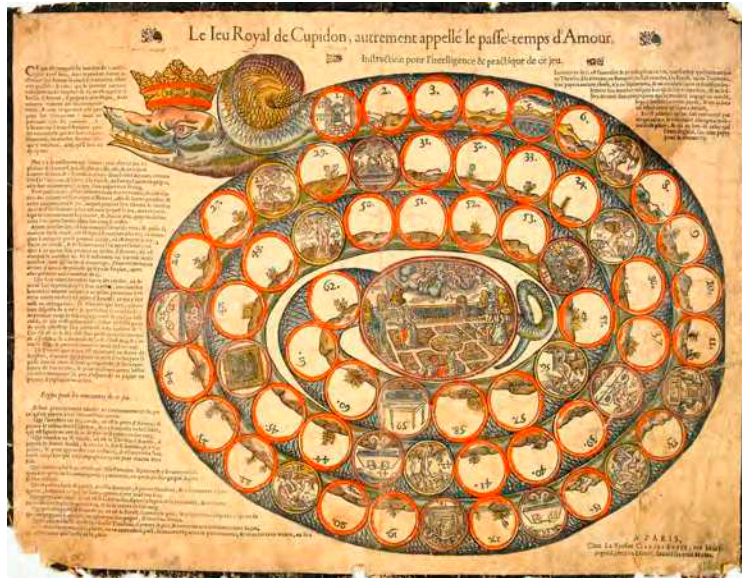
## Historical Background

The earliest known example of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* is a print by Pieter de Jode (1573–1634), published in Antwerp, c. 1620 (Fig. 2). It is a Spanish-language edition, *El Juego Real de Cupido*, produced in the Spanish Netherlands for either, according to Marjolein Leesberg, distribution among the court circle of Isabella and Albert, the Archducal rulers, or for export

Cupid or Entertaining Game of the Snake BGS Presentation 2017\_>.

Duggan, E. (2018) Rough Music in Square 63: A comparative analysis of the imagery in the final square of English and Dutch editions of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*. Presentation to XI Annual International Board Game Studies Colloquium, Benaki Museum, Athens. 23–26 April 2018. Available online: <[https://www.academia.edu/36453910/Rough\\_Music\\_in\\_Square\\_63\\_A\\_comparative\\_analysis\\_of\\_the\\_imagery\\_in\\_the\\_final\\_square\\_of\\_English\\_and\\_Dutch\\_editions\\_The\\_Royal\\_Pastime\\_of\\_Cupid\\_BGS\\_Presentation\\_2018\\_>](https://www.academia.edu/36453910/Rough_Music_in_Square_63_A_comparative_analysis_of_the_imagery_in_the_final_square_of_English_and_Dutch_editions_The_Royal_Pastime_of_Cupid_BGS_Presentation_2018_>)>.

<sup>7</sup>While the French edition is predated by the print issued in Antwerp, Depaulis (2012, p. 85) speculates the French print, published by the widow of Charles Petit, may be a reissue. Seville argues the Antwerp edition copies the French design. For a discussion of these earliest examples of the Cupid game, see: De Paulis, T. (2012) “Three Early 17th-century printed games by the Veuve Petit in Paris”. *Of Boards and Men: Proceedings of the XIIIth Board Game Studies Colloquium, Paris, 14–17 April 2010*. Collected and edited by Thierry Depaulis. Board Game Studies Group. CD-ROM. pp. 75–90. Leesberg, M. (2015) “*El Juego Real de Cupido*: a Spanish board game published in Antwerp, c. 1620”. *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 39 pp. 23–43. Seville, A. (2019) *The Cultural Legacy of the Royal Game of the Goose*. Amsterdam University Press.



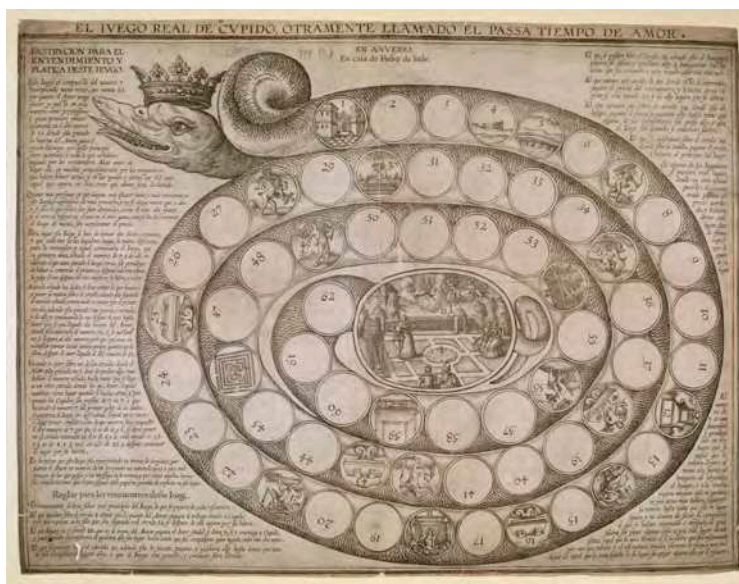
**Figure 1:** The *Le Jeu Royal de Cupidon, autrement appelle le passe-temps d'Amour*. Board game. Print. Woodcut on paper glued on cardboard. 400 x 520 mm. La Veuve Charles Petit [Widow of Charles Petit]. Paris, ca. 1640. Adrian Seville collection.

to Spain.<sup>8</sup> Leesberg suggests the Cupid game is “likely of Spanish origin”, and may be one of the “other games”, referred to by Pietro Carrera in his treatise on chess, that was invented, along with the *Filosofia Cortesana* (Courtly Philosophy), following the arrival in Spain of The Game of Goose.<sup>9</sup>

However, the Cupid game may have a French origin. A group of board game prints came to light when they were sold at auction in 2009. The discovery is notable because the games, all printed in a combination of a woodcut game-board with typeset rules, bear the same imprint: that of Veuve Petit (Widow of [Charles] Petit), rue Montorgueil, Paris, providing evidence of a hitherto unknown print-seller active in the Rue de Montorgueil in the early seventeenth century. The games (*Le Plaisant & Nouveau jeu de la Chovette* [The Pleasant and New game of the Owl]; *Le jeu Royal de Cupidon, autrement apellé le passe-temps d'Amour* [The Royal game of

<sup>8</sup>Isabella, daughter of Philip II of Spain, and her husband, Albert of Habsburg, ruled the Spanish Netherlands from 1598 until Albert’s death in 1621. Isabella remained Governess until her death in 1633. See Leesberg, M. (2015) “*El Juego Real de Cupido: a Spanish board game published in Antwerp, c. 1620*”. *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 39 p. 35.

<sup>9</sup>Leesberg discusses Pietro Carrera’s 1615 account of the origins of Goose and “other games” that followed in its wake, including the *Filosofia Cortesana*, in his *Il gioco de gli scacchi*. See Leesberg 2015 pp. 26–28 and p. 32.



**Figure 2:** *El Juego Real de Cupido, otramete llamado el passa-tiempo de amor*. Board game. Print. Etching. 380 x 500 mm. Pieter de Jode. Antwerp, ca. 1620. British Library. Maps \* 999.(1.). Available online: <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/el-juego-real-de-cupido>>.

Cupid, otherwise known as the pastime of Love] (Fig. 1); and *Le Royal & Nouveau jeu de la Guerre* [The Royal and New game of War]) are discussed in detail by Thierry Depaulis.<sup>10</sup>

Depaulis provides a sketch of the life and career of Charles Petit (c. 1582–1636): well-connected with the print trade, Petit was both nephew and grandson of print-sellers, and he inherited some of his grandfather's stock through his maternal grandmother. His widow was Jeanne Cuvillier (?–1648), daughter of a master vinaigrier. While the publication of the Veuve Petit edition of *Le jeu Royal de Cupidon* is dated to c. 1640, Depaulis ponders: “Could we infer that the [Cupidon] gameboard had first been published by Charles Petit? And that the present copy would be a reprint, made after his death, by his widow?” (Depaulis 2012, p. 85).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Depaulis, T. (2012) “Three early 17th-century printed games by the Veuve Petit in Paris”. *Of Boards and Men: Proceedings of the XIIIth Board Game Studies Colloquium, Paris, 14–17 April 2010*. Collected and edited by Thierry Depaulis. Board Game Studies Group. CD-ROM. pp. 75–90. See further: Lepape, S. (2016) *Gravures de la Rue Montorgueil*. Paris. Editions de la BNF pp. 271–274.

<sup>11</sup>Discussing the three monograms in the central image of the Veuve Petit's Cupidon print, Depaulis identifies one, IIC [ILC] as that of Jean IV Leclerc, musing “could the Jeu Royal de Cupidon by the Veuve petit be derived from a previous

Leesberg asserts, “it is unlikely that De Jode copied the French game because the central image shows Flemish fashion and definitely not French” (Leesberg 2015, p. 39). Adrian Seville argues, however, “it is clear that the Antwerp version is copied from the French example” because De Jode’s print includes a building in a decorative space while omitting other non-essential detail, including the distinctive running landscape depicted in the background of the numbered spaces (Seville 2019, p. 44).

A third example, dating from the around the same time as the issue of both the Paris and the Antwerp prints, was published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Visscher. The Rijksmuseum dates Visscher’s print “ca. 1625” (“1600–1629”) while Buijnsters and Buijnsters-Smets suggest “ca. 1640”.<sup>12</sup> Visscher’s print differs significantly from those of the *Veuve Petit* and *De Jode* in two essential aspects. First, as Seville identifies, the Dutch print omits any explanation of the design, which is set out clearly in the other examples (Seville 2019, p. 249); second, the central motif shows a peasant couple engaged in a lively dance rather than courtly couples walking or seated in a formal garden. The Visscher print will be discussed in more detail when consideration is given to the peasant-dance type, below.

## Typology of the British Editions

The author has identified three distinct motifs in Square 63 of the various editions of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* published in Britain between c. 1690–1850.<sup>13</sup> The three distinct types are identified as follows:

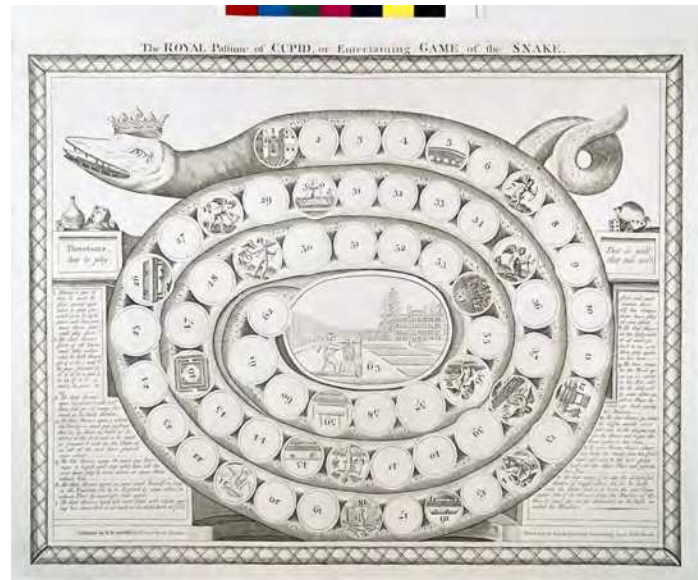
1. Cupid honing his arrow on a wheel: this type is exemplified in the prints issued by the printers and publishers operating out of premises at 53 Fleet Street, London, namely R. H. Laurie (Fig. 3) and Laurie & Whittle (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7), although the same design was also published in Glasgow by James Lumsden & Son (Fig. 9).

woodcut by Jean IV Leclerc”? (p. 86). A collection of prints in the BNF, published by Thomas de Leu and Jean IV Le Clerc [“15.– 1621”] includes a series of months in which the scene for May [Picture 191], showing curved loggias and cupolas around a garden, shares some similarity with the same features in the Cupidon print. See <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8562512h/f191.item>>. Date of access Sept. 2019.

<sup>12</sup>See: Rijksmuseum <<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.421322>>; see also Buijnsters, P. J. and Buijnsters-Smets, L. (2005) *Papertoys: Speelprenten en papieren speelgoed in Nederland (1640–1920)*. Zwolle. Waanders Uitgevers. p. 18.

<sup>13</sup>See: Duggan, E. (2016) “*The Royal Pastime of Cupid*: three early printed board games in the Bodleian Library’s John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera”. *The Bodleian Library Record* 29 (2) pp. 211–227.





**Figure 3:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake.* Board game. Print. Engraving on paper with linen backing. 387 x 505 mm. R. H. Laurie (publisher), London. c. 1850. Victorian and Albert Museum. Museum no. E.1747-1954. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Available online: <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26286/>>.

2. Cupid alone with his bow, beneath a floral garland, exemplified in the design used by the Bowles family (viz. Carington Bowles (Fig. 14) and Bowles & Carver (Fig. 20).
3. The peasant dance type, as published by William Dicey (Fig. 21) and John Garrett (Fig. 24).

The following discussion of the various British editions of the *Royal Pastime of Cupid* will be grouped according to the type of image used in square 63.

## Type 1: Cupid honing his arrow on a wheel

The Victoria & Albert Museum has a copy of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake* in the Museum of Childhood collection, printed in London by R. H. Laurie, dated to c. 1850 (Fig. 3). Information on the V&A website about this particular print (E.1747-1954) includes the following “Object history note” under the “More Information” tab:



	Publisher	Type	Image	Stated date of publication	Revised publication date	Current location
1.	R. H. Laurie	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 3	c. 1850	—	London. Victoria & Albert Museum. Museum of Childhood Collection. E.1747-1954
2.	R. H. Laurie	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 8	c. 1850	—	Private collection. (See <i>giochidelloca</i> 862).
3.	Lumsden & Son	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 12	c. 1820–1830 *	1810	Chislehurst. Adrian Seville Collection. ( <i>giochidelloca</i> 1309).
4.	Lumsden & Son	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 11	c. 1820 *	1810	Edinburgh. National Library of Scotland. Rare Books Collection. RB.I. 52
5.	Lumsden & Son	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 9	c. 1810	—	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Games Folder 4. John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera.
6.	Laurie & Whittle	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 6	1794	—	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Games Folder 5. John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera.
7.	Laurie & Whittle	Cupid honing his arrow	Fig. 7	1794	—	New Haven. Yale Centre for British Art. GV1199.R69 Ellen and Arthur Liman Collection.
8.	William Dicey	Peasant Dance	Fig. 21	1794 *	1736–1740	Oxford. Bodleian Library. Games Folder 6. John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera.
9.	John Garrett	Peasant Dance	Not shown	c. 1794 *	c. 1690	Whitehouse [now lost] (See <i>giochidelloca</i> 2354).
10.	Carington Bowles	Cupid with bow	Fig. 19	c. 1765 *	c. 1784	Private collection. Murray Hudson B-22819.
11.	Carington Bowles	Cupid with bow	Fig. 14	c. 1784	—	Private collection Bonhams 27/3/2019 Lot 65.
12.	Bowles & Carver	Cupid with bow	Fig. 21	c. 1785	c. 1795	Williamsburg, VA. Colonial Williamsburg.
13.	John Garrett	Peasant Dance	Fig. 23	1700 *	c. 1690	Oxford. Worcester College. Folder 6: 001 Print ID 2643. George Clarke Print Collection.
14.	John Garrett	Peasant Dance	Fig. 24	1690	—	Cambridge, MA. Houghton Library, Harvard. B73. Bute Broad-sides.
* Publication dates marked with an asterisk have been revised by the author in light of research that suggests the publication date given in the catalogue record is incorrect and should be amended.						

**Table 1:** Publisher, type, stated and revised publication date and location of known and extant examples of British-published editions of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*. Dates of publication are as given in the catalogue where the item is located, or as stated in a source (e.g. dealer) and are discussed in the text where the catalogued date appears to be incorrect. Evidence and justifications for revised publication dates are presented in the body of this article. *Giochidelloca* references direct the reader to entries in the database of games maintained by Adrian Seville and Luigi Ciompi, available online at <<http://www.giochidelloca.it>>.

An edition of the Game of the Snake (an adaptation of the Game of the Goose) is known to have been issued by Robert Sayer about 1750. Robert Laurie and James Whittle succeeded Sayer at his premises at 53 Fleet Street in 1794 and were in turn succeeded by R. H. Laurie in 1813; it would appear that the above is an impression from the original plate with altered lettering (Available online; see: <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26286/>>).

A copy of the Cupid game with Robert Sayer's imprint has not been located, although a Goose game, c. 1750, with Sayer's Golden Buck imprint (pre-dating his re-location to 53 Fleet Street in 1760) is in the V&A collection (MISC.296-1991).<sup>14</sup> A Goose game and a Cupid game are listed in the "Fine Single Prints" section of Robert Sayer's catalogue of 1774 (Fig 4):<sup>15</sup>

18. The Royal and Most Pleasing Game of the Goose. Price 6d.

19. The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or new and most pleasant Game of the Snake. Price 6d.

<sup>14</sup>The Robert Sayer edition of Goose c. 1750 includes portrait roundels of Jonathan Wild and Jack Shepherd. Two earlier editions of the Goose game also incorporate portrait roundels in the design. One was issued by John Overton, c. 1690, with portraits of unknown characters (possibly a roundhead and a cavalier); the other by Henry Overton in 1717, with cartoon portraits. Perhaps Robert Sayer's acquisition of the Overton family business is a factor in the propagation of the design with portrait roundels, although, as well as the similarity of the portrait roundels, there are also differences between Sayer's design and the editions issued by the Overtons. Timothy Clayton's DNB entry for the Overton family sets out the relations between the various Overton business interests and Robert Sayer: John Overton (1639/40–1713) bought Peter Stent's White Horse print shop and stock from Stent's widow after Stent's death from plague in 1665, relocating to premises "over against St Sepulchres Church" after the print shop near Pye Corner was destroyed in the fire of 1666. Following John Overton's death in 1713, the business passed to his second son, Henry Overton [I] (1675/76–1751). Overton's third son, Philip (c. 1681–1745) set up a print business in Fleet Street in 1708. Originally The White Horse, Philip Overton had changed the sign to The Golden Buck by 1710. After Philip Overton's death, his widow, Mary, married Robert Sayer's older brother, James, in 1747. Newspaper advertisements in 1748 identify Robert Sayer as the manager of The Golden Buck. Robert Sayer moved the business to new premises in 1760, which became 53 Fleet Street when street numbers were introduced. See "Overton Family" (2004) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/64998>> (Log-in required); see also: "Sayer, Robert" (2008) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50893>> (Log-in required).

<sup>15</sup>English Short Title Catalogue; record available online: <<http://estc.bl.uk/N34450>>. See also: *Sayer and Bennett's Catalogue of prints for the year 1775*. [1970] London. Holland Press. p. 57.

The continuities of ownership of the stock and the business operating out of 53 Fleet Street are well known. As the ageing Robert Sayer's health deteriorated and he became semi-retired, spending increasing amounts of time at his property in Bath, responsibility for the day-to-day running of the business passed to Sayer's two assistants, Richard Laurie (1755–1836) and James Whittle (c. 1757–1818). After Sayer's death in 1794, the company continued as Laurie & Whittle until 1812, when Robert Laurie retired and Laurie's son, Richard Holmes Laurie (1777–1858), entered into a partnership with James Whittle and the business continued as Whittle & Laurie. Following Whittle's death in 1818, Richard Holmes Laurie became the sole proprietor and the company traded as R. H. Laurie until the twentieth century, when it merged with James Imray & Son and Norie & Wilson, to become Imray, Laurie, Norie & Wilson.<sup>16</sup>

R. H. Laurie's 1850 print (Fig. 3) shows a rectangular (landscape) game-board set within a *trompe l'œil* decorated frame with mitred corners. Hatching creates shading to promote the illusion of depth. The crossed diagonal decoration on the frame echoes the pattern on the snake, while the rectangular border within the frame reinforces the framed print effect. The title, "The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake" is centred outside the frame along the top edge of the print. The "s" in pastime is a long-s ("f") which would have appeared outdated by 1850 when R. H. Laurie issued the game under his imprint.<sup>17</sup>

The coiled snake, facing left, occupies most of the space within the frame. The numbered spaces on the board progress in a clockwise direction from the snake's head (upon which a coronet,<sup>9F</sup> visually reinforcing the titular "Royal", is somewhat precariously balanced) toward the centre of the spiralled body. Adrian Seville discusses the crowned serpent or basilisk as representative of a warning against the sinful perils of desire which, in the explanatory text on the two earliest examples of the game, provides a rationale for the design. Both the French and Spanish-language editions alert players of Cupid's game that "love, disguised as a snake, slips into the heart of those he possesses and poisons them with his venom".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup>For a full account of the history of the company, see Fisher, S. (2001) *The Makers of the Blueback Charts: A History of Imray, Laurie, Norie and Wilson Ltd.* Ithaca, New York. Regatta Press.

<sup>17</sup>I am grateful to David Parlett for correspondence regarding the long-s.

<sup>18</sup>Seville relates the warning to a contemporary sermon, based on verse in the Vulgate bible, Isaiah 14:29, interpreted by Bernard of Clairvaux as "habitual sin". See Seville, A. (2019) *The Cultural Legacy of the Royal Game of the Goose*. p. 43. Leesberg (2015, p. 32) discusses the explanatory text on De Jode's print.

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Reasonable Terms.

N. B. The Contents of this CATALOGUE are  
chiefly new.

\* \* \* In the Orders I am favoured with, please to insert the full  
Description as given in the Catalogue, or so much as will  
secure my Return from Mistake; which specifying the bare  
Number does not always Effect.

FINE SINGLE PRINTS.

57

11. A beautiful print of *Belisarius*, a Roman General, reduced to beggary, done from a capital painting of Vandyke, by Scutell, 23 inches wide by 21, price 4s.

12. *William Boleford*, Esq. his Statue as now erected in Guildhall, with his speech, when Lord Mayor of London, to his Majesty King George III. on the 23d of May, 1770, price 5s.

13. A general View of the *Flags*, which most nations bear at sea, useful for all captains and masters of ships. Price 6d. and neatly coloured in their proper colours, 1s. 6d.

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15. The *Signals* for his Majesty's Navy, from Maker Church at Plymouth. Price 1s.

16. A *Funeral Ticket*, emblematically designed for that solemn occasion.

17. Paper designed for the use of Weavers, No. 10. and 10.

18. The *Royal* and most *Pleasant Game* of the *Goose*. Price 6d.

19. The *Royal Pastime* of *Cupid*, or new and most pleasant Game of the *Snake*. Price 6d.

20. A neat *Flower Pot*, fit for a small stove, fire place. Price 1s. Coloured, 2s. 6d.

21. A *View perspective* View of Boston steeple and church. Price 1s.

22. Ditto on a smaller Sheet. Price 2d.

I

PER.

Figure 4: Pages from Sayer, R. (1774) *Robert Sayer's New and Enlarged Catalogue For the Year MDCCLXXIV* (ESTC N34450). Title page (left) and p. 57 ("Fine Single Prints") showing items 18 and 19: "The Royal and most Pleasant Game of the Goose and The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or new and most pleasant Game of the Snake as respectively. English Short Title Catalogue: <<http://estc.bl.uk/N34450>>.

The snake's tail is positioned opposite the head, in the upper-right corner, giving some balance to the composition. The lower left and lower right portions of the space within the frame are filled with a *loculus* or exedra-like architectural structure, providing an uncovered apse that serves to contain and support the body of the snake whilst adding to the illusion of depth within the print. The game rules appear on the facing elevations, thereby elegantly integrating the explanatory text, labelled "Directions, how to play", into the overall design.

Space 63 is at the centre of the design and at the centre of the spiral. The final space is rendered as a large oval containing a view of Cupid, placed in the formal garden of a large house, sharpening an arrow on a portable treadle-operated apparatus, not dissimilar to that shown in W. H. Pyne's illustration of the itinerant knife grinder in *The World in Miniature* (Fig. 5).<sup>19</sup> The central design serves to further heighten the effect of depth as the trees bordering the garden recede into the background. Through the ingenious composition and arrangement of the various elements of the design, the viewer's perspective of the central scene is positioned in a corner of the formal garden, or perhaps outside the garden, as if looking through the coiled snake at Cupid sharpening his arrow on the apparatus, with the large house in the distance.

While the design is the same in both this R. H. Laurie issue and the earlier Laurie & Whittle print published in 1794 (Fig. 6), some minor amendments have been made to modernise the outdated spelling in the rules in the c. 1850 print. In Rule 1, for example, the archaic spelling of "haveing" is changed to the more modern "having"; similarly, "goe" in rules 3, 6 and 9, is revised to "go". As previously noted, the long "s", used in the word "pastime" in the title, has been retained in the 1850 print.

As the plates and stock were transferred from owner to assistants or from father to son as the proprietorship of the business at 53 Fleet Street changed hands, the amended print issued by R. H. Laurie c. 1850 (Fig. 3) might be considered a later state of the edition published 12 May 1794 by Laurie and Whittle (Fig. 6).<sup>20</sup> Susannah Fisher observes, "on 12 May 1794, Laurie and Whittle re-issued a large number of Sayer's plates over the new imprint of their joint names, and this may well have been the day they officially

<sup>19</sup>Cf "The Knife Grinder", Robert McGregor (1878). Painting. Oil on canvas. Dundee Art Galleries and Museums Collection. 5–1920. Available online: <<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-knife-grinder-92677>>.

<sup>20</sup>On states in printmaking, see Griffiths, A. (1996) *Prints and Printmaking: An introduction to the history and techniques*. London. British Museum Press. p. 153.



**Figure 5:** “Knife Grinder”. Illustration. Book plate. W. H. Pyne. *The World in Miniature: England, Scotland, and Ireland, edited by W. H. Pyne. Containing a description of the characters, manners, customs and other peculiarities of the inhabitants of Great Britain. In four volumes; illustrated with eighty-four coloured engravings.* Vol. 1. 1827. London. Plate facing p. 266.

became the new proprietors”.<sup>21</sup>

Another hand-coloured copy of Laurie and Whittle’s 1794 print (Fig. 7) is in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection of the Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven (GV1199.R69 1794).<sup>22</sup> The colouring in this example differs somewhat from that in the Bodleian Library’s John Johnson Collection, in that a simple wash has been applied to the central motif and to the Cupid spaces and hazard spaces, while some other details have also been highlighted with colour.

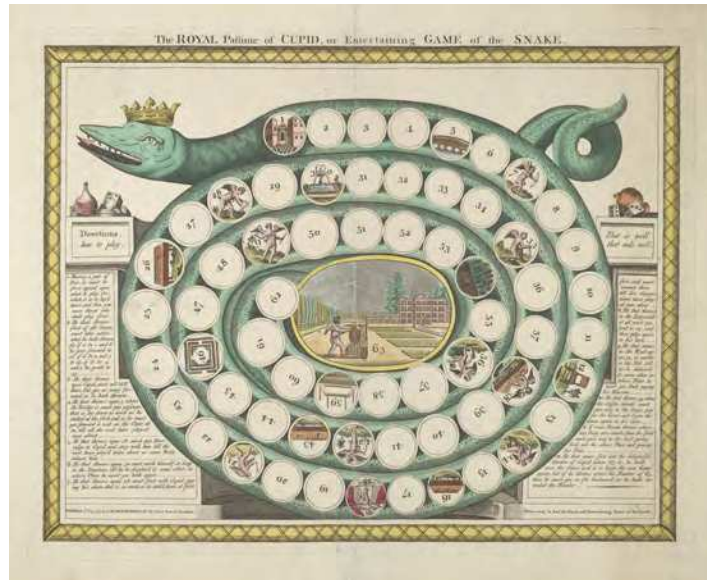
Another copy of R. H. Laurie’s 1850 impression can be seen on the Giochidelloca website maintained by Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville.<sup>23</sup> This copy is almost indistinguishable from the copy in the collection of The Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 3). However, a trace of a circular stamp is just visible over the name “Laurie” in the imprint, and marks can be seen across the final three lines of type on Rule 2 and across the dashed

<sup>21</sup>Fisher, S. (2001) *The Makers of the Blueback Charts.* p. 59.

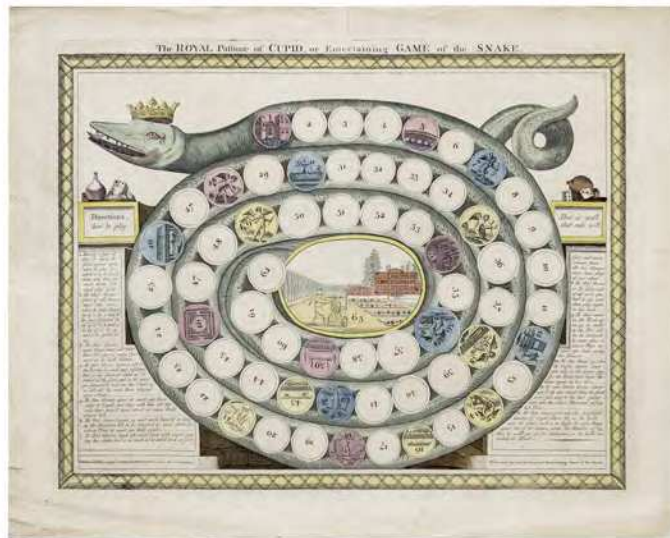
<sup>22</sup>See: Liman, E. (2017) *Georgian and Victorian Board Games.* New York. Pointed Leaf Press. pp. 14–15 & 66–67.

<sup>23</sup><<http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=862>>

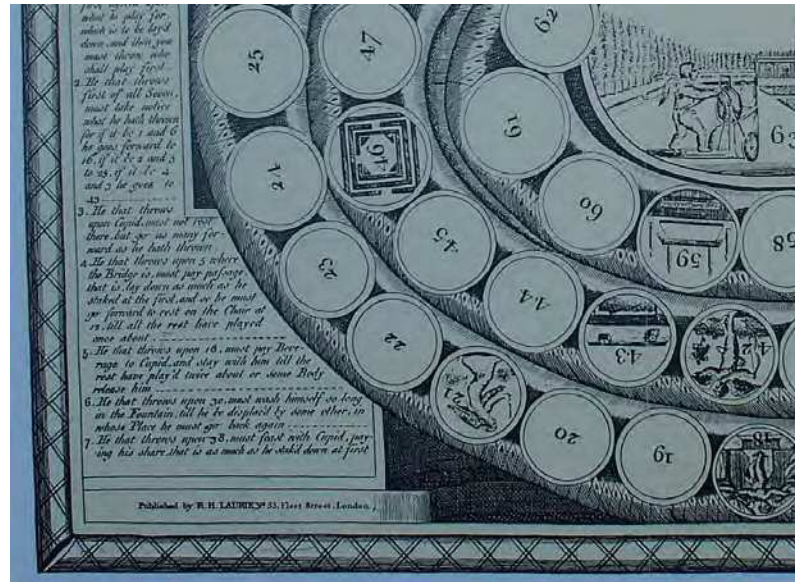




**Figure 6:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake.* Board game. Print. Hand-coloured engraving. 460 x 589 mm. Laurie & Whittle, London. 12 May 1794. The Bodleian Library. University of Oxford. John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera: Games Folder (5). Available online: <<https://allegro.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/006839>>.



**Figure 7:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake.* Board game. Print. Hand-coloured engraving. 380 x 460 mm. Laurie & Whittle, London. 12 May 1794. Yale Centre for British Art. GV1199.R69 1794. Gift of Ellen and Arthur Liman Yale JD 1957. <<https://orbis.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=13690924>>.



**Figure 8:** Detail: *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. R. H. Laurie, London. c. 1850. Private collection. The trace of a stamp is just visible over the name “Laurie” in the imprint. Images of this example available online: <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=862>>.

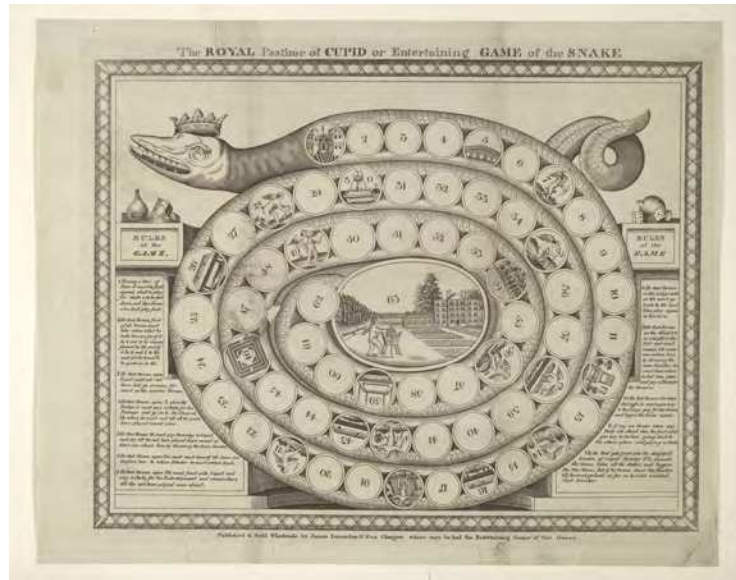
rule in Rule 4 (Fig. 8).<sup>24</sup> According to the information provided with the Giochidelloca entry, this copy is in a private collection.

The same design as that used by R. H. Laurie and Laurie & Whittle is also used in an edition published in Glasgow by James Lumsden & Son (Fig. 9). Looking closely at the detail in the central motif of the Lumsden edition, it can be seen that, while the overall design is the same, several elements have been simplified. For example, Lumsden’s artist has made Cupid’s apparatus a more crudely constructed contraption, while the house has lost the *oeil-de-boeuf* attic window and the arched roof is rendered as a gable.

James Lumsden & Son was founded in Glasgow in 1790 by James Lumsden (1750s–c. 1830). According to David Finkelstein’s review of the publishing industry in Scotland, James Lumsden & Son specialised in children’s literature and published some 160 children’s books, chapbooks and printed sheets during the period 1790–1850.<sup>25</sup> Roscoe and Brimmell’s account of the

<sup>24</sup>See <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=862>> and (detail) <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/images/s/snake0862d.jpg>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>25</sup>David Finkelstein, “Publishing 1830–1880”, in Bell, B., ed. (2007) *The Edinburgh*



**Figure 9:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Board game. Print. Engraving on paper. 406 x 510 mm (dimensions of the impression on a larger uncut sheet). James Lumsden and Son, Glasgow. c. 1810. The Bodleian Library. University of Oxford. John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera: Games Folder (4). Digital Bodleian. Available online: <<https://allegro.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/006838>>.

company includes a partial list of publications. However, Roscoe and Brimmell do not itemise individual printed sheets, only books and chapbooks (of which they cite 140 and 27 publications respectively), noting in passing:

The firm also put out some single sheets designed, presumably, to decorate the nursery. Only three of these have been located so far, two in the possession of Mr and Mrs Peter Opie and one in the Sotheby's catalogue sale of March 4th 1977, lot 580.<sup>26</sup>

Roscoe and Brimmell offer no further elaboration on the single-sheet output of James Lumsden & Son. While they cite several of the Lumsdens' "many and various" imprints, the imprint used on *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*, "Published & Sold Wholesale by James Lumsden & Son Glasgow", is not included.<sup>27</sup> The imprint on this edition of the game is appended: "where

*History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 3: Ambition and Industry 1800–1880*. Edinburgh University Press. pp. 96–106 (p. 104).

<sup>26</sup>Roscoe, S. and Brimmell, R. A. (1981) *James Lumsden & Son of Glasgow: Their Juvenile Books and Chapbooks*. Private Libraries Association. Pinner, p. xvi.

<sup>27</sup>Roscoe and Brimmell, *James Lumsden & Son*, p. xvii.

may be had the Entertaining Game of the Goose". A hand-coloured print of the Lumsdens' issue of *The Royal and Entertaining Game of the Goose*, dated c. 1800–1820, is held in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum (Fig. 10). This edition of the Goose game bears the same imprint as the Cupid game, along with the complementary tag, "where may be had the Entertaining Game of the Snake".<sup>28</sup>

A copy of Lumsden & Son's *Royal Pastime of Cupid* is held in the National Library of Scotland's Rare Books collection (Fig 11). While the National Library of Scotland's catalogue indicates two items are associated with this entry, suggesting there may be two copies of the game in the collection, the author's enquiry established there is but a single item, along with some assurance that the record will be amended to correct this error at some point in the future (however, as of the time of writing, despite the introduction of a new OPAC, the National Library of Scotland catalogue still shows two items are associated with this entry, each with a different barcode).

A further extant example of James Lumsden and Son's *Royal Pastime of Cupid*, dated c. 1820–1830, is held in the Adrian Seville collection, catalogued as an engraving/etching on paper pasted onto card. (Fig. 12).

Each known example of the Lumsden edition is catalogued with a publication date in the first third of the nineteenth century in its respective record, viz: Bodleian c. 1810; National Library of Scotland c. 1820; Adrian Seville collection 1820–1830. Given the company's known period of activity, 1790–1850, the three catalogued dates are close enough to avoid raising any

<sup>28</sup>The John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera contains two genre prints published by James Lumsden & Son, which may be of the type referred to by Roscoe and Brimmell: 'Grandmother's pet' <[http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/pdf/tmp\\_8322736147980691238.pdf](http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/pdf/tmp_8322736147980691238.pdf)> and 'My grandfather' <[http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/pdf/tmp\\_5131898684649914131.pdf](http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/pdf/tmp_5131898684649914131.pdf)>. Date of access: 20 January 2019.

No Lumsden single sheet prints have been located in the Bodleian's Opie Collection of Children's Literature, which has recently been catalogued (date of completion: June 2018); see Svenja Kunze, *Nursery rhymes, childhood folklore, and play: The archive of Iona and Peter Opie*. Archives and Manuscripts and the Bodleian Library. Bodleian Libraries Blog. (March 2017) <<http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/archivesandmanuscripts/2017/03/07/opie-archive/>>. The Catalogue of the Opie Archive is here: <<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/modern/opie-pi/opie-pi.html>>.

The John Johnson Collection can be accessed via a web interface <<http://johnjohnson.chadwyck.co.uk/>> and via the online catalogue <<https://allegro.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/>>. Some items in the John Jonson Collection are available via the Digital Bodleian <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>. A number of finding aids are also available: <<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson>>.



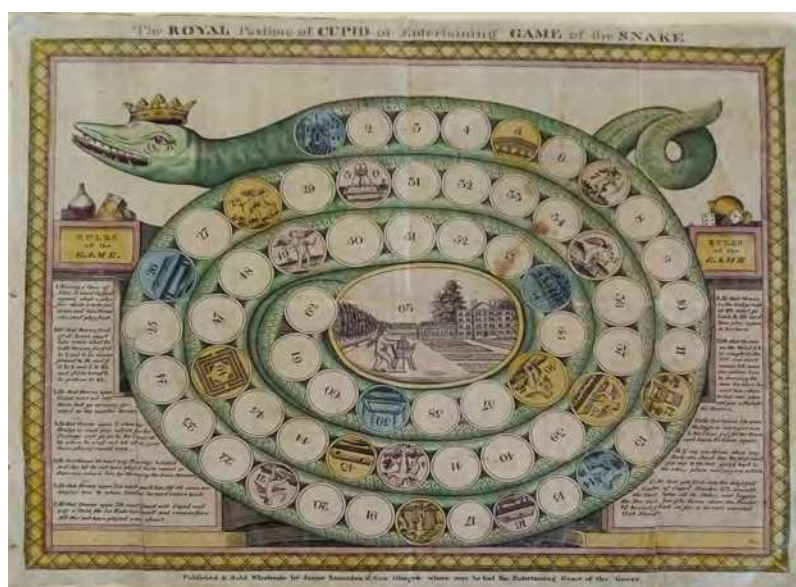


**Figure 10:** *The Royal and Entertaining Game of the Goose.* Board game. Print. Hand-coloured etching on paper. 480 x 358 mm. Varnished and framed with baize backing. The portrait roundels (upper left and upper right) show King George III and Queen Charlotte. James Lumsden and Son, Glasgow. c. 1800–1820. British Museum 1893,0331.131. ©Trustees of the British Museum. Available online: <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1428434&partId=1&searchText=game+snake&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1428434&partId=1&searchText=game+snake&page=1)>.

overt concerns, although a detail in the associated Goose game (Fig. 10) suggests a publication date of 1810. The portrait medallions in Lumsden's Goose show King George III and Queen Charlotte. The year 1810 was the fiftieth anniversary of George III's accession and, according to John Brooke (Brooke 1972, pp. 381–382) King George was at the peak of his popularity in 1810, so it may be that Lumsden's edition of *The Royal and Entertaining Game of the Goose* was published with the royal portrait medallions to coincide with and commemorate the King's Golden Jubilee.<sup>29</sup>

It should also be noted that Carington Bowles issued a Goose game with

<sup>29</sup>The physical health of George III (1738–1820) was in decline in the last decade of his life, leading to the Regency Act of 1811 which made the future George IV, then Prince of Wales, Prince Regent. See Brooke J. (1972) *King George III*. London. Constable. pp. 382–383. Caroline Goodchild notes George III “became the focal point” of history games published during his reign; a game entitled *The Jubilee* was published by John Harris in 1810 to commemorate the King's Golden Jubilee. See Goodfellow, C. (1991) *A Collector's Guide to Games & Puzzles*. London. Grange Books. pp. 28–33. See also: [board] <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26283>> and [pieces] <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26282>>. Date of access: 01 March 2019.



**Figure 11:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Board game. Print. Engraving on paper. 380 x 470 mm. James Lumsden and Son, Glasgow. 1820. National Library of Scotland. Special Collections. RB.1.52. Photograph: Wilfred Duggan.

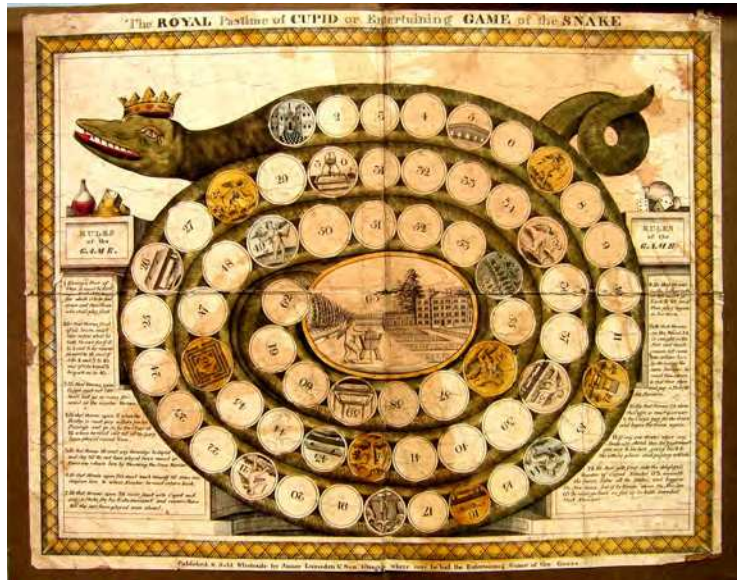
portrait roundels of King George III and Queen Charlotte from his premises in St Paul's Churchyard, where he was active from 1763–1793.<sup>30</sup> An earlier Goose game with portrait medallions of Jack Shepherd and Jonathan Wild had been issued with the imprint “John Bowles and Son at the Black Horse in Cornhill”. The “John Bowles and Son” imprint was in use from about 1753–1767.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>See <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=927>>.

<sup>31</sup>The Bowles and Son edition of the Game of the Goose with portrait medallions is reproduced in Bell (1979) *Board & Table Games from Many Civilizations*, vol. 1, facing p. 15; and in better quality in Bell (1979) *The Board Game Book*. Los Angeles. The Knapp Press. pp. 140–141. Bell suggests this design was created c. 1725—i.e. between the arrest and subsequent multiple escapes of Jack Shepherd in 1724 and the downfall of Jonathan Wild in 1725—noting from the Bowles imprint this edition would have been published between 1754–1764. A Goose game is included in John Bowles's catalogues of 1731 and 1749, but the author has not had sight of any prints with the corresponding John Bowles imprint (the catalogues were issued from Mercer's Hall and the Black Horse respectively); it cannot be confirmed that the design with the Wild and Shepherd portrait roundels was in use by John Bowles before the John Bowles and Son issue, which is included in their 1753 catalogue.

Adrian Seville's recently published study of Goose games, *The Cultural Legacy of The Royal Game of the Goose* Amsterdam University Press, pp. 143–149 discusses portrait roundels in British Goose games, noting a peculiarity in the omission of geese spaces at





**Figure 12:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Board game. Etching/engraving. Paper pasted on cardboard. 370 x 460 mm. James Lumsden & Son, Glasgow. 1820–1830. Adrian Seville collection. Photograph courtesy of Adrian Seville. Available online: <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1309>>.

It may well be the case that the Lumsdens took some inspiration from the Carington Bowles edition with the portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte in roundels. However, while the two Charlottes do share a posture, the roundel portraits are more crudely executed in the Lumsden version than in the Bowles print, and there is much less of a similarity between the overall design of these two prints than in the more overt inspiration the Lumsdens took from Laurie & Whittle's Cupid print, discussed below. The Bowles' family enterprise is discussed in more detail in the next section.

In an article about a Spanish-language version of the Cupid game, published in Antwerp by Pieter de Jode c. 1620, Marjolein Leesberg asserts:

[F]rom the late-seventeenth century the Game of the Snake was ... successful in England, in a copy of Visscher's [Dutch] board. Around 1800 an engraving of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid or Entertaining Game of the Snake* was published in Glasgow by James Lumsden, in which the central image was replaced with a Cupid in a garden, in the rules called 'the delightful Garden

5 and 9 and the inclusion of additional dice spaces in editions with the Wild/Shepherd portraits, as issued by both John Bowles & Son and Robert Sayer.

of Cupid'. The game still appeared about 1850, in a copy of the latter.<sup>32</sup>

However, Leesberg's assertion that R. H. Laurie's print of c. 1850 is a copy of the Cupid game issued by James Lumsden and Son is incorrect. Leesberg must be unaware of the ownership of the business and stock of the operation based at 53 Fleet Street. Given the publication dates, particularly the earlier date of Laurie and Whittle's 1794 edition of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*, it would seem more accurate to consider the Lumsden issue c. 1810 as a close copy of the Laurie & Whittle design, rather than deem Laurie's c. 1850 print a copy of the Lumsden and Son edition.

Numerous small differences in detail between the Lumsden print and the earlier Laurie and Whittle edition allow us to infer that one has been re-drawn and re-engraved, either by closely copying the other or, although perhaps less likely, by drawing on a common source, as yet unknown.

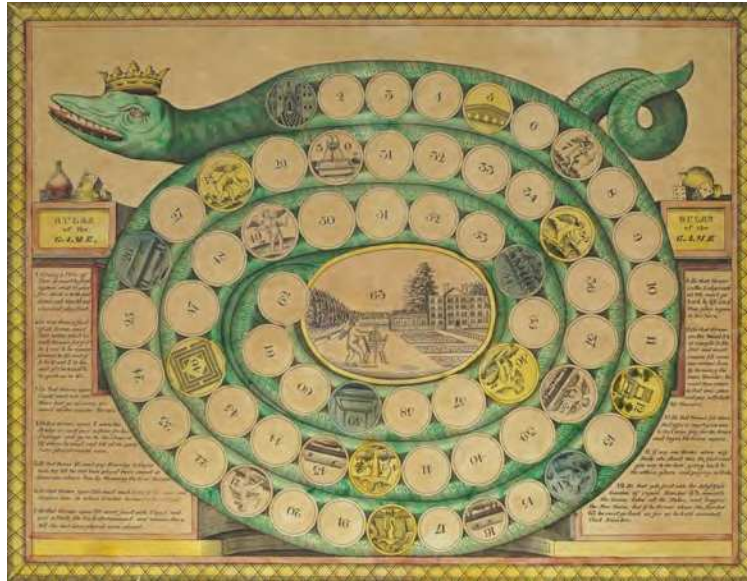
An image of another hand-coloured copy of the print issued by James Lumsden and Son can be seen on the *giochidelloca* website (Fig. 13). The hand-colouring is very similar to that of the NLS copy (Fig. 9) and the same colour scheme is used on the numbered spaces; this example, however, does not have crease marks from folding. This example is in a private collection.<sup>33</sup>

## Type 2: Cupid alone with his bow beneath a floral garland

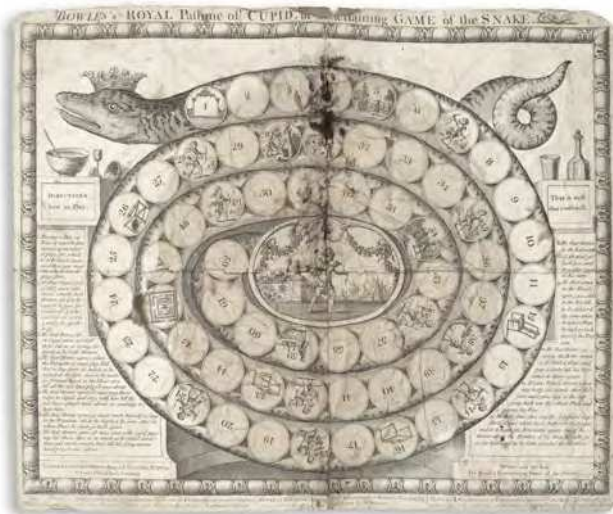
For almost a century, the Bowles "were one of two dynasties [the other being the Overtons] dominating the flourishing London print-trade", according to Tim Clayton's Oxford DNB entry for the Bowles family (Clayton 2008, online). The first definite record of the Bowles's publishing enterprise appears in 1691, with a print of a triumphal arch, issued from premises in St Paul's Churchyard by the grandfather of Carington Bowles, Thomas Bowles I (fl. 1683–1714; buried 17 May, 1720). After Thomas Bowles I retired in about 1714, the business in St Paul's Churchyard was taken over by his eldest son,

<sup>32</sup>Leesberg, M. (2015) "*El Juego Real de Cupido*: a Spanish board game published in Antwerp, c. 1620". *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 39 pp. 23–43. See pp. 39–40. See also: Leesberg, M. (April 2017) "The Royal Game of Cupid: A 17th Century Board Game". *Picturing Places*. The British Library. [online] <<https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-royal-game-of-cupid-a-17th-century-board-game>>. Date of access: 06 Sept 2019.

<sup>33</sup>I am grateful to Adrian Seville and Luigi Ciompi for confirming these details via personal correspondence.



**Figure 13:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Board game. Print. Hand-coloured. James Lumsden and Son. Glasgow. Provenance unknown. Giochidelloca 1309. Available online: <<http://www.giochidelloca.it/images/c/cupidlumsden1309z.jpg>>.



**Figure 14:** *Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Board game. Print. Engraved sheet. Carington Bowles. London. c. 1784. 375 x 460 mm Available online: <<https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/25354/lot/65/>>.

Thomas Bowles II (1688–1767). His younger son, John Bowles (1701–1779)<sup>34</sup> a business “Over against Stocks Market” 1723–1726 and/or Mercers’ Hall, Cheapside, 1725–1729 (these were possibly the same premises), and “At the Black Horse, Cornhill”, 1730–1766.<sup>35</sup>

In about 1753 John Bowles enters into partnership with his younger son, Carington Bowles (1724–1792).<sup>36</sup> They trade from the Black Horse, Cornhill, as John Bowles and Son until about 1762–63, when Carington Bowles takes over the business at St Paul’s Churchyard following the death of his uncle.<sup>37</sup> John Bowles removes the “& Son” from his imprint and continues to work out of The Black Horse, until his death in 1779.

After the death of Carington Bowles in 1793, the St Paul’s Churchyard business was continued by his son, Henry Carington Bowles (1763–1830)<sup>38</sup> in

<sup>34</sup>William Henry Pyne, writing as Ephraim Hardcastle, refers to John Bowles as “Old John Bowles”, “Black Horse Bowles” and “Black Jack” in a vignette concerning the London Bridge bookseller and satirist Crispin Tucker. He also notes William Hogarth, another London Bridge resident, engraved for John Bowles. See Pyne, W. H. (1824) *Wine and Walnuts; Or, After Dinner Chit-Chat*. Vol. II. London. Longman, Hurst, Rees Orme and Browne. pp. 135–137. Available online: <<https://archive.org/details/wineandwalnutsor02pyneuoft/page/135>>. Date of access: 20 Jan 2019.

<sup>35</sup>Worms, L. and Baynton-Williams, A. (2011) *British Map Engravers: A Dictionary of Engravers, Lithographers and their Principal Employers to 1850*. London. Rare Book Society. p. 103.

<sup>36</sup>Carington Bowles’s rather unusual forename is, in fact, the maiden name of his mother, Mary Carington. The Dicey and the Cluer families provide another interesting example of the use of surnames as forenames in the London publishing trade (see Note 41).

<sup>37</sup>Thomas Bowles II had one son, Thomas Bowles III (1712–1762), who predeceased his father by five years. Donald Hodson asserts Carington Bowles must have taken over the business at St Paul’s Churchyard between June 1762 and 20 May 1763 as an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* of May 31, 1762, refers to “Bowles and Son” while a map, bearing Carington Bowles’ imprint, is dated 20 May 1763. The map reference Hodson cites starts with the characters “B. L.” However, the item is not held at the British Library and enquiries have revealed the catalogue number cited by Hodson “(B.L. (E)C.17:70 London (286))” is not recognised by the BL; nor does the item appear to have been retained by the British Museum following the relocation of the BL to the St Pancras site as the BM Prints and Drawings Collection does not contain a Carington Bowles map dated 1763. See Hodson, D. (1984) *County Atlases of the British Isles published after 1703*. Volume 1: *Atlases published 1704 to 1742 and their subsequent editions*. Welwyn. The Tewin Press. p. 188.

<sup>38</sup>In 1799 Henry Carington Bowles married Anne Garnault, a Huguenot heiress whose family is associated with the New River Company. She inherited Bowling Green House, a Tudor mansion in Enfield, which they demolish and replace with Myddleton House. This branch of the Bowles family leads to the horticulturalist E. A. “Gussie” Bowles (1865–1954) and later, via marriage, to Camilla Parker-Bowles, née Shand (1947–) who became notable for her much publicised relationship with,

partnership with Samuel Carver, trading as Bowles and Carver. Bowles and Carver issued but a single catalogue in 1795 [unseen] which, at 188 pages, is the same size as and, one may surmise, identical to Carington Bowles's third and final catalogue, published in 1790 [unseen].<sup>39</sup> The Bowles and Carver company continued until 1832 when, as Donald Hodson notes, it is mentioned for the last time in the Post Office London Directory.<sup>40</sup>

Carington Bowles's edition of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* (Fig. 14) is dated "c. 1784" in the Bonhams sale catalogue (Bonhams 2019, online). While it is possible that Carington Bowles could have published both Cupid and Goose games under his own imprint as early as 1764, there is no evidence to support so early a date. The later date corresponds with the material listed in Carington Bowles's 1784 Catalogue which includes, in the One Sheet Prints section, "*Bowles's Royal and entertaining Game of the Goose. Price 6d.*" and "*Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake. Price 6d.*" (p. 37) along with a third game, "*Bowles's New-invented and entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony*, interspersed with mottos from old songs adapted to the several occurrences naturally arising from the beginning of courtship to the conclusion of matrimony. The whole contrived by lively and interesting particulars, to carry on the chain, and keep up the attention, with proper rules and references to play it, either with dice, cards, or an index. Price 1s" (Fig. 15).

Indeed, Carington Bowles's print of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* refers to the three other "Just Published" games: "*Bowles's British Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography, in a most complete and elegant Tour thro England & Wales, with the adjoining parts of Scotland & Ireland*"; "*Bowles's European Geographical Amusement: or Game of Geography, design'd from the Grand Tour of Europe by Dr Nugent*" and "*Bowles's New Invented & Entertaining Game of Courtship & Matrimony, to be played not*

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and eventual marriage to, HRH Prince Charles. See The Bowles of Myddleton House: <<http://bowlesfamilyhistory.ca/The%20Bowles%20of%20Myddelton%20House%20Family%20Tree.htm>>. Date of access: 30 June 2019.

<sup>39</sup> John Bowles issued eight catalogues between 1728–1768, including the John Bowles and Son catalogue of 1753. Carington Bowles issued three catalogues: 1784, 1786 and 1790. The Paul Mellon Centre, London, has a collection of photocopies of printers' catalogues in the Library which brings together otherwise scattered resources. See Griffiths, A. (1984) "A Checklist of Catalogues of British Print Publishers c. 1650–1830" *Print Quarterly* 1 (1) pp. 4–22. It should be noted that the copy of Carington Bowles's 1786 catalogue is incomplete.

<sup>40</sup> Hodson, D. (1984) *County Atlases of the British Isles published after 1703*. Volume 1: *Atlases published 1704 to 1742 and their subsequent editions*. Welwyn. The Tewin Press. p. 189.

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CARINGTON BOWLES'S  
NEW AND ENLARGED  
**CATALOGUE**  
OF  
USEFUL AND ACCURATE  
**MAPS, CHARTS, and PLANS;**  
Curious and entertaining  
**Engraved and Mezzotinto PRINTS,**  
SINGLE OR IN SETS;  
**WRITING BOOKS;**  
INCLUDING  
All the BRANCHES of PENMANSHIP:  
*Black-Lines, Letter-File Maps, and Prints, School Pieces,  
Cards for Schools, &c. &c.*  
A great Collection of  
**ELEGANT DRAWING BOOKS,**  
AND  
Correct Books of Maps, Roads, Perspective, Geometry, &c.  
CONTAINING  
A great Variety of New and Valuable Articles  
FOR THE  
Use of the NOBILITY and GENTRY of Great-Britain and Ireland.  
Merchants Exports, and Shop Keepers Country Trade.  
WHICH MAY BE HAD WHOLESALE AND RETAIL  
*At his Map and Print Warehouse, No. 69, St. Paul's  
Church Yard, London.*

Correspondents are requested, in their Orders, to send the Names of  
the Articles, as the Numbers only have occasioned Mistakes.

(Price ONE-SHILLING.)

ONE-SHEET PRINTS 37

and the several parts of a ship both outside and inside. To which are added, the flags carried at sea by the several nations throughout the world. Price 1s. 6d. coloured 2s.

6. *Bowles's Royal and entertaining Game of the Goose.* Price 6d.

7. *Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid, or entertaining Game of the Snake.* Price 6d.

8. *Bowles's New-invented and entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony,* interspersed with mottos from old songs adapted to the several occurrences naturally arising from the beginning of courtship to the concluding of matrimony. The whole contrived by lively and interesting particulars, to carry on the chain, and keep up the attention, with proper rules and references to play it, either with dice, cards, or an index. Price 1s.

9. *A perspective View of an Engine upon an entire new Construction for draining Mines, Collieries, Fenny and Marsh Lands, &c.* Likewise for supplying reservoirs, ponds, fountains, and manfions with water in large bodies with a continual stream, invented by Thomas Hunt. Price 5s.

The utility of this Engine was proved at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1773, for which invention the inventor received a donation of 300 guineas from the nobility and gentry, proprietors of the collieries in the environs thereof.

10. *A perspective View of the Engine that was made use of for driving the Piles at Westminster Bridge,* by James Vauloue. Price 1s. 6d.

11. *A perspective View of the Engine, made use of for sawing off under Water, the Piles which helped to support the Centres, for turning the Arches of Westminster Bridge,* by the inventor William Etheridge. Price 1s. 6d.

12. *Geography Epitomized,* by A. G. Dufauret. Being a comprehensive scheme of geography, in which the various parts of that science are collected, and arranged in a disposition which gives a familiar and instructive view of the use

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**Figure 15:** Pages from Carington Bowles's *New and enlarged catalogue of useful and accurate maps, charts and plans*. London (1784) ESTC T181179. Title page (left) and p. 37 ("One-Sheet Prints") showing items 6–8: "Bowles's Royal and entertaining Game of the Goose"; "Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake"; and "Bowles's new invented and entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony". English Short Title Catalogue: <<http://estc.bl.uk/T181179>>.



*only with Dice as the Goose & Snake, but also with Cards or an Index*". The two geographical games are also listed in the 1784 catalogue, in the One Sheet Maps, Charts and Plans section (Fig. 16) while the Courtship game is included in the same One-Sheet Prints section as the Goose and Cupid games.

Carington Bowles's stock has expanded considerably beyond the 88-page catalogue of John Bowles and Son (1753) and John Bowles's subsequent catalogue of 1764, to include educational and entertaining card games. A dedicated section for Packs of Cards in Carington Bowles's 1784 catalogue includes, "*Geographical Cards, or a view of the principal cities of the known world*"; "*Cards of Ancient History*", in two sets, the first "from the creation of the world to the battle of Marathon" and the second "from the battle of Marathon to the birth of Jesus Christ" (Fig. 16). Other items include "*Optical Cards*", a teaching aid developed to teach the science of optics; "*Musical Cards, consisting of the Songs in that celebrated Performance, the Beggars Opera*"; "*Proverb Cards*" in English, French and Italian; and "*Nuptial Cards, including in 52 designs every interesting scene incident to the matrimonial state*". A distinction is drawn between audiences, with the first four sets being "designed as a recreation for young gentlemen and ladies, and for the use of boarding schools" while the latter decks "may be played with in the same manners as common playing cards ... which make them at once highly entertaining and useful" (p. 160).

All five of the above mentioned games, and the *Geographical Cards*, *Ancient History Cards* and *Optical Cards*, are included in a classified advertisement in *St James Chronicle or the British Evening Post* 23–26 December 1780 (p. 1), under the heading "Winter Evenings Entertainment" (Fig. 17). While it is evident from the advertisement that Carington Bowles's games and cards were available for purchase in December 1780, some time before the publication of his 1784 catalogue, less stock might be put in the declaration "This day was published as the Act directs", as the same phrase appears in another advertisement for the same material, published almost exactly two years later in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 26 December 1782, and again the following year, albeit lacking "as the Act directs", also in the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 31 December 1785.

*The Royal Game of the Goose* first appears in John Bowles's 1731 catalogue, issued from Mercers Hall in Cheapside, where it is listed as item 29 under "Royal Sheets. Cheap prints, each printed in a sheet of Royal paper" (it is not included in John Bowles's earlier 36-page catalogue of 1728, nor is it in Thomas Bowles's 1720 catalogue). It appears again, in the same section,

## 30 ONE-SHEET MAPS, CHARTS AND PLANS.

## MAPS, CHARTS and PLANS, on One Sheet,

1. **BOWLES'S** *British Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography*, in a most compleat and elegant tour, through England, Wales, and the adjoining parts of Scotland and Ireland. Elegantly coloured and fitted on thick pasteboard, with descriptive letter-press on the sides; and a box containing a totum, men and counters, to play with. Price 8s.

2. **Bowles's** *European Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography*, designed from the grand tour of Europe, by Dr. Nugent. Beautifully coloured and fitted on thick pasteboard, with descriptive letter-press on the sides; and a box containing a totum, men and counters, to play with. Price 8s.

The above games are entirely adapted to lead the young gentlemen and ladies into the geography of Europe and England; and cannot fail of being pleasing, entertaining and instructive pastimes.

3. **Bowles's** *New Pocket Map of Great Britain and Ireland*, delineated from the latest surveys. Price 5s.

The only accurate and neat map of this size.

4. **Bowles's** *New Pocket Map of England and Wales*, with the addition of new roads and other improvements, by Daniel Paterfon, and elegantly engraved by J. Ellis. Price 5s.

This map has been formed on actual surveys, has accuracy for its greatest recommendation; and contains the most recent observations, which renders it equally useful to the traveller on a journey, and the man of business in a counting house.

5. **Bowles's** *New Travelling Map of England and Wales*, exhibiting all the direct and principal cross roads, with the distances in measured miles. Price 2s. 6d.

The distances put down on this map may be depended on.

6. **Bowles's**

## 160

## PACKS OF CARDS.

## PACKS OF CARDS,

1. **Geographical Cards**, or a view of the principal cities of the known world.

2. *Cards of Ancient History, the first Set*, from the creation of the world to the battle of Marathon.

3. *Cards of Ancient History, the second Set*, from the battle of Marathon, to the birth of Jesus Christ; including the history of 500 years.

4. *Optical Cards*, designed as a recreation for young gentlemen and ladies, and the use of boarding schools.

The above 4 Packs are designed as a recreation for young gentlemen and ladies, and for the use of boarding schools, by the Rev. John Ryland, A. M. master of a boarding school, at Northampton. The last of which is augmented and improved by James Ferguson, F. R. S. Price 2s. 6d. each Pack, with suitable descriptions of their use and utility.

5. *Musical Cards, consisting of the Songs in that celebrated Performance the Beggar's Opera*, with the notes; many of the songs transposed for the flute.

6. *Proverb Cards*, in English, French, and Italian, containing 52 select proverbs, with lively picture representations.

7. *Nuptial Cards*, including in 52 designs every interesting scene incident to the matrimonial state.

The above 3 Packs may be played with in the same manner as common playing cards, having the different honours and suits in miniature at the corners, which make them at once highly entertaining and useful. Price 4s. each Pack.

For **Bowles's** *British and European Geographical Amusement for the Entertainment of young Gentlemen and Ladies*. See Page 30.

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**Figure 16:** Pages from *Carington Bowles's New and enlarged catalogue of useful and accurate maps, charts and plans*. London (1784) ESTC T181179. p 30 (left) "One-Sheet Maps, Charts and Plans" and p. 160 (right) "Cards" showing (left): "Bowles's British Geographical Amusement" and "Bowles's European Geographical Amusement" and (right): various educational and entertaining card games. English Short Title Catalogue: <<http://estc.bl.uk/T181179>>.

27 The above is the original and only genuine Harris's British Ladies Pocket Book, and the Publick are requested to observe, that all Publications offered under this Title are spurious, unless bearing the Names of J. W. Falham, J. Macgowan, and Alex. Hogg.

**Winter Evenings Entertainments.**  
The Nights at this inclement Season of the Year may be rendered at once pleasant and profitable, and the Fire-Side become the Scene of Amusement and Instruction to Ladies and Gentlemen of all Ages, by enlivening the gloomy Powers with the following Aids to Improvement and Pleasure.

*This Day was published as the AB directs.*  
Engraved and printed only for the Proprietor CARINGTON BOWLES, at his Map and Print Warehouse, No. 69, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London.

**1. BOWLES's British Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography,** in a most complete and elegant Tour through England and Wales, with the adjoining Parts of Scotland and Ireland; with a Box, containing a Totum and three Pillars, called the Travellers.

**2. — European Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography,** designed from the grand Tour of Europe, by Dr. Nugent; with a Box, containing a Totum and three Pillars, called the Travellers. The above are ss. each.

**3. — Royal and Entertaining Game of the Goose,** Price 6d.

**4. — Royal Pastime of Cupid, or Entertaining Game of the Snake,** Price 6d.

**5. — New-invented and entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony,** to be played not only with Dice as the Goose and Snake, but also with Cards, Price 1s.

**CARDS with proper Directions for playing,** by the Rev. John Ryland, A. M. of Northampton, Price 2s. each Pack.

**1. Geographical Cards, or a View of the principal Cities in the known World.**

**2. Cards of Ancient History, from the Creation of the World to the Battle of Marathon.**

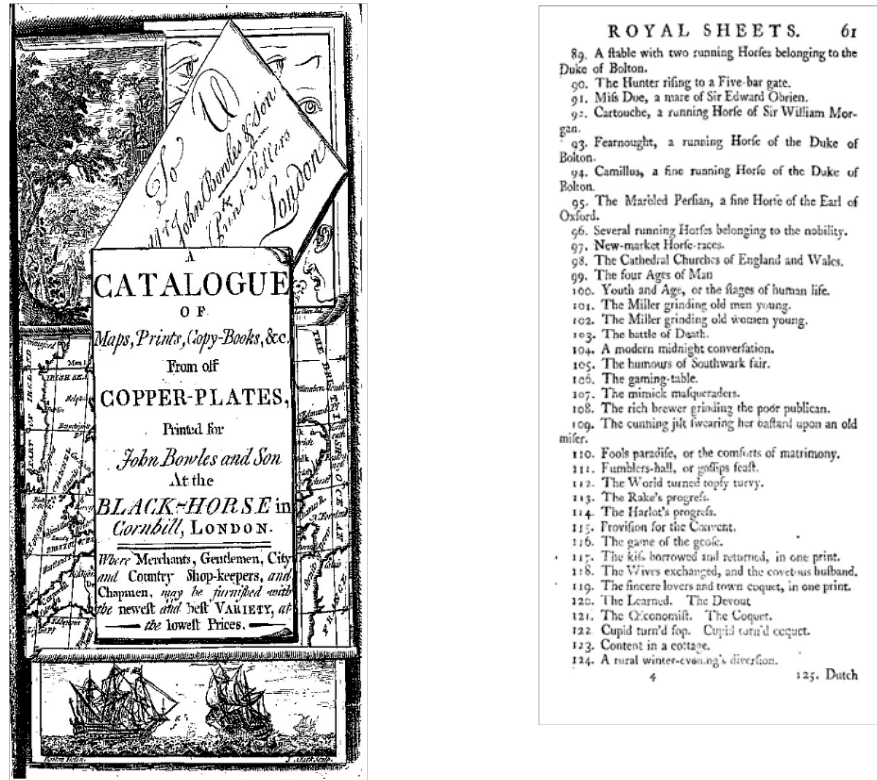
**3. Cards of Ancient History (the second Set) from the Battle of Marathon to the Birth of Jesus Christ, including the History of 300 Years.**

**4. Optical Cards, projected by John Ryland, and augmented and improved by James Ferguson, F. R. S.**

**Bowles's Dissected Maps (in square Waincoat Boxes) of England, Scotland, Ireland, the World, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, &c. &c.** The above Maps being neatly and accurately cut into their respective Kingdoms, Counties, &c. Teach Geography in an easy, expeditious, and entertaining manner. Price 9s. each, or cut in a superior Manner, Price 12s.

(Illustrations of the above Games and Maps are to be seen at the Proprietor's Warehouse, No. 69, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London.)

**Figure 17:** Carington Bowles's Classified advertisement. *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*. Dec. 23–26 1780. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection. Gale News Vault: "Some rights reserved. This work permits non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author and source are credited."



**Figure 18:** Pages from John Bowles & Son, *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books &c.* London (1753). ESTC T8478. Title page (left) and p. 61 (“Royal Sheets”) showing catalogue entry 116: “The game of the goose”. English Short Title Catalogue <<http://estc.bl.uk/T8478>>.

but now as item 97, in John Bowles’s much-expanded 84-page catalogue, issued from the Black Horse in 1749. Following John Bowles’s partnership with Carington Bowles, “The game of the goose” appears as item 116 in the John Bowles and Son Catalogue of 1753 (Fig. 18). However, Carington Bowles may have taken possession of the plate for the Goose game because, while it had been included in John Bowles’s earlier catalogues, it does not appear in John Bowles’s stock after the publication of the John Bowles and Son catalogue of 1753.

The Game of the Goose is absent from the John Bowles catalogues issued in 1764 and 1768, i.e., it no longer appears in John Bowles’s stock after the termination of the John Bowles and Son partnership. However, Carington Bowles’s catalogue of 1784 includes several games, viz. *Bowles’s British*

*Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography; Bowles's European Geographical Amusement, or Game of Geography* ("designed from the Grand Tour of Europe by Dr Nugent") in the Maps, Charts and Plans section (p. 30) while *Bowles's Royal and entertaining Game of the Goose* and *Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid, or entertaining Game of the Snake* are in the One Sheet Prints section, along with *Bowles's New-Invented and entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony* (p. 37). It is notable that not only has the range of games expanded to include two educational "geographical" games, but the title of each is prefixed "Bowles's", a convention that can be seen throughout Carington Bowles's catalogue.

Ashley Baynton-Williams notes that Carington Bowles was the subject of legal action by Thomas Jefferys in 1770, for plagiarising Jeffery's game maps.<sup>41</sup> While the outcome of the legal action is unknown, Baynton-Williams asserts Carington Bowles "subsequently developed his own line of games and, from about 1780, he is [...] advertising them" (Baynton-Williams 2015, p. 102) hence, we may assume, the prevalence of "Bowles's" games in Carington Bowles's stock in his 1784 catalogue.

Another copy of Carington Bowles's *Royal Pastime of Cupid*, dated "ca. 1765", was sold to a private collector by Murray Hudson, dealer in antique maps, globes, books and prints, based in Tennessee.<sup>42</sup> The date cited on the dealer's website is not supported by what is known of Carington Bowles's publishing activity detailed above. As previously noted, this game is first included in Carington Bowles's catalogue of 1784, and does not appear in any of the earlier John Bowles catalogues, or in the John Bowles and Son catalogue of 1753. Therefore, a safer publication date for this example would be "c. 1784".

The Murray Hudson example has been punched around the edges to create the effect of a perforated edge, like a postage stamp (Fig 19). It has not been possible to examine this example first hand, and attempts to obtain a better quality image than the low-resolution photograph on the dealer's website have proved fruitless. While it is impossible to ascertain when the punching was carried out, the postage-stamp-like appearance created by the punching prompts the speculation that the effect may have been inspired by the introduction of perforated postage stamps. Sheets of postage stamps were not originally perforated when the pre-paid Uniform Penny Post was

<sup>41</sup> Baynton-Williams, A. (2015) *The Curious Map Book*. London. British Library. p. 94.

<sup>42</sup> Available online: <<https://www.antiquemapsandglobes.com/Book/Antique/Geography/The-Royal-Pastime-of-Cupid-or-Entertaining-Game-of-the-Snake?B=22819>>. Date of access: 27 March 2019.



**Figure 19:** “Carington Bowles 1765 ca. London”. Printed board game with punched edges. Murray Hudson Antique Maps and Globes. B-22819. 49.8 cm X 38.7 cm. Available online: <<https://www.antiquemapsandglobes.com/Book/Antique/Geography/The-Royal-Pastime-of-Cupid-or-Entertaining-Game-of-the-Snake?B=22819>>.

introduced in Great Britain in 1840. Penny Black and Two Penny Blue stamps had to be cut individually from the printed sheet. Perforated sheets were adopted in the 1850s with the Penny Red (the colour of the penny stamp was changed from black to red to allow the cancellation mark to be seen more easily). It may be that punching was applied to the edges of this print during the latter part of the 1850s or after, following the introduction of perforated postage stamps.<sup>43</sup>

A copy of the Bowles and Carver issue of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*, dated “c. 1785” is in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library (Fig. 20). The suggested date of publication predates by eight years the establishment of the Bowles and

<sup>43</sup>The development and perfection of perforation technology is discussed by William and Robert Chambers (Nov. 25, 1854) “Down stairs in Somerset House”, *Chambers’s journal of popular literature, science and arts*. 47 pp. 337–340. A fuller account is provided in Simpson, R. C. and Sargent, P. J. (2006) *Stamp Perforation: The Somerset House Years 1848 to 1880*. London. Royal Philatelic Society. Perforated stamps were introduced to the United States shortly after, in 1857. See Early Perforation Machine, Smithsonian National Postal Museum. Available online: <<https://postalmuseum.si.edu/collections/object-spotlight/perforation-machine.html>>. Date of access: 06 Sept 2019.



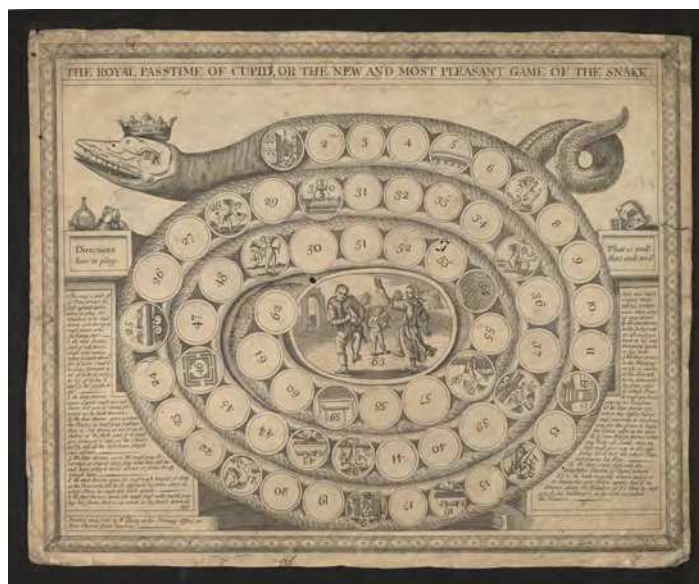


**Figure 20:** *Bowles's Royal Pastime of Cupid or Entertaining Game of the Snake*. Bowles and Carver. 1793–1832. 450 x 380 mm Object ref. 1975-311. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Museum Purchase. Image courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Carver partnership following the death of Carington Bowles in 1793. As with the previous example, some adjustment to the proposed date of publication would be in order to align the item's catalogue data with the publishers' inventory. A more secure date for this Bowles and Carver issue would be the date of the Bowles and Carver catalogue, "c. 1795", or the known span of Bowles and Carver's activity: "1793–1832".

Several users of the Board Game Geek website <<http://boardgamegeek.com>> include *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* among the games owned. Three users can be located via the BGG page for *The Royal Pastime of Cupid*, while a fourth user, who has registered a "like" of the game, includes a comment that "an original copy" is owned.<sup>44</sup> Images of the Bowles and Carver edition have been uploaded to the website by one user. Correspondence with this user suggests that the game is a twentieth century reproduction. The "original copy" of the fourth has not been verified.

<sup>44</sup>See: <<https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/60171/royal-pastime-cupid-or-entertaining-game-snake/ratings?status=own>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.



**Figure 21:** *The Royal Pastime of Cupid, or the New and Most Pleasant Game of the Snake*. Board game. Engraving. 400 x 500 mm. William Dicey. Bow Church Yard London. Date cited: 1700–1750. John Johnson Collection: Games Folder (6). Available online: <<https://allegro.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/006837>>.

### Type 3: The Peasant Dance

The third type is exemplified in an edition “published and sold by W. Dicey at his Printing Office in Bow Church Yard London” (Fig. 21). The bibliographic record in the John Johnson *allegro* catalogue provides a date-span of 1700–1756 for this print.<sup>45</sup> While this span approximately mirrors the dates of William Dicey’s birth and death (1690–1756), it does not align well with the period of William Dicey’s activity as a publisher and printer. A discussion of Dicey’s activity, including the variation in imprints used by William Dicey after he became proprietor of the printing and publishing business in Bow Churchyard in 1736, is provided in an account of the three examples of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* housed in the Bodleian Library.<sup>46</sup>

As a detailed discussion of the Dicey’s publishing activity is offered else-

<sup>45</sup>The Digital Bodleian record for this item shows a different date: “1794”. See: <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/6ff20133-45bb-4276-a090-cc2b2851ffba>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>46</sup>See Duggan, E. (2016) “*The Royal Pastime of Cupid*: Three Early Printed Board Games in the Bodleian Library’s John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera”. *The Bodleian Library Record* 29 (2). pp. 211–227.

where, a brief summary shall suffice here to provide a simple overview of the Dicey enterprise to the 1760s.

William Dicey (1690–1756), originally apprenticed to a leather maker, is “turned over” in 1711 to John Cluer (c. 1681–1728) who operates a printing business out of Bow Churchyard, from where he also sell proprietary medicines such as *Daffy’s Elixir* and *Bateman’s Pectoral Drops*. John Cluer marries William Dicey’s sister Mary who, following Cluer’s death in 1728, manages the business herself before marrying Cluer’s foreman, Thomas Cobb.<sup>47</sup> On Mary’s death in 1736, Cobb transfers the business to William Dicey, which is then managed by his son, Cluer Dicey (1715–1775).<sup>48</sup>

William and Cluer Dicey issued a catalogue (ETSC T188172), dated 1754, from their premises “Opposite the South Door of Bow Church Yard, London”.<sup>49</sup> Two games are included in the “Mixed Fancies” section, *Royal Pastime, or the Game of the Snake*, and *Diverting Pastime, or the Game of the Goose* (Fig. 22). William and Cluer Dicey had been in partnership from 1740, and, from that date, the Dicey imprint is either “William Dicey & Co”, “W. & C. Dicey” or “Dicey & Co”. An earlier form of the Dicey imprint, “Printed and Sold by W. Dicey at his Printing Office in Bow Church-Yard”, allows the Cupid print (Fig. 18) to be dated to the period 1736–1740.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup>Elizabeth Cluer announced her continuation of the business in an advertisement dated 1728. See <<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/online-exhibitions/a-nation-of-shopkeepers/printing#gallery-item=161181>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>48</sup>Stoker, D. (2014) “Another Look at the Dicey-Marshall publications: 1736–1806” *The Library* 15 (2) pp. 111–157 at p. 155, suggests William Dicey may have married John Cluer’s sister, Mary: this might explain the names of their children: William Dicey’s son is named Cluer Dicey while John Cluer’s son is named Dicey Cluer. Cluer Dicey went into business with his father; Dicey Cluer died in infancy. Available online: <<https://academic.oup.com/library/article/15/2/111/944710>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019. However, an earlier connection exists between the Cluers and the Diceys in the marriage of William Dicey’s father, Thomas (Thomas Dicey I, c. 1650–1705) to Elizabeth Cluer (bap. 1671–unknown). According to Burke, Elizabeth Cluer [i.e. William Dicey’s mother] is John Cluer’s cousin. See Sir Bernard Burke (1862) *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain of Great Britain and Ireland*. Sixth edition. Vol. II. London. Harrison and Sons. p. 367.

<sup>49</sup>William and Cluer Dicey (1754) *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing &c.* Printed and Sold by William and Cluer Dicey at their Warehouse, Opposite the South Door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, London. ESTC T188172. This is the only known copy of the Dicey’s 1754 catalogue. Owned and annotated by Thomas Percy (1727–1811), it is now in the Bodleian Library. Comprising two fragments, with discontinuous pagination [pp. 1–30 and 25–56], and additional material and annotations, the catalogue is incomplete. R. C. Simmons provides “a type facsimile” of the 1754 catalogue as an appendix to his edition of the Dicey Marshall Catalogue (1764). See: <<http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>50</sup>See Duggan (2016) “*The Royal Pastime of Cupid*” p. 220.

The Diceys entered into a partnership with Richard Marshall (fl. 1763–1779) in 1754, and Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall establish a second press in Aldermary Churchyard, about 100 yards from Bow Churchyard. A second catalogue, dated 1764, is issued by Cluer Dicey and Richard Marshall from Aldermary Churchyard, containing the same two games.<sup>51</sup> As in the 1754 catalogue, the games are still numbered as items 90 and 91 respectively in the “Mixed Fancies” section, although this section has moved as a result of changes made to the Dicey stock over the course of the previous decade.<sup>52</sup> However, as the Dicey business is concerned with cheap prints at the bottom end of the market rather than with fine art prints or the latest trends, their stock might be thought more likely to follow than lead developments. Simmons, however, finds elements of innovation in both stock and catalogue.<sup>53</sup>

The “ss” spelling of “passtime” on the print, together with the early “William Dicey” imprint, suggest that the Dicey print of the *Royal Passtime of Cupid* may pre-date the 1754 catalogue (both 1754 and 1764 editions of the Dicey catalogue use the spelling “Pastime”).

The earliest reference to a British-published edition of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* appears as an item listed in a single-page catalogue dated “ca. 1697”, appended to *Albert Durer Revived* (Wing A875FA), a drawing manual issued for “John Garrett, at his shop as you go up the stairs of the Royal Exchange in Cornhill”. Among the thirty-seven items listed in Garrett’s catalogue is “A new and most pleasant Game of the Snake, printed on a Royal Sheet of Paper, with Directions”.

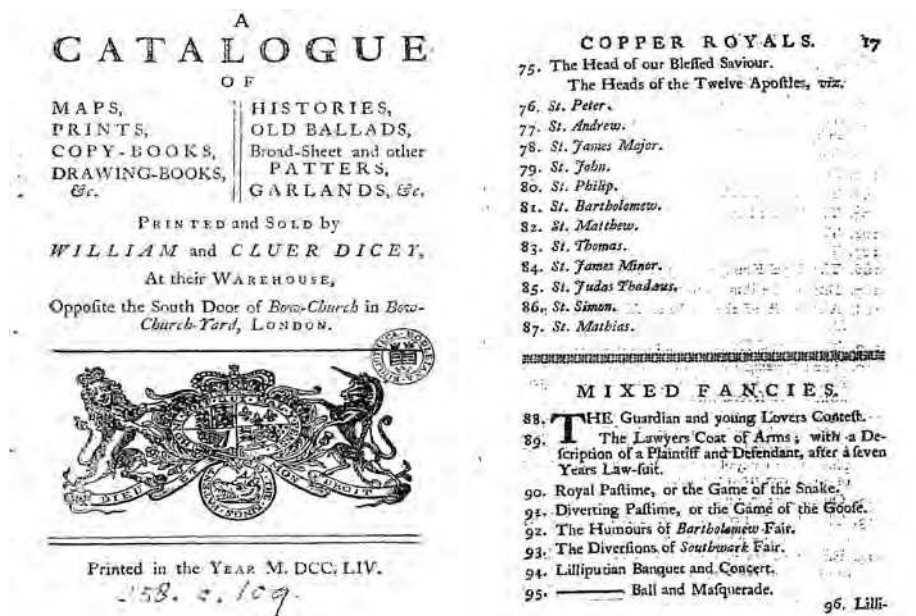
Three examples of John Garrett (fl. 1665–1720) prints of the Cupid game are known. One, dated “ca. 1750” is reproduced in Whitehouse (1951).<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Simmons, R. C., ed. (n. d.) *The Dicey and Marshall Catalogue* (London 1764) Available online: <<http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>52</sup>One new item, A Curious Map of the World, is included as item #1 on p. 6 of the 1764 catalogue and a new section, listing nine items, mainly prospects of views on a single sheet of Elephant paper, has been inserted on p. 7. Some thirty new prints are listed on pp. 9–11, adding two additional pages to this part of the catalogue, and displacing Mixed Fancies on Royal sheets from p. 17 in the 1754 catalogue to p. 19 in the 1764 edition. (An “Elephant” sheet is 23 x 28 in (584 x 711 mm) while a “Royal” is 19 x 24 in (482 x 609 mm)).

<sup>53</sup>See Simmons (n.d.) “The Dicey and Marshall Catalogue”. Available online: <<http://diceyandmarshall.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/intro2.htm>>. Date of access: 27 June 2019.

<sup>54</sup>Whitehouse, F. R. B. (1951) *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days*. London. Peter Garnett. Plate facing p. 60. Whitehouse, who was also Chairman and Managing Director of the Chad Valley toy company, was awarded a CBE in 1955. Some Chad Valley documents are in Birmingham Archives, but the current whereabouts of Whitehouse’s



**Figure 22:** Pages from William and Cluer Dicey (1754) *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Copy-Books, Drawing &c.* Printed and Sold by William and Cluer Dicey at their Warehouse, Opposite the South Door of Bow-Church in Bow-Church-Yard, London. ESTC T188172. Title page (left) and p. 17 ("Copper Royal Sheet Prints: Mixed Fancies") showing items 90 and 91: "Royal Pastime, or the Game of the Snake" and "Diverting Pastime or the Game of the Goose. English Short Title Catalogue <<http://estc.bl.uk/T188172>>.

While Whitehouse identifies similarities between *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* and *The Game of the Goose* (he also reproduces a “portrait roundels” edition of a Goose game, published by Henry Overton), his estimated date of production of “ca 1750” for both is a little later than both Henry Overton and John Garrett’s period of activity. Henry Overton took over the White Horse without Newgate after John Overton retired in 1713 and was active until his death in 1751. John Garrett, a friend of Henry Overton’s father, John Overton—indeed, John Overton married Garrett’s sister Sara in 1677—took over Thomas Jenner’s business in The Royal Exchange “about 1676”, according to Sarah Tyacke.<sup>55</sup> Garrett’s last advertisement appears in the *Daily Courant* in 1718; an advertisement in the *Daily Post* shows Thomas Glass is trading from the same Royal Exchange address in 1720 (Tyacke 1978, p. 114). John Garrett’s edition of *The Royal Pastime of Cupid* must, therefore, have been published between c. 1676–1720.

Two single page catalogues are associated with Garrett, both are appended to *Albert Durer Revived*. One (not seen) is dated 1718, the other (Wing A875FA) is dated “ca. 1697”. The catalogue includes “A new and most pleasant Game of the Snake, printed on a Royal Sheet of Paper, with Directions”. We might, therefore, use “ca. 1697” as a reasonably secure date for Garrett’s edition.

Another copy of John Garrett’s Cupid, dated 1690–1700, is in the George Clarke Print Collection, housed in the library of Worcester College Oxford (Fig 23). The library was built to house the books, MSS, prints and drawings Clarke bequeathed to the college. George Clarke (1661–1736), described as a “politician and architect” in his DNB entry has a notable print collection because it has been kept in its original form of organisation, primarily in bound volumes and arranged by subject: architecture, portraiture and painting.<sup>56</sup>

While George Clarke’s print collection was assembled with a functional purpose, to support his architectural work, the scope is broad. The collection comprises some eight thousand prints and more than sixty volumes. In addition to architectural and fine art prints, Clarke also collected popular

personal papers – and print collection – is unknown.

<sup>55</sup>Tyacke, S. (1978) *London Map-Sellers, 1660–1720: A collection of advertisements for maps placed in the London Gazette, 1668–1719, with biographical notes on the map sellers*. Tring. Map Collector Publications. p. 114.

<sup>56</sup>Clayton, T. (2004) “George Clarke (1661–1736)” Oxford DNB. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5496>> (Log-in required). The George Clarke Print Collection has a dedicated website and catalogue: <<http://prints.worc.ox.ac.uk/>>. See further: Clayton, T. (1992) “The Print Collection of George Clarke at Worcester College, Oxford”. *Print Quarterly* 9 (2) pp. 123–141.



**Figure 23:** *The Royal Pass-tyme of Cupid*. John Garrett 1690–1700. George Clarke Print Collection, Worcester College Oxford. Folder 6: 001. Print ID 2643. Reproduced with the permission of The Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, Oxford.

works, including satirical prints by Hogarth, and ephemera such as Bubble Cards and the Cupid game. The George Clarke Print Collection was catalogued by Tim Clayton and Ben Thomas. The date assigned to the Cupid print is an estimate based on when Garrett was known to be active.<sup>57</sup> As such, it may be considered a reasonably secure date.

The third known copy of the Garrett edition is in another collector's assemblage, The Bute Broadside Collection. The Bute Broadside Collection, named for the Third Marquess of Bute, John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (1847–1900) comprise some 500 prints bound in five volumes. Crichton Stuart is described in his Oxford DNB entry as a “civic benefactor and patron of architecture”.<sup>58</sup>

Once in the possession of the British Museum, the Bute Broadside Collection was sold to Harvard University for £2,500 in 1951. However, part of the sale arrangement required the provision of a microfilm copy of the broadside collection, which readers at the British Library may still consult.

Hugh Amory, in his introduction to Bute broadsides in the Houghton

<sup>57</sup> Personal correspondence with Tim Clayton.

<sup>58</sup> Reynolds, K. D. (2004) “Stuart, John Patrick Crichton-, third marquess of Bute (1847–1900)” Oxford DNB. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26722>> (Log-in required).



Library, observes:

In its present form, the collection is variously mounted or inlaid in five large (66 cm.) portfolios, bound in three-quarter green morocco and marbled boards. [...]

[M]ost of the "B" section from 1685–1720 derives from the library of Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732), who has annotated each item in his characteristic fashion, giving (usually) the price he paid, the day, month and year of publication and (occasionally) a well-informed comment on the author or political viewpoint (Amory, 1981).<sup>59</sup>

Narcissus Luttrell (1657–1732) is primarily remembered as a book collector and annalist, and for his parliamentary diary. He also served as a Justice of the Peace in Middlesex, and as MP for two different Cornish seats (1679–1680 and 1690–1695).<sup>60</sup> His book collection is of interest as Luttrell had a habit of making a note of the date of purchase and the price paid. His annotations on his copy of *The Royall Pass-Tyme of Cupid* shows he paid 6d in 1690. (Fig. 24). Luttrell's date can be considered reliable and, as it pre-dates the estimated publication of Garrett's catalogue "ca. 1697" and, although Garrett may have continued press fresh copies until he ceased trading from "his shop next ye stayres of ye Royall Exchange at Cornhill" in 1718 or 1720, it also serves to identify this particular impression as the earliest example of a British-published edition of the Cupid game.

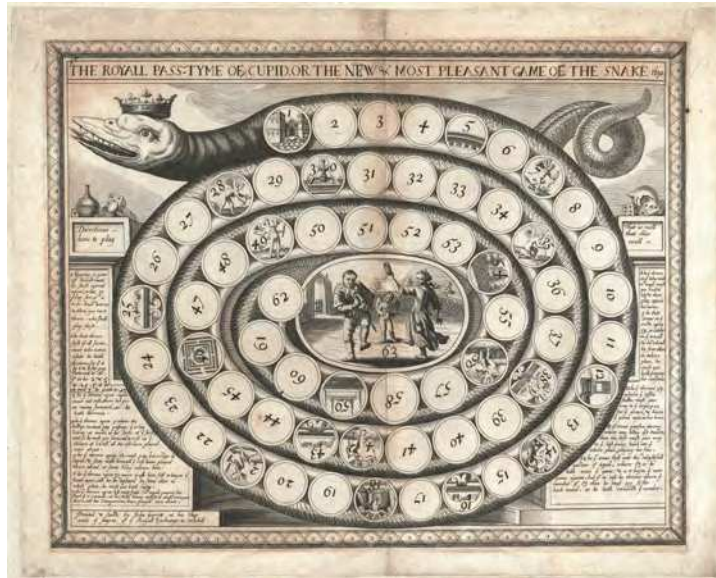
## Conclusion

The peasant dance motif used in the earliest examples of British-published editions of the Cupid game shows a dancing couple, placed in a *hortus conclusus*, apparently serenaded by Cupid playing on a fiddle. However, closer scrutiny will reveal Cupid's fiddle and bow are actually a grid-iron and a pair of tongs (Fig. 25). Cupid is not playing a jig while the couple dance but is, in fact, humiliating them with "rough music".

<sup>59</sup>Amory's introduction is available online: <<http://microformguides.gale.com/Data/Introductions/30100FM.htm>>. Date of access: 9 August 2019.

<sup>60</sup>Horwitz, H. (2004) "Luttrell, Narcissus (1657–1732)" Oxford DNB. Available online: <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17226>> (Log-in required). Luttrell's library was dispersed after his death and, as Horwitz notes, material is now distributed across several libraries (British Library, All Souls Library, Yale Library) and some items sold at auction are held in private collections.





**Figure 24:** *The Royall Pass-Tyme of Cupid or the New & Most Pleasant Game of the Snake.* John Garrett. 1690 . 420 x 510 mm. Bute Broadside Collection (B 73). EB65 A100 B675b v.3 , Houghton Library, Harvard University. Luttrell's annotations ("6d" and "1690") appear on either side of the title.



**Figure 25:** Detail: *The Royall Pass-tyme of Cupid.* John Garrett, 1690. Bute Broadside Collection (B 73). EB65 A100 B675b v.3. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Cupid performs rough music, although the peasant couple here do not provide the same visual justification for the serenade as Visscher's couple.

The peasant dance type as the central motif in *The Royal Passtime of Cupid* appears to have its origins in Claes Jansz. Visscher's print, *Het Nieuw Slange Spel, anders genaemt Koninclycke Tytkorting van Cupido*, published in Amsterdam c. 1620–1640<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 26). Adrian Seville describes Visscher's Cupid print as “the definitive Dutch version” (Seville 2019, p. 248), adding that, while Visscher's Dutch language rules are essentially the same as those in the French and Spanish language editions, the Dutch issue “omits all reference to the numerology and symbolism. It seems likely therefore that Visscher's is not the original version of the game” (Seville 2019, p. 249).

Thierry Depaulis notes that the Visscher design has been influential in other Dutch editions, observing that Buijnsters and Buijnsters-Smets (2005) “record six later Cupido games, all deriving from the Visscher copy, all with the same title” (Depaulis 2012, p. 86).<sup>62</sup>

Both Leeserg and Seville refer to Cupid playing music in the central design of Visscher's print. Seville describes Cupid as “providing musical accompaniment” (Seville 2019, p. 249) while Leesberg identifies his instruments as kitchen implements, describing Cupid as “making music with some crude kitchen tools” (Leesberg 2015, p. 39). Neither, however, identifies Cupid's mock serenade as rough music.

The ritual of “rough music” or charivari was practised across Europe in the Early Modern period, and constitutes a carnivalesque form of public shaming. Peter Burke describes charivari as:

[A] ‘public defamation’, more especially an infamous (or infaming) ballad, sung, by an armed troop, under the window of an old dotard, married, the day before, unto a young wanton, in mockery of them both’. It was normally accomplished by ‘rough music’ (German Katzenmusik, Dutch ketelmusik), such as the beating of pots and pans; in other words, it was a mock serenade [...] It was not only the old man married to the young woman (or vice versa) who might be the object of the charivari, but anyone marrying for the second time, or a girl marrying outside the village, or a husband who was beaten or made a cuckold

<sup>61</sup>On the publication date of Visscher's edition, see Note 13.

<sup>62</sup>Seven items are listed as “present” (“aanzeweg”) by Buijnsters and Buijnsters-Smets (2005, pp. 109–110). Of these, four are in the Rijksmuseum, one in the OpenAir Museum, Arnhem, one in the Huis van Gijn, Dordrecht and one in the Atlas van Stolk Collection, although the current status of the latter two items could not be confirmed by this author. Another example of *Slange spel*, apparently acquired at auction in 1987, is in the Buijnsters-Smits collection.



**Figure 26:** *Het Nieuw Slange Spel, anders genaemt Konincklycke Tytkorting van Cupido*. Board game. Engraving printed on paper. 345 x 438 mm. Claes Jansz. Visscher (publisher). Amsterdam. c. 1625. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Object number: RP-P-OB-77.369. Available online: <<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.421322>>.

by his wife.<sup>63</sup>

E. P. Thompson observes “‘Rough music is a term which has generally been used in England since the end of the seventeenth century to denote a rude cacophony, with or without more elaborate ritual, which usually directed mockery or hostility against individuals who offended against certain community norms’.”<sup>64</sup> Violet Alford identifies three main justifications for rough music:

- Remarriage of a widow or widower, especially when there is a marked difference in ages.
- The beating of a man by his wife.
- Adultery on the part of the wife.

Other reasons include loose conduct and marriage with a foreigner or outsider.<sup>65</sup> Rough music and its associated practices are certainly older

<sup>63</sup>Burke, P. (1978) *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London. Temple Smith. p. 198.

<sup>64</sup>Thompson, E. P. (1992) “Rough Music Reconsidered”. *Folklore* 103 (1) pp. 3–26 (3).

<sup>65</sup>Alford, V. (1959) “Rough Music or Charivari?” *Folklore* 70 (6) pp. 505–518 (506–507).

than the C17th usage of the term noted by E. P. Thompson. Examples of miscreants being shamed or humiliated by, for example, being put backwards on a donkey, or by being carried on a pole, sometimes referred to in England as a “skimmington” or “stang” ride, can be found in numerous examples in art and literature. For example, print 7 in William Hogarth’s *Hudibras* series, “Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington” (1725–1726) a couple are set on a horse (the husband backwards) while an assembled mob taunts them as rough music is performed on a cow horn, bagpipes and a cauldron.<sup>66</sup> Another example can be seen in the carving of a man riding backwards on a horse on a mid-C14th misericord in Wells Cathedral.<sup>67</sup>

Violet Alford suggests the practice of charivari was enacted in ancient times, citing examples from C1st BC, and a passage from Plutarch’s *Moralia*, as well as numerous accounts of the practice from across Europe in medieval, early modern and modern periods (Alford 1959). *Charivari*, or rough music, and its associated practices, concerned with regulating sexual behaviour, marital relations and morality, constitutes a popular cultural form with the deepest of roots.

It is not surprising to find Visscher’s Cupid copied by English print sellers.<sup>68</sup> Seville remarks “The close political, cultural and trading links between England and Holland meant printed images were often crossing the channel” (Seville 2019, p. 241). Seville identifies Holland, and Amsterdam in particular, as a centre in European book and print trade (Seville 2019, p. 241). Tim Clayton discusses the popularity and ready availability of European prints in Britain in the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the auction became a popular means of buying and selling prints, for both those in the print trade and for individual purchasers.<sup>69</sup> Clayton also remarks that prints tended to be cheaper in Europe, supporting an international trade for dealers who travelled to buy prints for resale, as well as in the form of copies of continental prints. Susanna Fisher tells us Mary Overton, widow of Philip Overton, was left with “a healthy business ... a good collection of copper plates and a valuable network of contacts at home

<sup>66</sup>See, for example, the high quality zoomable image of “Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington” provided by the Metropolitan Museum of Art: <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/401171>>.

<sup>67</sup>See: Wells 3.2 <<http://www.misericords.co.uk/wells.html>>. Date of access: Sept 2019.

<sup>68</sup>While the British peasant-dance type prints would appear to be copies of Visscher’s design, Seville offers a more cautious “Visscher’s game is *probably* the source for the English versions” (Seville 2019, p. 250) [my emphasis].

<sup>69</sup>Clayton, T. (1997) *The English Print: 1688–1802*. London. Yale University Press.

and abroad” (Fisher 2001, p. 48).<sup>70</sup> Clayton identifies the Overtons and the Bowles, amongst others, as offering cheap plagiarised prints, citing in particular Henry Overton’s 1717 catalogue and the 1720 and 1731 catalogues of Thomas Bowles and John Bowles respectively, all of which emphasise their imported stock items, as well as offering copies. “These prints, sold much more cheaply than the genuine article, increased the circulation of foreign images vastly” (Clayton 1997, p. 36).

The themes of love, marriage and cuckoldry are well represented in popular prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, as Malcolm Jones demonstrates in *The Print in Early Modern England*, “many Dutch engravings [are] known to have been circulating in England” (Jones 2010, p. 316).<sup>71</sup> The motif of the grid iron and tongs, as wielded by Cupid in Visscher’s print, is also seen in *The Fumblers Club*. The print is known from the mid-seventeenth century and several eighteenth century examples survive (see Jones 2010, pp. 348–352) including a print by John Bowles, the caption of which begins: “Swell bagpipe, strike up Tongs and Gridiron play” while a maid, attending a nurse holding a cat in swaddling wraps, drags a spoon across a gridiron.<sup>72</sup>

Thus we can locate Visscher’s design, with Cupid performing rough music, and the later instances of the same design in Dutch and English prints, within a shared cultural heritage of visual and literary arts, and in cultural practises. While the Overtons and Bowles drew attention to their imported stock items, so too had the previous generation of print-sellers in London print trade. As Malcom Jones observes, “Flemish influence on the arts in Britain has a veritable pedigree [one pertinent example being John Garrett’s predecessor at The Royal Exchange,] Thomas Jenner, advertising that he has “Dutch prints” for sale in his catalogue of 1662” (Jones 2010, p. 385).

Thierry Depaulis sees a similarity between the central scene in Visscher’s

<sup>70</sup>Fisher also reports Robert Sayer, brother of Mary Overton’s second husband, and his friend and associate, map publisher Thomas Jefferys, travelled to Paris to sell maps and prints in 1768, exemplifying the two-way trade network. She adds the expedition is recorded in the Parisian police annals because Jefferys and Sayer were arrested for selling obscene prints which were seized from the hotel where they traded (p. 51).

Sarah Tyake notes that George Vertue refers to John Overton and John Garrett visiting France together (Tyake 1978, p. 114).

<sup>71</sup>•

<sup>72</sup>An example of Bowles’s edition of *The Fumbler Club* (c. 1725–1766) in the Library of Congress can be seen here: <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2005694897/>>; cf Jean le Blond, *l’Education du Matou* (l. C16) BNF <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84340004>>. Date of access: Sept 2019. The wider currency of the idea across art forms is further attested in the phrase “Bagpipe, Tongs and Gridiron, Cat-calls and loud sounding Cymballs”, as used by Sir Credulous Easy in Aphra Benn’s *Sir Patient Fancy* li (1678).

design and a painting by Pieter Breugel the Elder, “The Dance of the Bride (1561)” [sic], suggesting the central scene “may rather have been inspired by an engraving of the painting by Pieter van der Heyden” (Depaulis 2012, p. 86).<sup>73</sup> While there are broad similarities between van der Hayden’s engraving, *The Peasant Wedding Dance* (Fig. 27) and Breugel’s *The Wedding Dance* (1566), at least in terms of subject matter, there are also significant differences. Van der Hayden (1530–1572), working after the death of both his publisher, Hieronymus Cock (1518–1570) and Breugel the Elder (c. 1525–1569), did not follow Breugel’s composition particularly closely, especially in terms of the background of the scene.<sup>74</sup>

The peasant couple in Visscher’s print are similarly attired to the guests in Van der Heyden’s group, and the postures and dance moves of Visscher’s couple are not too dissimilar from the couples in Van der Hayden’s foreground. The facial profile and dance step of Visscher’s hag are reminiscent of the profile and foot position of the woman holding hands with her partner in the central couple. While Van der Hayden’s scene shows guests bringing presents for the couple, one detail is particularly striking: one guest enters the scene (rear, right) holding aloft a grid-iron and tongs, evoking the rough music of Cupid’s serenade in the Visscher print (Fig. 26) as she approaches the pregnant bride amid a raucous-looking crowd, the raised gifts and jugs, and the musical instruments in the foreground, not dissimilar to the assorted objects carried by the riotous crowd performing rough music in Hogarth’s print, *Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington* (1725–1768).<sup>75</sup>

Claes Jansz. Visscher’s edition of the Cupid game introduces two significant modifications to the design used by the Veuve Petit and Pieter de Jode. The first concerns layout, the second is emblematic. Leesberg attributes the repositioning of the serpent’s tail to Visscher (Leesberg 2015, p. 39). Moving the end of the tail from the centre of the design, just to the right of the central space, to the upper-right corner of the print, provides a

<sup>73</sup>There is no painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder with that title or that date. Presumably, Depaulis is referring to Breugel’s *The Wedding Dance* (1566) which was engraved as *The Peasant Wedding Dance* by Pieter van der Hayden (after 1570). See *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: drawings and prints* (2001), edited by Nadine M. Orenstein. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. pp. 248–250. Available online: <<https://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1302569>>. Date of Access: Sept. 2019.

<sup>74</sup>Orenstein suggests the Van der Hayden print “follows an intermediary work based on the [Breugel] picture”. *Ibid.* p. 250.

<sup>75</sup>Malcom Jones identifies the earliest example of the skimmington ride as a print published by Hugh Perry in a “print book” published in 1628, predating Hogarth’s *Hudibras* by a century. See Jones, M. (2010) *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight*. London. Yale University Press. pp. 340–341.





**Figure 27:** *The Peasant Wedding Dance*. Print. Engraving. 37.5 x 42.3 mm. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Breugel the Elder. Antwerp. After 1570. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933. Available online: <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/338711>>.

visual balance to the serpent's head, thereby creating a more aesthetically pleasing design. Leesberg also credits Visscher with the introduction of the peasant dance motif in the final space. The internal coherence of the emblematic elements in Visscher's central scene are significant as they provide the design with symbolic consistency.

Visscher's Cupid appears to have some justification for playing rough music as the couple are represented as a cuckold and a hag. The "hag" is evident from the facial profile of the female figure while the cuckold is apparent from the two-feathers in his hat, a symbolic representation of the cuckold's horns. While the cuckold and the hag provide a rationale for Visscher's Cupid to perform "rough music", the artists copying the design for the Dicey and the Garrett versions have neglected to provide the female figure with any overt "hag-like" features, meanwhile her male companion displays no visible symbol of cuckoldry, thereby removing the justification for Cupid's cacophonous serenade.

Visscher's depiction of the couple in the enclosed garden also provides an ironic and amusing counterpoint to the ostensible theme of the game. Leesberg points out that the garden of love in Visscher's print is described as "den boertigen Hoff van Cupido"—the peasant garden of Cupid: "besides

literally referring to the depicted peasants, the word *boertig* also had the connotation of farcical or ludicrous”, which would have resonated with the upmarket audience for Visscher’s print (Leesberg 2015, p. 39).

As De Jode’s edition of the Cupid game appears to copy details from its source without a full awareness of the significance—as mentioned above, Seville notes the De Jode print copies a building in space 4, a merely decorative feature, rather than a functional element (Seville 2019, p. 44)—so too the British artists appear to have overlooked or failed to understand the subtleties of pertaining to Cupid’s performance of rough music when copying or creating their own editions of this motif. Visscher, however, seems to have been fully aware of the significance of the symbolic elements, hence the coherence of his design.