Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836–1860

Over a century before Monopoly invited child players to bankrupt one another with merry ruthlessness, a lively and profitable board game industry thrived in Britain from the 1750s onward, thanks to publishers like John Wallis, John Betts, and William Spooner. As part of the new wave of materials catering to the developing mass market of child consumers, the games steadily acquainted future upper- and middle-class empire builders (even the Royal Family themselves) with the strategies of imperial rule: cultivating, trading, engaging in conflict, displaying, and competing. In their parlors, these players learned the techniques of successful colonial management by playing games such as Spooner's *A Voyage of Discovery* or Betts' *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions*. These games shaped ideologies about nation, race, and imperial duty, challenging the portrait of Britons as "absent-minded imperialists." Considered on a continuum with children's geography primers and adventure tales, these games offer a new way to historicize the Victorians, Britain, and Empire itself. The archival research conducted here illustrates the changing disciplinary landscape of children's literature/culture studies, as well as nineteenth-century imperial studies, by situating the games at the intersection of material and literary culture.

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Megan A. Norcia

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For Nicole Larose and Brian Doan, who left the game too soon.

They played all games, but especially the game of life, with distinction, heart, skill, humor, competitiveness, honor, passion, and fierce joy. On their grad school soccer team, our shirts proclaimed, “Winning is such a bourgeois paradigm!” For their subversion, their sarcastic wit, their unflagging generosity, supportiveness, and sweetness, Nicole and Brian are missed by their teammates and legions of fans.

May they be chaired through the eternal town.

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1 Introduction

Playing Well with Others in the Great Imperial Game

> I think I do not speak too strongly when I say that games, i.e., active games in the open air, are essential to a healthy existence, and that most of the qualities, if not all, that conduce to the supremacy of our country in so many quarters of the globe, are fostered, if not solely developed, by means of games.
>
> —Jane Frances Dove "Cultivation of the Body" (1898) 398

Over a century before *Monopoly* invited child players to bankrupt one another with merry ruthlessness, or *Battleship* placed hypothetical torpedoes in the hands of young people, a nineteenth-century board game industry thrived in Europe and America. Though even many scholars and historians are not aware of these games today, such playthings arose as part of the wave of literature and material culture produced to meet the demands of the newly recognized mass market of child consumers in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Historians and children's literature scholars have noted that this emergence of a profitable juvenile market was "concurrent with the rise of a middle class sufficiently leisured to undertake the 'instruction and amusement' of its children's minds, and sufficiently affluent to pay for the books that this required" (Carpenter 17). Publishers capitalized on the fact that a rising middle class was populated by parents whose "social ambition had been stirred by the growing opportunities of a new industrializing society—more and more clerical jobs were available, and more and more parents were willing to make sacrifices to secure them for their children" (Plumb 306). Indeed, this is the period during which J.H. Plumb has characterized children (and their parents) as a "sales target" (286) for books, clothing, and educational materials. As a result, Plumb even goes so far as to borrow the language of games and characterize children as "counters" in their parents' social aspirations (300).[1] Combined with the growth of the Empire and the fervor of the Industrial Revolution, the rise of the middle class created new opportunities both at home and abroad by mid-century, and the children who were best educated would be most fit to fill these positions.

Though largely unremembered today, board games were an important part of this story and played a significant role in middle-class children's educational preparation as well as their entertainment from the late eighteenth century onward. These games can be contextualized alongside other educational playthings, such as early card games, globes, and puzzles, that were in use in schools and private homes. As Michelle Beissel Heath indicates, "Late nineteenth and early twentieth century board and card games mark revealing intersections between games and play, empire and nation building, and perceptions of children, literature, and 'good' citizenship" (16). Publishers of board games, such as John Wallis and William Darton, were often already involved in selling collections of stories about dynastic and military history, travel, folk tales, natural history, and heroic feats for the juvenile market, so the foray into game production was a natural extension. In his bibliographic history of the Darton firm, Lawrence Darton acknowledges the importance assigned to visual materials such as puzzles and games in the family firm. Identifying William Darton as "primarily an engraver," Lawrence Darton notes the "prominent place" he gave to engravings, "which could either be sold as prints or mounted on wood and dissected" (xvi). As the field and the demand for board games grew and diversified, the family firms of the Wallises and Dartons were joined in the marketplace by other early game publishers, such as John Marshall and William Spooner. At mid-century, the field had expanded to include E.J. Peacock and G.F. Cruchley, J. Passmore (who acquired the Wallis stock), E. & M.A. Ogilvy, John Betts, and William Sallis, who were succeeded at late century by publishers such as George Phillip & Son.

The games produced by this range of publishers were varied in their topics, method, and scope.

Seen in the glow of the Enlightenment as educational aids to help children advance, board games taught child players about subjects ranging from history to industrial progress to moral conduct. Game themes were as whimsical as J. Passmore's *The New and Favorite game of Mother Goose and the golden egg* [c. 1840] and as troubling as John Wallis' *The new and fashionable game of the Jew* (1807), which sought to teach children mathematics by reinforcing ethnic stereotypes. Many games focused on teaching history through the framework of dynastic lines of kings and queens of England.[2] As such, they were part of the larger movement to mobilize children's play into a useful avenue of instruction. As Andrew O'Malley stipulates, "Children's games and toys reflecting the trend in instructional play proliferated in the marketplace of late eighteenth-century England" (110). Through their games, British children could go anywhere—they were invited to explore the world by scaling mountains (A.N. Myers' *The new game of the ascent of Mont Blanc*, c 1865), visiting Japan ([W.H. Bradley's] *Japanese Scenes*, 1880), or simply traversing the manufacturing districts of England and Wales closer to home.[3] In addition to covering a range of territory, the games also responded to developments in the technology of travel, depicting different modes of transport as a way to navigate the surface of the map game board, from steamboat to railway to motorcar, as the century progressed and new innovations appeared.[4]

As well as royal and natural history and a celebration of industry, games also sought to tackle the trickier territory of moral conduct. These antecedents of Hasbro's contemporary *Game of Life* (created by Milton Bradley in the 1860s and reimagined in the 1960s) include the original John Wallis and E. Newbery's *The [New] Game of Human Life* (1790) in which players could travel the life of a man from Infancy through the Prime of Life and into Decrepitude and Dotage at age 84. The game invites parents to help their children contrast "the happiness of a virtuous and well spent life with the fatal consequences arising from vicious and immoral pursuits" (*The [New] Game of Human Life*). Moral games generally depicted the consequences of both virtuous and vicious choices.[5] The overdetermined morality in the games was necessary to throw off the association with gambling games. Another way they distinguished themselves was through use of a teetotum spinner, rather than the traditional dice. This nominal change was not enough, however, to placate Maria Edgeworth and her father, Richard, whose *Practical Education* (1801) counseled against the evils of gaming in the nursery. They advised that "games of chance, we think should be avoided, as they tend to give a taste for gambling; a passion which has been the ruin of so many young men of promising talents, of so many once happy families" (Edgeworth 53–54). Other educational authorities, writers, and parents diverged from the Edgeworths in this regard, seeing the opportunity for moral and educational instruction in the games.

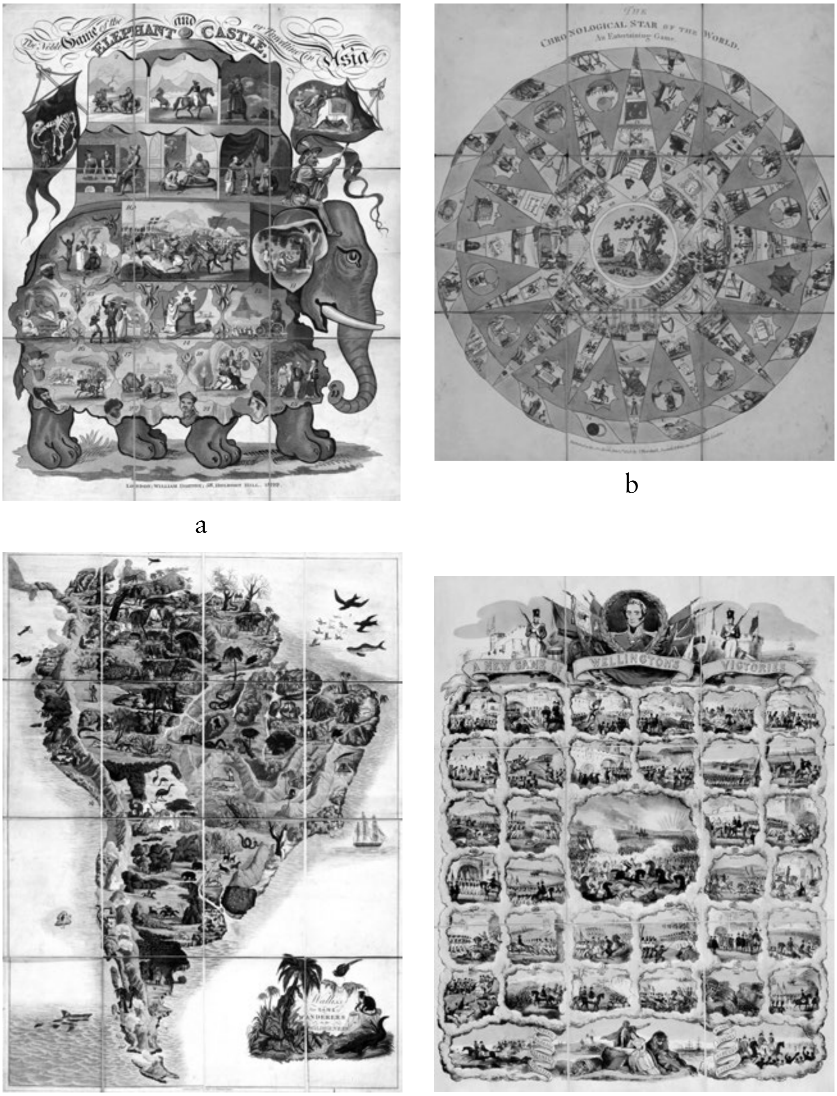
In his study of nineteenth-century curricula, David Vincent offers the example of Jane Johnson's homemade nursery library in support of the contention that "adults from a wide range of backgrounds had for centuries accepted a responsibility for instruction in basic literacy, and continued to play a role alongside the growth of state-funded and controlled education" (164). The nursery library includes what we would identify today as flash cards and games, learning aids that reinforce literacy and memorization of Bible verses through play.[6] Moving into the nineteenth century, a more explicit endorsement of board games appears in Lydia Child's *The Little Girl's Own Book* [1832]. Recommending play with board or table games, Child cites John Wallis' *Mirror of Truth* in particular and argues that "few presents for children are more attractive or useful" (78). Child's characterization of games as both "attractive" and "useful" clarifies that games were serious business, designed to mobilize leisure time for rational purposes. In an undated game book from this period, the anonymous author of *New and Original Book of Forfeits* contends that "this little volume is intended not only to provide mirth for

Youthful Parties, when assembled on a birthday or Holiday; but also to improve young Ladies and Gentlemen in Orthography, Grammar, History, Natural History, Geography, Elocution, Poetry, &c." ([A Lady] 1). As this evidence suggests, writers and parents alike regarded games as another possible means, in addition to books of geography and tales of faraway places, to further children's instruction in imperial culture.

As visual texts, these games represent to players the "shape" of history, using that shape to contain and showcase a narrative of British imperial progress and greatness in much the same way the Crystal Palace did with real artifacts. [Figure 1.1 (a)–(d)**: four examples of games**] The selection of a visual to contain the shape of history is significant, and game makers adopted a wide range of styles and setups. William Darton's games took the form of an elephant, dolphin, and swan.^{7} Other games utilize a straightforward table approach, such as E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *The New Game of Wellington's Victories*, with his battles arranged in tidily sequenced boxes. William Sallis' *Amusement in English History* (ca. 1840) also features an ordered table with 40 cells filled with portraits of British kings and queens; the organized tabulation conveys a tidy, infinite succession. Others were more idiosyncratic, like John Marshall's *Chronological Star of the World*, which distributed historical events across the branches of a 16-pointed star and related emblems, placing Britannia in a place of honor at the center. Many games took a more straightforward, cartographic approach, as discussed in the next section, as did John Wallis in his games. His son Edward, who took over the family firm, adopted these cartographic outlines for his *Wanderers in the Wilderness* [c. 1844], filling them in with mountains, figures, and fierce animals to create a more three-dimensional space for colonization and adventure. Whatever shape it took, the imperial project could be promoted through various gamed structures.

Holding the Line: The Shared Genealogy of Maps, Geographic Board Games, and the Middle Class

The utility of games as a means of instruction, especially about imperial matters, is fulfilled by one of the oldest and most popular genres: the geographic board game. Interest in geography was quite timely since Andrew O'Malley notes that geographic knowledge, "specifically of the raw materials, resources, and agricultural conditions of a given country, was of increasing importance at a time of colonial expansion and broadening international commerce" (108). Often produced from the same plates as maps for adults, these early cartographic texts appeared at first without embellishment. The oldest surviving English geography game, *A journey through Europe, or the play of geography* (1759), was designed by writing master and king's geographer John Jefferys and published by Carrington Bowles. Geographic board games such as Jefferys' were simply


The Noble Game of the Elephant and Castle or Travelling in Asia
The Chronological Star of the World
An Entertaining Game
A New Game of Wellington's Victories
Wallis's New Game of Wanderers in the Wilderness

a b

c d

Figure 1.1 (a) William Darton's *The Noble Game of the Elephant and Castle; or Travelling in Asia* (1822); (b) John Marshall's *Chronological Star of the World* (1818); (c) Edward Wallis' *Wanderers in the Wilderness* (1844); and (d) E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *New Game of Wellington's Victories*

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maps with embedded tracks appearing on their surface directing the journeys of players.[8] They were designed to facilitate visual learning experiences through play, thus following John Locke's pedagogical imperative in his *Some Thoughts Concerning the Education of Children* (1693) that "learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation, or as a reward for doing something else" (109–110). Though adults had played board games like chess, checkers, and the *Game of Goose* for centuries, adapting these for children's educational use came about with the eighteenth-century recognition of the needs of this new child market.[9]

Gillian Hill discusses how "[t]he move of the race-game from the inn to the family fireside was taking place in a context of changing attitudes to education. People were beginning to realize that although children had to be educated, there was no reason why learning should be tedious, and that children might even absorb information more readily if lessons were made enjoyable" (10). Families could enjoy these newly respectable gaming pastimes in humble parlors and even in grand palaces. In her journal, Queen Victoria described an evening spent assembling dissected pictures with Lord Melbourne and Lord Conyngham as "the pleasantest gayest evening I have passed for some time. I sat up until ½ past 11" (qtd in Hannas' *The Jigsaw Book* 12). Victoria's anecdote acknowledges that adults could have been an audience for games, especially satirical ones like Spooner's *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition*, or at the very least, they could, and probably did, play them with their children.[10] Publishers, it would seem, were taking up Locke's call to games, and educators and parents were answering. The result was a wave of educational games. Historian R.C. Bell affirms that such "children must have learnt much without realizing it—countries, rivers, towns, industries and peoples were all absorbed painlessly by candlelight in the evening around the nursery fire" (18).[11]

Since board games were born in the same workshop as the maps produced by the king's geographer, and indeed the early games were simply map texts, these cartographic resonances are significant. Postcolonial scholars and geographers have done important work in the latter half of the twentieth century and first decade of the twenty-first century in tracing the ways in which the map has played a significant role. The study of maps allows scholars to track the growth of imperialism and to promote sociocultural ideologies about what it means to rule and be ruled. Maps do more, in other words, than note the placement of mountains, the length of sea coasts, or the location of cities. Edward Said puts it most succinctly: "The great geographical synthesizers offered technical explanations for ready political actualities. Europe *did* command the world; the imperial map *did* license the cultural vision" (*Culture and Imperialism* 48). Maps promote forms of power and knowledge, and further study of these texts has revealed that they transmit ideology, beliefs, and practices along with technical information. As such, "'text' is certainly a better metaphor for maps than the mirror of nature. Maps are a cultural text: not one code but a collection of codes" (Harley 238). The games promote, and invite children to rehearse, imperial ideology through recreative and recreational play on the surface of the map.

By the early nineteenth century, these games had changed from simple maps to highly embellished artistic representations of countries, commodities, and animals, accompanied by detailed rule books containing directions, but also lengthy descriptions about the territory where the child's marker landed. The game boards were hand-colored sheets "printed from a copperplate (later steel engraving or lithography)" (Shefrin 8). After printing, the sheets were then cut into squares and pasted onto linen cloth for easy folding and storage, often in an accompanying gold-lettered box approximately the size and width of a children's book. The intricate detail and careful craftsmanship involved in manufacturing these games suggest that they, like the books they may have reposed next to on a bedroom shelf, were reference materials designed to illustrate important lessons.[12] Yet the increasingly visual nature of the games, which moved from unembellished maps to representational maps whose outlines were filled in with shrubbery, animals, grappling human figures, or scenes of work and industry, suggests that they were growing away from strict, unembellished cartographic roots and becoming increasingly specialized.

The production of board games for children continued to grow in popularity (and profit) during the long nineteenth century, a significant period of time also for the formation of British national identity. Linda Colley identifies the period from 1707–1837 as a particularly important watershed moment. Following the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, "the governing elite would also work to strengthen its position at home, reconstructing its authority, image and ideas, and [. . .] devoting far more attention than before to questions of Britishness" (Colley 145). Games produced in this period and through mid-century often mark important political and social events, including the American Revolution, Captain Cook's voyages, the Battle of Waterloo, Victoria's accession to the throne, the Morant Bay Rebellion, the Great Exhibition of 1851, and ongoing imperial activities, such as mining for gold and diamonds in Africa and Australia. Many of the games produced in the later Victorian period focused on imperial policy and ably facilitated imperial consciousness in the children who would grow to be stewards of the Empire, players of what Kipling would later dub the "Great Game."

Over the course of the long nineteenth century, the meaning of "empire" shifted as it related to merchants, missionaries, soldiers, sailors, schoolboys, sweethearts, and civil servants. It had a different resonance for an Irish woman whose family was suffering during *An Gorta Mór* (the

Great Hunger), for a child laborer in a cotton mill in Manchester, for an Indian soldier training in Bombay, for a zealous missionary like Charlotte Bronte's St. John Rivers, for an African man released from slavery and making a new life in the British colony in Sierra Leone, or for an MP evaluating the merits of a scheme such as the Suez Canal. During the Napoleonic Wars, the term could suggest the overweening territorial greed of a leader like Napoleon, cast as a tyrant; yet later in the century at the Great Exhibition, "empire" could be used to identify the collection of nations whose arts, manufacturing, and trade Britain sought benevolently to foster. At the end of the century, the term could be used to identify the disinterested "white man's burden," Rudyard Kipling's designation for the self-identified duty to bring religion, culture, and laws to peoples around the world. As I am using the terms, "empire" and "imperialism" refer to the ideological or imaginative motivating force driving "colonialism," which designates the systemic apparatus that functioned to carry out the daily administrative tasks of trade, law, governance, curriculum, worship, and cultural expressions. Imperialism refers to the imaginative thrust of envisioning faraway places where one could explore, earn personal and national glory, riches, converts, or adventures; colonialism, on the other hand, refers to the more mundane process of bureaucracy that followed laying claim to other places and then purporting to rule, harvest, tax, convert, educate, and reshape these places under the larger British *imperium*. They are mutually informing and deliberately constitutive. I prize apart Edward Said's broader definition of imperialism: "Imperialism, as we shall see, lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices" (*Culture and Imperialism* 9). As I am using it, imperialism is about culture and ideology, whereas colonialism is about practical skills and specific tasks. As the subsequent chapters will make clear, the games address both. Games presented future imperial actors with the chance to improve their knowledge of imperial geography as well as to hone the skills necessary for occupying positions of power within its administrative system.

The economic status of these game players can be identified with a good degree of certainty given their cost. For working-class families, these games would have been out of their price range, particularly during the difficult economic periods in the first half of the century, during the Napoleonic Wars and through what Arthur Taylor calls "the great trough which touched its deepest point in 1841–2" (xlv). Though reconstructing a standard of living for working-class families during the Industrial Revolution has been a source of lively debate among economic historians, looking at wages and game prices allows us to draw some conclusions.[13] E.J. Hobsbawm notes that in Liverpool in 1842, over a third of the families in the Vauxhall Ward "had an income of less than five shillings a week, indeed most of them had not visible income at all. In this ward, total earnings had halved since 1835" (71). A working-class family living and working in Manchester and Leeds in the 1830s and 1840s could anticipate spending 2–4s a week on housing, and the average agricultural wage in 1837 was 10s 4d, rising to 11s 7d by 1860 (Burnett 250, 278). This meant that a game selling for 7s, such as William Spooner's *Voyage of Discovery* (1836) or E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *Columbia: Land of the West* [c. 1850–1860], sold in different formats for 5–7s, would have been more than half of a family's weekly budget and likely out of reach for the 80% of the population earning a working-class wage.[14]

Within this broad group, there is of course room for fluctuation and exceptions due to a number of variables. Over the period from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the Great Exhibition in 1851, there was a variation in real wages, prices, taxes, and differences by region and urban or suburban environments. As well, industrialization meant that the handloom weavers who were making a princely income earlier in the century saw a dramatic change once power looms came into usage.[15] In general, however, these numbers suggest the pattern that the games would have been beyond the economic range for a working-class family for whom food was "the major item of working-class expenditure," comprising at least half of a working-class family's household's income (Taylor xxxiv). In a yearly budget of £250, for example, the cost of food works out to 8s 6d per person on a weekly basis (Burnett 237). As well, the children of working-class families would likely have been laboring in the fields beside their parents, helping with domestic labor, and in urban centers these children may have been working in factories, hawking goods, or sweeping chimneys.[16] The first child labor legislation appeared in the 1840s, with more in the 1860s and 1870s, to correct the situation in the manufacturing districts, where Arthur L. Hayward observed that "little boys and girls of seven years worked from five in the morning to eight o'clock at night" (106). There were fewer games for these children than for their middle- and upper-class counterparts, with their well-stocked nurseries overseen by nurses and governesses.[17]

The rise of this small but powerful middle class is one of the clear outcomes economic historians identify following the Industrial Revolution. Though the debate over the effects of the Industrial Revolution on the working classes is both "most interesting and most inconclusive" (Hartwell 93),[18] the effect on the middle classes seems to have been positive and rapid. By 1860, John Burnett estimates that the number of clerks had doubled and would double again in the following decade (193). The kinds of skills this rising class needed were cultivated when they were children in the first half of the century: literacy, arithmetic, and an acquaintance with geography and history as they related to a sense of national progress and prosperity. These could equip a young man for his future occupation. Burnett asserts that a new class of merchants, bankers, insurance agents, engineers, and industrialists had been "called to power—economic, political, and ultimately, social" (194). Within this group, middle-class children played an important role in developing consumer markets. Contending that young people "helped write the text of consumerism" (4), Dennis Denisoff situates nineteenth-century children in three ways: as existing within a consumer context, as participating in it by clamoring for toys and driving market production, and through their play embodying middle-class prosperity and "consumerism's newborn blisses" (10). Teresa Michals concurs that "in treating their children as occasions for conspicuous consumption, parents also taught their children a new set of relations to consumer culture" (32). Children's toys not only advertised the prosperity of the good middle-class home but also offered these children the opportunity to establish themselves as consumers. The placement of educational games on a nursery bookshelf fulfilled a similar function to John Berger's reading of oil paintings in prior centuries as "a celebration of private property. As an art-form it derived from the principle that *you are what you have*" (139). For middle-class children, they had the whole world, neatly folded on linen squares and tucked in between their volumes of adventure tales and imperial geographies on their bookshelves.

Armed with their buying power and market reach, the middle class's "standards and values became the accepted norms," and their "opinions and action shaped public policy at home and in the Empire" (Burnett 194). They were a comparatively small group—only about 20% of the whole population—but their purchasing power and aspirations made them an ideal audience for the games. Burnett points out the conditions suitable for the marketing of "scores of indoor games" to a class with shorter working hours and gas-lit evenings (245). Add to that a feeling of prosperity and a sense of duty to educate their children for the new job opportunities on the horizon, and this created the target consumer market for game publishers. The successful marketing of these games led to sales estimates by publishers such as John Betts, who confidently stated that the "demand for these games (which has now reached the TWELFTH THOUSAND) may be regarded as some criterion of the estimation in which they are held" (instruction book for *A Tour*). Though his claim must be regarded with a careful eye to the kind of puffery expected from a commercial publisher, there is a sound basis for taking it seriously. For publishers to survive and flourish, producing dozens of games, that 20% of the population who could afford these items must have purchased eagerly and often.

Within this opportune economic climate, middle-class children grew up to occupy important positions in the Empire as its clerks, military officers, missionaries, merchants, and administrators. As it grew during the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, the burgeoning British Empire required a steady supply of stewards who could ably manage its resources and subjects. Similar to the mechanisms through which the distribution of power could be made visible to adult audiences (e.g., maps, menageries, traveling exhibitions, censuses, botanical gardens, museums), which Benedict Anderson has marked in his work, early board games presented to children a world ripe for imperial exploitation. In traversing game boards, players could enact heroic imperial masculinity by learning and practicing strategies designed to harvest resources, discipline colonial populations, and ultimately unite the child player's desire to win the game with the larger interests of the Empire. Like literary works, these texts were no mere playthings, but sophisticated tools embedded with rich and complex narratives that offered child players models for action in the imperial sphere. These rich texts, only a handful of which have survived in archives scattered across the world, constitute a treasure trove of visual and textual resources for studying the way British children came to understand and participate in the work of empire.

Critical Interdisciplinary Approaches to Games and Gaming

Beyond library or exhibit catalogs, there is virtually no critical scholarship on these games; only a small percentage of the games have actually survived, and that group has remained largely invisible to scholars and historians in hidden collections. In the 15 years I have been studying these games, the biggest sea change has been the increasing visibility of this archive of material culture, enabling more robust searches for them. Correspondence with curators at archives and museums around the globe, the establishment of collector-based sites such as *The Games Research Database* (GARD) and *Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso* (Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Saville), digitally shared metadata on WorldCat, and high-resolution scanning have afforded new access to a wide set of surviving games housed in special collections from North America, Britain, Europe, and Australia. As a result of this opening, though decentralized, archive, scholars can now study these material culture objects to gain important insights into daily domestic, social, political, national, and imperial life in the nineteenth century.

Attention to this unique archive of material not only indicates the advances in information technology and the democratization of archival access through digitization but also reflects a significant disciplinary shift in children's literature studies—part of the movement noted by Beverly Lyon Clark and Margaret Higonnet in *Girls, Boys, Books, Toys* (1999). Higonnet and Clark advocate for a scholarly analysis of children's material culture objects to expose embedded narratives and imperatives about race and gender. "From the start," they point out, "children's literature was imbricated with material culture" (1). In their collection, Miriam Forman-Brunell's work on dolls argues that nineteenth-century "values, attitudes, ideas, and perceptions can also be understood from a 'reading' of the ideas embedded in the mundane material objects they invented and manufactured" (2). More broadly, in her considerations of the objects designed to contain, as well as amuse, child subjects, Karin Calvert posits that an analysis of "artifact constellations" marketed toward parents "can help uncover the nature of the everyday lives of children and the assumptions and concerns foremost in parents' minds at any one point in history" (68–69). This underscores that objects arose, flourished, and survived because there was a market for the ideologies they promoted—dolls are necessary to promote nurturing and the pleasures of ownership; playpens are useful ways to keep children safe, bounded, and occupied while caregivers are busy; and chess teaches strategies helpful in the cultivation of critical thinking.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that children received toys and unthinkingly replicated identical modes of consistently structured play scenarios. Robin Bernstein's analysis of dolls and race has extended the study of material culture objects to introduce the idea that not only the toy itself can be the object of study but also the cultural scripts it promotes to the child actor. She contends, "The term *script* denotes not a rigid dictation of performed action but rather a set of invitations that necessarily remain open to resistance, interpretation, and improvisation" (Bernstein 11–12). In this sense, despite the rules that govern movement across the boards, games invite child players to engage, but the narrative produced in an individual gaming session varies depending on the player's experience, improvisation of rules, and the presence of other players. In this way, games are not so much *played* as *coauthored* by the child who engages with them. In each session of gameplay, the game and the player would experience a different story depending on a number of variables. Much like a live theatrical performance or the play of a child with a favorite doll, the meaning of the games can only be incompletely reconstructed. Though the games survive, the conversations swirling around the gameplay in the moments of engagement do not. Careful study of the games, however, reveals how players could have attempted to reconcile difference and otherness through the experience of play and performance. This kind of attention to material culture provides a broader perspective on the lives of nineteenth-century children and illustrates the changing landscape of the disciplines of children's literature studies as well as nineteenth-century studies and its engagement with cultural, imperial, and aesthetic studies.

As this characterization of games as part of children's material culture indicates, the study of board games occupies an interdisciplinary crossroads. Though social scientists and historians have been studying games and recreation since the publication of Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens: A study of the play element in culture* (1938), such work has traditionally focused on how games ranging from chess to mah-jongg were manufactured and by whom. Alternatively, these studies have attempted to place genres of board games within the broad spectrum of human recreational play across multiple cultures, examining the effect of gameplay on strategic thinking and social contact.[19] While games such as chess certainly drilled players in the use of strategy, planning, sacrifice, and even sportsmanship—all qualities that could be harnessed in adult life and applied to particular situations—the games I analyze here are less abstract, instead representing particular areas of the world or specific historical events, with a clearly defined framework designed to promote nationalism, missionary activity, or commercial ventures.

Other studies focused on board games published during the long nineteenth century have concentrated on the valuable task of cataloguing titles and classifying the games by type—instructional games, geographical games, historical games, games of moral improvement, and games of amusement—as seen in the work of F.R.B. Whitehouse, H.J.R. Murray, Roger Caillois, and others.[20] The work of librarian and archivist Jill Shefrin in this regard has been invaluable; anyone attempting to write about board games stands on her shoulders and benefits from her careful work in tracking down titles, dates, and manufacturers at archives such as Princeton's Cotsen Collection and Toronto's Osborne Collection.[21] It is because of her careful study that my own approach can be primarily analytical and interpretive, rather than enumerative. I will situate these games as cultural artifacts (produced by particular firms at particular times) that transmit imperial ideology to child subjects and invite them to rehearse narratives of colonization through practices of commerce and moral superiority. Though I will allude to several games in each chapter, my methodological approach will not be to review many games, but to do close readings of two related games in each chapter. These close readings will include careful examinations of the game boards, their illustrations, and accompanying supporting texts, such as instructional booklets. Through these readings, I will examine the emerging patterns in topics and methodologies from a postcolonial and cultural studies perspective and then analyze the way a game's topic and method connect with historical trends and help the player cultivate a sense of self as a player in the "Great Game" of empire building.

Another emerging context that influences my reading of these games, in addition to the social science, historical, and curatorial perspectives, is game theory, a branch of critical inquiry emerging from the computer and mathematical fields.[22] Work in game theory has flourished since John von Neumann published his ideas in the 1940s; mathematician John Horton Conway famously applied von Neumann's ideas in the computer game "The Game of Life" to study whether structures could replicate themselves indefinitely. The ensuing interest in game theory and gamification (recently embraced in pedagogical teaching-and-learning circles) suggests that gaming is not just about play, but about the strategies we use in our daily lives to manage risk, persuade others, and motivate ourselves. Morton Davis explains, "The theory of games is a theory of decision making [. . .] If you know the consequences of each of your options, the solution is easy. Decide where you want to be and choose the path that takes you there" (3). Compared to contemporary games, the ones in this study cultivate dutiful obedience rather than decision-making, which reveals much about the imperial pedagogy that structures them. Len Fisher, in his *Rock, Paper, Scissors: Game Theory in Everyday Life* (2008), observes that all five game theorists who have won Nobel Prizes in economics have been Pentagon advisors (2). Fisher's observation underscores the point that gaming continues to be relevant to political, imperial, and postcolonial life in terms of nations, dominance, trade, and conflict, an argument I explore at greater length in the conclusion.

A postcolonial perspective offers an important lens through which to consider the time period for the production of the materials chosen for this study. Though the high imperial period at the end of the nineteenth century has received much critical attention, comparatively little is known about the way metropolitan citizens interacted with the Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century. This was a time when these games were produced and played in staggering numbers, as John Betts' circulation numbers suggest and as the appendix of games at the end of this study illustrates. However, Bernard Porter has characterized nineteenth-century Britons as "absent-minded imperialists" who were rarely confronted with the Empire in their daily lives, using J.R. Seeley's famous remark in *The Expansion of England* (1883) that Britons have "conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind" (12). In making this claim, Porter opposes the current in nineteenth-century imperial and cultural studies, and critiques the work done by John MacKenzie's "Studies in Imperialism" series at Manchester University Press, along with scholarship by Jeffrey Richards, Catherine Hall, and Antoinette Burton, whom Porter challenges with constructing imperialism as "a useful stick to beat Britain with" (7). Porter is also critical of the followers of the postcolonial cultural studies movement in the wake of Edward Said's groundbreaking *Culture and Imperialism*.

When Said famously traced imperialism through Austen's *Mansfield Park*, he maintained that by the end of the nineteenth century "scarcely a corner of life was untouched by the facts of empire," citing the growing European economies hungry for raw materials and cheap labor as well as bureaucratic agencies established to enforce foreign policies (*Culture and Imperialism* 8). Asserting that Western powers were actively and tirelessly engaged in "settling, surveying, studying, and of course ruling" (8) foreign territories, Said argued that imperialism was woven through daily life. He goes further in identifying that imperialism was not only present but also supported the lives of the ruling aristocracy in the great country houses of the period, such as Austen's Bertrams, whose lifestyle at Mansfield Park was underwritten by their plantations in Antigua. Despite this historical reality, Said points out that most historians of imperialism still look almost exclusively to the late nineteenth century and the scramble for Africa. Yet looking more closely "reveals a much earlier, more deeply and stubbornly held view about overseas European hegemony; we can locate a coherent, fully mobilized system of ideas near the end of the eighteenth century" (*Culture and Imperialism* 58). Said argues for close readings of this earlier cultural moment and attention to the unspoken discourses that haunt the imperial record.

Said's approach also acknowledges the importance of ideas in shaping and informing behavior. For the scramble for Africa to happen at the end of the century, strongly held ideologies had to be firmly in place among the imperial actors. Where did those ideologies come from? How did they persist, and through what avenues were they transmitted? Considering the importance of ideas as factors in human interactions is an important step to understand the work of Empire. As Clifford Geertz asserts, scholars are connected by the belief that ideation, subtle or otherwise, is a cultural artifact" whose specific expressions and "sustain[ing]" activities characterize its significance ("The Way" 152). The "sustaining activities" could have taken place through a variety of interfaces: reading texts like *Mansfield Park*, consuming sugar in one's tea, visiting a museum, or even spending a quiet evening playing games. In shifting the horizon of critical study to these kinds of activities, Said's work electrified imperial, nineteenth-century, and postcolonial studies, inspiring a welter of close readings of canonical texts. Yet in characterizing the mode of cultural critique that followed Said's work as "fashionable," Porter contends that adherents were looking too hard for traces of imperialism, and that it was "entirely outside [Britons'] experience and even knowledge" (37) prior to the end of the nineteenth century. Others, such as Patrick Brantlinger, have disagreed. Brantlinger says succinctly, "The empire's business was everybody's business, even if that business was taken for granted" ("Imperialism" 127).

I have taken the time to gloss Said's and Porter's provocative arguments to emphasize the importance of the board games as a key missing piece in this and other ongoing critical conversations about imperialism's presence in the lives of British citizens in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The reason for their absence from these conversations is partly to do with their target audience. Games belong, or are seen to belong, to children's culture, a field that did not coalesce until the 1970s, when it achieved a critical mass of self-identified disciplinary specialists. As a result, many children's texts and cultural studies objects that would be of interest to these scholars were not consistently collected or marked in catalogs as allied to this particular field of study. In addition to those that appear in library catalogs, many of the games appear in toy museums or are held in private collections, where they are invisible to scholars. They are sometimes seen as curiosities of long-ago days, rather than important cultural artifacts. Though in recent years much interesting work has been done in locating imperial ideology in canonical children's texts from the nineteenth century, the presence of children's literature and culture needs to be more assertively represented in imperial studies. Peter Hunt and Karen Sands stress the pervasiveness of imperialism in children's texts, calling them the "witting or unwitting agents of the empire-builders" and emphasizing that this is the case beyond the obvious set of boys' adventure stories, yet "the extent and nature value of that affect, however, has not been examined, precisely because it is so apparently obvious" (40). In some ways, children's literature and culture remain invisible to nineteenth-century, imperial, and postcolonial scholars despite the interesting work being done in the field.

Children's literature scholar M. Daphne Kutzer's work on canonical children's novels has argued that traces of empire can even be recovered from seemingly innocent texts such as *Winnie the Pooh*. As she puts it simply, "Empire was woven into the fabric of British life" (Kutzer xiv). As well, Johanna M. Smith asserts that "children's literature too is a zone of nation building" (134). My research on the board games follows Kutzer's and Smith's to challenge Porter's portrait of imperialism by showing how children were being steadily acquainted with the strategies of imperial rule by practicing them through gameplay in informal settings in middle- and upper-class parlors and nurseries in the first half of the nineteenth century. Though certainly unknown and unstudied, games consistently and thoroughly introduced children to imperial politics, hierarchies, and strategies of colonial management. This project will make an important intervention in restoring these culturally significant objects to the historical record to facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the way imperialism was conceptualized, transmitted, and rehearsed by children, particularly during the long mid-century years from 1840–1860. The number and variety of these games persistently demonstrate that Britons were very aware of their Empire, particularly before mid-century and certainly well before the end of the century. Restoring the board games to these conversations also insists on the importance of children's material culture objects in gaining a more nuanced portrait of the ways in which imperial politics inflected daily life, and it argues that the category of age should be included among the important markers of identity, alongside race, gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and orientation.

Acknowledging the foregoing different interdisciplinary critical perspectives on games and gaming demonstrates the intersectional approach necessary to undertake a rigorous analysis of the meaning of nineteenth-century board games. Borrowing insights and building on work from children's literature, material culture studies, historical analyses, post-colonial studies, game theory, social science, and curatorial perspectives are important for achieving a more nuanced understanding of the games. Such an approach also models the way games function: they are designed to be a communal experience, sustained by players of different ages, abilities, and understandings. Approaching the games this way, positioned at the intersection of various scholarly, professional, and recreational interest groups, enriches our understanding of how they function as well as what they mean. To explore this meaning in the following chapters, I apply the tools of literary analysis, proceeding through close reading and context building and adopting a postcolonial lens to evaluate how child stewards came to understand their imperial duties. This approach ultimately aims to foster an awareness of gameplay as an important mode through which to understand and imagine the Empire and one's role in it.

Setting Up the Board and Placing the Pieces: An Overview of Methodology and Chapters

In introducing these games to scholars as objects of critical, cultural, and literary study, I have acknowledged the origin and growth of the gaming industry in Britain from the eighteenth century onward through the long nineteenth century and the close of Queen Victoria's reign as well as my intention to concentrate on a set of games published between 1818 and 1860. A number of different approaches to this subject are possible: publishing firm, strict chronology, geographic region, or gaming method (e.g., games of chase, round games, spiral games). The approach I have chosen collects selected games together according to the imperial strategies they promote for viewing the world. Each chapter focuses on two primary games, with additional supporting examples from the larger archive.

The story I am telling about the games' role in spreading imperial ideology can be tracked across the century from the contact zone to the Great Exhibition. The chapters begin with an analysis of the way trade relationships, often framed as the positive face of the imperial project, were founded in moments of violence in the contact zone, recuperated thereafter through the way games represented commerce as a force to transform wilderness spaces into orderly sites of production and urban centers. The products of those sites were exhibited in games modeled on the Great Exhibition of 1851, which used these displays to either promote emigration or question the politics of display and notions of progress. Those politics were important to game publishers, who sought to represent their Empire's place in the historical record in a positive way through different gaming forms that placed Britain at the top or at the center of world history. To assure this prominent place, game publishers dismissed imperial rivals, particularly those trafficking in the enslavement of human beings. All of this points the way to thinking about the afterlife of these games in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

When approaching these games and inventing a way to analyze them critically and thoughtfully with a postcolonial lens as objects of cultural study, my training in literary analysis has determined my method. In each game, I begin with an introduction to the game maker's catalogue of work to the degree to which I have been able to reconstruct and recover it. From there, I move on to an analysis of the topic the publisher has selected for his game, situating it historically and culturally, and then consider the form choices each game maker adopts for his game. From there, I analyze the methodology of the game, studying its pace and the way movement is governed across the board as well as the forfeit system involved. Finally, I consider the meaning and significance of the game and the overall argument the maker seems to be promoting about the topic through the selected form, methodology, pacing, and accumulation of forfeits. I will explain each of these strands of inquiry in more detail below.

The topics of the games range from a characterization of the contact zone as a grand tour of the colonies to celebrations and parodies of the Great Exhibition of 1851, models of history, and representations of the United States as an emerging imperial rival. Placing each topic within its temporal moment, I trace how these games respond to cultural events through images on the game boards and in the accompanying guidebooks that feature more detailed explanations of the events depicted on the boards. Not all of the games have surviving guidebooks, and in those cases, a close reading of images and text on the game boards in the context of the author's other works offers guidance in processing and identifying the events and persons depicted. Critical work on reading images and understanding visual culture, undertaken and applied by critics such as John Berger, as well as Perry Nodelman, Walter Moebius, and Peter Hunt in their analysis of picture books, offers useful precedents for unpacking the meaning of images. As Berger asserts, "Although every image embodies a way of seeing, our perception or appreciation of an image depends also upon our own way of seeing" (10). I have tried to be self-reflexive about my way of seeing these images through a postcolonial lens, and I look at size, placement, color, and sequencing to analyze the way these images matter on the game board.

Considering that the juvenile players of these games had differing degrees of literary proficiency, the images used in the games are significant and even, in Donatino Domini's phrase, "seductive" in their ability to transmit information as well as social and cultural values. Domini characterizes the image as "an effective pedagogical vehicle" (9). Couple that reading of board game iconography with what postcolonial scholar Inderpal Grewal says about colonization: it functions as a means "to render transparent that which is threatening" (50). Yet interest in the visual and aesthetic elements of imperial life has perhaps been overlooked, much the way the games themselves have in favor of written texts. Dana Arnold argues that "the *visual* rather than the verbal aesthetic have [*sic*] remained on the margins of the literature concerning the cultures of colonialism. But the idea that 'nation' can be 'imagined' or aestheticized opens up the possibilities for discourse around the different constructions of cultural identity" (3). Arnold's contention about the aesthetics of imperialism is key when considering the evolution of board games from unembellished maps to carefully illustrated texts that include representations of human figures engaged in work, trade, combat, slavery, travel, and recreation. The British bodies, often marked out by their red coats and aligned with mythological figures such as Neptune or representative animals such as the lion, are distinguished from indigenous bodies within a visual framework imbued with imperial meaning.[23]

Moving from a game's topic to its visual and structural methodology begins with a consideration of the form the game maker has adopted. What is the shape of the game? How and where is play distributed? Does it follow a track? Are there any options for players to make choices? We can also evaluate the game's historical investment through an analysis of how space is allocated. How publishers apportion space is the where and the when of the board's reading of history. Where does the game spend its time and space? What time periods or events take up the most space on the board? The answers to these questions reveal the spine of the game, the narrative that all the discrete elements link up to, ensuring that no matter where the player lands, some lessons and ideologies are consistently reinforced. Each game maker has chosen a form to contain and reflect the content, much like a poet carefully decides between a traditional sonnet, with all its history and canonical precedents, and a complex villanelle, with its carefully calibrated repetition, or free verse that seems to challenge formal structuring. The traditionalist game publishers in this study are Henry Smith Evans and Edward Wallis, who adopt more formal cartographic layouts in their games. Evans had a lifelong professional interest in emigration, and this seriousness of purpose takes form in the most traditional map, embellished and surrounded by representative inset scenes from around the Empire. Heir to his father's prolific publishing firm, Edward Wallis follows cartographic tradition in form, but illustrates it in his own style. He uses a recognizable map outline of the eastern half of the United States in *Game of the Star-Spangled Banner*, filling in the outline with brushy wilderness punctuated by cities, ferocious animals, and depictions of labor.

Departing from these traditional cartographic approaches, John Betts and E. and M.A. Ogilvy choose another formal structure in the round game format. Britain occupies pride of place at the round game's center in Betts' *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions*, where he places England in the center (specifically London), demonstrating its central place in the life of the colonies that emanate outward from it. E. and M.A. Ogilvy's round game features colorless and nondescript spaces for the United States, bounded by two colorful and detailed rows of images from the colonial period, thus juxtaposing a time of British control with the contemporary moment of self-government; in their game, the center is unimpressive and undeveloped, a theme that runs through the game as well.

A variation on the round game is the spiral, a form in which all the spaces are connected in a continuous band funneling toward the center. Whereas in the round games, the games have independent nested bands, the spiral presents the visual effect of an uninterrupted coil. In *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition*, Spooner chooses a dizzying spiral pattern adopted from the *Game of the Goose*, a game played in inns and taverns for hundreds of years. Instead of all the images facing one direction, part of the board will always be upside down when players sit down to this game, reflecting the upside-down, absurd parodies of exhibits that Spooner presents in the game. The tavern genealogy of the *Goose* form matches up well with the satirical content and delightfully grotesque caricatures attributed to George Cruikshank (Shefrin 14). Finally, Sallis and Spooner each adopt unexpected forms to contain their games. Sallis' *Pyramid of History* uses a pyramid shape to contain lines of historical events in his game, juxtaposing East and West on either side of it and featuring the British Royal Family at the apex of historical progress. Spooner's *Voyage of Discovery* traverses a bird's-eye view of an island chain that players explore in one of five different ships, following embedded tracks and interacting with islanders and battling storms at designated points.

After situating the game within the maker's catalogue and considering his choice of topic and form, I continue to analyze the game's methodology by reviewing its pace and the system of forfeits involved. The challenge game publishers faced was how to tell a consistent story through their games even though the playing experience would differ every time; indeed, that difference was essential to keep players returning to the game. To ensure it, game makers introduced variables, such as spaces that invited players to skip ahead or ones that enforced backward movement, spaces that offered rewards and others that required players to pay forfeits. I analyze how those game elements are assigned to particular historical moments in which players must go backward or pay forfeits according to the success or failure of the imperial enterprise in those moments. The pace of the game incorporated how players moved across the board and the significance of that movement. Were there checks to movement? Places where players were ejected or had to start over? Opportunities for shortcuts or accelerated movement? What happened when two players landed on the same space? What other rules directed the play? Often the content of the space governed a player's movement across the board. In E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *Columbia: Land of the West*, the conflicts between rival powers seeking to colonize America mean that the land reflects a confusing welter of influences, and this also manifests in the way the game is played—a disorderly wandering up, down, and over without a consistent geographic track through the space. Players advance when the Empire does, particularly on the issue of slavery, which is a consistent topic in board games published in the first half of the century. In their tour of the United States in Edward Wallis' *Game of the Star-Spangled Banner*, players lose turns, enduring forced stasis to contemplate slave markets, slave labor, and even a lynching. Their progress in the game draws to a halt, effectively checking advancement because of this backward practice in the United States. Though the second half of the game bears the title "Emigration to the United States," the game's checks to progress effectively quash any plans a player may have to emigrate south of the St. Lawrence River. In a similar vein, Betts' *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions* charges players to advance when they land on spaces where the Empire has promoted the advancement of humankind by abolishing slavery in Sierra Leone or offering a refuge for enslaved peoples in Canada. Moving across the game board is effectively a way of paging through the story the game maker tells about imperialism as a benevolent, humanitarian enterprise.

Movement on the game board, especially if it is consigned to a regulated track, shows the limitations on players' narrative agencies—these games do not offer tangents or subplots that players can choose to explore on their own, and that was typical of the period. Regarding one of the most popular board games, the *Game of the Goose*, games collector Adrian Seville notes how remarkable it is that "so few of them call for any involvement of thought or judgement" despite being "marketed successfully in thousands of versions and millions of copies over four centuries" (1012). Routes through these games present itineraries with a specifically regulated series of points at which players may call. The route promotes certain narratives, such as the opportunities to view gold mines or required stops to note the evils of the slave trade. Players cannot follow individual whims in their travels, nor can they choose when to linger in a particular village to experience cultural events like hunts, feasts, music festivals, or the religious rituals of indigenous peoples.

In this way, the games follow the patterns of adventure narratives of the period, as Franco Moretti describes them: "In these stories—as in their archetypal image: the expedition that moves slowly, in single file, towards the horizon—there is only a linear movement: forward or backward. There are no deviations, no *alternatives* to the pre-scribed path, but only obstacles—and therefore, antagonists" (58). These obstacles to the imperial march take the form of "lions, heat, vegetation, elephants, flies, rain, illness—and natives. All mixed up, and at bottom all interchangeable in their function as obstacles: all equally unknowable and threatening" (Moretti 60). Moretti's reading of adventure texts applies also to board games such as Spooner's *Voyage of Discovery*. In this game, ship captains power across the board, moving resolutely through tempests, burning native villages, and figuring out how to extract the most profit from the islanders when they barter for gold. They have their adventure and then make their way to where they began. They cannot stop, negotiate, or exercise their own agency. Players roll the dice and are sent, detained, or hastened according to the dictates of the board, thus training them to sublimate their individual agency in deference to the Great Game's itinerary.

Since suspense in the game did not arise from individual choices, it was instead drawn from the system of checks and spurs to movement across the game board, as well as from a system of forfeits. Nineteenth-century games often came with a pile of "counters," round discs that could be distributed equally to all players. They would then have to pay these out as directed by the spaces on which they landed or according to another design of the game. Spooner's *The Pirates and Traders of the West Indies*, for example, allows the "pirate" player to plunder the counters of other players. Forfeits play a significant ludic role in the methodology of some of these games. Players of Spooner's games in particular compete not only to finish the game but also to gather wealth as they proceed. That accumulation of capital, symbolized by forfeits, is keyed to the topical content of the spaces. For instance, in Spooner's *Voyage of Discovery*, players "take" or "pay" according to their interactions with the indigenous peoples, how their ship handles storms, and the tradable goods they acquire. The decision not to include a system of forfeits or an acquisition of wealth may also be significant, in that it juxtaposes the idea of capital with a more noble end: gaining the top of the *Pyramid of History* in William Sallis' game, for example. Since the games take the trouble to distinguish British imperialism from the greedy and immoral practices of rivals such as Spain, France, and the United States, they may eschew a system of forfeits to train players in this disinterested methodology.

Fending off rivals to gain pride of place in Sallis' *Pyramid* is a significant ludic mode that reappears throughout the century in the children's game "King of the Castle"[24] and in the opening scene of Kipling's *Kim*. In this scene, Kim holds off rivals to maintain his position on top of the cannon. The children in this scene vie for supremacy, merrily scrambling and clawing and pushing one another in order to attain this place. This scramble reflects the Great Game their adult counterparts are playing as Britain and Russia struggle for pride of place as rulers of India. Later in the novel, when Kim throws the stolen secret maps and messages he has intercepted from the Russians off a cliff, it hearkens back to this opening scene in which rivals fling one another off privileged ground. The visual and rhetorical meaning of Sallis' game draws on the same performed gaming tradition that Kipling does later in the century.

The meaning of the game is the most difficult determination in some ways, and it draws together the evidence from the topic, method, pace, and forfeit systems. Understanding the meaning of the game involves figuring out what the game maker was trying to say about his topic—discovery, colonization, the Great Exhibition, or Britain's place in history—and how he said it through the adoption of a particular methodology: the choice of form, the pacing, and the collection of forfeits. To some degree, the game itself dictates how to analyze it through what it does uniquely and well: movement in Wallis' *Star-Spangled*, form in Marshall's *Chronological Star*, images in Evans' *Crystal Palace*, topical divisions in Betts' *A Tour*, options for play and agency in the Ogilvy's *Columbia*, and the economics of forfeits in Spooner's *Voyage*. Each of these games has a point of view on its topic, sometimes scathing indictments of progress, consumerism, and grandstanding, as seen in Spooner's *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition*, and sometimes looking for moral high ground on the issue of slavery, as Edward Wallis does in *Game of the Star-Spangled Banner*. Sometimes the topic provides an opportunity to market a related idea to young players. A tour of the colonies can devolve into a promotion of the transformative power of trade, a review of the Great Exhibition can foster a discussion about emigration, and a journey through the United States can cloak a rebuke of this rival for drawing its strength from the labor of enslaved peoples. For instance, though Evans' *Crystal Palace Game* seems to be about the 1851 exhibition, itself a display of the Empire's power and benevolence in developing arts and manufactures, the way Evans addresses this topic demonstrates that his game is really promoting British emigration and colonization by presenting opportunities to gain wealth in the colonies. Though the Ogilvy's *Columbia* seems to offer an exploration of the United States, it presents a review of the colonization practices of imperial rivals in this area, contrasted with the disinterested and noble character of the British colonial project.

The meaning of the game as an object or a personal possession matters as well, though is more difficult to reconstruct. Under what circumstances was the game purchased, given, and played? Did children play unsupervised, or was the game a more formal educational tool that parents could enjoy with their children or that governesses and nurses could pull out on a rainy afternoon? What about the circumstances of play? If unsupervised, children could have played the game according to the rules, or they could have ventured beyond the dictates of the game to improvise other possibilities. As Bernstein points out, "Children do not passively receive culture. Rather, children expertly field the co-scripts of narratives and material culture and then collectively forge a third prompt: play itself" (29). The survival of only a small fraction of the games suggests that they may have been played to pieces in succeeding generations of children,[25] or that they were disposed of when the children grew because the game's value as a collected artifact was not perceived, only its use as an educational device. The lure of the archive, then, is not only finding the artifact(s) but also trying to determine its meaning—to its own culture and to ours. Various anecdotal clues scattered through the fiction of the period or collected later in biographies of key historical figures offer clues to help us begin to piece together the story of the ideological role that games held for child players during the first half of the nineteenth century, a period when an expanding Empire, a rapidly industrializing economy, and an eager middle class offered a developing market to children's publishers.

Chapter 2 "Navigating Trade Routes and Fostering Moral Commerce in William Spooner's *A Voyage of Discovery* (1836) and John Betts' *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions* [c. 1855]," begins with this opportune early nineteenth-century moment. Following the trials and economic challenges of the Napoleonic Wars, the games discussed in this chapter lead up to the optimism of the Great Exhibition at mid-century. From the initial bartering for gold dust and supplies in the contact zone in Spooner's *Voyage* to the importance of trade and the formal execution of harvesting, mining, packing, and shipping in Britain's colonies in Betts' *A Tour*, the games present a timeline of imperial commercial development, contrasting two different approaches to the economics of imperialism. For Spooner, it was "take-or-pay" in interactions with the indigenous peoples, whereas Betts framed trade relationships as the benevolent means to transform colonial peoples and territory. In both games, imperial power is distributed through military, cartographic, and rhetorical instruments.

Relatively new to the gaming market, with only one other publishing success in the 1830s, William Spooner would go on to produce games that were straightforward as well as satirical parodies. In *Voyage of Discovery*, he focuses on an unnamed island chain, creating a "blank space" for child players to rehearse imperial interactions in a manufactured contact zone. Though the title touts it as a "Voyage of Discovery," in Spooner's game narrative, there is very little cultural exchange, mapping, or surveying. The "discovery" seems to be almost exclusively commercial. Child players are ships' captains following tracks to points of contact throughout the islands. This contact is mediated by Spooner's "take-or-pay" economic system, which dictates that child players who "take" the most from the islands and the islanders will proceed most quickly and gather the most wealth. For instance, when players "Find the Natives Collecting gold from a River" (*Voyage Green* [5]), the game charges them to "Take 2," establishing an unequal economy of exchange in which islanders eventually pay with their lives when they do not follow the rules of the Great Game.

When islanders resist unequal trade or show force in the game, Spooner directs players to fire on them or burn their villages. Though the islanders pay with their lives, players only lose a potential trading port. These critically imbalanced interactions establish a pattern of backing trade with military power, a theme that continues in Betts' game, but also one that plays out across the long imperial era from Cook's eighteenth-century travels in the Pacific to the British use of military force to support merchant trade in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century. At the Battle of Omdurman in 1898, for example, British soldiers killed 11,000 Sudanese warriors in five hours. It was not their advanced weapons that enabled this slaughter, but a critically imbalanced imperial economy that valued the safeguarding of trade over the lives of those who opposed it. Young players rehearse this imbalanced economic model in Spooner's game by moving their pieces dutifully along the track and collecting forfeits, profiting in the game world at the expense of the hypothetical islanders. In Spooner's game, what began with the omission of names for the islands, cities, ports, and the peoples who inhabit them continues through the game with the unequal transactions and the matter-of-fact attitude about loss of indigenous property and life.

Departing from Spooner's focus on personal profit from the gamed interactions with islanders, John Betts presents a more peaceful, moral version of British commerce in his *A Tour through the British Colonies and Foreign Possessions*. One of the major players in the children's educational gaming market during his long career spanning the 1830s through the mid-1870s, John Betts published games, puzzles, cards, atlases, and a line of innovative collapsible globes. In *A Tour*, he outlines an economy of imperial trade in which commerce transforms unruly wildernesses into orderly plantations and urban centers. Betts' round map, itself an alternative to the traditional cartographic form, also licenses an alternative vision of how the colonial world can be transformed, reordered, and animated through trade relationships. Unlike Spooner's game, the profits are not represented solely in terms of raw lucre, exchanged in a rough take-or-pay brand of contact zone economics. Instead, Betts' focus is on the "goods" that harvesting, mining, and gathering will produce for colonial civic life in terms of fine homes, museums, and government offices. In the spaces focusing on Australia, for example, Betts frames the discovery of gold not in terms of exchange value, but within a logic of *attractive* value. He points out how gold spurs immigration and inspires trade, leading to a boom in population, housing, and urban development and increasing the place's value within the imperial network. In establishing a place's value in the imperial network, Betts assigns the emigrants and miners an active role, sidelining the indigenous peoples. The only Aboriginal peoples represented are shown as passively viewing the busy gold fields or bending low before a mapmaker displaying his latest chart. The mapmaker and the cadre of soldiers behind him enforce rhetorical, narrative, and cartographic authority.

Trade, radiating out from the center space featuring London, is an animating force transforming colonial spaces, particularly those taken from imperial rivals. Like the colonial citizens from Singapore to Aden, players must also accept that their own "significance" exists within the context of the imperial mission, and Betts cues this through checks to movement. In Betts' journey of "imperial tourism," players must miss two turns at Norfolk Island to view the convicts. Since the first group of convicts arrived there in 1788, the demands of cultivation have required "occasional shipments of convicts" (Betts *A Tour* 16). By contrast, a majority of advancement spaces are keyed to the abolition of slavery, meaning that players advance as British humanitarian initiatives, undertaken through the imperial project, do. Betts distinguishes British trade from the human trafficking of its colonial rivals, keying advancement in the game to the British decision to end slavery in its dominions. British intervention transforms people from property to human beings. While on board the slave ship, peoples are identified as "cargoes of captured slave-ships," but once landed at Fourah Bay in Freetown, the designation changes to "kidnapped negroes from condemned ships being here set at liberty" (5). Thus, people are also transformed through contact with the imperial system.

Though both games focus on the importance of commodities and trade, Betts presents a more civil face of the imperial project, not as red in tooth and claw as Spooner's earlier work. Betts breaks from the take-or-pay economics of Spooner by eschewing a system of forfeits. For Betts, winning the game is not about acquiring wealth, but about fostering the right kind of commerce within a system ordered and governed with judicious care. Taken together, these games represent the development of the colonial relationship: from a project of discovery and conquest to one of careful administration and wise, moral governance.

Following the process of discovery, exploration, and acquisition, imperial agents were tasked with organizing, classifying, and managing colonial territory. That is the subject of Chapter 3, "Games in Glass Houses: Children's Board Games Display and Critique Imperial Power Through the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace." The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a threshold event that not only inspired a welter of games but also presented a model for displaying imperial power and authority. This chapter examines how that power and authority were made visible in Henry Smith Evans' *The Crystal Palace Game*: *Voyage Round the World. An Entertaining Excursion in Search of Knowledge, Whereby Geography Is Made Easy* [c. 1855] and in William Spooner's *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (1851). Taken together, Spooner's and Evans' games commemorating the Crystal Palace reveal the ways that children's play can be used as a means of dispensing the kind of cultural ideology promoted by the Exhibition in its setup, displays, and subsequent discourse. Yet they went about it in very different ways, with Evans shoring up that authority and directing it to specific channels, namely emigration, whereas Spooner critiqued and satirized the Exhibition, imperial posturing, and the nature of progress itself.

Evans' *Crystal Palace Game* seems to be straightforward, a game celebrating the nation's greatest "glass house" and the displays within it. He casts child players as future imperial stewards whose success in the game is linked to Britain's imperial prosperity. On his game board, commodities are scrawled across the face of colonial territory, teaching players to associate Africa or Australia or India with the goods that could be harvested, mined, or extracted from them. Over the map of Hindoostan, Evans identifies commodities such as cotton, silk, spice, indigo, tea, and sugar, all on display, ready for imperial harvest. This mimics the displays of the wealth of the colonies at the Great Exhibition itself in exhibits such as the Koh-i-Noor diamond. Yet such displays were not passive spectacles; they could also be lures, and this was the way Evans framed his topic. This was the underpinning narrative beneath the ostensible subject of the game. A Fellow of the Royal Geographic and Geologic Societies, Evans had a professional interest in emigration, which distinguished him from the other commercial publishers in this study. He founded a firm of colonial agents and accountants to facilitate emigration for Londoners looking to follow the advice in his numerous books and depart for the colonies. Nor was this unusual, if his work is considered in a cartographic context. Susan Schulten argues that for seventeenth-century explorers like Samuel de Champlain and John Smith, maps "were designed to both document and market the territory" (166). When viewed in this context, *Crystal Palace* operates as a vehicle for encouraging emigration and fulfilling imperial duty while chasing personal profit.

Throughout the game, Evans advertises the noble benefits of colonization, setting up British citizens as agents of imperial power who will use their technology to keep people safe from ferocious animals, who will use their faith to plant Christian churches in the wilderness, and who will use their moral compass to save families from slavery. In recompense for this work, Evans outlines the remunerative benefits in a boxed chart at the bottom center of the game, where he enumerates import and export statistics and an accounting of territory. The "British Possessions" are represented in the chart, on the map, and in the framing visual images that appear around the map. Evans marks the precedents for players with labeled tracks of explorers' journeys stitched across Australia and Canada, signifying that imperial territory is textured with English names and can reflect back personal glory. All of these elements on the game board work together to promote a worldview for the imperial child and the would-be emigrant family.

Along with this preponderance of positive benefits in the imperial theater, Evans also acknowledges impediments: storms at sea, ferocious animals, and indigenous peoples resistant to rule. The game features two images in the South Pacific that depict the deaths of Englishmen: Captain Cook in Hawaii and Reverend John Williams on Erromango Island in the New Hebrides (present-day Vanuatu). The chapter traces how Evans appropriated visuals of these deaths from contemporary paintings, underscoring the ready visual library of representations of indigenous peoples, marking them "with the visible and transparent mark of power," in Homi Bhabha's phrase (111). The indigenous peoples are depicted as unruly mobs who overwhelm these isolated Englishmen, whose martyrdom wins them immortality in exchange for their lives. The islanders in the mob, nameless and faceless, operating as a single entity, are there to be disciplined in future interactions. The deaths are small images in a vast ocean, discrete moments on an otherwise positive map filled with commodities waiting to be harvested and territories blank and awaiting inscription.

Evans' map features England twice, both on the eastern and western horizons, creating a type of circularity in which the flow of goods and peoples is caught in an imperial current that draws it to itself. This force plays a very real though unacknowledged role in the game. This is indeed the way the game operates. Though it seems to be a typical game celebrating the Great Exhibition, it actually offers an incentive to would-be emigrants by mapping resources for harvest, mining, and trade. The game has subsequently been collected and preserved by museums and was reproduced in Australia as part of an exhibition on colonization, suggesting that in its afterlife, the gamed object still has significance in helping the descendants of emigrants and indigenous understand the shaping force of the past on their present.

In contrast to Evans' straightforward approach to celebrating British imperial power and authority, his rival William Spooner satirized the Exhibition, the nations displayed there, and the visual-spatial imperial politics. Spooner's *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (1851), with illustrations attributed to George Cruikshank, offers funny and grotesque caricatures of displays, nations, and visitors set along a spiral game track. The track hearkens back to the gambling games played in inns and taverns since the sixteenth century, and it creates a dizzying spiral effect of spinning in a circle, in contrast to the orderly linear progress of other games. The layout of the game calls into question the very idea of progress and advancement that the Great Exhibition was erected to celebrate. By the time he published this game, Spooner was near the end of his career, and his cynicism about the benefits of technology is evident in his depiction of an exhibit of Australian emigrants stuffed into a traveling teakettle or a farmer lazing around while a locomotive plough works in his fields. Spooner's darker humor is also on display in the exhibit of the "last Continental fashion in Iron work" (*Comic Game* 4). This exhibit features a merry, dancing iron creature with bayonets for arms, swords for legs, a cannon for the body, and a cannon ball for the head, topped perhaps by a globe. This "fashion" has a deadly purpose: to destroy humanity, rather than elevate its tastes or save labor. The context of the "Continental" not only mocks British consumption of fashion trends from the region but also acknowledges the "fashion" of revolutions occurring all over Europe a few years before, in 1848. This points to the less transparent purpose of the Exhibition—to promote nationalism in the face of Chartist rumblings and movements to unite workers, characterized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their Manifesto. In anthropomorphizing the dancing iron creature, Spooner also suggests the reverse: that the Industrial Revolution runs the risk of turning humans into machinery and offers efficient ways of destroying what makes us human.

Spooner punctures the Exhibition by mocking its displays with these parodies and by questioning the meaning of exhibitions. In the center space, usually a place of honor where the Crystal Palace would appear, Spooner uses the Palace as a backdrop for the display of English and foreign bodies encountering and goggling at one another. Their idle and pointed leers hardly seem to be elevating the taste of any of them, and this is Spooner's theme: that the Exhibition is simply a way to generate profit. He shows this most pointedly on a space featuring a hippo posing before an excited crowd. The label declares the hippo to be a "Zoological Magnet to attract shillings and sixpences" (Spooner *Comic Game* 29). Upon landing on this space, players must "Pay 3" like the depicted crowd who have paid for their viewing pleasure. Spooner glosses both the depicted crowd and the players who land on the space as participating in spectacles of empty hype that generate profit. In fact, 80% of the spaces on the board involve the exchange of forfeits in a two-to-one ratio of "paying" as opposed to profiting. The message is that as far as the Great Exhibition goes, players will always pay more than they gain. Amusing and indicting these viewers, Spooner allocates prizes liberally to every nation, thus showing that these honorifics actually have no real value, like the newfangled exhibits themselves. The "glass house" Spooner depicts is a ready target for a few stones to shatter its hypocrisy and self-importance.

Spooner also mocks the Great Exhibition's attempt to showcase and privilege British imperial power, even as he reinscribes it spatially in his game, by allocating seven spaces to England and squeezing the entire African continent onto one space. Yet on the England space, he introduces the country by casting John Bull alongside the Bull of Nineveh, in a nod to the Assyrian Empire. The pairing also has the troubling suggestion that the Empire will not last forever, and that the British Empire will fade away as the Assyrian one did. At best witty and playful, or at worst subversive and anti-imperialist, Spooner challenges players to think about notions of progress, technology, and imperial legacy. What was their nation advancing toward, or was it just spinning in circles like his own game? What role did technology, arts, and manufactures play in advancement or befuddlement? How are the colonies part of that progress?

For both Spooner's and Evans' games, the nation's most famous "glass house" offered a meaningful visual convergence for narratives of imperial power, national identity, and the notion of progress. Spooner showed the fragility of the imperial narrative, whereas Evans delighted in the transparent showcase of commodities ready for harvesting, mining, and trading. In interrogating whether technology really advances human life, in questioning the "prizing" of exhibits and setting up a system of outlandish forfeits, Spooner challenges the committee's goal to promote international harmony through exhibitions of arts and manufactures. This differentiates his game from Evans, who, on the other hand, uses the framework of the Exhibition to make imperial power visible and attractive. Marshaling cartographic rhetoric in the form of the map, inset charts, and visuals, Evans displays the world through a lens of imperial authority. For the postcolonial viewer, what is most transparent is that visibility is a trick in both games. In Evans' game, certain narratives are visible because others are occluded, seen especially in the deaths of Cook and Williams that borrow from an imperial library of indigenous mobs and English martyrdom without exploring the motivating factors for these events, such as why the indigenous peoples were resisting. In Spooner's game, the very idea of visibility invites ogling without understanding. Looking too closely and critically would lead visitors to see its absurdity.

The games discussed in Chapter 4 identify checks to human advancement. The chapter focuses on "Gaming America: Slavery, Territorial Appropriation, and the Race for Moral Leadership in Edward Wallis' *Game of the Star-Spangled Banner* [c. 1844] and E. & M.A. Ogilvy's *Columbia: Land of the West* [1850–1860]." Edward Wallis and E. and M.A. Ogilvy cast a critical eye on other imperial rivals. These include the rising United States, a former colony framed as a dangerous wilderness, rife with wild animals, corrupted by the immoral system of slavery, and a poor contrast to British Canada. Wallis traces America's problems to human trafficking, and the Ogilvys source it to the rivalries from the Old World, which have led to discordant practices like a system of slavery and inappropriate and varying propitiation of the Native American populations. In the process, they appropriate an American history textbook and edit it to present British colonization in a more favorable light.

The son of a game-publishing dynasty from 1775–1847, Edward Wallis joined the family firm in 1813 and, following his father's death five years later, ran the business for 30 years under his own name. *Game of the Star-Spangled Banner, or Game of the Emigrants to the United States* appeared when he was well established in his field. Though the subtitle of the game bills it as a "Game of Emigrants to the United States," it is unlikely that anyone playing the game would still consider emigration afterwards. Unlike Henry Smith Evans' *Crystal Palace* game with its bright appearance, lists of commodities ready for imperial harvest, and neat chart tabulating import and export values, Wallis' game strikes a different tone. Characterized by a moody color palette, the game fills in the outline of the US map with dense forests punctuated only by images of isolated log cabins, wild animals, and scenes of mining. More sites are dedicated to animals (27%), most of them savage and ferocious, than cities (19%). New York, Boston, and Washington, DC, are the only chief cities, and Wallis dismisses DC as having been planned ambitiously but at present having only "a few inferior houses" (8). The American capital is contrasted with a series of Canadian cities. Though they are not even in the United States (ostensibly the focus of the game), these spaces constitute 28% of the spots devoted to cities in the whole game. These British urban civic centers offer a stark contrast to the grim portrait of frontier life that Wallis offers. On the fringes of immense wildernesses, a settler can expect to lead what he characterizes as a "dissolute and miserable life" (10).

Part of that dissolution draws on the tainted moral atmosphere that Wallis maps in the game. Approximately 6% of the total number of sites in the game refer to slavery, and they are distributed across the game from spaces 29–90 so that players could not get through the game without learning about the moral problem of slavery that has dimmed the prospects of this young nation. Wallis also creates what I am calling "knowledge loops" in which players are sent back to key spots where slavery is discussed to reinforce and repeat the lessons he offers. For example, sites 37, 64, and 82 route players back to 29, a rice plantation, and sites 83 and 89 send players back to 64, and from there players are returned to 29. On space 29, players are required to stop for two turns "to enquire into their condition" (*Star-Spangled* 7). In a series of moves like this, where he requires players to remain still or even to go backward, Wallis teaches them that their individual progress is not separate from imperial progress. Where the moral code of the Empire advances, so do they; where it falters, they must stop, enquire, and get involved. By noting that they must "enquire," Wallis makes a bid not for passive spectatorship, but for empathy and engagement.

Nowhere is this more apparent than on space 90, where Wallis describes lynching as the "odious practice, too frequently indulged in, in the states which are at a great distance from the general government" (*Star-Spangled Banner* 11). Situating lynching in this way, Wallis lays the blame for it on a lack of strong, centralized authority to administer justice and squelch vigilantes. Wallis underscores the wild, ungoverned nature of the illustrated scene through the animal witnesses. A lynx and an alligator turn toward the scene from other panels; effectively, these predators become "pointers" to direct the gaze of the player to an indiscriminate destruction of human life akin to their own predation. After witnessing this lynching, players are forced to go backward in recognition of this backward practice. Wallis' conflation of predatory animals and human violence in an isolated "backward" wilderness characterizes the United States as a dangerous wilderness with a distant, ineffective government.

Like Wallis' game, E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *Columbia: Land of the West* (1850–1860) also acknowledges the role of slavery, but instead of framing it as a problem arising from a lack of strong central government, the Ogilvys trace it back to Europe. In their game, the Ogilvys establish a timeline in which rival, overlapping colonial powers attempt to carve up the United States, introducing their own systems. The French are represented through Jesuit priests leading the Native Americans in moonlight chants, and the Dutch are designated as the ones who introduced the system of slavery to the United States. England, by contrast, welcomes colonies into the fold through a baptism metaphor in which these territories are peacefully renamed and join the imperial family. This confused field of conflicting ideological systems by Old World rivals leads to a rupture. The United States is characterized as an unruly colonial territory revolting against the benevolent authority of its mother country. The disorderly nature of its colonization renders the United States a confused space lacking unified values, and the Ogilvys reflect that in the gameplay. In a nod to the democratic process, players are presented with a confusing range of choices: they can play a version of the game as a recall-and-recite of chief cities, they can play the game by touring a historical timeline, or, if they have purchased the deluxe version, they can play the game as a dissected map. Though players of the game, like citizens of the country, seem to have many choices, in the end it may end up being a bit confusing.

In line with their appropriation of space, historical time, and gamed illustrations, the Ogilvys also appropriate sections from American historian George Bancroft's ten-volume *The History of the United States* (1834–1874), using them without attribution in their guidebook descriptions. Though these passages often appear verbatim, the Ogilvys selectively edit Bancroft's descriptions to exclude his views promoting colonial enfranchisement and rights, his often critical opinions about English monarchs, and his scorching characterization of British and European colonists as driven by a lust for gold. The irony of the Ogilvys' textual appropriation should be appreciated in light of the topic: the appropriation of territory in America. Instead of acknowledging Bancroft, however, the Ogilvys characterize the United States' national story as one written by a variety of competing Old World authors with different plots and purposes. They focus the game's narrative on the colonial period as the time of greatest interest. Once the US is no longer part of the British Empire, the game is over. That focus is borne out in the distribution of the 36 spaces, the greatest number of which, 17, focus on the founding of colonies and cities, in contrast to only two spaces for the discovery of the continent and 13 for the Revolution. This spatial distribution also demonstrates that though it took 17 spaces to establish colonies (nine of which are attributed to Britain), in the course of 13 spaces, all of that work is undone, offering an appropriate caution to child players who may have grown up to participate in the work of their Empire.

Like the Wallis firm, the Ogilvy publishing house was a productive family enterprise, producing board games along with card games and dissected maps or puzzles. In their games catalogue, they characterize *Columbia* as a "companion" to *Tar of all Weathers: A Game of the British Colonies*, showing perhaps what happens to a colony when it falls out of the fold. Indeed, *Tar of all Weathers* depicts the imperial umbrella in a bright, colorful way, from the jaunty Jack Tars waving their hats and flanking Queen Victoria's gilded portrait in the masthead to the neatly delineated spaces depicting images from throughout the Empire, which frame a central map with a designated series of stops. As the companion to this ornately framed game, *Columbia* is characterized in the catalogue as "constructed on a plan showing the first discovery of America in 1492, and its gradual progress until the separation of the United States from England in 1782." This sentence structure implies that the "gradual progress" halted with the rupture of the colonial relationship. Such a framing sets up the United States as a lost colony with arrested development, rather than as an emerging imperial rival.

The development of this lost colony is measured by its cities, which are found wanting in contrast to the six British Canadian cities on the board. Though the focus is ostensibly on the United States, these Canadian cities comprise 16% of the board. The US cities, by contrast, do not measure up. In fact, the game disregards the states' capitals and instead introduces its own system of "chief cities" that players must identify to succeed in one version of the game. For example, pride of place is awarded to New York City, rather than Washington, DC, at a national level. This substitution also occurs at the state level. Rather than identifying the capital of Maine as Augusta, players must recall that the Ogilvys have marked Portland as the chief city. By taking the trouble to introduce their own system of "chiefness" in distinction to the political designations the Americans have formally recognized, the Ogilvys exercise a separate classification system, suggesting that publishers a continent away have more discernment than Maine's state citizens in determining the city that should be "chief."

The masthead image features a view into New York City's harbor, rather than a perspective on Washington, DC. Though New York is privileged over DC in this regard, the harbor scene shows a cityscape that is crowded, lacking color, symmetry, or variety. The bland palette, characterized by black, white, and smudgy gray, is contrasted sharply with the colorful flags of the United States and Britain that flank this scene, as well as the outer bands of the board game depicting the historical events from the colonial period. This indicates that the Ogilvys, like Wallis with his moody color palette, are making deliberate choices to represent this urban space as one that lacks the elegance and refinement seen in the framing of *Tar of all Weathers*. New York's focus on commerce and shipping is clear from the crowded harbor, but this has occurred without attention to nicely laid-out squares and orderly streets.

As it is framed in the Ogilvys' game through the presentation of its "chief" cities and within a historical framework that reads as a plot of Old World rivalries, the story of *Columbia* is one of a confused, willful colony, lacking in discernment. Losing this colony does not diminish British greatness, but it does result in the former colony's uneven development, especially when measuring its cities and considering its continued embrace of legacy systems like slavery. Telling the story in this way, the Ogilvys' game becomes part of what Linda Colley calls the "officially constructed patriotism" of the Empire (145). It offers a purposeful and productive use of leisure time that shapes the ideologies of its players through perceptions of place, setting up the US as a foil in this "companion" game to the celebration of imperial might in *Tar of all Weathers*.

Outlining what Edward Said has called the "long shadow" of imperialism, the conclusion, Chapter 5, "The Afterlife of Imperial Gaming in the Postcolonial Era," evaluates the legacy of imperial board games and practices of play in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The "afterlife" of imperial games identifies the persistence of the ideas and methodologies of nineteenth-century games, showing how they are still relevant to political problems on a global scale and how they continue to be deployed as teaching tools. Though I do explore the trend of imperial nostalgia and the way it crops up in gaming titles that either recuperate or reappropriate the term "empire," a less visible effect of nineteenth-century gaming is the way games continue to be used to help players understand power and military authority. In exploring all of these afterlives of imperial games, I divide the chapter into four pieces, two focused on a close reading of archival games and two looking at trends in contemporary games.

In the first section, "Finding the 'Right' Side of History: The View from the Pinnacle in William Sallis' *Pyramid of History* [post 1851]," I analyze Sallis' *Pyramid* to show how the British at this mid-century moment saw their own place in history. In the pyramid structure he has chosen for his game, all of world history is a long climb to the top of the pyramid, where he has positioned Queen Victoria and the Royal Family as the end of human progress. Other games explore the future in more detail than the past. The next section, "*From the Ranks to Commander in Chief*: Turn-of-the-century roots of war-based games," looks at a turn-of-the-century game, *From the Ranks to Commander-in-Chief* [c. 1901–1904], an early artifact that demonstrates the shift in games from a focus on historical battles to training for future ones and a career in military service. *From the Ranks* offers a step-by-step path for advancement to the highest rank in the British military, showing that strategies of risk and total commitment are necessary to win the game. The real-world stakes of this game can be dated to its historical moment; players who put their pieces on this board would grow up to play a very different game, following the lines of the trenches in World War I. The insights of game theory help to explore how these scenarios of risk and reward may influence players' behavior beyond the board, showing the ideological implications of these play scenarios.

As these examples suggest, games are still relevant to conversations about nation-building and social awareness of political problems, and they do continue to be used as teaching tools both in the home or classroom setting and as military training exercises, as seen when the CIA debuted some of its training games at the South by Southwest Festival in 2017. In this setting, the game prepares players for combat and war, operating as a recruitment tool for service in the armed forces. Though the CIA has adjusted the genre, mode, and scale of popular gaming as a training exercise and vehicle for its messages, the late Victorians were there first. Moving further into the afterlife of games in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the following section, "Collaborative and Competitive: the new life of contemporary games," applies game theory insights to the two prominent modes of engagement in contemporary games: collaboration and competition.

Collaboration is usually employed in educational games, particularly ones developed by the United Nations and international agencies looking to combat climate change. They emphasize the importance of working together and eschewing an individualistic model for a community-based perception. Collaboration on the game board is metonymic of the kinds of cooperation that will be necessary to solve global problems. The United Nations has used games to effect change in politically unstable areas of the world by introducing nonviolent means of conflict resolution. Collaborative gaming is also a means to resolve problems such as climate change, which affect everyone. Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research has developed a game to address this—*Keep Cool*—and California's Marin County Community Development Agency recently developed their own *Game of Floods*. In this online game, players are invited to be city planners on an island that is threatened by rising sea levels and storms. This gameplay encourages players to consider the stakes of climate change and the merits of environmental activism from the perspective of indigenous peoples in vulnerable locations. This is an important shift from the way the nineteenth-century games mapped the world and positioned non-European peoples as those to be acted upon, rather than acting. As islanders, players have the opportunity to problem-solve and to experience the stakes of climate change.

Competition is the strategy at work in militaristic games such as *Call of Duty* and *Fortnite*, and as the genealogy of these games indicates (traced back to the Japanese novel *Battle Royale* and the American novel *Hunger Games*), that competition requires total commitment and the elimination, rather than just the outwitting or outpacing, of all other players. Though militaristic games adopt the more brutal practices of the Empire, the term has been reappropriated, as traced in the final section, "Empire's afterlife: from nation to corporation." This section shows that at the moment when there continues to be an imperial nostalgia in some board games, others are reappropriating the term, uncoupling it from the domination of nations, and applying it to corporate capitalism. Games such as *Game of Life Empire* and *Monopoly Empire Edition* celebrate multinational corporations and their brands, encouraging players to build commercial empires. Power still flows in one direction, beginning with the pieces placed in the hands of middle-class children in the industrialized nations of the West. In their hands, consumerism and capitalism promise to become the new imperialism.

The conclusion brings together the work of the previous chapters and investigates how games mobilize play as an ideological space through which players come to understand and exercise power and authority over others on the board. It investigates what happens to that mode of engagement in the postcolonial era with the promise of inclusion and a recognition of the enfranchisement and dignity of all peoples, particularly those who were made subject to the military, administrative, and cultural subjugation through imperialism in all its forms. That has been the lens through which I have analyzed these games, looking for moments where the agencies of colonial peoples can be glimpsed through eruptive moments of resistance in the "pirates" at Sarawak or the Erromangoans who opposed Captain Cook, and even in the fictive, mapped depictions of islanders in Spooner's *Voyage*. Despite the gains of postcolonial studies, however, empire and forms of cultural domination and homogenization are still with us, albeit in a new form. The final chapter traces the way the nineteenth century itself continues to be represented, remembered, and rehearsed by child players of contemporary video and computer games that draw nostalgically on the imperial era or the practices of colonization. This demonstrates that the "afterlife" of imperial gaming brings with it a sobering recognition that games still engage in ideological work, explaining how the power and authority of complex systems manifest themselves across a global board.

Play Grounds: Situating Board Games Between the Literary Field and the Athletic Field

The final section of this introduction explores the way these games fit into the history, culture, and literary context of nineteenth-century British life. One of the important arms of Porter's argument about the awareness of imperialism among nineteenth-century Britons is that imperialist material "needs to be viewed *in situ* and against the background of other kinds of evidence if its real importance and meaning are to be adjudged" (13). He likens research in this period to an archeological model, emphasizing that scholars should not only gather "shards and fragments" from the past but should also attempt to look at them in the context of the surrounding terrain. Porter's point is a good one, encouraging careful and responsible scholarship sensitive to the period. Those who wrote for and about children frequently invoked games and gaming in their work as a narrative device or as a metaphor for imperial practice. Gameplay and associated language about these texts were so well established early in the century that when Kipling adopted the "Great Game" metaphor at the end of the century, it had acquired a rich resonance. This resonance is often missed by contemporary scholars who are unaware of the actual games children had been playing for generations in nurseries and parlors, as well as on cricket pitches and rugby fields.

The provenance of the term "Great Game" is the narrative of Arthur Connolly, a Bengal cavalry officer and chess player who published *Narrative of an Overland Journey to the North of India* (1838). With the phrase, Said has asserted that Connolly was "paying a compliment to the proficiency of the Russians at that game; for he applied it to diplomatic and other manoeuvres followed by India and Russia in their struggle for political ascendancy in western Asia in the first half of the nineteenth century" (Notes to *Kim* 353). In linking chess and international politics, Kipling's invocation of the phrase "Great Game" acquires a genealogy that relates table games, imperialism, and literature. In likening political machinations to a "game," Connolly and Kipling call attention to the deadly stakes often involved in diplomacy, espionage, conflict, and war, as Kim himself discovers over the course of the novel. In *Kim* (1901), the title character's game begins while lurking in the darkness near the home of a spy. Mahbub Ali turns to his young protégé and instructs him to "'Go up the hill and ask. Here begins the Great Game'" (195). With these cryptic directions, Kim is placed on the starting space of a game whose shadowy dimensions and murky rules he can barely comprehend, and he is sent forward and backward at the behest of the more powerful players around him. In the course of the novel, Kim shifts between operating as counter or pawn in the hands of these players and taking on an active role as a player or agent in his own right. Though Kim's situation as a spy-in-training is highly particularized and fictional, it is emblematic of the great games that nineteenth-century children were beginning to play themselves. Supriya Goswami argues that "British and Anglo-Indian children's literature is burdened with the important mission of preparing children to do their duty and become ideal imperial citizens who work tirelessly for the greater good of an Indian empire" (5). Like Kim, nineteenth-century middle-class children were introduced at a young age to a culture of imperialism; they, too, learned its rules, rewards, and parameters through game-like structures.

In Kim's case, Edward Said notes that "the scenes where Kim banters, bargains, repartees with his elders, friendly and hostile alike, are indications of Kipling's seemingly inexhaustible fund of boyish enjoyment in the sheer momentary pleasure of playing a game, any sort of game" (Introduction 13). While using codes and dressing in disguise to deliver secret messages may begin as a lark for Kim, the game he engages in is anything but child's play, yet it does follow traditional gaming methods. Kim's activities encompass the range of game classifications that David Parlett identifies in *The Oxford History of Board Games*. Amending H.J.R. Murray's game classification categories, Parlett includes race, space, chase, displace, and theme games. All of these designations were skills practiced by agents of Empire who had to race, chase, and displace others within the spaces it claimed. Descriptions of these gaming classifications from the field of psychology lay this bare. In their research, the "first systematic study of psychology and board games" (1), Fernand Gobet, Alex de Voogt, and Jean Retschitzki characterize the goal of "war games" like chess as "the destruction of the opponent" (3), and in race games, "the object of the game is not to destroy but to reach a target for which capturing pieces of the opponent is only one means to an end" (3), and alignment games such as tic tac toe "require players to reach a configuration" (3). In all of these examples, opponents are either "destr[oyed]" or "captur[ed]" or displaced by a configuration of strategic moves. This offers an interesting paradigm for considering how the British interacted with imperial rivals and colonized subjects in the Great Game.

To a child like Kim, already inured to the stealthy life of the streets, participation in the Great Game is an extension of his childish enjoyment of rooftop intrigues: "Kim warmed to the game, for it reminded him of experiences in the letter-carrying line. . . . But now he was playing for larger things—the sheer excitement and the sense of power" (*Kim* 95). As the latter half of the quote infers, the Great Game has higher stakes than Kim's earlier comparatively innocent escapades. This game is a political power struggle played across the surface of India: "From the South—God knows how far—came up the Mahratta, playing the Great Game in fear of his life. Now I shall go far and far into the North playing the Great Game. Truly, it runs like a shuttle throughout all Hind" (*Kim* 273). The invisible network of the Great Game has nodes all over India; agents only become visible to one another by the ritual incantation of certain passwords, thereby incorporating the game elements of a child's play like secret passwords, disguise, and hide-and-seek into adult espionage. Kim's proficiency in this world differs in degree, not in kind, from his counterparts in England. In fact, Kipling's invocation of the game trope is not surprising if we consider that children's games had been the means to drill children in imperial practices and to promote rich fantasies of power. In other words, the metaphor of the game grew out of the play of actual games earlier in the century, as I will show throughout the following chapters.

Beyond the message-carrying espionage of Kim, late nineteenth-century children's literature is riddled with references to other children's games. Games serve expositional and narrative purposes, from the cricket pitches and rugby scrums of Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown*'s *Schooldays* (1857) to the hide-and-seek games of Robert Louis Stevenson's Jim Hawkins in *Treasure Island* (1883),[26] Sir Henry Newbolt's "Vitai Lampada" (1898), and the antics of Rudyard Kipling's Stalky and his schoolmates. In the twentieth century, this extends to the expeditions of Arthur Ransome's Captain Nancy Blackett as well as A.A. Milne's Winnie the Pooh gang and James Norman Hall's Great War poem "The Cricketers of Flanders," and even onto the late twentieth-century quidditch grounds of Rowling's

Harry Potter and friends. Lord Baden-Powell's fascination with Kipling's fictional boys fed "directly into a grand scheme of imperial authority culminating in the great Boy Scout structure" (Introduction *Kim* 13). As a paramilitary organization galvanized by the outcry over the malnutrition and physical weakness of troops recruited for the Boer Wars, the Boy Scouts prepared "cadets" for a soldier's life by emphasizing the outdoors, patches, badges, and the chain of command. It was an authorized way for boys to play at being soldiers. William Golding's dark *The Lord of the Flies* (1954) argues that the legacy of nineteenth-century texts of imperial adventure, like R.M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* (1858) or Arthur Ransome's *Swallows and Amazons* (1930), shows the danger of playing out a role in these adventurous scripts. The model of role-playing exercise, endorsed by particular scripts, flourishes in parlor games and athletic games of the period as well.

In addition to appearing in the pages of favorite literary works, games were very eagerly played by children in gardens and courtyards at parties or social events and on athletic fields and village greens. Parlor games, puzzles, cards, and athletics were part of the story of the relationship between imperialism and children's games, but each genre is so diverse and complex that they are beyond the bounds of this study, and they offer tantalizing areas for future research, following up on the work J.A. Mangan and others have undertaken regarding athletics and propaganda. The public school particularly provided a framework for the play of these games and the dire stakes associated both with winning and with playing honorably. The role of athletic games at these schools in promoting nationalism, preparing young men for war, and fostering teamwork, perseverance, and willpower has been well documented. Mangan calls these games the "pre-eminent instrument for the training of a boy's character" (*Games Ethic* 18), going so far as to claim that "the nature of the Empire would scarcely have been the same without the public school games ethic" (19). His remarks are echoed by Jane Frances Dove, a headmistress of girls' schools St. Leonard's and Wycombe Abbey School, in the epigraph when she lobbies for the importance of athletic games in cultivating the kind of character that will be useful to Britain in imperial outposts. Mangan outlines connections between the spread of Empire and the proliferation of games like cricket, football, and rugby. By yoking an understanding of the "nature of Empire" to an awareness of the role that games played in training players to be good imperial citizens, soldiers, self-sacrificing missionaries, and civil servants, Mangan offers a precedent for considering how games matter at one end of the spectrum. These "play grounds" offered bounded spaces for recreational play according to sets of established rules. At the other end of a spectrum of gaming, board games also operated in a similarly bounded two feet of tabletop space, and like athletic games, this play offered ways to access a broader global world.[27]

While gender as well as social class may have determined participation in athletics, access to board gameplay was perhaps more democratized.[28] It is rare to find a game that has separate rules for players according to gender or games that target girls or boys exclusively. Adrian Seville has identified one exception, a French game, Crepy's *Les Etrennes de la Jeunessse* (1713), that had separate tracks for male and female players (1008). "[R]are" distinctions like these nonetheless help in "confirming that the games concerned were intended to be played in mixed company" (Seville 1009). Both boys and girls could actively participate in the play of board and table games in the nineteenth-century home, whereas mixed-gender participation in a rugby scrum may not have met with the same sanction. Therefore, the significance of these games has cross-gender implications, in that they invited child players to rehearse imperial roles and inhabit the subject positions of soldiers, merchants, explorers, hunters, exhibitors, curators, and historians, regardless of whether or not these fields would be open to them as adults. The games provided a safe, though bounded, "play ground" in which possibilities of identity could be rehearsed, performed, explored, and improvised.[29]

Though boy players could later recuperate their youthful play into administrative, commercial, or military service to the Empire, girls may have struggled to find ways to perform the roles they had rehearsed as children and to participate in the work of empire. This fits the portrayal Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone have sketched of the nineteenth-century girl as a "liminal" figure "[p]oised not only between childhood and adulthood but also between purity and desire, home and market, tradition and change" (8). As such, these girls "symbolized, experienced, and in some degree forwarded the cultural crisis into which they were born" (Nelson and Vallone 8–9). Yet they, too, were able to find means to forward the work that board games invited them to rehearse. As the market for professional women writers opened up in the early nineteenth century with the modest triumphs of Sarah Trimmer, Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth, Harriet Martineau, and others, women such as Priscilla Wakefield, Barbara Hofland, and Favell Lee Mortimer found a measure of socially sanctioned success in publishing geography primers, travel tales, and game anthologies for children. These anthologies detailed parlor games for play at parties or on rainy afternoons.[30] In a family setting as well, girls and boys are depicted playing out the experience of colonization. Texts like Sarah Lee [Bowdich]'s *Playing at Settlers* [1854) detail how three siblings create a settlers' outpost on the margins of their parents' country estate, suggesting a model of interactivity for readers in which they, too, could extend the work and play of empire and colonial administration to their own homes.

Most famous, of course, is the Brontë children's production of the extensive Angria and Glass Town chronicles (1829–1839), which attests that the culture of Empire permeated even remote areas like Haworth

Parsonage and provided rich material for children's gaming. In her early juvenilia "The Young Men's Play," "A History of a Year," and "Islander's Play," Charlotte details how she and her siblings played with Branwell's toy soldiers and neatly divided up the globe into territories for the soldiers to rule. For instance, Emily gains Ireland and the East Indies, whereas Charlotte takes charge of Upper Canada and the West Indies. Calling Charlotte's chronicle of these events "a declaration of her identity as a writer" (31), Susan Meyer asserts that this game fostered "an imperialism of the imagination" that "preceded and enabled the children's fiction writing" (32). With an output of nearly 1200 pages of juvenilia about these imaginary colonial settlements, the Brontë children demonstrated a unique commitment to their imperial games, which would later inflect their fiction. Charlotte's *Jane Eyre* (1847) in particular is a novel haunted by the failures of Empire in the character of Bertha Mason and in the harem women against whom Jane defines herself. While much has been written about the imperial undertones in this novel, its genealogy is rooted in the siblings' juvenilia, which itself grew out of an engagement with material culture; their toy soldiers are artifacts that are part of the apparatus of empire and which suggest a particular script for play.

The majority of children who played with toy soldiers, who romped in parlor games, who vied for footballs, who placed pieces on board games, or who were inspired by their reading did not go on to produce such lasting literary works as the Brontës. Furthermore, these playful acts disappeared for the most part as soon as they were concluded. Karin Calvert notes that "children described the substance of their lives even less frequently" (68), and that is why we need a study of the "link between artifacts and cultural constructs" as "an important method for gaining access to cultural beliefs and assumptions so basic that they are rarely verbalized and to social fears too emotionally laden for direct discussion" (68). As Calvert suggests, while the scope and extent of the influence of this child's play may never be fully known, a study of the proliferation of material culture objects demonstrates the likely effects in shaping players' ideologies in particular ways that had concrete effects in the world. Gameplay may have influenced their later decisions to swell the ranks of soldiers, missionaries, clerks, and merchants in the colonies, or in the metropole their eagerness to purchase goods such as ivories and Indian shawls or foodstuffs such as tea and spices from the colonies.[31]

In the pages of fiction, gameplay also serves an expositional role, demonstrating to us characters' true qualities. Games have an expositional function in the novels of Jane Austen when characters sit down for loo or vingt-un instead of walking out or reading. Lady Catherine in *Pride and Prejudice* is an enthusiastic card player, suggesting perhaps a thirst for triumphing over others. At the other end of the century and a world away from the ostentation of Rosings Park, games can also reveal a character's cultural identity. Kipling's short story "Lispeth" traces the tale of a young Indian woman raised by missionaries, christened "Elizabeth" but called "Lispeth" in the Hill or Pahari pronunciation. She falls in love with a white English traveler whom she helps nurse back to health. After he leaves her, Lispeth is thrown into confusion and anxiety waiting for his return. At this moment of crisis, she turns to a childhood game: "There was an old puzzle-map of the World in the house. Lispeth had played with it when she was a child. She unearthed it again, and put it together of evenings, and cried to herself, and tried to imagine where her Englishman was" (226). Kipling depicts her putting together a dissected map, a ready visual and tactile metaphor for the ways in which she attempts to reconcile the fragmented parts of her identity. In her love affair with the white man, however, she cannot find a way to puzzle out the elements of her identity to create a recognizable whole in the same way—she remains fragmented, culturally English and racially Indian, and when she finds out that he is never going to return, she falls to pieces. She leaves the mission, her faith community, her home with the chaplain's family, and her borrowed English traditions; Kipling represents this event as the spur that leads to her loss of beauty, her marriage to a man who beats her, and subsequent drunken nights when she can be coaxed into telling the story of her love affair. Like Lispeth, her counterparts in England also "develop a sense of self not in a vacuum but in reaction to the directives of the society they inhabit and the texts they read" (Gubar 7). Just as she turns to a childhood plaything in her moment of crisis, so, too, must other children have relied on their ideological training. As Marah Gubar contends, "The reason Golden Age authors chose to link literacy and acculturation was that they recognized that their own genre had historically functioned as a tool for socialization and even indoctrination" (29).

Though continuous with the way gaming is represented in the literary tradition and on the athletic fields of the period, these board games are unique. They were played by children within the context of their everyday lives—in the same parlors and playgrounds where they were drilled on social behavior and decorum as well as the nurseries where they learned reading, arithmetic, and geography. These games were not sponsored or invoked by institutions such as the public school or the church. Instead, their production and sales were driven by market forces, suggesting again the importance of acquiring imperial knowledge for financial, as well as patriotic, reasons. The games are in line with Jack Zipes' bold assertion that "there is no such thing as a children's culture or children's realm," contending that these arenas are in fact "marked by divisive political and social struggles and the impositions of their parents" (34). These games prepared players for the administrative, as well as martial, work of Empire, and that makes them unique as an archive, differentiating them from playthings such as toy pistols and swords, which were purely military in nature.

As the examples of the Brontës and Austen's Lady Catherine indicate, games were played in social settings. They were designed for group play, in keeping with the trend that J.H. Plumb identifies in children's education after 1700: "Socialization rather than salvation became the new aim" (286). As Donatino Domini's research on European board games stipulates, they take place "within the signifying web of sociality" (8). Building empire was a social experience, learned in community. One cannot play alone, but must make progress by playing alongside, with, or even against other players in an analogue for the way the European rivals sought to play out their Great Games with one another in the spheres of Africa, the Americas, and Asia.

To conclude and mark the way forward then, as the discussion of these early games shows, these were rich texts that employed both written and visual stimuli for child players. Though absent from studies of imperial culture as well as analyses of nineteenth-century childhood, board games operated as imperial heuristics that extended through play the ideological and imperial lessons learned in schoolroom texts on geography and history. The games were presented as educational aids for ambitious middle-class parents, offering a rational and responsible mode of leisure as well as a way to cultivate the child into a model informed citizen. As Humphrey Carpenter characterizes it, "To the typical writer of the Enlightenment, a child was simply a miniature adult, a chrysalis from which a fully rational and moral being would duly emerge, providing parents and educators did their job properly" (7). Karen Calvert puts it most succinctly: "Parents do not merely raise their children; they define them" (76). As Bernstein's research has shown and Henry Jenkins' conclusions support, "Children, no less than adults, are active participants in that process of defining their identities though they join those interactions from positions of unequal power" (Jenkins 4). In these positions, child players certainly absorbed much of imperial ideology, coded by F.R.B. Whitehouse as "the thrills" of imperial travel and imagination, and they negotiated their identities by playing or improvising the scripts offered by their readings and their playthings (4).[32]

As children's literature scholars have worked to show, one of the modes of encouraging rational and moral beings to emerge was through written texts, especially stories. Andrew O'Malley argues, "Children's literature became one of the crucial mechanisms for disseminating and consolidating middle-class ideology" (11). What has been overlooked in this conversation is the extent to which games were part of this conversation as well because they, too, offered persuasive narratives of power. They fostered children's awareness of colonial policy while fueling ideological desires to be part of the progress and rewards of the larger imperial project. The ideology promoted by the games shaped their worldview and conditioned their responses. In addition, this genre taught children how to administer their Empire by regulating, placing, and classifying colonized territories. Board games offered a panoptic vision of Empire for children to contemplate while envisioning their own moves; consequently, board games consistently reinforced the connection between the child's wins or losses in the game and the larger successes or failures of Empire.

The small space of the game board is significant to the larger global space that is its reference point. As Henri Lefebvre's work on space has shown, "Space is at once result and cause, product and producer; it is also a *stake*, the locus of projects and actions deployed as part of specific strategies, and hence also the object of wagers on the future—wagers which are articulated, if never completely" (142–143). The produced, gamed spaces reveal the stakes that middle-class Victorians had in their children's future and the consequences of these wagers for peoples across the globe. As a result, in reconstructing this imperial story, the arguments this project makes are not one, but many related ones, the first being, why recover this set of texts? They are as divergent in many ways as any other set of generic texts in "women's nineteenth-century novels" or "mid-century devotional hymns." So in answering why they should be recovered, I examine each one and determine what its contribution is to the larger national and imperial narrative and what the effects of this ideological work are as they echo down the centuries to our own time. The arguments are many, and they are driven by what the texts themselves are saying. To ferret that out, I have created ways to think and talk critically about these objects as texts, to let them tell their own stories, and to read against the grain to identify the stories and the voices that are not told and to imagine how different the game would be if it included the voices of those it maps.

Notes

1. Karin Calvert self-reflexively explores such objectification of the child: "In both a material and a grammatical sense, children have usually been regarded as objects. Traditionally, they were the possessions of their parents, to be dealt with as parents thought best. . . . Adults designed, produced, and purchased the material goods used by children, structured their time and their environment, and defined the recognized stages of development and the appropriate image and behavior for each stage" (76).
2. Games that taught history through the framework of royal succession include the following titles: *The Royal genealogical pastime of the sovereigns of England, from the dissolution of the Saxon heptarchy to the reign of his present majesty George the Third* (E. Newbery and John Wallis, 1791); *The Royal Game of British Sovereigns: exhibiting the most remarkable events in each reign, from Egbert to George III* (J & E Wallis, [1817]); John Harris' *The Jubilee* (1810) and *The Sun of Brunswick* (1820); *Peter Parley's Victoria Game of British Sovereigns* (Darton and Clark [c. 1840]); *Amusement in English History* (William Sallis, c. 1840); *British Sovereigns* (Edward Wallis and John Passmore [1840–1847]); and David Ogilvy's *British Sovereigns: or the circle of British history* (1845–1850) and *Crowned heads or contemporary sovereigns; an instructive game* [1845–1847]. These dynastic games often

featured portraits of sovereigns with an accompanying book listing important events in their reigns. They helped familiarize child players both with the sovereigns and with important battles, treaties, and the passage of laws.

3. Exploration of England and Wales was a popular subject for board games as well as dissected maps, as the following titles indicate: Robert Sayer's *A new royal geographical pastime for England and Wales,* 1787; J. Passmore's reissue of *Wallis's Picturesque Round Game of the produce and manufactures of the counties of England and Wales* [1795]; W & T Darton's *Walker's Tour through England and Wales, a New Pastime*, 1809; and William Spooner's *Spooner's pictorial map of England and Wales*, 1844.
4. Games offered modes of transport ranging from an elephant-back ride through Asia (William Darton's *The noble game of Elephant and Castle; or Travelling in Asia*, 1822) to a journey by steamboat (William Spooner's *An Eccentric Excursion to the Chinese Empire*, 1843), riding the great Victorian innovation, the railway (Edward Wallis' *Wallis's New Railway Game, or Tour through England and Wales* [1830]), and later even by bicycle ([n.p.] *A Cycle Game*. England, c. 1900), motorcar ([Chad Valley's] *The new game of motor tour*, 1912; *The New Map Game: Motor-chase across London*, c. 1925), or airplane (Melbourne's National Game Co.'s *Around the Commonwealth by aeroplane*, c. 1910; H.P. Gibson & Son's *Aviation, the Aerial Tactics Game of Attack and Defense,* 1920; and Chad Valley's *Atlantic flight: the new game of Atlantic flight,* c. 1920–1930). In offering different modes of transport, the games not only authorized travel to foreign locales but also predicated the speed and success of these journeys on the progress of British innovation. The march of progress to advance and ameliorate modern life was suggested by games that celebrated science and progress, from the architectural wonders of the ancient world (William Spooner's *The Wonders of the World chiefly in reference to the architectural works of the ancients; an entirely new game for the amusement and education of youth*, c. 1837–1846) to inventions such as the hot air balloon and diving bell (John Wallis' *The Hill of Science, an allegory,* 1807; William Sallis' *Why, what and because, The Road to the Temple of Knowledge*, 1855).
5. The Wallis firm went on to produce games designed to help players make moral choices based on their social class positions (Edward Wallis' *Village portraits: a new game,* c. 1818 and 1847, and his *Every man to his station: a new game*, 1825). John Wallis and John Harris marketed George Fox's *A new, moral, and entertaining game of the reward of merit,* 1801), and W. and T. Darton published *The new game of virtue rewarded and vice punished for the amusement of the youth of both sexes* (1810). This game featured stops for vices such as Envy and Malice as players progressed onto spaces named for virtues such as Faith and Charity. One late-century game even offered suggestions for a felicitous *Path to Matrimony* (1893). Success in life was sometimes depicted as a journey to a particular place, such as a stylized "Mansion of Happiness" (R.H. Laurie's *Laurie and Whittle's New Moral and Entertaining Game of the Mansion of Happiness*, 1800), a "Mount of Knowledge" (John Wallis, John Harris, and W. Richardson's *The mount of knowledge,* c. 1800–1810), a "Temple of Happiness" (this is the destination reached by players of John Wallis' *The Mirror of Truth: exhibiting a variety of biographical anecdotes and moral essays: calculated to inspire a love of virtue and abhorrence of vice,* 1811; John Harris' version was *The Road to the Temple of Honour and Fame,* c. 1831), or an English cottage (William Spooner's *The Cottage of Content, or Right Roads and Wrong Ways, a Game*, 1848).
6. Jane Johnson (1708–1759) created manuscripts, alphabet cards, lesson cards, and sight word cards for her son George William Johnson, who would

go on to become the High Sheriff of Lincolnshire. The Lilly Library at Indiana University houses 438 pieces, arranged in 23 subgroups. These self-made educational aids offer a perspective on parental pedagogy (Johnson).

7. Darton's games were nested inside the body of creatures in the following games: *The Noble Game of the Swan* (1821), *The Noble Game of the Elephant and Castle* (1822), *The majestic game of the Asiatic ostrich* [c. 1820].
8. Thomas Jefferys' (no relation to John) *The Royal Geographical Pastime: Exhibiting a Complete tour round the world in which are delineated the North East and North West Passages into the South Sea, and other modern Discoveries* (1770) started the tradition of a descriptive list or guidebook with numbers keyed to a series of points of interest not on a prescribed track, but coordinated on the map (Hill 10).
9. The *Game of the Goose* was played by an audience as varied as the Dauphin of France and gamblers in English taverns (Seville 1001).
10. In these early puzzle versions of board games, child players pieced together the world or parts of it, thereby learning geography. Some board games, such as the ones the Ogilvy firm produced, were also sold as dissections. For more on early puzzles and dissected maps, see Linda Hannas' work in *Two hundred years of jigsaw puzzles* (1968), *The English Jigsaw Puzzle 1760–1890* (1972), and *The Jigsaw Book: celebrating two centuries of jigsaw-puzzling round the world* (1981).
11. Locke himself was aware of the learning process through which children could absorb geography. In fact, he recommended starting a child's education with geography, stipulating that it is "an exercise of the eyes and memory" through which a child with pleasure will learn and retain" the situation of countries, coastlines, and cities (142–143). As an example of these principles, Locke cites Francis Cudworth Masham, the child of Sir Francis Masham, with whom Locke made his home from 1691 until his death. He states that the child "whom his mother has so well instructed this way in geography, that he knew the limits of the four parts of the world, could readily point, being asked, to any country upon the globe, or any county in the map of England; knew all the great rivers, promontories, straits and bays in the world, and could find the longitude and latitude of any place, before he was six years old" (142–143). Locke concedes that these points "are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the globes. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his judgment is grown ripe enough for it: [. . .] and by the pleasure of knowing things, leads him on insensibly to the gaining of languages" (142–143). Geography and the acquisition of geographic knowledge offer a springboard to higher forms of knowledge.
12. Later in the century, game makers would turn to cheaper cardboard material, especially in America, and games would be stored in larger boxes, probably apart from the bookshelf. This physical distance correlates to the distance in subject matter and their use as educational tools.
13. Economic historians have tried to reconstruct and scale the standard of living in the wake of the Industrial Revolution in Britain, but calculating that has proven very tricky since a variety of competing factors, such as wages, real wages, price indexes, taxes, urban versus suburban, and geography, all come into play. In the 1960s, E.J. Hobsbawm and his adherents declared that standard of living did not rise after the Industrial Revolution for working-class families, whereas R.M. Hartwell and his followers asserted that it did. A rise in living standards can be indicated by tracking consumption of tea, sugar, and bread, especially following the deprivations of the Napoleonic Wars, after which food prices declined and wages rose (Hartwell 107).

14. Since even less economically advantaged children would have their roles to play in the work of Empire, there are exceptions, particularly when it came to books featuring collections of parlor games. The author of *Pleasant Evenings* (1847) asserts that her book of games has been "adapted by its size for general circulation; and is published in the hope that it may not only please those already provided with varied sources of amusement, but find its way into some less favored homes from which similar, but more costly, publications are excluded" (E.R. iv).
15. Handloom weavers at the start of the century were the "aristocrats of labour with wages of 30s–35s a week," but by the 1830s, "as mechanical weaving took over, they had been reduced to a starvation wage of 1d an hour or 6s for a week of 72 hours' labour" (Burnett 249). This was almost 500,000 workers, though few persisted through the transition.
16. At mid-century, while a Lancashire cotton spinner earning 25s a week could put 6s and 11d aside for clothing, schooling, and sickness, an agricultural laborer in Suffolk earning 13s a week would have been more pressed, and it is likely that his children would have been working with him. For a semi-skilled urban worker earning 15s to £1 a week, food would have cost about 72% of his income for him, his wife, and their three children; a little dame school would have run 4d a week, probably all that they could afford (Burnett 261–263).
17. In 1857, the state assumed the right to require school for any non-criminals between ages 7 and 14 who were vagrants; they had to attend industrial schools "for vocational and moral direction" (Denisoff 9). Yet given the focus of these settings, it is unlikely they would have offered games to these children to play with in the classroom or, even less likely, as prizes for attendance or good behavior given the prohibitive expense of the games relative to wages in this period.
18. John Burnett characterizes the debate about living standards for the working classes as considering whether, following Marx's line of thought, the Industrial Revolution was a "calamity to the working classes" or "the savior of the working classes" (189). The reason the working classes have tended to dominate the conversation is because there were considerably more of them. At mid-century, working classes comprised close to 80% of the population, a number that would shrink by the end of the century, but in 1867, Dudley Baxter estimated that this worked out to 7.8 million people out of a population of 10 million (Burnett 247). Revelations of their desperate poverty in the novels of Charles Dickens, beginning with *Oliver Twist* (1839), and in the proto-sociological reports of Henry Mayhew at mid-century and Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree in the 1880s offered periodic shocks to the reading public.
19. See the work of Johan Huizinga (*Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, 1938 [in German]), H.J.R. Murray (*A History of Board Games other than Chess*, 1952), Roger Caillois (*Man, Play, and Games*, 1961), R.C. Bell (*Discovering Old Board Games*, 1973), and David Parlett (*The Oxford History of Board Games*, 1999).
20. I am referring here to works by games historians such as F.R.B. Whitehouse, whose *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days* (1951) begins, "The origins of indoor games is lost in the mists of time" (1), tracing the rise of chess in India. Proceeding by category, Whitehouse lists each game by title, with a brief description of each. H.J.R. Murray's foundational *A History of Board Games Other than Chess* classifies game playing into discrete categories. He maintains that board games are a "single family" with many members, and he highlights the differences and similarities between games

played by "civilized" and "barbarous" peoples, linking the play of games to climate and leisure. Johan Huizinga's work in *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* focuses on the definition of "play" and its geneology in modern institutions of philosophy, poetry, war, and the law. He argues, "We have to conclude, therefore, that civilization is, in its earliest phases, played" (Huizinga 198). Roger Caillois distinguishes between players and workers, delineating the labor of "professional" play by boxers and cricketers (Caillois 6).

21. Shefrin's work is beautifully illustrated, with lots of photographic detail. See *Such Constant Affectionate Care: Lady Charlotte Finch, Royal Governess to the Children of George III,* and *"Neatly Dissected, for the Instruction of Young Ladies & Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography": John Spilsbury & Early Dissected Puzzles*. These books are valuable resources offering a visual spectrum of the production of these games.
22. For more on gaming and computers, see Morton D. Davis' *Game Theory: A nontechnical introduction* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1983) or Len Fisher's *Rock, Paper, Scissors: Game Theory in Everyday Life* (NY: Perseus Book Group, 2008).
23. The board games in this case provide a type of theatrical representation of the work of empire and colonialism akin to Said's assertion that the Orient has been mapped as a type of theater by historians and scholars (and I would add game makers): "The Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined" (*Orientalism* 63).
24. In "Old Man in His Castle," one player stands alone on one side of a line while all the others stand on the other side. Each one ventures forward and poses a request, such as, "'May I have some of your apples, old man?' The moment the line is crossed, she darts forward, exclaiming, 'Go off my grounds!' If she can catch the culprit on her own grounds, she is obliged to take her place; but she has no right to go over the line in the pursuit. Sometimes three or four intruders will be in at once. Children vary the questions as they please; sometimes they ask for cherries, or birds, or hay, or blackberries" (Child 40–41). Catching and disciplining "intruders" is certainly in line with foresters guarding against poachers of the king's deer or groundskeepers warding off interloping schoolboys like Thomas Hughes' Tom Brown and his friends or Rudyard Kipling's Stalky and his confederates. Beyond the issue of policing class boundaries and protecting private property, it can also be contextualized alongside games by Spooner and Betts as an attempt to put down other European rivals in the Great Game.
25. M.O. Grenby offers a supporting example from the children's book market: "There was a substantial degree of continuity in the market for early children's books, with numerous eighteenth-century titles being read and recommended for decades after they had first appeared" (191).
26. The rhetoric of "gaming" is also employed by Robert Louis Stevenson in *Treasure Island* (1883) to describe a deadly game of tag that young Jim engages in with pirate Israel Hands aboard the deserted vessel *Hispaniola*. Jim reflects, "It was such a game as I had often played at home about the rocks of Black Hill Cove; but never before, you may be sure, with such a wildly beating heart as now. Still, as I say, it was a boy's game, and I thought I could hold my own at it, against an elderly seaman with a wounded thigh" (Stevenson 113).
27. Researchers on play emphasize how it is subject to both spatial and temporal limits. Spatially, play is conducted in specific "play grounds": stadiums, rings, or on stage; temporally, play is regulated by quarters, counters, buzzers, or acts. For children, play functions as "an intermezzo, an *interlude* in our daily

lives" (Huizinga 27). The liminal space of the game links it to what Foucault calls "heterochronies," the moments of revelry and festival that are lived outside of, though within, ordinary time. The bounds of play are fixed according to Caillois: "In every case, the game's domain is therefore restricted, closed, protected universe: a pure space" (7). Perhaps this applies to some forms of play; yet it is my contention that the play practiced by Victorian and pre-Victorian children had a stimulating effect on their imagination and ultimate participation in the project of Empire. The domain of this play, therefore, extended in their imagination and through their adult actions into the world.

28. Commensurate with their brothers' commitment to sport, teamwork, and the glory of the school, as Sally Mitchell's study *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880–1915* (1995) has shown, "For middle-class girls the most visible brothers' privileges were education and sports; no wonder fiction's sporty boarding schools rose so prominently in desire" (105). The appeal came in part because "masculinity provided physical and geographical freedom: nonobstructive clothing, an athletic body, safe passage through public spaces that men made dangerous for those who wore skirts" (Mitchell 105). Yet these activities set off a flurry of controversy from the pens of essayists such as Eliza Lynn Linton about whether engaging in athletics would unsex them.
29. I am thinking here specifically of Kipling's schoolboys in *Stalky & Co.* (1899), whose youthful adventures prepare them for military service in India. The most inventive player of games, Stalky, becomes a gifted military strategist and a redoubtable fighter, thus linking childhood escapades in school to adult occupations in Empire.
30. As Hannah Neale notes in the title page rhyme to *Amusement Hall; or, An Easy Introduction to the Attainment of Useful Knowledge* (1794),

> In Works of Learned Labour, let *the Men*,
> With their superior Pow'rs, employ the Pen,
> And hidden Truths explore;—'tis *our* Design
> Instruction with Amusement to combine,
> Pleasure with useful Knowledge to unite,
> And yield at once Improvement and Delight.
> (n.p.)

From the late eighteenth century, when Neale was writing, continuing through the Victorian period, games fulfilled the function of "Instruction with Amusement to combine" and established the domestic as a training ground for imperial activity.

31. I am thinking here of the famous scene in Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1855) in which characters model Indian shawls, setting these objects up as items of social value.
32. The full quote reads, "A geography game of 1816 allots large capital letters to BOTANY BAY, small ones to SIDNEY, and in Africa wide spaces are marked 'unexplored.' Imagine the thrills our ancestors of six generations ago must have experienced in visiting such lands [. . .]" (Whitehouse 4).

the economies were hungry for overseas markets, raw materials, cheap labor, and hugely profitable land" plus colonial defense and infrastructure (*Culture and Imperialism* 8). Games articulated the meaning and importance of this vast Empire to the impressionable child players who would grow up to rule it.

Notes

1. See the Appendix for a glimpse of how these games fit within the game tradition's focus on commerce.
2. In his early work on games, F.R.B. Whitehouse describes the production: "Like the early maps, these old games were printed from engraved copper or steel plates and coloured by hand with water colour paint" (3).
3. On the box cover for *Life of Nelson* [c. 1846], Spooner features a series of six puzzles. *The Life of Nelson* [c. 1846] features Nelson's portrait with the words "England expects every man to do his duty." The puzzle features images from Nelson's life, from attacking a bear as a youth, to boarding an American frigate, to battle on the Nile, to his death.
4. E. and M.A. Ogilvy published *The Fancy Bazaar, or Aristocratic Traders* (3s, 6d) and *Outward bound; or ships and their cargoes* (1865). *Outward* requires players to collect "cargo" cards, following Spooner's take-or-pay economics, but adding imperial rivals and enforcing fair play with the threat of paying forfeits. These games were social exercises for players to learn moral principles and practical skills in negotiation with their playfellows.
5. Islands were a recognizable literary landscape: from Prospero wresting his island from Caliban to Robinson Crusoe industriously colonizing, including Gulliver and the Swiss Family Robinson. Later in the century, R.M. Ballantyne, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jules Verne plot *Coral Island*s, *Treasure Island*s, and *Mysterious Island*s.
6. Since some of the topics are overlapping, I have done my best to sort them based on primary interest. Weather and sailing could potentially have two more entries, and discovery and exploration could potentially have one more.
7. See Matthew Edney's work on the surveying of India by British cartographers in *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765–1843* (Chicago University Press, 1997).
8. If some games emphasized the broad scope of the colonial world and the adventures that waited there, William Sallis' *The New Game of the Overland Route to India* [185–?] shows the difficulty of arriving there in the first place. The game features a series of long, stacked horizontal bubbles. The bubbles feature scenes of travel through islands, cities, and a desert oasis within sight of the Egyptian pyramids. The game celebrates British naval might and shipbuilding technology but also acknowledges the dangers. Space 19 depicts a naval battle between two equally matched rows of ships. Below, space 6 features a deadly storm in which the ship careens dangerously to one side.
9. Though Cook's death is the most likely precedent given the island setting, there are probably many, many more occasions in which Europeans left smoldering villages behind them in return for slights. In one instance of what historian George Bancroft calls an act of "inconsiderate revenge" (97, 10th ed), Sir Richard Grenville ordered a native village to be burnt and the standing corn destroyed after a silver cup was stolen from his ship and not promptly returned during his 1585 voyage to explore the Carolina and Virginia coast (95–97, 10th ed).

10. Edward Said notes that “the scenes where Kim banters, bargains, repartees with his elders, friendly and hostile alike, are indications of Kipling’s seemingly inexhaustible fund of boyish enjoyment in the sheer momentary pleasure of playing a game, any sort of game” (Introduction 13). Kipling identifies the process of bartering for information as a “game,” one that we now know child players had engaged in for decades in games like Spooner’s.
11. In addition to exploration and trade, islands were also a spiritual contact zone. In 1796, the London Missionary Society sent 30 missionaries to Tahiti, concerned not with the content of the islanders’ larders and gold pans, but with their souls. Despite their prominence as a kinder, gentler face of the imperial project, missionaries did not inspire games inviting players to practice conversion. This absence reinforces that despite the Empire’s nominal interest in the souls of its colonists, the focus was on successful barter and trade, backed by necessary force.
12. Spooner’s contemporary John Murray published incredibly popular travel guides. Like the games, these guides offered specific itineraries, or tracks, through foreign territory, with stops where travelers were encouraged to gather souvenirs. Guidebooks warn about untrustworthy local innkeepers, shopkeepers, maids, and guides, urging travelers to “take” as much as possible while “paying” as little as they could, thus adopting a similar methodology to the games.
13. The primacy of ends over means is underscored when players “Fall in with a wreck, and find much Treasure” and “Take 3” (*Voyage Royal* [9]). This big reward overshadows the reality that the wrecked ship’s crew has clearly perished. The priority is taking the cargo, rather than mourning the loss of fellow sailors or the vessel.
14. Spooner’s characterization of taking is consistent with other children’s games that reduce nations to the commodities that can be extracted. *Sutton’s Geography Cards* [1892], edited by Arthur Montefiore, uses commodities to teach countries. Cards depict maps of Scotland, Ireland, and France, with commodities like “Wheat,” “Barley,” “Oysters,” “Farm Produce,” “Iron,” “Cotton,” and “Fruit.” The England card celebrates “her coals, iron and manufactured goods” sold globally “especially to her Colonies [. . .] [S]he buys or imports food and raw, i.e. unmanufactured goods, from all countries of the world—especially from her Colonies. Thus England is a great commercial or trading country, aided and enriched by a colonial Empire” (Montefiore). The repeated qualifier “especially to her Colonies” indicates their commercial importance as marketplaces and sources of raw materials.
15. Sources suggest that George Philip & Son took over production of Betts’ globes around 1880 and continued even into 1920, but in an 1890 catalogue, Edwin Stanford advertises Betts’ portable globes (Dekker 276).
16. In his catalogue, Betts advertises a portable globe priced at 3s, 6d, so there may have been another version.
17. In Bombay, an 1865–1866 inventory of the Government Book Depot lists “six copies of Betts’s portable globe with stand” and “five copies of a much more affordable Betts’s portable globe” (Ramaswamy 177).
18. *A Tour* [c. 1850] appears in the 1946 exhibition catalogue *Children’s Books of Yesterday* (44).
19. Chu-chueh Cheng argues that John Bartholomew’s *British Empire throughout the World Exhibited in One View* [c. 1850s] deploys a deliberate structure to promote British superiority: “This intention is doubly accentuated by the centring of Europe on the map and the panoramic illustration of different races around the margin. Positioning itself at the centre of One View, Britain effectively deploys an ocular rhetoric to dictate how it wishes to be viewed” (3).

20. The route proceeds to the Channel Islands, Gibraltar, and Malta, but there is an alternative. If players land on an asterisked space, they proceed "to India by way of the overland route—as Malta, Alexandria, Aden, Bombay. The others will proceed by way of Sierra Leone, Ascension, St. Helena, and the Cape" (*A Tour* [2]).
21. Betts describes Bombay as a wedding present in the marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Portugal. It contains a "strong and capacious fortress, splendid harbor, dockyard, and marine arsenal; and here some of the finest merchant ships are built" (*A Tour* 8). This city thrives under British rule, and "the markets are well supplied with every delicacy" (8). Trade is a generative force, enriching the markets, homes, and shops of a place otherwise described as barren, with scarce water resources. Its merchant ships circulate throughout the Empire.
22. At mid-century, two games respond to the discovery of gold in Australia by making that a central topic: *Race to the Gold Diggings of Australia* [c. 185–?] and James Barfoot and Darton & Co.'s *Gold Fields of Australia* [c. 1856]. America followed this model with *Game of the Klondike, or Trip to the Gold Fields of Alaska* (1897).
23. In "Tom Tiddler's Ground," the child playing Tom "presides in solitary state" over a section of the field while other players pretend to gather nuggets, singing, "'Here I am on Tom Tiddler's ground, picking up gold and silver!' He rushes after them, and if he succeeds in catching anybody, that one has to take his place as Tom Tiddler. Tom may not leave his own ground" (Greenaway 30–31). Embodying the scramble for territory, games like this also preserve the urgency around the control of raw materials and commodities. This simple game taught players to stay in their places, do their duty, and protect their assets. This protectionism also appears in Betts' game with the continual notice of forts and in Spooner's game when the ship captains punish islanders who challenge the terms of barter. With the discovery of gold in India and Australia and diamonds in Africa at mid-century, the games reflect the yoking of imperial commercial domination and personal interest.
24. Piracy is depicted as a high-stakes game in *Treasure Island*. After Silver double-crosses the mutineers, Jim mulls "my own perilous position . . . in the remarkable game that I saw Silver now engaged upon" (Stevenson 129). Silver's "remarkable game" involves the gathering of sets of allies and the balancing of assets—the ship, the map, the gold.
25. Spooner's *The Pirate and traders of the West Indies* (1847) features a map of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico along with instructions for one player to be the "pirate" and the others to be the traders who must spin the teetotum and move about the board, trying to protect their goods from the pirates that "infest these seas." Instead of pirates plundering, the game really focuses on protecting trade for all players. Spooner stipulates, "Should the pirate, in the course of the game, capture all but one trader, the uncaptured trader takes half the pool, and the other half is left towards forming a pool for a new game" (*Pirate* 11). The winner's victory is reduced if his or her fellows are captured by pirates. This move encourages unity among players against a common enemy.
26. In 1786, the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor proposed the Sierra Leone relocation for some of London's 15,000 Blacks. The following April, 411 immigrants left for Sierra Leone, where 200 square miles of land were purchased "in exchange for about fifty-nine British pounds worth of goods such as beads, iron bars tobacco and rum" (Logan 14). Yet four months into the enterprise, nearly half of the settlers had died from illness on the voyage and starvation in the colony. Undaunted, in 1790, abolitionists formed the St. George's Bay Company, chartered as the Sierra Leone Company, "to promote

Christianity, commerce, and Western civilization" (14). The British government offered monetary support that rose to £10,000 a year in 1798, leading to the establishment of a naval base and a Crown Colony designation by 1808 and formal colonization after the Berlin partition in 1884.

27. Christian Johnstone's *The public buildings of the city of London described* (1831) uses the rhetorical power of numbers to situate London at the center of world commerce, estimating that "upwards of 3500 ships, British and foreign, are employed; and 13,000 cargoes annually enter the Thames, while its exports and imports exceed in value 60,000,000 pounds annually" (9). Whether readers would have been interested in such minutiae or players of Betts' game would have pored eagerly over a catalogue of trade goods is difficult to determine. What remains clear is that these texts persistently yoke Britain's imperial greatness to its commercial power using hard data.
28. The text went through four editions by 1845 in Britain and in America. The earliest copy I could locate was in the Opie Collection, on microfiche, from 1800.

important way to help metropolitan citizens picture other cultures. Early ethnography depended on "visualization and spatialization" through the exhibition of the exotic in illustrated "travelogues, museums, fairs, and expositions," and ethnographic activity was primarily defined as "a visual and spatial activity" (Fabian 121–122). Activity in the contact zones is linked to a series of decisions about how to display that activity's purpose (humanitarian or profit-driven?) and how to exhibit its fruits. For Evans, displays, charts, and lists of commodities make the authority and power of the Empire visible to child players and exhibit reasons to emigrate. For Spooner, the structure of exhibitions is questionable, and the visuals that seem exciting and innovative at a glance quickly become absurd, messy, or even dangerous when examined closely.

Spooner's game challenges the narrative of imperial might and progress even as it acknowledges its bewitching power. He questions the committee's goal to promote harmony and manufacturing and interrogates whether technology and progress really benefit human life, using a liberal "prize" distribution to satirize visitors' unthinking awe of the Exhibition and its displays. He amuses, but also indicts, the player touring his version of the Exhibition. Evans' game, on the other hand, uses the framework of the Exhibition to make imperial power visible in a way designed to inspire shock and awe, rather than cynicism and skepticism. Employing the cartographic tradition, inset images and charts, and textual interventions on the face of the map, he displays the world within a comprehensive, highly visible imperial hierarchy. Rather than indicting players or demanding that they question the authority of the Exhibition or the Empire, Evans' game urges them to join the imperial enterprise and share in its profits. His game offered homeward trails across the oceans as well as lists of commodities to help players and would-be emigrants traverse the Empire and imagine becoming part of it. For both these games, so divergent in approach, method, and perspective, the Great Exhibition provided a meaningful visual threshold to showcase and critique imperial power.

Notes

1. The evocative power of the Exhibition is seen in the imperial Koh-i-Noor diamond that probably inspired jewels in Wilkie Collins' sensational *The Moonstone* (1868) and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Sign of the Four* (1890).
2. Anthropologist Johannes Fabian borrows the language of play to describe taxonomies: "A drawn-out, serious game" in which "pieces of ethnography, isolated and displaced from their historical context, are used in a series of moves and countermoves" (98–99). The "player" is the scientist, the imperialist, the European authority.
3. Diane Dillon writes about a souvenir lady's glove by George Shove that bore a printed map of the Exhibition and surrounding London sites: "Shove illustrated the relative positons of other prominent destinations, picturing St. Paul's Cathedral across two fingers, the Colosseum on the thumb, and Kensington Gardens near the wrist" (315).

4. Called a "myth-making venture" (Gill 153) and a screen onto which Britons have projected "their hopes and fears, values and beliefs" (Auerbach "GE and Historical" 108), the Great Exhibition is read differently across critical schools. As Gill notes, "Most were ready to 'buy' the myth, except for a few perceptive and/or cantankerous commentators" (166) like Spooner. Auerbach contends that the Exhibition's significance has been "refracted through a Victorian lens: Whiggish historians seeing it as a shining example of mid-Victorian peace, progress, and prosperity; Marxists as an egregious symbol of industrialization and the formation of rigid social classes; postmodernists as an imperial and commodity spectacle" ("GE and Historical" 89–91).
5. The peep shows were fragile accordion-like pop-ups that, when unfolded, provided the viewer with a small hole through which to view the Exhibition extending back, with various cutouts in the intervening space. In front of the pop-ups are the fountain and central court, and the interiors feature visitors stopping at various galleries. Lane's peep show offers the viewer a look in at the fountain and the throngs of people gathered around the tree in the center.
6. On March 12, 1844, the *Morning Post* details the controversy Evans initiated when he used "offensive" language writing to Deputy-Chairman of the Stock Exchange Mr. Hutchinson. When called to court, Evans' "volley of abuse" convinced everyone that "his language was well calculated to provoke a quarrel" (7). To avoid indictment, Evans agreed in writing to "withdraw, in the fullest manner, all the offensive expressions" in letters to Hutchinson, to the chairmen of the Committee of the Stock Exchange, and the Reform Club (March 13, 7). Evans admits that his charges are "without foundation, and I can only regret that in a moment of irritation I ever made them" (7).
7. Other games inspired by the Exhibition also present a visible spatial hierarchy. For instance, *All the World and His Wife at the Great Exhibition* [c. 1860] was "an instructive and amusing puzzle" featuring a close-up of a British couple with the Crystal Palace dome in the background. Small figures of various heights surround the central couple, some of them no taller than the British couple's ankles, representing other nations, such as China and France. Given the varying heights of international couples, in contrast to the giant, central British couple, size reflects importance and evokes power wordlessly. Similarly, Evans' game situates the largest ovals, associated with England, at the top, and the 14 display cases featuring scenes from other places are secondary in size and position.
8. The second display case's number two features a man aiming a gun at a snarling polar bear, but "2" also corresponds to Madeira on the map, just above the Canary Islands. Nor does number six, "Cape Verde Islands," on the map correspond to the Great Sphinx display case. The display cases may represent an alternative way to play—perhaps a shortcut or a mini tour for a lightning round. The ones on the left are even-numbered, and the ones on the right are odd-numbered, suggesting a pattern of hopscotching over the map back and forth if they are to be completed in a numerical sequence. Another possibility is that they are keyed to a system of rewards and punishments.
9. Curator Gillian Hill quotes from the guidebook "Nelson when a Midshipman killing a Bear" (14), discussing an exhibition of maps, but the book no longer appears in the British Library's collection.
10. Richard Phillips agrees with Ritvo, asserting that "masculinities are spatially constituted; they reflect the characteristics of the spaces in which they are constructed" (18). Therefore, colonial geography illustrated with wild animals dictates that masculinity is expressed through modes of dominance, namely, hunting, killing, and displaying.

11. Walter Dean Myers' contemporary nonfiction children's book *At her majesty's request: An African Princess in Victorian England* describes how Commander Forbes rescued a young African girl from a ritual sacrifice; she was then sent as a "gift" to Queen Victoria, who oversaw her education and acted as godmother to her first child.
12. Karrow observes that "maps are not usually labeled as *nonfiction*. A map, unless titled 'imaginary' or employing such gross exaggerations that most people recognize it as inherently false, tends to carry an invisible *nonfiction* label, an implied certification that it is factual and trustworthy" (4–5).
13. F.R.B. Whitehouse explains that many board games are based on maps, and the early ones are "literally maps with a track incorporated, starting usually—in the case of Europe—from a south coast England port [. . .] terminating at London" (5). These games are far more specific than an average atlas; however, they present a specifically regulated itinerary to map trade and colonial relationships. Literature retains traces of these itineraries through global space. Salmon Rushdie writes, "Adventuring is, these days, by and large a movement that originates in the rich parts of the planet and heads for the poor. Or a journey from the crowded cities towards the empty spaces" (224).
14. The "homeward course" marks Captain Flint's voyage on the *Alfred*. Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping lists an *Alfred* sailing to Australia between 1841 and 1842 with a Master J. Flint. A teak barque constructed in 1818 and owned by Flint & Co. was registered in London (Lloyd's). The *Dublin Morning Register* records on Thursday, June 6, 1839, that Captain Flint's ship, the *Alfred*, arrived safely from London and Plymouth in Sydney, New South Wales, with numerous passengers (2). The British Library's notes speculate that Flint may have inspired Robert Louis Stevenson, "who would have been just the right age to have enjoyed this kind of game as a boy."
15. Along the way, Evans marks Captain Cook and Christopher Columbus as well as routes between places for the practical traveler: San Francisco to Sandwich Islands 2300 miles, translating to "12 Days Sail," and "Gulph Stream 150 Miles a Day" (*Crystal Palace* 42, 75–76). These estimates could set emigrants' expectations of time through space.
16. The Opium Wars with China (1839, 1856) were justified as "the defense of free trade and downplayed the fact that the most lucrative British export to China was Indian opium" (Parsons 18).
17. Other parts of the world are similarly mapped for resources: the West Indies provide sugar, coffee, and pimento, and Canada offers deals, flour, and fish. The Grand Banks off Newfoundland promise rich cod fishing, and Greenland offers train oil and a base for the whale fishery. Australian territory provides wool, oil, tallow, gums, wheat, and "tropical productions," while Borneo offers "Copper Ore" (*The Crystal Palace Game*).
18. *Map of the World on Mercator's Projection shewing the British Possessions, with the date of their accession, population, &c., all the existing Steam Navigation, the Overland Route to India, with the proposed extension to Australia, also the route to Australia via Panama* (1847) was later titled *Emigration Map of the World* (1849). Another title is *Geographical and physical map of the world on Mercator's projection, shewing the coal fields, all the existing steam navigation, the overland route to India with the proposed extension to Australia* [1851].
19. Published by Read & Co. at the affordable price point of 1s, 6d, Evans' *Geology made easy, illustrated by a section of the Artesian well at the Model Prison, Pentonville* [1851?] was reprinted under a slightly different title as *Geology made easy: or, the old and new world* [1858]. It may also have

appeared as *Geology illustrated: shewing the various strata of the earth, exemplified by a well sunk at the Bank of England* [1859].

20. If we assume that Evans pitched these inexpensive guides to working-class families, perhaps the *Crystal Palace* was an attempt to reach a different audience, one that was upper or middle class.
21. Evans' commodities-based approach was shared by E. and M.A. Ogilvy's *Outward Bound, or Ships and their Cargoes* [c. 1865], a card game in which players complete cargoes for their nation's ship: *Washington* (America), *Pelican* (Russia), *Melbourne* (England), *Napoleon* (France), *Sultan* (Turkey). England's cargoes include "Useful & Fancy Goods," "Agricultural Machines & Implements," and coal (*Outward*). America's cargoes include rice, cotton, tobacco, and "Pine Apples, Cocoa, Sarsaparilla" (*Outward*), promoting the identification of places with tradable goods.
22. Christian missionary Allen Gardiner perished, who perished in Tierra del Fuego in 1851, but from sickness and starvation.
23. In traditional play, Goose has 63 spaces, with a death space on 58 and a prison or "well" space "requir[ing] the player to remain unless and until rescued by another" (Seville 1003).
24. Thanks to my lawyer brother, Nick, and businesswoman sister-in-law, Gaz, for a rousing discussion of nineteenth-century copyright law.
25. The publication of Evans' *Crystal Palace Game* was announced in *The family herald* in 1854 (796). This endorsement positions the game as a learning tool and a shared space for families to compete for imperial resources.
26. This is similar to Onwhyn's earlier work *A Railway Adventure that Mr. Larkin Encountered with the Lady of Captn. Coleraine. Showing the Power of Platonic Love* [1841].
27. Other formal Exhibition-inspired puzzles include *A View of the Building in Hyde Park for the Great Exhibition, 1851*, featuring a stately carriage and only a sprinkling of quiet, miniscule visitors walking to and from the building, as well as *Industrial Exhibition of All Nations*, featuring billowing flags, coaches, and visitors in national costumes. These are straightforward, focused on the grand building, with the orderly, quiet visitors as a secondary concern.
28. *Punch* made sure that discussion around the Exhibition acknowledged the labor and not only the products. On April 13, 1851, *Punch* satirized British labor in a cartoon that displayed Prince Albert contemplating glass bell jars containing an industrious needle-woman, a distressed shoemaker, and a 75-year-old laborer.
29. Antoinette Burton's study of English suffrage shows that "arguments for recognition as imperial citizens were predicated on the imagery of Indian women, whom British feminist writers depicted as helpless victims awaiting the representation of their plight and redress of their condition at the hands of their sisters in the metropole" (7).
30. John Ruskin expressed concern about the British laborer's dehumanization in his *Stones of Venice* essays.
31. On March 22, 1866, Rossetti invited Mr. Cruikshank to dine with him, his brother, "Mr. Howell, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Madox Brown," and he states that he was "truly glad to hear from Mr. Howell that our plans are in accordance with your own views and wishes" (412). Rossetti is probably referencing his efforts to honor Cruikshank's work. Earlier, on March 6, he had written to Robert Browning asking him to allow his name to appear "on a Committee list of subscription for presenting a testimonial to that splendid old fellow George Cruikshank" (404).

in the optimism of the imperial project, learning to connect their personal interests and success to the winning imperial narrative. Mid-century Britons playing these board games could do so with a cheerful assurance of their place in the world and in the historical record.

Notes

1. The Proclamation warned the South to surrender or emancipation would take place beginning on January 1, 1863.
2. The Dodo proposes the caucus-race; since he is extinct, his strategies may be questioned. Carroll notes that the parties are staggered around a circular course, and "they began running when they liked and left off when they liked, so that it was not easy to know when the race was over" (25). At the conclusion, the Dodo announces, when pressed, that everybody has won, and he assigns a surprised and perplexed Alice to award the prizes.
3. Around 1847, J. Passmore took over the Wallis stock.
4. Edward Wallis took his father John Wallis' game *Wallis's Tour through England and Wales* (1794) and simply incorporated a railway track "in an attempt to take commercial advantage of the 'railway mania' of the time" (Hill 12). He craftily reset the typeface of the rules to look more modern, but the title "'New Railway Game' is a misnomer, for the game is neither new nor about railways; although they appear on the map, they have no significance in the game, and the route of the race-track completely ignores them. Edward Wallis saw the commercial possibilities of the railways for his business, and saved himself time, money and trouble by adapting his father's old copper plate rather than creating a new game" (Hill 12).
5. After losing the American colonies, the British maintained control of Canada, India, the Cape Colony in South Africa, and New South Wales in Australia (Parsons 4).
6. From a reconnaissance perspective, it is also perhaps unsurprising that Pittsburgh is dubbed "the Birmingham of America" (6), abounding in coal, and players must "Stop two turns to examine its foundries" (6). Wallis halts the players' progress for two turns, suggesting that the lack of personal progress in the game either reflects Pittsburgh's lack of progress or may suggest a necessary reconnaissance to spur British industry.
7. To characterize the importance of cities, Wallis employs a hierarchy. Major cities are boldfaced and in all caps (of which there are only three: New York, Boston, and Washington, DC). These are seconded by cities, appearing in boldface without caps, and then simply those minor cities that appear as a name without boldface. These distinctions appear to be awarded based on the size and character of the city.
8. New York is described as "Capital of the state of that name, situated on the Hudson. The City Hall is of white marble, as are also the Exchange, and the United States Branch Bank. This city has often been ravaged by fires: it contains nearly one hundred churches, belonging to different denominations, a college, and many fine public buildings. Whoever first arrives at exactly this number, wins the Game" (16).
9. The characterization of America as "inferior" is applied not only to the architecture but also to character in children's geographies. In Jehosaphat Aspin's *Cosmorama,* for instance, "among the wealthier classes of Americans, particularly in large cities, as much politeness and good breeding prevails [*sic*] as with most of the middle classes of Europe" (215). In other words, the American urban elite are on par with "most" of the European middle classes.

Where America does excel is a dubious distinction: "The most conspicuous trait in the American character is consummate vanity, which transcends all that has been attributed to Frenchmen" (215).

10. Knowledge loops happen in one other area of the game—snakes. When landing on space 34, players must avoid the Copper-head, a "very venomous serpent," and "you had better get out of this way, by going back to No. 22" (7). This strategy is fruitless, however, since space 22 is also dedicated to snakes. Yet it is the space to which players who have landed on the Rattlesnake at 50 are routed too; these players are sent back to 34 (the Copper-head) and told to "stop till your next turn." The biblical associations of snakes with the devil and temptation are intriguing here—does the United States offer a "tempting" promise to emigrants that is unfulfilled because it is coupled with a terrible knowledge of slavery and greedy animal appetites?
11. In terms of rice production, the states where rice is cultivated in the twenty-first century include California, Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Texas, and Mississippi (Statista). All but California and Texas are represented on Wallis' map, but he adds Kentucky, which is where he plots the production in space 29. Either he was working with inaccurate information, and other geographic inconsistencies on the map would support this reading, or he wanted to place 29 in the center of the country for rhetorical purposes of his own to show this corruption at the heart of the country that enervates the whole. This would dovetail well with J.B. Harley's assertion about the rhetorical construction of maps: "The steps in making a map—selection, omission, simplification, classification, the creation of hierarchies, and 'symbolization'—are all inherently rhetorical . . . the map maker merely omits those features of the world that lie outside the purpose of the immediate discourse" (243). For Wallis, the priority is not locating the cultivation of rice in the correct territory, but rather in representing slavery as a central, systematic concern.
12. Britain had its own difficulties incorporating the multiracial people who emerged in the contact zones in the wake of colonization. Ann Stoler notes that the classification and division of colonized subjects were a means of "policing the domestic recesses of imperial rule" (4). She continues, asserting that "a collective impulse of the last decade of post-colonial scholarship has been precisely to disassemble the neat divisions that could imagine a European history and its unified collectivities apart from the externalized Others on whom it was founded and which it produced" (Stoler 5). Whatever social and economic barriers a multiracial legacy presented to Britons in the colonies, this "taint" does not doom individuals to the "degraded condition" of slavery, as it does in the Americas.
13. In the 1830s, Thomas Buxton lobbied for the humane development of Africa as a means of abolishing slavery: "Buxton and his allies therefore popularized the concept of 'legitimate commerce,' whereby Africans would turn their energies to the production of the tropical commodities required by industrial Britain. Hence formal British rule would not be needed to coerce Africans into taking part in this enterprise because both sides would reap the mutual benefits of increased trade" (Parsons 20). Evangelicals embraced the plan, and it cast Britain in a heroic role.
14. Geography primers take a place-based approach to sugar cane cultivation, noting that the hot climates in which it is cultivated have encouraged the use of slave labor. Boscawen states, "The preparation of the sugar, require[s] much care and attention; the labour is performed entirely by the Negroes, for no white man can work in the fields in so hot a climate [. . .] The blackamoors are the only people able to labour beneath the burning sun, and

therefore it is, that the slave trade with the coast of Africa was so long carried on" (289). Mary and Elizabeth Kirby tell readers that "[t]he sun pours down his rays so fiercely that you could not bear it a moment. But the black people do not mind the heat so much as we do. See how busy they are!" (84). Though their industriousness reflects well on these enslaved peoples, their presence and their labor indicate a lack of proper industry on the part of the white slaveholders. Kirby tells readers that these laborers lived in Africa, where "men went in ships on purpose to steal them" (87–88). Their use of the term "steal" underscores the moral wrong of this system of labor.

15. It may also be acknowledging the Triangle Trade from Africa to the Caribbean to the United States, in which enslaved peoples were exchanged for molasses, rum, and sugar.
16. Priscilla Wakefield's *A Traveller in Africa* (1814) enjoins readers that if other nations join Britain in abolishing the slave trade, a "grand design" will be achieved in "educating her youth, civilizing her inhabitants, and instructing them in the principles of the Gospel" (345). In her 1828 geography primer *Africa described in its ancient and present state,* Barbara Hofland tells child readers that the selling of slaves has led to human suffering and a "spirit of tyranny apparently inherent in the very soil of Africa" (9). By mid-century, Favell Lee Mortimer's *Far-Off* (1854) characterizes Africa as "the most unhappy of all the quarters of the globe. Why is this? Because it is the land, whence more slaves have come than from any other; it may be called the land of bondage" (226).
17. The authors note that though some people thought it was wrong to enslave Africans and force them to work as slaves, "the King of England, who then was the ruler of that part of America, would not permit these laws to be enforced. Thus it was that slavery commenced there" (Stowe 133–134).
18. Rule 10 urges players to "Observe that as each State has its own independent government and cannot be controlled by the Federal government at Washington, the CAPITAL of each is printed in black letters: and whosoever arrives at one of these has the privilege of drawing again immediately, adding the amount of both drawings to his former number" (iv). This rule is significant in its reminder that the states "cannot be controlled" by a central government but also in the way that gaining an extra turn in the capital cities privileges urban spaces over uncultivated wilderness or spaces where farm, mine, or slave labor takes place.
19. Tubman's activities postdate the likely publication of Wallis' game, but I am making a general point about the perspective adopted by the games.
20. Harriet Ritvo's research on the representations of animals in zoos and as hunted beasts is revealing. She writes, "The menageries of nineteenth-century England offered a stately, highly structured display of some of the more exotic spoils of empire, impressive symbols of British domination both of vast tributary territories and of the natural world. The serene confidence of achieved mastery was, however, only one side of imperialism, and not the only one to stir the imagination of stay-at-home patriots. At least equally compelling was the more romantic, violent, and dangerous process of confrontation and conquest. Although the overt symbolism of zoological gardens tended to overshadow this darker reading of imperialism, it was implicitly embodied in the capture and transportation to Europe of the tigers, elephants, and antelopes that ended up sedately marshaled for the edification of the Victorian public" (Ritvo *Animal Estate* 243).
21. Native Americans in Wallis' game appear only briefly as dark figures, undifferentiated from the African Americans, except for loincloths and topknots in one interstitial area. The game has only two dedicated spaces for Native

Americans, both in the final third of the game: 104 for the "Sioux, or Dacotah Indians," and 111 for the Huron Indians.

22. Wallis identifies Boston as the place where "the first stand was made by the American colonists against the arms of Britain, in 1775" (*Star-Spangled Banner* 15).
23. In Maine, players' progress in the game is accelerated due to Britain's own successful Game movement: "Draw twice more, to commemorate the settlement of the boundary of this state, so long the subject of dispute between Great Britain and the United States" (*Star-Spangled Banner* 14).
24. This may be a glancing reference to the guerrilla-style combat adopted from the Native American style of fighting and employed later in the American Revolution by the colonists against the British soldiers. Francis Marion, associated with his animal nickname "Swamp Fox," offers a ready example.
25. Spooner makes this part of his *Voyage of Discovery* as well. Beyond encounters with the indigenous people to develop trade relationships, players on the *True Blue* scout opportunities for hunting—a shark, turtle, and a gruesome depiction of harpooning a whale who fountains blood (*Voyage True* 8). When catching turtles, players "Take 2," whereas when catching a shark or harpooning a whale, players "Pay 1" each time, suggesting that these hostile creatures require sailors to expend more than they gain. A variety of fierce animals appear across the entire game, including a crocodile, elephant, buffalo, lion, tiger, shark, and whale, as well as tamer creatures, such as giraffes, horses, turtles, and ostriches. This establishes that trade and commerce could be a tricky, dangerous, and therefore glorious business that often involved the subjugation of wild beasts, as well as often besting other human rivals. These kinds of interactions characterize the commerce undertaken here as adventurous and exciting, sidelining the more dry business practices of accounting, rationing, sampling, collecting, or storing commodities for sale back home.
26. Missourium fossils were discovered in 1840 and brought to London for exhibition, showing Wallis' attention to events that captured the popular imagination in his time.
27. Other spaces are not included in the story of imperial progress. *Walker's New Geographical Game Exhibiting a tour through Europe* [c. 1810] begins in London and ends in Greece with 133 points. In the board's bottom margin, a small blank piece of northern Africa is shown, marked only with Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Alexandria, the mouth of the Nile, Egypt, and Cairo. The text inscribed upon this marginal blank declares, "In Africa the human mind seems degraded below its natural state to dwell long upon the manners of this Country, a country so immers'd in rudeness and barbarity besides that it could afford little instruction, would be disgusting to every lover of mankind" (*Walker's New Geographical Game*). Such a statement reveals that even though this game's content is not avowedly imperial, the aims and spirit of Empire inflect the territory that gets represented and the territory that is cut off or marginalized in the game and in the imperial project.
28. According to the *Court Album,* Mary Frances Elizabeth Boscawen, Viscountess Falmouth, Baroness Le Despencer, Baroness Boscawen Rose, married in 1845 Evelyn Boscawen, fifth Viscount Falmouth, Baron Boscawen Rose (Weigall 4).
29. The product is fitting since Maria Edgeworth's father and sometime writing partner, Richard Edgeworth, had recommended puzzle play for young boys, particularly those interested in naval careers. In their *Practical Education,* Richard and Maria Edgeworth recommended puzzles for teaching geography to boys destined for the navy: "It is surprising to see the constancy and patience, which the children show in putting them together, and the alacrity

with which, day after day, they return to their work" (qtd in Hannas' *The Jigsaw Book* 26)

30. The Edgeworths proceed to describe their observations of children's strategies in assembling a puzzle, speculating on the educative value and the way the child's strategies reflect maturity and/or deliberation: "The child who quickly perceives resemblances catches instantly at the first bit of the wooden map, that has a single hook or hollow that seems likely to answer his purpose; he makes perhaps twenty different trials before he hits upon the right combination; whilst the wary youth, who has been accustomed to observe differences, cautiously examines with his eye the whole outline before his hand begins to move; and, having exactly compared the two indentures, he joins them with sober confidence, more proud of never disgracing his judgement by a fruitless attempt than ambitious of rapid success. He is slow, but sure, and wins the day" (30–31).
31. Yet by tracking test cases, Hannas estimates that only 15% of advertised puzzles have survived and made their way into archives or private collections; the rest are simply gone (*The English Jigsaw Puzzle* 78).
32. Dating this game is a bit of a puzzle in itself. It is haunted by the political conflicts over slavery as an institution. A careful examination of the states listed on the map offers insight into the national politics involving slavery. Iowa became the 29th state in 1846, and Wisconsin became the 30th in 1848, followed by California (1850) and Minnesota (1858). California is listed on this game, but not Minnesota, so this suggests the possibility that the game (if it were up to date) may have appeared between 1850 and 1858. As well, the game does not list later states such as Oregon (1859), Kansas (1861), or others. Placing it between 1850 and 1858 would have been consistent with the publication of the "companion" game *Tar of all Weathers*, dated c. 1860. The challenge to this theory is that the game also does not list Iowa (1846), though it does have an entry for "New Territories" in space 35. Established as a territory in 1838, Iowa was admitted into the Union in a compromise between slaveholding and free states to maintain a balance of power. I am not sure why the game would have listed states that followed Iowa but not named this 29th state; either the publishers did not know the name or they decided not to include it for reasons of their own. Another interesting anomaly that may help with dating is a consideration of space 32. This space lists Alexandria as the capital of the state of "Columbia," which is distinguished from Washington, listed at the center. In 1801, Alexandria became part of the District of Columbia, meaning that the citizens lost their status as Virginians and also their voting rights. Alexandria applied for "retrocession" in 1846 to rejoin Virginia, in part to continue profiting from the slave trade, which everyone suspected would soon be outlawed in the District. That the game still lists Alexandria as capital of the District means that it does not take into consideration these 1846 events or refuses to acknowledge them (just like the 1846 Iowa statehood not reflected in the game). This game cannot, however, be dated to 1846 because it names California as a state, which did not happen until 1850, accelerated by the discovery of gold in 1849. The game features "Gold diggers" on space 20, so 1850 seems to be the likely earliest possible date of publication. The next state to be inducted after California was Minnesota in 1858, and that is not included. On the other end, the game does not mention the Civil War, a conflict that began in 1860, and it seems likely that it would have done so, so I am dating it between 1850 and 1860. It does not narrow the date range to look at the period of activity for the Ogilvys or for Barfoot since both had a date range from the 1840s to 1860s, and much of their work is undated.

33. The Games Research Database is part of an effort by private collectors to consolidate information and images regarding their holdings. As the site notes, "The primary motivation in all cases is to ensure that vital historical information that is secreted in collections and game expert's minds is not lost to posterity" (GARD "How to Participate"). Written by James Masters and Richard Ballam, the site is a valuable resource. Ballam's extensive collection alone has been donated to the Bodleian Library at Oxford and will enrich their holdings for future research.
34. The game itself features 38 spaces, not 37, but it is possible that they are not considering Washington as a state or the separately marked District of Columbia or the "New Territories" space.
35. Beyond listing the British territories first, the order of the states does not follow a consistent pattern since it is neither geographic nor alphabetical. Though the game does list the British Canadian territories first, this system of preferment seems to end there since the states that follow are Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Maine, New Hampshire, Indiana, Ohio, Mississippi, Texas, and so on. This quick glimpse demonstrates how the game moves quickly from New England to the Mid-Atlantic region, and then back to New England, next to the Midwest, and then to the South, and on to the Southwest. These territories are not visited by size (Texas is considerably larger than Connecticut, after all) nor by importance to Britain since Pennsylvania and New York would have appeared much earlier in the list if that were the case. Gameplay zigzags among the states, finishing with Washington in the center space. This may suggest the disordered nature of the United States or a deliberate overlooking of the relative significance of states for shipping, trade, manufacturing, or cultivation. This can be contrasted with other Ogilvy games, such as *L'Orient, or the Indian Travelers* [1846]. In this orderly game, a large central map shows the route from England to India. Two bands inset with panels dated by year surround the map on three sides, and at the top are portraits of monarchs from George I to Victoria. The orderly march of time frames and informs the space at the center of the game.
36. Children's writer Mary Howitt (1799–1888) quotes Bancroft over 60 times in her *A Popular History of the United States of America: From the Discovery of the American Continent, to the Present Time* (1860). This is evidence of how writers for children recognized Bancroft as a historical authority, yet Howitt troubles to cite him, whereas the Ogilvys do not.
37. In one regard, at least, Bancroft would have approved of the Ogilvys' use of his material. Bancroft speaks regretfully of European writers: "Much error had become incorporated with American history" because such work "was often written with a carelessness which seized on rumors and vague recollections as sufficient authority for an assertion which satisfied prejudice by wanton perversions, and which, where materials were not at hand, substituted the inferences of the writer for authenticated facts" (Preface vi). It is possible that he could have encountered them during his time in Britain, or that his work was prominent enough that they were aware of it and chose to use it as a source, rather than a British-authored account.
38. I will indicate the page number of the passage in Bancroft's work as well. Sometimes there is a phrasing difference or an additional sentence in the Bancroft version, but where the same wording appears, I cite him as well.
39. Before colonization, Bancroft characterizes it as "an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent the arts had not erected a monument. Its only inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce and of political connection" (3, 10th ed).

40. The Bancroft version is similar, except that the Ogilvys insert "the cupidity of traders." The original passage assigns cupidity to Englishmen like William Clayborne, who began as a surveyor and then headed up a trading company after serving in royal-appointed posts as secretary of state; he was involved in native skirmishes and in inciting an insurrection in 1644 against the governor that led to "disorder and misrule" (255, 10th ed).
41. Acquisitions in America are characterized as peaceful despite competition with eager rivals from the Old World. In Maryland, for example, "the French, Swedes, and Dutch were preparing to occupy the country, and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing the soil for an English settlement" (9). This orderly, legal chartering of the territory is coupled with the naming of it after Charles I's wife, thus consistent with the baptism metaphor in incorporating places such as New York, Georgia, Jamestown, and Capes Charles and Henry, as well as people like Pocahontas. The deployment of this baptism metaphor to explain territorial acquisition allows their rebranding in the name of English monarchs. The exception is William Penn, who gave his own name to Pennsylvania. Contrast this with the French, who establish Louisiana in 1718 but choose to name it for Louis XV, with New Orleans named after the "dissolute Regent of France, the Duke of Orleans" (10).
42. In the full passage from Bancroft's text, Penn wins his claim on the land in part because of his father's claim on the government for £16,000: "To Charles II., always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province was the easiest mode of cancelling the debt" (552, Author's Last Revision edition).
43. After the island is "quietly surrendered to the English" later, its name is changed to New York "after the brother of the English king" (Ogilvy 10).
44. The English began trading in African slaves in 1560, so it may seem like splitting hairs to note that the Dutch introduced the practice to this particular region when the British had been trafficking for 60 years (Logan 4).
45. Though slavery as an institution was not abolished until the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865, the game may be referring to James Oglethorpe, who "used his nearly arbitrary power as the civil and military head of the state, the founder and delegated legislator of Georgia, to interdict negro slavery" (Bancroft 295, 3rd ed). Congress' abolition of the importation of humans as slaves occurred in 1808.
46. In Bancroft's text, the passage is quite similar: "But Richelieu sent no seasonable supplies; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine; and when, in 1629, the squadron of Kirk reappeared before the town, Quebec capitulated. That is to say, England gained possession of a few wretched hovels, tenanted by a hundred famished men, and a fortress of which the English admiral could not but admire the position" (334, 10th ed). The difference is that though the men are famished, it is only in the Ogilvys' version that the English are greeted as deliverers.
47. What the Ogilvys do not discuss from Bancroft's text is his origin story about how Cartier established the Canadian colony for the French through his authority to "ransack the prisons; to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal; and to make up the complement of his men from their number. Thieves or homicides, the spendthrift or the fraudulent bankrupt, the debtors to justice or its victims, prisoners rightfully or wrongfully detained, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money, these were the people by whom the colony was, in part, to be established" (23, 10th ed).

48. Despite minimizing the loss of the American colonies, the Ogilvys later note that though there were originally only 13, the number has “been more than doubled by fresh accessions” (12). By 1850, there were 31 states, so that fits in with this “more than doubled” estimate of more than 26 states, suggesting a time period for the dating of the game. It also acknowledges that though the loss was not profound at the time, the Empire lost a future opportunity for growth and glory.

Notes

1. Though this game is undated, it does contain an image of the Crystal Palace in the upper right corner; this indicates that the game appeared during a ten-year period, after 1851 but before 1863, the last year Sallis operated at Cross Key Square. Since the game mentions that it is produced by the publisher of *Why, what, and because*, it is likely the game was published somewhere around 1855.
2. It is part of the collection of the Ville de Rambouillet in the town of Rambouillet, France, which has agreed to allow the image to be featured on Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville's *Giochi dell'Oca* site (the Italian translates to "*Game of the Goose*" for the popular Continental game, played in English taverns since the sixteenth century). I mention these archival notes as a case in point to register how dispersed these games are across the world; this dispersal indicates the cosmopolitan audience for the international content.
3. In contrast, John Marshall's *Chronological Star of the World* used 109 spaces for world history.
4. Sallis played with the table form and the idea of Victoria as the end of the game in his *Amusement in English History: a game exhibiting the most remarkable events from the time of the Britons* [c. 1840]. Another hand-colored lithograph mounted on linen, it is intricately illustrated in its move from pre-Roman times to Queen Victoria. It moves ahead in a linear manner, mapped out on the board like a chart. The game is organized by 40 British kings and queens and the main events during their rule, covering 80 playing spaces. For the young queen, her main event is her marriage (she married Albert in 1840). See it at www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1556.
5. This was not Sallis' first game showcasing a pyramid. Linda Hannas notes that Sallis "devised a puzzle entitled *The Child' Picture History of England* which was triangular, the young Queen taking pride of place at the apex" (*The Jigsaw Book* 28). This is similar to the placement of Queen Victoria and her family in the apex here. Inset within the pyramid, numbered spaces direct the player on a winding path up seven rows to the pinnacle.
6. Though Egypt was not a formally recognized British settlement colony, its influence and interests ran deep. Elleke Boehmer characterizes the geopolitical makeup of the empire as "uneven and higgledy-piggledy," noting that it was composed of white self-governing colonies, crown colonies, chartered territories like Rhodesia, and "protectorates and protected states as in Egypt, Uganda, or Malaya, where indigenous rulers were made to co-operate with the Foreign Office or British Residents" (xv). The systems of administration varied widely. A consul general oversaw Egypt, whereas Nigeria was ruled by a commercial company, Ascension Island by a captain in the Royal Navy, Australia and Sierra Leone by a prime minister and governor, Sarawak by a hereditary British rajah, and Somaliland by a commissioner responsible to Indian government (Parsons 29).
7. The collection grew through organized excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the 1880s and collector Ernest Wallis Budge's efforts, which tripled the size of the Egyptian collections. Excavations, occasional purchases, and donations from private collections swelled the collection to over 100,000 objects, and, as its website asserts, "The time has not yet come to draw a line beneath the total of the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum."
8. Given the significance of Nelson's Column and its completion in the years before Sallis published this game, I am very surprised that he chose a pyramid instead of this resonant English symbol, situated in a culturally important new city space. Trafalgar Square had been used for stabling for Whitehall through

the seventeenth century, but in 1812, architect John Nash was charged with developing a cultural space open to the public ("Trafalgar Square"). In the 1830s, the open space got its famous cultural anchors: construction began on the National Gallery in 1832. Designed by William Railton and completed by 1843, the 46-meter column commemorates Admiral Horatio Nelson's death at the 1805 Battle of Trafalgar. Watching over the city and looking south toward Portsmouth, the 5-meter statue of Nelson stands on a bronze platform, joined in 1867 by Sir Edwin Landseer's bronze lions.

9. William Moebius notes, "A character shown on the left page is *likely* to be in a more secure, albeit potentially confined space than one shown on the right, who is likely to be moving into a situation of risk or adventure" (149).
10. In *The Traveller in Africa* (1814) primer, Priscilla Wakefield mused that the Pyramids at Giza were "monuments of the greatness and the frailty of man. On the one hand, they display his power and ingenuity, in raising such vast masses," while on the other hand, the "monuments remain, the men are forgotten" (80). The "monuments" in this game are the deeds that echo through history, though individual actors are forgotten. This sobering lesson teaches players that they are part of a larger story, and, like the builders of the real pyramids, they contribute their "power and ingenuity," labor, and toil to build it higher. In the end, it remains after they are gone. Lucy Wilson also likens Thebes to "a city of giants" who left only "the remains of various temples" (34), showing "that all human greatness is transitory and fleeting" (80). Nonetheless, the monument remains. In Sallis' game, that monument is history itself, in the form of a pyramid, topped by British greatness, symbolic of human progress.
11. It is interesting that the Tower of Babel is included here since in that narrative, God punished those building a tall tower to climb to heaven to escape future punishing floods. Yet Sallis shows a pyramid, perhaps an equally ambitious enterprise, without self-reflexivity, along with St. Paul's, Nelson's Column, and the Crystal Palace.
12. Mary F.E. Boscawen's mid-century primer characterizes maps as representing "the very same earth which God created in the beginning, the account of the creation of which we read in the first chapter of the Bible" (2–3). This grounds the humanist history and scientific geography in a Christian narrative. Similarly, Mary and Elizabeth Kirby's *The World at Home* (1869) also chronicles world history beginning with the Tower of Babel and the assertion that "the happiest part of the world is where the Bible is read, and where the people are Christians" (14).
13. In this row, the numbers begin at the left side with 30, then inset 29, and then 28. This means that players would have gone all the way to the right on the prior row to learn about Peter the Great, and then instead of picking up and going all the way to the left (as in the other rows), they would simply have gone directly up, wrapping around. Why this change in motion at this moment? Was it a mistake in design? Is there some significance to moving from "Peter the Great" straight up to "South Sea Discoveries" (28)? Does Britain's work in the South Seas in some way answer Peter's preparations in the bustling port and gesture to the imperial rivalry between the two empires?
14. If the rulebook survived, it would be interesting to see if there were any difference in motion (forward, backward, or enforced stasis) or in rewards or penalties based on the shift in perspective, looking out at incoming British colonial agents versus being on deck with them, sailing toward *terra incognita* in the American space.
15. Since the Crystal Palace dates the game after 1851, Victoria had had seven of her nine children (Victoria, 1840; Edward VII, 1841; Alice, 1843; Alfred,

1844; Helena, 1846; Louise, 1848; and Arthur, 1850), followed by Leopold (1853) and Beatrice (1857). Why the image shows five children instead of seven is a matter for speculation.

16. The pyramid as motif captivated British artists. Inspired by Adam Smith's ideas, George Cruikshank's "British Bee Hive" etching features the social strata of Britain industriously laboring at each level, from soldiers and hard manual laborers up through specialized craftspeople, merchants, farmers, teachers, lawyers, and, at last, Queen Victoria and the Royal Family at the top. Ford Madox Brown's *Work* (1852–1865) is also a painting that arranges labor in a street scene in a pyramid structure, from the manual laborers toiling in the street to a gentleman at the top passing by and pausing to view their work.
17. Indeed, among the papyri collected in the British Museum's holdings is the Abbott Papyrus, which "contained the official record of a royal commission to investigate tomb robberies in Thebes in about 1125 BC" (James).
18. A case in point is Belzoni, a traveler and explorer who practiced archeology before regulation and oversight of its methodologies. If Belzoni had difficulty opening pyramids or tombs in ancient Egypt, he simply resorted to dynamite as an expeditious method. Lucy Wilson offers an account of Belzoni contemplating the Great Pyramid, "which is nearly the height of St Paul's Cathedral in London," suggesting that he "fixed his eyes on that enormous mass, which for so many ages has baffled the conjectures of ancient and modern writers" (119). Wilson explains the result of his contemplative gaze: "This review encouraged him in the attempt, and he applied without loss of time to the Bey for men to assist him in penetrating one of the great pyramids of Egypt—one of the wonders of the world!" (120). Characterizing Belzoni's penetration of the pyramid as the result of a contemplative gaze, she tries to distinguish between discovery and tomb robbery. Wilson does not include the story of Belzoni, over six feet tall, becoming so tightly wedged in a passage inside the Great Pyramid in 1815 that he had to be forcibly pried out by his guides.
19. It is no accident that this was the era in which Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855) became "the most widely read and influential historical romance of the early Victorian period" (69), according to Robert McDonald. In dedicating the book to Rajah Sir James Brooke of Sarawak and Bishop George Selwyn of New Zealand, "Kingsley quite self-consciously directed his readers to the continuities of the heroic past and the heroic present, reverencing, as he said, these new Empire Builders, and comparing them to Elizabeth's 'worthies'" (McDonald 69). Like Kingsley, Sallis looked to the past for evidence to support the multiple, simultaneous, competing narratives in their games.
20. The Cotsen Collection at Princeton includes the bibliographic note to help date the game: "Earl Roberts, pictured on the board, was appointed commander in chief in 1901. The office of commander in chief was abolished in 1904. Therefore, this game was probably published between those years."
21. The only son of King George III's youngest son, Queen Victoria's cousin George William Frederick Charles, second Duke of Cambridge, was a conservative field marshal and commander of the forces for 39 years, rising swiftly through the ranks despite undistinguished Crimean War service. He opposed reforms, advocated promotion by social standing rather than military achievement, and was forced to resign in 1895. His successor, Garnet Wolseley, served on four continents in the Second Anglo-Burmese War, Crimean War, and Sepoy Rebellion. A reformer positively regarded by the public, Wolseley came to power following the Boer War (1899–1902), a costly conflict for expense and human life, and he faced challenges in modernizing the

forces (Cook 229). Finally, 1st Earl Frederick Sleigh Roberts served notably in the Second Afghan War and the South African War (in which he took Pretoria and other cities), and was the last commander in chief of the British Army, an office abolished after 1904.

22. Players ascend the ranks from enlistment (space 3) to Corporal (9), Sergeant (18), and Lieutenant (27); in the second column along the top of the game, players become Captain (34) and Major (42). In the third column, players can be promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel (51), Colonel (60), Brigadier-General (69), or Major-General (74). After one more rank, Lieutenant-General (82) on the tight pivot from the game's right side, players enter the final stretch. The middle final column includes General (90), Field-Marshal (94), and ultimately Commander-in-Chief (100).
23. For contemporary players of a game such as *Fortnite,* the future seems to hold a different expectation. By contrast, Keith Stuart remarks, "On the bright side, if your kids are really good at Fortnite, there's a growing professional eSports scene around the game, complete with cash prizes. You never know which childhood hobby might turn into a living" (Stuart). Though Stuart's glib remark has an optimistic, occupational outlook, it can also be read as a cause for concern, drawing a line from childhood games to adult occupations.
24. Work by Fernand Gobet, Jean Retschitzki, and Alex de Voogt establishes this research in *Moves in Mind: The Psychology of Board Games*.
25. Wallis' 1790 game follows a man through the stages of human development. John Wallis and E. Newbery's *The [New] Game of Human Life* (1790) presented an opportunity to engage in an accelerated version of "life" in which players travel the life of a man from Infancy through the Prime of Life and into Decrepitude and Dotage at age 84. The game invites parents to help their children contrast "the happiness of a virtuous and well spent life with the fatal consequences arising from vicious and immoral pursuits" (*Human Life*). In the 50th anniversary version of the *Game of Life* (2010), on the other hand, the successful life is measured in monetary value. The player with the "greatest value" wins the game and retires to Millionaire Estates or Countryside Acres. The acquisition and practice of moral virtue have been replaced by the acquisition of money and capital.
26. International agencies have weighed in on the importance and the dangers of play. Heath contends, "Play is consistently considered an essential component of childhood and widely understood as necessary for child development—so much so that article 31 of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) specifically recognizes 'that every child has the right to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child.' The entire world—194 countries—has ratified the Convention treaty or, really, all countries but two: Somalia and, notably, the U.S." (6). Recently, however, the kind of play children engage in has come under scrutiny. The World Health Organization issued an alert about a new public health concern called "gaming disorder." WHO identifies it as "a pattern of gaming behavior ('digital-gaming' or 'video-gaming') characterized by impaired control over gaming, increasing priority given to gaming over other activities to the extent that gaming takes precedence over other interests and daily activities, and continuation or escalation of gaming despite the occurrence of negative consequences" ("Gaming Disorder"). The organization counsels that players should be aware of the time they spend gaming, especially when it is "to the exclusion of other daily activities, as well as to any changes in their physical or psychological health and social functioning that could be attributed to their pattern of gaming behaviour" ("Gaming

Disorder"). Though the WHO's designation has drawn critiques that this runs the risk of "pathologising a hobby" (Therrien), it is nonetheless important as a marker of concern over the absorption of the player into the world of the game.

27. In a digital age when games are available on mobile devices, the addictive quality of *Tetris*, *Angry Birds*, *Plants vs Zombies*, and *Candy Crush* can draw players into the games and away from their realities and responsibilities, perhaps risking their lives in another way because they risk their social relationships and vocational engagement.

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