

The Changing Face of the Enemy:

A study of Chambrelent's *Jeu de la victoire* of 1919.

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Introduction.

The *Jeu de la victoire* [figure 1] published in 1919 by the French firm of Chambrelent is a member of the large family of variants of the *jeu de l'oie* (Game of the Goose, *Gioco dell'oca*, *Gaensspiel* etc.). It has been usual to study such games as a branch of board game history, using the methods of rule comparison, iconographic analysis and publishing records to trace the lines of descent and international diffusion¹. The approach taken in the present paper is different: here, the main object is to treat the game as a primary historical source.



Figure 1: Chambrelent's *Jeu de la victoire*, 1919 [author's collection].

¹ Adrian Seville, *Tradition and Variation in the Game of Goose*. In: *Board games in Academia III. Proceedings. Colloquium in Florence, April 1999*: pp.163-174. An updated version (2005) is available on the *giochidelloca* web site at http://www.giochidelloca.it/dettaglio_storia.php?id=35 [accessed 27 October 2015].

The game is a simple spiral race game in which the goal is to reach the final space, numbered 63 as in the 'classic' *jeu de l'oie* that is the prototype for the variant forms. As in the classic game, double dice are used and there is no choice of move. Along the track are various favourable spaces, which advance the player, and various hazards, which delay or send the player back. In the particular game, many of these 'active' spaces have resonance with similar spaces in the classic game but differ from them in placing and effect. In the classic game, the 'non-active' spaces may be left blank, or may be filled with purely decorative elements. In the *Jeu de la victoire*, on the other hand, these spaces are filled with scenes that purport to furnish a chronological account of the Great War, from 1914 to 1918. However, as will be demonstrated, the account given by the game is far from historically accurate.

This immediately raises the question, if the game is not historically accurate, in what sense is the game of value as a primary historical source? The answer put forward in this paper is that the game, though not representing the War accurately, nevertheless provides a valuable perspective on how the French people viewed the War in the aftermath following the Allied victory in 1918. A particular emphasis will be on how 'the enemy' was viewed before, during and after the War.

As a preliminary to analysis of the game, it will be set in the context of: (a) the classic French *jeu de l'oie*; (b) variants of the *jeu de l'oie* published in France on the theme of war before 1914; and (c) other relevant French variants published during the Great War.

The *Jeu de la victoire* in the context of the classic *jeu de l'oie*.

The earliest reference to the Goose game appears in Italy in 1480, in an obscure book of sermons² for Advent by the Dominican Gabriele da Barletta³, who speaks (disapprovingly) of playing games at Christmas; and indeed Italy is the generally accepted country of origin of the game. Printed examples of the classic game, in which the favourable spaces are marked with the image of a goose, survive from about 1598 in both French and Italian languages. A remarkable feature is the consistency of rules between countries and over long periods. In France, this game, both in its rules and in its goose iconography, is especially constant over four centuries. D'Allemagne⁴ records over 60 editions of the game having goose iconography, up to the early years of the 20th century, all with the 63-space track length. For example, the *jeu de l'oie* [figure 2] in the *Dictionnaire des jeux*, published in 1792 as a supplement to the monumental *Encyclopédie méthodique*, is precisely identical in playing form to that of the oldest known French printed version⁵. In this classic form of the game, the key feature is the double sequence of favourable spaces, each marked with a goose, which are seen on spaces 5, 14, 23 ... and 9, 18, 27... On landing on such a space, the points total for the throw on the two dice is used again, 'doubling one's points' so that the player's token moves beyond the landing space; this continues until a non-geese space is reached⁶.

² First published in Brescia, 1497–98.

³ Gabriele Bruni, da Barletta (or Bareletta), called "Barletta," probably died c. 1500.

⁴ H. R. D'Allemagne, *Le noble jeu de l'oie en France de 1640 à 1950* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1950)

⁵ *LE IEV DE L'OYE RENOUVELLE DES GRECS* (Lyon, héritiers de Benoist Rigaud, 1598).

⁶ A special rule deals with the initial throw of nine, which would otherwise lead to an immediate win by hopping along the series of spaces 9, 18...until the winning space at 63 was exactly reached. Any overthrows beyond that space have to be reckoned backwards.

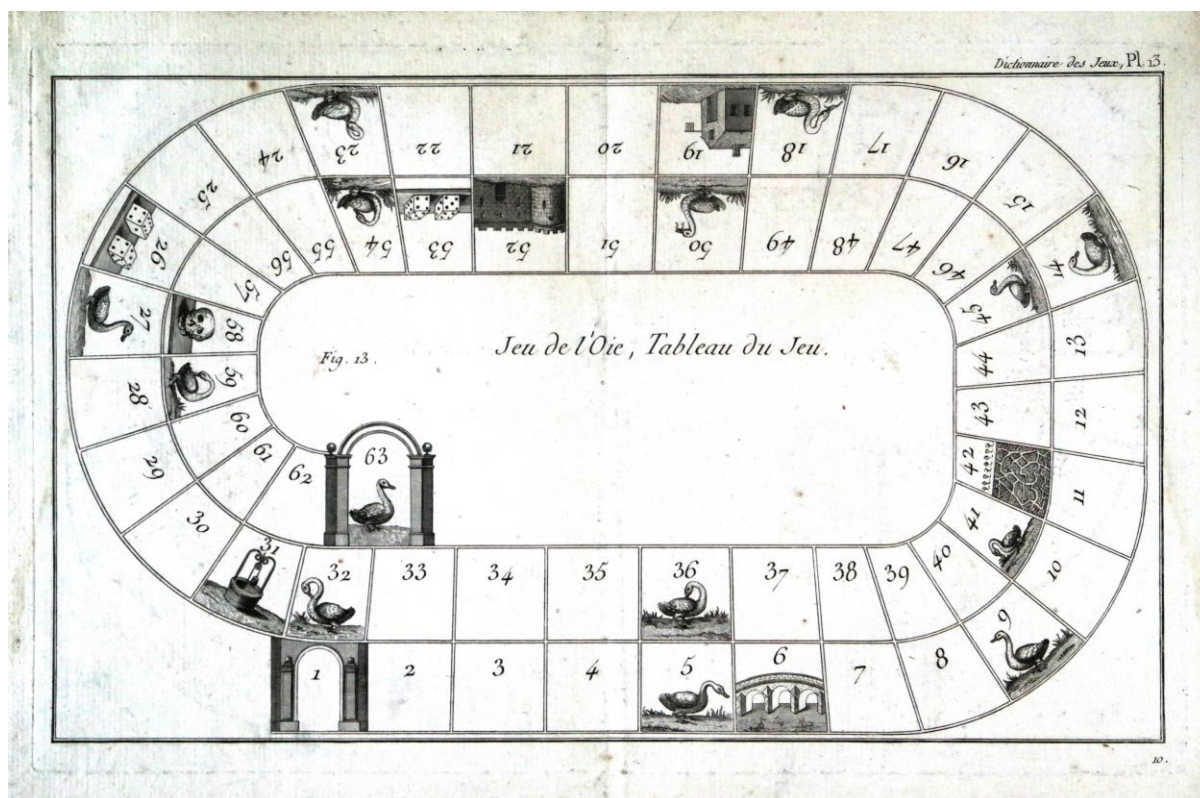


Figure 2: A 'classic' *jeu de l'oie*, from the *Dictionnaire des jeux* of 1792 [Author's collection].

The same consistency of iconography, rule and track length does not apply to the several hundreds of thematic variations on the classic Goose game which were developed in France during the same four centuries, in which the goose iconography is replaced by an iconography fitting the theme. Initially, educational themes like Geography, History, Heraldry and the Arts of War were introduced for the aristocratic 'cadet' class of young men, but later the social focus widened, games for women were introduced and the range of themes was expanded to embrace much of human activity. Like the parent game, these games are dice-based and without choice of move, but are much more various in their rules. By no means all of them have the classic 63-space track length. A few reproduce exactly the classic Goose rules but with new iconography, re-interpreting the game according to the chosen theme. An example is Roussel's *Jeu de la marine*⁷, a 63-space game about the French Navy in which the 'goose-like' spaces show a ship enjoying a favourable wind. More often, the rules are also re-interpreted thematically.

Chambrelent's *Jeu de la victoire* falls into this latter category: it is a thematic variant of the Goose game, but with re-interpreted rules. It contains 'goose-like' spaces which have a similar rule to that for the goose spaces of the classic game, but here there is only a single series, on the spaces numbered 5, 10, 15 ... The winning space remains at 63, and must be reached exactly: as in the classic game, points in excess must counted backwards from that space. The absence of a special rule for the initial throw of 5 implies that the 'doubling of one's points' on a goose-like space occurs only once, so that the player would in that case go to space 10 and remain there. This interpretation is reinforced by the special rule for an initial throw of 10, where the player must move to space 30,

⁷ H. R. D'Allemagne, *Le noble jeu de l'oie en France de 1640 à 1950* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1950), plate 35.

which is a goose-like space. By contrast, in the classic game, the player is forbidden to stay on a goose space. Despite this difference, there is no doubt that the goose-like spaces in the *Jeu de la victoire* would be recognised by French players as similar to those encountered in the classic game, i.e. as favourable to the player. These spaces are in fact marked with the 'victories' of the Allies during the War, as further discussed below in the analysis of the game.

A further comparison with the classic game relates to the '*accidents*', i.e. the hazard spaces, where an agreed stake is to be paid to the pool. In the classic game, these occur at fixed numbers and their iconography is likewise fixed. The most dramatic space is 'death', usually marked with a skull or skeleton, requiring the player to start again. Another type of space, represented by the 'well' and the 'prison' spaces of the classic game, requires the player to stay until another arrives and takes over the space. A third type requires the player to wait a number of turns, while a fourth type requires the player to advance or move back as specified. All these types of hazard are found in the *Jeu de la Victoire*, but with iconography relevant to the theme, and on spaces whose numbers do not correspond to the classic game. Additionally, the newer game has a number of favourable spaces not found on the parent game.

These variations in rules would add interest to the new game, not least because the player, who would no doubt be thoroughly familiar from childhood with the detailed mechanics of the widely-diffused and popular parent game, would enjoy seeing how the treatment of, say, the 'death' space was undertaken.

Variants of the *jeu de l'oie* published in France on the theme of war before 1914.

D'Allemagne lists many French games on the theme of war, the army, and the navy. Those mentioned below are chosen for their particular relevance to the present topic. They demonstrate that several of the ideas in the *Jeu de la victoire* of 1919 can be traced back to the corpus of French games of earlier centuries, although it is not suggested that direct copying occurred.

The earliest known games on the theme of war are *Le jeu des fortifications* published by Jean Mariette in 1697, outlining the means of defence according to the principles of Vauban, with its companion sheet [detail, figure 3] *Le jeu de la guerre*, which outlined the methods of offensive warfare. Both were designed by Giles de la Boissiere, an Engineer in the service of the King of France, Louis XIV. Interestingly, in both games the individual spaces are in the form of rectangular playing cards with suit markers, useable for all the ordinary card games, once stuck onto pasteboard and cut out separately. However, the whole sheet could also be used 'as in the *jeu de l'oye*', i.e. as a dice game, following the numbered progression of the spaces in a rectangular spiral. The rules are unremarkable, being instructions to move forward or back, or stay a number of turns. There is no equivalent to the goose-doubling rule. However, in the fortifications game there is an equivalent to the 'death' space: at space 49, there is an old-fashioned castle and the instruction is to begin the game again, 'in order to learn modern methods of fortification.'

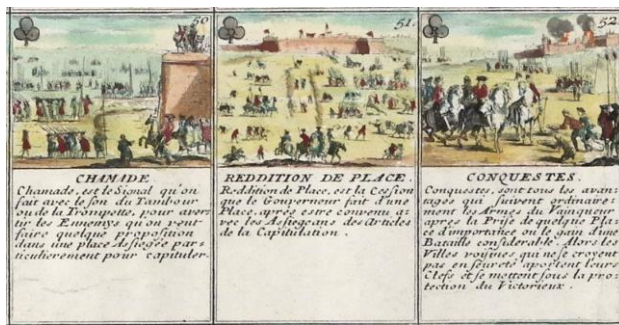


Figure 3: Detail of Mariette's *Jeu de la Guerre*, 1697[author's collection].

A much later game variant foreshadows the idea of marking the favourable 'goose-like' spaces with representations of victories. In the *Jeu des guerriers français favoris de la victoire*⁸ these spaces are denoted by scenes from Napoleon's victories [detail, Figure 4], making a single series only, on the spaces 9, 18, 27.. This is a not uncommon device in French thematic variants where the theme will not easily provide a double series of related images. The non-active spaces represent scenes from military life, beginning with the departure of new conscripts to join the army. The winning space, 63, shows the military distinction of Marshal of France. However, the non-active spaces do not give a sequential progress of the new recruit.

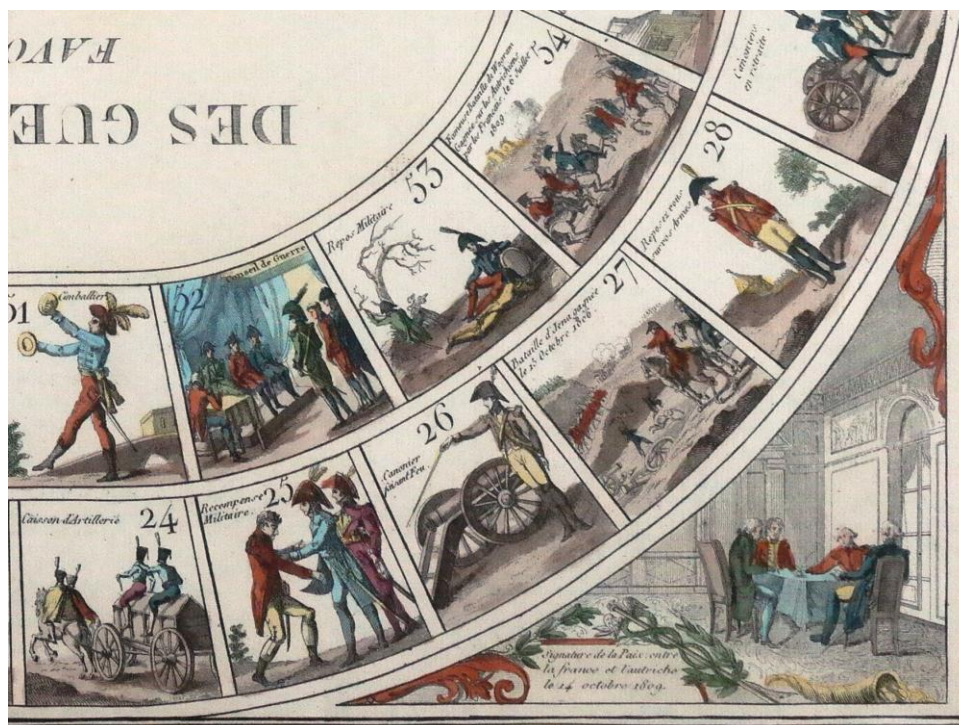


Figure 4: Detail of the *Jeu des guerriers français favoris de la victoire*, Basset, c. 1809 [author's collection].

At the end of the 19th century, the firm of Mauclair Dacier brought out a richly-illustrated game, *Le Régiment*, also beginning with the induction of a conscript. The game, designed and drawn by

⁸ Paris: Basset, c. 1809.

bout, begins with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. The favourable goose-like spaces, of which there is only a single series, illustrate the arms of the Allied Nations : France; England; Russia; Belgium; Japan; and Serbia and Montenegro. The remaining spaces show military equipment; imagined scenes of war; and soldiers, generals and heads of state, including those from the German side. The representations are largely accurate rather than polemical, though the corners of the game contain some anti-German quotations, including one from the Duke of Wellington, dated 1807, and one from Goethe, dated 1809, commenting on the cruelty of the Prussians specifically.

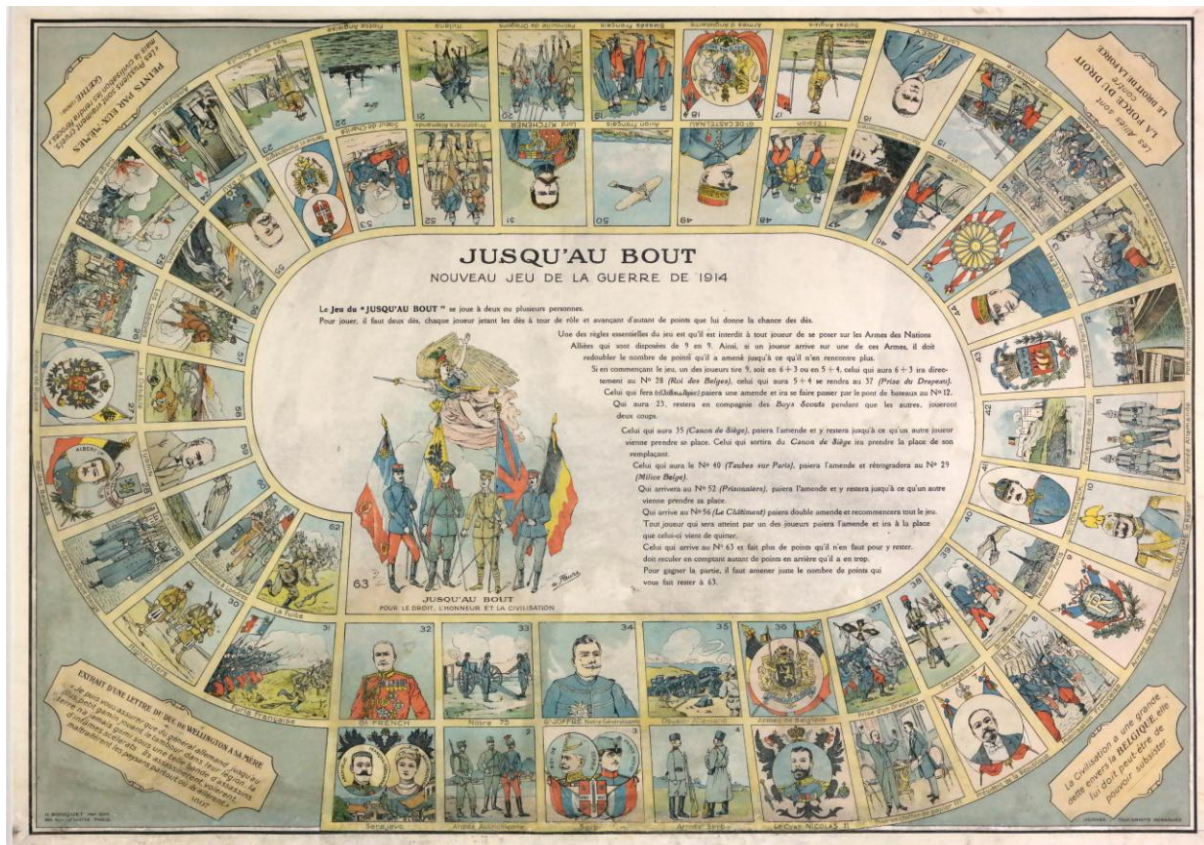


Figure 6: *Jusqu'au bout*, 1914.

The *Jeu de la victoire* published by the firm of J.L.- Edit (known mainly for publishing photographic post cards) is less closely related to the *jeu de l'oie*. Small national flags are provided as playing equipment: those of the Allies are used to mark the progress of players, while those of the enemy nations are competed for during the game. In place of goose-like spaces, there are portraits of Allied Heads of State, which advance the player and also confer the right to take one of the enemy flags. To win, it is required to collect a flag of each enemy nation and to reach the final space, entitled *Entrée des Alliés à Berlin*. This highly optimistic view of the outcome of the war was no doubt stimulated by the early success in holding the German advance at the Battle of the Marne, represented on space 43. As in the previously-mentioned game, the representations of the enemy are not overly polemical.

By contrast, the *Jeu du pas de l'oie – renouvelé des Boches* is highly polemical in its negative depictions of the Germans. They are indeed shown 'goose-stepping' on spaces 9, 18, 27 etc., which double the throw. The intention is not only to ridicule the enemy – for example, at space 12, German soldiers are shown to be so stupidly obedient to discipline that they will march off the broken end of a bridge – but also to portray him as bestial and uncivilised.



Figure 7: detail of the *Jeu du pas de l'oie – renouvelé des Boches* [collection Luigi Ciompi].

An excellent analysis by the CRDP Academy of Amiens¹⁰ classifies the hatred of the enemy shown in this game under three headings:

Political antagonism, in which the German Imperial regime is blamed for the war and threatens the values of democracy and civilization,

Social antagonism, in which Prussian militarism and the aristocratic caste is seen as responsible for the formation of a servile German society,

Ethno-cultural antagonism, in which German Culture is considered grotesque and primitive, with a distinctly racist view of the German as an animal, heavy and coarse, with voracious appetite.

The savagery of this game has the power to shock even today.

¹⁰ http://crdp.ac-amiens.fr/historial/expo2003_1/exposition_fiche_jeu_du_pas_de_loie.htm accessed 27 October 2015.

Iconographic Analysis of the Chambrelent *Jeu de la victoire*

The following iconographic analysis of the Chambrelent *Jeu de la victoire* considers first the active spaces, which have an effect on play, then the inactive spaces, and finally the incidental iconography of the decorative corner scenes.

The active spaces of the Chambrelent game consist of twelve goose-like spaces, doubling the throw, together with seven other spaces of forward movement and seven hazard spaces, impeding the player either by delay or by backward movement.

The twelve goose-like spaces are labelled with the following 'victories': Mulhouse, Le Grand Couronne, La Marne, L'Yser, L'Artois, Verdun, La Somme, La Marne, S. Mihiel, S. Quentin/Cambrai, Italie, Alsace-Lorraine. By representing these on the goose-like spaces, with their forward movement under the rules, the impression given is of a steady and systematic progression towards the ultimate Allied victory. However, as even a cursory examination of the history reveals, this is far from the truth. Take, for example, the following account¹¹ of the 'victory' of Mulhouse¹²:

The action at Mulhouse was intended to secure the recapture of Alsace (with Lorraine to follow separately), territories lost to Germany as a consequence of losing the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. In command of the operation was General Bonneau, with a detachment of the First Army, plus one cavalry and two infantry divisions. Ranged against him was the German Seventh Army under General von Heeringen. Having crossed the frontier on the morning of 7 August, the French quickly seized the border town of Altkirch with a bayonet charge. However Bonneau, suspicious of the light state of the German defences, was wary of advancing much further for fear of stepping into a carefully lain German trap. Nevertheless, under orders to move to the Rhine next day, Bonneau continued his advance, taking Mulhouse on 7 August 1914, shortly after its German occupants had left the town. The French were regarded as liberators by the inhabitants. There were wild celebrations in France. But German reserves from Strasbourg mounted a counter-attack on the morning of 9 August and, lacking reserves of his own, Bonneau began a slow withdrawal the same day.

The 'victory' of Mulhouse was certainly brief! The 'victory' of Le Grand Couronne is likewise equivocal. The official review of the War by Commander-in-Chief Joseph Joffre states¹³:

On the 22nd [of August 1914], in spite of the splendid behaviour of several of our army corps, notably that of Nancy, our troops were brought back on the Grand Couronne, while on the 23rd and 24th the Germans concentrated reinforcements - three army corps, at least - in the region of Luneville and forced us to retire to the south. This retreat, however, was only momentary. On the 25th, after two vigorous counter-attacks, one from south to north and the other from west to east, the enemy had to fall back. From that time a sort of balance was established on this terrain between the Germans and ourselves. Maintained for fifteen days, it was afterward, as will be seen, modified to our advantage.

¹¹ <http://www.firstworldwar.com/battles/mulhouse.htm> accessed 27 October 2015.

¹² Mülhausen, the second city of Alsace.

¹³ http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/joffredespach_aug1914.htm accessed 27 October 2015.

The choice of 'victories' in the game is subjective and by implication overstates, in the case of the early ones at least, their importance to the Allied cause. The truth is that in the early years of the War there was no decisive advantage gained by these 'victories'.

A second feature of the *Jeu de la Victoire* is that certain spaces, unlike any in the parent game, provide forward movement to a specified space that is conceptually linked in a positive way. For example, space 13 shows civilians queuing to deposit money. This refers to the campaign launched by the French Government in 1915, encouraging the French people to buy government bonds in order to finance the war. The campaign was notable for the poster shown in figure 8: designed by Abel Faivre (1867-1945), it has a powerful pictorial message, in contrast to the indirect allegorical approach used in much French publicity material of the period.

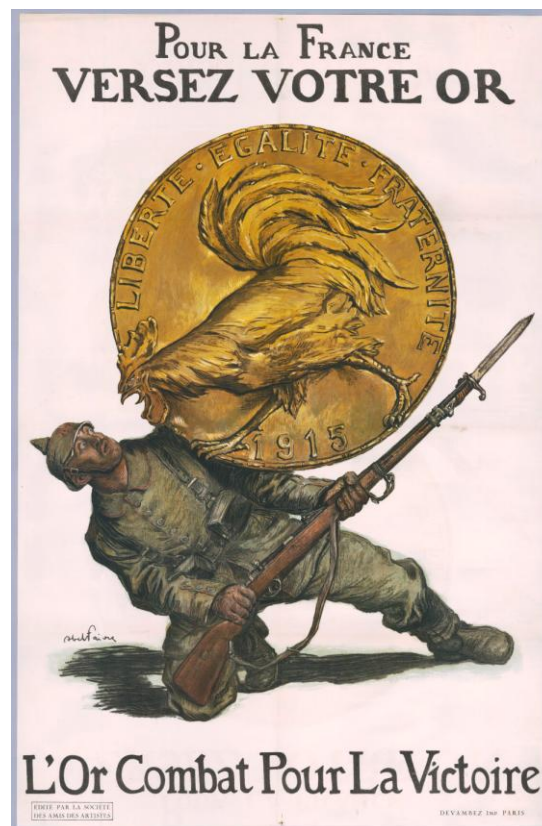


Figure 8: Poster¹⁴ designed by Abel Faivre to encourage support for French government bonds, 1915

The phrase appearing on space 13 of the game - *Les Français versent leur or pour la victoire* – is a direct reference to the poster, and suggests that, just as the French soldiers are pouring out their blood for the nation, so should the civilian population pour out their money. In the game, space 13 leads to space 19, *Confiance* – confidence that the army, shown marching forward, waved on by a cheering crowd, will triumph. Another example of the same kind is that space 33 (American intervention in the war) leads to space 45, (the victory of St-Mihiel). This is an accurate connection:

¹⁴ Image from Library Of Congress, LC-USZC2-3865.

the German-held St. Mihiel salient was ultimately assaulted by wholly independent U.S. forces on 12 September 1917, as their first major intervention in the war¹⁵.

A third feature of the *Jeu de la Victoire* is that certain spaces, also unlike any in the parent game, require *backward* movement to a space that is conceptually linked in a *negative* way. These ‘accidents’ also require the player to pay a stake to the pool, echoing the requirement in the parent game when any hazard space is encountered. An example of the conceptual linking is provided by space 11, showing Kaiser Wilhelm II, being linked to space 1, France is attacked. In fact, this linking much over-simplifies the role of the Kaiser.

Certain rules of the parent game find direct counterparts in the derived game. Space 42 (Lassitude) requires the player to miss two turns, recalling the similar rule for the Inn in Goose. Similarly, the Goose ‘Well’ and ‘Prison’ rules, which require the player to wait at the space until freed by another, are mirrored by spaces 16 (Trench warfare) and 18 (Deportation in the North). The latter reference is accurate: the Germans did indeed deport some of the civilian population of Northern France to internment camps such as Holzminden, in Lower Saxony.

There is also a counterpart to the ‘death’ space (usually numbered 58), requiring the player to start again. Here, it is space 59, marked ‘Peace without victory – what would have happened’. It depicts the resurgence of the German Eagle and the figure of France trampled below its advance. This abhorrence of a negotiated Peace was a significant aspect of France’s attitude to the war, in contrast (say) to that of America, which even as late as the early months of 1918 was advocating a settlement.

The winning space, at 63, is marked ‘paix victorieuse’ and depicts soldiers of the six Allied nations, in combat gear, holding their respective national flags.

Finally, we consider the non-active spaces of the Chambrelent game. These, as noted in the introduction, are filled with scenes that purport to furnish a chronological account of the Great War, from 1914 to 1918. Chronological games based on the *jeu de l’oie* have a long history: the earliest is the *Jeu chronologique* published by Pierre Mariette about 1650 [figure 9]. This ‘game of the centuries’ used to be thought the earliest educational race game on any theme but now according to recent research¹⁶ it is probably the second, after Duval’s *Jeu du Monde* of 1645. Unusually, it starts in the centre and works outwards, the first section beginning with the creation of Adam, ending at 40 with the birth of Christ, the second beginning with the ‘century of the apostles’ ending at 17 with Louis XV and XVI.

¹⁵ http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/stmihiel_pershing.htm accessed 27 October 2015.

¹⁶ Thierry Depaulis, private communication.

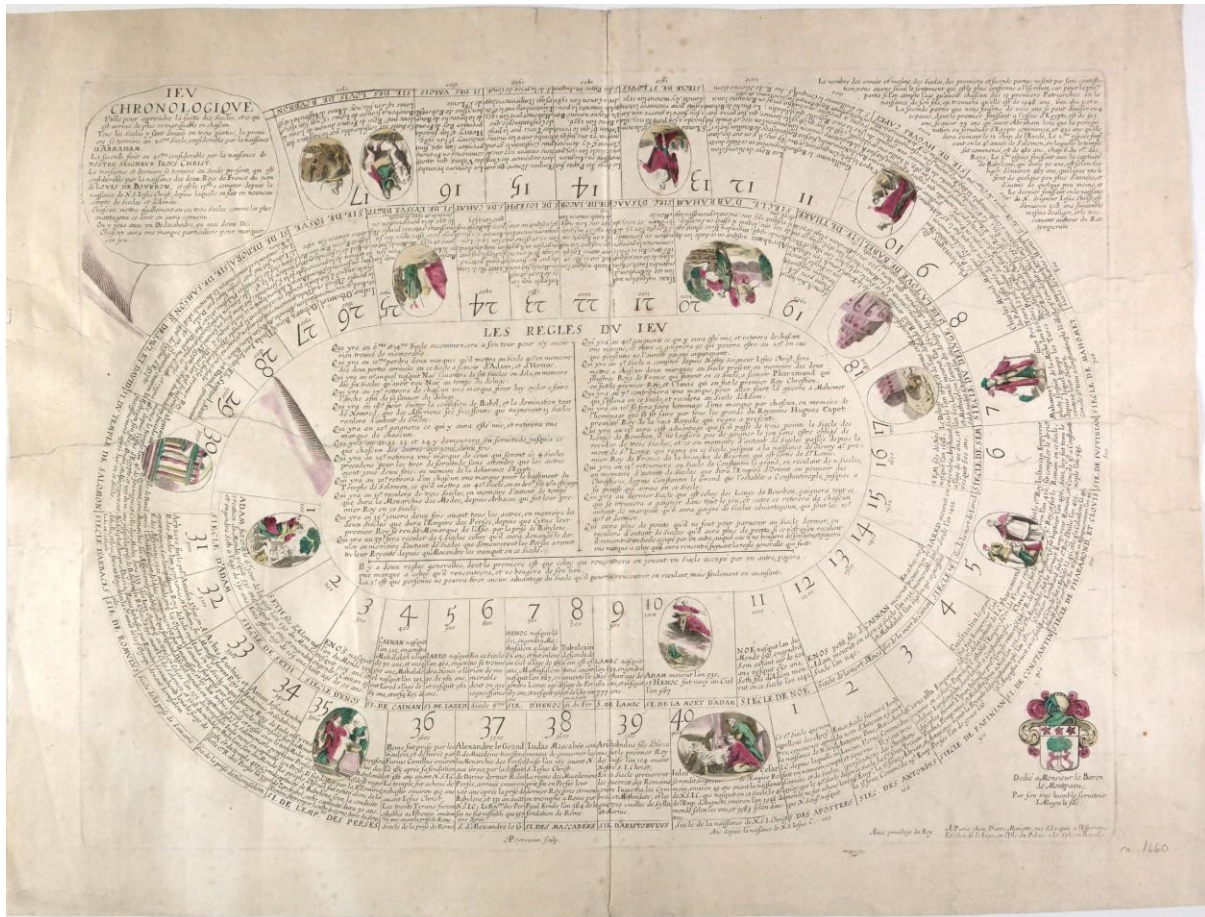


Figure 9: The earliest chronological game known, published by Mariette and Le Juge in about 1650 [author's collection]

The sequence of spaces in the *Jeu de la Victoire* begins with the attack on France and ends, at space 63, with 'Victorious Peace', a significant term bearing in mind that, as noted above, Peace without victory was abhorrent. Although it purports to be a chronology, there are several points where the timeline has been distorted to suit popular perceptions. For example, space 32, simply labelled 'a crime', shows the sinking of a passenger liner, presumably the *Lustania*, while the next space portrays President Woodrow Wilson and is labelled 'intervention of America', by implication linking these events both causally and chronologically. In fact, these events were separated by many months. Moreover, the causal connection is much more indirect than that implied. The official protest note¹⁷ from the USA to Germany resulting from the sinking is measured in tone. It was not until the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany in 1917 that America entered the war.

¹⁷ [Regarding] the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives.. [the US Government] confidently expects... that the Imperial German government will disavow the acts of which the government of the United States complains, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=3897 accessed 27 October 2015.

There are other examples in the depictions on the non-active spaces where popular perception overrides historical accuracy. For example, space 38 shows a heavy artillery piece and is labelled 'Big Bertha kills women and children'. In fact, this super-heavy mortar developed by the armaments manufacturer Krupp was not used against cities but against fortified emplacements; it was the so-called Paris Gun, a different weapon, that was used against civilians.

The depictions of the enemy in the non-active spaces are of interest. They record various atrocities, some well-known, for example, the killing of British nurse Edith Cavell (space 24), executed by a German firing squad in Brussels for helping Allied soldiers escape from German-occupied Belgium. The 'Boche' invention of the gas attack is illustrated at space 26, while aerial bombardment of towns is shown at space 37. Other atrocities of the war are less well-known: space 27 shows German troops taking civilian hostages, while space 36 records the destruction 'by the Boche' of fruit trees, something that the French authorities thought worthy of a photograph [figure 10]. In general, though, the depictions are not of the extreme negative kind shown in the *Jeu du pas de l'oie*.



Figure 10: Photograph¹⁸ apparently showing destruction of fruit trees by the Germans.

The Chambrelent *Jeu de la Victoire* considered as a primary historical source.

The thesis of this paper is that the Chambrelent game, though not representing the Great War accurately, nevertheless can be regarded as a useful source of information about how the French people regarded the war in its immediate aftermath.

In substantiating this thesis, the first point to observe is that the game is essentially a commercial production, rather than being a political effusion of government or of a particular faction. Secondly, it is aimed at the popular section of the market and is therefore unlikely to be representative of a narrow elite or intellectual view. Finally, the attitudes that it displays are broadly consistent with those inferred from other 'popular' sources.

¹⁸ Ministère de la Culture (France) - Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine - diffusion RMN CVL 00204.

The printing and publishing firm of Chambrelent were active between the wars at the popular end of the market for colour lithographic productions. For example, their *Contes et images à lire*, bearing the imprint 'Imprimerie E. Chambrelent - E.T.I.O.P. – Paris', is a cheap booklet, illustrated with many coloured scenes on each page, in the *imagerie populaire* tradition of Pellerin at Epinal. Chambrelent also provided commercial stationery such as bill heads¹⁹ publicity fans and advertising labels. Their activity in the market for games is evidenced as late as 1934 by a patent for a *Jeu publicitaire ou autre*²⁰. Regarding games of the *jeu de l'oie* type, they are known to have produced at least one other besides the *Jeu de la victoire*: the *Jeu des sports et des voyages*, which provides a round-the-world tour beginning and ending in Paris. It is a cheap lithographic colour print on card, folding in two. A small version was also produced, on stiff paper, presumably even cheaper. The implication is that, when Chambrelent produced a game, it was as a commercial venture aimed at a mass market. The firm was not likely to risk jeopardising sales by producing anything with a controversial flavour.

Another relevant aspect of Chambrelent is that they were active not only in Paris but also had a factory in Pont-à-Mousson, an industrial town in the department Meurthe-et-Moselle in the Lorraine region of France. It may well be that this contributes to the importance given in the game to the 'délivrance' of Alsace Lorraine (space 60) which can be reached direct from space 53, *Emprunt de la défense nationale* (national defence loan). It was by no means clear even towards the end of the Great War that Germany would cede these lands back to France in any negotiated peace.

The impression of the War given by the Chambrelent game may be summarised as follows:

- the causes of the war are greatly over-simplified by attributing the blame to the German Kaiser;
- the succession of "victories", unbroken by any reverses, gives a false impression of continuity of Allied progress during the course of the War;
- German atrocities against the civil population are given prominence and perhaps over-emphasized;
- the patriotic efforts of the French population are celebrated, particularly as regards raising funds to prosecute the campaign;
- the importance of a positive attitude in the civilian population is highlighted;
- the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to French rule is given considerable importance, being regarded as deliverance from German oppression;
- there is deep fear of renewed conflict after a negotiated peace;
- reparations are to be sought from Germany.

It is of interest to compare and contrast this list with the following summary of views²¹ expressed by the French people after the terms of the Versailles Treaty of 1919 were announced:

¹⁹ Examples are held in the collections of the Centre for Ephemera Studies, University of Reading, England.

²⁰ *Brevet d'invention* No. 774,536 – application dated 14 June 1934.

²¹ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/greatwar/g5/cs2/background.htm> accessed 27 October 2015.

Reactions in France were mixed. There were celebrations that the war was definitely over. People approved of the reparations that Germany had to pay. They also liked the fact that Germany's borders with France (the Rhineland) would be demilitarised. This meant Germany could not station any troops in this area. They appreciated that the coalmines of the Saar would bring prosperity to France instead of Germany. They also believed that the League of Nations would be a powerful force for peace. It would protect France if Germany recovered and tried to act aggressively again. However, there was a strong sense that Germany still threatened France. Many French people looked at the terrible cost of the war and believed that France had suffered far more than Germany.

The general tenor of the two sets of views is obviously similar but those inferred from a study of the game provide interesting additional nuances.

Conclusion: The changing face of the enemy

Looking back over the centuries at games on the theme of war, it is possible to see a significant shift in the attitude shown by the civilian population towards the enemy. In the earliest games, those of Mariette published in 1697, war on land is shown with a degree of distancing from its horrors: even the act of surrender is shown as a civilised process, though the spoils of war are not neglected. A century or so later, the *Jeu des guerriers français favoris de la victoire* shows the signing of the peace between France and Austria as occurring in luxurious surroundings, remote from the experience of ordinary citizens. At the end of the 19th century, the game of *Le Regiment* is more a celebration of war, with victory to be enjoyed as a certain end, rather than any exploration of its realities.

The games of the Great War itself begin to show a different aspect of war. The earliest, *Jusq'au bout* (1914) reveals a long-standing hostility towards the Germans, though its iconography is entirely realistic and even respectful towards their rulers, officers and soldiers in the ranks. A similar treatment typifies the first *Jeu de la victoire* of 1914: indeed, the portrayal of a *Hussard de la Mort*, referring to the death's head badge of the German Hussar regiments, could even be said to glorify the enemy. Wholly different is the portrayal of the Germans in the *Jeu du pas de l'oie*, whose negativity has already been remarked. The Chambrelent *Jeu de la Victoire* also portrays the Germans negatively, though the iconographic treatment is less extreme: the Kaiser and the Crown Prince are treated in a cartoon-like way, as figures of fun, rather than with respect – but not with hatred.

One of the most poignant contrasts is between the final 'Victory' space of the *Jusq'au bout* game, where the Allied soldiers stand quietly triumphant in their smart national uniforms, and that of the Chambrelent game, where now drab battledress is worn and the German Eagle lies trampled underfoot.

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