This is the English version of a three-part paper appearing in Le Vieux Papier *fasc. 452, 453, and 454 during 2024.*

The Game of the Goose at the World's Fairs

The great *Expositions universelles*, or 'World's Fairs', were a conspicuous phenomenon of the second half of the nineteenth century.[1] The 1851 'Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations', often styled just as 'the Great Exhibition', is generally regarded as the first international exhibition of manufactured products. It was the brainchild of Henry Cole,[2] who contrived to enlist the active and able support of Queen Victoria's Consort, Prince Albert. The exhibition was held in Hyde Park, London, in a huge glass and iron building specially designed by Joseph Paxton: the 'Crystal Palace', as it became known, thanks to *Punch*.[3] The exhibition was a decided success, attracting over 6 million visitors in its six months of opening - including the French Emperor, Napoleon III. Deeply impressed, he commissioned the first Paris *Exposition universelle* of 1855, with the intention of promoting French commerce, technology and culture. This too was a success, with over 5 million visitors, so that further Paris *Expositions universelles* followed in 1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900. During this period, many other countries hosted their own versions of international or colonial fairs.[4] This paper is in three parts, dealing with games associated with major expositions in: 1. London, 2. Paris and 3. The Netherlands and the USA. Expositions in other countries have not contributed to the genre, as far as we have been able to discover.

The mass interest created by these exhibitions gave rise to a lively market for souvenirs, often in the form of printed material. Initially colour was applied by hand – an expensive and labour-intensive process. But the period also saw the development of chromolithography, so that by the end of the nineteenth century, the market could be presented with highly attractive designs, printed in full and vivid colour, and sold relatively cheaply. Prominent among these designs were various adaptations of the jeu de l'oie and related board games, the subject of the present article. Following the example of D'Allemagne, dice games of pure chance with a board as staking layout are included, as are jeux de parcours generally.[5]

The games discussed here are almost all games that illustrate some aspect of the exposition concerned – most often, the special buildings or a selection of the exhibits. Games that were themselves exhibited are not usually identifiable as such, since the catalogues of the expositions do not give sufficient detail:[6] some exceptions are noted below.

A perhaps unexpected feature is that the international nature of these expositions created much interest abroad. This is reflected in the considerable number of games that do not

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[1] See https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/all-world-expos
for a list of 'World Expositions' officially recognised by the Bureau international des expositions.

[2] Sir Henry Cole (1808–1882), civil servant, was knighted in 1875.

[3] *Punch*, 2 November 1850.

[4] A list of international or colonial fairs during the second half of the 19th century shows well over 200 of them, the majority being of little importance: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_world%27s_fairs

[5] H. R. D'ALLEMAGNE, *Le noble jeu de l'oie*. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1950.

[6] For example, the official catalogue of the Great Exhibition references only *Agon* (Vol. 2, p. 800) and the *Gioco di Euterpe* (Vol. 1, p. 469, to teach the elements of music) without giving more detail.

originate in the host countries. Another feature is that several games are concerned mainly with the journey to the exhibition site, perhaps showing only the entrance to it as the goal. Other games perhaps predicably showcase the amazing (though often temporary) buildings housing the exhibits – but there are some which indicate the pitfalls that an unwary visitor might encounter. Finally, though one might expect the considerable expenditure of ingenuity, imagination and resources to be a source of national pride, we find several games of a mocking or satirical nature.

PART I – WORLD'S FAIRS IN LONDON

Games of the 'Great Exhibition' of 1851



Fig. 1 – *Illustrative Game of the Great Exhibition*, William Spooner, London [1851], detail, (Seville Collection)

The London 'Great Exhibition' gave rise to perhaps the most splendid of all these games: the *Illustrative Game of the Great Exhibition,* a simple spin-and-move board game published in London by William Spooner in 1851 (*Fig. 1*, #2357)[7]. Spooner was an active and imaginative

[7] References to the catalogue number in the giochidelloca.it website are in the form #1234.

inventor of printed games,[8] several of which employ teetotums in novel ways.[9] These small spinning tops were numbered or lettered to provide a random input instead of dice. In this case, the teetotum was numbered from 1 to 6 but an unusual rule stated that only spins of 2 to 5 carried the player's token forward the indicated number of spaces, whereas spins of 1 or 6 carried it backwards. To accommodate these backward moves, the game began not at space number 1 but at space 12 (the Turkish Chair). Otherwise, the game's mechanism was unremarkable: certain spaces required payment of stakes; others allowed stakes to be taken from the winner's pool. The winning space was number 42, depicting the Crystal Fountain designed by Follett Osler and set at the culminating point of view from every quarter of the building. The *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition* wrote that it was 'perhaps the most striking object in the exhibition'. [10] Many of the spaces illustrate remarkable objects in the exhibition, while others give an impression of the various departments or 'courts' in which the nations of the world showed their products.[11] The final spaces represent countries of Europe, including rather strangely the small islands of Guernsey and Jersey. The most prominent space visually is that in the centre of the board, which represents the Indian Court. One may imagine that the unknown artist's brief was to tour the exhibition and illustrate anything that caught the eye.

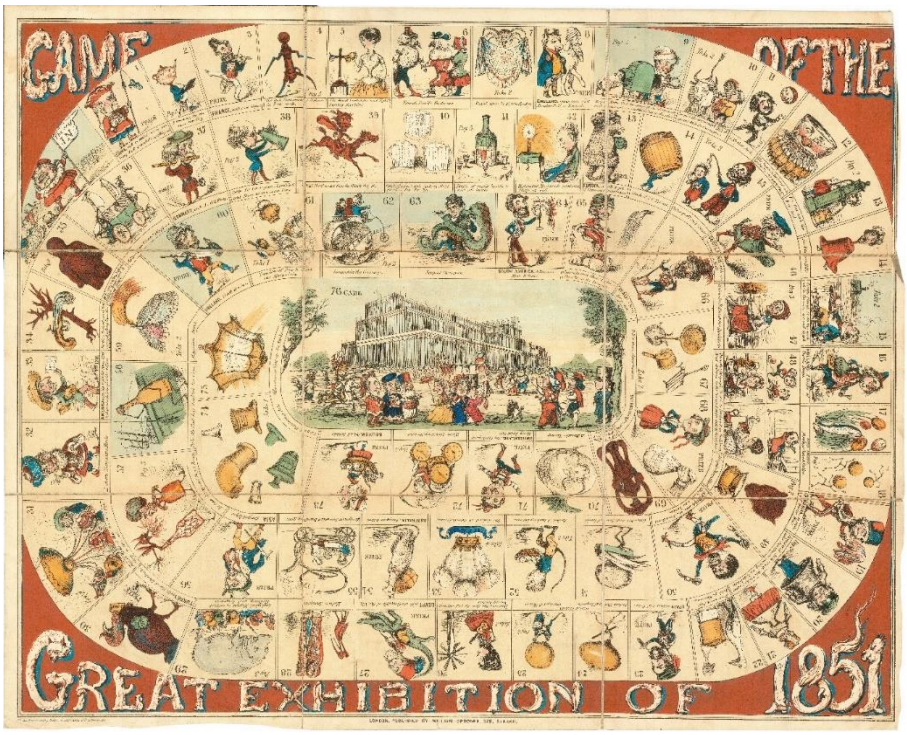


Fig. 2 – George Augustus Sala, *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, William Spooner, London [1851]. (Courtesy of Daniel Crouch Rare Books)

[8] 27 of his games are listed in: Adrian SEVILLE and John SPEAR, *The Cultural Legacy of the Royal Game of the Goose*, Amsterdam University Press, 2019, pp. 133-135.
[9] For more about the teetotum see Adrian SEVILLE, 'The Quest for the Pyramids - Playing equipment in English printed board games of the pre-Georgian, Georgian and Early Victorian Eras'. In: *An Antique Games Compendium*, The Games Board. Brighton: Doplin Books, 2021, pp. 13-26.
[10] George VIRTUE, London: Bradbury & Evans, 1851, volume 1, p. 255.
[11] A virtual tour of the exhibition is at https://www.calmview.eu/RoyalCommission1851/CalmView/

Another of Spooner's 1851 games was a complete contrast: *The Comic Game of the Great Exhibition* is a caricature of its visitors from all around the world, together with their imagined exhibits satirically described (*Fig. 2*, #2832). The game is laid out on a spiral track of 76 spaces, much like a French jeu de l'oie. However, it does not have the classic goose and other spaces. Instead, many of the spaces require the player to pay to or take from the winner's pool. Other spaces are labelled 'prize': the player whose token lands on such a space takes one of the 22 tickets supplied with the game. The game ends when the central 'game' space is reached exactly, the winner being the player with the most tickets, 'game' itself counting as three tickets.[12]

The mocking 'exhibits' from the countries of the world are grouped along the track, beginning with China:

> Space 1: a Chinaman with a model shoe 'for making the feet small and beautifully less'.
> Space 2: a drawing teapot from Nan King [a humanised teapot sketching: a pun on 'drawing', the English word for the process of brewing tea].



Fig. 2a – Details: France and England compared

[12] An example of the game, complete with its one-page rule sheet, is held at the Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, GV1199 .G36 1851

The game is packed with national stereotypes, continuing with France:

> Space 3: with a caper [a fiddle-playing dancing master].
> Space 4: The last Continental fashion in Iron work [a quasi-human figure made up of a cannon, swords and bayonets].
> Space 5: The Waist Contractor and Tight Lacing machine.
> Space 6: French Poodle Fashions.
> Space 7: Shawl spun by 10,000 spiders.

France is thus unfavourably represented as the home of trivial fashions – but also, in space 4, as the fomenter of wars and setting the 'fashion' for revolution in Europe.

England has the largest allocation of spaces but fares no better:

> Space 8: John Bull and Brother Bull of Nineveh
> Space 9: Magic stove – the animals go in at one end and come out cooked at the other
> Space 10: Cow with the mesmerised 'Tale' [a pun on 'tail'] of special milk for clairvoyants
> Space 11: A masked ball [a large ball wearing a human face]
> Space 12: The fountainhead that will give London a new supply of water [a pun on 'head'][13]
> Space 13: The cow with the iron tail [a pump giving out milk, whose handle resembles a cow's tail][14]
> Space 14: An Alarum Belle [a screaming woman dressed as a handbell]
> Space 15: Steam Plough to do the work while farmers eat and drink.

Trivial puns, whether on words or in pictures, are evident, together with fictitious or ridiculous inventions. But these frivolities are salted with sterner stuff. The Winged Bull of Nineveh, a huge Assyrian statue dating from about 850-860 BC, reached the British Museum in 1850. The Bull's significance as representing a lost empire was immediately evident.[15] Space 8 contrasts this long-gone empire with the thriving British Empire represented by John Bull. A more subtle message is conveyed in space 15, where the steam plough is shown working unattended while the elaborately-dressed farmer enjoys his new-found leisure by having a meal. But this is no ordinary farmer's meal: a pineapple, symbol of aristocratic luxury, is the centrepiece of the table overlooking the field, set with decanters. We are invited to laugh at the inappropriateness of this bucolic splendour.

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[13] Dr John Simon, *City Medical Reports*, 1849: 'In the City of London the supply of water is but a fraction of what it should be. Thousands of the population have no supply of it to the houses where they dwell. For their possession of this first necessary of social life, such persons wholly depend on their power of attending at some fixed hour of the day, pail in hand, beside the nearest standcock; where, with their neighbours, they wait their turn—sometimes not without a struggle, during the tedious dribbling of a single small pipe.'

[14] Peter J. ATKINS, 'Sophistication Detected, or, the Adulteration of the Milk Supply', *Social History*, Vol. 16, No. 3, Oct 1991, pp, 317-338.

[15] As witness the poem by Dante Gabriel Rosetti, *The Burden of Nineveh.*

Who, then, was the designer of these barbed caricatures? Jill Shefrin[16] postulates that the designer of the game was George Cruikshank[17] and that it was based on Thomas Onwhyn's *Mr Goggleye's visit to the exhibition*, a satirical panorama published to coincide with the opening of the exhibition in 1851.[18] This attribution has been generally followed, not least by Megan A Norcia in her extensive discussion of the game, though she seems to credit Spooner himself as being the guiding force behind the satire.[19] However, the correct attribution is to George Augustus Sala [1828–1895], whose satirical panorama,[20] *The Great Exhibition - 'Wot Is To Be',* had been published in 1850 by the London publisher Rudolph Ackermann in 1850: it presented a similar arrangement of unlikely inventions, grouped by countries (detail, *Fig. 3*).



Fig. 3 *The Great Exhibition - 'Wot Is To Be'*. Rudolph Ackermann, London, 1850, detail (Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

Further panoramas on the subject followed: *The Great Glass House Opend* [sic] and *The House that Paxton Built.* Sala sometimes signed himself with the monogram GAS surmounted by a gas flame - another visual pun. The *Comic Game* is apparently unsigned – but a careful inspection reveals that the penultimate space is a large gaslight (*Fig.2b detail*) equipped with several human eyes: the text is 'Lanthern to Light up the Exhibition'.[21]

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[16] Jill SHEFRIN, *Ingenious Contrivances*, Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1996, p. 4.
[17] Celebrated British caricaturist and book illustrator, 1792-1878
[18] Also thus attributed in *Playing Games in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America,* Ann R. HAWKINS et al., New York, State University of New York Press, 2021.
[19] Megan A. NORCIA, *Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836-1860.* New York and London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 118-136.
[20] In the form of a single strip of paper, folded as a leporello.
[21] I am grateful to Jolyon Hudson of Marlborough Rare Books for spotting this illuminating feature!

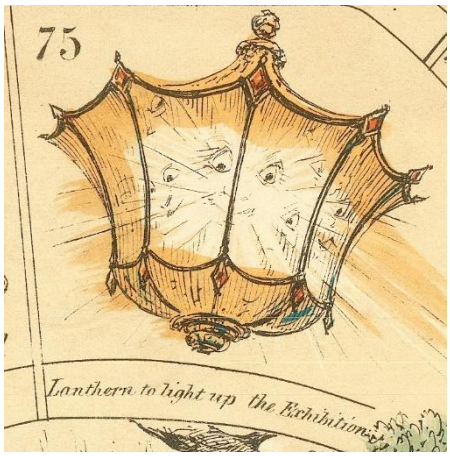


Fig. 2b – the 'Lanthorn'



Fig. 2c – emigrants to Australia

Soon after designing the game, Sala achieved early success as a journalist in Dickens's *Household Words* and went on to become a famous special correspondent and regular contributor to the *Daily Telegraph*, abandoning his work as a caricaturist.[22]

There is not room to give a full listing of the spaces of the game, many of which are discussed in Norcia's extensive commentary[23] – a welcome academic study of an important board game, though she is inclined to transfer her modern perceptions to this essentially Victorian game. For example, she contends that the allocation of most space on the game to England reflects imperial power, even as Sala satirises it. The point is arguable but an alternative explanation might simply be that Sala wanted to engage his audience by beginning the game with a good number of familiar tropes: France versus England. And her suggestion that Australia, Africa and Asia are somehow diminished by being drawn 'upside down' does not take into account that jeux de l'oie are designed to be viewed from all sides. She also makes heavy weather of the absurd: the Australian space 55 shows 'Emigrants Domestic and Travelling Kettle' as a giant vehicular kettle, *(Fig. 2c),* large enough for the emigrants to dine in as it steams away. She observes that their choice to travel in a vessel of British culture isolates them from their new colonial surroundings: and that may perhaps be Sala's point. But is she justified – because of the steam - in saying that they 'run the risk of being destroyed by it as well'? Surely this assigns a causative reality to this absurd kettle well beyond Sala's intent. Again, space 50 caricatures a smartly-dressed African man grinning as he breaks free of slavery, with the legend: 'AFRICA with the chain Great Britain has broken'. A similar anti-slavery theme is depicted in the America section of Sala's panorama, where a black slave is being whipped with a cat-o-nine-tails, his 'stripes' being compared to those on the American 'flag of liberty'. Norcia's interpretation of space 50 is that it implies that a freed Africa will adopt English dress and social customs: a conclusion that would

[22] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 'Sala, George Augustus'.
[23] M. A. Norcia, op. cit.

benefit from supporting evidence that this was indeed Sala's intent, or that the caricature would have been understood in that way. Contrast the interpretation of space 8, where there is ample evidence that the disturbing significance of the Bull of Nineveh was fully appreciated at the time. Norcia's commentary, though well observed, often assigns more weight to the game than it can properly bear.

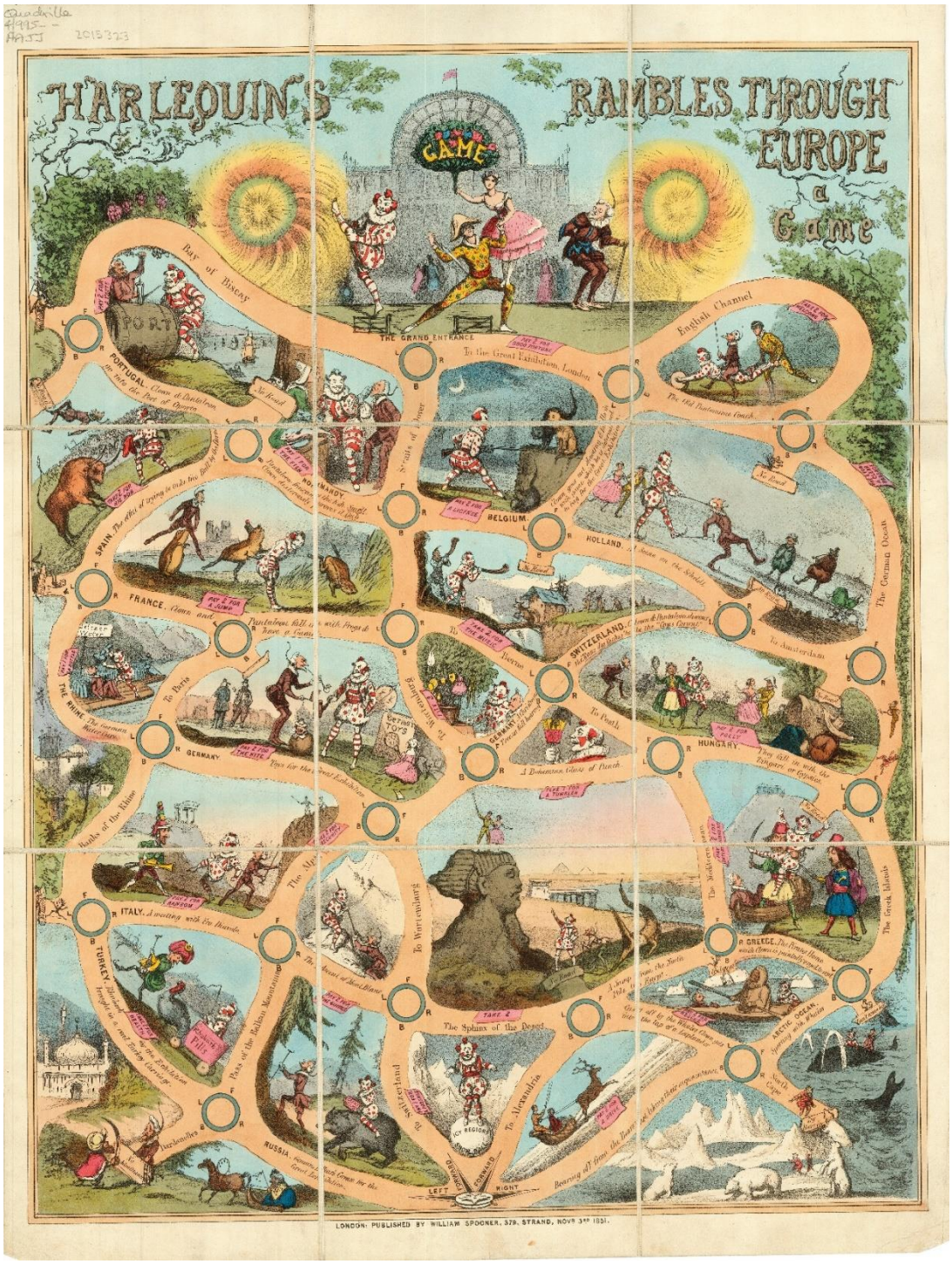


Fig. 4 – *Harlequin's Rambles through Europe*, William Spooner, London, 1851 (Coll. John Spear)

Spooner's third game on the exhibition of 1851 was *Harlequin's Rambles through Europe* (*Fig. 4*, #2576). This used a layout similar to that of his much earlier game *The Journey, or Cross Roads to Conqueror's Castle*, published in 1834 (#1349). The path to the winning space is multiply connected, with many cross roads at which the player must take a direction determined by a teetotum marked with F (front), L(left), R (right) and B (back). The goal is the 'Grand Entrance' to the Crystal Palace, depicted at the winning space. On the way, several of the connecting paths refer to the Exhibition. For example, a path marked GERMANY says 'Toys for the Great Exhibition' and the player must pay 2 to the pool 'for the kite', illustrated above the path with other toys; while a path marked TURKEY shows a 'real Turkey carriage' *(Fig. 4a)* [a cart drawn by a turkey] bringing goods to the exhibition.[24]

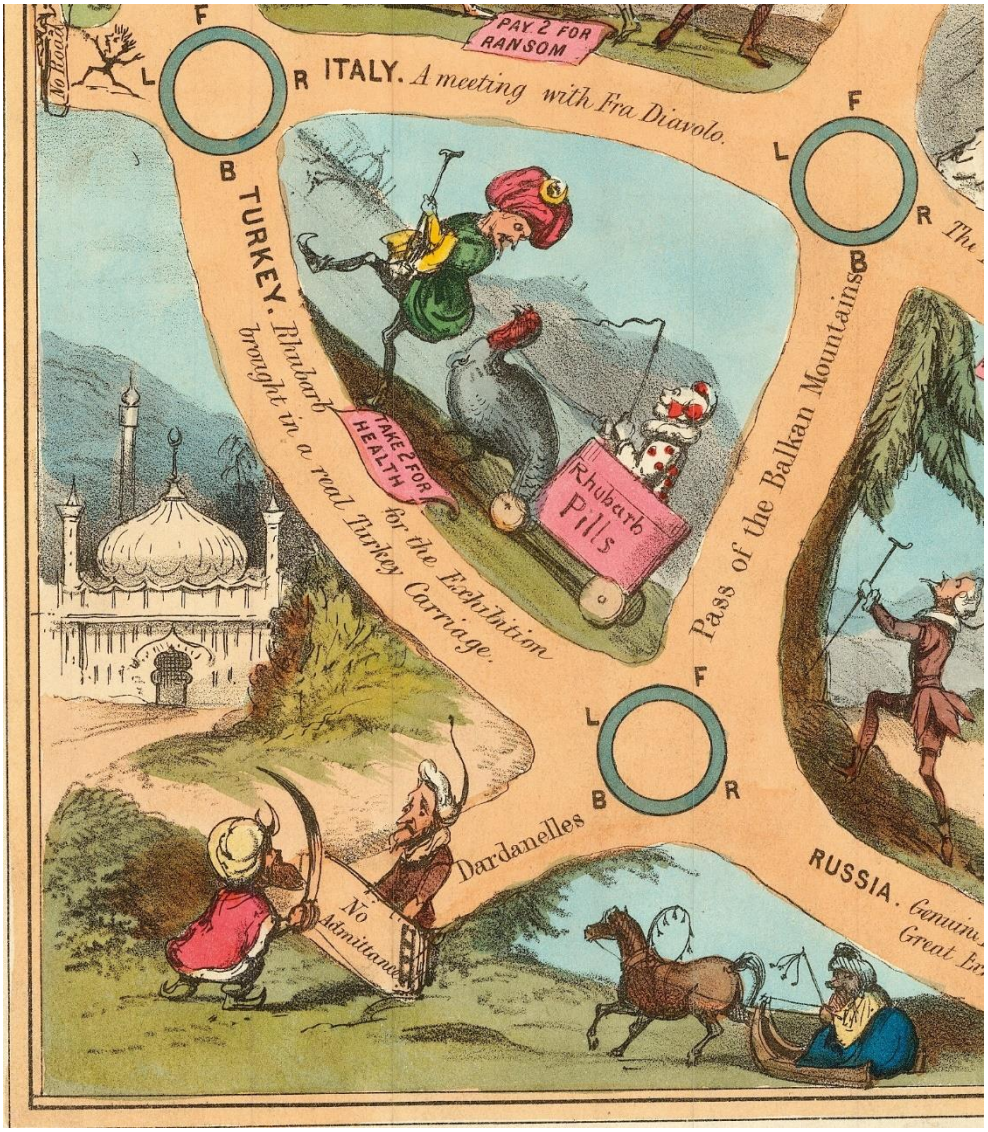


Fig. 4a – detail: 'Turkey'

[24] The pun does not work in French!

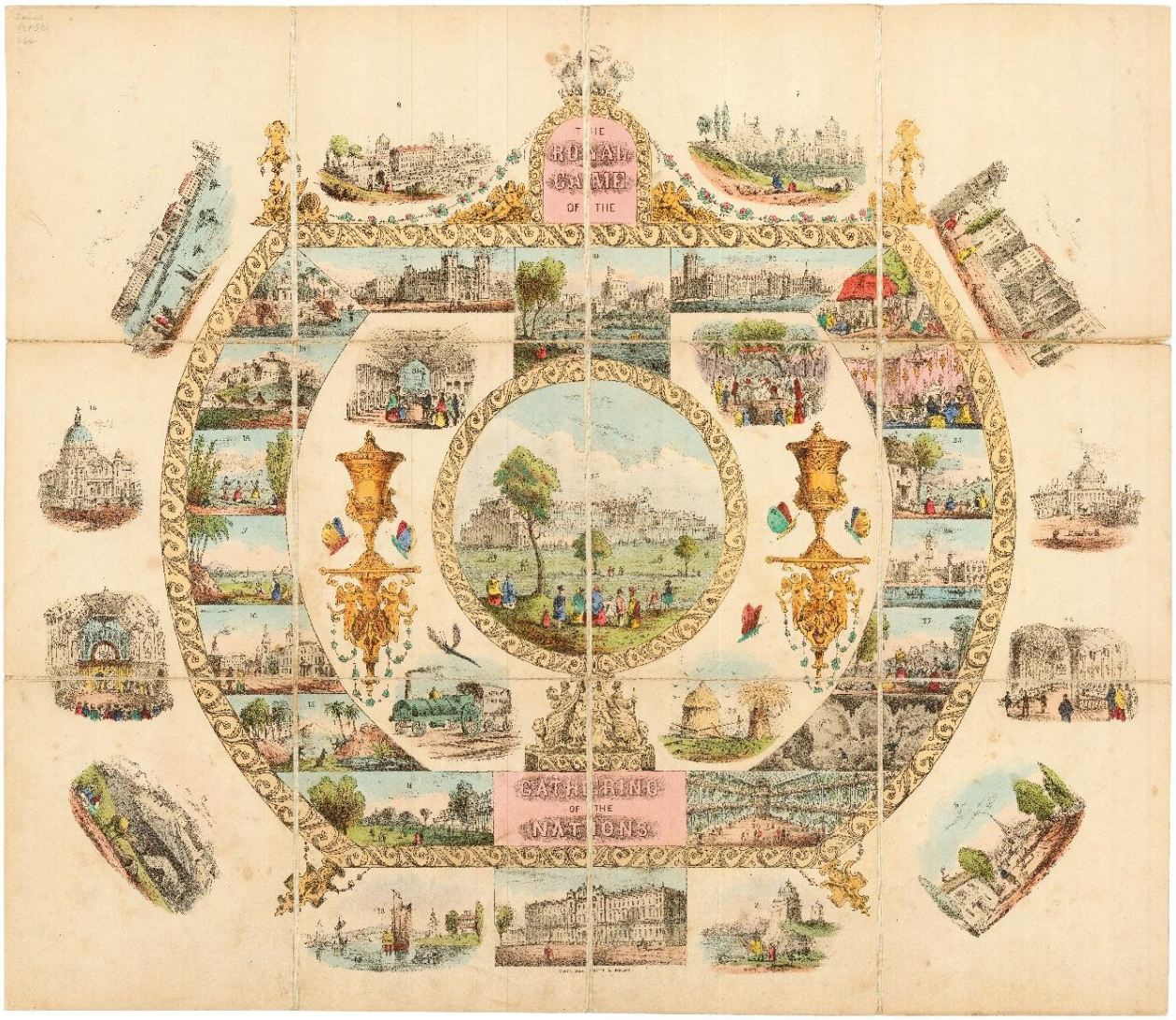


Fig. 5 – *The Royal Game of the Gathering of the Nations*, John Betts, London, 1851
(Courtesy of Daniel Crouch Rare Books)

Spooner had competition in the provision of board games of the 1851 exhibition. John Betts of London published his *Royal Game of the Gathering of Nations* in the same year *(Fig. 5)*.[25] It was an attractively-coloured lithograph with a 35-space track, laid out in concentric circles, the winning space at the centre showing a view of the Crystal Palace. An accompanying booklet provided a description of each place pictured on the track, to be read out on landing there. The track begins at Buckingham Palace, continuing through Turkey and several other countries.

[25] Victoria and Albert Museum, MISC.42-1975. *The Name of the Game* [catalogue], London and New York: Daniel Crouch Rare Books Ltd., 2023, game number 37.

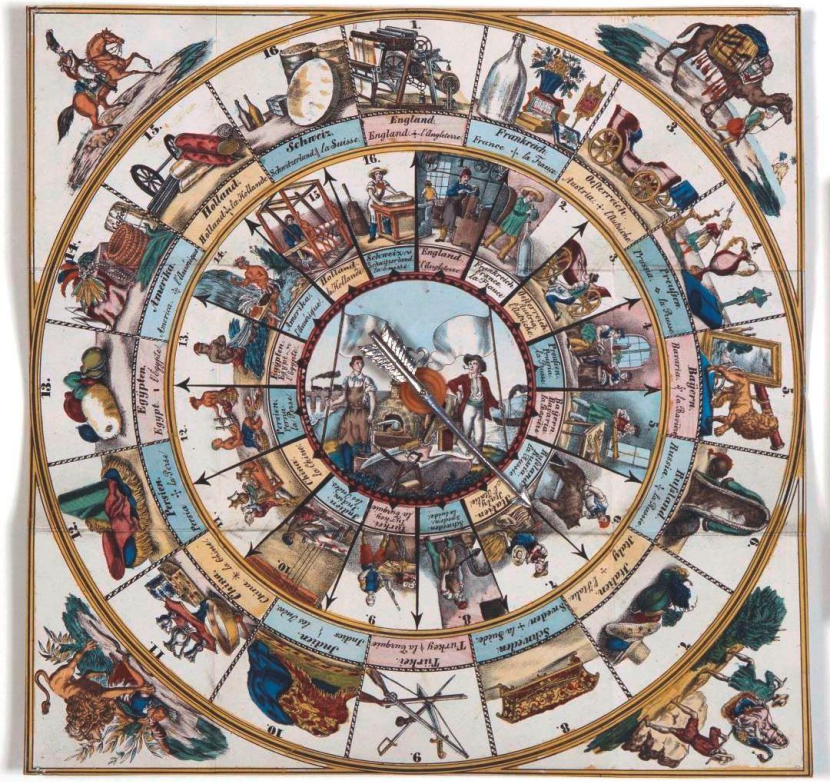


Fig. 6 – *Die grosse Welt-Industrie-Ausstellung*, n.p., n.d., (Germanische Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg HG5619)

However, German manufacturers of toys also had an eye on the market for games created by the Great Exhibition. The anonymous game shown in *Fig. 6* employs a horizontal pointer pivoted in the centre of the game, spinning above a track of two concentric circles, each divided into 16 segments representing different countries. These are named in English, French and German, though Switzerland is rendered in English as 'Schwitzerland'. The title of the game, *La Grande Exposition d'Industrie Universelle de Londres*, is given in all these languages on the box lid, indicating an international market. In play, stakes are paid to or taken from the winner's pool according to the spin of the arrow. Players spin twice at each turn: they receive stakes if the country indicated is the same at both turns, otherwise they pay. If England is indicated in both spins, the player wins the pool. An accompanying booklet says that the game is intended to show at a glance the products and manufactures special to each country. These begin:[26]

> 1. L'Angleterre, représentée par des machines et des appareils de mécanisme, qui constituent la branche principale de l'industrie de ce grand peuple.
> 2. La France, qui a doté l'exposition de ses produits en verroteries, merceries et articles de luxe.
> 3. L'Autriche, est traduite [?] par ses belles voitures.
> 4. La Prusse, par ses diverses manufactures de tisserie [sic].

[26] In a somewhat approximate version of French!

5. La Bavière, par des peintures sculptures, fonderies en fer, instruments d'optique et son excellente bière.

The contrast between the advanced industrial capability of England and that of other countries is manifest.

The Exhibition also attracted interest from publishers in Haarlem: the Wed. de Lange and Van Ek produced their *Tentoonstelling van Londen* [London Exhibition] game in 1851.[27] It was a dice-based game, using 48 special cards that included illustrations of the various means of transport to London and of selected objects on show.

Games were by no means the only printed memorabilia of the exhibition. There were many jigsaw puzzles, for example W. Roxbrough's splendidly-named dissection: *To the Great Exhibition of All Nations and the Funny People going there*, in which the humour is again based on racial stereotypes. And tunnel books (a form of peep-show) were produced by both London and German manufacturers. Spooner, for example, published a *Perspective View of the Interior of the Crystal Palace and Great Industrial Exhibition,* consisting of ten cut-out printed paper panels and a back-drop, hand-painted and connected at the sides by strips of white silk, while the panels folded out accordion-style for a three-dimensional telescopic view of the transept.[28]

The Great Exhibition of 1851 is one of the most hotly discussed topics in Victorian cultural history. Jeremy Auerbach, in his scholarly overview, avoids portraying the Exhibition simplistically as a grand vanity project to demonstrate Britain's national prowess, or as a celebration of Empire, though aspects of these things were undoubtedly present. [29] The games presented above contribute to the discussion in different ways. Spooner's *Illustrative Game* was just that, showing what the artist regarded as the highlights of the show, and evidently free of any intended message about Britain's imperial might. Sala's satirical contribution in the *Comic Game* indicates that nationalistic enthusiasm was at least in some quarters tempered by a strong sense of the essential absurdity of trying to represent peoples by their artefacts – but as Auerbach observes, negative reactions were also valuable in rooting the Exhibition in the national consciousness. Of course, to modern sensitivities, Sala's racial stereotypes are unacceptable, even though they do not spare his own race. By contrast, both *Harlequin's Rambles* and *The Gathering of the Nations* represent the positive aspects of this grand coming together of peoples and their best products. And the German game is of particular interest in giving an unvarnished external view of the contributions of the various nations, placing England's in the forefront.

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[27] Netherlands Openlucht Museum NOM 17538-53.1. Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden (6014 B.5 en 4723) https://www.spellenlab.be/speldatabase/45237

[28] Bristol Museums object number TB1442.

[29] Jeffrey AUERBACH, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display.* New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1999.

The move of the Crystal Palace to Sydenham

The Great Exhibition had two high objectives: to promote industry and to foster international understanding – and in these it was largely successful. But the exhibition in Hyde Park remained open for only six months, until October 1851. Thereafter the building was taken down, to be rebuilt in much-modified and extended form at Sydenham Hill in Upper Norwood, overlooking London from the south. There, the Crystal Palace would become a vehicle for education and entertainment of the people and, by the end of the century, would become 'integrally linked with […] the propaganda of empire.'[30]

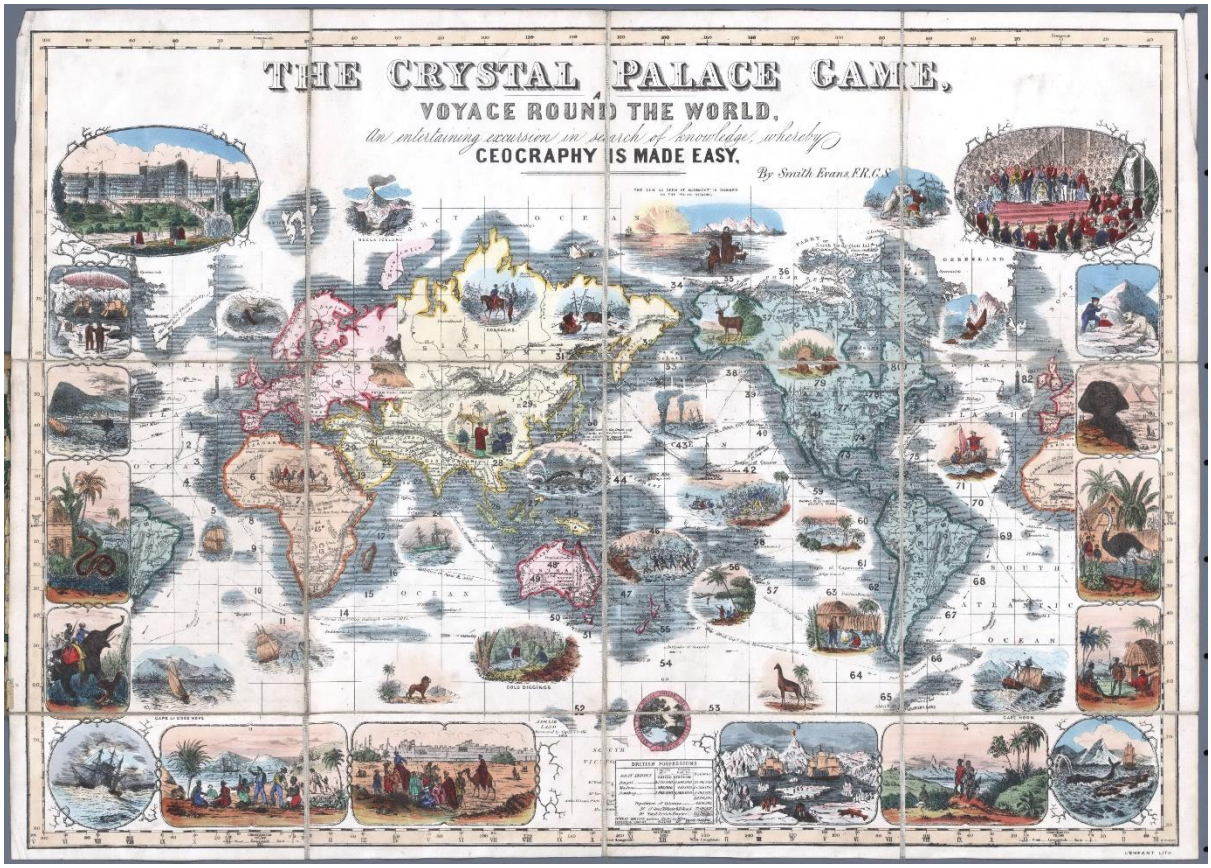


Fig. 7 – Henry Smith Evans, *The Crystal Palace Game*, Alfred Davis & Co., London [1854?] (Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Ellen and Arthur Liman, Yale JD 1957)

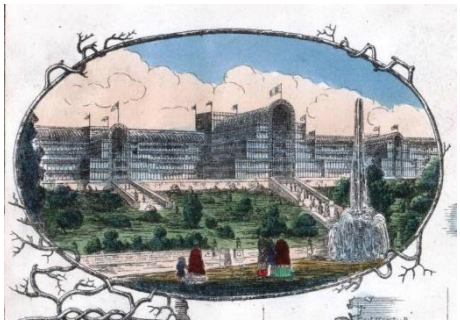


Fig. 7a – The Crystal Palace as reconstructed at Sydenham

[30] AUERBACH op. cit. p. 210

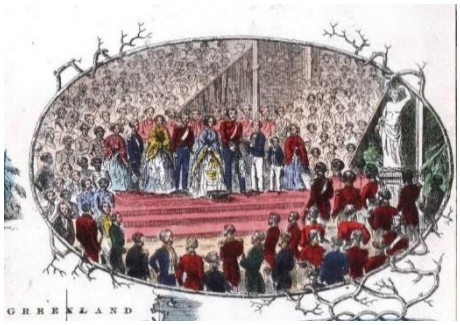


Fig. 7b – The opening ceremony with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert

On 10 June 1854, the building was re-opened by Queen Victoria, as illustrated in *The Crystal Palace Game – Voyage round the World* (*Fig. 7,* #0126) designed by Henry Smith Evans, a member of the Royal Geographical Society and a noted map-maker.[31] The large vignette on the left of the sheet shows the Palace in its new form, while on the right the opening ceremony is pictured. Around the border are further vignettes depicting scenes from around the world – including slavers, tiger-hunting in India and Australian aborigines. Smaller vignettes within the map show the death of James Cook in Hawaii, Columbus making landfall, and Alexander Selkirk on the Island of Juan Fernandez, the inspiration for Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Norcia suggests that the world map on which the game is played was 'a tool to make an argument about England's importance'.[32] It is however difficult to be certain about the message of this map game since the explanatory booklet is lost. Nevertheless, a contemporary review of the game in *The Athenaeum* quotes disparagingly from it: 'Reflect on the vast extent of the British Empire on which the sun never sets […] nor the tax-gatherer goes to bed!!'[33] This unpatriotic cynicism was not appreciated by the reviewer, who recommended consigning the booklet to the fire. So, the message intended by Evans may not have been as straightforwardly pro-Empire as Norcia suggests – though the map itself certainly reads as a celebration of Britain's world dominance. It is indeed a development of an earlier map by Smith Evans, his *Emigration Map of the World,* [34] which includes a vignette quoting the 'sun never sets' description of the British Empire.

A game with no pretensions beyond amusement was *The Silver Bell or the Crystal Palace,* published by E and M A Ogilvy about 1854.[35] It was a round game played with special cards and a staking layout: this has been lost in the only examples known, but the surviving rule sheet makes clear that in the centre of the layout was a representation of a silver bell, this being surrounded by illustrations of nine of the 'historical courts' of the exhibition, for example, the Egyptian, Pompeian, Roman and Greek Courts, which contained educational

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[31] Henry Smith EVANS, *The Crystal Palace game: a voyage round the world, an entertaining excursion in search of knowledge, whereby geography is made easy*, London: Alfred Davis & Co., 58, 59, & 60, Houndsditch, [1854?], Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Ellen and Arthur Liman, Yale JD 1957. British Library Maps 28.bb.7.

[32] M. A. NORCIA op.cit. p. 106

[33] *The Athenaeum* 1855, p. 704

[34] *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* London: B.R.Davies, 1849.

[35] *The Name of the Game* [catalogue], op. cit., game number 40. Victoria and Albert Museum VAM E.801-1945. The significance, if any, of the *Silver Bell* title has not been determined.

displays of objects of the relevant period. In the game, cards are exposed one at a time by the players in turn. Of the 56 cards, 18 require payment of a counter to one of the Court spaces on the layout; another 9 cards allow the player to take all the counters on the corresponding Court space. 20 cards show views of the Crystal Palace and require payment of two counters to the central Bell space. There are two forfeit cards, with written instructions, e.g. for each player to pay one counter to all the Court spaces. In addition, the pack contains a Game card, a Crystal Palace card, and 5 Bell cards. The latter are amassed by the players on being turned up, and - when the Game card appears - entitle the player who holds the most of them to take all the counters on the layout, ending the partie. By contrast, appearance of the Crystal Palace card allows the player to take only the counters on the Court spaces. This, then, was a simple game for children, its attractive hand-coloured illustrations giving a glimpse of the riches on display.

Finally, we note that space 42 of *The New Royal Game of Goose* shows the Crystal Palace.[36] This game has a track composed of 63 small, numbered circles contained within the outline of a goose, like that of the earlier *Laurie's New and Entertaining Game of The Golden Goose.*[37] This later version has strange iconography, including yachts: the player encountering them must whisper 'Sail ahoy!' to his left-hand neighbour. Space 6 shows the new King's Cross railway station, opened to passengers in October 1852.

The International Exhibition of 1862

The International Exhibition of 1862 was a World's Fair held in London on the Kensington site that now houses the Science Museum and the Natural History Museum. [38] The exhibition was primarily a showcase of the industrial advances made in the decade since the Great Exhibition of 1851.

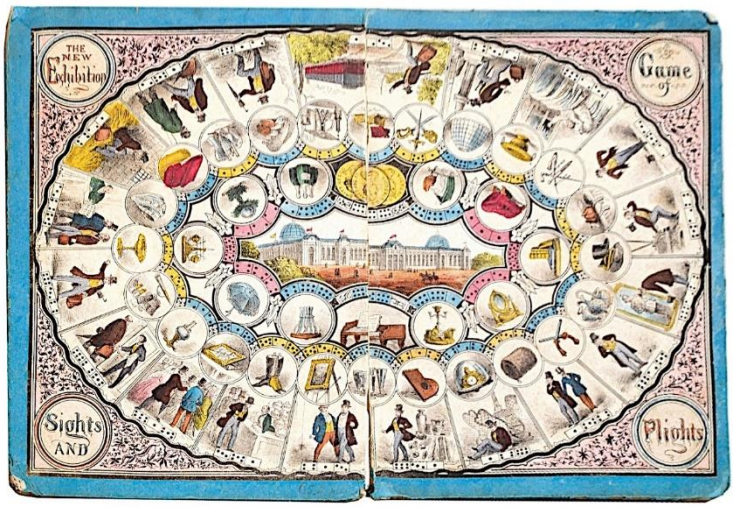


Fig. 8 – *The New Exhibition – Game of Sights and Plights*, n.p., n.d,. (Daniel Crouch)

[36] Francis R. B. WHITEHOUSE, *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days*, London: Peter Garnett, 1951. Second edition (revised) Royston, Hertfordshire: Priory Press, 1971, pl. 39. #1054.
[37] London: Richard Holmes Laurie, 1831. #1383.
[38] Officially called the 'London International Exhibition of Industry and Art', also known as the 'Great London Exposition'.

A rare board game (Fig. 8) commemorates it, bearing the label: *The New Exhibition – Game of Sights and Plights.*[39] It is a pay-and-take game, played with three dice, in which each possible combination of numbers on the dice results in an instruction to pay or take a given number of stakes from the pool, which the winner takes on throwing three sixes. Each of the 56 spaces shows three dice bearing a different one of these combinations. In the centre is a representation of the exhibition building. An outer oval band of 20 spaces shows all the possible combinations where the three numbers on the dice are all different. These spaces are decorated with images of Victorian gentlemen performing various actions, such as hailing a taxi, or getting into scrapes such as getting their pocket picked, or their coat-tails caught in some mechanism. Within this band are two further oval bands, the inner having 12 spaces and the intermediate band having 24 spaces. These show objects in the exhibition, including a group of prize medals bearing the portrait of Queen Victoria, denoting the winning throw, of three sixes. Together, these bands account for the 6 throws where all the dice are different and the 30 throws where two of them show the same number. The game would have been accompanied by an instruction sheet, now lost, stating how many stakes were to be paid or taken in each case. The game is thus modelled on the *Jeu de la chouette*, and is particularly interesting because no other English game on this model is known, although there are many examples in other countries, especially the Netherlands, any one of which could provide playable rules for the *Sights and Plights* game.[40]

The 1862 exhibition was the last in London to be recognised as a World's Fair, though more restricted national exhibitions were held on several occasions during the rest of the century. These may well have given rise to other printed board games but none has yet been identified.

[39] *The Name of the Game* [catalogue], op. cit., game number 49.
[40] Adrian SEVILLE, 'Le Jeu de la chouette', *Le Vieux Papier,* 2021, pp. 440-451 and 492-499.

PART II – WORLD'S FAIRS IN PARIS

The Paris Expositions universelles

Expositions universelles took place in Paris in 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900, continuing into the twentieth century. Not all these gave rise to associated games. D'Allemagne lists them as follows:[41]

> LE NOBLE JEU DE L'EXPOSITION (de 1867).
> Dessin de Edme Pénaville, paru dans Paris-Magazine (Mars 1867).
> — Variante du même jeu paru la même année dans Le Figaro.
>
> LE JEU DE L'OIE DE L'EXPOSITION (de 1867).
> Bois gravé de Gillot, paru dans La Vie Parisienne (1867).
>
> GRAND JEU DU VOYAGE A L'EXPOSITION DE 1889 A PARIS.
> Nancy, Ferry (1889).
>
> GRAND JEU DE LA TOUR EIFFEL, (par Allard et Laval.)
> Paris, Imagerie Parisienne-Lorraine (1889).

To these we can add some advertising variants of the Eiffel Tower game and several games relating to the 1900 exposition. However, we have not been able to find games associated with the 1855 exposition, while for the 1878 exposition we have found only a lottery sheet issued by Pellerin and some souvenir jeux de patience.[42] Nonetheless, the Official Catalogue of the 1878 Exposition indicates in Group IV class 42 (*Bimbeloterie*) several publishers of educational games, including Coyen, Thomaron, Watilliaux at Paris and Villard & Weill at Lunéville : le jeu de l'oie was not lacking !

The Exposition Universelle of 1867

Whereas the 1855 Exposition[43] had emulated the Crystal Palace in the style of its main building, the Palais de l'Industrie erected between the Seine and the Champs-Élysées,[44] the 1867 Paris Exposition struck out in a new direction. The site chosen was the Champ de Mars, the great military parade ground of Paris. The principal building was rectangular in shape with rounded ends, enclosing a central pavilion surrounded by a garden. In addition to the main building, there were many smaller buildings in the grounds outside, together with

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[41] H. R. D'ALLEMAGNE, *Le noble jeu de l'oie*. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1950, pp. 200 and 225.
[42] Pellerin issued lottery sheets No 191 for the 1867 exposition and No 1693 for the 1878. Musée de l'image, Épinal: numéro d'inventaire D 996.1.1349 B / D 996.1.1350 B
[43] Officially, the Exposition Universelle des produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts de Paris.
[44] Taken down in 1896, its space is now occupied by the Petit Palais and the Grand Palais, built for the Exposition universelle of 1900. At the time, the isleand of Billancourt was not yet linked to the island of Longueignon; now joined by two bridges, today they form the Île Saint-Germain, part of the commune of Issy-les-Moulineaux

further exhibits on the island of Billancourt,[45] a kilometre and a half downstream from Paris, reached by steamboat.

The unusual shape of the main building was the cause of some speculation, as imagined by *Le Figaro*:[46]

> - C'est un chaudron renversé.
> - Non! c'est une guitare sans manche!
> - Et moi je soutiens que c'est un gazomètre!...
>
> Les plaisanteries allaient leur train. Chacun donnait la sienne, que le lendemain les feuilles redisaient à la France. On en était là. Dans un groupe, des hommes devisaient du Palais de l'Exposition et répétaient ces choses imprimées. Passe un quidam, un inconnu, un *monsieur* comme on dit dans les vaudevilles. Il jette au groupe ces simples mots :
>
> - C'est un jeu de l'oie !..

This imaginary discussion was displayed below a jeu de l'oie of the exposition designed by the French caricaturist Edme Pénauille (1835-1872)[47].

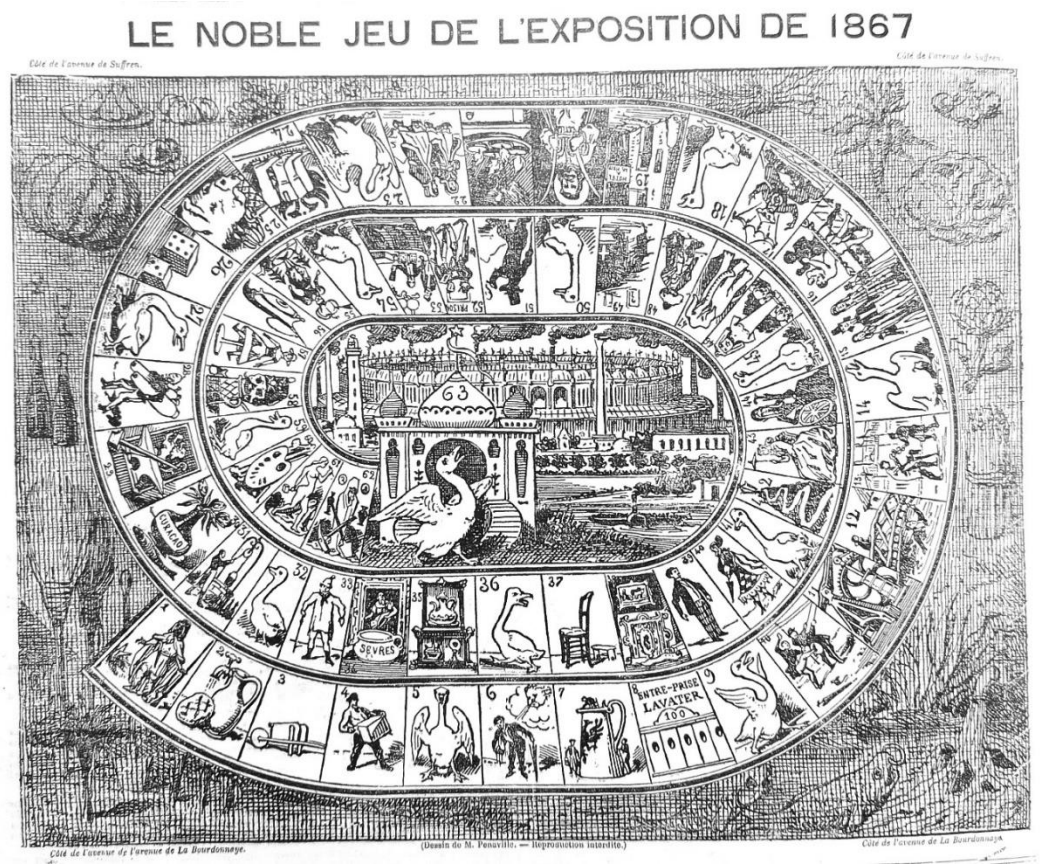


Fig. 9 - Edme PÉNAUILLE, *Le noble jeu de l'Exposition de 1867. Le Figaro*, 1 April 1867.

[46] 1 April 1867, noted by A. R. GIRARD and C. QUÉTEL, *L'histoire de France racontée par le jeu de l'oie*. Paris: Balland/Massin, 1982, p. 120.

[47] Written as Penaville at the foot of the game and also by D'Allemagne. On Edme Penauille, see Wikipedia.

The game itself (*Fig. 9*) follows the classic rules exactly, with geese on the usual spaces. Other spaces are decorated with symbols pertaining to the exhibition, as explained in the Figaro article. Thus, space 1 shows the Bedouins guarding the products of Algerie while space 2, showing bread and water, refers satirically to an 'economical' restaurant provided for the workers on site. The boots at space 24 represent the high point of Austrian industry, contrasting with the cannon at space 28 – the industry of Prussia, 'beaucoup moins portatif'. So we are carried round the exposition with a sardonic twist, rather than full-hearted admiration.

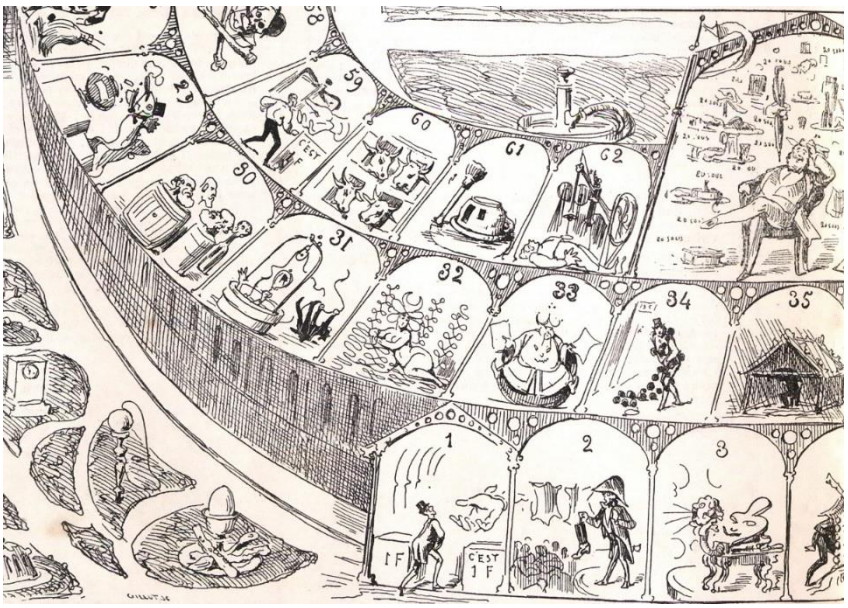


Fig. 10 - Detail of *Le Jeu de l'Oie de l'Exposition*. *La Vie Parisienne*, 6 April 1867. (Seville Collection)

The game drawn by [Firmin] Gillot[48] that appeared in *La Vie Parisienne* on 6 April 1867 (*Fig. 10, #2592*)[49] was even more disrespectful to the exposition, whose opening is described in a long article under the heading 'Un Rêve absurde' – a dream brought about by indigestion, according to the author. An extract gives the flavour:

> M. le président de la Commission, qui est entre les mains du coiffeur, reçoit dans le dos une décharge électrique qui le prévient que l'aquarium attend sa marée et qu'il s'oppose formellement à ce qu'on commence tant que la marée ne sera pas arrivée. M. le président fait demander immédiatement aux restaurateurs s'ils n'ont pas de marée à prêter à l'aquarium. […] Les restaurateurs offrent des poissons cuits pour mettre dans l'aquarium. L'aquarium accepte.

Given this nonsense – and much more of a similar kind – we should not be surprised that the game itself is described in mocking terms. One of the rules states:

[48] French caricaturist, 1819-1872.
[49] References to the catalogue number in the giochidelloca.it website are in the form #1234.

> Ce qui met un peu de gaieté dans ce jeu idiot, c'est que on ne peut pas s'arrêter dans les tourniquets: il faut passer outre, en comptant une seconde fois le nombre des points indiqués par les des – c'est absurde; de sorte que si, arrivé à la fin, vous comptez le nombre 63, vous êtes obligé de retourner en arrière , comme un convive qui s'est trompé d'étage.

Thus, the turnstiles on spaces 9, 18, 27 etc act like the classic goose spaces and (as in the classic game) overthrows at the end are counted backwards. A message is being conveyed here about the need to pay very frequently in the real exposition. Indeed, the journal compares it unfavourably with the markets all over Paris which invariably offered free entry. The individual spaces on the game convey equally negative messages. For example:

> Space 30: Plus de maux d'estomac – Philosphie humaine en fûts et en bouteilles cachetées. On reprend les bouteilles pour vingt centimes – Exiger la marque de fabrique.

The surreal image of human heads sticking out of barrels and bottles is worthy of Samuel Beckett's *End Game*. And there are ridiculous inventions, much as in the *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition*: at space 62, we have an elaborately-specified 'machine à triple pression avec pistons d'appel, double chaudière' for sewing on waistcoat buttons. Two such machines will serve the whole city!

A newly-invented game was published by H Jannin about 1867: *le Jeu de nouveau Paris avec monuments et surprise.* A circular plan of Haussman's Paris was provided, on which the players would 'build' various monuments in the form of miniature three-dimensional models. This game has been linked with the 1867 exposition, on the grounds that Jannin exhibited there 'des jeux nouveaux cartonnés', though this must be regarded as unproven, since the catalogue is not specific. Anne Zazzo, of the Musée Carnavalet where an example of the game is held, describes the mode of play thus: [50]

> Un joueur est autorisé à poser son édifice sur le plan dans la mesure où il peut restituer et raconter aux autres joueurs l'histoire de chaque construction. Pour gagner, le participant rebâtit Paris avec le plus de dextérité possible.

[50] https://www.pavillon-arsenal.com/fr/conferences-debats/cycles-passes/histoires-haussmanniennes/10719-le-jeu-du-nouveau-paris.html

The Exposition Universelle of 1889

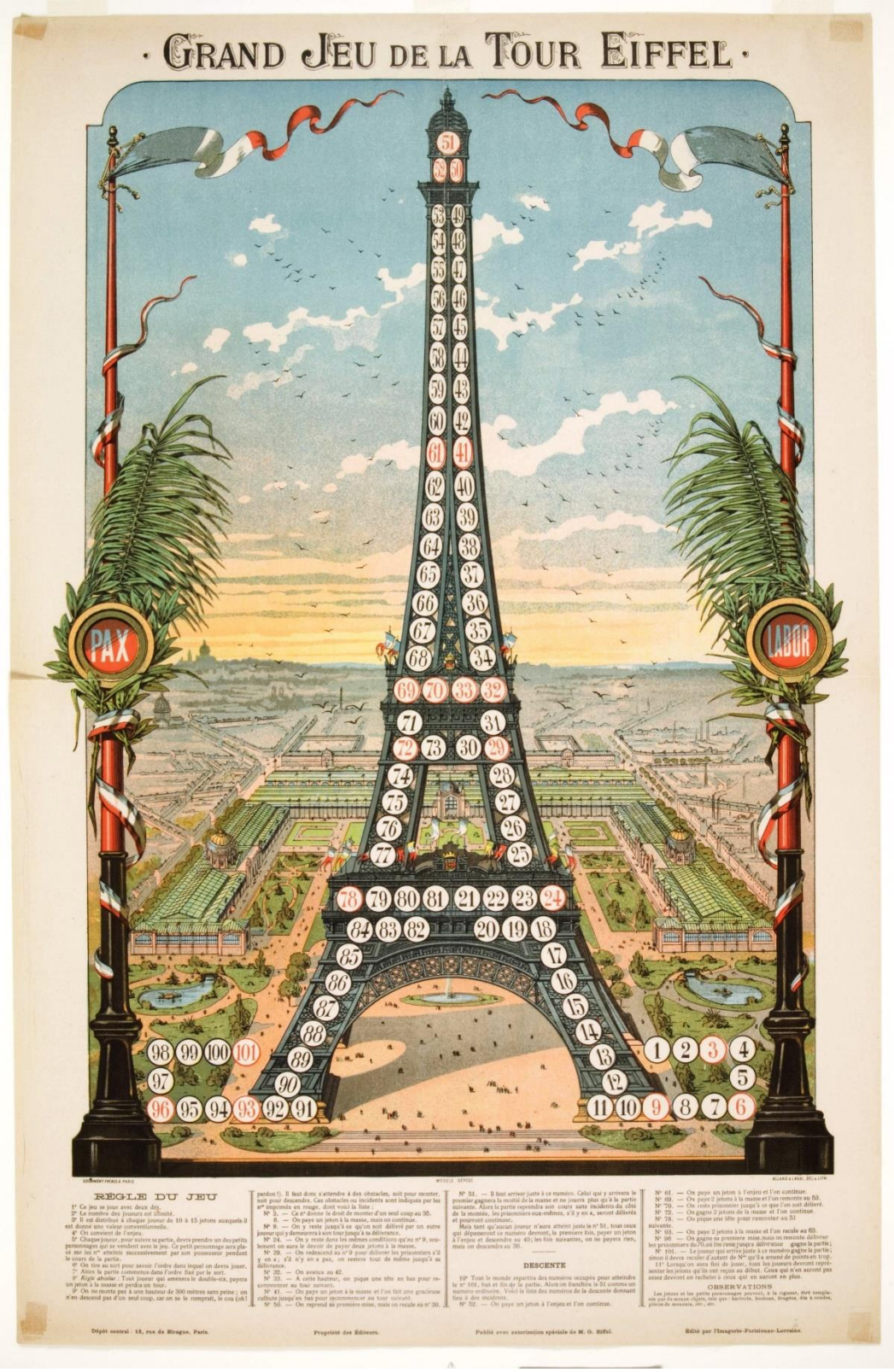


Fig. 11 - *Grand Jeu de la Tour Eiffel*, Imagerie Parisienne-Lorraine, Paris, 1889. (Philadelphia Museum of Art)

By contrast, the 1889 exposition gave rise to several board games, all exploiting the distinctive image provided by the newly-built Tour d'Eiffel. The *Grand Jeu de la Tour Eiffel* (*Fig. 11*, #0206) makes effective use of this image, with a fine depiction of the tower. In the background is a perspective view of the main site of the exposition, which was again on the Champ de Mars. There are several editions of this game, including a modern facsimile from the Musée des Arts decoratifs [Éditions diffusion PIXI]. There are two early editions, both with 'Courmont Frères à Paris' at the lower left of the illustration: this printer is well known for his fine chromolithographic posters. In 1889, the *Bibliographie de la France* announced, under the heading 'Engravings, lithographs and photographs' two games printed by Courmont Frères : under number 1958 : 'Grand jeu de la Tour Eiffel, par Allard et Laval. Paris, chromolith. Courmont frères' and under number 1961 : 'Le Vrai Jeu de l'Oie. Paris, chromolithog. Courmont frères ; E. Moronval, édit.'[51] Thus, the Parisian publishers Allard et Laval were responsible for this game, appearing in 1887, and Courmont Frères were the printers[52]. Also at the bottom of the sheet is the claim: 'Publié avec autorisation speciàle de M G Eiffel'. The example listed by D'Allemagne does, it is true, carry the mention of 'Allard & Laval del. & lith.' but the publisher is the Imagerie Parisienne-Lorraine, as shown at the lower right of the sheet, with the address at the other side 'Dépôt central : 12, rue de Birage, Paris'. It has not been possible to determine who were Allard et Laval, doubtless the designers of the lithograph. Here the online *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs-lithographes du XIX^e^ siècle* is of no assistance. Another edition, with the same illustration, omits the reference to Allard & Laval and gives as publisher 'L. Robert, 65 rue Galande'.

It is a simple race game, played with double dice, using a unicursal track ascending to space 51 at the top of the tower, then descending to the final space numbered 101.[53] The rules state: 'On ne monte pas à un hauteur de 300 mètres sans peine; et on n'en descend pas d'un seul coup, car on se rompait le cou (oh! Pardon!)'. There are no throw-doubling spaces of the type found in the classic jeu de l'oie but several obstacles recall that game: thus, at the spaces 9, 24 and 70, the player becomes a prisoner until released by another. The game is played in two sections: the first player to reach the top by an exact throw wins half the pool and then drops out of the game. The remaining players must similarly reach the top before beginning the descent, when they aim to reach the final space.

[51] *Bibliographie de la France*, 76^e^ année, 2^e^ série, n° 43, 22 octobre 1887.

[52] Sur Courmont frères, voir le *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs-lithographes du XIX^e^ siècle* (en ligne), sous COURMONT *Carlos, Joseph ; mais l'information est sans doute à revoir, car la société Courmont Frères a été formée « pour l'exploitation d'une imprimerie lithographique à Paris » par acte du 10 juillet 1885 (*Bulletin de l'imprimerie et de la librairie*, 11^e^ année, n° 184, 22 août 1885, p. 319) et non en 1896. L'entreprise disparaît en 1902. (NDLR)

[53] Philadelphia Museum of Art, accession number: 1961-59-156

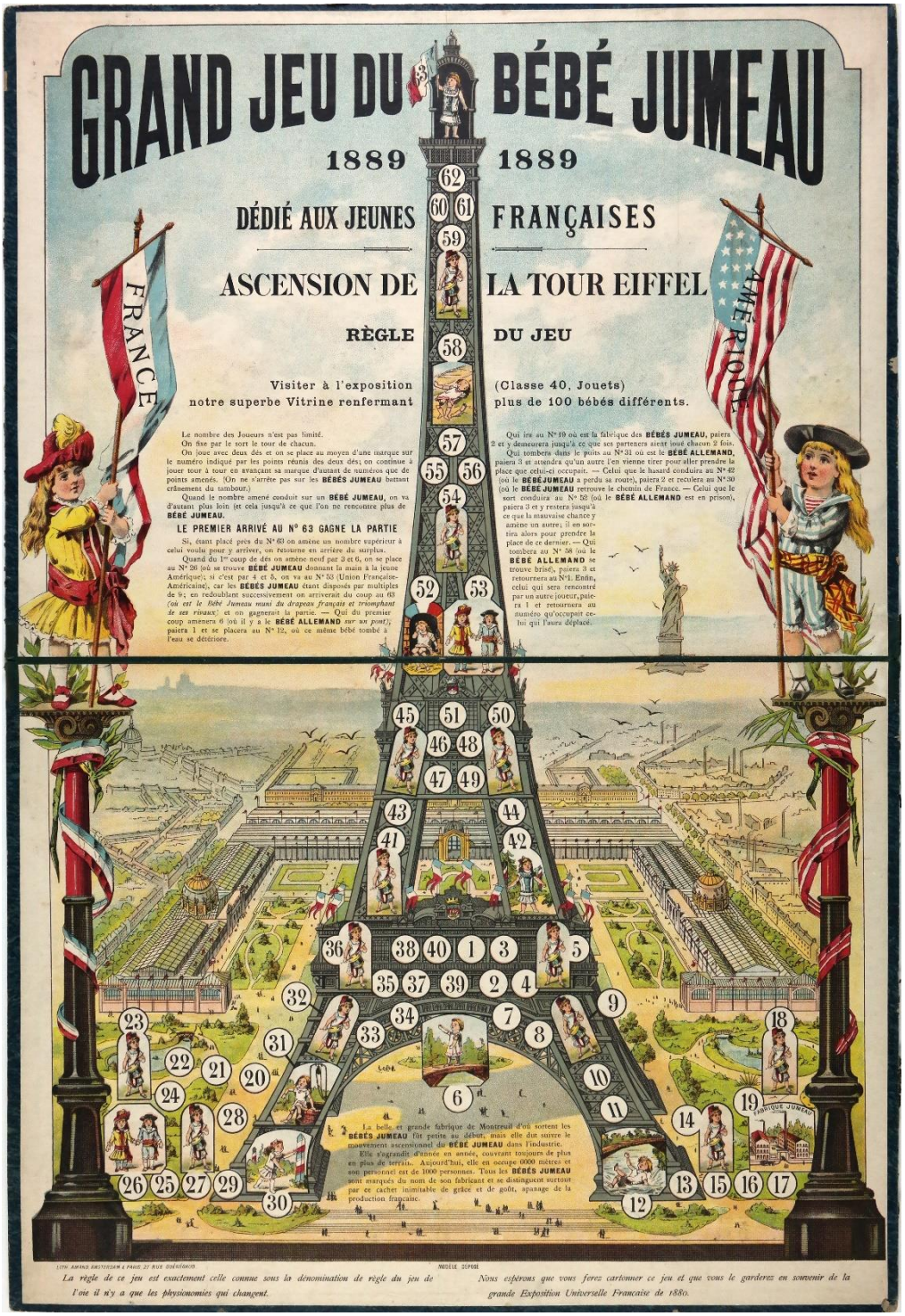


Fig. 12 - *Grand Jeu du Bébé Jumeau,* Amand, Amsterdam & Paris 1889. (Seville Collection)

A different game based on the Tour Eiffel is the *Grand Jeu du Bébé Jumeau (Fig. 12*, #0457)[54], The game sheet, a chromolithograph by the Amsterdam and Paris firm of Amand, is of large format and bears the statement: 'Nous espérons que vous ferez cartonner et que vous le garderez en souvenir de la grande Exposition Universelle Française de 1889.'

[54] Paris/Amsterdam: Lith. Amand, 27 Rue Guénégaud, 1889. Ciompi/Seville #0457; Girard/Quétel, pl. 72.

The exhibition took place at a time of strong pro-American feeling in Paris, as indicated by the two flags at the top of the sheet and by New York's Statue of Liberty in the background, whose framework was also engineered by Eiffel. Indeed, a bronze replica of the statue was installed in Paris on July 4, 1889 near the Pont de Grenelle.

The sheet also gives details of the firm of Jumeau, manufacturers of upmarket dolls, referring to the large factory at Montreuil employing 1000 staff. The Jumeau dolls were made of bisque, wonderfully dressed in the elaborate fashions of the period, but were very expensive and suffered from competition against cheap imported German dolls. This struggle is reflected quite unashamedly in the game. Of the 63 spaces, those on the traditional numbers of the jeu de l'oie are favourable and are denoted by images of the Jumeau dolls. The unfavourable (hazard) spaces are also treated thematically but linked to the German dolls. Most dramatic of these is the death space, on 58, where there is a broken German doll; the prison space, at 52, incarcerates another, weeping piteously; and it is again a German doll who finds herself in the well, at 31, waiting to be rescued. However, at the labyrinth, space 42, it is a Jumeau doll who loses her path and must return to space 30, where she rejoins 'le chemin de France'. The space at 19 (normally the inn) is represented by the Jumeau factory, while the favourable dice spaces at 26 and 53 both represent Franco-American unity. This game is conspicuous for its transparent attempt to influence the player towards the French product, while damning the German rival. Though the firm is no more,[55] the Jumeau dolls are much prized today by collectors.[56]

Remarkably, the same chromolithograph was adapted by Amand for the Amsterdam publisher J Vlieger to give a game advertising Blooker's drinking chocolate.[57] The French flag[58] was embellished with the slogan in Dutch: 'Blooker's cacao - the finest brand' and a new flag was provided near the top of the tower, with a similar sentiment. The game makes no direct reference to the exposition, though images of the buildings remain – and of course the contest between the Jumeau dolls and their German competitors is still the theme. However, instead of the description of the Jumeau factory, there are details of the Eiffel Tower, including the information that the game board reproduces the Tower at 1/536 scale. No images of cacao are evident, whether in a tin or in a steaming cup: perhaps this game sheet is unique in the field of promotional advertising in having images of a product totally different from that being promoted![59]

[55] Founded in the 1840s, the house of Jumeau merged with other French makers in1899, but could still not withstand the German competition.
[56] Grolier game 56. Papertoys pp. 61-62.
[57] Atlas van Stolk AvS 774. #1540.
[58] The three colours of the French flag – in fact, an oriflamme – are here reversed, the red being to the left (and the blue is too bright). It is therefore easy to confuse it with the Dutch flag, red-white-blue horozontally. Was this confusion intentional ? G.L.A Amand (1833-1897) was an Amsterdam printer specialising in chromolithography : he had a branch in Paris.
[59] On these games, see Adrian SEVILLE, « From dolls to drinking chocolate: three early advertising race games », *The Ephemerist*, n° 155, hiver 2011, p. 3-9.

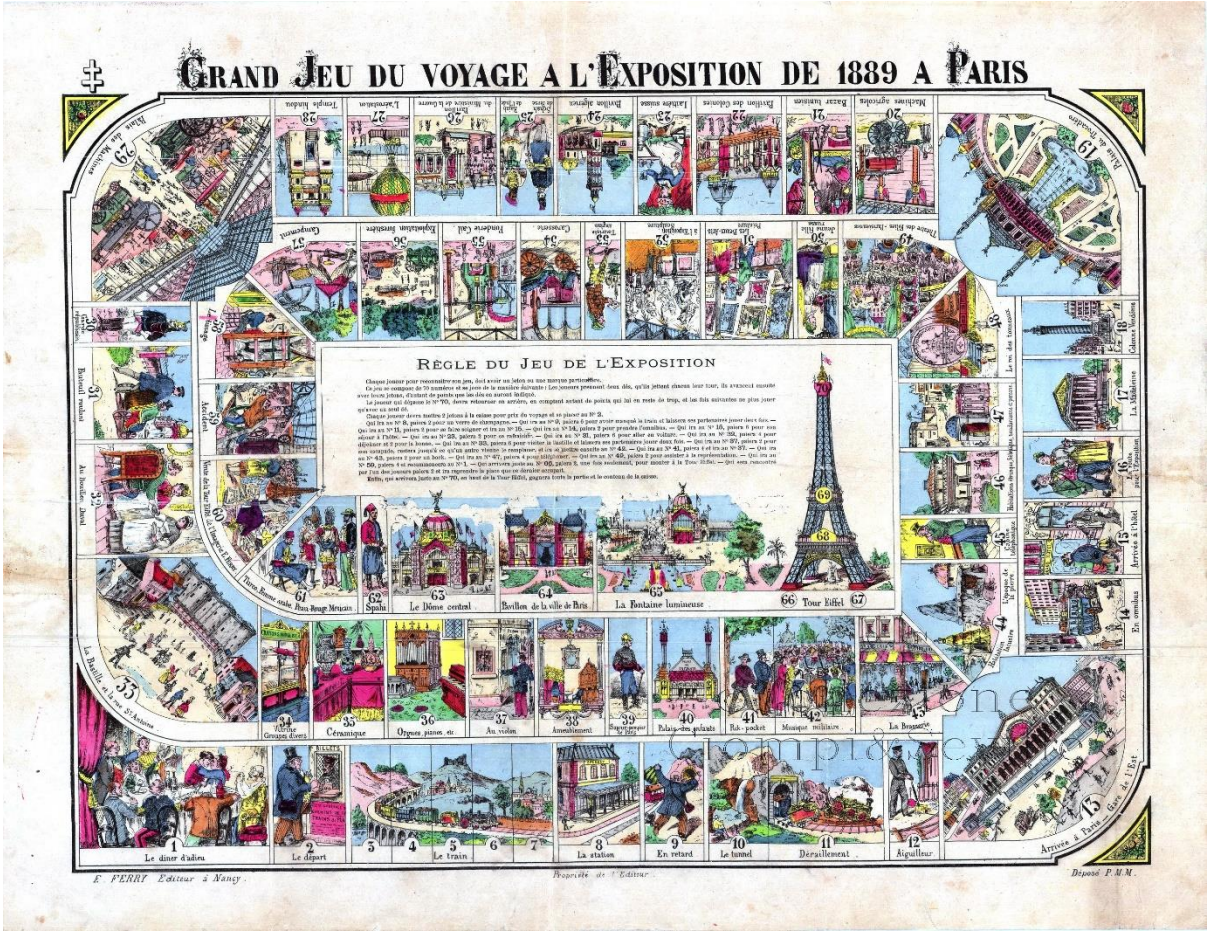


Fig. 13 - *Grand Jeu du voyage à l'Exposition de 1889,* E Ferry, Nancy, 1889. (Musée de l'image, Épinal)

A more straightforward adaptation of the jeu de l'oie was the *Grand Jeu du voyage à l'Exposition de 1889*, a lithograph coloured au pochoir that was published by E [Emile] Ferry in Nancy (*Fig. 13*, #2426).[60] The track is of 70 spaces, the first 13 representing the journey by train to the Gare de l'Est. The remaining spaces are each decorated with some feature of the exposition or some adventure of the supposed visitor. Of these adventures, that shown at space 59 is the most dramatic: the visitor has become entangled by the leg in moving machinery and must return to the starting space. By comparison, having his pocket picked at space 41 seems tame – and even being 'au violon' [in the nick] at space 37 (for what unspecified 'escapade'?) is not too bad: the penalty is to wait until another arrives to take his place, as for the prison in the classic jeu de l'oie. The final spaces represent the ascent of the Tour d'Eiffel.

Apart from these board games, we may note among the many souvenirs a fine *Loto Alphabétique* by Saussine, illustrating the buildings of the exposition.[61]

[60] Musée de l'image, Épinal 2010.5.22624 C
[61] http://www.jeuxanciensdecollection.com/2018/02/l-abc-des-lotos.html

The Exposition Universelle of 1900

The Exposition Universelle of 1900 was held in Paris to celebrate the achievements of the past century and to accelerate development into the next. It was held on the esplanade of Les Invalides, the Champ de Mars, the Trocadéro and on the banks of the Seine between them, with an additional section in the Bois de Vincennes. Many technological innovations were displayed at the Fair, including the Grande Roue de Paris and the moving pavement, both of which are featured in the board games described below. It also brought international attention to the Art Nouveau style. France was represented as a colonial power through numerous pavilions built on the hill of the Trocadéro Palace. Major structures built for the exposition included the Grand Palais, the Petit Palais, the Pont Alexandre III, the Gare d'Orsay railway station and the Paris Métro Line 1: all of them remain today.



Fig. 14 - [Game of the 1900 Exposition], jFj (Les Jeux et Jouets Français), Paris, n.d. (Coll. Alain Rabusier)

A race game (*Fig. 14*) associated with the exposition shows the first three of these structures as well as several of the temporary buildings; the Tour d'Eiffel is still prominent.[62] The corner

[62] https://www.spellenlab.be/speldatabase/20835 The rules are signed jFj (Les Jeux et Jouets Français). The board in the collection of Alain Rabusier has a label signed 'J L' - the registered mark of Du Val et Logeat. That

spaces 1, 15, 17 and 20 were particularly favourable. At the top is 'La lune à 1 metre', referring to a giant refracting telescope that produced a detailed image of the moon. The telescope was no less than 60 metres in length, so had to be mounted horizontally, light being directed into it by means of a moving mirror. Spaces 1, 15, 17 and 20 were favourable, including 'Le Vieux Paris', a mock-up of a medieval village specially made for the exposition: the construction was supported on piles in the Seine.

The simple jeu de parcours entitled *A travers Paris*, published by 'G M' about 1900, had similar illustrations in the corners of its first board. The second board ('Visite en detail') set out the game in the form of 79 illustrations of buildings and monuments in the city, while the margins showed vignettes of the exposition buildings.[63]



Fig. 15 - *Jeu de la Grande Roue de Paris,* S C [Simonin-Cuny], Paris, 1900. (Seville Collection)

company was taken over by Delhaye Frères in 1896, before joining Les Jeux et Jouets Français in 1905. Those rules must therefore be a reissue.

[63] Geneviève PERROT and Francoise MAHY, *Paris en Jeux depuis le XIXe siècle*. Collection Imagerie des Jeux, Editions GPFM, 2014, pp. 47, 60-61.

The most spectacular of the board games associated with this exposition is the *Jeu de la Grande Roue de Paris* (*Fig. 15*, #0691). At 106 metres high, this was the tallest panoramic wheel built to that date, much taller than the 80 metres of the original Chicago Ferris Wheel, built for the 1883 World's Columbian Exhibition (see Part III, to follow). It had 40 carriages, each carrying 40 passengers. Using a picture of the wheel as the basis for a board game meant that the 63 spaces of the Goose game were too many. The designer [signing as ?? Lorignac] achieved accuracy by having 40 spaces on the wheel but made the start at the lower left before moving onto the wheel, then added three spaces on flags in the centre, and made a winning space (45) at the lower right. Some of the traditional hazards are present: the labyrinth is in place at space 42 (shown as the network of paths leading up the hill to the Trocadéro) but the prison has been moved to space 22 and death to space 38. Given these concessions to the classic jeu de l'oie as model, it seems odd that no points-doubling spaces are provided. Perhaps the splendid graphics of the game provided all the excitement necessary. Certainly, the decorations in the spaces of the track are lively, some showing important buildings in Paris, including the Tour d'Eiffel, both in real form and - at space 3 – being built with some considerable optimism as a sand-castle.

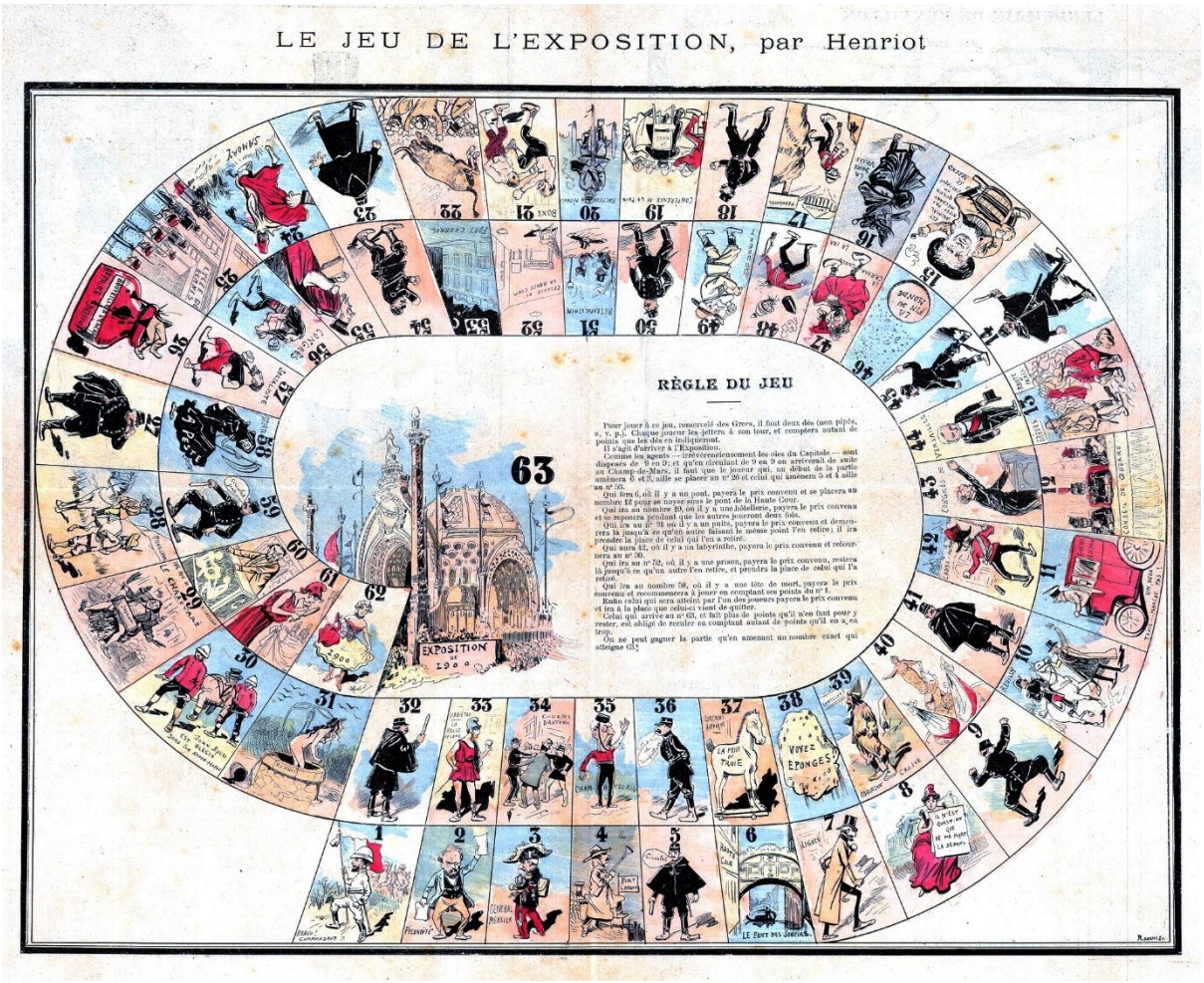


Fig. 16 - 'HENRIOT', *Le Jeu de l'Exposition*, *Le Charivari*, 28 December 1899.
(Coll. L Ciompi)

By contrast, *Le Jeu de l'Exposition* (*Fig. 16*, #1693), designed by Henriot[64] and published in *Le Charivari* of 28 December 1899, adheres strictly to the rules of the classic jeu de l'oie, though adding the unusual specification, 'dés non pipés s.v.p.'! [no loaded dice, please!] Here the throw-doubling spaces are denoted by agents of police - disrespectfully compared to the geese of the Capitol – most of whom seem preoccupied with moving the crowd along. The hazard spaces are unremarkable, being just those of the classic jeu de l'oie. However, the non-active spaces are decorated with cartoon figures of interesting people. There are several literary allusions: at space 2, Emile Zola is shown with his new novel, *Fécondité*, published in 1899; *La Belle Helène* graces space 33, marked Variétés,[65] while another theatrical subject is Robinson Crusoe at space 39, marked 'Châtelet'. [66] At space 30, John Bull is wounded in his amour-propre – a reference to reverses in the ongoing Boer War? Not all the topical references are understandable at this distance in time. But the most prominent theme is that of L'affaire Dreyfus.[67] It is referenced at space 26, the 'veiled lady' is at space 16, and the Lycée de Rennes is at space 25, where Dreyfus had recently been tried and re-convicted. At space 31, the naked woman emerging from the well (marked 'Rennes') is a reference to La Vérité, used as a symbol in the campaign to clear Dreyfus.[68] All this leaves strangely little room for anything about the Exposition except for the winning space showing the entrance, the Porte Monumentale de Paris.

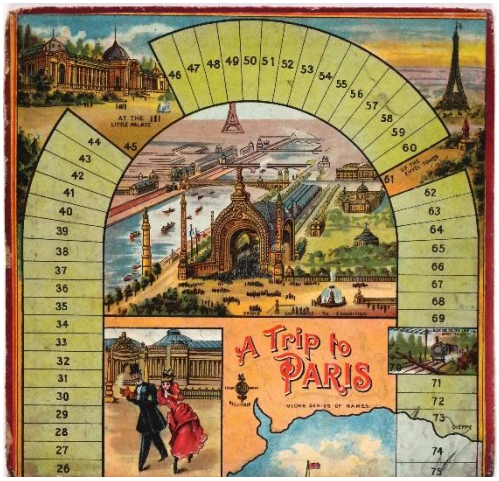


Fig. 17 - Detail of *A Trip to Paris*. Globe Series, Liverpool, ca. 1900. (Seville Collection).

[64] Henri Maigrot (1857 – 1933) was a French writer, artist and caricaturist, known under the pen name of Henriot or Pit.
[65] Offenbach's *La belle Hélène* was revived at the Variétés in 1899 with the soprano Juliette Simon-Girard.
[66] Ernest Blum and Pierre Decourcelle produced this pastiche spectacular for the Théâtre du Châtelet in 1899.
[67] Captain Alfred Dreyfus was accused and convicted of treason; but the real traitor was a certain Major Ferdinand Esterhazy, who falsely claimed that a mysterious 'veiled lady' had given him a photograph of a document 'proving' Dreyfus's guilt. As is well known, Zola took on the defence of Dreyfus, obtaining a review of his trial that led to his rehabilitation.
[68] The *Jeu de l'Affaire Dreyfus et de la Vérité* was a jeu de l'oie (#0558) published in 1898 by the French journal *L'Aurore*, highlighting the injustices of the case.

Another game where this feature appears prominently is *A Trip to Paris,* a very simple race game with minimal track features. (*Fig. 17*, #2310).[69] The Porte Monumentale was a towering edifice designed by René Binet, featuring polychrome ceramic decoration in Byzantine motifs and topped by a tall sculpture of a young Frenchwoman, who became known as 'La Parisienne'.[70] Some of its ceramics are preserved in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, including the splendid animal frieze designed by the sculptor Paul Jouve (1878-1973) and made by the ceramicist Alexandre Bigot (1862-1927).

The USA also contemplated travelling for the exposition. The McLoughlin trade catalogue for the 1900 season lists at No. 693: *Trip to Paris and Exposition Game,* saying 'This game represents a trip from America to Paris and other famous European cities. Each port or city is accurately pictured'. [71] The box label shows the Porte Monumentale.

The installation that perhaps best embodies the spirit of engineering innovation that underpinned the 1900 Exposition was the moving walkway called the Rue d'Avenir. It ran in a loop around the site of the exposition, having nine access stations where passengers stepped onto a fixed walkway, from which they moved to an intermediate walkway travelling at 4.2 km/hr and finally if they wished to the faster inner walkway, travelling at 8.5 km/hr. It was both a popular attraction and a good way of getting around the spread-out site.[72]



Fig. 18 - Final section of *Le Trottoir roulant.* Georges Dreyfus, Paris, 1900. (Coll. L Ciompi)

[69] In the 'Globe Series' of games published by Emil Oppenheimer and Ignatz Sulzbacher from 1893. Their high-quality lithographic printing was undertaken in Nuremberg but many games were designed in England.
[70] https://en.worldfairs.info/expopavillondetails.php?expo_id=8&pavillon_id=88
[71] https://www.americanantiquarian.org/mcloughlin/001232.pdf
[72] A contemporary motion picture can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vqlFMdiSH3k

A souvenir game in the form of a jeu de l'oie recalls it: *Le Trottoir Roulant*, published by Georges Dreyfus, shows a motley assortment of people using the installation, some in different forms of national dress (*Fig. 18*, #1114). It is a 63-space game, the winning space representing La Parisienne, the mascot of the exposition. Another game (*Fig. 19*, #0663) shows the walkway encircling the exposition. Several of its 54 spaces show national flags. But at space 51 the visitor falls over and must start again.

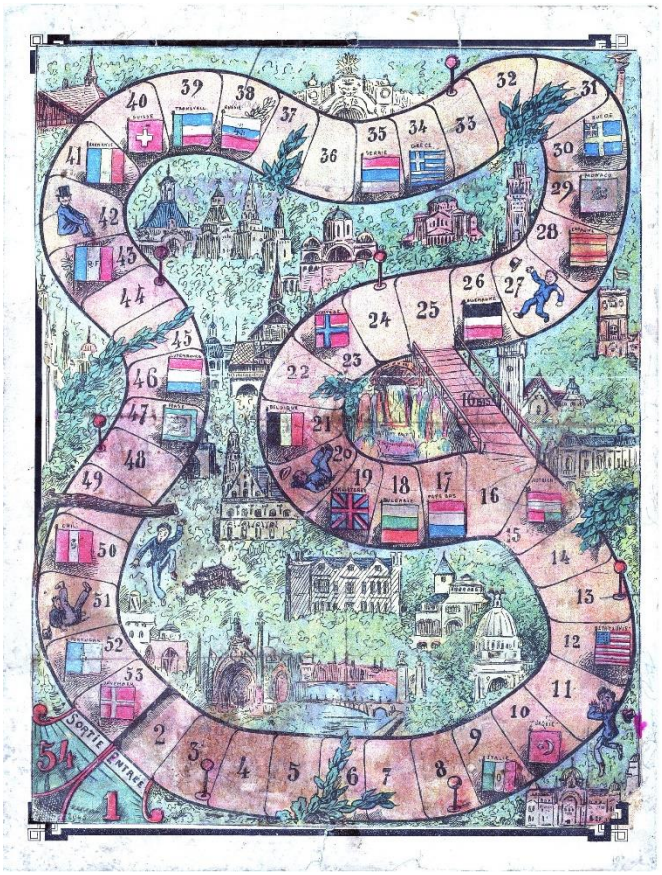
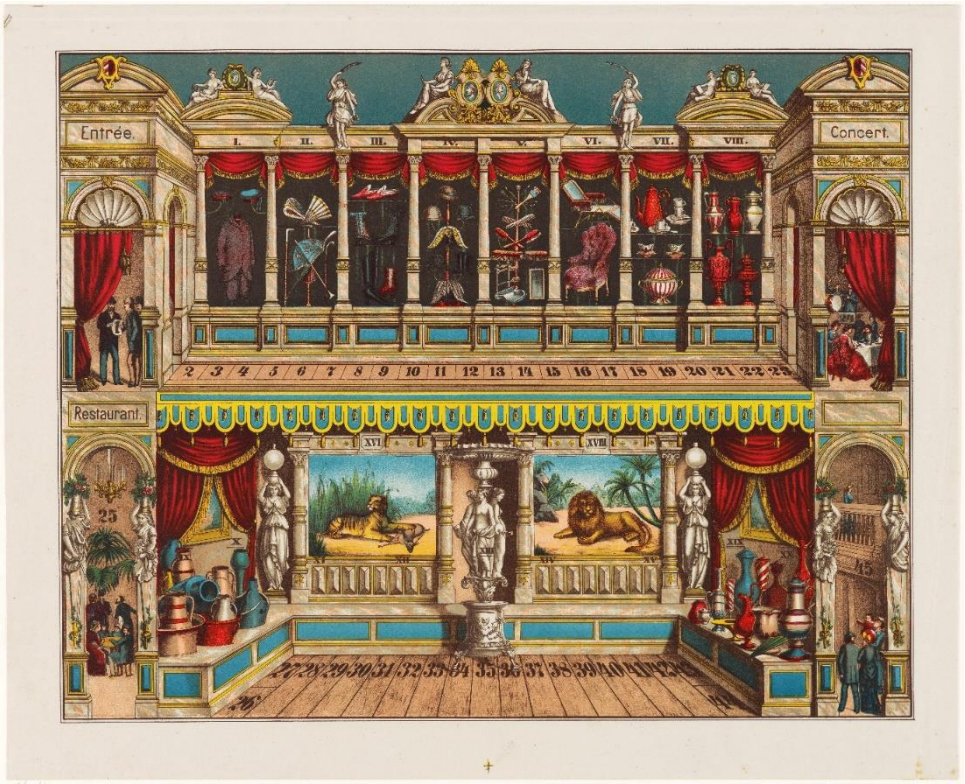


Fig. 19 - Jeu du Trottoir roulant de l' Exposition de 1900. n.p. [affiche] Coll. L Ciompi.

Although in this series we have been concentrating on board games issued as souvenirs, mention must be made of a board game that was exhibited at the 1900 exposition: *Le Salta*. This was an abstract strategy board game for two players, invented by Konrad Heinrich Büttgenbach in 1899 in Germany. The exhibited example, which was awarded a gold medal, was made of mahogany with golden counters adorned with diamonds - very different from the humble printed jeu de l'oie!

PART III - FAIRS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND THE USA

The Great National Industrial Exhibition, Haarlem, 1861





Figs. 20 a (upper) and 20b (lower) - [Game of the 1861 Haarlem exhibition] *Groote Nationale Nijverheids-Tentoonstelling,* n.p. (Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam).

This exhibition was organized by the Dutch Society for the Promotion of Industry and, although it did not have the status of a World's Fair, it was an important national event. The associated game shows the inventiveness typical of the Dutch publishers. The rule sheet is headed *Groote Nationale Nijverheids-Tentoonstelling* [Great National Industrial Exhibition] and the game sheet (*Fig.* 20 a) represents the exhibition building.[73] Twenty locations are specified by roman numerals. These correspond to prize slips shown in the second sheet (*Fig.* 20 b), each of which shows a different exhibition item and a different combination on two dice. One combination (six five) is omitted from the sheet: this gets no prize but an 'entertainment tax' must be paid to the winner's pool.[74] There is also a track marked with Arabic numerals from 1 to 45, including the corner spaces, which have special rules. Players move their tokens along this according to the throw of two dice. The rules state that certain of these numbers are in red and denote prize spaces, where the player has a second roll to determine which of the prizes he or she has won, by matching the outcome of the throw to the combination shown on the prize slip. However, in the known example, all the numerals are in black. Also, the rule sheet refers to 'envelopes' rather than prize slips, the intention being that players should write and enclose a forfeit (singing a song in a foreign language is one of the suggestions) to be performed when the prize is won. Possibly the game as preserved in the Atlas van Stolk is not in final form, if indeed it was ever issued.

The International Colonial World Exhibition of 1883

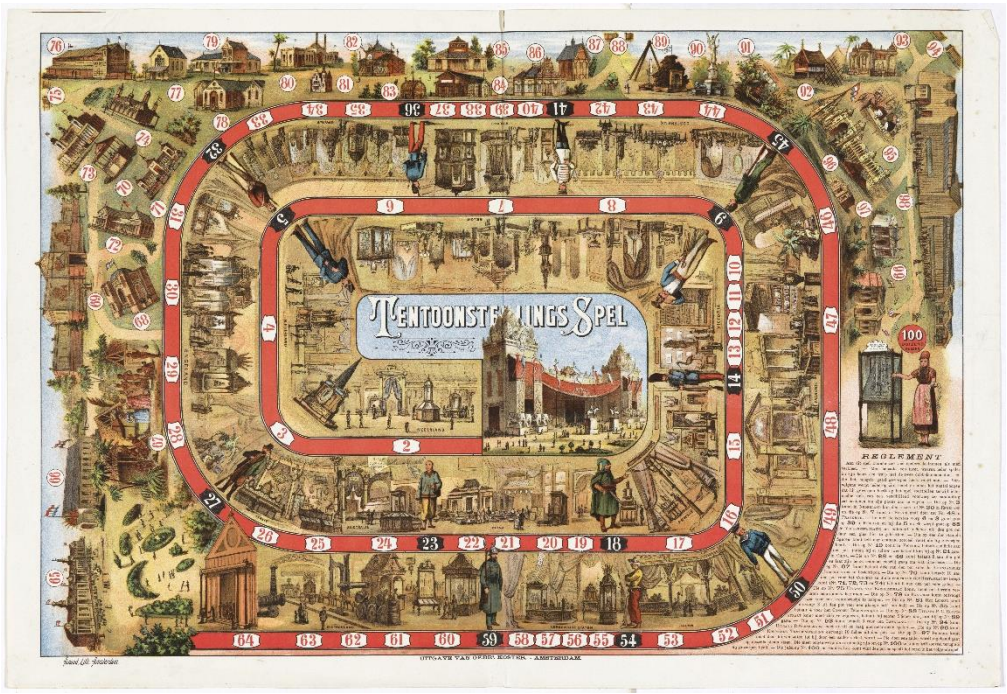


Fig. 21 - *Tentoonstellings Spel* [Game of the Exhibition]. Gebr. Koster, Amsterdam, 1883. (Rijksmuseum)

[73] P J BUIJNSTERS and L BUINSTERS-SMETS, Papertoys – Speelprenten en papieren speelgoed in Nederland (1640–1920). Zwolle: Waanders, 2005, p. 281.

[74] This is therefore one of the varied family of games discussed in: Adrian SEVILLE and Jonas RICHTER, 'Jeux à Vingt-et-une Combinaisons'. *Le Vieux Papier*, fasc. 444 (April 2022), pp. 49-57. See below for further discussion.

This exhibition (in Dutch, the *Internationale Koloniale Wereldtentoonstelling*) was held in Amsterdam, in a site behind the not-yet-completed Rijks Museum. The *Tentoonstellings Spel* [Exhibition Game] (*Fig. 21*) was published in 1883 by Koster Brothers, and lithographed by Amand.[75] The spiral track of 100 spaces begins (unusually) in the centre. As far as space 63, it is illustrated with scenes of the exhibits displayed by the different nations. In this section of the track, two interleaved series of standing figures in national dress act to double the throw as in the jeu de l'oie. However, the remainder of the track is composed of illustrations of the buildings of the fair. There are various special rules: for example, at space 75 - the exit to the van Baerlestraat - the player is deemed to have left the exhibition, and must begin again.

The New York Exhibition of 1853

It was not only France that hastened to emulate London's Great Exhibition. The 'Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations' was held in 1853 in what is now Bryant Park in New York City. Its aim was to show the new industrial achievements of the world but also to demonstrate the pride of a young nation. Its exhibition building of glass and iron was directly inspired by London's and was inevitably known as the 'New York Crystal Palace'; sadly, it was destroyed by fire in October 1858.



Fig. 22 - *The Game of the sociable snake or His visit to the Crystal Palace, for the Home Circle,* Charles Magnus, New York, 1853 (American Antiquarian Society)

[75] Rijks Museum RP-P-OB-201.530 Regarding Amand, see Part II above.

The building is illustrated in *The Game of the sociable snake or His visit to the Crystal Palace, for the Home Circle*, (*Fig. 22*)[76] published by Charles Magnus: traces of his imprint while at 22 N. Williams Street, NYC, are visible in the lower margin.[77] This is a simple two-dice race game laid out on a snaking track of 119 cells, with space 117 saying: 'If the player gets to the Crystal Palace, the game is on him'.

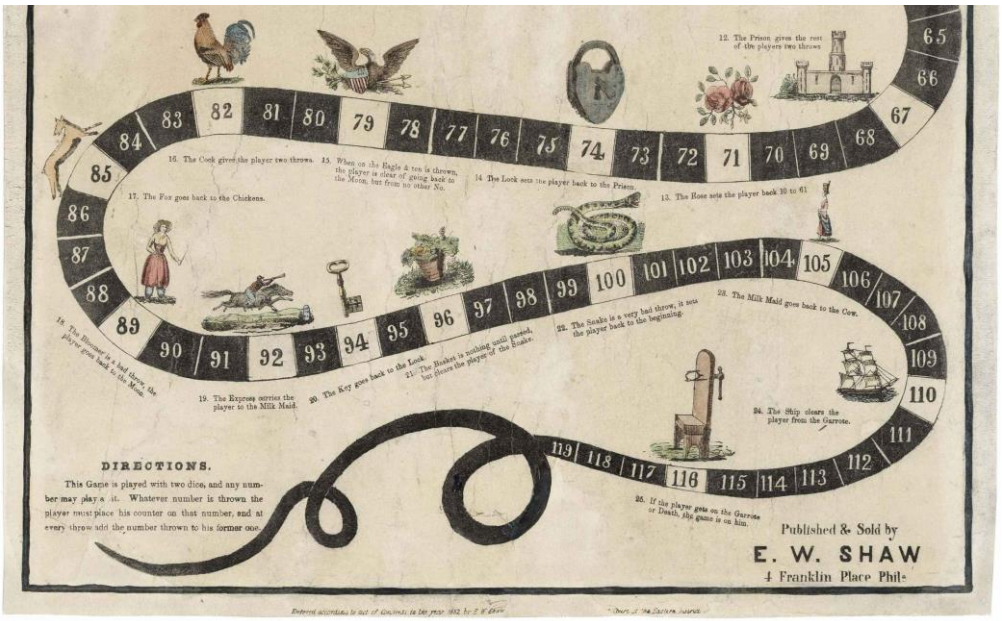


Fig. 23 detail - *The Game of the sociable snake, for the Home Circle,* E W Shaw, Philadelphia, 1852, (courtesy of Boston Rare Maps)

The layout copies closely a version by E W Shaw registered in Philadelphia in 1852,[78] but the hazards and favourable spaces differ in their placing and iconography. In the Shaw version, *(detail Fig. 23)* space 116 is illustrated by a garotte.[79] The instruction reads: 'If the player gets on the Garrote or Death, the Game is on him.' It is not immediately clear why the same instruction should apply to both cases, nor what is meant by 'the game is on him'. Magnus went on to publish several variant editions of the *Sociable Snake*, including one from about 1855 referencing the fall of Sevastopol in the Crimean War.[80] This has 122 spaces, with space 119 saying: 'Sevastopol taken - the player has lost and must cease to play'. In the Shaw version, there is a logical progression of 'bad throws': at space 89 – 'The Bloomer [a woman wearing this style is portrayed] is a bad throw, the player goes back to the Moon [at space

[76] American Antiquarian Society, Games Box 56, folder 6.
[77] 'Charles Magnus was a print publisher, map dealer, bookseller and stationer working in New York City from 1850 to 1899, who issued over a thousand different letter sheets, maps, song sheets, envelopes, and separate prints. His best-known works were city views and Civil War related material. Much of his work was copied from other printmakers.' Winterthur Library, http://contentdm.winterthur.org/digital/collection/magnus/search
[78] https://bostonraremaps.com/inventory/shaw-game-of-the-sociable-snake-1852/
[79] A special chair equipped with a garotte that could be tightened with a screw, to effect execution by strangulation.
[80] Winterthur Library 93x033.2

12]';[81] at 100 – 'The Snake is a very bad throw, it sets the player back to the beginning'; then the Garotte at space 116, which should logically mean elimination from the game. It seems likely that the Shaw version (which may itself have been copied, possibly from a hand-drawn original) was copied by Magnus, who presumably did not see any incongruity in changing the negative image of the Garotte to that of the Crystal Palace, while keeping the rule meaning elimination from the game.[82]

The Centennial Exposition of 1876

The Centennial International Exhibition, properly known as the 'International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Products of the Soil and Mine', was held in Philadelphia during 1876. The New York Exposition is not recognised as a World's Fair, so the Centennial was officially the first in the USA. It celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. More than 200 buildings were constructed within the exposition's grounds in Fairmont Park, distinguishing it from the previous World's fairs that had relied primarily on large buildings, though its main building was at the time the largest building in the world by area.

No souvenir board games of the Exposition are known, though a deck of playing cards by Victor E. Mauger, the *Centennial Exposition Deck,* is thought to be the first commemorating a World's Fair.[83] It is also an innovative game in that it uses corner indexes well before the 20th century; and the colours of the four suits are all different: black for spades, blue for clubs, red for hearts and yellow for diamonds.[84] And games publisher Milton Bradley was awarded the Medal of Excellence at the exposition — 'the first award ever made for ethical teaching of children through play', though this was for his contribution to teaching aids for the kindergarten rather than for his board games.[85]

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893

By contrast, the World's Columbian Exposition generated several interesting board games. It was held in Chicago during 1893, to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World in 1492. It was of an unsurpassed scale and grandeur, the centrepiece being a large water pool, surrounded by buildings in the Beaux Arts style. The attractions included life-size reproductions of Christopher Columbus' three ships.

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[81] The 'reformed style' of women's dress, named for Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818 – 1894) who advocated the style but did not originate it. The USA experienced a 'bloomer craze' in 1851.
[82] The game has been credited to England but this seems unlikely: Henry Carrington BOLTON, 'The Game of Goose', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 8, 1895, pp. 145-150.
[83] https://boardgamegeek.com/blogpost/86588/restorations-famous-american-decks
[84] Tom et Judy DAWSON, *The Hochman Encyclopedia of American playing cards*, New York, U.S. Games Systems, 2000, SX1, p. 247.
[85] Elizabeth Cornelius PRUETT, *Kindergarten goes to the fair: How the World's Fair of 1876 advanced the kindergarten movement in the United States.* The University of Alabama at Birmingham, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013. 3561307, p. 52.

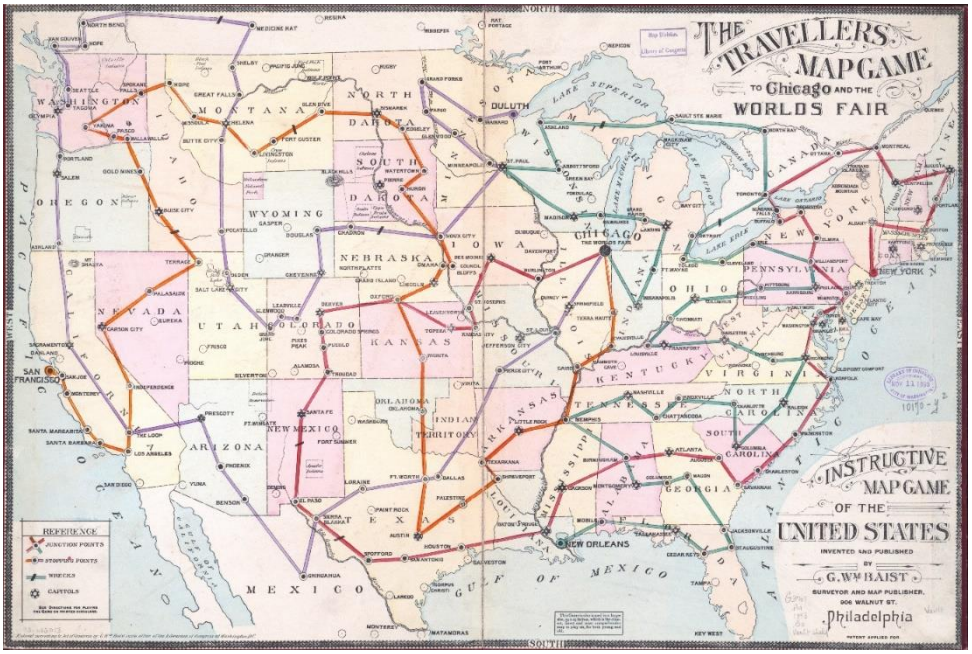


Fig. 24 - *The Travellers Map Game to Chicago and the Worlds Fair,* G Wm Baist, Philadelphia, 1893 (Library of Congress)

Travelling to the exposition was itself the subject of a board game: *The travellers map game to Chicago and the World's Fair (Fig. 24)* offered several competing paths to the fair, displayed on a map of the USA.[86]

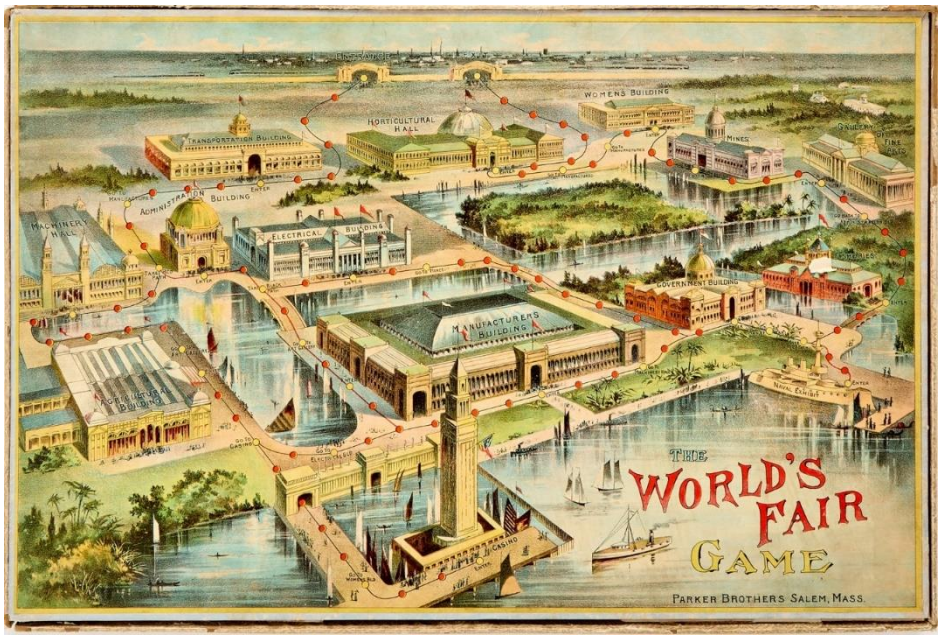


Fig. 25 - *The World's Fair Game,* Parker Brothers, Salem, Massachusetts, 1893, (image courtesy of Pook & Pook Auctions, Downington, PA)

[86] Philadelphia: G.M. Baist, 1893. Stanford University Library, Rare Books Division G3701.A9 1893 B3 FF.

Parker Brothers offered The World's Fair Game, played on a board showing a bird's-eye view of the site. Players moved along various paths according to a spinner marked 1 to 8, visiting the named buildings as directed by the complex rules. The player who exited first was the winner (*Fig. 25*).[87]



Fig. 26 - *Game of the World's Columbian Exposition,* R Bliss Mfg. Co., Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1893, (image courtesy of Gray's Auctioneers, Cleveland, OH)

A similar view of the site was offered by the *Game of the World's Columbian Exposition*, produced by the R Bliss Manufacturing Company of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. This game had complex pathways to be negotiated but the rules governing this have not been seen. *(Fig. 26).*[88] Milton Bradley was also active, though his *Timothy Tuttle's Visit to the World's Fair* was a reading game.[89]



Fig. 27 - Spinner from *Chicago World's Fair* board game*,* Hamilton-Myers Co., Middletown, Pennsylvania, 1893 (John Spear collection).

[87] Lot 282, Pook & Pook Inc., April 23, 2021.
[88] Rudolf Bliss' company specialised in lithographed toys. Their 1896 catalogue is digitised at https://atca-club.org/atca-toy-catalogs/bliss-fall-catalogue-of-the-r-bliss-manufacturing-co-1896/
[89] Smithsonian Museum, The Larry Zim World's Fair Collection, 1989.0438.0791

One of the innovations of the exposition was a dedicated amusement park known as the Midway Plaisance, separate from the exhibition area. A bird's-eye view of this park was featured in a game by the Hamilton-Myers Company of Middletown, Pennsylvania. Rising from the centre of the board was a model Ferris Wheel, (*Fig. 27*) made of colour-printed tinplate and bearing numbers to indicate the move when it was spun. The real Ferris Wheel was a main attraction of the park: built by George Washington Gale Ferris Jr., it was the first of its kind.

An exceptional exhibit located in the Anthropological Building was the 'Section of Religions, Games, and Folklore' organised by Stewart Culin.[90] This included a vast collection of games, recently formed in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,[91] but supplemented by exhibits from individuals and the leading manufacturers of games. Of the jeu de l'oie and similar games, Culin writes:

> Italy contributes several forms of the dice game played upon a board having many stations. The oldest specimen in the collection, purchased in Parma, is a manuscript game bearing the title of *Oca Franchese*. Others printed in Florence bear the printed labels of Giuoco dell' Oca [#2665][92] and Giuoco del Barone [both Edoardo Ducci], while late examples more fanciful, both in name and design, appear as Giuoco del Tramway and La Battaglia del '48 [Milan: Fratelli Tensi, #0050 and #0655]. A French game is shown under its proper title as jeu de l'oie, beside which is placed a similar American game published as the Game of Goose.

The museum's collection of games was further exhibited in 1896 at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta.[93]

The Star Publishing Co of Johnsons, NYC, advertised (at 50 cents, 30 cents to agents) a packet containing: [94]

> THE WORLD'S FAIR GAMES AND PUZZLES, Comprising two fascinating parlor games [of cards]: Game of World's Fair, Game of Rivalry; grand puzzle picture; beautiful, colored bird's-eye view of World's Fair grounds and buildings; also, dissected pictures of the individual Fair buildings; portraits of managers and directors of the Fair; the

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[90] Stewart CULIN, 'Exhibit of Games in the Columbian Exposition', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 1893, Vol. 6, No. 22, pp. 205-227. Robert Stewart Culin (1858 – 1929) was an American ethnographer with a particular interest in games

[91] Now the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (the Penn Museum, for short, https://www.penn.museum). The Culin collection is in course of arrangement.

[92] References to the catalogue number in the giochidelloca.it website are in the form #1234.

[93] A long list of 'games of goose' in the collection is given in Stewart CULIN, *Chess and Playing Cards*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 1896, pp. 843-848, from which the imprints indicated have been deduced.

[94] Smithsonian Museum, The Larry Zim World's Fair Collection, 1989.0438.0790

> principal picturesque State buildings; 18 of Chicago's collosal [sic] business blocks […].[95]

The advertisement went on to claim that: 'There is nothing nicer to be had as a souvenir of the World's Fair' – a bold claim, for the fair was remarkable for a great range of souvenirs beyond the games discussed here. As preserved in the Larry Zim Collection at the Smithsonian Institute,[96] there were: fans, rings, coins and medals, engraved tumblers and drinking glasses, decorated boxes, knives, spoons, jewels, rings, scarves, plates, match safes, pin-holders, coin purses, a mechanical bank [money box], toys, bowls and candy dishes, lantern slides, playing cards and postcards – not to mention puzzles of all kinds: the souvenir industry had come of age!

THE WORLD'S FAIR GAMES IN CONTEXT

Looking back over the articles in this short series, one is struck by the contrast between the simple race games designed for children and the sophisticated adult variants of the jeu de l'oie that are found in France. Those most obviously directed at adults appeared in an 1867 issue of the daily newspaper *Le Figaro*; an 1867 issue of the weekly magazine *La Vie Parisienne*; and an issue of the daily illustrated magazine *Le Charivari* in 1899. These variants followed in the French tradition of jeux de l'oie with themes of adult leisure, such as the theatre, which became fashionable in the late eighteenth century before the craze for loto took over.[97] But whereas those earlier variants were intended to be played, and were no doubt enjoyed by adults, these later 'games' were intended as satirical conversation pieces. This is evident from the special rules, which make fun of the game itself. Similar approaches can be found in other jeux de l'oie with satirical intent. For example, *Le jeu du Lapin de la Grande Thérèse*, [98] with cartoons by Fernand Fau, has instructions to play with two dice, 'non pipés'.[99] Compare the Charivari game: 'dés non pipés s.v.p.' Indeed, both of those games concern current scandals – in one case, the fraud carried out by Thérèse Humbert;[100] and the Dreyfus affair in the other. Alongside these games in France there are games such as that of *La Tour Eiffel*, undoubtedly appealing to children, but with its complexities of ascent and descent also having some adult appeal.

The British games are more difficult to place in context. The tradition from the Georgian era was that printed board games, such as those produced by the Dartons, or the Wallis family, were primarily educational. Often equipped with descriptive booklets with heavily didactic

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[95] *The Western Penman*, February 1893, p. 17.
[96] At the National Museum of American History.
[97] Alfred FRANKLIN, *La vie privée D'autrefois: arts et métiers, modes, moeurs, usages des parisiens du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle d'après des documents originaux ou inédits: XIX. 'L'enfant, la layette, la nourrice, la vie de famille, les jouets et les jeux',* Serie I−II, Paris: Plon, Nourrit, 1896, p. 290.
[98] Paris: Vignerot and Demoulin, 1903. #0419
[99] i.e. not loaded.
[100] Thérèse Humbert and her husband had obtained enormous loans using the supposed inheritance from a (non-existent) American millionaire as guarantee.

texts to be consulted or read aloud, these were games of serious purpose. But by the middle of the 19th century, when our story of expositions and their games begins, this high educational aim had been diluted and a simplification had begun, allowing a greater element of fun during play. William Spooner was an important agent in this change. His game *The Journey, or Cross Roads to Conqueror's Castle*, published in 1834 (#1349) was mentioned above because its layout of multiply-connected paths, navigated by means of a directional teetotum, was similar to that of his *Harlequin's Rambles through Europe.* Yet it is also of interest in being one of the first British games to be overtly humorous: the paths have fanciful names, such as 'Catch-cold Road', 'Lollipop Lane', or 'Crack-skull Common'. *Harlequin's Rambles* shares this sense of juvenile fun: each space between the paths is decorated with a humorous cartoon.

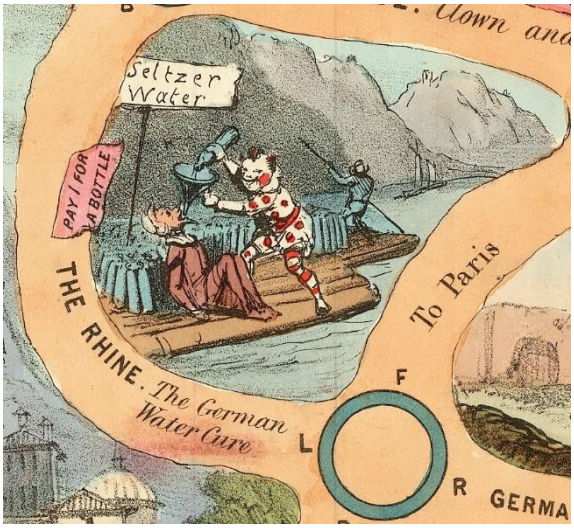


Fig. 28 [detail of fig.4] - *Harlequin's Rambles in Europe*, William Spooner, London

An example is found near the path marked 'THE RHINE - The German Water Cure', where the decoration shows Harlequin forcing Seltzer water into his victim's mouth through a large metal funnel. This somewhat brutal cartoon idiom provides a generic link with Spooner's *Comic Game of the Great Exhibition*; but there the satire is taken to new lengths for an adult audience, making it quite distinct in the field of British printed board games. By contrast, Spooner's *Illustrative Game of the Great Exhibition* is a magnificent but tame follower of the earlier tradition, though lacking the detailed descriptions of that time.

The two Dutch games mentioned above show different aspects of the inventiveness typical in that nation's board games. For the International Colonial World Exhibition of 1883, there was an effective adaptation of the jeu de l'oie, using the conventional 63 spaces to illustrate the exhibits nation by nation, then extending the track to show external views of the buildings where they were housed. But for the 1861 exhibition in Haarlem, there was a new game using the 21 combinations possible on the throw of two dice to determine which 'prize' had been won. Pay-or-take games using these combinations were popular in the Netherlands, especially in the form of the children's game *Stryk weg en geef wat* [Take some

and give some, #1607]. However, the game invented for the exhibition also has a track with movement of tokens to determine when a throw for a prize is to be made. No other game is known that uses these two mechanisms together. The elaboration of different versions of the Game of 21 Combinations is very largely a Dutch phenomenon.

Games based on the jeu de l'oie produced in countries where that game is well known – including Italy where the game most probably originated - derive added piquancy from seeing how its classic hazards are re-interpreted thematically. By contrast, games from the United States owe little to the jeu de l'oie. There are a few American *Games of the Goose* (e.g. #1285) but the practice of building games with new themes on this foundation did not take hold there. Certainly, the games with complex pathways seen in *Figs 25 and 26* have no connection with the classic Jeu de l'oie. However, the *Game of the Sociable Snake* does share some features with another venerable Italian game, the *Gioco del Barone* [game of the baron, e.g. #1106]. This too is a single-track game played with double dice. Its chief feature is that certain spaces are linked through their iconography to others. Thus, in the example cited, space 11 (the thief) has the instruction 'go to space 20' (the prison), while the cat at space 60 leads to the mouse at space 66. Similar movements are called for in the various versions of the Sociable Snake. In the *Crystal Palace* version *(Fig. 22)*, space 40 (the farmer) is reciprocally linked to space 62 (the [corn] exchange), while the sailor at space 88 puts the player back to the steamboat at space 47; and there are several links based on the novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in 1862, the year before publication of the game. These give a certain lift to the game, as well as a degree of topicality.

It has been difficult to find several of the games discussed here and there are doubtless several omissions. Indeed, it was surprising not to find souvenir games from some of the later expositions, such as the 1873 Weltausstellung in Vienna.

The expositions universelles remain a popular theme for modern game designers. If your fancy is to visit Chicago, there is a game entitled *World's Fair 1893* (published in 2016), while Milan beckons in the game *Expo 1906* (2015) or – coming right up to date - Brussels in *Expo 1958*, published only this year.