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www.WashMapSociety.org
From the Editor

With the summer pause ending, the busy Fall months approach with many scheduled local and regional and international events. From Oxford to Golden, from Arlington to Manila and Atlanta and certainly in all the regular venues such as Washington, London, Cambridge and all the others—there will be meetings and exhibitions to satisfy your hunger to learn more about maps. As always, in this issue is just a selective listing of the many events worldwide—see John Docktor's comprehensive listing of meetings and exhibitions at www.docktor.com. I find it especially useful when travelling anywhere for pleasure or business—often I get to take advantage of a distant event!

This Portolan opens with a look at the city of Richmond, Virginia. We have had lead articles on Washington, Baltimore, and others—this continues the occasional focus on a particular city. The rich compilation of other articles can be seen above, several book reviews are herein, as are reports about the WMS Annual Business Meeting and Dinner, and recent acquisitions at the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress.

The new option of a WMS digital membership is explained for those with computers and tablets—you can read The Portolan on your electronic media! Yet another advantage of membership.

Enjoy the busy months ahead. The Winter Portolan will appear in late November.
ABSTRACT
While board games had been around for millennia, their popularization as a market commodity, with specific themes and branding, had coincided with the formation of the global dominance of the British Empire as a maritime juggernaut. Early board game producers in the second half of the eighteenth century were mapmakers, and the board games shared many of the epistemological and material tenets of the Enlightenment cartography and the business of Empire. This paper argues that through its structural and narrative formation, geographical board games proved to be the quintessential imperial entertainment for the middle-class British children especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. With the transformation in the imperial discourse and imperial forms, board games came to change through the end of the century as well.

It may be argued that the association of play and the Empire was clearer for those living in the ‘Age of Empire’ than it is for us.* Imperial power struggle over Asia between Russia and Britain was dubbed “the Great Game,”1 which was made famous by Rudyard Kipling in his novel Kim.2 It was Kipling, too, whose fictional Indian heroine learned about the Empire via playing:

At the end of two months, Lispeth grew impatient, and was told that the Englishman had gone over the seas to England. She knew where England was, because she had read little geography primers; but, of course, she had no conception of the nature of the sea, being a Hill girl. There was an old puzzle-map of the World in the House. Lispeth had played with it when she was a child. She unearthed it again, and put it together of evenings, and cried to herself, and tried to imagine where her Englishman was. As she had no ideas of distance or steamboats, her notions were somewhat erroneous.3

Kipling was writing at the end of the nineteenth century, of this Indian young woman Lispeth who was trying to conceptualize the “nature of the sea” and distances that set her lover and herself apart with the help of the "old puzzle-maps.” According to Kipling, however, she lacked the a-priori knowledge to have a fuller sense of the world, ‘imagining’ was the only thing she could do about the location of “her Englishman.” Her measurements were destined to be “somewhat erroneous.” This, of course, was not the case for the young English men, whose education of geography was to achieve perfect success if started “very early, by means of dissected maps, which afford children great amusement,” according to the early nineteenth-century reformers of education.4

The government of New Zealand, itself an embodiment of imperial overseas presence, was alluding, perhaps not very consciously, to the association between Empire and play, when it presented the country as the “playground of the Pacific” in its touristic publicities.5 Play was an important means by which the nineteenth-century Great Britain came to define itself, and objects of play were crucial elements of daily life, permeated through different segments of society, and formed in the intersection of various discursive and structural transformations that nineteenth-century Britain was going through. Play was instrumental in imperial educational policies, which endorsed and diffused certain educational patterns in the metropole and colonies, in order to promote the imperial ideology and to raise, firstly, officials who knew how to rule, and secondly subjects who knew how to be ruled, all ideally in a playful manner. In his insightful study, J. A. Mangan dealt with this

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issue and analyzed how certain play forms were devised for this end and implemented in schools. Several scholars also engaged in debates on how Commonwealth games, especially cricket, functioned as sites for the imperial ideology to flourish and create attachment to the imperial body politic. Overall, however, the relationship between games and the Empire has largely been neglected by scholarship. Even when works mention games, they are usually taken as items of marginal interest, relevant to collectors rather than historians, matter of curiosity rather than of serious scholarship. Their recent re-popularization as a favorite type of leisure has sparked a nascent academic interest in the study of board games, but this has not resulted in a similar attention given to the games of the nineteenth century and their place in the imperial culture.

In this paper, I trace the imperial genealogy of modern British board games, which emerged in the middle of the eighteenth century and came to dominate the market for domestic entertainment over the course of the nineteenth. My particular focus is on geographical/cartographic games, which, I believe, was the essential form of modern board games in general, and one of the paradigmatic forms of imperial entertainment in the nineteenth century.

While board games had been played in many parts of the world—in different forms and styles—for millennia, development of modern board games in Britain can be traced back to A Journey Through Europe, or the Play of Geography in 1752. This genesis of modern board games is identical to that of puzzles, which were then called ‘dissected maps.’ First board games, indeed, were also dissected maps. Megan A. Norcia, in two articles that stand out as rare examples of critical thinking on ‘imperial heuristics’ of board games and puzzles, focuses on the latter ones, and analyzes them as spatial manifestations of imperial practices of dividing, re-ordering, and ruling territories of the world: “....while Spilsbury and Jefferys were crafting toys which carved the world into discrete pieces and put them into the hands of English children, grown-up imperialists were essentially engaged in the same activity—but on a much larger scale, and with consequences that were hardly innocuous.”

Her treatment of board games, on the other hand, is only thematic; as she asserts that imperial themes were reflected in board games; and she does not engage with how empire was structurally embedded in the spatial form developed in these games. I argue that a deeper scrutiny is needed for board games, for analyzing them not only through their themes but also spatial configuration, I believe, would complement Norcia’s accurate analysis of dissected puzzles. Essentially this was what geographical board games did, giving the Empire a second form of spatial manifestation in the domain of entertainment and instruction, complementing dissected puzzles. While dissected puzzles represented and was modeled after the imperial re-ordering of territory, board games represented and miniaturized the imperial acts of exploration of the world, circulation of peoples, and formation of networks, all central elements to the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century creation of an imperial order through the geographical and cartographic knowledge of the world.

As Norcia notes, it is not a mere coincidence that geography was the first and most popular theme of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century board game titles. Geographical knowledge had attained a very prestigious and widely recognized status in the eighteenth century. It was constituted and spread through different channels and practices, some of which will be dealt in this paper. At the very heart of this discursive space was cartography, which also provided board games their spatial terrain. The massive project of colonization of distant lands, from the fifteenth century onwards, generated not only a vital military need for refined cartographical knowledge, but it also gave rise to a cultural necessity of representing the world and the ‘other’; and both entailed a hierarchical power relation between Europeans and the ‘other.’ The discipline of cartography had been traditionally linked to military, and colonial expansion reinforced this notion. Armies brought cartographers to the lands they invaded, and maps were seen as playing a key role in further invasions and administration of colonies. This coincided with the desire to govern domestic lands more efficiently and extensively, as the European territorial nation states increasingly constituted themselves within a regime of power/knowledge which worked through physically and discursively ordering of what existed within their spatial boundaries—‘things’ of all kind, including their ‘populations.’

Hence, maps became one of the most essential dispositifs of imperial governmentality, domain of which consisted of the ‘known world’—a domain that was constantly growing. To fully grasp this assertion, one must analyze Enlightenment as a project of mapping the world, its peoples, and its knowledge. As Matthew Edney points out, Enlightenment thinkers believed that “correct and certain archives of knowledge could be constructed... by following rational processes,” and these were best characterized by “mapmaking.” Knowledge of the world, brought together in an ordered fashion, would also create an order on the world. John Pickles described the phenomenon aptly:

Mapping technologies and practices have been crucial to the emergence of modern ‘views of the world’, Enlightenment sensibilities and contemporary modernities. The world has literally been made, domesticated and ordered by drawing lines, distinctions, taxonomies and hierarchies: Europe and its others, West and non-West, or people with history and people without history. Through their
gaze, gridding, and architectures the sciences have spatialized and produced the world we inhabit. And, indeed, this is perhaps the crucial issue: maps provide the very conditions of possibility of the worlds we inhabit and the subjects we become.19

Enlightenment’s cartographic order created “the cartographic gaze,” which construed the spaces and peoples of the world, with all of their “complexity and enormity” on a two-dimensional, spatially bounded terrain of the map. And finally, the positioning of the viewer in respect to the horizontal map, leads to what Donna Haraway termed as ‘God-trick’. “This transcendental positioning,” explains Pickles, “is both the view from above, an elevated two-point perspective bird’s-eye-view, and an all-seeing eye that views everywhere at the same time.”20 The “God-trick” was pretty much a result of the Enlightenment venture of mapping the world, both in its literal and metaphorical senses.

Board games, just like dissected maps, were born to this world built by the imperial and ‘enlightened’ order of cartography. The aforementioned A Journey Through Europe, or the Play of Geography, the first modern British board game, was obviously a geographical game. But the connection was more than a literal/thematic one. John Jefferys, a London-based mapmaker with a royal charter, was the publisher of the game.21 His turn to board game production initiated a line of business for mapmakers that flourished in the late-eighteenth century and continued until the middle of the nineteenth century. Almost all early board games were created by mapmakers, a large number of them were geographical, and quite a few, as early examples of industrial recycling, were originally proper maps produced for nautical purposes, which were later turned into games. This shows us that these two different enterprises shared a geographical frame of mind built by the Empire and Enlightenment, catalyzed by material conditions of a commercialized society with technological developments that made production easier and cheaper.22

**GEOGRAPHY, PLAYED**

John Wallis (d.1818) was a less successful mapmaker, who, following the example of Jefferys, turned to the board game business in the 1780s and became one of its leaders in the final decade of the eighteenth century. His sons continued his line of production until the mid-nineteenth century. One of their popular games, “Wallis’s Picturesque Round Game of the Produce and Manufactures of the Counties of England and Wales [Figure 1]” was an illustrated remake of his earlier titles which were based on the map of England, published in 1840. This game ‘mapped’ a country, which increasingly saw itself as a nation of wealth, the leader of an emerging world of industrial capitalism. Benedict Anderson convincingly argued that the role maps played for the nation to be ‘imagined’ was crucial.23 The idea of territorial unity that was displayed by maps was reinforced by games like the Picturesque, which presented a colorful country with distinct resources, landmarks and characteristics for each region. Manchester, for example, was celebrated in the guide book as “the largest manufacturing town in the World, with 300,000 inhabitants, and adorned with several noble buildings.”24 These games also acted as traveler accounts or tourist guides, especially for the Londoner who wished to travel around his/her country and get amazed by its beauty and landmarks, acquiring a feeling of belonging through the nation’s wonders. If it was not designed as a preparatory tool for such a journey, it definitely functioned as a simulation of that voyage, which always began and ended in London.

As I have noted earlier, geographical knowledge in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth century, especially before it was institutionalized in the state departments and university chairs, was constituted through a diverse body of disciplines, genres, and practices.25 Travel narratives, which frequently served the purpose of tourist guides, were an essential part of this diverse discursive space.26 Even though board games’ aforementioned structural ties with maps were their strongest link to the practice and discourse of geography, a common link they shared with dissected maps, their narrative structure and the mobility of players on the board gave them a distinct hybridity, bringing them close to travel narratives as well. Another Wallis title, European Travellers, an Instructive Game (1823) [Figure 2], was a good example that brought together such narrative features. The game was played on the map of Europe in a ‘picturesque’ style; hence it was not only geographical representation of an area but also a vivid display of peoples, their cultures, landmarks through an Anglocentric, Orientalist prism.

In this game, travelers made a tour of Europe, finishing it in London. Throughout their voyage, they were supposed to grasp the uniqueness of Britain, and its highest stage of development compared to the continental European nations. The game’s guide book proudly proclaimed for the square of the Great Britain: “The people are brave and industrious; the soil is fertile in some parts, and in others rich in minerals. It excels all others in arts and manufacturing, and its constitution, government and courts of law are celebrated throughout the world.” As John Mackenzie asserts, Empire “was a world view which rendered the principal elements of British patriotism distinctively imperial,” hence it was a recurring theme and feeling even when geography at hand was not of the Empire. We also hear echoes of the dominant Orientalist discourse of the period in the game. When a player comes to Constantinople, we read: “The Capital of Turkey and residence of the Sultan. Step a drawing here, to sparkle and take coffee, which is the chief
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Figure 1. Wallis’s Picturesque Round Game of the Produce and Manufactures of the Counties of England and Wales, 1840. John Passmore’s remake of the classic John Wallis game, played on a picturesque map of England and Wales. The image shows the game board. Courtesy Old World Auctions. View image online at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26324/walliss-picturesque-round-game-of-board-game-john-passmore/.
Figure 2. *European Travellers, an Instructive Game*, 1823. A game, produced by Edward Wallis, where players travel around the capitals of Europe, which are represented by their various topographical, cultural, religious, etc. qualities. Courtesy Daniel Crouch Rare Books. View image online at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26323/european-travellers-board-game/.
employment of the inhabitants.” This scene fits very well to the idle image of the Orientals, a major theme in the Orientalist archive, which presented them as motionless, living in an endless pastime. As Edward Said put it, “[orientalist] conception of the world” saw the ‘Orient’ as “static, frozen, fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement—in the deepest sense of the word—is denied to the Orient and the Oriental.”

The game thus situated the players, whose raison d’être was the movement on the game board, as an exact opposite of the motionless Orientals depicted in the guide book.

Travelers of the imperial world were driven by different yet intermingled motives and interests. Those motivated by scientific discoveries, who “loaded down with compasses, telescopes, sextants, the revolutionary ideas of Newton and the great mathematicians, …[who] toured the world to measure, map, and classify it” had to share their ships with those who, in the words of Joseph Conrad, “like[d] to dream of arduous adventure in the manner of prisoners dreaming behind their bars of all the hardships and hazards of liberty.” In fact, scientific enterprise and adventurous joy were often knotted in the same body, and were promoted as such within the imperial ideology. The British Empire counted on its scientific authority as well as the adventurousness and curiosity of its citizens. These ‘virtues’, of course, contrary to nationalist perceptions, were not ‘natural’ to British people; rather they had to be taught to the youth. This necessity gave rise to ‘boy’s adventure stories’, the purest form of which was perhaps the “accounts of exploration in distant places… In a period when there were still parts of the atlas or globe marked ‘Unexplored’, the allure of discovery would have its own grip.” Board game publishers tried to capture the same appeal, whose productions had sometimes contained rule books with well-written stories, making the genre close to juvenile adventure literature. A similar point is made by Siobhan Carroll, who thinks that nautical board games such as The Bulwark of Britannia (1797) worked as “extensions of novels” and fostered “patriotic investment in the British navy and, by extension, the empire.”

Geographical games gave perfect spatial structures to narrators who told the story of the empire, while children engaged in actual adventures with their friends and the supervised attention of their parents, as well as the guide books, through playing on the board. Travel narratives, juvenile literature and board games were largely supported and recommended by educators for the cultivation of the “young empire-builder,” for these genres provided a domain of education different than school, “which enabled the direct massages uncalculating imperial ambitions, and national, familial and racial pride,” working as a “vehicle of ideology…that appeals to and employs the reader’s [and player’s] imagination.”

In order to illustrate the proximity of these different genres, I would like to use another game from the Wallis archive: Wanderers in the Wilderness [Figure 3], from 1844, the company’s last original title and arguably their masterpiece both in terms of visual and literary quality. The ‘wilderness’ the title refers to is South America, which was quite popular as a travel destination for Europeans in the nineteenth century. The immediate sense the continent represented in the game gives is the ultimate chaos. Contrasted to the neat picture of European civilization displayed in other games, South America is where no order whatsoever exists. Playing the role of the ‘wanderers’, players associate themselves with two white explorers on the upper end of the continent, further signifying the origins of the civilization: White and Northern. While wanderers travel through the wilderness, they meet with indigenous people as they come across wild animals, both of which were depicted in very similar fashions and in very close proximity. As we read the introduction to the journey from the guide-book, hierarchical relationship between the white and the other manifests itself from the very start. “Servants” are sent to “prepare some refreshments” while the white host of the wanderers (the voice of the game who speaks through the guide book) tells the wanderers about “his estate.” He informs the players that he has “two hundred negroes” working for him. They were once slaves, he now “pays them regular wages,” in accordance with the liberal and enlightened anti-slavery rhetoric of imperial Britain in the nineteenth century.

Once our wanderers refreshed themselves, their journey starts: “Away! To the wilds of the far, far west…. / Saying man is distant, but GOD IS NEAR.” What we see hear is a clear showcase of the colonialist mentality that sees the journey into the ‘wilderness’ as a heavenly one, almost a duty, to the lands where humanity barely exists (“man is distant,” that is), but the presence of God is pervasive, echoing Edmund Burke: “We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. … our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire.”

Wanderers were there to observe and enjoy the wilderness, but also and eventually, to turn it into a “glorious empire,” to make it a part of the civilization. Patrick Brantlinger asserts that contemporary writers saw colonial space as a chaotic but “virtually empty” place, populated by animals and suchlike. Actual presence of “natives” was not a threat to the supposed neatness of this picture. Wanderers in the Wilderness is a vivid depiction of this perception. Indigenous people and animals are constantly presented in the same taxonomic scheme, with differences not in kind but rather in degree: When a player comes to the square 19, we hear the voice of our storyteller: “What are those that look like hats of the Native Indians? Do they belong
Figure 3. Wallis’s New Game of Wanderers in the Wildernes, 1844. A game that represents a journey in South America. The image shows the game board as a picturesque map of South America. Courtesy Daniel Crouch Rare Books. View image online at http://www.crouchrarebooks.com/maps/view/wallis-edward-walliss-new-game-of-wanderers-in-the-wilderness.
movements, connections, and networks. Said asserts that the empire needed “a practical narrative about expanding and moving about in space that must be actively inhabited and enjoyed before its discipline or limits can be accepted.”40 Hence what the game board gave to the empire was an actual space on which literal movement was possible, and this way enjoyment of colonial wonders could be simulated at ‘home’.

I use ‘home’ in two different senses. As a domestic and educative form of entertainment which could be enjoyed by all members of the family, board games reinforced a familial ‘cult of domesticity’ for the middle-class households, which were filled by the commodities came from the various forms of the Empire.41 Said points out the fact that without the commodities possessed from colonies, “stability and prosperity at home—‘home’ being a word with extremely potent resonances—would not be possible.”42 On the other hand, board games also contributed to the “co-constitution” of colony and metropole. As Hall and Rose state, Empire was a constant in the lives of British people in the metropole, and this setting was experienced as “part of the mundane,” through different practices of popular culture, including board games.43 Through playing those games, travelling to distant parts of the world, learning to look at ‘things’ of the world as legitimate objects to acquire, being disciplined to appreciate the networks established by the Empire, children were made to orient themselves within an imperial horizon, to take it as a mundane experience, a reality of their own daily life. This, at least in theory, excluded any possibility of contemplating upon the resistances of indigenous peoples or the contingencies of the imperial history. Empire was there, and it needed to be played out.

Crystal Palace Game: Voyage Round the World [Figure 5] seems to be the most potent case for a final reflection of this inquiry. The game was published in 1851, as part of a series of ephemera produced in conjunction with the Great Exhibition, the first World Fair held in the Crystal Palace in London, which gave European nations a stage to show their national characteristics, wealth, and perhaps most importantly, their colonies. Almost universally, these exhibitions hosted ‘reconstructions’ of colonial landscapes, which were supposed to represent the truth about the colonial peoples.44 As several authors demonstrated, exhibitions were one of the prime embodiments of the colonial mindset. Timothy Mitchell, following Heidegger, argues that exhibitions functioned in order to “render the world as a thing to be viewed.”45 and, one may add, to be appropriated. An intended consequence of these projects was to construct taxonomies of the countries, peoples, and the goods of the world. Zine Magubane calls them “ethnographic showcases,” and indicates that the working mechanisms of them are not limited to the exhibitions.46 I
A manifestation of British colonial interests on India, David Oglivy’s game is played on the map of the ‘old world,’ surrounded by scenes from the history of British colonization of India. Courtesy Boston Rare Maps. View image online at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26492/lorient-or-the-indian-travellers-board-game/.

**Figure 4.** L’Orient or the Indian Travellers, A Geographical and Historical Game, 1847.
Figure 5. The Crystal Palace game, a voyage around the world, an entertaining excursion in search of knowledge whereby geography is made easy, 1851. Prepared in the occasion of the World Exhibition in Crystal Palace in 1851, this game, created by Smith Evans, is played on a world map, surrounded by small representations of different geographies. Courtesy National Library of Australia—call number MAP NK 2981. View image online at http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230670288/view.
argue that Crystal Palace Game functioned in a similar way. Set on the a world map which was surrounded by several orientalist depictions of various peoples of the world as well as of adventures of European explorers, game makes players to follow the sea routes which form the path of a ship named Alfred, led by her captain, Flint. As the British ship sails over the seas, the world presents itself as a static object, with its peoples and goods, only to be viewed and possessed by the Empire and its adventurous agents, connected through the imperial networks. In the middle of the map we observe an illustration, showing a ship sailing over a small globe, populated with some exotic plants. The illustration is circled by the famous motto “Britain, upon whose Empire the Sun never Sets.” Below this illustration there is a table chart titled “British Possessions,” which listed the amount of imports and exports between colonies and the metropole, and their respective populations. In order to give the game’s real due, I should mention its full title: The Crystal Palace Game—A Voyage Round the World. An entertaining excursion in search of knowledge, whereby geography is made Easy. The name itself embodies the reason why board games meant so much in an imperial setting. Empire was built upon voyage, “search of knowledge” and “entertainment,” through which geography had to be taught to children in an easy way. Overall, Crystal Palace Game stood for what its namesake and concurrent exhibition did: an overt expression of British pride, an ethnographic showcase of colonial peoples and distant lands of the world, reduced to their raw materials and brought together by the imperial connections. Crystal Palace Game, without a doubt, was the colonial game par excellence in the nineteenth century.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION: A NEW ORDER OF IMPERIAL PLAY

Board games of the first half of the nineteenth century, as I have argued in the course of this paper, were epitomized by geographical board games. This was mostly due to the characteristics of the British Empire. Initiated and governed for a long time as an overseas commercial enterprise, the Empire was constituted through cartography, sea voyages, the spirit of exploration, networks, and a hierarchical taxonomy of peoples and things of the world. In this setting, dissected maps, the basic premise of which was spatial reordering; and geographical board games, the basic premise of which was spatial movement, came to constitute the perfect forms of imperial entertainment, and they had reinforced the spatial mentality of the Empire.

However, things were bound to change. When one thinks of imperial board games now, as I have witnessed so many times when I talked about my research, it is not these geographical/cartographic games that come to mind; rather it is Risk, the twentieth-century war game par excellence. First published in 1957, this popular board game (probably a close second to Monopoly in terms of public recognition), is also played on a world map, and spatial movement is similarly an essential part of the game physics. Yet in this case, it is not the movement of players as adventurers, or merchants and sailors as the agents of colonial networks, rather it is the movement of their armies, contesting with each other over the possession of lands of the world, which is represented on the board. Risk may be a relatively new game, but it had precedents, which began to populate shelves of the publishers from the 1850s onward. As the ‘liberal’ and ‘humanitarian’ ideology of British Empire was driven into a crisis and gradually replaced by “iron-fisted militarism,” New Imperialism came to be increasingly identified by an aggressive struggle over land, constant expansion, and warfare. This had repercussions in the imperial entertainment, albeit slowly. This transformation also coincided, perhaps not by chance, with a change of actors in the board games publishing scene. As the old masters of the business like John Wallis, who were mapmakers turned game developers, had gradually left the business, newcomers, who had no ties to the mapmaking business, came up with new themes and gameplay features, which resonated with the changing structure of imperial politics.

An early example of this trend was The New Military Game of German Tactics, published by Kronheim & Co. around 1840. (View image online at https://goo.gl/b4ksnS). In a time when Prussia’s revolutionary war tactics and military discipline attracted increasing attention from all parts of Europe, a German living in Edinburgh introduced the subject into a popular form of entertainment.49

Siege of Sebastapool (1870) [Figure 6] depicted Sevastopol’s siege by British, French, and Ottoman armies against Russia during the Crimean War of 1853–1856. Siege of Paris (1870) simulated Franco-German War, before the war even ended, and it was followed by The New Game of the Siege of Paris in 1871, with a new group of ‘men’ on the board, colored red, representing the Communards of Paris. This third group put on the center of the board, albeit lesser in numbers, complicated the gameplay, just like the Commune did in the actual course of events.50 (View The New Game of the Siege of Paris online at https://goo.gl/qfEByk1)

Another title, supporting the notion of board games as an up-to-date medium, was The Boer War Game, published in 1899, same year the war between the British and Boers had begun. (View The Boer War Game with various play units at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Searc h/#/?p=c+0,t+,rsrs=0,rsp=10,fa+,so-ox%3Asort%5Eaasc,scids+&pid=45eeac52-b3dd-49b3-a22f-c37ed99aca53,vi+6e5842dd-4292-4bbb-b1e8-c5ae158e9bf7).

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Figure 6. Siege of Sebastopol: A New and Amusing Game, 1870. A game depicting the Siege of Sebastopol, by Dean & Son. The image shows the game board with characters from the battlefield and rules of the game. Courtesy Cotsen Children’s Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. View image online at https://goo.gl/aUBy3P.
None of these games presupposed an existing cartographic order, they were not played on geographical boards, but they were rather situated on more abstract battlefields, where military tactics proved to be much more important than the knowledge of the other and its geography.

This is not to say that geographical board games ceased to exist in the twentieth century. Yet I think they have lost their intimate connection with the ‘imperial heuristics,’ and thus their central place in the production line. But they are still important artifacts of the nineteenth-century imperialism, and they invite us to think critically and creatively on how history of games provide insights about the imperial history, connecting the twenty-first century American child who plays one of the countless versions or variants of Call of Duty, fighting against Middle Eastern ‘terrorists’; to the nineteenth-century English child who played The Crystal Palace Game, traveling around the world, exploring the wilderness and ‘backward’ civilizations of the world. Empires change, so do their games. This has been a small attempt to understand how the latter reflect the changes in the former.

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K. Mehmet Kentel, a Ph.D. Candidate at the University of Washington, is the recipient of Honorable Mention for 2017 Dr. Walter Ristow Prize for Academic Achievement in the History of Cartography. He completed his undergraduate education at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and received his master’s degree at the University of Oxford, where he studied the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century board games as spatial manifestations of the British imperial culture. His Ph.D. dissertation is an urban and environmental history of late nineteenth-century Istanbul, with a particular focus on infrastructure projects. His interest in maps and mapping continues, not only as primary sources for his research, but also as explanatory tools to better understand spatial networks. He is the consultant of 2017 exhibition, The Caricatures of Yusuf Franko: An Ottoman Bureaucrat’s Caricatures, which featured a spatial network map, available at http://yusuf-franko.ku.edu.tr.

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ENDNOTES

* Most of the research for the primary sources used in this paper was conducted for my unpublished master’s thesis, K. Mehmet Kentel, “The Board Games of Wallis Family: Empire, Nation, Instruction in Childhood Entertainment at the Turn of the Nineteenth-Century (M.St. diss., University of Oxford, 2011). I have previously presented some of this material in the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Society of the History of Children and Youth in Columbia University, 23–25 June 2011. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to my master’s supervisor David Hopkin for his endless support and contributions, to Jordanna Bailkin, in whose course on colonial encounters I first attempted to produce a paper out of my dissertation, to Brendan Whyte for his helpful suggestions, to the Ristow Prize Committee for their recognition of my work, and to Thomas Sander, editor of The Portolan, for his work on my paper and for his relentless efforts to retrieve its figures.


2 Ibid., xxiv.

3 Rudyard Kipling, Plain Tales from the Hills – Volume 1 of the Works (Nottingham Society, 1909), 7 (emphasis is mine).


7 See, for example, B. Stoddart and K.A.P. Sandiford, The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture, and Society (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1998).


9 The basic form is “mangala,” played in almost a universal geography from Egypt to China. Chess and backgammon are also considered as board games. Murray defines them as “being played on a specifically arranged surface with pieces or ‘men’, whose powers of move and capture are defined by the rules of each game.” Worldwide famous Monopoly epitomizes the modern board games which are distinguished by their specific themes. See Alexander J. De Voogt (ed.), New Approaches to Board Game Research: Asian Origins and Future Perspectives, IIAS Working Papers, Series 3 (Leiden: IIAS, 1995) and H.J.R. Murray, A History of Board-Games Other Than Chess (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).


13 Norcia, “Puzzling Empire,” 8.


16 I. D. Whyte, Landscape and History Since 1500 (London. Reaktion, 2002), 144.


20 Ibid., 80.
21 Shefrin, The Dartons, 53. Other than the military titles touched upon at the end, all games mentioned in this paper were ‘race games’, in which players compete to reach the final point on the board, via throwing dice or ‘teetotum.’ Games differed in the obstacles and ‘forfeits’ players have to face, yet the general structure was the same.
22 For a general discussion of the material conditions behind the rise of modern board games, see Shefrin, The Dartons and Kentel, Empire, Nation, Instruction.
32 Perez-Mejia, Geography of Hard Times, 76.
37 Mathisan, “Maps, Pirates and Treasure,” 175.
38 Norcia, “Playing Empire,” 300.
39 Jackson and Thomskin, Illustrating the Empire, 126.
40 Said, Culture and Imperialism, 83.
42 Said, Culture and Imperialism, 69.
43 C. Hall and S. O’Rose, “Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire” in At home with the Empire, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O’Rose (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 20–22.
44 Driver, Geography Militant, 148.
46 Z. Magubane, Bringing the Empire Home (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 44.

Second Ruderman Conference
October 10–12, 2019

The second Barry Lawrence Ruderman Conference on Cartography will be held on October 10, 11, and 12, 2019 at the David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford University. The conference will investigate the theme of gender and cartography.

Save the date and watch for details.