

Board Games and Paper Dolls: Playing with Age and Masculinity
in the Late Eighteenth- to Early Nineteenth-Century English Domestic Interior

by

Linda P. Zajac

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Abstract

In the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century English domestic interior, games mediated and influenced the experience of age and masculinity. Games embodied, reflected, and shaped culture. Games united education, entertainment, and players' imaginations inside the formative social environment of the home. The domestic interior was the catalyst that facilitated the agency of games. I explore the representation of age and masculinity in miniature images of boys, youth, and men in games and the agency of games as they interacted with players. I use three intersecting lenses: how people experience miniature objects; social interactions in domestic spaces; and the ability of an ordinary belonging to influence perceptions, ideas, and behaviour. In two case studies, I argue that games were serious cognitive technologies with agency that mediated and shaped players' understanding of age and masculinity. In case one, I investigate the visuality, materiality, and experience of playing the didactic board game *The New Game of Human Life* (1790). The game consists of a battle between vice and virtue that males meet throughout the life stages. In case two, I analyze a series of five sets of paper dolls and their books published by Samuel and Joseph Fuller between 1810 and 1816. The male paper doll-book is an intermedial product that encourages players to imagine and act out adventures. In both cases, I argue games were active cognitive technologies that communicated with players. Games were visual and material culture that fashioned masculine identity. Games played in the domestic interior were communicative media designed to shape players' ideas about masculine identity and their behaviour.

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Introduction

During the first two decades of the twenty-first century, digital games became ubiquitous and integral to culture. Their societal roles continue to mushroom. Leadership in art museums understands the cultural weight of digital games. The Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition *Videogames: Design/Play/Disrupt* (8 September 2018-24 February 2019) marks the recognition of the serious cultural power of video games by a foremost public institution.¹ At about the same time, commercial game designer Matt Leacock insisted that popular culture was experiencing "a golden age of board game design."² This renewed interest in board games is clear in the Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood exhibition *Game Plan: Board Games Rediscovered* (8 October 2016-23 April 2017).³ A special one-day event, *Game On: Contemporary Board Games Study Day* (1 April 2017), featured presentations by game designers, writers, academics, and entrepreneurs. And the public could join a board game design competition. Another exhibition, *Eyes on the Board—Crossing Game Space* (14 September 2019-10 October 2019), at the Parsons School of Design, New York, displayed games, often ancient, from around the world to document social spaces in which games were played.⁴

¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, London, *Videogames: Design/Play/Disrupt*, September 8, 2018-February 24, 2019, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/exhibitions/videogames#events>.

² Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood, London, *Game On: Contemporary Board Games Study Day*, accessed May 31, 2017, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/moc/events/game-contemporary-board-games-study-day/>.

³ Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood, London, *Game Plan: Board Games Rediscovered*, accessed June 24, 2019, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/moc/exhibitions/gameplan/>.

⁴ Parsons School of Design, New York, *Eyes on the Board – Crossing Game Space*, September 14, 2019-October 10, 2019, accessed October 6, 2019, <https://www.newschool.edu/parsons/all-exhibitions/?id=17179880011>.

The avid interest in board games extends beyond academic and museum settings. Playing board games has experienced a revival in homes and triggered the launch of the commercial board game café.⁵ The café experience is the antithesis of digital life. It supports in-person sociability and gameplay, detached from the digital world. As Joan Moriarity states, “Games...have the power to create a special space, a world within a world. It’s a kind of magic circle where different rules apply.”⁶ Similar to the café, the social space in the domestic interior is a shared play space, which caters to everyone, families, adults, youth, and children, and creates its own world within a world. I delve into the period of England’s history that is a precursor to our current pervasive consumer culture, a period when game manufacturing was growing and prospering. I contend eighteenth-century educators viewed games as a kind of edutainment, media that instructed children through entertainment. What better way to shape developing minds about prevailing opinions on age and masculinity? Strengthening conventional societal beliefs about age and gender was critical to the stability of the country.

The central question of my dissertation is: how do games played in the domestic interior shape the experience of age and masculinity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? Asking this question allows me to develop a phenomenology of games played in the home. Studying games allows me to examine the role of ludic material culture and the visuality of games in mediating age and masculinity. People commonly think and behave based on cultural expectations of the stages of life. Cultural representations of age

⁵ David Sax, “The Revenge of Board Games,” in *The Revenge of Analog: Real Things and Why They Matter* (New York: Public Affairs, 2016), 75-98. See also Tristan Donovan, *It’s All a Game: The History of Board Games from Monopoly to Settlers of Catan* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2017).

⁶ Joan Moriarity, “Welcome to the Magic Circle,” in *Your Move: What Board Games Teach Us About Life* by Joan Moriarity and Jonathan Kay (Toronto: Sutherland House, 2019), 9.

and masculinity reflect and (re)shape beliefs, values, and perceptions of them. Such representations, however, are often studied in isolation from their environmental context. I address this shortcoming by studying the influence of games played in the home on beliefs about age and masculinity. The games I study are located not only in a specific culture, time, and place, but also in that most intimate of spaces—the domestic interior.

Key Concepts⁷

My study of games builds on the following five key concepts.

i. Games and Culture

Games are an integral part of culture. They reflect and shape culture. Starting in the mid-eighteenth century, publishers and booksellers in England recognized and exploited the cultural muscle of games. Flourishing publishing businesses catered to children, parents, and their shared affection for play by selling board games, dissected puzzles, paper toys, card games, and other amusements. Commercial games were material statements of English society's understanding of the world. Board game themes included geography (British and global), English history, arithmetic, science, and moral instruction. Some early nineteenth-century male paper dolls came with short books written in prose or verse. Dolls and texts about male youth presented lessons on proper conduct and leading a virtuous life. As such, games were cultural products that embodied values. But games were also active cultural agents that instilled those values in players. Games shaped social processes that in turn continuously (re)fashioned children's and adults' concepts of age and masculinity.

⁷ Erin J. Campbell, "Listening to Objects: An Ecological Approach to the Decorative Arts," *Journal of Art Historiography* 11, no. 11 (December 2014). My approach to organizing the key concepts is adapted from Campbell's proposed ecology of the domestic interior and its relations with the art historical study of the decorative arts.

ii. Education and Play

During the eighteenth century, the cultural weight of John Locke's (1632-1704) pedagogical treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693) led to a shift in societal attitudes about teaching methods and children's education.⁸ Locke contended children had unformed minds that were shaped through experiences and perception. The purpose of education was to cultivate virtue.⁹ Locke argued that play, especially free play, was a pedagogical tool. Locke stated, "I have always had a Fancy, that *Learning* might be made a Play and a Recreation to children."¹⁰ Educators and publishers entwined education and play in children's books and didactic playthings. Such games represented and embodied societal issues. Joining play with education meant a selection of games were serious socio-political instruments designed to communicate, instill, and reinforce normative ideas about gender and social roles by encouraging ideal behaviour. *The New Game of Human Life* (1790) contrasted vice and virtue in the stages of a male's life. Male youth paper dolls and their accompanying books taught about masculinity and social roles through theatrical performances and adventure narratives. We learn in social environments through experiences that can affect subsequent behaviour. As Melanie Keene rightly observes, "Physical objects designed for educational and playful purposes are a relatively recent and extremely fruitful site of academic analysis: new sources ripe for interpretation."¹¹ Keene is referring to playthings,

⁸ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. By Mr. John Locke, 5th ed. (London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1705). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

⁹ Locke, 103.

¹⁰ Locke, 269.

¹¹ Melanie Keene, "Playing Among the Stars: *Science in Sport, or the Pleasures of Astronomy* (1804)," *History of Education* 40, no. 4 (2011): 521.

texts, and images, that educators, parents, and servants, such as governesses, could use to instruct children in homes.

iii. Cognitive Influence of Games

Games are cognitive technologies or tools, in other words, external material extensions of the human mind and body that players use to navigate their world. The contents of games combined education with play to convey information about society's core issues. Games possessed the ability to influence a player's beliefs, opinions, and behaviour. Playing games could spark physical, emotional, and cognitive responses that could change players' perceptions, ideas, and behaviour.

In 1998, cognitive scientists and philosophers Andy Clark and David Chalmers proposed the extended mind thesis (EMT).¹² Clark and Chalmers argue that cognitive processes and the mind extend outside the human body to include surrounding physical and social environments. Today, technologies such as smart phones, social media, and video games are coupled with the mind. We communicate with each other, learn, work, and play by using cognitive technologies. I maintain that the concept of the extended mind helps us interpret the communicative roles of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century games. I treat games as cultural cognitive technologies that have the capacity to interact with players and influence their thinking. Clark asserts that we use everyday objects as external resources to solve problems, negotiate our surroundings, and shape our understanding of the world. I argue that games are one type of cultural resource. In the domestic interior, the extended

¹² Andy Clark and David J. Chalmers, "The Extended Mind," *Analysis* 58, no. 1 (1998):7-19. The article led to the new field of study called philosophy of mind, which combines cognitive science and philosophy. See also Andy Clark, *Being There: Putting Brain, Body and World Together Again* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Andy Clark, *Natural-Born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

embodied mind of a game player has an ongoing dialogue with a game, which can modify a player's beliefs, values, and attitudes.

iv. Imagination

Play encourages and facilitates cognitive processes that children and others can repeatedly engage with and rehearse the social imaginary of their world. The interplay of imagination and culture is essential for play and games. In *Imagination in Human and Cultural Development* (2016), Tania Zittoun and Alex Gillespie demonstrate the centrality of imagination to daily life and human development throughout life.¹³ Zittoun and Gillespie highlight the complex relations between imagination and development in their sociocultural model, which treats imagination as an embodied, semiotic, and multimodal process. They underscore that most of the contents of imagination originate in the social and cultural world. Furthermore, “imagination is nourished by representations, discourses, images and ideas that come through social interaction, through social media (reading, watching and playing) available in our sociocultural environment. Hence, imagination can be enabled and constrained by the uses of cultural resources that variously awaken, channel and enrich a person's imagination.”¹⁴ In other words, the contents of imagination are a social and cultural product. Zittoun and Gillespie combine their concept of imagination with their model of internalization to show that “culture becomes mind” when we absorb our experiences with cultural objects as we move through different social roles.¹⁵ “Such culturally guided

¹³ Tania Zittoun and Alex Gillespie, *Imagination in Human and Cultural Development* (London: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁴ Zittoun and Gillespie, 45.

¹⁵ Tania Zittoun and Alex Gillespie, “Internalization: How Culture Becomes Mind,” *Culture & Psychology* 21, no. 4 (2015): 477-491.

experiences are...orchestrated from outside the person, but the experiences are inner psychological phenomena. These experiences can leave a strong impression, can be repeated, and eventually become personal.”¹⁶ Over a lifetime, experiences are layered, “forming a complex sedimentation of culture within individuals” and are “heterogeneous and fragmented.”¹⁷ Life experiences are uneven. Varied and unconnected life events are deposited and built-up layer by layer onto a person’s cultural sediment in mind.¹⁸ Heterogeneity gives room for resistance and subversion that can be part of living, but it also recognizes life is composed of varied, perhaps conflicting, experiences that fashion a life. Heterogeneity implies an assemblage of daily experiences that is unconsciously converted into memories, which settle in mind. But memories are slippery, unreliable, malleable, and can be altered by suggestions from others.¹⁹ External forces can implant new unfounded memories. The vulnerable nature of memories combined with cultural sedimentation in mind suggests that a game player’s ideas and behaviour may change when playing a game.

v. The Domestic interior

The key concepts of games and culture, education and play, cognitive influence, and imagination unite inside the domestic interior. The home is a formative environment and an intimate space for sociability, learning, and play. The contents of games invited, welcomed, and embraced the outside world in the home. As Melanie Keene makes clear in a study of the early nineteenth-century board game *Science in Sport, or the Pleasures of Astronomy* (1804),

¹⁶ Zittoun and Gillespie, 484.

¹⁷ Zittoun and Gillespie, 477.

¹⁸ Psychology literature often uses the phrase “in mind” rather than “in the mind.”

¹⁹ Elizabeth F. Loftus, “Eavesdropping on Memory,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 68, no. 1 (2017): 1-18. Loftus’s body of work addresses the malleability of human memory. This autobiographical essay gives an overview.

the home is a crucial site of learning and play for all family members. Games are “domestically inclusive, familial phenomena.”²⁰ Keene’s investigation also reminds us that families were interested in topics beyond household concerns; in this case, scientific information about how the universe works, which was part of a child’s education.

Context

Playing games is serious work. Using the five key concepts, this dissertation explores the value of play, imagination, and the socio-political possibilities that arise from melding “amusement and instruction” in playthings that inhabited the English domestic interior in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Games are “things that talk.”²¹ Games communicate stories about a society’s preoccupations with the world. They are material and visual expressions of a society’s crucial issues. Moreover, not only do games reflect culture, they shape culture. Playing games could trigger bodily, emotional, and cognitive reactions in players, which altered their perceptions, ideas, and behaviour related to age and masculinity.

In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English domestic interior, games were cognitive tools that communicated and reinforced acceptable codes of behaviour for males. Games embodied political and social issues. The dissected puzzle *The Principal Events in the History of England, to the Reign of George the III* (1815) illustrates forty-eight

²⁰ Paul Young, “Racing Round the World: Geographical Board Games and Britain’s Expansion, 1780-1850,” in *Imagining Britain’s Economic Future, c.1800-1975: Trade, Consumerism, and Global Markets*, eds. David Thackeray, Andrew Thompson, and Richard Toye (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 95.

²¹ Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things That Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004).

episodes, each described with a short statement.²² The first scene shows a “family of Ancient Britons” and the last commemorates the death in 1805 of naval hero Horatio Nelson. Themes conveyed topics of broad concern, such as British imperialism, anxieties about war and internal dissent, and industrialization. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Britain endured the American Revolution (1765-1783), French Revolution (1789-1799), and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). Events in these wars appear on the board game *The Jubilee. A New and Interesting Game* (1810), a miniature historical document that records notable national and international events during the reign of George III, from 1760 to publication, in 150 images.²³ The circular racetrack coils inward to the centre (position 150) where George III sits on a throne. Text accompanies some images and includes “Riots at Birmingham” (position 32), “Spain declares war” (position 49), “War declared against France” (position 79), “Abolition of the slave trade” (position 101), and “Vaccine establish[ed]” (position 114), possibly referring to Englishman Edward Jenner’s invention of a smallpox vaccine. During this turbulent era, government coffers were drained, and the general population faced the consequences of war. Throughout the period, publishers manufactured and marketed commercial games, products that satisfied an ongoing interplay between business interests in profit, politics, and social norms. In *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (2013), George McClure demonstrates how

²² *The Principal Events in the History of England, to the Reign of George the III* ([London]: Published by Wm. Darton, Josh. Harvey and Saml. Darton, December 1st, 1815), 46 x 59 cm in box 24 x 19 x 6 cm and guide sheet 45 x 54 cm, jigsaw puzzle, single sheet mounted on wood and dissected into fifty-six pieces. Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library; See Jill Shefrin, *Ingenious Contrivances: Table Games and Puzzles for Children* (Toronto: Friends of the Osborne and Lillian H. Smith Collections, Toronto Public Library, 1996), 58-59, fig. 79.

²³ *The Jubilee. A New and Interesting Game* (London: John Harris, 1810), single sheet, 56 x 53 cm, mounted on linen, engraved hand-coloured illustrations and folded in a slipcase, 20 x 14 cm, with hand-coloured label. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/fc074cd3-9397-4736-8dec-a9769b57bd87/surfaces/e03a2090-e343-4b65-b057-f77f565f3d89/>.

patrician women in sixteenth-century Siena played parlour games in liminal social spaces, such as social clubs, to gain power in their homes and community.²⁴ McClure highlights how women acquired political and social agency by implementing ingenious communication strategies when playing games.

Historical games have stories to tell. I argue that the subject matter for games was judiciously selected.²⁵ Games were designed to appeal to the broadest audience—children, youth, and adults—to strengthen cultural norms that fed social and political purposes. Games were one medium of communication that functioned to stabilize popular thinking and reinforce values that would benefit society and the state. Games were also media that encouraged personal metamorphoses that matched national interests.

It was an era of intense curiosity and awe about technologies of transformation in the form of optical entertainments, such as movable books, dioramas, kaleidoscopes, panoramas, “raree” shows (later called peepshows), myrioramas, and transparencies.²⁶ Adults and children, were engrossed by playful sources, which often conveyed serious social messages. Interacting with these technologies was not only a visual experience. As Luisa Calè and Patrizia Di Bello observe, “The experience of looking...is never *just* visual, but it is also

²⁴ George McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

²⁵ Donatino Domini, Dino Silvestroni, and Ludovico Valvassori, translated by Anthony Molino, *Printed European Board Games from the 17th to 19th Centuries* (Ravenna: Longo, 1990); Caroline Goodfellow, *A Collector's Guide to Games and Puzzles* (London: Apple Press, 1991). The selection of European historical games in these texts illustrate the range of subjects covered in games.

²⁶ Ralph Hyde, “Myrioramas, Endless Landscapes The Story of a Craze,” *Print Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (2004): 403-421; Denise Oleksijczuk, *The First Panoramas: Visions of British Imperialism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); John Plunkett, “Light Work: Feminine Leisure and the Making of Transparencies,” in *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 43-67; Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books: Playful Media Before Pop-Ups* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

tactile, kinaesthetic, fully embodied, and affected by the material properties of the objects we do our looking and reading with.”²⁷ I propose that playing games in the domestic interior translated interest in metamorphosis into a corporeal and psychological experience, which had the potential to (re)fashion concepts of identity.

What is a “Game”?

The art historical study of play and games in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English domestic interior is a relatively new field. There is much scholarly interest, but little in-depth research. I scrutinize playthings that have gone unnoticed by art historians to learn about their roles in shaping societal ideas about age and masculinity: the structured board game and the informal free play “book-toy hybrid” called a movable book and its paper dolls.²⁸ I contribute to the ludic turn in the study of visual and material culture of the period and advance scholarship by investigating how playthings manoeuvred players’ thinking about age, gender, and behaviour. With this purpose in mind, what is a “game”?

There is no simple definition of a game. As Serina Patterson states, “the boundaries of the term ‘game’ are porous and difficult to confine to a specific set of parameters or features.”²⁹ I do not use one definition for the term game; it is a contested word, which has

²⁷ Luisa Calè and Patrizia Di Bello, eds., “Introduction: Nineteenth-Century Objects and Beholders,” in *Illustrations, Optics and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Literary and Visual Cultures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 4-5.

²⁸ Heather Klemann, “The Matter of Moral Education: Locke, Newbery, and the Didactic Book-Toy Hybrid,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 223–244.

²⁹ Serina Patterson, “Introduction,” in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 11.

generated much academic debate.³⁰ Instead, I draw on Patterson’s broad definition that characterizes games as designed experiences that model behaviour, which imply intent from players and have precise rules within a system. In addition, games involve abstract thinking, mental imagery, skill, imagination, and a grasp of rules.³¹ But not all playthings come with rules and instructions; some encompass informal unstructured activities. To accommodate activities without rubrics, I bring into play Mary Flanagan’s more elastic approach in which games are defined as “situations with guidelines and procedures.”³² I define play simply as any activity that is fun. Rather than categorize playful pursuits, which may constrain my analysis, I gather distinct ludic objects into a single broad playgroup I call “playthings.” This strategy encourages me to be flexible, aware, and wary of preconceived notions about games, and receptive to unexpected playfulness in my analysis.

Game Studies

In this section, I highlight key theories that steer my study of historical games. These approaches advocate that playing games is a serious endeavour with broad social value.

Game studies is a vast field of inquiry. I critique essential ideas about printed games played in medieval and early modern European countries and England drawn from art history, book history, economics, education, history, literary studies, and more. Perspectives from diverse

³⁰ Juul Jesper, “The Game, the Player, the World: Looking for a Heart of Gameness,” in *Level Up: Digital Games Research Conference Proceedings*, edited by Marinka Copier and Joost Raessens (Utrecht, NL: Utrecht University, 2003), 30-45. There is no consensus on the definition of “game.” Jesper proposes some definition options.

³¹ Patterson, 7.

³² Mary Flanagan, *Critical Play: Radical Game Design* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), 7.

disciplines deepen my interpretation of playthings, but also underscore that the body of work about games is scattered among many fields, each with its own culture and knowledge base.

What is the cultural work of play? How do games contribute to that work? How do play and games construct identity? Through my dissertation, I contribute to the field of game studies by applying the lenses of age, masculinity, and the domestic interior to clarify how games shaped masculine identity during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. My core argument is that playing games in the domestic interior is a performance that had the power to (re)shape masculine character and culture.

Playthings are designed with a specific purpose in mind. It is impossible to know exactly who played the games I discuss or how players engaged with them. I utilize modern game studies to guide my interpretation of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century games. There is ongoing tension between the game designers and players who insist digital games are solely for entertainment and the advocates of “serious games” that are designed for cultural, educational, or social purposes. In comparison, in late eighteenth-century England, educators and game makers intentionally, and successfully, combined moral education with play in the home to encourage and direct children’s development and behaviour.

To develop my argument that games can have a serious social purpose, I draw on the work of Mary Flanagan who advocates for social change through playing games of all kinds. In *Critical Play: Radical Game Design* (2009), Flanagan asks: “What if some games, and the more general concept of “play,” not only provide outlets for entertainment but also function as means for creative expression, as instruments for conceptual thinking, or as tools to help

examine or work through social issues?”³³ With *Critical Play*, Flanagan is the first to investigate games intended for artistic, political, or social purposes as a way to make sense of far-reaching cultural matters.³⁴ These are “critical games” and “critical play.” Moreover, Flanagan is one of few scholars who advances game studies from an art historical perspective. Flanagan contends games are a “medium of expression” and shows how artists from different places and time periods used games and play in their work and how those experiences and knowledge can impact game-making now. Like Zittoun and Gillespie, Flanagan recognizes the centrality of imagination and games to everyday life and that play is fundamental to intellectual development, learning, and creativity.³⁵ While Flanagan is concerned with twenty-first century contexts, I show that learning and entertainment were firmly bound together in games to control players’ ideas about masculinity and age over 200 years ago.

In *Values at Play in Digital Games* (2014), Flanagan, Helen Nissenbaum, and others put into practice arguments from *Critical Play*. Authors propose a theoretical and applied framework that intentionally inserts values into the digital game-design process.³⁶ I am not suggesting that all concepts associated with digital games are directly relevant to printed games. But as Flanagan and Nissenbaum stress, their method is wide-ranging and pertinent to

³³ Flanagan, *Critical Play*, 1. See also Mary Flanagan, “Game Changers: Playing Games for Good,” World Economic Forum Annual Meeting, Davos-Klosters, Switzerland, 25 January 2018, <https://www.weforum.org/events/world-economic-forum-annual-meeting-2018/sessions/game-changers-playing-games-for-good>.

³⁴ Flanagan, *Critical Play*, 1.

³⁵ Flanagan, 4.

³⁶ Mary Flanagan and Helen Nissenbaum, eds., *Values at Play in Digital Games* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014).

games in general. They maintain “games express and embody human values” and “provide a compelling arena where humans play out their beliefs and ideas.”³⁷ Games are “cultural snapshots” that crystallize beliefs and values of people at a certain time and place.³⁸ Furthermore, games captivate a player to “reach deep parts of the human psyche” and “may not only reflect and express but also activate these beliefs and values in powerful ways.”³⁹ As cultural objects that embody values, games have the ability to arouse a player’s beliefs.

Flanagan’s *Critical Play* and Flanagan and Nissenbaum’s *Values at Play* are central to how I tackle historical games. Like these authors, I am adamant that games are value laden. I contend that the games I study are cultural products designed to communicate normative ideas and shape players’ opinions about masculinity and age. I go further than Flanagan and Nissenbaum by arguing games do more than galvanize what players believe: games can alter their beliefs and behaviour. Given this theoretical perspective about games, I now review critical research about historical games, which establishes a games studies context for my research.

In game studies, there is broad interdisciplinary interest in medieval and early modern European games. I build on scholarship that explores the social, political, economic, and religious contexts of games to unearth and explain their cultural roles. Serina Patterson’s *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature* (2015) is the first edited collection to study the cultural significance of games that appear in European medieval literature.⁴⁰ Authors

³⁷ Flanagan and Nissenbaum, “Ground Work for Values in Games,” in *Values at Play*, 3.

³⁸ Flanagan and Nissenbaum, 3.

³⁹ Flanagan and Nissenbaum, 3.

⁴⁰ Patterson, *Games and Gaming*.

emphasize the broad power of varied games for different audiences in different social environments in many European countries. *Games and Gaming* strengthens my argument that games are serious objects of study and indicators of identity.⁴¹

To better comprehend meanings of the term “plaything,” I build on *Playthings in Early Modernity: Party Games, Word Games, Mind Games* (2017) in which Allison Levy and colleagues from a range of disciplines unveil surprising meanings associated with the term.⁴² Similar to Flanagan, Levy asserts that games and play are central to psychological and social aspects of everyday life. Levy contends that a plaything “as both an object and as a person, and play, in the early modern world, is treated not merely as a pastime, a leisurely pursuit, but also as a pivotal part of daily life, a strategic psychosocial endeavor.”⁴³ I expand Levy’s assertion that play is a vital aspect of life by showing how the psychosocial nature of games influenced players’ concepts of age and masculinity.

Gregory Jackson’s game theory about the cognitive power of games played in the domestic interior is indispensable. Jackson investigates relationships between nineteenth-century American Protestant novels and the experience of playing religious board games.⁴⁴ Jackson stresses the symbiotic experience of reading the homiletic novel and playing the religious game, the contribution of imagination to identity formation, and the religious game’s capacity to generate a pseudo three-dimensional play environment inside the home. I

⁴¹ Patterson, 11.

⁴² Allison Levy, ed., *Playthings in Early Modernity: Party Games, Word Games, Mind Games* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2017).

⁴³ Allison Levy, “Introduction: Playing the Field,” in *Playthings in Early Modernity: Party Games, Word Games, Mind Games* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2017), 1.

⁴⁴ Gregory Jackson, “A Game Theory of Evangelical Fiction,” *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 3 (2013): 451-485.

adapt these concepts to study how games stimulate an interactive process with players in domestic spaces to shape masculine identity.

Playing games in the home also contributes to the social construction of cultural memory. I utilize Jason Begy's study of the impact of modern board games on cultural memory, which reminds us of the long-term societal power of games.⁴⁵ Begy investigates games that depict the expansion of North American railroads during the nineteenth century as media of material culture. By combining material culture and cultural memory, Begy creates a new interpretation of the cultural function of games. A material culture perspective shows "these representations can be unconscious or unintended, yet still reflect culturally situated modes of thinking."⁴⁶ Begy demonstrates that contemporary games reinforce the body of cultural memory that historical games originally created.

In contrast to this work on North American games, few scholars have investigated specimens of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English games in detail. Furthermore, little attention has been given to the cultural, social, political, and religious impacts of games. Traditionally, scholars have focused on the description and classification of games: themes, physical design, and rules of play. While cultural contexts may be mentioned, the emphasis is not on a thorough exploration of the cultural impacts of games. A case in point is Whitehouse's foundational book *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days* (1951).⁴⁷ With the goal of chronicling extant games, *Table Games* is a wide-ranging

⁴⁵ Jason Begy, "Board Games and the Construction of Cultural Memory," *Games and Culture* 12, no. 7-8 (2017): 718-738.

⁴⁶ Begy, 736.

⁴⁷ F. R. B. Whitehouse, *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days* (London: Peter Garnett, 1951).

descriptive checklist of games published between 1750 and 1850 that is organized into five thematic groups: geographical, historical, instructional, moral improvement, and amusement.

Collectors, such as Whitehouse, have been the drivers of much research and publications on game history. Linda Hannas documents numerous jigsaw puzzles in public museum collections throughout the United Kingdom and in her own collection in *The English Jigsaw Puzzle 1760-1890* (1972).⁴⁸ Adrian Seville's *The Game of the Goose: Four Hundred Years of Printed Board Games* (2016) is an exhibition catalogue for his show (24 February-14 May 2016) at the Grolier Club, New York, which comprises seventy specimens of the game from his collection.⁴⁹ *Georgian and Victorian Board Games: The Liman Collection* (2017) is a visual feast of fifty board games published in London from 1790 to the mid 1850s.⁵⁰ The Seville and Liman publications focus on the display of images from a small sample in two private collections. There is less emphasis on analyzing the games within a historical context. Private collections are often the source of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century game specimens housed at public and private institutions. Three notable special collections are: the Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library; the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; and the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library. While the crucial role of collectors is clear, researchers are paving the way toward deeper insights into the cultural significance of games.

⁴⁸ Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw Puzzle 1760-1890: With a Descriptive Check-List of Puzzles in the Museums of Great Britain and the Author's Collection* (London: Wayland, 1972).

⁴⁹ Adrian Seville, *The Royal Game of the Goose: 400 Years of Printed Board Games* (New York: Grolier Club, 2016).

⁵⁰ Ellen Liman, *Georgian and Victorian Board Games: The Liman Collection* (New York: Pointed Leaf Press, 2017).

Scholars are studying English games through a variety of themes. I build on the work of Jill Shefrin, Jane Dove, and Melanie Keene to advance my study of English games. In a survey of educational games for children in Georgian England, Shefrin demonstrates the parallels between the development of educational games, children's books, and John Locke's treatise *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693).⁵¹ Dove shows how board games incorporated information about transportation improvements that had increased travel and tourism in England and served as travel guides and educational tools for children.⁵² Keene considers how one early nineteenth-century board game blended scientific information with entertainment to teach children about astronomy.⁵³ Each of these authors demonstrates the wide-ranging societal effects of games in the Georgian period.

Historical games are also germane to contemporary global affairs. Paul Young's insights bolster my argument that games can change player cognition and behaviour. Young maintains there are connections between late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English board games and twenty-first century political debates around Brexit negotiations in the United Kingdom.⁵⁴ He argues that geographical race games manufactured 200 years ago are "significant, substantive artefacts"⁵⁵ and "a cultural form that scaled and dramatised

⁵¹ Jill Shefrin, "'Make it a Pleasure and Not a Task': Educational Games for Children in Georgian England," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 60, no. 2 (1999): 251-275.

⁵² Jane Dove, "Geographical Board Game: Promoting Tourism and Travel in Georgian England and Wales," *Journal of Tourism History* 8, no. 1 (2016): 1-18.

⁵³ Keene, "Playing Among the Stars."

⁵⁴ Brexit is an abbreviation for the term "British exit" that described the process of Britain exiting the European Union; Young, "Racing Round the World," 91-114.

⁵⁵ Young, 93.

global circulation in a way that helped generate...expansionist confidence”.⁵⁶Young’s assertion shows that geographical games had the ability to alter players’ thinking to increase their confidence in Britain as a global economic force.

Turning to art historical scholarship, studies of games and play centre on the medieval and early modern periods, particularly in France, Italy, and Northern Europe.⁵⁷ Richard Taws brings to light the potent communicative power of late eighteenth-century French printed board games. Taws reveals that playing war games can create intimate personal experiences. In a study of the visualization of conflict, Taws addresses the ability of games to simultaneously represent and construct experiences of war during the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.⁵⁸ Military games were documents that educated players about political processes and “enabled an experience that was at once deeply personal, infinitely variable and wholly universal.”⁵⁹ Taws highlights that the games facilitated the experience of war, but does not explicitly locate the play experience within a specific physical environment, such as the domestic interior.

⁵⁶ Young, 92.

⁵⁷ Levy, *Playthings in Early Modernity*; Jennifer D. Milam, *Fragonard’s Playful Paintings: Visual Games in Rococo Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007). Milam is one of the first art historians to analyze play through the viewer’s visual reception and the playful experiences of interacting with French artist Jean-Honoré Fragonard’s (1732-1806) swing paintings. See also Jessen Kelly, *Renaissance Futures: Chance, Prediction, and Play in Northern European Visual Culture, c. 1480-1550*, PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2011; Robin O’Byrne, ed., *Games and Game Playing in European Art and Literature, 16th-17th Centuries* (Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press, 2019); Kelli Wood, *The Art of Play: Games in Early Modern Italy*, PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016; Kelli Wood, “Balls on Walls, Feet on Streets: Subversive Play in Grand Ducal Florence,” *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 3 (2018): 365-387; Kelli Wood, “Chancing It: Print, Play, and Gambling Games at the End of the Sixteenth Century,” *Art History* 42, no. 3 (2019): 450-481.

⁵⁸ Richard Taws, “Wargaming: Visualizing Conflict in French Printed Boardgames,” in *Visual Culture and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, edited by Satish Padiyar, Philip Shaw, and Philippa Simpson (London: Routledge, 2017), 56-70.

⁵⁹ Taws, “Wargaming,” 63.

Art historical studies about the socio-political outcomes of playing games in the English domestic interior are rare. Romita Ray focuses on the theme of British empire and makes the compelling argument that the children's board game *The Noble Game of the Elephant and Castle, or Travelling in Asia* (1822), published by William Darton in London, is a work of propaganda.⁶⁰ According to Ray, *The Noble Game* instilled British ideals of empire, which were “grafted onto lessons in morality and virtue” for children.⁶¹ I adapt Ray's case study method and the rigorous reading of one game by introducing and emphasizing age, masculinity, and the domestic interior.

Megan Norcia reinforces Ray's contention by exposing that concepts of empire were integral to children's puzzles and maps.⁶² Furthermore, in *Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836-1860* (2019), Norcia applies a post-colonial lens at the convergence of material culture and literary studies to solidify the claim that pervasive imperialism infused mid-nineteenth-century children's games.⁶³ More serious exploration in this vein will strengthen art historical interpretations. I promote the deep study of playthings by focusing on the cultural work of board games and paper dolls to shape masculine identity.

While art historical scholarship on games is growing, no work addresses the cultural sway of paper dolls; in particular, their ability to communicate and shape ideas on age and

⁶⁰ Romita Ray, “The Beast in a Box: Playing with Empire in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Visual Resources* 22, no. 1 (2006): 7-31.

⁶¹ Ray, 26.

⁶² Megan A. Norcia, “Puzzling Empire: Early Puzzles and Dissected Maps as Imperial Heuristics,” *Children's Literature* 37, no. 1 (2009): 1-32. Norcia argues that early nineteenth-century children's games, toys, and literature were intended to encourage children's “imperial consciousness.”

⁶³ Megan A. Norcia, *Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836-1860* (New York: Routledge, 2019). In a series of case studies, Norcia examines how board games indoctrinated players about British imperialism.

masculinity.⁶⁴ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh’s research stands out as most relevant for my study of paper-doll play.⁶⁵ I develop my arguments about paper dolls as cognitive technologies by building on Reid-Walsh’s interpretations of seventeenth- to nineteenth-century movable books in relation to contemporary interactive media, including pop-up books. Reid-Walsh compares historical and modern media by examining the themes of child agency, gender (with a focus on girls), literary genre, and concepts of interactivity. *Interactive Books: Playful Media before Pop-Ups* (2018) investigates the history of movable books and their contribution to print culture.⁶⁶ Using a book history lens, Reid-Walsh interprets movable books and their paper dolls by analyzing text, images, and the physical movement by a child who is considered as a reader, viewer, and player. Playthings are inanimate artifacts without agency. In contrast, I develop my arguments by recognizing that playthings have active social agency that facilitates their ability to shape a player’s thinking about gender and age.

Game Studies and the Phenomenology of the Miniature

One main contribution of my dissertation to game studies is to demonstrate the value of scholarship about the phenomenology of the miniature for our understanding of the cultural work of play and games. Simon Garfield declares the miniature world is “a vibrant and

⁶⁴ Leslie McGrath, *This Magical Book: Movable Books for Children, 1771-2001* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 2002). McGrath surveys the history of paper doll books, which are classified as movable books.

⁶⁵ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, “Activity and Agency in Historical “Playable Media”,” *Journal of Children and Media* 6, no. 2 (2012): 164-181; “Eighteenth-Century Flap Books for Children: Allegorical Metamorphosis and Spectacular Transformation,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 68, no. 3 (2007): 751-789; “Harlequin Meets the SIMS: A History of Interactive Narrative Media for Children and Youth from Early Flap Books to Contemporary Multimedia,” in *The International Handbook of Children, Media and Culture* edited by Kirsten Drotner and Sonia Livingstone (London: SAGE, 2008), 71-90; “Movable Morals: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Flap Books and Paper Doll Books for Girls as Interactive ‘Conduct Books,’” in *Girls, Texts, Culture* edited by Clare Bradford and Mavis Reimer (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2015), 211-236.

⁶⁶ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books: Playful Media Before Pop-Ups* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

deeply rooted ecosystem. The psychology of miniaturization is an intriguing academic discipline...hinting at an intricate tangle of connections.”⁶⁷ In the early twenty-first century, adults and children are smitten with miniature things. Think of creatively crafted food, furniture, and animals; wargaming figures; plastic collectable McDonald’s Happy Meal figures; and minute Polly Pocket dolls stowed in portable foldable play sets. *Etsy*, an online marketplace for handcrafted objects, lists 90,330 unique items for sale classified as “miniatures”⁶⁸ and 465,199 items had the term “miniature” in their description.⁶⁹ This is a tiny sampling of ordinary minuscule articles that people relish and collect.

People were captivated by and consumed miniatures in the home long before today. My research stretches into the distant past to probe the longstanding cultural currency of the miniature thing. One objective of my dissertation is to explore masculinity and age through selected miniature playthings. I define a miniature as “Something that is a smaller or reduced version of an original” or “A likeness or representation on a small scale; a small-scale model.”⁷⁰ A privileged intimate relationship exists between miniature and viewer. The miniature entices the viewer and invites close looking. It is easily held and inspected in the hand, portable, and readily moved from one place to another, including a games table, dining table, display cabinet, or chimneypiece. These miniature qualities are evident in the

⁶⁷ Simon Garfield, *In Miniature: How Small Things Illuminate the World* (Edinburgh, UK: Canongate Books, 2019), 4.

⁶⁸ “Miniatures,” *Etsy*, accessed October 24, 2018, <https://www.etsy.com/c/art-and-collectibles/dolls-and-miniatures/miniatures>.

⁶⁹ “Miniature,” *Etsy*, accessed October 24, 2018, <https://www.etsy.com/ca/search?q=miniature>.

⁷⁰ “miniature, n. and adj.,” *OED Online*, accessed October 9, 2018.

playthings I study, which enfold miniature boys, youth, and men inside miniature worlds that shape age and masculinity.

In the long eighteenth century, ubiquitous miniature objects fascinated the English imagination. How did children, youth, and adults engage with miniature objects and miniature images of people on games? Melinda Alliker Rabb observes that art production in the eighteenth century had “a fascination and experimentation with size, especially with things of very small size.”⁷¹ Miniature things decorated the domestic interior: displays of porcelain figures that depicted black servants, street vendors, theatre actors, dogs and other animals, miniature teapots and tea services, vases, and more. Miniature things, such as a profile in silhouette, a painted eye miniature inset on a brooch or pendant, or a tiny, framed portrait of a well-loved person worn close to the body, could also decorate a person.⁷² Yet, little art historical research has addressed how people interacted with games as culturally inserted objects or what meanings they had in people’s lives. I contend that by understanding games as miniatures and miniature worlds, the experience of interacting with them can help us comprehend how games could mould age and gender in the home. Playthings were miniature representations of society’s preoccupations. Images on games could visualize miniature worlds of masculinity: the virtues and vices present in a male’s life, ideal male behaviour, and a boy’s imaginary adventures. Games and their imagery embodied one type

⁷¹ Melinda Alliker Rabb, “Johnson, Lilliput, and Eighteenth-Century Miniature,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013): 281. See also Melissa Rabb, *Miniature and the English Imagination: Literature, Cognition, and Small-Scale Culture 1650-1765* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

⁷² Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Late Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Jessen Kelly, “The Material Efficacy of the Elizabethan Jeweled Miniature: a Gellian Experiment” in *Art’s Agency and Art History*, edited by Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 114-134; Marcia Pointon, “Surrounded with Brilliants”: Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England,” *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 1 (2001): 48-71.

of miniature world. Such games captured societal concerns about age and masculinity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They present new avenues to study material culture, age, masculinity, and identity in England.

There is profound curiosity about the influence a miniature object can exert in a person's life. People are mesmerized by and marvel at miniature things. As Steven Millhauser, winner of the 1997 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction states, "we yield to the miniature in sensual self-surrender."⁷³ In *The Art of Small Things* (2007), John Mack scrutinizes the historical cultural value of miniature objects around the world. Mack concludes that "the most important, symbolically motivated or powerful may be the least in scale; that the miniature occupies a contained space; that it may be controlled, possessed; but, yet, it has at its heart an inherent mystery which may be a matter of aesthetics or...of hidden verities."⁷⁴ The opacity and elusiveness of the miniature's precise meaning in people's lives makes it all the more appealing for scholarly inquiry.

Poetics facilitate my construction and analysis of a phenomenology of the miniature. In the discourse on miniatures, scholars often cite classic texts by Gaston Bachelard and Susan Stewart. In *The Poetics of Space* (1994), Bachelard reflects on the relations between the miniature and imagination in the spaces of a house.⁷⁵ He uses phenomenology to present instances in a range of literary texts to argue that the miniature is a rich source for imagination and daydreaming. Bachelard begins with the premise that representation is dominated by imagination and is one way to communicate our images to others. In addition,

⁷³ Steven Millhauser, "The Fascination of the Miniature," *Grand Street* 2, no. 4 (1983): 130.

⁷⁴ John Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (London: The British Museum Press, 2007), 208.

⁷⁵ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, translated by Maria Jolas (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1994), originally published at New York: Orion Press, 1964.

Bachelard argues that greatness is inversely proportional to size, meaning there is greatness in the miniature, which instills value and wonder. Direct sensory experience is necessary to invoke imagination. Close attention to details enhances the experience of the miniature and further enriches imagination. Sensory perception is the path to imagination and gives meaning to things. For Bachelard, the miniature nurtures a dreamlike sensuous experience of domestic spaces.

Stewart's complex interpretation of the miniature in *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (1993) argues that the miniature is a metaphor for the interior space and time of the self. The body plays a role in mediating, perceiving, and experiencing such space and time. It is crucial that art historical studies discuss the materiality of miniature representations of males in games in the context of the spatial environments where they are consumed. In a 2015 special issue of *Art History*, however, Joan Kee and Emanuele Lugli point out that Stewart interprets the miniature by chiefly drawing on texts, yet art historians repeatedly reference her work when analyzing visual materials. Kee and Lugli ask, "Why...do literary views of scale still wield so much authority in art-historical treatments of the subject?"⁷⁶ It is the size and scale of the miniature that captivates the viewer. In the journal issue, art historians offer new insights on how miniatures can be experienced. Authors emphasize that understanding the material, physical, and spatial contexts of a miniature is crucial, because of the complex relations between the size and scale of miniature objects. Wu Hung explores Chinese miniature objects and architecture made for the dead inside tombs, including ceramic pillows, coffins, and soul jars.

⁷⁶ Joan Kee and Emanuele Lugli, eds., "Scale to Size: An Introduction," in "To Scale," special issue, *Art History* 38, no.2 (2015): 254.

Wu explains how the invisible, formless, intangible soul is made concrete by the inclusion of tiny holes and minuscule open doorways, which facilitate miniaturization of the soul and offer passageways for its movement. Wu concludes:

On the surface, the elusive presence of the posthumous soul escapes visual representation. But as indicated by the holes and doors on coffins and funerary pillows, it is never an abstract concept and always demands concrete spaces for movement...this observation indicates that the soul's imperceptible existence actually controlled people's imagination of the afterlife, which in turn determined the form and scale of tombs. When an underground house or microcosmic environment was constructed in a grave, it did not just provide the soul with a symbolic home—its diminutive size also framed the soul as an invisible subject in miniature.⁷⁷

Wu's interpretation of the miniature prompts questions for my dissertation: how did players interact physically with and respond to games that depicted miniature images and material embodiments of males inside the domestic environment? How were interactions made manifest in the home's social spaces? Were these simply empty spaces or were they occupied by invisible communication between the miniature images and players that shaped players' perceptions of masculinity and age?

The Ephemeral and the Transient

The playthings I analyze are ephemeral and transient material objects. I contend that the ephemeral nature of material games amplifies the phenomenology of the miniature, joined with the experience of gaming itself as transient. The cultural weight of the games cannot be overstated. Games played in the domestic interior influence identity. Games are valuable articles of material culture that have power to shape players' perceptions of age and masculinity. Games inject new knowledge and interpretations of age and masculinity into

⁷⁷ Wu Hung, "The Invisible Miniature: Framing the Soul in Chinese Art and Architecture," in "To Scale," *Art History*, special issue 38, no.2 (2015): 291.

players' thoughts, feelings, and behaviour. The visual representation of age and masculinity is embodied in miniatures depictions of boys, youth, and men. Engaging with miniatures can be an elusive transient experience.⁷⁸ Games and the play experience are fleeting, which enhances the potential for personal meanings.

Furthermore, games have the potential to be culturally subversive.⁷⁹ The phrase "it's only a game" dismisses play and games as superficial and trivial, which distracts us from the cultural work being performed. In gallery, library, archive, and museum settings, playthings, such as board games, paper dolls, and cards, made of delicate material, including paper and linen, are often classified as ephemera. The term "ephemeral" may denote a game's vulnerable physical state. From this perspective, games are transitory objects with a barely perceptible lifespan, not expected to exist for long. In addition, negative connotations associated with ephemera in comparison to other art objects may undermine a game's perceived cultural value. However, I contend that although it may not survive long as a material object, a game can have long-lasting and powerful cognitive and emotional effects on a player. A plaything may leave behind intense and enduring meanings for a player.

Structure of the Dissertation

My dissertation comprises this introduction and three analytical chapters. The introduction explains the rationale for my research. In chapter 1, I assess the scholarship that forms the

⁷⁸ Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013). Taws shows how everyday ephemeral images and objects of the French Revolution, such as almanacs, calendars, paper notes, passports, and posters, presented novel ways to envision and implement a political agency. Taws argues that visuality is a kind of "political praxis."

⁷⁹ See Kelli Wood, "Balls on Walls." Wood shows how young men in sixteenth-century Florence played the street game *calcio* in public spaces as a political act that shaped community identity in resistance to Medici rule.

social context for my study of games played in the home. I highlight key research about age, masculinity, and the domestic interior in England and Europe.

My goal is to create a more holistic interpretation of the performance of age and masculinity through playing games in the domestic interior.⁸⁰ To attain this goal, my dissertation is an interdisciplinary project. I demonstrate that playthings were cognitive tools with agency in the domestic interior that fashioned players' perceptions and attitudes. My analysis conveys stories about age and masculinity as personified and enacted by miniature representations of boys, youth, and men. Games shaped cultural perceptions, attitudes, values, and behaviour through their social interactions with people in the home.

The two case studies (chapters 2 and 3) straddle the end of the eighteenth and start of the nineteenth century to explore societal beliefs about age and masculinity as performed in the domestic interior. At the same time, the case studies stress the changeable nature and transience of the life stages. Eighteenth-century society used games to maintain stability and foster a shared understanding of ideal masculine age. The cases fulfill two main objectives. First, they examine how miniature images of males depicted on a board game and male paper dolls mirrored and embodied social values and perceptions about age and masculinity. Second, the cases highlight how these playthings mediated and shaped the experience of masculinity at different ages and life stages at a time when the foundations of our modern Western consumer culture were being laid.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017), 12. Hamling and Richardson have “a conviction that understanding domestic life necessitates a holistic approach.”

⁸¹ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

The case studies examine the roles and meanings of play and playthings in the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century English domestic interior. Each case analyzes play and games in the context of societal issues about age and masculinity: deep-rooted beliefs about the cycle and stages of life; concepts of virtuous behaviour for males; and sanctioned and prohibited roles for males in society. The case studies portray the transformation of masculine character at different life stages. I examine two tabletop games: first, a board game initially published in London in 1790, and second, a series of five sets of male paper dolls, each set accompanied by a chapbook of conduct of life poetry and stories about and for boys, published between 1810 and 1816. The case studies analyze how miniature depictions of males etched, printed on paper and linen, and hand-coloured on games personified and transformed notions of age and masculinity.

In chapter 2, I investigate the visuality, materiality, and experience of playing the children's didactic board game *The New Game of Human Life* (1790).⁸² Published by John Wallis and Elizabeth Newbery, *Life* is structured on the theme of the "seven ages of man," each age comprising twelve years, and teaches moral behaviour through play. The board is a miniature world of eighty-four spaces containing images of boys and men over the lifespan. The game was advertised for all children, girls and boys, but most images on the game board depict boys, youth, and men. I investigate the subject of age and masculinity in late eighteenth-century England as represented in and experienced by playing *Life*. I analyze the game's design, printed instructions located on the game board, and male imagery to clarify

⁸² *The New Game of Human Life* (London: Published according to Act of Parliament July 14, 1790, by John Wallis, no. 16, Ludgate Street, and E. [Elizabeth] Newbery, the corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, 1790), 45 x 66 cm, hand-coloured engraving. Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library. For a history of the game, see Christopher Rovee, "The New Game of Human Life, 1790," *BRANCH: Britain, Representation, and Nineteenth-Century History*, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=christopher-rovee-the-new-game-of-human-life-1790.

how the game mediated children's play experience and moulded their ideas of age and masculinity. I argue that the visuality, materiality, and cognitive experience of playing *The New Game of Human Life* fashioned players' ideas about age and masculinity during the life stages. I contend that *Life* was a gamified conduct book that simultaneously promoted ideal masculine virtues and behaviour and discouraged vices throughout life. As such, the game functioned as a cognitive technology that shaped players' ideas about moral behaviour for males. My study enhances scholarship by constructing a visual and textual analysis of the game, and an interpretation of the experience of playing the game in the domestic interior within the context of cultural ideals about male childhood, youth, adulthood, and older age.

In chapter 3, I examine a series of five sets of paper doll and chapbooks published by brothers Samuel and Joseph Fuller in London between 1810 and 1816. Each set contains a movable boy cutout paper-doll head, a collection of costumes, and a chapbook. Not a formal game with rules, paper dolls and their texts are informal playthings. The paper dolls engage a player's imagination in free play. The chapbooks contain adventure narratives in the form of conduct of life poetry or short stories written expressly about and for boys that fostered imagination and role-playing. At the same time, tales advocate socially sanctioned, virtuous behaviour and discourage vice. I analyze the visuality, materiality, and multimedia experience of interacting with the paper dolls and books. I investigate how playing with the combination of paper dolls and the text in the home galvanized a player's imagination to (re)fashion concepts of age and masculinity. Through a visual analysis of the paper dolls and an examination of the narratives, I interpret the experience of playing with the paper dolls in the domestic interior as a performance that encouraged players to understand age and masculinity within the parameters of society's moral standards.

My dissertation contributes to the ongoing exploration of masculine identity and material culture in the domestic interior in late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century England. Using new objects of study and new conceptual frameworks, I propose a phenomenology of age and masculinity in the home as mediated through social interactions with ludic objects. Such a phenomenology clarifies the role of the visual, the material, and the cognitive as social mediators of age and masculinity and situates age alongside gender, race, and class as a key cultural category in the study of European material culture. It reveals the socio-political role of representations of age and masculinity within emerging Western consumer societies and enhances our grasp of how art and material culture mediate the experience of age and masculinity at home and in the world outside the home.

1

The Home: Age, Masculinity, Domestic Interior

The literature review in chapter 1 highlights the messy cultural complexity (like what might be found in domestic spaces) that exists at the intersection of age, masculinity, and the domestic interior within the framework of games. The objective of my dissertation is to advance the scholarship of game studies through an investigation of age, gender, and identity in the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century home in England. My central research question focuses on the stages of a male's life: How did miniature representations of boys, youth, and men found in games shape the experience of age and masculinity? Additional key questions include: how did popular games that were played in the domestic interior work as cultural representations of age, masculinity, and identity over the lifespan? How did the materiality of these games contribute to the phenomenology of viewing and interacting with them? And how did games behave as cognitive technologies that mediated and shaped a player's experience of age and masculinity?

To address these questions, I ground my investigation in a theoretical and analytical framework that integrates independent critical approaches. My research is a study of age, masculinity, and the domestic interior through the exploration of games as material objects of art historical value. Central to my study are questions about reception and how age and gendered identities are shaped through playing games in the home. Such a perspective allows me to formulate new interpretive lenses for the study of play and playthings in the European home. Specifically, I approach games through three intersecting lenses: the phenomenology of the miniature object, human interactions in social spaces, and the underestimated ability of

the outwardly inconspicuous domestic object to shape social relationships, behaviour, and identity. I argue that the materiality of games combines with people's social interactions in domestic spaces to embody cultural beliefs and values about age and masculinity. These lenses coalesce in the spaces of the domestic interior to reveal social relations between games and players. Games are complex objects that can present players with multimodal experiences. Two-dimensional game boards and movable paper dolls made of linen and paper along with their related accoutrements capture the attention of players: texts (instructions, rules, booklets, and poetry); accessories (teetotums, position markers, and stakes); and storage containers (decorated wooden boxes and paper slipcases). Handling this equipment was integral to the gaming experience. Games captivate and absorb players into imaginary worlds where they participate in embodied performances of age and masculinity. How can we describe and understand the social and political dynamics of playing games that inhabit the domestic interior? What forms do social interactions take between players and games? How do the effects of playing games in the home spread to the outside world?

The central theme of my study is how playthings functioned as cognitive technologies that shaped a player's understanding of age, masculinity, and identity. Playthings facilitated ways for a player to navigate, negotiate, and comprehend society. The human brain is a neuroplastic organ, which reshapes itself with each experience throughout life. During childhood, especially in the earliest years, the brain is most sensitive and responsive to experiences. As Bryan Kolb and Robbin Gibb point out, "the development of the brain reflects more than the simple unfolding of a genetic blueprint but rather reflects a complex

dance of genetic and experiential factors that shape the emerging brain.”¹ Furthermore, “the developing brain is especially sensitive to a wide range of experiences, showing a remarkable capacity for plastic changes that influence behavioural outcomes throughout the lifetime.”² I contend playthings shape the mind, behaviour, and identity. A player’s perceptions, attitudes, and interpretations of life can be altered and fine-tuned with each iteration of playing a game.

To investigate the role of games in shaping identity, I interweave the themes of age, masculinity, and the domestic interior. The literature review sets the stage for my analysis in two case studies. Age and gender are major cultural categories that permeate the workings of the domestic interior and impact society. In this chapter, I review the state of the literature about each theme. First, I analyze scholarship from age studies to identify how my research builds on and contributes to recent historical and art historical approaches to infancy, childhood, youth, adulthood, and old age. Second, I scrutinize ideas about masculinity to demonstrate that it is nuanced and contingent on context and social circumstances. Third, I show how games offer new perspectives on the interpretation of domestic spaces.

Age

The study of experiences of age and aging in western countries is fragmented and scattered among many disciplines. There is limited art historical scholarship about old age in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. My dissertation addresses this shortfall by

¹ Bryan Kolb and Robbin Gibb, “Brain Plasticity and Behaviour in the Developing Brain,” *Journal of the Canadian Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 20, no. 4 (2011): 265-276.

² Bryan Kolb, Allona Harker, and Robbin Gibb, “Principles of Plasticity in the Developing Brain,” *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology* 59, no. 12 (2017): 1218-1223.

introducing new objects of study—games—and new analytical frameworks. I introduce games as critical items of popular visual and material culture to study age in the home.

I examine how games shaped perceptions and performances of age. In *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (2006), Anja Müller correctly observes that age has “been surprisingly neglected as a category of identity formation. Whereas race, class and gender have been and are being thoroughly discussed in almost all disciplines, age has only fairly recently been discovered as a topic for scholarly investigation.”³ The study of cultural representations of age and masculinity is an emerging area of broad interdisciplinary inquiry. Scholars have uncovered shifting perceptions of childhood in eighteenth-century England through their studies of childhood and identity, and as represented in periodicals and satirical prints. Müller’s monograph, *Framing Childhood in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789* (2009), shows how previously untapped images in periodical literature and satirical prints were textual and visual mass media that contributed to the construction of concepts of the child and childhood.⁴

Previous art historical treatment of childhood in England focuses on portrait painting of children as shown in Marcia Pointon’s *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (1993) and children’s relations with mothers, fathers, and siblings as seen in Kate Retford’s *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture*

³ Anja Müller, ed., *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), 5.

⁴ Anja Müller, *Framing Childhood in Eighteenth-Century Periodicals and Prints, 1689-1789* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

in *Eighteenth-Century England* (2006).⁵ Matthew Knox Averett's wide-ranging collection, *The Early Modern Child in Art and History* (2015), explores depictions of infancy, childhood, and youth in painting, sculpture, and prints from the fifteenth to eighteenth century in countries across Europe to confirm the formative power of visual culture.⁶ My dissertation contributes to this increasing awareness of the far-reaching influence of images of childhood by concentrating on games, which are potent media of communication that have been overlooked in the literature on visual representations of concepts of childhood. In addition, my project demonstrates that gameplaying was a performance and a multimodal experience that had the ability to impact age identities, which other visual media lacked. Looking at a game was not enough. Playing a game required personal interactions. A performance was dynamic, comprised of players' conscious and subconscious cerebral and physical processes of engagement with a game plus the final outcomes. Repeating a game performance yielded endless variations in processes and outcomes, creating opportunities to modify players' ideas about age and aging.

In addition to visual depictions of childhood, findings about women and old age are also germane to my interpretation of the historical perception of age. While I highlight childhood and masculinity, studies of women indicate the importance of using a variety of sources, including popular culture (though they do not consider games), to comprehend the range of age experiences in the long eighteenth century in England.⁷ *Women and Ageing in*

⁵ Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

⁶ Matthew Knox Averett, ed., *The Early Modern Child in Art and History* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015).

⁷ Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane, eds. *Women and Ageing in British Society Since 1500* (Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman, 2001); Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: Oxford

British Society Since 1500 (2001) by Lynn Botelho and Pat Thane addresses the long-neglected topic of women and later life in Britain. Thane's *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (2002) is a compendium of research on experiences of age, which challenges modern stereotypes. Susannah Ottaway's *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004) is the first comprehensive analysis of the social and cultural history of old age and poverty. Ottaway illustrates that experiences of old age were individual and diverse, depending on gender, social and economic circumstances, physical ability, stage of aging, and the extent of family involvement. In the eight-volume series *The History of Old Age in England, 1600-1800* (2008-2009), Botelho and Ottaway assemble key primary sources with the goal of building a "documentary canon."⁸ Ballads, broadsides, biographies, conduct books, legal documents, medical and religious literature, parish records, and personal diaries are formerly unused sources available to scholars. Individually and together, Botelho, Ottaway, and Thane have published vital foundational works for age studies in the long eighteenth century in England.

With the book *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (2013), Helen Yallop is the first historian to apply the lens of identity to investigate concepts of age and masculinity in that period and place.⁹ Most historians, including Botelho, Ottaway, and Thane, emphasize cultural, economic, political, and social influences on the construction and experiences of aging. Yallop is concerned with the aging body, how biology and physiology

University Press, 2000); Susannah R. Ottaway, *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁸ Lynn Botelho, and Susannah R. Ottaway, eds., *The History of Old Age in England, 1600-1800*, 8 vols. (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

⁹ Helen Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013).

affected the experience of aging and how the experience contributed to masculine identity. Yallop argues that identity is not static; yet despite the amount of work on identity, “relatively little attention has been paid to considering how identities change over the life course. Although a category of identity in its own right, age intersects with and affects other categories of identity, especially gender.”¹⁰ Yallop’s work underscores that age and gender are inseparable. Age “draws attention to the inherent instability of identity concepts and...has shown that masculinities, like all identities, are not about permanence, but constantly under construction.”¹¹ These observations are crucial to my contention that masculine identity is not fixed but changes with age and social conditions.

Because the games I explore consist of word and image, I employ literary studies of cultural representations of age and aging in addition to the research on childhood, gender, and masculinity. Nina Taunton’s *Fictions of Old Age in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (2007) is the first single-author monograph to analyze the aging experience in early modern fiction and non-fiction.¹² Taunton reveals ambivalence toward old age for females and males. Anthony Ellis’s *Old Age, Masculinity and Early Modern Drama: Comic Elders on the Italian and Shakespearean Stage* (2009) explores the evolution of the character of the comic old man in Italian and English theatre within the context of society.¹³ Christopher Martin’s *Constituting Old Age in Early Modern English Literature, from Queen Elizabeth to King Lear* (2012) is a close reading of Elizabethan pastoral literature, late Elizabethan poetry, and

¹⁰ Yallop, 120.

¹¹ Yallop, 120.

¹² Nina Taunton, *Fictions of Old Age in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007).

¹³ Anthony Ellis, *Old Age, Masculinity, and Early Modern Drama: Comic Elders on the Italian and Shakespearean Stage* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

Shakespeare's *King Lear* among other plays.¹⁴ Martin demonstrates how the emerging meaning of "constitution" or bodily health, which worked to shape concepts about aging and identity, was evident in early modern literature. Through their analysis of how language affects the experience of age, these scholars reinforce my assertion that language is a factor in the construction of age in games.

While historians and literary scholars examine cultural representations of age, including visual depictions, few specific art historical studies discuss images of old age. Those expressly on representations of the life stages in early modern Europe are scarce.¹⁵ Philip Sohm examines the development of painting style in the early modern Italian aging male artist.¹⁶ In *Old Age and the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to A Neglected Topic* (2007), Albrecht Classen expresses an urgency to pursue age studies in the humanities, but includes few art historical articles.¹⁷ Erin Campbell's *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (2006) is one of the first studies to investigate age and gender over the life course in Europe from 1350 to 1700. In the monograph *Old Women and Art in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior* (2015),

¹⁴ Christopher Martin, *Constituting Old Age in Early Modern English Literature, from Queen Elizabeth to King Lear* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).

¹⁵ See Erin J. Campbell, ed., *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe: Cultural Representations* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006); Erin J. Campbell, *Old Women and Art in the Early Modern Italian Domestic Interior* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015); Albrecht Classen, ed., *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

¹⁶ Philip Sohm, *The Artist Grows Old: The Aging of Art and Artists in Italy, 1500-1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁷ Classen, *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. The three art historical articles are: Sophie Bostock, "A Portrait of the Artist as an Old Man—with Emphasis on Titian," 517-531; Anouk Jansse, "The Good, the Bad, and the Elderly: The Representation of Old Age in Netherlandish Prints (ca. 1550-1750), 437-483; Martha Peacock, "Hoorndragers and Hennetasters: The Old Impotent Cuckold as "Other" in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art," 485-516.

Campbell combines age, gender, and portraits displayed in homes of sixteenth-century Bologna. Campbell regards the home as a living “meshwork,” inhabited by old women, their families, and possessions to identify how images of elderly women modelled culture. These studies provide nuanced perspectives about the cultural work of images of old age. By homing in on the visuality and materiality of games, my dissertation contributes previously unexplored sources and argues for enlarging the art historical canon to include a broader range of visual and material objects on age.

Masculinity

In the first sentence of his book *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (1994), Graham Dawson proclaims, “Masculinities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination.”¹⁸ I take up Dawson’s assertion by showing how games shaped players’ imaginations, perceptions, and performances of age and masculinity. Scholars have explored eighteenth-century age and adulthood through studies of masculinity, including work on masculine authority in the home, masculine sociability, and clothing, accessories, and the body. Historians have made key contributions to the study of eighteenth-century masculinity.¹⁹ In a 2005 special feature in the *Journal of British Studies*, historians assess the discipline’s work on adult masculinities.²⁰ The historiography on

¹⁸ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1.

¹⁹ See Todd W. Reeser, “Concepts of Masculinity and Masculinity Studies,” in *Configuring Masculinity in Theory and Literary Practice*, edited by Stefan Horlacher (Leiden: Brill | Rodopi, 2015), 11-38.

²⁰ Michèle Cohen, “‘Manners’ Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 312–329; Karen Harvey, “The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 296–311; Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, “What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–

masculinity from about 1550 to 1850 primarily focuses on identifying qualities that can frame masculinity and how these traits changed or remained the same over time. Before 1700, masculinity centred on being patriarch and controller of a household, which contributed to a man's honour and his identity.²¹

The concept of the polite gentleman in the eighteenth century has been a leading topic of historical analysis. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen issued the earliest collection on the social history of eighteenth-century masculinity in England. Chapters examined sociability, virtue and friendship, violence, and sexuality.²² Perspectives about masculinity and politeness have dominated the historical discourse.²³ In *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900*, Mark Rothery and Henry French investigate masculine identity of the landed gentry by studying social norms and practices derived from family personal letters and diary entries.²⁴ In the companion book of primary sources, *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c.1660-1900: A Sourcebook* (2012), Rothery and French draw on thousands of personal letters to examine how boys from elite gentry families were groomed to become proper gentlemen.²⁵ Gillian Williamson's *British*

1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 274-280; Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 281-295; John Tosh, "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 330-342.

²¹ Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999).

²² Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., *English Masculinities, 1660-1800* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999).

²³ Harvey, "History of Masculinity," 306.

²⁴ Mark Rothery and Henry French, eds., *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁵ Mark Rothery and Henry French, eds., *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c.1660-1900: A Sourcebook* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Masculinity in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” 1731 to 1815 (2016) surveys the popular periodical to examine masculine identities, social norms, exceptions, and the development of the middle-class gentleman.²⁶ Key features of masculine character, such as honour and politeness, have generated much research. I add a new component to the study of masculinity by analyzing visual representations of males in games played in the domestic interior. I argue that the performance of masculinity was more complex and nuanced than a few qualities can convey.

Scholarship on masculinity in the eighteenth-century domestic interior is a relatively recent area of study. Joanne Bailey embraces the multifaceted nature of masculinity by studying notions of ideal fatherhood.²⁷ Bailey examines how fathers were depicted in varied sources, factors that shaped these ideals, and clarifies how ideas of fatherhood changed. Bailey’s analysis is founded on four themes: multiple masculinities, a hierarchy of masculinities, connections between masculinities, and changing masculinities over time and place.²⁸ Joanne Begiato (formerly known as Joanne Bailey) further probes the complexities of masculinity by studying the body and emotions, which involves men’s lives in the home and in public.²⁹ Begiato scours sources, methods, and theoretical concepts to find how feelings shaped the gender identity of men across social classes. Begiato argues that the

²⁶ Gillian Williamson, *British Masculinity in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” 1731 to 1815* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²⁷ Bailey, “A Very Sensible Man.” See also Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830*.

²⁸ Joanne Bailey, “Masculinity and Fatherhood in England c. 1760-1830,” 167.

²⁹ Joanne Begiato, “Between Poise and Power: Embodied Manliness in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century British Culture,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26, no. 2 (2016): 125-147; Joanne Begiato, *Manliness in Britain, 1760-1900: Bodies, Emotions and Material Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

“intermateriality of text, image, object and their conjunction with bodies and emotions... facilitated the conveying, reproducing, and fixing of manly values.”³⁰ Sara Ahmed’s proposition that objects, bodies, and signs are “sticky” with meanings that can be transmitted to other objects, bodies, and signs informs Begiato’s position.³¹ The stickiness of things means that as material culture, bodies, and feelings interact, “emotions are projected onto and transferred between bodies and objects, which carry and transmit messages about gender to those who encounter them and their signs.”³²

In her important book, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2012), Karen Harvey explores men’s domestic authority through ideas of “oeconomy,” “the practice of managing the economic and moral resources of the household for the maintenance of good order.”³³ Harvey turns from the earlier emphasis on elite men and patriarchy to study middle-class masculinity in the house. By examining men’s roles in domestic activities in relation to their public lives, Harvey creates a new perspective on eighteenth-century masculinity. Oeconomy enabled an original vocabulary for men to discuss domestic affairs with each other that elevated domestic responsibilities, and at the same time, excluded women. In elite and middle-class groups of English society, a perceived positive masculinity was affiliated with patriarchal power and a stable robust England. Society regarded behavioural deviations from patriarchal masculinity as negative and detrimental to good social order. Harvey’s argument hinges on fashioning a masculinity

³⁰ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain*, 17.

³¹ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 89-92.

³² Begiato, *Manliness in Britain*, 17.

³³ Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 25.

correlated with an efficient male-controlled domestic interior, which still resonates with patriarchy. In contrast to Harvey's standpoint, I contend that playing games in the domestic interior revealed a different story, a fuller and more accurate view of masculinity that recognized human flaws, positive and negative personal qualities that were not readily contained.

My position is closer to Harvey's argument in another study that deconstructs the punch bowl as a marker of masculinity and sociability in eighteenth-century England to disclose the bowl's cultural meanings.³⁴ Harvey situates the punch bowl at the heart of homosociability. Through a close visual and material analysis, Harvey evaluates the ways in which masculinity was "imagined, produced and performed" at punch parties, arguing that masculine qualities and behaviour were not fixed but changed depending on circumstances. Harvey states, "The physical and representational features of punch bowls dramatized but also conflated oppositions between different styles of manliness. In this we can see both the dynamism of masculine identity and the importance of the local specifics of place and occasion to its construction."³⁵

Clothing and fashion are another route to query masculinity. David Kuchta's *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (2002) follows the evolution of the man's suit to show the interdependence of social, political, economic, and ethical issues in shaping masculinity.³⁶ In *Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-*

³⁴ Karen Harvey, "Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present* 214, no. 1 (2012): 165–203.

³⁵ Harvey, "Ritual Encounters," 171.

³⁶ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

Century England (2007), John Styles surveys the consumption of clothing by ordinary people.³⁷ Styles's book makes a particularly important contribution in that it spotlights common dress and accessories. Styles uses criminal trial records and advertisements of criminal fugitives, parish poor records, travel accounts, diaries, letters, memoirs, satirical prints, and the cloth swatch collection from the London Foundling Hospital to shed light on what people wore. The authority of the male well-stockinged leg is the topic of works by Elisabeth Gerner, Harvey, and Marcia Pointon. Gerner shows that the position of a stocking on a man's leg was a "visual barometer for his morality, manners and manhood" and a gauge for the state of the nation.³⁸ Harvey studies the erotic allure of the male leg to propose embodiment as a category of historical analysis.³⁹ And Pointon investigates buttons and stockings as accessories in portraits of men to discover cultural meanings of masculinity.⁴⁰ These studies of dress, fashion, and adornment highlight the insights that material and visual culture of the body can yield. They confirm that material culture is a fruitful resource for the construction of arguments about masculine identity. I build on this direction of work by inserting games into the domestic interior and arguing that games depicted, reflected, and embodied ideology about masculine behaviour as players interacted with them.

³⁷ John Styles, *Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

³⁸ Elisabeth Gerner, "Pulled Tight and Gleaming: The Stocking's Position within Eighteenth-Century Masculinity," *Textile History* 46, no. 1 (2015): 3-27.

³⁹ Karen Harvey, "Men of Parts: Masculine Embodiment and the Male Leg in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 4 (2015): 797-821.

⁴⁰ Marcia R. Pointon, "Accessories in Portraits: Stockings, Buttons and the Construction of Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century," in *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 121-179.

Domestic Interior

Our understanding of the social dynamics of games, their capacity to shape age and gender, must be grounded in the physical and social environments in which they were played. This space had a particular phenomenology and agency as well as history. Gameplay occurred in a specific setting, the domestic interior, which had a certain complexion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially with respect to age and gender. I focus on games that would have been played in the domestic interior—the home. I explore and interpret game narratives about masculinity and age that players engaged in under the umbrella of the home.

I regard the domestic interior as a dynamic organic setting composed of a physical environment inhabited by people and their things, all living, interacting, and evolving in domestic spaces. The home is a microcosm within the macrocosm of society with its own domestic ecology. When writing about family life, one late eighteenth-century author notes, “in families, where there is or is not poverty, there is commonly discord; the family is a little kingdom, torn with factions, and exposed to revolutions.”⁴¹ Gaston Bachelard declares “our house is our corner of the world...it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word.”⁴² I reaffirm the ties between life in the domestic interior and outside influences. I demonstrate that the home is not isolated or protected from the non-domestic external world. It is a complex social and political environment—changeable, malleable, and permeable to outside forces. As people travel back and forth between home and wider society, there is an

⁴¹ “Reflections on Domestic Life,” *The Lady’s Magazine; or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated solely for their Use and Amusement*, 15 (January 1784), 30.

⁴² Gaston Bachelard, *Poetics of Space*, 4.

ongoing exchange and flow of information, knowledge, and experiences.⁴³ It is a never-ending recursive process throughout life during which a person's ideas change. Furthermore, material culture contained and transmitted visual representations of key social and political issues. I argue that the visual images in games played in the home echoed local English concerns and global events that had consequences for all of society. In this section, I discuss scholarship about the domestic interior that provides the groundwork for my study of games as well as theories on domestic life and personal belongings that sharpen our perception of plaything power.

I propose new interpretations of the domestic interior in the context of historical events and societal beliefs by introducing the visual and material culture of games into the home and their ability to shape masculine identity. In a special issue of the *Journal of Design History* (2007), Hannah Greig and Giorgio Riello assess the historiography of the meanings, functions, and contemporary perceptions and uses of the term "Georgian" to delve into the eighteenth-century interior.⁴⁴ Greig and Riello assert that it is only since the early twenty-first century that studies are addressing the social and cultural purposes of the Georgian interior in addition to its design attributes.⁴⁵ Studies are examining interiors in relation to the people

⁴³ Ruth Mather shows how politics and domesticity connected inside the homes of ordinary people. See Ruth Mather, *The Home-Making of the English Working Class: Radical Politics and Domestic Life in late-Georgian England, c. 1790-1820*, PhD diss., Queen Mary, University of London, 2016, <https://qmro.qmul.ac.uk/xmlui/handle/123456789/24708>.

⁴⁴ Hannah Greig and Giorgio Riello, eds., "Introduction," in "Eighteenth-Century Interiors—Redesigning the Georgian," special issue, *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 4 (2007): 273-289. The traditional study of eighteenth-century domestic interiors focuses on the design and decoration of elite houses, mainly the country house. See John Cornforth, *Early Georgian Interiors* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Michael Snodin and John Styles, eds., *Design and the Decorative Arts: Georgian Britain, 1714-1837* (London: V&A Publications, 2004). These studies highlight the aesthetics and design merits of architecture, interior spaces, and furnishings.

⁴⁵ Greig and Riello, 273.

who lived and worked in them and their domestic activities. We are learning more about how residents behaved in their homes and how they interacted with each other and their belongings. My work aligns with new approaches by stressing that the domestic interior is a living entity and environment of familial social spaces in which people interact with their things.

While studies of interior design and decoration are useful in evoking the domestic environment, my work builds on developments in scholarship that allow me to recreate the lived experience of the interior. Other studies focus on elite interiors to analyze the social and cultural history of the house. Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (1978) is a pioneering exploration of social history from the viewpoint of living in the country house, which details the impact of social change on the design and use of the house.⁴⁶ In *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (1993), Charles Saumarez Smith marries economic, social, and cultural history with art history and the decorative arts.⁴⁷ Saumarez Smith combs visual representations of interiors, including architectural drawings, pattern books, topographical art and descriptions, and artists' drawings, prints, and paintings, to learn how ideas about interiors changed during the eighteenth century.

Though elite spaces have been the focus of domestic interior studies, scholars are bringing more attention to domestic interiors lived in by ordinary people, their possessions, and household habits, especially the material culture of the middle-class house. Raffaella

⁴⁶ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁴⁷ Charles Saumarez Smith, *Eighteenth-Century Decoration: Design and the Domestic Interior in England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1993).

Sarti's *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800* (2002) is a comparative review of early modern European social and cultural history.⁴⁸ Sarti inspects a range of texts to find the minutiae of ordinary family life in different social groups in different regions throughout Europe. James Ayres's *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition, 1500-1850* (2003) surveys the history of the domestic interior of British regional architecture and vernacular interiors.⁴⁹ Ayres tackles the imbalance in scholarship that has revolved around elite residences and interiors by discussing the changing domestic interior and material culture of middle-class houses. In *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (2007), Margaret Ponsonby investigates the material culture of middle-class provincial homes.⁵⁰ Ponsonby uses a wealth of sources: wills, household inventories, auction catalogues, trade directories, notebooks, letters, diaries, and account books to discern the organization and materiality of domestic interiors, domestic life, and homemaking habits. Hamling and Richardson's important volume, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500-1700* (2017), is the first comprehensive study of domestic material culture and middle-class identity in that period and promotes a holistic approach to the study of domestic interiors.⁵¹ *A Day at Home* is a benchmark for domestic interior studies that meshes art historical and textual sources to validate the significance of quotidian domestic settings, possessions, and experiences. Games are briefly mentioned in an

⁴⁸ Raffaella Sarti, *Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500-1800*, translated by Allan Cameron (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

⁴⁹ James Ayres, *Domestic Interiors: The British Tradition, 1500-1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

⁵¹ Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*.

analysis of leisure activities. I address a gap in historical games studies with a deep dive into gameplaying in the home from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. Hamling and Richardson reinforce my contention that the domestic interior and its household were not removed from the community when they state there was an “interplay of familial, domestic, social, commercial and religious concerns that characterised daily life and interactions.”⁵² Collectively, these studies advocate for the value of the material culture of middle- and lower-class interiors for our understanding of society. Their findings are essential to my argument that the domestic interior is a living environment in which cultural representations such as games construct social relations and social relations are voiced through games.

Material culture of the domestic interior, especially furniture, is used to discuss categories of identity. In *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past* (2007), Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg emphasize the social power of furniture and its meanings in diverse contexts.⁵³ Authors look at social class, gender, and race as important categories of analysis within a global framework to identify what furniture pieces meant to producers, retailers, and consumers. Through the lens of taste, John Styles and Amanda Vickery’s *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (2006) debates gender and the consumption of material culture in the British Atlantic world. Noteworthy for my dissertation is Styles and Vickery’s conviction that in the domestic interior, “everyday things were powerful. Mundane artifacts...were capable of evoking wonder or provoking anxiety, of

⁵² Hamling and Richardson, 5.

⁵³ Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture Can Tell Us about the European and American Past* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

forging identities across space and time or fracturing them.”⁵⁴ Vickery continues in a similar vein in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (2009), which examines the material culture of domestic life in middle class homes through the lenses of gender and marital status.⁵⁵ Together, this research demonstrates how the cultural work of furnishings can reveal the social intricacies of diverse identity issues inside the domestic interior. While these studies use furniture to examine identity, I employ games to discover cultural meanings of age and masculinity in the home. Moreover, I see games as active subjects with agency, which interact with people and have the capacity to shape their ideas and behaviour.

Cultural representations of the domestic interior and family life communicate literary and visual interpretations of a segment of society’s zeitgeist. Imaginary representations in literary domestic interiors feed our understanding of the home. In *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels* (2012), Karen Lipsedge studies how eighteenth-century opinions on the use and function of domestic spaces compares with literary portrayals to glean ideas about gendered space.⁵⁶ Lipsedge analyzes work by Fanny Burney (1752-1840), Eliza Haywood (1693-1756), Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), and Frances Sheridan (1724-1766) to discern relationships between female protagonists and domestic spaces. In *The House of Fiction as the House of Life: Representations of the House from Richardson to Woolf* (2012), Francesca Saggini and Anna Enrichetta Siccio investigate the house as an

⁵⁴ John Styles and Amanda Vickery, eds., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 26.

⁵⁵ Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁵⁶ Karen Lipsedge, *Domestic Space in Eighteenth-Century British Novels* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

“animated being” to find its purposes, forms, and meanings in literature.⁵⁷ Through their careful reading of how narratives express personal experiences of the domestic interior, these studies support my case that the domestic interior is a living environment in which games can actively participate in sociability to affect identity.

In addition to literary representations of the domestic interior, visual representations further inform perspectives on the cultural meanings of the home. Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant showcase a *mélange* of visual and textual readings in *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance* (2006).⁵⁸ In this interdisciplinary volume, authors interpret visual representations of the domestic interior “not so much for what they tell us about the interior they represent, but for what that representation is designed to convey.”⁵⁹ Aynsley and Grant’s work advises us that visual depictions cannot be taken at face value because they may communicate a nuanced message to the viewer and must be scrutinized within the context that they were made. Retford reinforces this point by showing that the elite family portrait is a constructed performance composed to convey a particular standpoint.⁶⁰

In terms of the overlap of masculinity and the home, a combination of masculinity and the domestic interior is now blending these two previously disparate areas of study. Scholars recognize the gender dynamics and socio-political power of the home within the

⁵⁷ Francesca Saggini and Anna Enrichetta Soccio, eds., *The House of Fiction as the House of Life: Representations of the House from Richardson to Woolf* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2012).

⁵⁸ Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior Since the Renaissance* (London: V&A Publications, 2006).

⁵⁹ Aynsley and Grant, *Imagined Interiors*, 12.

⁶⁰ Retford, *Art of Domestic Life*.

growing world of material goods and household consumption in that era. Previously studied almost exclusively as the domain of women's sociability, the domestic interior is increasingly seen as vital in developing new concepts of masculinity. In *The Little Republic*, Harvey demonstrates that middle-class men were closely engaged with the everyday management of domestic life.⁶¹ I broaden previous art historical points of view by emphasizing the role of visual and material culture in mediating age and masculinity in the home. I add a new facet to the study of masculine identity: how games engage with people to shape their cognition and behaviour.

Domestic Interior, People-Thing Relationships, and Phenomenology

Though literary and visual representations are vital resources for an understanding of the domestic interior, theories about the phenomenology of the home, its spaces, and the psychological power of domestic belongings help articulate my approach to domestic spaces and things. I bring together socio-cultural studies of the domestic interior and studies of the agency of things to create a phenomenology of games in the domestic interior. I contend that it is precisely the unforeseen influence of the mundane that strengthens the impact of belongings. Scholars have long recognized the influence a commonplace possession may have in a person's life. Daniel Miller reveals the surprising intimate relationships that can develop between people and their things, how they mediate social relations, and the emotional meanings that they can have for people.⁶² Miller stresses that the mundane "unseen" or "invisible" domestic object possesses social agency and cultural significance.

⁶¹ Harvey, *Little Republic*.

⁶² See Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).

These objects, Miller maintains, have the “unexpected capacity to fade out of focus and remain peripheral to our vision and yet are determinant of our behaviour and identity.”⁶³ I adapt Miller’s argument that possessions may be inconspicuous, but they exert cognitive influence by showing the agency of games to shape concepts of age and masculinity.

Domestic Interior, Games, and Cognition

Playing games is a vital part of culture. I apply concepts about how the human mind and body meet with ludic material culture in the home to shape people’s ideas and behaviour. In 1998, Andy Clark and David Chalmers introduced the pioneering notion of the extended mind thesis.⁶⁴ Clark and Chalmers argue that cognitive processes and the mind reach outside the human body to include physical and social environments in which a person functions. Today, technologies, such as smart phones or social media, are coupled with the mind. I maintain that the concepts of the extended mind and cognitive technology help us understand the communicative roles of late eighteenth-century printed games and their miniature representations of age and masculinity. I treat games as cultural cognitive technologies that have the capacity to interact with players and influence their thinking. Clark claims we use everyday objects as “bodily extensions,” “augmentations,” and “nonbiological resources,” which work as constructs, props, aids, and scaffolding to help us solve problems, negotiate our surroundings, and shape our understanding of the world. As Clark states, “We exist, as the thinking things we are, only thanks to a baffling dance of brains, bodies, and cultural and

⁶³ Daniel Miller, ed. “Materiality: An Introduction,” in *Materiality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 5.

⁶⁴ Andy Clark and David J. Chalmers, “The Extended Mind,” *Analysis* 58, no. 1 (1998):7-19. The article led to a new field of study called philosophy of mind, which combines cognitive science and philosophy.

technological scaffolding.”⁶⁵ I argue that games are a key part of identity scaffolding. The extended embodied mind has an ongoing dialogue with domestic things, which generate and continuously modify an individual’s beliefs, values, and attitudes. Together, these theoretical approaches facilitate the creation of a phenomenology of age and masculinity in the domestic interior.

I transport the embodied mind and cognitive technologies to the spaces of the domestic interior. I investigate how players interact with playthings in the home to consciously, or unconsciously, (re)construct and internalize perspectives about age, masculinity, and identity, and therefore, direct their behaviour. This occurs not only because players are subjects who act on playthings; playthings have the capacity to shape players’ minds and their behaviour. I argue that playthings are active social mediators. People interact with their playthings in the domestic environment. Material objects communicate with human body and mind to sculpt human cognition.

Scholars recognize the cognitive power of domestic objects to influence thoughts, emotions, and behaviour. In *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (2007), Sherry Turkle demonstrates the cognitive clout and emotional resonance of the ordinary object in everyday life. Drawing on evidence from autobiographical essays, Turkle argues, “we think with the objects we love; we love the objects we think with.”⁶⁶ From another perspective, Jane Bennett deepens our understanding of the agency of objects through *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (2010). Bennett theorizes that objects have “thing power,” “the

⁶⁵ Andy Clark, *Natural-Born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 11.

⁶⁶ Sherry Turkle, ed., *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 5.

curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle.”⁶⁷ In addition, Bennett reminds us that things are political. Based on these approaches to thing power, games possess a vitality inherent to their materiality, an energy separate and independent from the people who play games, which touches the surroundings. Such vitality affects players and blurs the boundaries between the human and non-human. These studies strengthen my contention that games have social agency that fashions concepts of identity.

Conclusion

I began this chapter by conceding the messy cultural complexity that resides in the domestic interior. I employed games to show that age and masculinity must be studied together to obtain a fuller understanding of masculine identity. And I showed that games are cognitive vehicles that facilitate the construction of a phenomenology of the domestic interior. Within the framework of my investigation of games, cultural representations of age, masculinity, and the domestic interior are integral to how playthings functioned as cognitive technologies that shaped concepts of age and gender in the home. I proposed a new facet for domestic interior studies—a phenomenology of playing games. I treated domestic space(s) as a living environment, a physical, social, and emotional space in which architecture, material culture, and people coexist and interact. I fleshed out the lived experience that emerges when playing a game. The domestic interior conjures connotations that signify far more than an

⁶⁷ Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 5.

inanimate or neutral physical space in which a person lives or works. The domestic interior is a home, which generates emotional meanings.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ There are many interpretations of what constitutes domestic space and what the term “home” means. A selection includes: Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (London: Routledge, 2006); Chiara Briganti and Kathy Mezei, eds., *The Domestic Space Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Judith Flanders, *The Making of Home: The 500-Year Story of How our Houses Became our Homes* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2015); Shelley Mallett, “Understanding Home: A Critical Review of the Literature,” *Sociological Review* 52, no. 1 (2004): 62-89.

2

**Vice versus Virtue:
*The New Game of Human Life, Age, and Masculinity***

On Monday, December 29, 1794, and the following four days, local landowner and merchant Henry Keymer auctioned his property at the *George Inn*, a public house in the town of East Dereham, Norfolk, England (about 190 kilometres northeast of London).¹ Keymer was an auctioneer, land surveyor, and owner of a haberdashery shop. He was auctioning land, livestock, dwelling-houses, household furniture, and other effects in preparation for retirement from retail business. Statements in the estate sale catalogue and the types and amounts of belongings for sale suggest Keymer was a middle-class entrepreneur near the end of working life. In a personal address to “respected friends” in the catalogue, Keymer reveals he is a widower and had one son and one daughter, who died in adulthood under separate seemingly tragic circumstances.² The catalogue lists almost 400 lots of household goods: books and stationery, china, kitchen utensils, linens and yard goods, paintings and prints, chairs, a dining table, chests of drawers, window curtains, men’s and women’s clothing, and more. Among the belongings are games and accessories that Keymer and family members may have played with: dice boxes and dice, a goose board (the board game known as *Game of the Goose*), a card game titled *History of England on Cards*, and *The New Game of Human*

¹ J. Morris, and H. Keymer, *A catalogue of the estate...houses, lands, &c...of Henry Keymer, of East Dereham, Norfolk: which will be sold at auction...by J. Morris & H. Keymer, on Monday the 29th of Dec. and four following days...*, ([London?], [1794]). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

² Morris and Keymer, 24.

Life.³ The presence of board and card games in the Keymer household indicates board games were affordable playthings owned, not only by elites in London, but by middle-class people—in particular, those living in small regional communities.

These games were part of familial sociability. Games entertained players as they learned about serious topics: England’s customs and moral standards, economics, geography, history, industrial development, natural history, and its imperialist goals in the world. Above all, *The New Game of Human Life* (1790) (fig. 1) revealed English ideas about age and masculinity. As Harvey points out in a study of punch bowls and male sociability in the eighteenth century, “because the shared nature of sociable experiences is literally insubstantial, and because informal collectivities are as imagined as they are concrete, it is difficult to reconstruct such gatherings.”⁴ I engage *Life*’s materiality, imagery, and text to harness the elusive nature of social encounters that occurred when playing games in the domestic interior.

³ Morris and Keymer, 10, 14. *History of England on Cards* may refer to the game called *Historical Cards Exhibiting the History of England* (London: Printed for John Wallis, No. 16, Ludgate Street, [between 1775 and 1818]). Set of 32 engraved cards, each with a hand-coloured portrait of an English monarch from William I to George II, 11 cm high, in a slipcase with an engraved label.

⁴ Harvey, “Ritual Encounters,” 168.



1 *The New Game of Human Life* (London: Published according to Act of Parliament July 14, 1790, by John Wallis, no. 16, Ludgate Street, and Elizabeth Newbery, the corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, 1790), 45 x 66 cm, hand-coloured engraving. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

How could an eighteenth-century English board game found in the home transform players' concepts about masculine identity and their behaviour? And as a result, impact societal perceptions and beliefs about age and masculinity? *The New Game of Human Life* is a visual, literary, and material meditation on late eighteenth-century English meanings of age and masculinity over a lifetime. Meanings are revealed incrementally as a player moves from one miniature vignette to another on the board.⁵

In this chapter, I explore the visuality, materiality, and experience of playing the children's didactic board game *The New Game of Human Life*. The game is a visual and material expression of a universal experience shaped by culture. I investigate the subject of age and masculinity in late eighteenth-century England as represented in and experienced by

⁵ *The New Game of Human Life* (1790) is a distant English ancestor of the game titled *The Checkered Game of Life* (1860), which was manufactured by the Milton Bradley Company in the United States and later, the *Game of Life*® (1960) and its many versions.

playing *Life*. The game is concurrently an image, a text, and a practical domestic article. Its design, imagery, and self-contained printed instructions mediate the play experience to mould players' ideas about age and masculinity.

I argue that the combination of visuality, materiality, and the cognitive experience of playing *Life* transformed players' ideas about what constituted age and masculinity over the lifespan. In the introductory chapter, I explained Clark and Chalmers's extended mind thesis, which maintains that cognitive processes and the mind extend outside the human body to include tools in physical and social environments. We use tools that are external to the body, such as smart phones, to learn, communicate, and understand the world. Lambros Malafouris and Colin Renfrew broaden the extended-mind thesis by asserting there is no definite boundary between person, thing, and space.⁶ Like Malafouris and Renfrew, I maintain there is a "cognitive life of things," which "*is about things in motion*; it is about hybridity, fluidity and genuinely interactive relationships between brains, bodies and things."⁷ Malafouris and Renfrew endorse Turkle's contention that ordinary objects are "emotional companions" in human experiences that can have many and changeable roles over time.⁸ I promote the dynamism and cognitive power of *Life* and its capacity to influence players' ideas about age, masculinity, and their behaviour.

Life is a ludic experiment in which players are introduced to social encounters depicted in images in a repeatable activity. Visually, the flattened spiral-shaped game track is a logical progression of age and masculinity from infancy not to death, but immortality, in

⁶ Lambros Malafouris, and Colin Renfrew, eds., "Introduction: The Cognitive Life of Things: Archaeology, Material Engagement and the Extended Mind," in *The Cognitive Life of Things: Recasting the Boundaries of the Mind* (Cambridge, UK: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research), 2010, 1-12.

⁷ Malafouris and Renfrew, 9.

⁸ Turkle, *Evocative Objects*, 5-6.

eighty-four steps. Each compartment portrays a character trait, a certain activity, or attitude that a male might experience or imagine at a particular age. A unique brief annotation or caption is located at the foot of each image, usually consisting of an expressive adjective or noun that would be easily understood by a player. The image and its narrative or message are independent of the associated caption, but the image's meaning is enhanced by the text's presence. Image and caption are reciprocal cues. The image-caption pair forms a mantra repeated with each player's turn or trip around the track. Such repetition can reinforce personal meanings or repeatedly trouble personal beliefs. Concurrently, there are two overall themes: vice contrasted with virtue and instruction juxtaposed with amusement.

Published in London by John Wallis and Elizabeth Newbery, *Life* is a miniature androcentric world. It consists of eighty-four four-sided compartments containing vignettes of boys, youth, and men over the lifespan. Yet it was not only males who learned about masculine behaviour when playing the game: text on the game board encourages girls and boys to play. But few girls or women are illustrated on the board. It is likely girls mainly learned about codes of behaviour for brothers, fathers, other male relatives and acquaintances, and potential future husbands, and their lesser status in social relations with males and in society.

Deep Games

In chapter 1, I explained the investigative roadmap that directs my study of playing games in the late eighteenth-century English domestic interior. To review, I apply a trio of intersecting lenses: how people experience miniature objects; human interactions in social spaces; and the

underrated capacity of an ordinary possession to influence perceptions, ideas, and behaviour. I use these lenses to discover how playthings can shape cognition, behaviour, and identity.

In chapter 2, I overlay Doris Rusch's concept of "deep games" onto the trio of lenses. In *Making Deep Games: Designing Games with Meaning and Purpose* (2017), Rusch introduces deep games, which furnish a critical method for game design.⁹ I argue *Life* is a deep game, which is "about the whole spectrum of the human experience and making it tangible through gameplay."¹⁰ I use deep game concepts to deconstruct *Life* to clarify and understand its role in mediating player perceptions of age and masculinity. I demonstrate how digital game design theory is pertinent to the art historical study of historical games. Rusch devised her theory to invent digital games but the essence of deep games is germane to a printed board game.

Before analyzing *The New Game of Human Life*, I summarize core ideas that guide Rusch's design process for deep games and my exploration of *Life*. Rusch defines a deep game as a "communicative medium capable of conveying ideas, messages, and experiences"¹¹ that spurs "insightful, thought-provoking, and emotionally rich experiences."¹² A deep game is a "storytelling medium" and a means of persuasion that has "transformative potential" for players. Like Flanagan and Nissenbaum, Rusch develops games for positive social change. While Flanagan and Nissenbaum work at the macro level

⁹ The first theoretical framework for game design is Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman, *Rules of Play: Game Design Fundamentals* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Doris C. Rusch, *Making Deep Games: Designing Games with Meaning and Purpose* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2017), xvii.

¹¹ Rusch, xix.

¹² Rusch, 22.

of socio-political issues, Rusch focuses on the micro level and how an individual can play games to tackle personal issues, including brain injury, mental health, and substance abuse. A deep game is a simulation founded on human experiences, which the game develops through rules and procedural mechanics. Simulations are subjective and convey an opinion.

Deep games create meaning through specific features: representation, abstraction, fiction, and rules.¹³ A game is representational if it includes aspects of a real or invented world. Game features also have meaning outside the context of the game. Games that include visual representations of real or imaginary environments, along with characters and things, usually have a fictional level. Fiction refers to any kind of imagined world. Game objects are “any isolatable entity that can interact with other entities in a game.”¹⁴ In chess, for example, the game objects are the chess pieces pawn, rook, knight, bishop, queen, and king, which interact with each other and replicate military battle. As Rusch contends: “The point is that it [a game’s fiction] is not the primary vehicle for meaning generation and that, when the rules and fiction are in conflict with each other, or at least the fiction is not supported by the rules, it will recede into the background.”¹⁵

Rusch argues a metaphor can be the centre of a game, because the most significant aspects of human experience are expressed by abstract ideas. Different types of metaphors (structural, experiential, and allegorical) can make these abstractions clearer to a player and create “deep gameplay experiences.”¹⁶ For *Life*, allegory is the relevant metaphor type. An

¹³ Rusch, 24.

¹⁴ Rusch, 25.

¹⁵ Rusch, 29-30.

¹⁶ Rusch, 92.

allegory is a literary and rhetorical device that is a complex, extended metaphor. A person, thing, image, or idea is used to express a hidden, symbolic, or secondary meaning.¹⁷ The meaning or story usually concerns subjects that are difficult to understand. A metaphor is usually a phrase; an allegory stretches out the metaphor to communicate more complex ideas.¹⁸ In deep games, the communicative goal of a metaphor in a game can work in three ways: as a mystery to prompt curiosity; as a concrete message; and as a muse that inspires a player to be introspective.¹⁹ These three functions are not mutually exclusive as more than one function can occur in a game.

Rusch stresses some games go beyond making statements through rules; they attempt to persuade or alter player behaviour. These games use what Ian Bogost calls “procedural rhetoric” to make convincing arguments through game processes.²⁰ According to Bogost, “arguments are made not through the construction of words or images, but through the authorship of rules of behavior” and “Procedural rhetorics afford a new...way to make claims about *how things work*.”²¹ Such games have an agenda that intends to “activate, educate, and transform players.”²²

¹⁷ “Allegory,” “Literary Terms. June 1, 2015,” accessed March 20, 2019, <https://literaryterms.net/>.

¹⁸ “Allegory.”

¹⁹ Rusch, 101-103.

²⁰ Ian Bogost, “Procedural Rhetoric,” in *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Video Games* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), 1-64.

²¹ Bogost, 28-29.

²² Rusch, 40.

Finally, Rusch promotes the universal theme of the hero's journey, which is accessible to all players, to construct allegorical game storylines.²³ Rusch informs us that, "The hero's journey is the ultimate allegory for inner growth – arguably the perfect structure for narratives that aim to teach us something about ourselves."²⁴ In the context of the hero's journey, playing *Life* is a personal journey that encompasses adventure, exploration, and emotional experiences.

I employ deep game concepts to advance a nascent art historical discourse on late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English board games and to demonstrate the benefits of employing a digital game design model in an art historical context. I scrutinize *Life* as a serious game, not solely for entertainment, and as a deep game invented for children, youth, and adults to learn about, absorb, and consolidate lessons on age and masculinity. I draw on Rusch's theory and vocabulary to construct an interpretation of *Life* that stretches beyond description. By doing so, I trace the experience of age and masculinity in *Life* and related media. I use the deep game perspective to grasp the ability of an ordinary ludic possession, such as Henry Keymer's *New Game of Human Life*, to mediate and shape players' ideas about age and masculinity through the experience of play in the domestic interior.

A Brief History of a Board Game

The New Game of Human Life is an exemplar of the many didactic board games published in England during the second half of the eighteenth century, a period of sustained growing

²³ Rusch, 104.

²⁴ Rusch, 104.

consumerism combined with changing ideals about childhood and how to raise children. Boys, girls, parents, and guardians faced an arsenal of instructive media devised to educate adults and children about morals and proper social behaviour for the young: stories, poetry, board games, dissected puzzles, paper toys, and card games.²⁵

By the late eighteenth century, children's educators and authors in England were committed to merging moral education with play and entertainment. Jill Shefrin states that "make it a pleasure and not a task" was the eighteenth-century guiding principle for teaching children.²⁶ Similarly, Rebecca Knuth maintains "stories for children were written to entertain and to inculcate values by invoking the imagination."²⁷ Knuth's statement coincides with Zittoun and Gillespie's argument that imagination is central to human development and shows the long-term significance and cultural weight of memories that accumulate in mind.²⁸ Many books and games for children were analogous to contemporary edutainment. Children's non-fiction instructional texts, fictional stories and books, and games advocated socially sanctioned virtues and discouraged negative behaviour and vices. It-narratives, or novels of circulation, relayed accounts about an object's adventures.²⁹ Written for children,

²⁵ See Kenneth D. Brown, *The British Toy Business: A History since 1700* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996); Robert J. Kirkpatrick, *From the Penny Dreadful to Ha'penny Dreadfuller: A Bibliographical History of the British Boys' Periodical, 1762-1950* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2013). Periodicals for boys emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century and flourished by mid-nineteenth century.

²⁶ Jill Shefrin, "'Make It a Pleasure and Not a Task'."

²⁷ Rebecca Knuth, "Introduction," in *Children's Literature and British Identity: Imagining a People and a Nation* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 6.

²⁸ Zittoun and Gillespie, *Imagination*; Zittoun and Gillespie, "Internalization."

²⁹ Examples of the it-narrative for children include works by Mary Ann Kilner: *The Adventures of a Pincushion: Designed Chiefly for the Use of Young Ladies* (London: Printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., No. 4, Aldermay Church Yard, in Bow-Lane, [ca. 1780-1783]), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*; *Memoirs of a Peg-Top. By the Author of Adventures of a Pincushion* (Printed and sold by John Marshall and Co., No. 4, Aldermay Church-Yard, Bow-Lane, ca. 1790). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. See also Richard

they brought to life common domestic things that children would have been familiar with and gave them a literary voice that reiterated English social values.³⁰ Liz Bellamy indicates, “From the 1780s it [the it-narrative] began to be adopted as a vehicle for moral didacticism in works aimed at a juvenile readership.”³¹ Games followed a similar didactic path. They covered a gamut of subjects important for a child’s education: the English language and grammar, geography, history, mathematics, sciences, and moral improvement. Instructional booklets that came with games and text on the game boards often included the phrases “entertainment and instruction,” “improvement and pleasure,” and “instruction and amusement.”

In 1790, prominent London publishers and booksellers John Wallis (d. 1818) and Elizabeth Newbery (1746-1821) collaborated to publish *The New Game of Human Life*. It was issued on July 14, 1790, by Wallis, located at No. 16, Ludgate Street, and Newbery, located at the Corner of St. Paul’s Church Yard. The game board was printed on paper, painted with water colours, and bonded to a rectangle of linen fabric.³² It was then folded and

Johnson, *The Adventures of a Silver Penny. Including Many Secret Anecdotes of Little Misses and Masters both Good and Naughty* (Printed for E. Newbery, at the corner of St. Paul’s Church Yard, ca. 1786). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

³⁰ Mark Kingwell, ed., *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007).

³¹ Liz Bellamy, “It-Narrators and Circulation: Defining a Subgenre,” in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, edited by Mark Kingwell (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 132.

³² A revised simplified version of *The New Game of Human Life* was published about thirty years later. It contained sixty-seven vignettes (instead of eighty-four). See *The Game of Human Life* (London: Pub[li]shed by Edwd. Wallis, 42 Skinner Street, [ca. 1820]), 45 x 58 cm, one hand-coloured engraved sheet mounted on linen in fifteen sections. Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library. Alice Dolan relates the importance of linen in people’s lives. See Alice Dolan, *The Fabric of Life: Linen and Life Cycle in England, 1678-1810*, PhD diss., University of Hertfordshire, 2016, <http://hdl.handle.net/2299/17196>. See also Alice Dolan, “The Fabric of Life: Time and Textiles in an Eighteenth-Century Plebeian Home,” *Home Cultures* 11, no. 3 (2014): 353-374.

stored in a marbled paper slipcase with an engraved label on the front. Each copy of a late eighteenth-century board game is a unique product. A game was engraved on copper or steel plates, printed on paper, and hand-painted with water colours by colourists. The printed game may have been cut into about equal-sized rectangular sections and was then mounted on linen or canvas, folded, and inserted into a slipcase made of sturdy paper or thin cardboard and decorated with marbled or ornate paper. A printed label, which may include an image, was attached to the outside of the slipcase.³³

Newbery and Wallis adapted *Life* from the original French game, *Le nouveau jeu de la vie humaine* (1775), published by Jean Baptiste Crépy (d. 1796).³⁴ Crépy's and Newbery and Wallis's games are based on the spiral race game *The Game of the Goose* and its variants, one of the earliest and most popular printed board games in Europe.³⁵

Newbery and Wallis modified *Le nouveau jeu de la vie humaine* to suit an English audience. Instructions and image captions were translated from French to English. Vignettes of boys, youth, and men were reinterpreted, redrawn, and coloured. The original French illustrations in the four corners (spandrels) of the board were replaced with instructional text for parents and players. All information needed to play the game was printed on the board.

³³ Brian Love, *Play the Game* (Los Angeles, CA: Reed Books, 1979), 7.

³⁴ *Le nouveau jeu de la vie humaine* (A Paris chés Crépy, rue S. Jacques à S. Pierre près la rue de la Parcheminerie, 1775). Bibliothèque nationale de France. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6946860v/fl.item.zoom>; Goodfellow, *Collector's Guide to Games and Puzzles*, 50. Goodfellow identifies another game like *The New Game of Human Life*. See *La Vie Humaine un Nouveau Jeu* (Berlin: Simon Schropp, 1790), 51 x 57 cm, printed on silk. Victoria and Albert Museum. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26276/la-vie-humaine-un-nouveau-board-simon-schropp/>. The main title and the individual titles appear in four languages, English, French, German, and Polish, suggesting the theme resonated with consumers from diverse cultures.

³⁵ Seville, *Royal Game of the Goose*, 11-20. Seville relates a history of *Game of the Goose* in Europe.

Newbery and Wallis's publishing expertise and commercial reputations indicate both were well-informed about what products would attract consumers. In 1780, Elizabeth Newbery inherited the publishing business from husband Francis Newbery (d. 1780).³⁶ During the next twenty-two years, the firm issued over 300 titles for children, including books, puzzles, and games and more than 200 works for adults. Elizabeth Newbery died on October 11, 1821, age 75. The October 1821 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* recorded Newbery's valued contribution to children's publishing in her death notice stating Newbery "added many an useful and engaging work to the stock of Juvenile Literature."³⁷ For his part, John Wallis was a successful entrepreneur, cartographer, and publisher, and one of the most important manufacturers of eighteenth-century maps, dissected puzzles, and board games.

Playing *The New Game of Human Life*

A board game could focus on a specific kind of personal transformation or phase of life. *Bowles's New Invented and Entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony* (c. 1795) takes the form of a round racetrack with sixty-four positions, twenty-three of which contain a line from a famous song.³⁸ *The New Game of Elopement* illustrates the adventures of a couple

³⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Newbery, Elizabeth (1745/6-1821), bookseller and publisher," by Jill Shefrin.

³⁷ W. B., "Mrs. Newbery," *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*, (October, 1821): 377-378, accessed 6 December 2018.

³⁸ *Bowles's New Invented and Entertaining Game of Courtship and Matrimony; to be played not only with dice, as the goose and snake, but also with cards, or an index; with quotations and motto's from celebrated songs* (London: Printed for Bowles & Carver at their map & print warehouse, No. 69 in St. Pauls Church Yard, n.d., ca. 1795), 61 x 48 cm, hand-coloured single sheet. Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:2574376>.

running away to get married in Gretna Green, a parish in Scotland just north of the Scotland-England border, and a popular elopement destination.³⁹ *The New Game of Human Life* is a game about moral choices and personal transformation throughout the life stages. To play the game is to participate in an intimate individual and collaborative performance of imagination that envisions age and masculinity in eighty-four brief episodes in male life. I analyze the imagery and text of the game and interpret the experience of playing *Life* in the domestic interior in the context of late eighteenth-century English ideals about male childhood, youth, maturity, and older age.

The New Game of Human Life is saturated with scenarios that pit vice against virtue. Images of vice and virtue are often juxtaposed. A boy may be labelled mischievous (5), careless (6), or studious (7); a youth may be indolent (14), assiduous (15), or obstinate (16); and a young man may be decisive (25), downright (27), generous (32), a prodigal (30), or a coxcomb (31), among other qualities. The tension between vice and virtue is apparent in the game's roles. The game has five overlapping roles that contribute to its status as a serious game and its quest to shape players' perceptions of age and masculinity and their behaviour. In these roles, the game is a medium and format that communicates deep social messages. For example, the Married Man (34) is rewarded by becoming a Good Father (56). First, *Life* is an avatar or embodiment of age and masculinity in late eighteenth-century England. Its images and text often concede male weakness and the pitfalls that males met in life, but counsels them to overcome their flaws by following socially acceptable behaviour. Second, the game board is an illustrated map and guide to the terrain of masculine behaviour, which

³⁹ *The New Game of Elopement or A Trip to Gretna Green. Designed & Invented to Enliven the Winter Evenings of 1820*, 22 x 31 cm, hand-coloured single sheet. Digital Bodleian, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/adedf0ed-8681-4bcd-96f6-0afb49959f63/>.

engages imagination to realize transformation. Players could use the map to chart a passage through real life. Third, *Life* is a gamified conduct book or courtesy manual that simultaneously encourages ideal masculine virtuous behaviour and opposes vice throughout all life stages.⁴⁰ Rules of the games explicitly reward a player with stakes and advancement to a new position. A player who lands on the position for the Married Man receives two stakes and moves ahead to be a Good Father. Vignettes depict a series of text-image pairs that promote or discourage personal qualities. The Glutton (59) is illustrated sitting at a table eating vast amounts of food and the label below ensures the viewer understands the scene. Text and image strengthen each other as does the repetition of the collection of eighty-four pairings. The game inculcates moral ideals in children and youth that will endure into adulthood and benefit society. As a gamified conduct manual, the game performs its work as a cognitive technology that players can consult to negotiate life and shape their ideas about moral behaviour for boys, youth, and men. Fourth, *The New Game of Human Life* is a mediator between a player's ideas and society's conventional wisdom about the performance of age and masculinity. Consequently, *Life* is again a cognitive influencer. It visualizes the moral challenges that an English male may face during a lifetime. Fifth, *Life* is a cognitive technology in the domestic interior, which instructs and shapes players' perceptions and attitudes. It conveys conventional societal beliefs about age and masculinity. The game exploits its miniature visual portrayals of male personalities and behaviour displayed on an

⁴⁰ Conduct literature was available for parents and for males at all phases of life and for any social status. See Jonas Hanway, *Prudential Instruction to the Poor Boys, fitted out by the Corporation of the Marine Society: with Moral and Religious Advice Adapted in a Sententious Manner to their Condition and to Every One Who is a Candidate for Happiness on Christian Principles*. (London: Printers-Street: Strahan and Preston, 1788). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*; Sir John Barnard, *A Present for an Apprentice: or, a Sure guide to gain both Esteem and Estate. With Rules for his Conduct to his Master, and in the World [...]*. (London: Printed by John Barker, Broad-Way, Blackfriars, 1778). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*; Yallop examines the extensive medical advice literature directed at the older man and how he should behave in social circles. See Yallop, *Age and Identity*.

everyday plaything to personify and transform beliefs about age and masculinity. The qualities of the miniature depictions of males – the preciousness of the tiny, the need for close looking to see the image and read the text, and the intimacy created between a player and a vignette through that physical intimacy – pulls the player deeper into the game’s virtual world.

The board of this *Game of Life* is a comprehensive efficient document that is easy to use. All required information, instructions, and rules of play are printed on the board. As we will see, the text is accessible and precisely guides a player through the rules in a logical manner. The game track curves inwards, toward the nucleus of the spiral, toward immortality. Spaces inside and surrounding the snaking track are crowded with text that extends to the outermost edges of the board. Instructions for the game are contained in three main sections at the four corners of the board and are read from left to right and top to bottom. Under the heading “The Utility and Moral Tendency of this Game,” one section occupies the upper and lower left corners. It suggests to the reader that the game is a familial pastime for children, parents, and others in a household. The text directly addresses parents and their ambitions for having upright children when it states:

If parents take upon themselves the pleasing Task of Instructing their children or others to whom that encluse important Trust may be delegated will cause them to stop at each Character, & request their attention to a few moral and judicious observations explanatory of each Character as they proceed & contrast the happiness of a Virtuous and well spent life with the fatal consequences arising from Vicious & Immoral pursuits. This Game may be rendered the most useful & amusing of any that has hitherto been offered to the Public.⁴¹

⁴¹ “The Utility and Moral Tendency of this Game,” *The New Game of Human Life*, upper left and lower left corners of game board.

The section “Directions for Playing” is in the upper and lower right corners. Instructions indicate each player receives one unique marker and at least twelve counters or stakes. Players either receive or forfeit counters in a common pool. Movement from one space to another on the board is controlled by a player rotating a teetotum, a type of small spinning top with sides numbered from one to six. The teetotum was used to “avoid introducing a dice box into private families.”⁴² The section “Rules of the Game” occupies the large middle space located inside the spiral track. Before homing in on these crucial rules of play, I will demonstrate how the physical design of the game contributes to the task of altering minds through boundaries, spirals, and the theme of the ages of man.

Borders and Boundaries

In *The New Game of Human Life*, borders or boundaries have a key structural and organizational role. Playing *Life* begins with the clearly marked rectangular physical borders of the game board, concentric spiral loops, and four-sided compartments containing vignettes. At first glance, borders appear strong, solid, unyielding. But once the game starts, borders weaken and become fragile. Game rules are situated at the physical centre of the borders. There are four types of boundaries. First, there is the architectural boundary between the domestic interior and events and activities in the world outside the home. Second, a border defines the outer rectangular edges of the game board and separates it from surrounding domestic spaces. If the board rests on a tabletop, the table’s outer edges create a

⁴² A single statement at the bottom of *The New Game of Human Life* game board states, “It is necessary to inform the purchaser that the totum must be marked with figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & to avoid introducing a dice box into private families, each player must spin twice, which will answer the same purpose.” Dice were associated with gambling, a moral vice, but a ubiquitous recreational pursuit in eighteenth-century England. See Janet E. Mullin *A Sixpence at Whist: Gaming and the English Middle Classes, 1680-1830* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2015).

boundary between the table, other furnishings, and surrounding spaces. Third, invisible spatial and social boundaries separate the game board and players' bodies and the physical space between players. Fourth, there are invisible cognitive borders between the real physical world, virtual game world, and the intangible, internal workings of a player's mind, thoughts, and imagination. Where does one world start or end and another world begin? At the outset, boundaries appear solid, precise, impermeable. Firm lines are drawn between various physical, social, and spatial environments, people, and things, all placed into silo worlds. But borders become less clear, fuzzy, or fragmented. Real life is not lived in isolated compartments that are fully separated. Partitions between vignettes are convenient structural necessities of game design. Once the game starts, it wields its cognitive power. Borders deteriorate and may break. Soft borders facilitate easier movement of ideas.

There is a physicality to playing the game; play is a corporeal experience. Players' physical movements, visual and tactile interactions with the game and its accessories, and conversations between players can sway ideas, perceptions, and behaviours circulating about age and masculinity, and ultimately, identity. The spiral on the game directs and controls how the players move in relation to the board. To see the image-text pair in a compartment, a player can look at it from many angles: right-side up, upside down, or at an obtuse angle by twisting the body, reaching an arm, turning the head, and widening, focusing, or squinting the eyes.

Scholars recognize the cognitive clout of borders and their capacity to produce change. In an analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century puzzles as instruments that shape children's "imperial imagination," Norcia contends, "The board imposes an artificial frame that bounds the puzzled region. What Franco Moretti calls the 'phenomenology of the

border' effect on maps functions in the puzzles as a device to frame the known, safe world."⁴³ "In the case of the puzzles which popularly depict England or the British Isles, the rules of the game apply to the territory within the frame; danger and uncertainty may await the traveler outside the frame in the unruled world."⁴⁴ Norcia is calling attention to Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (1998). According to Moretti, the frame represents "adventure: one crosses the line, and is face to face with the unknown, often the enemy; the story enters a space of danger, surprises, suspense."⁴⁵ Moretti is referring to tension between the spaces on either side of the border. In *The New Game of Life*, crossing borders signals movement between real and imaginary worlds: domestic spaces, ages of man, the natural world, and events in a male's daily life.

The New Game of Human Life and Domestic Space

Playing a board game in the domestic interior is like living in a world within a world. Jackson proposes that there is a symbiotic relationship between the home environment and the world outside the home, which enlivens domestic spaces and connects them to the wider world. Jackson contends nineteenth-century board games "make visible and tactile" the reading practices people used to read didactic stories.⁴⁶ The religious game board became a living three-dimensional space that nurtured imaginative play and integrated Christian

⁴³ Norcia, "Puzzling Empire," 15.

⁴⁴ Norcia, 15.

⁴⁵ Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 35.

⁴⁶ Jackson, "A Game Theory of Evangelical Fiction," 452.

education.⁴⁷ The game is a distinct environment within the spaces of the domestic interior that children congregated around and inhabited to anticipate and rehearse life experiences that occurred inside and outside the home. In this context, any hard borders disappear. I propose that the religious games and novels Jackson examines are cognitive technologies in children's lives that guided and shaped their thinking about Christian living. In a similar way, borders in *The New Game of Human Life* change, soften, or melt away once players start the game. Ideas about age and masculinity circulate between and around the game board, players, domestic spaces, and the external world.

The domestic spaces surrounding and enveloping the game encourage a sociopetal environment, which gathers people together through the physical arrangement of furnishings to enable social interaction.⁴⁸ The game table or ordinary tabletop collects players around its surface, creating a focused and contained, yet fluid three-dimensional ludic space within which players can communicate in multiple ways as they play *Life*. Mimi Hellman introduces a fresh discourse on social relations between people and their furnishings in an art historical context, which contributes to sociopetal and sociofugal pursuits. Hellman puts into action the aliveness of things, such as tables and chairs, by proposing that a piece of domestic furniture is a cognizant social actor that fashions furniture-human social relations.⁴⁹ Hellman's study

⁴⁷ Jackson, 453.

⁴⁸ Humphrey Osmond, "Function as the Basis of Psychiatric Ward Design," *Mental Hospitals* 8 (1957): 23-27; R. Sommer, "Sociofugal Space," *American Journal of Sociology* 72 (1967): 654-660. Psychiatrist Humphrey Osmond coined the terms sociofugal and sociopetal. Sociofugal means grouping people so individuals can maintain privacy. Sociopetal refers to designing environments that support social interaction. In more recent literature, sociofugal and sociopetal are used to discuss seating arrangements and other environmental conditions in the contexts of architecture, psychology, and verbal and nonverbal communication. The terms are used in the field of proxemics, how people use space and its effects on human behaviour. See Bryan Lawson, "Sociofugal and Sociopetal Space," in *The Language of Space* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001), 140-144.

⁴⁹ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999): 415-445.

of furniture's role in shaping sociability in the eighteenth-century elite French domestic interior is a catalyst for my exploration of material culture and sociability in the home. Hellman proposes the idea of "an observant entity that participates in human encounters."⁵⁰ "The idea of the object-as-narrator offers a valuable insight into the role of furniture in eighteenth-century French social life."⁵¹ I argue Hellman's proposition is equally pertinent inside the English domestic interior where games are social mediators of age and masculinity. I add games as social actors, which communicate with players in the home to shape their ideas about age and masculinity. Moreover, tables, chairs, and other furniture orchestrate a sociopetal setting to maximize *Life's* potential to perform its cognitive work. The game and domestic furnishings possess a vitality that matches Bennett's concept of thing power.⁵² Such energy plus cognitive and social influence blur the borders between the human and non-human, between the animate and inanimate, inside the domestic interior.

Tables had the ability to facilitate *Life's* role to shape beliefs and behaviour. Harvey states, "Certain forms of domestic sociability, particularly those gathered around a table, succinctly captured men's authority and rootedness in the house, as well as their proprietorial engagement with domestic things."⁵³ The delicate nature of the game's materials (paper, linen, and hand-painted colours) suggests that a table was a suitable playing surface. The central image on the board game *Every Man to His Station* (ca. 1825) illustrates five male

⁵⁰ Hellman, 415-416.

⁵¹ Hellman, 416.

⁵² Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 5.

⁵³ Harvey, *Little Republic*, 22.

youths sitting or standing around a table as they play the game (fig. 2).⁵⁴ They are staged in a way that supports Harvey's statement.



2 *Every Man to his Station: A New Game* (detail), (London: Published by E. Wallis, 42 Skinner Street, ca. 1825), 41 x 51 cm, hand-coloured engraving on linen. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

Harvey suggests that tables were one type of furniture that enhanced middle-class men's domestic authority, asserting, "sturdy tables and chairs were exemplary masculine objects, synecdoches for men's bodies."⁵⁵ Extrapolating Harvey's proposal, the substance of male life expressed in the game is superimposed onto the virile table. The manliness conveyed in *Life* and the table's embodiment of the male meld together. Separation or boundaries between them weaken. The combination intensifies the thing power of the game and the table on players.

⁵⁴ *Every Man to His Station: A New Game* (London: Published by E. Wallis, 42 Skinner Street, Snow Hill, n.d., ca. 1825), 41 x 51 cm, hand-coloured engraving mounted on linen, Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

⁵⁵ Harvey, *Little Republic*, 132.

The Spiral as Influencer

The spiral wields cognitive power. In an homage to the spiral, *The Perfect Shape: Spiral Stories* (2016), Øyvind Hammer contends, “No other shape evokes more strongly a sense of beauty, mystery and eternity. Cyclic, but not repeating, endless, but not unbounded, the spiral must surely be the Perfect Shape.”⁵⁶ Nico Israel demonstrates the spiral’s depth and breadth as a force to scrutinize history in *Spirals: The Whirled Image in Twentieth-Century Literature and Art* (2015). Israel argues that writers and visual artists employed the spiral to reflect about the twentieth century. Israel’s dense philosophical, political, and social analyses incorporate Walter Benjamin, Italian Futurists and British Vorticists, Vladimir Tatlin’s unrealized *Monument to the Third International* (1919-1920), Marcel Duchamp, Robert Smithson’s *Spiral Jetty* (1970) and other artists.

In late eighteenth-century England, the magnitude of the spiral’s cognitive authority is evident in educational literature about natural history for children. Learning about flora and fauna was a part of a child’s education. The spiral brings nature into the domestic interior, notably in miniature books for children. *The Good Child’s Cabinet of Natural History* (1801) consists of five volumes, each covering one subject: beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and flowers.⁵⁷ *Footsteps to the Natural History of Beasts and Birds* (1806) is comprised of two books: part one covers English animals and part two foreign animals.⁵⁸ Even the miniscule texts by Alfred Mills (1776-1883), *Natural History of 48 Quadrupeds, with Elegant*

⁵⁶ Øyvind Hammer, *The Perfect Shape: Spiral Stories* (Cham, CH: Springer, 2016), v.

⁵⁷ *The Good Child’s Cabinet of Natural History, embellished with 32 Fine Engravings*, 5 vols. (London: Printed for John Wallis, no. 16, Ludgate Street, June 12, 1801). Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.

⁵⁸ *Footsteps to the Natural History of Beasts and Birds, Parts I and II* (London: Printed and sold by Darton and Harvey, Gracechurch Street, 1806). Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.

Engravings (1815) and *Natural History of 48 Birds, with Elegant Engravings* (1816), and the tiny *The Infantile Cabinet of Birds* (1810) convey factual information about nature accompanied by many detailed prints.⁵⁹ The spiral also had a home in the gaming world.

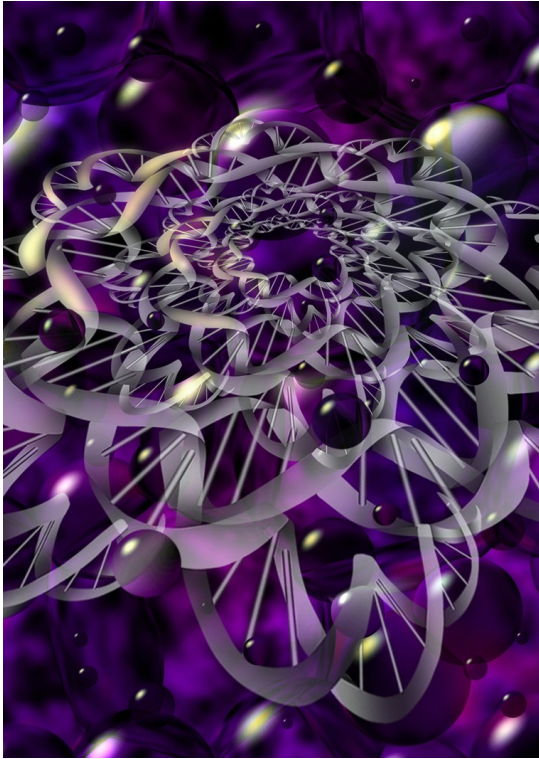
The spiral was commonly used in board game design.⁶⁰ The organic curvilinear form of *The New Game of Human Life*'s track echoes the omnipresent spiral shape found in nature. *Life* is a race game; it is a race to death, yet also a race to immortality. The track winds inward with two complete loops starting at the first position "infancy" and leading to the winning terminal position of "immortality." It has a convenient and compact arrangement that efficiently fits inside the physical boundaries of the rectangular-shaped game board. But there is far more to the spiral than its efficient composition. The spiral is ubiquitous in nature: plants, animals, ocean waves, galaxies of a universe, and the double helix of the genetic material deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in chromosomes all have a spiral form (fig. 3).⁶¹ Residing inside *Life*'s spiral is an array, an ordered sequence of males, each characterized by

⁵⁹ Alfred Mills, *Natural History of 48 Birds, with Elegant Engravings* (London: Printed for Darton, Harvey, and Darton, Gracechurch Street, and J. Harris, St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1816). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library; Alfred Mills, *Natural History of 48 Quadrupeds, with Elegant Engravings* (London: Printed for Darton, Harvey & Darton, Gracechurch-street, 1815), Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library; *The Infantile Cabinet of Birds* (London: Printed for Darton, Harvey, and Darton, Gracechurch-street, 1810). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

⁶⁰ Examples of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century English games with a spiral design on the board are: *The New Game of Emulation: Designed for the Amusement of Youth of both Sexes and Calculated to Inspire their Minds with an Abhorrence of Vice and a Love of Virtue* (London: Published by John Harris (Successor to E. Newbery) at the Original Juvenile Library, Corner of St. Paul's Church Yard, 1804). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library; T. Newton, *The Mansion of Bliss: a New Game for the Amusement of Youth* (London: Published by W. Darton, 58 Holborn Hill, 1810). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library; *The Naturalist: A New Game, Moral and Instructive* ([London]: Published...by John Wallis, no. 42 Skinner Street, Snow Hill, 1813). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

⁶¹ For a modern interpretation of the ubiquity of spirals in nature for children, see Joyce Sidman and Beth Krommes, *Swirl by Swirl: Spirals in Nature* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011). For a focused study of the spiral nature of seashells, see Helen Scales, *Spirals in Time: The Secret Life and Curious Afterlife of Seashells* (London: Bloomsbury Sigma, 2015).

a specific age, a descriptive caption, and a focal vignette that pictures a life event or personal trait, at times in a domestic setting.



3 Annie Cavanaugh, *Spirals of DNA Molecules*, Wellcome Collection, London, <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/qgh3qyrq>, (CC BY-NC-4.0).

Moreover, the spiral evokes humanity's place in the rhythm of the perpetual cycle of the seasons. In *The Calendar of Nature: Designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Persons* (1784), author John Aikin (1747-1822) addresses youth ten to fourteen years old.⁶² Aikin reminds the reader about the interconnectedness of climate, animal behaviour and plants in nature, farming, and city life, month by month. *The Circuit of Human Life: A Vision. In which are Allegorically Described, the Virtues and Vices* (ca. 1790) educates girls and boys about how to behave over the lifespan. Typical of children's literature, it endlessly

⁶² John Aikin, *The Calendar of Nature: Designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young Persons* (London: Printed by W. Eyres for J. Johnson, no. 72, St. Paul's Church-yard, 1784). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

warns about the consequences of vice and the rewards of virtue. Ideas about close relations between people and the four seasons are reiterated into the early nineteenth century as seen in *The Youngster's Diary, or Youth's Remembrancer of Natural Events: for Every Month in the Year* (n.d., ca. 1820).⁶³ Each page contains a wood engraving of an animal or plant by naturalist Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) at the top of the page followed by poetry and sometimes a snippet of information. Texts for children and youth repeat the intimate connection between humanity and nature.

The spiral could be everywhere in the late eighteenth-century domestic interior where the books cited above may have been read. A spiral staircase or tables and chairs with spiral-turned legs may have furnished a house. Functional and decorative objects in the shape of or decorated with spirals may have inhabited a house: plates and cups cast and/or painted with spiral bands or flutes; a cornucopia-shaped flower vase moulded with spiral reeds or painted with spiral bands or stripes; the stem of a glass incised with a spiral pattern; and a jug painted with spiral flutes. Clothing and other personal possessions are decorated with spirals too: a walking stick carved or turned with spirals; the flat spiral balance spring inside a watch; or embroidered spirals adorning a coat. Spirals were inescapable in nature and at home.

The Ages of Man as Influencer

The New Game of Human Life is a cognitive and behavioural influencer. It embodies the enduring allegory of the “ages of man” via a relatively new medium of didactic communication for children that thrived in the second half of the eighteenth century—the

⁶³ *The Youngster's Diary, or Youth's Remembrancer of Natural Events, for Every Month in the Year* (Alnwick: Printed and sold wholesale and retail by W. Davison, n.d., ca. 1820). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

board game.⁶⁴ What better way to shape players' thinking than to change the ages of man theme into an avant-garde format that depicts a powerful traditional allegory? *Life* capitalizes on the widespread understanding of the allegory. The game's objective is to transform players' thinking and behaviour about age and masculinity at various phases of life. Intended to teach moral behaviour through play, the board is organized by "seven ages of man," each age composed of twelve years. "Rules of the Game" at the centre of the game board identify the seven periods in the ages of man: infancy to youth, manhood, prime of life, sedate middle age, old age, decrepitude, and dotage. A male "passes through life in a variety of situations which are here arranged in the order they generally succeed each other."⁶⁵

Life reaffirms the longevity and versatility of the ages of man theme that has engaged cultures for centuries. The subject of the ages of man is found in a range of illustrated writing and visual media in Europe: England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain. To demonstrate the persistent leverage of the subject in England and other European cultures, I highlight a sampling of media that may have been found in the home. Popular prints represent males or females as well as the life cycle of a married couple.⁶⁶ In Germany, prints called *lebenstreppe* portray the life stages as a series of steps that ascend to a peak or plateau

⁶⁴ Allegory is defined as "A story, picture, etc., which uses symbols to convey a hidden or ulterior meaning, typically a moral or political one; a symbolic representation; an extended or continued metaphor." See "allegory, n.," *OED Online*, December 2018, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁶⁵ The game's seven ages may be derived from William Shakespeare's text "The Seven Ages of Man" in the play *As You Like It*. In general, the number of "ages" or years in a stage of life is not fixed. It changes depending on the theoretical origins of concepts about the stages of life. For a study of the origins of various numbering schemes, see Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Sears explains the long history of the ages of man and its deep connections to the natural world. See Sears, *The Ages of Man*.

of a triangular shape representing the prime of life and then descend the other side leading to infirmity and death.⁶⁷

In England, the popular print was one medium used to disseminate stages of life imagery.⁶⁸ The theme also appears with poetry. In *The Age of Man, Displayed in Ten Different Stages of Life* (ca. 1750) an introduction followed by ten stanzas describe the stages.⁶⁹ Three woodcut prints illustrate events in a man's life: a preacher on a pulpit giving a sermon, men sitting around a table, and skeletal Death engaging with Father Time. The single broadside sheet titled *The Several Stages of a Man's Life, From the Cradle to the Coffin* was printed in London on October 8, 1797, by Bowles and Carver, at No. 69, St. Paul's Church Yard.⁷⁰ (fig. 4). Illustrations on the broadsheet depict a male's life in sixteen stages: four rows with four vignettes per row, each image accompanied by a two-line statement. The ages of man theme was adapted and embedded in a child's education.

⁶⁷ In Germany, *lebenstreppe* acquired serious political meaning in satirical prints that depict Napoleon's rise and fall as a military leader. See Johann Michael Voltz, *Aufstieg und Niederfall Napoleons*, 1814. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.

⁶⁸ See Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999). O'Connell surveys print production in London and "ages of man" prints housed at the British Museum.

⁶⁹ *The Age of Man, Displayed in Ten Different Stages of Life*. ([London]: Printed and sold in Aldermay Church Yard, [Bow-]Lane, London, n.d., ca. 1750). *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*.

⁷⁰ *The Several Stages of a Man's Life, from the Cradle to the Coffin* (London: Printed for the Proprietors Bowles and Carver, No. 69, St. Paul's Church Yard, October 8, 1797). John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. An almost identical series of images with verses appear in a children's book published about twenty-five years later, which suggests the images were modified and copied from an earlier version. See *The Several Stages of Human Life, from the Cradle to the Tomb* (Edinburgh: Published by Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-court, n.d., ca. 1825), Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library, <https://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/37131048613566d.pdf>.

Image removed due to copyright restrictions.

4 *The Several Stages of a Man's Life, from the Cradle to the Coffin* (London: Printed for the Proprietors Bowles and Carver, No. 69, St. Paul's Church Yard, October 8, 1797), 33 x 21 cm, partially hand-coloured print, John Johnson Collection, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

The ages of man appear on blank writing sheets called school pieces, which children completed to practice penmanship. Children prepared writing sheets at school with a sample of their handwriting and gave their work to parents, relatives, and friends as gifts. The design of writing sheets typically consisted of an illustrated horizontal banner across the top of the page, with a vertical column of three or four related images on the left- and right-hand sides underneath the banner. A brief caption or statement may have been placed under an image. The banner, illustrations, and captions framed a central empty space on the sheet, which awaited a child's handwriting. Varied themes illustrate the sheets; titles include *Virtue Triumphant over Vice* (1794), *Adventures of Franklin* (1808), and *Battle of Waterloo* (ca.

1815).⁷¹ Writing sheets and their images suggest that writing practice was aimed at educating boys about the stages of life by appealing to their imaginations and dreams of adventure. *The Progress of Education* spotlights boyhood, youth, and early adulthood.⁷² The banner image with the caption, “As a merchant ship[p]ing his goods,” celebrates a young man who has completed his formal education and is setting sail on a ship. Other images on the sheet illustrate key events and activities in his school life and early employment. Image captions include: “Showing his Friends his Schoolpiece,” “In Writing,” “The Boy at the Village School,” “Placed in a Merchants Countinghouse,” “In Arithmetic,” and “At the Grammar School.”

Handwriting was a valued life skill. *The Complete Young Man’s Companion; or, Self Instructor* (1800), a conduct manual and self-help guide, dispenses a plethora of advice and practical information for youth.⁷³ The section on writing explains how to hold a pen and form letters, how to make a pen, how to concoct various kinds of inks, and how to write secret letters (cryptography). It lists twenty-five triplets based on the letters of the alphabet (except

⁷¹ *Virtue Triumphant over Vice* (London: Publish’d by Laurie & Whittle, 53, Fleet Street, May 12, 1794), 44 x 37 cm, hand-coloured illustrations of the virtues of friendship, tenderness, and charity and the vices of quarreling, cruelty, and ridicule surround the border, May 12, 1794. Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library; *Adventures of Franklin* (London: Publish’d April 5th 1808 by W & T Darton, 58 Holborn Hill), 47 x 37 cm, single sheet paper, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/6f87b712-f0bf-4cde-b084-6b41b394eeba/>; *The Battle of Waterloo* (London: Printed & Published by Langley & Belch, 173 Borough, n.d., ca. 1815), 48 x 39 cm, single sheet paper, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/7c873455-2ca2-4f77-81f5-1bb9494dd3a7/>.

⁷² *The Progress of Education* ([London]: Published Oct 15, 1810 by R. Harrild, 20 Great Eastcheap), 48 x 38 cm, single sheet paper, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/0f33a2da-27ff-46d2-ba7a-998a7fb521c9/#>.

⁷³ *The Complete Young Man's Companion; or, Self Instructor: Being an Introduction to all the Various Branches of Useful Learning and Knowledge. Containing Writing, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Chronology, and Miscellaneous Articles. Ranged in an Easy and Familiar Manner.* [...] (Manchester: Printed by Sowler and Russell, No. 125, Deansgate, 1800). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

the letter “J”) to copy for practice.⁷⁴ Each line is a tenet for moral behaviour throughout life.

Virtue and vice are addressed under the letter “V”:

Virtue is commended by all, but followed by few
 Virtue often suffers, when vice goes unpunished
 Valour can do little without discretion⁷⁵

In London, on November 29, 1797, the firm Laurie and Whittle published the writing sheet *Shakespeare’s Seven Ages*.⁷⁶ Over six years later, one completed specimen was signed by a Henry Foster and dated June 13, 1804. Foster’s signature sits inside the horizontal oval at the bottom of the sheet, which completes the surrounding images that frame Foster’s handwriting (fig. 5). Foster wrote words, phrases, and statements, each on a single line, in the cursive writing style:

Mensuration.
 Strive to improve.
 Communication.
 Wisdoms an ornament.
 Death is common to all.
 Virtuous elevation.
 The mind that would be happy, must be great.
 Great in its wishes; great in its surveys.
 Extended views a narrow mind extend.

⁷⁴ *Complete Young Man's Companion*, 27-32.

⁷⁵ *Complete Young Man's Companion*, 3.

⁷⁶ Robert Laurie and James Whittle, *Shakespeare’s Seven Ages* (London: Published 20th November 1797, by Laurie & Whittle, 53 Fleet Street).

(See fig. 6 for an interpretation with Shakespeare as the central image.) The banner shows an imaginary scene of an adult soldier on the battlefield. Six more images border and surround the handwriting, directing the eye toward the central space. But a child's gaze could wander to neighbouring images or images could be a distraction from the writing task.

Depictions of the ages of man restate and reinforce shared English cultural opinions and values about masculinities and notable events in a male's life. Old age was associated with physical (dis)ability, not chronological age. A ceramic figure of an old man depicts him stooped over and standing with crutches (fig. 7).⁷⁷ Furthermore, in eighteenth-century thinking, the stages of life and the cycle of the four seasons are aligned. The importance of the seasons in everyday life is evident in the material culture of the home. Ceramic figures of males and females, young and old, personify spring, summer, autumn, or winter. A set of decorative porcelain statues that portrays the seasons could be displayed on a chimneypiece, shelf, or table. Each figure poses with an object or plant emblematic of a specific season, including flowers for spring, a sheaf of corn or a sickle for summer, grapes for autumn, and a brazier for winter (fig. 8). Nature's spiral connects with the ages of man as they materialize on *Life's* game board, displaying and exerting their tacit knowledge through the experience of the playing the game.

⁷⁷ Ottaway, *The Decline of Life*. Ottaway makes clear that in eighteenth-century England, older age was not associated with physiology or chronological age, but with the functional inability to perform daily activities.



6 *Shakespear's Beautiful Idea on the Seven Ages*, 1792, (London: Published by S. W. Fores and Joseph C. Gear, 1792), 31 x 32 cm, print. Photo credit: ©Trustees of the British Museum, (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



7 *Old Age*, Staffordshire, England, 1801-1830, Science Museum, London, (CC BY 4.0).



8 Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, *Four Seasons (Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter)*, 1753-1755, 13 x 7 cm, soft-paste porcelain, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Public domain.

Rules of the Game

Playing *The New Game of Human Life* is an exercise in behaviour modification: players receive rewards for acceptable behaviour and penalties for improper behaviour. At first glance, the game is a flat two-dimensional illustrated sheet. Images and their captions are physically and visually precise and succinct and uniformly organized within the spiral. A thorough reading of the game board is required to realize its deeper cognitive workings about age and masculinity. *Life* is a dynamic system of movement that travels through biological and chronological time, domestic and non-domestic spaces, and eighty-four masculine personalities enabled by household cognitive technologies, physiognomy, and bodily gestures. The tour of masculinities around the spiral proceeds in a counterclockwise

direction. Each iteration of the game produces another outcome, which enriches and amplifies the experience of spaces, real and imaginary.

Based on the deep games model, *Life* is a simulation game. It replicates aspects of the real world in the vignettes and the imagined world of the ages of man metaphor. As a simulation, *Life* makes strong statements about age and masculinity. Every player is a hero on a personal journey that simulates personal experiences and social interactions linked to virtue and vice. Cultural ideas about age and masculinity are entrenched in *Life*'s rule system, which a player learns moving around the board. The source system consists of cultural ideas about age, masculinity, social behaviour, and identity during the life stages. The game system is the theme of the ages of man. The game acknowledges advantages, disadvantages, pitfalls, and emotional states that a male may encounter over a lifetime. Playing the game is a rehearsal of male behaviour for real life that takes place inside the domestic home and in the outside world.

The main system elements are age and masculinity. The goal of the game is to land on at ultimate position called The Immortal Man (84). Attaining the goal depends on rewards and forfeits that a player receives during gameplay. The central conflict in the game is the personal internal battle between virtue and vice and their concomitant rewards and punishments.

There are three types of game objects: a (tee)totum, which is a replacement for dice to avoid overtones of gambling games; a unique coloured place marker for each player; and a community pool of counters used as rewards and punishments. The game objects do not signify real objects but are cognitive tools that assist players to navigate the imaginary world

found in the eighty-four compartments. The (tee)totum is the object that controls movement on the board. A player's marker is the medium of movement from one position to another.

Life's system of rules expresses clear instructions about rewards and forfeits. It seeks to convince players that certain roles and behaviours are desirable and will be rewarded, while others are unwanted and will be punished. The rules consist of a series of declarations or conditional statements. To this point, the system of rules is consistent with Bogost's concept of procedural rhetoric (explained in the section "Deep Games") and which holds that a game's rules are designed to encourage behaviour change. However, Bogost overlooks images and text as behaviour modifiers. I endorse Bogost's proposition on the crucial role of procedural rhetoric, but I dispute any contention that images cannot shape people's beliefs, ideas, and behaviour. In their book, *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (2004), Charles Hill and Marguerite Helmers clearly demonstrate how images can be persuasive communicators and mediators of identity.⁷⁸ Hill advises that a body of psychological literature correlates visual vividness, emotional response, and persuasion.⁷⁹ Imagery found on a board game, which in the case of *Life* is a printed and hand-painted textile, conveys vivid information on a continuum of vividness, which includes paintings, drawings, and photographs.⁸⁰ Actual experience elicits the most vivid information and statistics the least vivid.

Images, rules, and other text in *The New Game of Human Life* work in concert as multimodal rhetoric to achieve their shared goal: to convince players to pursue virtue. The rules' social meanings are embodied and communicated through the vignette at each

⁷⁸ Charles A. Hill, and Marguerite Helmers, eds., *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004).

⁷⁹ Charles A. Hill, "The Psychology of Rhetorical Images," in *Defining Visual Rhetorics*, 25-40.

⁸⁰ Hill, 31.

position. Each image is unique and requires focused attention from the player. Its related caption is a reminder of the character inside the vignette. The expressive nature of the image meant it could be understood by players who could not read, such as young children. An image can activate an emotional response from a player that may be derived from life experiences.

Many images contain males in surroundings that resemble a domestic interior, hinted by a chair or table. An object may be an attribute, such as a child's walker, a sword, or a walking stick, implying a certain stage of life. Body language, such as emphatic gestures and facial expressions, express clear messages and lend further intensity and meaning to vignettes. Overall, the game is a performance, a simulation of eighty-four moments or snapshots in male life. The mechanics of gameplay are sequential, methodical, iterative.

Rules make strong statements about how a male should behave by depicting selected qualities or behaviours that he may exhibit at each year of life. Three types of conditional statements encapsulate game rules. Rules direct a player's attention to the image in a compartment and its caption. First, at a "virtue" position, a player is rewarded with one or more stakes followed by advancement to another moral location. "The assiduous youth at 15, shall receive two Stakes, and proceed to 55, where he will find the Patriot." Second, at a "vice" position, a player forfeits one or more stakes and is punished with a move backward to a negative location. "The Drunkard at 63 shall pay two Stakes, and go back to the Child at 2." Third, a player who lands on a neutral position may be required to remain in place and miss a turn or move to another location. "The Old Beau at 74 shall receive one Stake, and let each of the others play one round." In addition, there are positions that are not included in the rules, but still communicate a strong message in the animated vignette and its caption.

Repetition of this procedural pattern encourages the player to learn about and anticipate future moves. Rules replicate in text societal beliefs about age and masculinity, namely, marriage, fatherhood, and temperance are ideals. Rules are crucial to the game's ability to achieve its objective. The procedural rhetoric of rules works with the vignette imagery of boys, youth, and men, and the captions, to bolster the rules' impact.

Game rules may prompt internal struggle for a player who may be conflicted by the dichotomy between virtue and vice, between what a player knows is an acceptable code of conduct in society, what a player should do, and what vice the player may want to pursue even though it is morally wrong. At each compartment a player can use the cognitive technologies in the vignette to help interpret the scenario, that is, use tacit knowledge about ordinary possessions to understand what is happening.

Masculinities

The New Game of Human Life invites us into its cultural imaginary of late eighteenth-century English masculinity. Dawson's proclamation, which I cited in chapter 1, is worth repeating: "Masculinities are lived out in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination."⁸¹ *Life* is a material, visual, and cognitive medium experienced in the domestic interior that nurtures such imaginings. The cognitive power of domestic spaces is reaffirmed when Harvey states the "'house' was a significant physical and psychological space for the construction of men's identities."⁸² Harvey continues by asserting, "Men in eighteenth-century England used domestic space to mark out their lives, sometimes using it mnemonically for thoughts or life-

⁸¹ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 1.

⁸² Harvey, *Little Republic*, 167.

stages...Men's self-identities were grounded in the physical and emotional space of the house and the social relationships of family. The house literally and metaphorically generated masculine identities."⁸³ Furthermore, I contend that as domestic spaces fashioned masculinities, they reproduced the socio-political power of society's institutions inside the domestic interior. Conventional beliefs about age and masculinity are reproduced in the domestic interior through the social interfaces of gameplay between players and the game, between players, and a player's innermost conversations about ideas. Henry Lefebvre argues that social space is a social product. Society (re)produces space and maintains it as a foundation and support for the symbols of power structures.⁸⁴ I scrutinize the domestic interior as a social space that is continuously altered as it is produced and reproduced and how games (re)produce social spaces in the domestic interior. In the English domestic interior, social relations between games and players reinforced ideas about age, masculinity, behaviour, which established, maintained, and enhanced social stability. I view *Life* as a two-dimensional surrogate for real three-dimensional domestic and public worlds (representations of space). Real life is experienced as play to teach normative behaviour that supports society (spatial practice) in the social spaces of the domestic interior (representational space).

i. Games for Homosociability

In chapter 1, I highlighted key literature, which addresses masculinity and identity. A 2005 special issue of *Journal of British Studies* evaluates the state of research in the discipline of history from 1500 to 1950 by reviewing achievements, gaps, and offering

⁸³ Harvey, 167.

⁸⁴ Henri Lefebvre, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 33, 38-46. Lefebvre analyzes social space by utilizing three concepts: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces.

insights for future work. In other literature, scholars investigate masculinities through a range of topics: clothing, fashion, and accessories, fatherhood, emotions, manliness, domestic authority, and homosociability. Kuchta focuses on the three-piece suit to connect men's clothing consumption with the embodiment of England's complex political, economic, and social changes, which are also evident in everyday life.⁸⁵ While Styles examines common clothing, Gerner, Harvey, and Pointon show that clothing accessories convey cultural meanings about masculinity.⁸⁶ These studies make plain the critical role of the material culture of dress to the discourse on masculinity. Bailey's work reveals an imagined ideal of sensibility for fatherhood.⁸⁷ Begiato advocates for recognition that interactions between people and material culture can transmit beliefs, ideas, and opinions about gender identity.⁸⁸ Begiato's study of manliness, the body, and emotions grasps the intricacies of multiple masculinities, which are complicated by context, time, and place. Williamson's case study of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, previously seen as a periodical for elite men, discovers that middle-class men and their beliefs, ideas, and attitudes are firmly situated on the journal's pages.⁸⁹ Above all, Harvey's investigations of masculine identity through homosociability, domestic authority, and men's engagement with material culture in the long eighteenth

⁸⁵ Kuchta, *Three-Piece Suit*.

⁸⁶ Gerner, "Pulled Tight and Gleaming"; Harvey, "Men of Parts"; Pointon, "Accessories in Portraits"; Styles, *Dress of the People*.

⁸⁷ Bailey, "Sensible Man"; Bailey, *Parenting in England*; Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood."

⁸⁸ Begiato, *Manliness in Britain*; Begiato, "Between Poise and Power."

⁸⁹ Williamson, *British Masculinity*.

century sets the stage for my examination of games, age, and masculinity in the domestic interior.⁹⁰

ii. Multiple Masculinities

In this section, I show how *Life*'s rules, vignettes, and captions communicate a late eighteenth-century English understanding and interpretation of a male's world. Concepts, ideals, and propositions about age and masculinity are enacted through game processes. I contend that masculinity could not be reduced to a single overriding trait, or even a handful of traits. Rather, like Bailey's perspective, I hold that there was a plurality of perhaps conflicting masculinities.⁹¹ For the Sedate Man (positions 49 to 59) stage of life, a male could be affable, benevolent, and patriotic, but also imperious, morose, and insensible. How and when masculinities were expressed was context dependent. *Life* discloses the construction and performance of specific identities for males at all ages. Playing the game is one way for players to sample age-related masculine personae and attempt to make sense of the real world. In its game world, *Life* transforms into a virtual three-dimensional realm of age and masculinity that is a performance situated within spaces of an actual domestic interior. The game is a virtual world of male avatars that exists within the real world of the domestic interior where tangible events and experiences occur. At the same time, *Life* embodies and reflects real life events and experiences that happen outside the game's borders but inside the home and outside the architectural boundaries of the house. Experiences in the two worlds, real and virtual, drift and bump into each other, the real informing the imaginary

⁹⁰ Harvey, *Little Republic*; Harvey, "Ritual Encounters"; Harvey, "Men Making Home"; Karen Harvey, "Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 3 (2008): 205-221.

⁹¹ Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood," 167.

and the imaginary informing the real. Friction between vice and virtue, and between real and virtual worlds, persists until a player makes the winning move to immortality.

The mechanisms and processes of gameplay generate the construction and performance of specific masculine identities inside the compartments. They are reminders of everyday life, which is embodied in a binary of virtue and vice but visualized in nuanced ways. Masculinity takes a changeable, twisty, disjointed journey – move forward, go back, stay in place. Eighty-four positions are on the board. Six headings identify a stage of life or state of being: youth (12), young man (24), prime of life (36), sedate man (48), old man (60), decrepitude (72), and immortal man (84).⁹² The headings are signposts, which introduce eleven characters or qualities that mark a given stage of life or state of being. Two or three rules are associated with each stage of life. Many of these masculinities are envisioned inside a domestic interior, which is denoted by tables or chairs, but also outside the home.

Drawing largely on textual sources, Harvey's explanation for the domestic authority of middle-class men originates in "oeconomy," management of the house. Harvey considers oeconomy as a discourse of practices, stating that, oeconomy "was not a set of rules but a more flexible cultural resource ... it was comprised of practices as much as words spoken or written. Oeconomy was an ideal model of living."⁹³ The notion leads Harvey to argue that masculinity worked toward control of the house and its residents, which in turn could lead to more control in the wider world.

⁹² When I first mention a specific position number or its name, I indicate the position number using numerals inside parentheses.

⁹³ Harvey, *Little Republic*, 15. Harvey examines oeconomy using twenty-five case studies. Texts cover general advice books, dictionaries, encyclopedias, household manuals, political treatises, and religious texts as well as personal account books, commonplace books, diaries and journals, family papers, wills, and inventories.

Harvey's idea of domestic masculine authority is compelling, but I contend that by using games as a source for concepts of masculinity we can better discern the cultural complexity of masculinities. *Life* encourages a process of self-regulation through the rules that govern its dichotomy of virtue and vice. However, *Life* is subtler than the centripetal authority that Harvey proposes. While the game identifies positive qualities, it does not shore up masculine control, but instead exposes masculine weaknesses. Harvey's work is critical because it takes material culture seriously. I build on Harvey's work to address how a game might shape middle-class men. In *Life*, although the universal theme of the ages of man consists of a familiar and predictable series of life stages, the experiences of intimate minutiae from daily life inside vignettes are less controllable and more nuanced.

iii. The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

The remainder of this section discusses masculinities that vignettes reveal. To address Harvey's emphasis on oeconomy, there is no "frugal" man on the game board, but Oeconomist (33) is portrayed writing, perhaps recording household expenditures in an account book. Though Oeconomist is onboard, it is important to recall he is one of a team of eighty-four characters and does not dominate home life in the way that Harvey proposes. Oeconomist is flanked by Generous Man (32) and Married Man (34), forming a triumvirate of domestic authority. A player arriving at Married Man is rewarded with two stakes "for his Wife's Portion" and leaps ahead "to be a good Father at 56."⁹⁴ Generous Man sits on a chair and seems to be giving money to a youth wearing ragged clothes; Married Man stands beside a woman, suggesting his wife; and Good Father stands looking down facing a child, both

⁹⁴ Generous Man, Married Man, and Good Father are three of only seven vignettes that depict more than the main male character. The others are Complaisant Man (26), Flatterer (28), Benevolent Man (52), and Patient Man (68).

with arms outreached toward each other. Images in *Life* corroborate Williamson's observation that, "Gentlemanly masculinity was...still a matter of comparisons between men. Women were, as before, a prop in the gentlemanly worlds of power, prestige and feeling, depicted as both supporting it and protected by it."⁹⁵ Women and girls learned they were truly not in the game: females are portrayed in a mere six vignettes and consistently in a dependent position as with the Benevolent Man helping a woman who may have fainted. In addition, Bailey's perspective on fatherhood matches the caring images of Generous Man, Married Man, Good Father, and Benevolent Man. Bailey maintains that during the second half of the eighteenth century, "Sensibility was...a central ideological framework shaping manhood and fatherhood."⁹⁶ Bailey goes on to show that the idealized father was emotionally engaged with his children, provided material necessities, instructed his children about moral behaviour, and disciplined them with kindness. This model of fatherhood emerged in a society changing due to commercialization, growing manufacturing and consumption, urbanization, war, and the looming threat of political rebellion.⁹⁷ Such structural upheaval was seen to undermine class, gender, social, and family ties. Visualizing positive domestic masculinities on a game played at home confirms that games had a role in family sociability and in propping up the state.

We do not know if the males portrayed in *Life* are actual people, fictitious characters, or idealized stereotypes. Hannas speculates some vignettes portray real men: the Poet (41) is Alexander Pope (1688-1744); the Geographer (47) is Captain Cook (1728-1779); the Patriot

⁹⁵ Williamson, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 179.

⁹⁶ Joanne Bailey, "Sensible Man," 290. See also Joanne Bailey, "Masculinity and Fatherhood in England c.1760-1830"; Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830*.

⁹⁷ Bailey, "Sensible Man," 287.

(55) is William Pitt (1759-1806); the Ambitious Man (57) is the Prince Regent, future King George IV (1762-1830); and the Immortal Man (84) is Isaac Newton (1642-1727).⁹⁸ John Wilkes (1795-1797) may well be the Libertine (61). Images may be serious social commentary, satire, or visual documentation of behaviour or traits of famous men from British history. The Prince Regent was symbolic of the British monarchy but by 1790 he was also the target of political and public ridicule and media satire, because of his extravagant lifestyle and reckless spending. As Ambitious Man, the Prince Regent sits at a table with left arm akimbo and right arm protectively draped around a crown and looking backward over his left shoulder, perhaps warding off critics of his unroyal conduct. The men listed above are larger-than-life characters who represent aspects of English culture and stirred imaginations. Their images may comprise a canon of visual biography of famous men with their laudable or despicable qualities in a ludic format. Assigning names of actual people to males pictured in vignettes brings the realities of external world events into the home and places them front and centre on the game board. Hannas's proposition that images depict real historical figures reaffirms that a game played in the home is tethered to the outside world.

During the first three years of life, a boy on the board has no distinct personality: generic characters are labelled "infant," "child," "boy," and "darling," at positions 1 to 4, respectively. Such absence of personality may reflect the influence of John Locke's ideas on human development and eighteenth-century children's education, which regarded the newborn mind as a blank slate, shaped by experience and education, or that masculinity was

⁹⁸ Hannas, *English Jigsaw Puzzle*, 115. Hannas does not give any sources or supporting evidence for the individuals she identifies on the game board. There is no indication if the name William Pitt refers to either William Pitt the Elder (1708-1778) or his son William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), both serving as Prime Minister. I suggest it is more likely Pitt the Younger, because he was known as a patriot and the first of the two times he served as Prime Minister (1783-1801; 1804-1806) coincides with the game's publication.

defined in terms of its active roles and responsibilities.⁹⁹ Children were taught virtuous behaviour. Only two positive qualities about boyhood appear in *Life* – Docile Boy (9) and Studious Boy (7). A player landing on the latter is rewarded with one stake and leaps ahead to Orator (42). Bad behaviour plagues the remainder of boyhood: boys are labelled mischievous (5), careless (6), malignant (8), thoughtless (18), and negligent (11). One rule makes it clear a boy’s negligence will be penalized: “The negligent boy at 11 shall pay a Stake, & shall remain two rounds without spinning.” The vignette displays a disheveled boy slouched in a chair with books scattered around him. Boisterous boys are depicted on other playthings. The puzzle *Dulce Domum* (1810) consists of eight scenes of boys creating mayhem at school and home. *Village School in an Uproar* (1825) portrays the chaos in a schoolroom swarming with boys.¹⁰⁰

Prescriptive literature, poetry, periodicals, stories, and other writing for and about boys, youth, or men reiterate principles of behaviour that are visualized in *Life*. Texts reveal that valued and despicable traits were not limited to a specific age, life stage, or social class. The driving theme of *The Good Boy’s Soliloquy* (1813) is stemming boyhood naughtiness.¹⁰¹ *Soliloquy* is a conduct manual of didactic poetry that relentlessly scolds the protagonist about what he should not do. Text written in couplets is accompanied by sixteen (including the

⁹⁹ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. By Mr. John Locke, 5th ed. (London: Printed for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1705). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

¹⁰⁰ *Dulce Domum* (London: Designed, engraved & published by D. Orme, No. 308, Oxford Street, May 1. 1810), 26 x 46 cm, wood, hand-coloured engraved sheet, Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library; *Village School in an Uproar* ([London?]: [publisher not identified], [ca. 1825]), 20 x 32 cm, wood, hand-coloured engraved sheet, Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.

¹⁰¹ Author of the *Invited Alphabet, & c., The Good Boy’s Soliloquy: Containing his Parent’s Instructions, relative to his Dispositions and Manners* (London: Printed by William Darton Jun., 58, Holborn-hill, 1813), Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.

frontispiece) full-page illustrative prints. A verse drapes over the top or wraps upward around the bottom of an oval-shaped frame. Inside the oval, a boy lives out the verses, usually in a domestic interior. The contents of the prints imply the home is the centre of the boy's universe. Thirteen of the sixteen scenes occur in a domestic interior, which is indicated by familiar furnishings: a fireplace mantel, a painting on a wall, drapery, a dining table covered with a cloth, chairs, books on a shelf, a broom, basket, sofa with bolsters, candlestick with lit candles, bed, and carpets.

Virtue and vice become more diverse during youth, but vice dominates. Virtuous characters include the Volunteer (13) and Assiduous Youth (15). Assiduous is rewarded with two stakes and a move to the Patriot's position (55). Vices comprise the Indolent (14), Obstinate (16), and Rebellious Youth (17), the Trifler (19), Idler (21), Duellist (22), and Dissembler (23). The rule at the Trifler states that a player must pay one stake and go ahead to Songster (38). Duellist forfeits two stakes and goes backward to the position of Boy (3).

Codes for manhood were directed at males from various social classes and occupations. Former Lord Mayor of London, Sir John Barnard (1685-1764), wrote *A Present for an Apprentice: Or, a sure Guide to Gain both Esteem and Estate...*¹⁰² In the introduction, Barnard explains he had been an apprentice and wanted to pass his knowledge to his son and others. First published in 1740, the contents of *Present for an Apprentice* were modified, and the book reissued in new editions over many years, into the nineteenth century. In the 1778 version, contemporaneous with the *New Game of Human Life*, the text gives

¹⁰² Sir John Barnard, *A Present for an Apprentice: or, a sure Guide to Gain both Esteem and Estate. With Rules for his Conduct to his Master, and in the World [...]* (London: Printed by John Barker, Broad-Way, Blackfriars, 1778). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

guidance on choosing a wife, housekeeping, and servants, along with analyses of character traits, including affability, complacency, fidelity, frugality, gaming, lying, and temperance.

Tales for Youth, or the High Road to Renown, through the Paths of Pleasure [...] (1797) is an encyclopedic companion and guide on how to become a successful businessman.¹⁰³ The book discusses ninety subjects that steer apprentices on the path to be “respectable tradesmen.” It cultivates behaviour for fruitful business relations that apply to life in general. Lessons are relevant to any apprentice, regardless of occupation. Comparable subjects are found in *The New Game of Human Life*. The anonymous author of *Tales for Youth* counsels that, “Without a full determination to be constantly Assiduous, it is impossible to be a good apprentice.”¹⁰⁴ Passages encourage affability, assiduity, benevolence, candour, politeness, sobriety, and temperance. Haste and obstinacy are two qualities that are discouraged.¹⁰⁵

Conduct literature for children overflowed with advice on virtue and vice. Mrs. Bonhote’s (1744-1818) *The Parental Monitor in Two Volumes* (1788/90) is a model conduct manual for children and youth (girls and boys) that mentions qualities portrayed in *Life*.¹⁰⁶ Bonhote presents instructional narratives to discuss virtues and vices that are relevant, not only for children, but for people of all ages. The *Marine Society* promoted the development

¹⁰³ *Tales for Youth, or the High Road to Renown, through the Paths of Pleasure* [...] (London: Printed for William Lane, at the Minerva-Press, Leadenhall-Street, 1797). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

¹⁰⁴ *Tales for Youth*, 19.

¹⁰⁵ *Tales for Youth*, 3-5, 23, 19-20, 37-38, 192-193, 225-226, 230-237, 115-116, 178-184.

¹⁰⁶ Mrs [Elizabeth] Bonhote, *The Parental Monitor in Two Volumes*. By Mrs. Bonhote, of Bungay, Suffolk (London: Printed for William Lake, Leadenhall-Street, 1788). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

of virtuous qualities in its manual for the poor boys whom it sponsored to go to sea.¹⁰⁷ Within a religious polemic, the manual's contents capture the behavioural issues seen in the images and text of *Life*. A belief in the malleability of youthful minds is clear as text states, “*Youth* is the season to mould the *man*.”¹⁰⁸ The table of contents lists subjects found on the game board: “The most temperate are the most happy,” “The idle man is a miserable man,” “Diligence and patience, under admonition, a proof of a good heart,” “Drunkenness is as shameful as it is sinful,” and “Gluttony and eating voraciously, equally shameful and improvident.”¹⁰⁹ These declarations indicate that religious instruction composed for boys has been translated into a ludic activity and the new communicative medium of a board game.

Moral behaviour in childhood and youth is rewarded with one or more counters/stakes and advancement to a virtuous place in adulthood, closer to the winning position. The number of stakes received or lost signals the relative value of a behaviour or quality. The well-behaved boy or youth proceeds to well-mannered adulthood. Studious Boy (7) receives one counter and moves ahead to Orator (42). Assiduous Youth (15) receives two counters and proceeds to Patriot (55). Patient Man (58) receives two stakes and is instructed to amuse himself with Merry Fellow (80). Rules deliver serious messages, but humour and satire are present too. Complaisant Man (26) must “remain there and let others play till another comes to take his place, and then he shall go back to the place of his liberator.” Clearly, trying to please others is unmanly and a sign of weakness.

¹⁰⁷ Jonas Hanway, *Prudential Instruction to the Poor Boys, fitted out by the Corporation of the Marine Society* [...] ([London]: Printers-Street: Strahan and Preston, 1788). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

¹⁰⁸ Hanway, 133.

¹⁰⁹ Hanway, vii-viii.

The Prime of Life (37 to 47) is celebrated with personal pleasure and entertainment in the arts: author, singer, poet or adventurous exploration and travel. But there is a price to pay: Romance Writer (40) loses two stakes and regresses to Mischievous Boy (5), and as mentioned above, Satyrist reverts to Malignant Boy. The Sedate Man (49 to 59) is an intermediate phase between the prime of life and old age. For the most part, this stage of life has a benign nature as shown in Affable (50), Benevolent (52), Vigilant (54), Patriot (55), Good Father (56), and Temperate Man (58).

The Old Man (61 to 71) is afflicted by uglier aspects of masculinity: Libertine (61), Drunkard (63), Miser (64), Gambler (65), Brute (67), Vindictive Man (69), and Man Hater (71). Yallop's work on masculine old age discloses the *de rigueur* social behaviour expected in a man's later years. By examining eighteenth-century medical advice literature, Yallop pinpoints cheerfulness as a mandatory "behavioural code" and desirable "sociable category" (not unlike politeness) for the older man.¹¹⁰ "Cheerfulness connotes calmness, freedom from passionate turmoil, closeness to God, humanistic appreciation, civic virtue, sociability and self-control. Cheerfulness was *the* aspirational quality to be striven for in old age..."¹¹¹ Medical advice frequently referred to cheerfulness as beneficial for health and longevity. Yallop draws parallels between cheerfulness and politeness, suggesting it was a social necessity for older men to socialize with young people, especially children. Instead of the terms "cheerful" or "cheerfulness," the "merry fellow," a rotund man with hands poised on his belly, is found at position 80. Landing here is a positive move: "The patient man at 68,

¹¹⁰ Helen Yallop, "Representing Aged Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century England: The 'Old Man' of Medical Advice," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 2 (2013): 191-210.

¹¹¹ Yallop, 197.

shall receive two Stakes, & go to amuse himself with the merry fellow at 80.” Yet the benefits of cheerfulness were not solely for older men. Mrs. Bonnhote promotes cheerfulness to children as a valuable quality throughout life, stating that “Sensibility, sincerity and cheerfulness should ever be united.”¹¹² “May you never fail to keep up an intercourse with so desirable a trio! and may neither circumstances, interest, or old age, deprive you of those serene satisfactions which *they* will produce in every stage of life!”¹¹³

Decrepitude (72), standing and supported by a walking stick, is the final stage of life and is dogged by offensive social behaviour, rather than obvious bodily decline. Ottaway demonstrates that it was an older person’s physical ability to work and perform daily tasks, not chronological age, that determined if a person was perceived as “old.”¹¹⁴ Experiences of older age were individual and diverse, depending on gender, social and economic circumstances, physical ability, and the extent of family involvement. In *Life*, the Hypochondriac (76) is the only direct reference to physical health. Inappropriate social behaviour included the Sloven (73) wearing an unkempt wig and disheveled clothes, the Hasty Man (75), the Satyrist (77), and the Troublesome Companion (81) seated in a chair with arms raised and fists clenched. Based on the rules, the Satyrist and the Prodigal are the two of the most negative characters in the game: a player who lands on either place is penalized with the loss of four stakes and a return to Careless and Malignant boys, respectively.

¹¹² Mrs. Bonnhote, *Parental Monitor*, v.1, 191.

¹¹³ Mrs. Bonnhote, v. 1, 191-192.

¹¹⁴ Ottaway, *Decline of Life*.

A striking feature of the rules is the recurring connection between immoral behaviour in adulthood and a return to childhood. At any phase of adulthood, landing on a position labelled with a vice or negative trait is punished with a loss of one or more stakes and a move backward to a negative trait tied to boyhood or youth: “The Duellist at 22 shall pay two Stakes and return to take the place of the Boy at Number 3.”; “The Prodigal at Number 30 shall pay four Stakes, & go back to the Careless boy at 6.”; “The Romance Writer at 40 shall pay two Stakes & go back to the mischievous boy at 5.”; “The Drunkard at 63 shall pay two stakes, and go back to the Child at 2.”; and “The Satyrist at 77 shall pay four Stakes and go back to the Malignant boy at 8.”

Repetition is one way we learn. Rhythmic repetition in the format of rules, travelling around the game board, and seeing the image-caption pairs reinforces the connections between imprudent actions and punishment and a return to an earlier position in the game. Repeatedly playing *Life* and experiencing the rules increases the play value of the narratives that are told by each combination of image and text and the concepts they represent. Players are rehearsing the ideas, vices, and virtues they may face in real life.

We do not know exactly who played *Life*. It is likely many players were members of the growing middle class, such as Henry Keymer and family. The process of playing the game was accessible to any age cohort, gender, or social class. It is a game with broad appeal—a consummate sociable familial game – making it an ideal vehicle to alter ideology and behaviour. However, players of various ages likely experienced the game differently. Children and youth could anticipate and speculate about future experiences and events or associate game imagery with people they have known or famous historical or living people they know of. Adults could recall the past, think about current circumstances, or predict

future situations. Women and girls learned about their minor roles: they are barely part of a man's world.

Regardless of a player's identity, the game could elicit varied reactions. The interpretation of each image differs from person to person and can change throughout the game as memories stir. The game encourages personal insight, which shapes a player's future behaviour through rewards and forfeits. Each stage of life contains discrete moments, events, or states of being. Each moment or event depicted in a vignette can be expanded to convey its own independent narrative.

The ongoing struggle between vice and virtue, the visual rhetoric of dramatic performances of masculinities, and the procedural rhetoric of rules spark emotional responses. Linking the heightened emotional states of play with the serious task of learning moral lessons may have had long-lasting memory effects for players. Arielle Tambini, Ulrike Rimmele, Elizabeth Phelps, and Lila Davachi demonstrate that emotional arousal can enhance later long-term memory formation.¹¹⁵ The heightened emotions felt during play may have boosted the future learning of moral lessons that players experienced in *Life* and read about in texts.

Didactic texts communicated social expectations for masculine behaviour for different ages and classes. The breadth of the intended audience for texts demonstrates their common purpose. *Parental Monitor* and *Soliloquy* speak to the gentry. *Tales for Youth* and *Present for an Apprentice* outline principles for youth and young men working in trades, the members of the rising middle class. The *Marine Society* instructs poor boys. While texts may

¹¹⁵ Arielle Tambini, Ulrike Rimmele, Elizabeth A. Phelps, and Lila Davachi, "Emotional Brain States Carry Over and Enhance Future Memory Formation," *Nature Neuroscience* 20, no. 2 (2017): 271-278.

be interpreted differently by distinct groups, the main goal of all these texts, and many others, is to rein in masculine errant behaviour and foster behaviours beneficial to society. *The New Game of Human Life* visualizes, embodies, and brings alive shared English values and asserts its cognitive influence to ensure these values stick. Players fulfil the same purpose through real and virtual individual experiences, rehearsal, and repetition. Gillian Williamson's analysis of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, published between 1731 and 1815, confirms the intricacies of masculine identities that existed by the late eighteenth century. The periodical offered readers examples of "pitfalls to avoid and paths to tread."¹¹⁶ Near the end of the eighteenth century, Williamson finds a "gentlemanly masculinity" where the major virtues associated with successful middle-class men were "industry, integrity, self-restraint, temperance, frugality and decency," with an emphasis on industry.¹¹⁷ Manliness was associated with "straightforwardness and directness of manner, speech or deportment," which is denoted by Downright Man (27) on *Life's* board.¹¹⁸ Vices entailed the same suspects: idleness, drunkenness, gambling, and self-indulgence were to be avoided.

Conclusion

In chapter 2, I explored how *The New Game of Human Life* asserts its domestic authority. *Life* worked as a cognitive force designed to shape players' thinking about morality with the intention to alter their behaviour. Playing a board game in the domestic interior was a multifaceted endeavour that occurred amid individual and societal complexity. Wide-ranging

¹¹⁶ Williamson, 165.

¹¹⁷ Williamson, 163.

¹¹⁸ Williamson, 166.

cultural, economic, political, and social processes impacted gameplay. The game was a commercial product designed to feed and reinforce social beliefs, ideas, and opinions about masculinity and age and control related behaviour. It functioned as a virtual role-playing game and a simulation of real life for and about males that was played in the home.

The visual and material culture of the game depicts an English understanding of masculine identities by combining localized miniature action scenes of males, informational text, and rules inside a universal context of nature and life stages. The game does not prop up patriarchy per se but builds an androcentric universe: a ludic concoction and celebration of masculinities, warts, and all. It animates a cultural reading of manhood experienced inside the spaces of the domestic interior. Game, age, masculinity, and domestic interior are social constructs lived and reproduced to shape and maintain community stability. The guiding policy of educators in the eighteenth century was to unite instruction with amusement. This approach tried to instill social morals early, in childhood and youth, to nurture conventional lifelong beliefs and behaviour. Using a children's board game to teach ideas about masculine identities added a new medium of communication to the instructional toolbox.

The visual performance of multiple masculinities is the heart of *Life*. The game is a gamut of masculine experiences brought to life through gameplay. Interweaving virtue and vice underscores tension between conflicting actions and traits. It also makes the game fun as virtuous and immoral behaviour play off each other. The visual display of age within the stages of life demonstrates that no one stage is perfect, devoid of flaws or impervious to vice. Supporting texts verify that a character or trait may occur at almost any age or life stage. Texts are free of the same space and design constraints of a material game and confirm the proposition that vice and virtue were age neutral.

Life fulfills five overlapping and reinforcing roles: avatar, map, cognitive technology, conduct manual, and mediator. These mutually supportive roles collaborate to shape masculine identities. Using the deep games model, I showed how *Life*'s design, text, and imagery facilitate the game's ability to realize its roles. The overarching theme of the ages of man joins with the design features of borders/boundaries and spirals and the rhetoric of images, text, and rules to cultivate *Life*'s cognitive potential to transform players' ideas about age, masculinity, and conduct. The game's influence goes beyond ideology: it stimulates pragmatic behaviour change that meets social expectations and complies with an idealized vision of English masculinity. Endorsing conventional thought and behaviour for masculine identities enabled stability, which buttressed social, political, and economic challenges at the end of the eighteenth century. The messy cultural complexity of the real androcentric world played out in a game inside the domestic interior.

3

A Series of Figures that Dress and Undress: Paper Dolls, Age, and Masculinity

During the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic (2020-2021), positive stay-at-home recreation was crucial for mental, physical, and social health.¹ To find solace, some of us baked bread, adopted a pet, read more books, planted a vegetable garden, or played games. *T: The New York Times Style Magazine* suggested do-it-yourself activities. One project enlisted artists to design paper dolls to dress and undress that readers could download and print.² This simple amusement could be made at home by almost anyone. Lack of a printer was not a deterrent; players could design, construct, and cut out hand-drawn dolls using materials at hand.

The potential personal comfort from paper dolls during the pandemic reinforces Miller's findings about the intimate meanings of ordinary belongings.³ Between 2003 and 2005, Miller and associates interviewed and observed thirty people in their homes in South London, UK. Miller discovered material things, often miniature, matter: McDonald's Happy Meal® figures, plastic ducks, and postage stamps, amid others. Miller's results verify that a modest possession can acquire wonder, give emotional sustenance, and help make sense of

¹ Erin J. Campbell and Olivier Vallerand, eds. "Introduction: Approaching Home: New Perspectives on the Domestic Interior," *RACAR* 45, no. 2 (2020): 7-14. Campbell and Vallerand echo my position that the home is a complex and evolving emotional, social, and political environment, especially in the COVID-19 context.

² Katherine Cusumano, "Paper Dolls for your Crafting Pleasure," *T: The New York Times Style Magazine*, May 20, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/20/t-magazine/paper-dolls.html>.

³ Miller, *Comfort of Things*.

someone's world. Paper dolls appeared in English popular culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, yet still appeal in the modern context.

The lasting popularity and cultural value of historical and modern paper dolls is clear.⁴ Moreover, collectors' fascination with paper dolls is unmistakable.⁵ On November 12, 2006, Theriault's auction house in Annapolis, Maryland, US, which specializes in antique dolls, sold 346 lots of paper dolls from the collection of Shirley Fischer of Sylvania, Ohio.⁶ Fischer's collection was comprised of American and European paper dolls issued from 1790 to the 1940s, including titles I investigate in my dissertation. Realized prices ranged from US \$25 to US \$16,000 per lot. The auction catalogue states collectors choose paper dolls for many reasons: "a study of fashion, an appreciation for the illustration and artwork, an intrigue with the artistic devices employed in doll construction and costume adherence, or for the perspective of social history."⁷

Collectors' interest in paper dolls is echoed in library and museum collections. The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library, Ontario, Canada, boasts paper doll specimens as part of a research collection of English children's literature, chapbooks, games, movable books, and metaphoric pictures to 1910. The Strong National

⁴ See Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Paper Dolls: Fragile Figures, Enduring Symbols* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2017).

⁵ See Edward Ryan, *Paper Soldiers: The Illustrated History of Printed Paper Armies of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries* (London: Gold Age Editions, 1995). Philip Weiss Auctions of Lynbrook, New York, sold Ryan's collection of paper soldiers and other military collectables on April 24, 2010, <https://www.proxibid.com/Philip-Weiss-Auctions/Edward-Ryan-Toy-Soldier-Military-Collection/event-catalog/26596>.

⁶ Florence Theriault, "Paperdoll Auction, Prices Realized for Auction at Hyatt, Morristown, NJ, 11/12/2006," in *Paper Dolls: Early Historical Rarities to Popular Culture Editions 1790-1940* (Annapolis, MD: Gold Horse Publishing, 2006). Another Theriault catalogue documents a collection of over 350 paper dolls belonging to the estate of Janie Varsolona of Galesburg, Kansas. See Florence Theriault, *Dressing Dolls: Antique and Collectible Paper Dolls, 1850-1965* (Annapolis, MD: Gold Horse Publishing, 2001).

⁷ Theriault, *Paper Dolls*, 5.

Museum of Play, Rochester, New York, United States, is known for its more than 3,700 primarily American paper dolls from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Winterthur Museum and Library, Delaware, United States, retains the Maxine Waldron Collection of children's books and paper figures. It is the consumption of paper dolls, however, that shines light on the dolls' influence on modern popular culture.

Contemporary paper dolls include fantastic characters, such as a Victorian steampunk octopus, real actors, entrepreneur and philanthropist Bill Gates, comedian Gilda Radner, LGBTQ community members, Pope John Paul II, presidents and prime ministers, royalty, singers, and more. Moreover, paper dolls have inspired many cultural spin-offs. The term "paper doll" and its connotations have inspired: music, novels, and poetry; a 1960s British rock band; a 1980s television series; and children's literature, including Julia Donaldson's children's picture book, among others.⁸ In the 1970s, performance photographer Cindy Sherman (b. 1954) created paper-doll projects, including the black-and-white animated films *Doll Clothes* (1975) and *Paper Dolls* (1975).⁹ Paper dolls and clothes designed by an adolescent Sylvia Plath (1932-1963) prompted Anne Koval to curate *Paper Doll* (2011-2012), an exhibition of work by Plath alongside seven contemporary artists at the Owens Art

⁸ Julia Donaldson, *The Paper Dolls*, illustrated by Rebecca Cobb (London: Macmillan, 2012). See also Margalit Fox, "Tom Tierney, Who Made Paper Dolls an Art Form," *The New York Times* July 18, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/19/arts/tom-tierney-who-made-paper-dolls-an-art-form-dies-at-85.html>. From the mid-twentieth- to early twenty-first century, American illustrator Tom Tierney (1928-2014) was the leading international commercial paper-doll designer, creating over 400 paper-doll books.

⁹ Cindy Sherman, *Doll Clothes*, 1975, film, super 8 mm, shown as video, monitor, black and white, 2 minutes, 22 seconds, Tate, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/sherman-doll-clothes-t12571>; Gabriele Schor, translated by Elizabeth Tucker, Fiona Elliott, and Catherine Schelbert, *Cindy Sherman: The Early Works 1975-1977 Catalogue Raisonné* (Ostfildern, DE: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 126-140.

Gallery, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, and Mendel Art Gallery, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.¹⁰

The historical origins of the countless modern readings of the Western paper doll are rooted in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe. On April 1, 1811, brothers Samuel Williams Fuller (c.1777-1857) and Joseph Carr Fuller (c.1783-1863) published *The Protean Figure and Metamorphic Costumes*, a large-scale adult male paper-doll set.¹¹ At the price of one guinea, the set was promoted for many audiences. On Tuesday, April 9, 1811, a classified ad in the conservative daily newspaper *The Morning Post* described the dolls as ingenious, elegant, and a “novel invention.” *The Protean Figure* “will gain the patronage of the Nobility, Gentry, and Public in general, by its affording and interesting and rational amusement, not only to youth, but to persons of riper years of both sexes.”¹² The set consists of one adult male paper doll, twelve outfits in eighty-nine pieces, and a hand-painted aquatint background of a coastal landscape with ships in the distance. No narrative accompanies the doll, but a one-page sheet titled “Directions for Exhibiting the Protean Figure, in Its Different Costumes” explains how to dress and display it. Costumes include walking dress, mourning

¹⁰ Anne Koval, *Paper Doll*, published in conjunction with an exhibition of the same title, curated by Anne Koval and presented at Owens Art Gallery, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, September 16–November 6, 2011, and Mendel Art Gallery, March 30–June 10, 2012, <https://kovalcurator.files.wordpress.com/2015/01/paper-doll-fifth-pages.pdf>.

¹¹ *The Protean Figure and Metamorphic Costumes* (London: Printed by Daniel Nathan Shury, Berwick Street, Soho and published by S. & J. Fuller at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, April 1, 1811), 23 cm, an adult male paper doll standing in a hand-painted aquatint backdrop, twelve costumes in eighty-nine parts, each costume in a labelled folded packet, all bound in a book form, illustrated label on slipcase. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuc.8700667>; Theriault, *Paper Dolls*, 12–13.

¹² “The Protean Figure,” Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 12540, Tuesday, April 9, 1811, London, England. *British Library Newspapers*. The same advertisement appeared two months later. See “The Protean Figure,” Multiple Arts and Popular Culture Items, *The Morning Post*, issue 12589, Wednesday, June 5, 1811. *19th Century British Library Newspapers*. After three- and one-half years, *Protean Figure* was still in circulation, listed with other paper doll-books in an advertisement: “Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum,” Multiple Display Advertisements, *La Belle Assemblée*, no. 65, 1814. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*.

suit, Turkish costume, Quaker's habit, officer's uniform (land forces), full dress (in the year 1700), monk's habit, naval uniform, German hussar, knight in full armour, gentlemen's evening costume, and French uniform (imperial guard). Pieces for each outfit are on an individual page, wrapped separately in a folded packet and bound together in book format. Unwrapping and then re-wrapping each outfit in its papers is akin to dressing and undressing the doll. It is a recurring physical process that engrains cultural meanings in a player through visual and haptic interactions. The packets fit inside a slipcase labelled with an illustration of Proteus, the mythological Greek sea god, known for his ability to change his appearance at will, tempting a player to release the transformations inside.

A year earlier, in 1810, the Fullers issued the first in a series of five collections of miniature male paper dolls and their associated books. The paper doll-book is a visual, literary, and material performance of English connotations of age and masculinity. Meanings are imagined, created, and revealed as a player engages doll images and text. How did early nineteenth-century paper dolls, consumed in the domestic interior, influence perceptions and beliefs about age and masculinity? How did the dolls alter players' concepts about masculine identity and shape their behaviour?



9 “Paper Dolls,” in *The History and Adventures of Little Henry, Exemplified in a Series of Figures* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, 1810), 10 x 11 cm, hand-coloured paper. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

This chapter analyzes five sets of male dolls and their books, produced between 1810 and 1816, that were extremely popular in the early nineteenth century and are representative examples of the types of dolls that circulated widely.¹³ Paper dolls were readily gendered as male, which opened the possibility of being transported into a wider world of adventure, the ludic equivalent of seeking one’s fortune during the latter part of the Napoleonic Wars (1803-

¹³ The five collections of male paper dolls and books I study are: *The History and Adventures of Little Henry, Exemplified in a Series of Figures* (London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick Street, Soho for S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, 1810); *Frank Feignwell’s Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth Night. Exhibited in a Series of Characters* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, 1811); *Young Albert, The Roscius, Exhibited in a Series of Characters from Shakspeare and Other Authors* (London: Published by S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, 1811); *Hubert, The Cottage Youth; Being the Sequel to Phoebe, The Cottage Maid. Exemplified in a Series of Rural Figures* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum, Rathbone Place, 1812); and, *Frederick, or The Effects of Disobedience. Exemplified in a Series of Characters* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy, and Juvenile Museum, Rathbone Place, 1816).

1815). Each set of dolls presents a unique perspective. *The History and Adventures of Little Henry* (1810) (fig. 9) is the story of a kidnapped “child of wealthy parents” who works in a series of ordinary occupations that are represented by the dolls. Henry’s adventures occur over an extended period and are a journey of maturation from child to early manhood. In *Frank Feignwell’s Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth Night* (1811), the protagonist impersonates eight familiar male characters, which are embodied in dolls, and recites a satirical verse about each character to entertain his “dear young playmates.” *Young Albert, the Roscius* (1811) is a tribute to famous playwrights and their work, especially Shakespeare. The main character Albert and seven dolls perform brief passages from a selection of plays. *Hubert, The Cottage Youth* (1812) narrates Hubert’s development from a schoolboy to a youth learning about farming to a mature man who marries. Hubert’s evolution is visualized in eight dolls as he goes to school, learns farming skills, and marries. *Frederick, or the Effects of Disobedience* (1816) is a short story about redemption. Frederick is an impulsive and stubborn schoolboy who runs away from home. Seven dolls portray his fantastic journey from defiant youth to commissioned soldier after fighting in the Battle of Waterloo to defeat Napoleon Bonaparte on June 18, 1815.

I argue the paper dolls exerted cognitive influence over players’ ideas and beliefs about age and masculinity. I explore the experience of age and masculinity by inspecting the collections of male paper dolls and their books of conduct poetry and stories. I build a phenomenology of play and paper dolls in the domestic interior. Playing with paper dolls and reading their related texts is unlike playing a formal game because there are no rules. Yet the series of doll collections show that free play produces an equally rich experience.

A collection of paper dolls, plus its narrative, are expressions of masculinity, performed by a male protagonist doll and a player. Characters represented by the dolls convey society's ideology and concerns with masculinity. Each collection includes one or two movable male cut-out heads, a set of seven to nine hand-coloured cut-out paper figures wearing outfits, some with a landscape or domestic interior backdrop, and a short book. Though paper dolls and the book can be used independently, dolls and text were published together as one product. I contend dolls and their book must be understood as a single item to achieve a robust interpretation of how they shaped masculine identity.

Playing with male paper dolls can be compared to playing with dolls in a dollhouse. A player rehearses proper behaviour and adult roles. Dutch *pronk poppenhuisen* or “dollhouses for show” educated seventeenth-century Dutch women about ideal behaviour and their responsibilities as wives and mothers.¹⁴ The dollhouse was a microcosm of actual domestic spaces inside a real-home environment. It was a miniature house inside the domestic interior, its architecture reproducing the layout of a home, especially rooms associated with female domestic duties, to stress a woman's role as matriarch. The dollhouse was structured as a cabinet with doors that open to present the domestic scenes inside, giving it a sense of theatre. A woman's interaction with a dollhouse was ritual play that supported her domestic roles. Not only could a woman view the dollhouse interior, but she could also touch, handle, rearrange, and closely examine finely crafted objects and dolls inside to appreciate their aesthetic value and reinforce their didactic role. Physical engagement with the dollhouse through ritual play motivated ideal female behaviour via an idealized miniature domestic environment.

¹⁴ Michelle Moseley-Christian, “Seventeenth-Century *Pronk Poppenhuisen*: Domestic Space and the Ritual Function of Dutch Dollhouses for Women,” *Home Cultures* 7, no. 3 (2010): 341-364.

Male paper dolls can be viewed in a similar way. They are meant to be consumed in an actual domestic interior to instill a personal code about masculinity. But rather than play in a miniature physical setting that replicates and concentrates reality, where a player learns about and rehearses masculine behaviour, the real lived spaces of the domestic interior offer an expansive experiential canvas. Paper dolls are not restricted by the physical limits of dollhouse architecture, allowing a player to imagine the future more fully. Playing with paper dolls in the domestic interior is analogous to playing in an imaginary virtual digital world, situated inside the real-world spaces of the domestic interior. Complex cognitive, physical, and social processes involved in playing and imagining occurred inside the home. The domestic interior was the formative familial environment where doll play occurred. The physical and social environment afforded the opportunity to play and facilitated the play experiences that could shape masculine identity.

Analytical Framework

In chapter 1, I outlined the main analytical framework that guides my study of playthings in the early nineteenth-century English domestic interior. I apply a trio of overlapping lenses: how people experience miniature objects; human interactions in domestic social spaces; and the underestimated ability of an ordinary possession to influence perceptions, ideas, and behaviour. I employ these lenses to uncover how paper dolls that are miniature representations of males consumed in the home could shape cognition, behaviour, and identity.

In this chapter, I add Rusch's theory of deep games for digital game design (discussed in chapter 2) to my framework. Deep game concepts are crucial for my study because they

take play and games seriously. Rusch's overarching principle is that serious games have the capacity to engage with social topics. I show the benefits of a deep games approach to an art historical context by examining how paper doll images and their texts deal with masculine identity and work toward changing a player's thinking. As part of the analysis, I discuss structural features of the doll-book that contribute to our understanding of how it communicates about age and masculinity: intermediality, seriality, and paratext. The doll-book is an intermedial product, composed of physically separate doll imagery and a book containing only text. Seriality brings the independent collections of dolls and book together to form a whole series, which further strengthens ideas presented in the individual collections. A book's paratext enhances the doll-book's ability to communicate its messages about age and masculinity.

Paper dolls diverge from formal games because there are no rules of play. Procedural rhetoric is absent.¹⁵ There are no procedural rules as in a board game. If rules do exist, players invent them when they handle the dolls and/or read the text. Such idiosyncratic rules change at the whim of players. Therefore, paper-doll play takes on a different complexion than playing a formal board game. Sources of rhetoric are solely visual and textual. Players rely on the dolls, the text's narrative, and personal life experiences and imagination.

Despite an absence of rules, playing with the dolls is compatible with Rusch's core concepts about deep games. Players' interactions with the dolls are about a range of human experience and making it real through play, such as role playing about being in the Navy or learning to become a farmer. Indeed, the dolls are cognitive tools that communicate ideas

¹⁵ Bogost, "Procedural Rhetoric." Bogost argues that some games use rules to persuade or alter player behaviour.

about masculine identity. The same ideas are reiterated in their texts. Together, dolls and text direct a player toward a virtuous life by encouraging personal change.

Early nineteenth-century paper dolls have received insufficient art historical study. Indeed, art historians have scarcely recognized the dolls as meaningful cultural objects. I agree with Christina Ionescu's assertion that "all images deserve critical attention regardless of what text-focused researchers may assess to be their significance, of what art historians may think of their so-called quality, or what the public may estimate to be their aesthetic or commercial value."¹⁶ Furthermore, I endorse Michael Yonan's claim that the work of art history and material culture studies should be more closely aligned. Yonan argues: "In a world in which goods of all kinds play an enormous role in our lives, understanding art as material culture positions the discipline [art history] to become a site where the design of things can undergo close formal, constructional, and socio-semantic scrutiny."¹⁷ Like Ionescu and Yonan, I champion the inclusion of visual and material culture in art historical scholarship. I do not privilege texts over images or material culture. I advance our shared objectives by investigating neglected playthings, paper dolls.

My study of the Fuller dolls examines how the male paper doll-book fashioned thinking about age and masculinity. What topics preoccupied parents, relatives, and households about the upbringing of boys? How were these topics evident in the paper doll-book? The dolls I study are "miniature men" in the making, married to texts of conduct

¹⁶ Christina Ionescu, "Introduction: Visualizing the Text from Manuscript Culture to the Age of Caricature: A Theoretical, Methodological, and Conceptual Framework" in *Visualizing the Text: From Manuscript Culture to the Age of Caricature*, edited by Lauren Beck and Christina Ionescu (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2017), xxvi.

¹⁷ Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th* 18, no. 2 (2011): 246.

poetry and prose that tell of daring exploits. Narratives coach and groom boys and youth for adulthood by inspiring imaginary journeys and theatrical performances derived from real-life and fictional characters and roles. Playing with paper dolls was likely part of the family circle of sociability or a solitary activity in the home. Children, parents, and other household members could participate in doll play. At this early stage of English paper-doll-book evolution, the dolls were an equal-opportunity plaything; there were dolls about and for girls and dolls about and for boys. I argue male paper dolls and their attire combined with the texts they belong with were cognitive technologies that conveyed societal ideals and expectations about masculine identity. Moreover, the dolls were cognitive influencers in the early nineteenth-century English domestic interior. Dolls shaped players' perceptions, ideas, and attitudes about masculinity and conduct and worked to alter a player's behaviour.

Intermediality

The combination of a set of paper dolls and a book was deliberately designed and published as a single entity. It was an intermedial product that fused paper-doll imagery with a separate text. The product signified the longstanding hallmark of eighteenth-century children's educational materials: mixing entertainment with education. The paper dolls are physically independent yet belong with a book. This physical separation means "the paper figures have their own potential life...that could extend or subvert the story."¹⁸ The fullest understanding of paper dolls, how they fashioned age and masculinity, emerges by analyzing how paper-doll images and their texts work together yet maintain autonomy.

¹⁸ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, "Movable Morals," 228.

The intermedial paper doll-book was unique, an outlier among the growing number of consumer goods promoted to children and parents. Shefrin underscores the ingenuity of publishers: “Eighteenth-century children’s book publishers marketed their wares aggressively, not only through advertisements and publisher’s puffs within the text of stories, but with an inventiveness in the creation and marketing of spin-offs rivalling that of publishers of the late twentieth century.”¹⁹ Familiar stories or parts of stories were translated into images that appeared on other kinds of playthings, such as board games, dissected puzzles, and writing sheets.

Literary scholars have grappled with the intermedial nature of eighteenth-century children’s books. John Newbery (1713-1767) invented the English children’s book publishing market. Newbery integrated John Locke’s philosophy from *Some Thoughts Concerning the Education of Children* (1693) with children’s books he issued. Locke combined reading and playing, “laced learning with fun,” and saw reading as an imaginative process.²⁰ Furthermore, Locke encouraged the inclusion of illustrations in books because they would facilitate reading.²¹ As Gillian Brown states, Locke understood “mental processes rely on images, whether actual, remembered, or imagined.”²² Newbery’s first book, *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book intended for the instruction and amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly* (1744), came with a ball and a pincushion that would help make Tommy

¹⁹ Shefrin, ““Make It a Pleasure and Not a Task”,” 251-252.

²⁰ Georgianna Ziegler, “Introducing Shakespeare: The Earliest Versions for Children,” *Shakespeare* 2, no. 2 (2006): 134.

²¹ Gillian Brown, “The Metamorphic Book: Children’s Print Culture in the Eighteenth Century,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 353–355.

²² Brown, “Metamorphic Book,” 253.

and Polly good children.²³ Gillian Brown draws our attention to the significant qualities of such small-scale children's publications: intimacy, materiality, and the physicality and sensorial engagement of the reading experience. A player's imagination was at the heart of the reading and playing process. Penny Brown verges on grasping the cognitive power of images by claiming book illustrations conveyed "a seductive realism" that "sought to reinforce the moral lessons conveyed in the text and to construct both a desirable new model of reality and, at the same time, a reader who, ... would aspire even in a small way to help create and inhabit that world."²⁴ Heather Klemann anticipates the invention of the intermedial paper doll-book by referring to *Little Pretty Pocket-Book* as a book-toy hybrid.²⁵ Sixty-five years after *Little Pretty Pocket-Book* was published, the English paper doll-book arrived, an unusual invention that is difficult to pigeonhole.

Grounded in book history and children's literature studies, Reid-Walsh investigates Fuller paper dolls and texts as serious material culture and interactive media. While indirectly addressing age, masculinity, and identity formation, Reid-Walsh stresses girls and girlhood. She places all authority with the child player who is seen as a reader, viewer, and "interactor" with agency who controls the dolls. Playthings are considered inanimate artifacts, objects without agency and acted upon by a player.

²³ *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book Intended for the Instruction and Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly: with Two Letters from Jack the Giant-Killer; as also a Ball and Pincushion [...]* 10th ed. (London: Printed for J. Newbery in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1760). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

²⁴ Penny Brown, "Capturing (and Captivating) Childhood: The Role of Illustrations in Eighteenth-Century Children's Books in Britain and France," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (2008): 447.

²⁵ Heather Klemann, "The Matter of Moral Education: Locke, Newbery, and the Didactic Book-Toy Hybrid," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 2 (2011): 223-244.

Reid-Walsh categorizes paper dolls and their book as “movable books.” Scholars commonly define a paper doll-book as a movable book, which has “moving parts within its printed pages...illustrations and text can be rotated, lifted, pushed or pulled from side to side, or in the case of pop-ups, arise from the flat surface in three-dimensional form when a page is turned.”²⁶ Movable parts are attached to the page, such as lift-the-flaps, rotating wheels, and tabs. Reid-Walsh concedes the paper dolls and their books are marginalized and understudied because they are “difficult to classify due to their complex, hybrid nature,” which includes the features of a book, printed image, paper toy, and a game.²⁷

I question the use of the term movable book. Though it is convenient to use the traditional classification, I contend the term is inaccurate and misleading. Instead, I take the study of the Fuller paper dolls in a new direction. I propose a fresh perspective to wrestle with the nebulous nature of the paper doll-book. I argue that because the dolls are physically separate from the book, the paper doll-book duo should be considered as a unique genre. I shine a spotlight on the male paper doll-book as an original genre, a cognitive technology that fashions masculine identity. I break new ground by employing an art historical lens and a theoretical framework composed of deep games, the extended embodied mind, and intermediality.

Intermediality is the compelling feature of the paper doll-book, a genre consisting of cut outs that include a movable head(s) with a long neck that fits into a slot on the clothing and a wardrobe composed of a set of outfits situated in a background landscape or domestic

²⁶ Ann Montanaro Staples, “Pop-Up and Movable Books,” in *The Routledge Companion to Picturebooks* edited by Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer (Routledge, 2017), 180. See also Peter Haining, *Movable Books: An Illustrated History* (London: New English Library, 1979).

²⁷ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, “Texts and Contexts for Movable Books,” in *Interactive Books*, 3.

interior. Reid-Walsh points out “the backgrounds of the boys’ figures are filled in and the card paper is formed into elaborate cut-out shapes,” suggesting the changing backgrounds are miniature stage sets in varied locations.²⁸ A short book with a narrative written in prose or verse directly relates to the dolls.

Due to their miniature size and fragile paper construction, the dolls and books were most likely consumed in domestic interior spaces. Any household member could participate. During play, there is an ongoing shifting of space that expands and contracts between dolls, book, and players inside fluid spaces of the domestic interior as players interact with the dolls and circulate among others in the home. Certainly, a player decided how and where to store the dolls, but the cut-out figures fit neatly inside the book, inserted between pages, and contained within the edges of the book, at relevant points in the narrative or elsewhere. A player decided how to dress and undress dolls, how to preserve them, and how to repair or replace damaged or missing dolls, costumes, and backgrounds by creating homemade versions.²⁹ The dolls could be repaired or embellished, and components were interchangeable between sets. The modular design of a doll collection was also their “material weakness.”³⁰ Missing accessories, head(s), costumes, or backdrops, could be replaced with drawings made by players or other family members, or with parts from other paper-doll sets. Text could be altered, annotated, or added to.³¹ Endless possibilities to copy, change, or append arose from

²⁸ Reid-Walsh, “Movable Morals,” 229.

²⁹ Reid-Walsh, “Texts and Contexts for Movable Books,” in *Interactive Books*, 150-155.

³⁰ Reid-Walsh, 150.

³¹ Reid-Walsh, 151-154. Reid-Walsh compares the dolls and text from the published version of *Little Henry* with an American homemade version, possibly made by an adult, and a specimen of *Frank Feignwell* that may have been altered by a child.

a player's imagination. At the same time, intermediality facilitated agency for dolls and books to affect a player's ideas and perceptions.

To clarify intermediality's role in fashioning masculine identity, I draw on Irina Rajewsky's model of intermediality.³² Rajewsky views intermediality as a flexible concept about any phenomenon that includes more than one medium. To achieve more granularity, Rajewsky divides intermediality into three subcategories, each distinguished by qualities that translate from one medium to another. All three qualities are found in the paper doll-book genre. First, intermediality can denote "medial transposition," as one source medium is transformed into another medium. I maintain the paper doll-book is one product but each medium on its own—doll images or text—impacts a player's understanding of age and masculinity. Second, intermediality can consist of "media combination" (also referred to as multimedia or mixed media) in which at least two distinct media are brought together in a new format. A collection of paper dolls and its book is a multimedial product. Third, intermediality as an "intermedial reference" indicates that one medium may use "its own media-specific means" "to refer to a specific, individual work produced in another medium."³³ A character in a paper-doll text may refer to another character in a text from a different paper doll-book collection. In *Hubert, the Cottage Youth*, subtitled *Being the Sequel to Phoebe, the Cottage Maid*, paratext on the front of the slipcase and the title page of the book name Phoebe, the protagonist of *Phoebe, the Cottage Maid*, who also has a significant

³² Irina O. Rajewsky, "Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality," *Intermedialités* 6, no. 6 (2011): 43-64.

³³ Rajewsky, 52-53.

role in Hubert's story.³⁴ In Hubert's narrative, Phoebe is mentioned three times: in the first lines of the text, in a short anecdote in the middle of the book, and in the final anecdote in which Phoebe plays a key role. In another type of an intermedial reference, paratext on the back of the slipcase of one book lists titles of additional books in the series. The back of the slipcase for *Frank Feignwell's Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth Night* itemizes published titles including *Young Albert, The Roscius; The History of Little Ellen*; the fourth edition of *Little Fanny*; and the third edition of *Little Henry, as a Companion to Little Fanny*. On the front of the slipcase, book cover, and book title page is the statement, "Where are also sold Books of Instruction in every Branch of Drawing, Colours, and every requisite used in Drawing." The message may have been aimed at adults who bought the doll-book. As a marketing strategy, these textual and peritextual linkages consolidate relationships between the paper doll collections in the series. In addition, they bring attention to the communicative role of paratext in constructing the reception of dolls and their books as they convey ideas about masculine identity.

Intermedial relationships reveal the paper doll-book configuration is complex and nuanced. A key issue is the borders that separate media.³⁵ Clear physical borders separate doll cut-outs and book but the two are conceptually and materially bound together. Conceptually, both convey and inspire ideas and interpretations of masculinity. Materially, an ensemble of dolls and book is enwrapped and stored inside a slipcase, ensuring players understood them as one item. Because of this material unity, paper dolls are source media for

³⁴ *Phoebe the Cottage Maid, Exemplified in a Series of Figures* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, at the Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum, Rathbone Place, 1812). Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library.

³⁵ Irina O. Rajewsky, "Border Talks: The Problematic Status of Media Borders in the Current Debate about Intermediality," in *Media Borders, Multimodality and Intermediality*, edited by Lars Elleström (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 51-68.

the text and vice versa (media transposition). Furthermore, paper dolls and book are separate unique media, images and text, joined into a new format (media combination). Again, because the paper dolls and book work together, a player knew doll images implicitly referred to the narrative, and the narrative signalled the images (intermedial references).

The cultural and social expressions of age and masculinity experienced in domestic spaces bridge the physically independent paper dolls and book. These intermedial relations magnify already potent messages about masculinity conveyed in either dolls or book. Notably, there are no illustrations in the books. Visuality is invested in the dolls. Dolls and texts are equal partners that collaborate to reach a common purpose: a player's cognitive and behavioural transformation. Their different contents complement and reinforce each other. While a book communicates through printed words on a page, paper dolls speak in a visual language that requires close looking, touching, and individual interpretation. A player manipulates the dolls and imagines scenarios motivated by dolls and/or text. In the domestic interior, paper-doll play in social spaces repeated and reproduced social convention.³⁶ The paper doll-book addresses topics found in the home and in the outside world. Dolls were material statements of English society's understanding of familial, national, and foreign matters. Play conjured imaginings about the outside world brought into the home through the contents of dolls and book: issues of war, social class, the other, and what it meant to be a man.

³⁶ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

Seriality

The concept of a series informs my interpretation of the ability of the five sets of male dolls and their respective books to shape identity.³⁷ Seriality intensifies the impact of the intermediality of the Fuller paper doll-book. A player may experience only one collection, but within each collection is a second series: masculinity as a sequence of adventures and performances enacted through familiar and exotic characters. Inside a set, paper dolls and book work in tandem. The idea of a series infers continuity, harmony, order, repetition, but also variation.³⁸ The sets of dolls glue the five narratives together. The seriality of the five sets is evident in the consistent design and format between sets of dolls and the uniformity within each set. First, seriality is evident by the repetition of a set of male paper dolls and the book format. Second, seriality emerges from repeating a similar number of paper dolls within a set and the distinct character of each doll. And third, seriality arises with the books, not because of different narratives, but from the continuity of materiality, physical format, and design of the books. The narratives vary in language, structure, style, and content, but each is autonomous.

Seriality starts with looking at the image and text on a slipcase, anticipating the contents inside, and sliding dolls and book out of the slipcase. This unwrapping process announces the start of play. The sets of paper dolls depict seriality by the consistent number of costumes, the theatrical and exotic nature of characters, and the head(s) to be inserted in a

³⁷ See Mavis Reimer, Nyala Ali, Deanna England, and Melanie Dennis Unrau, eds. "Introduction: The Compulsion to Repeat," in *Seriality and Texts for Young People: The Compulsion to Repeat* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1-33.

³⁸ Reimer, Ali, England, and Unrau, 6-7.

slot at the back of a character. Inside the book, there is another recurring pattern; each episode about the male protagonist relates to a specific doll.

The incentive for owning a traditional doll was the repeatable rhythmic process of dressing and undressing it. In Eleanor Sleath's (1770-1847) children's novel, *Glenowen, or, the Fairy Palace: A Tale* (1815), orphaned siblings Charles and Rosa live with a series of patrons who provide for the children's formal education.³⁹ On one occasion, Charles receives a reward of five shillings for his dedication and industry in learning his lessons. Charles's goal is to buy a gift for Rosa. He states, "She had often wished for a doll, that she might dress and undress it."⁴⁰ This physical process has been reimagined for paper dolls. The cyclical corporeal process of dressing and undressing the paper dolls, and the visual, tactile, and cognitive experience of doing so further adds to seriality. Play stopped when dressing and undressing ended, and paper dolls were placed back inside the book and inserted into the slipcase.

Paratext

Paratext is a design and structural element of the paper doll-book that strengthens how masculine identity is fashioned. As Daniel Dunne observes, "good paratext achieves its goals

³⁹ Eleanor Sleath, Black and Co., and John Harris. *Glenowen, or, the Fairy Palace: A Tale: by Eleanor Sleath; Illustrated with Engravings* (London: Printed for Black and Co., Leadenhall Street, and J. Harris, St. Paul's Church Yard. Printed by Cox and Baylis, Great Queen Street, 1815). *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*. See also Rebecca Czlapinski and Eric. C. Wheeler, "The Real Eleanor Sleath," *Studies in Gothic Fiction* 2, no. 1 (2011): 5-12.

⁴⁰ Sleath, *Glenowen, or, the Fairy Palace*, 70.

without drawing attention to itself.”⁴¹ Paratext is the textual and visual material that surrounds or complements the main body of a published work. Paratext consists of peritext and epitext. Peritext is composed of internal elements, such as the front cover, introduction, or footnotes. Epitext consists of elements that are external to the work, including reviews, advertisements, and interviews. Collectively, this material contextualizes a work and assists with its interpretation.”⁴² I diverge from the definition because I position doll imagery at the forefront, not as an add-on to text. As I stated above, a set of dolls and its book work in unison as a single item. In addition, I do not treat paratext as supplemental. Paratext communicates key information and persuades us to learn more about the dolls and their stories, the Fullers, the Temple of Fancy, customers, and other products.

Viewing and reading paratext is integral to interpreting and experiencing doll images and narratives. For the Fuller doll-book, peritextual elements include the slipcase’s design, illustrated label, and text, and advertisements on the back cover of a book or its slipcase. Peritext designed to appeal to adult interests was placed in a doll-book. Peritext on the title page of the books often informed the reader: “Where are also sold Books of Instruction in Landscapes, Flowers, and Figures, and every requisite used in Drawing.” Epitext comprises external elements. The Fullers made the most of epitext: Temple of Fancy trade cards, advertisements in periodicals, advertisements about the paper dolls and books on the front or back covers of other Fuller publications, and an inserted pamphlet specifically for men.

⁴¹ Daniel Dunne, “Paratext: The In-Between of Structure and Play,” in *Contemporary Research on Intertextuality in Video Games*, edited by Christophe Duret and Christian-Marie Pons (Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2016), 275.

⁴² Chris Baldick, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 4th ed. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), s.v. “epitext,” “paratext,” “peritext”; Daniel Dunne, “Paratext: The In-Between of Structure and Play,” in *Contemporary Research on Intertextuality in Video Games*, edited by Christophe Duret and Christian-Marie Pons (Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2016), 274-296. See also Sylvia Pantaleo, “Paratexts in Picturebooks,” in *The Routledge Companion to Picturebooks*, 38-48 (London: Routledge, 2017).

Versions of the Temple of Fancy trade card depicts adult men and women perusing display cases and being attended by salesmen.

The Temple of Fancy placed notices in varied periodicals including the women's magazine *La Belle Assemblée*, daily newspapers *The Morning Chronicle* and *The Morning Post*, and magazine *The Repository of Arts Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*. Epitext branded the Temple of Fancy as a fashionable venue for shoppers. Just as the doll collections structure the series, paratext visually unites the doll sets and their individual texts into a series through their similar book design, layout, and bibliographic information on the back of the books and on back covers of other Fuller publications.

While paratext is crucial for filling in the pieces of the informational puzzle about masculine identity, it does have limits. It cannot fully convey the broader social or cultural context of experiencing the dolls, or the physical and social spaces where dolls are consumed. Such a phenomenology of playing with paper dolls in the domestic interior involves the intangible experience of imagining and the sensorial experiences of seeing and touching, perhaps evoking smell, taste, and hearing, that accompanies the handling of paper dolls and reading text.

Paper Dolls, Cognition, and Imagination

As I have argued throughout the dissertation, ordinary domestic belongings have cognitive muscle that influences thinking and behaviour. I contend dolls and their texts have agency, in other words, the capacity to shape a player's beliefs, effect behaviour change, and influence identity. Clark and Chalmers's extended mind thesis maintains that cognitive processes and the mind reach beyond the human body to include objects that are used in daily

life to negotiate physical and social environments. Think of the Internet, smart phones, and social media. Information we obtain via technologies feeds the mind and affects our ideas, perceptions, and behaviour. The thesis of the extended embodied mind located in cognitive technologies assists us to better understand the communicative roles of early nineteenth-century male paper dolls as miniature representations of boyhood, youth, and manhood. The dolls embody cultural beliefs and interact with players to affect their ideas and opinions. Clark argues everyday objects are “bodily extensions,” “augmentations,” and “nonbiological resources” that are aids and scaffolding to help us negotiate our surroundings and shape our understanding of the world. As Clark makes clear: “We exist, as the thinking things we are, only thanks to a baffling dance of brains, bodies, and cultural and technological scaffolding.”⁴³ Paper dolls are one piece of early nineteenth-century cultural scaffolding that could structure ideas and behaviour. But I would go further and argue that paper dolls as more than supportive scaffolding. I contend there is two-way reciprocal dialogue between player and doll-book. Like Turkle, I assert there is an intimate bond between a person and valued possessions that affects thinking. “We think with the objects we love; we love the objects we think with.”⁴⁴ Moreover, dolls’ agency has an organic dynamism, what Bennett calls inherent vitality or “thing power.”⁴⁵ Together, perspectives on the aliveness of things support a phenomenology of age and masculinity in the domestic interior. A player joins the mix of dolls and narratives in the home by adding imagination and the physical processes of play by interacting with the dolls and reading the text. A player’s imagination is a key

⁴³ Andy Clark, *Natural Born Cyborgs*, 11.

⁴⁴ Sherry Turkle, ed., *Evocative Objects*, 5.

⁴⁵ Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*.

ingredient, stimulated by the dolls and text. Imagination fuelled paper-doll play. But it is culture that nurtures imagination, which accumulates in mind during a lifetime of experiences.⁴⁶

In early nineteenth-century England, the commercial paper doll-book emerged as a new medium to communicate about age and gender inside the domestic interior. The male dolls and books are didactic playthings that embody English ideals and expectations for boys, youth, and men. As I stated in the introduction, games were socio-political devices used to express, instill, and strengthen standards of behaviour. The paper doll-book was a change agent that shaped social processes in the domestic interior to (re)fashion players' concepts of age, masculinity, and identity. As with the board games I discussed in chapter 2, paper dolls and their narratives invited, welcomed, and embraced the outside world inside the home.

A Brief History of a Paper Doll Series

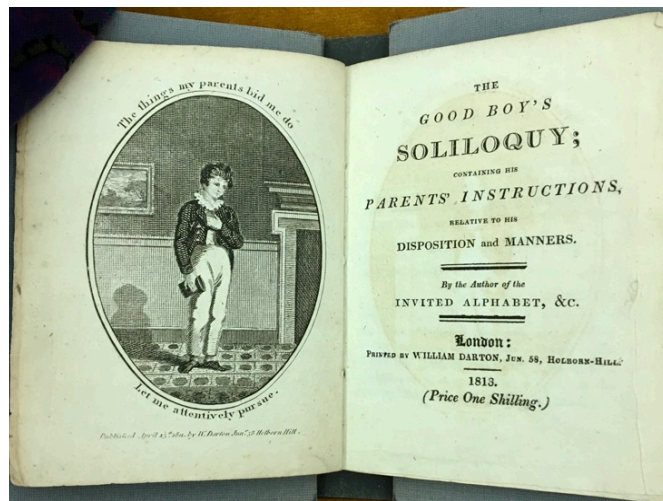
In England, paper dolls and “chapbooks” merged into one distinct commodity at S. and J. Fuller’s Temple of Fancy.⁴⁷ The term chapbook was invented in hindsight in the nineteenth century. It refers to small inexpensive printed texts, often illustrated, that surfaced in the sixteenth century and were sold by itinerant peddlers, expediting the spread of popular literature among ordinary people.⁴⁸ By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,

⁴⁶ Zittoun, “Internalization”; Zittoun and Gillespie, *Imagination*.

⁴⁷ A paper doll is defined as a two-dimensional paper or board depiction, cut or folded into the shape of a person. See Maurice Rickards and Michael Twyman, “Paper Doll,” *Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator, and Historian* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 220-221.

⁴⁸ For a history of the origins and evolution of the chapbook, see Lori Humphrey Newcomb, “What is a Chapbook?” in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, edited by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2009), 57-72; Andrew O’Malley, “The Coach and Six:

chapbooks specifically for children had emerged to be small-scale didactic texts in a size suitable for small hands: easy to hold, read, and carry. Priced at one shilling, *The Good Boy's Soliloquy; containing his Parents' Instructions, relative to his Disposition and Manners* (1813) is an exemplar of a chapbook that aims to shape boys' behaviour as its poetry and many illustrations teach the reader about suitable conduct inside the home. (A detailed discussion of *Good Boy's Soliloquy* is in chapter 2.) The black-and-white frontispiece depicts a boy with his left hand placed over his heart standing inside a domestic interior, framed by a painting on the wall to his right, wainscotting behind him, and the edge of a fireplace and mantel on his left. The couplet wrapped around the oval-shaped image pledges, "The things my parents bid me do, let me attentively pursue," (fig. 10) predicting the solemn tone of images and text to follow.



10 Frontispiece and Title Page, *The Good Boy's Soliloquy; Containing his Parents Instructions, relative to his Disposition and Manners* (London: Printed by William Darton, Jun., 58, Holborn-Hill, 1813), 13 x 10 cm. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

Chapbook Residue in Late Eighteenth-Century Children's Literature" in *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 17-38; Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Fuller paper dolls were printed with a book similar in size and construction to *The Good Boy's Soliloquy* and other books published for the juvenile market.

Brothers Samuel Williams Fuller (c.1777-1857) and Joseph Carr Fuller (c.1783-1863) were leading London printmakers, publishers, and sellers of artists' drawing supplies and watercolours.⁴⁹ The Fullers publicized the opening of their business, the Temple of Fancy, in the March 1809, issue of Rudolph Ackermann's (1764-1834) newly launched periodical (January 1809), *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*.⁵⁰ The notice branded the Temple of Fancy as an "elegant shop" for "nobility and gentry" that sold an array of merchandise for "polite and useful amusement," such as "fire-screens, elegant poles for ditto, work tables, face screens, card racks, flower ornaments, dessert ditto, hyacinth stands, ridicules, work bags, baskets, &c. &c. with every description of fancy papers, borders, and medallions."⁵¹

The Temple of Fancy is often associated with a female clientele. But the Fullers were astute entrepreneurs who promoted products to all potential customers: men, women, and children. An image of the interior of the Temple of Fancy, possibly used for a trade card, depicts individual men and women and couples shopping, and one woman being assisted by a male clerk (fig. 11). The Temple of Fancy sold the women's French fashion periodical *Modes de Paris* but was also known for its prints of cattle, horses, and hunting scenes. A

⁴⁹ Jacob Simon, "S. & J. Fuller," *British Artists' Suppliers, 1650-1950*, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/f#FU>.

⁵⁰ Each issue of *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics* contained topical articles about the subjects listed in its title. It became an influential periodical on English tastes for fashion, literature, and architecture. See John Ford, *Rudolph Ackermann & The Regency World* (Sussex, UK: Warnham Books, 2018).

⁵¹ "Advertisements for March, 1809, No. 34, Rathbone-place, Oxford-street," *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics* 1 (March, 1809): advertisement follows page 198.

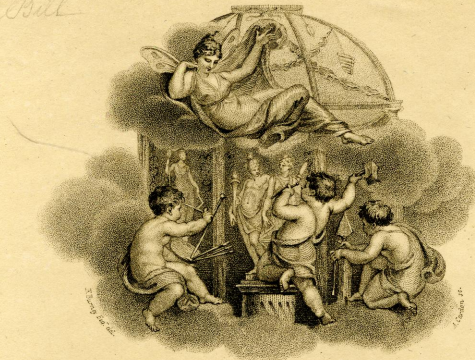
three-page leaflet of verse for men identifies customers seen shopping at the Temple of Fancy: members of the clergy, commoners, ladies of rank, lawyers, loungers, physicians, sailors, and soldiers (fig. 12).⁵²



11 *Interior of S. & J. Fuller's Temple of Fancy, 34, Rathbone Place, c.1820, 17 x 24 cm, paper, aquatint, etching, Heal, 100.31+. Photo credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum.*

⁵² Simon, "S. & J. Fuller"; Temple of Fancy, inside of 100.30*, c.1817. 25.3 x 20.5 cm, print for trade card, paper, stipple, etching, engraving, Heal, 100.30*. © The Trustees of the British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_Heal-100-30-.

Elegant Shop Bill



TEMPLE of FANCY.

Is times so uncommon, so big with events,
 So hard on the poor, and so hurtful to trade,
 So fruitful with bubbles of catchpenny-gents,
 When fortunes immense by Gass-lights are made,
 When Tunnels are carried quite under the Thames,
 And Hampstead and Highgate are each to be bor'd,
 When ev'ry Profession is teeming with schemes,
 And Cattle are free from the murrain insur'd ;
 A plain honest Tradesman who keeps out of debt,
 Whose name is not seen in the London Gazette,
 May linger unnotic'd, his labours unknown,
 Till Puff or Advertisement gives him the *Ton*.
 Now be it thus known to all Persons of Fashion,
 And others of Rank, Pretension, or Station,
 Or Box Lobby Loungers, or rich plodding Cits,
 Who live by their acres, or exist by their wits :
 And so be it known to the few who have spirit
 And means to call forth the exertions of merit.—
 Who kindly bestow their time and attention
 On the labours of Art, and the works of Invention :
 That FANCY, a Goddess by Artists respected,
 In the PLACE of RATHBONE has a TEMPLE erected,
 And thither her vot'ries are ask'd to repair,
 To lounge away time, or drive away care ;
 There pleasing Politeness invites at the door,
 Whose mystical Number is *Thirty* and *Four*.
 The TEMPLE's interior by *Fancy* is grac'd
 With efforts of Art, and productions of Taste ;
 Where Science and Genius have happily blended
 The things which for *show* and for *use* are intended ;

There the Ladies will beautiful *Work Tables* find,
 Or *Plateaus*, or *Cabinets*, form'd to their mind,
 Bedeck'd with *Medallions*, or finish'd with *Borders*,
 And varnish'd and polish'd according to orders ;
Writing Desks, *Netting Boxes*, *Tunbridge Tea Caddies*,
 For the Beaux pretty *Housewives*, and *Screens* for the Ladies ;
 Collections of *Prints*, and new *Publications*,
 With *Drawings* and *Sketches* of latest new Fashions ;
 Designs rich and various, each fancy to suit,
 Of *Figures*, of *Insects*, of *Flowers*, and of *Fruit*,
 Of *Cattle*, of *Trees*, and of *Songsters* that warble,
 With Articles fashion'd to imitate *Marble* ;
Transparencies fitted to look like stain'd glass,
 And *Blinds* which the long-fam'd Venetian surpass ;
 Rich *Borders* and *Papers* for Walls or Partitions,
 And *Ovals* and *Circles* for Mathematicians ;
 For the soft billet-doux *Pens*, *Paper*, and *Ink*,
 And Women of Taste may dye with the *Pink* ;
 There Soldiers with *Trophies* may gladden their souls,
 And Sailors may quickly arrive at the *Poles* ;
 There Ladies with *Colours* may heighten their graces,
 And Loungers with *Bronze* may replenish their faces ;
 In the best-finish'd state *Bristol Boards* are prepar'd ;
 And there may be found each description of *Card*,
 For the Lady who visits, or to parties invites,
 And *Cards* for the Clubs both at *Brookes's* and *White's*.
 In short, at this TEMPLE the Public will meet
 With Articles fanciful, useful, and neat,
 Which there will in tasteful profusion abound,
 And FULLER and FULLER will always be found.

Wife, Printer, 43, Rathbone Place.

DRAWINGS LENT TO COPY.

12 *Temple of Fancy*, c.1817, 25 x 19 cm, paper, stipple, etching, letterpress, Heal, 100.31. Photo credit: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

In 1810, the Fullers launched the paper doll-book series. Advertisements and announcements under the Temple of Fancy banner were featured on a book's slipcase or back cover and in periodicals. A product list was sometimes prefaced by the statement, "For the amusement and moral improvement of youth." Titles for male and female youth were interspersed in a list, stressing the dichotomy between masculine and feminine roles and behaviour. Reid-Walsh makes a critical observation but skims the surface of gender and

masculine identity by observing that Little Fanny only has a “history,” but Little Henry has a “history” and “adventures.”⁵³

Paper-doll sets were promoted to adults as gifts for children. Seasonal periodical advertisements promoted the doll-books as “Christmas presents and New Year’s gifts.” “On Thursday, July 30, 1812, *The Morning Chronicle* included an ad endorsing the dolls for “Midsummer Holidays” including the eighth edition of *Little Fanny* and the sixth edition of *Little Henry*. “Where are also published, those admired juvenile works, that dress and undress.”⁵⁴ In *The Morning Post* on Wednesday, December 20, 1815, there was a direct appeal to youth “to inform their juvenile friends, that they have re published those much admired and very amusing Little Books, with figures that dress and undress,” followed by a list of items published to date.⁵⁵

The Fullers adjusted their advertising strategies over the years, likely to be current with changing tastes and expand their market. At different times, they referred to the business as “Temple of Fancy,” “Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum,” and “Temple of Fancy and Elegant Museum.”⁵⁶ In an ad on Thursday, May 22, 1817, in *The Morning Post*, the Fullers “recommend to the attention of those ladies and gentlemen who make presents to their young friends, that the Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum is the depot of every production

⁵³ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, “Movable Morals, 229.

⁵⁴ “Midsummer Holidays,” Advertisements and Notices, *The Morning Chronicle*, issue 13488, Thursday, July 30, 1812. *19th Century British Library Newspapers*.

⁵⁵ “Christmas Presents and New Years Gifts,” Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 14014, Wednesday, December 20, 1815. *19th Century British Library Newspapers*.

⁵⁶ “Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum,” Multiple Display Advertisements, *La Belle Assemblée*, no. 65, 1814. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*; “Temple of Fancy and Elegant Museum,” Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 13747, Friday, February 10, 1815. *19th Century British Library Newspapers*.

ingenious and amusing. They particularly mention their curious little books with figures, that dress and undress, both moral and entertaining to the young mind.”⁵⁷

In 1812, the Fullers’ competitors I. and E. Wallis published their version of the paper doll-book pairing titled *St. Julien, The Emigrant; Or, Europe Depicted: Exhibiting the Costumes, and Describing the Manners and Customs of the Various Nations*.⁵⁸ The publication of the paper doll-book format by another London firm suggests the product was perceived as popular and profitable. *St. Julien* replicates the formal elements of the Fuller publications—male paper-doll configuration, book design, style, format, and length. But the Wallises took an overt political turn, exploiting the hero’s journey of personal transformation to serve British patriotism. Dolls and text were propaganda that conveyed an anti-French, pro-British political message. Male paper-doll outfits and book anecdotes correspond. Protagonist and narrator Julien is an orphaned homeless French youth who meets a series of patrons who facilitate his marine voyage on a kind of grand tour of Asian and European countries: Spain, Italy, Turkey, Germany, Russia, and Sweden. Julien dolls stand erect and poised as Julien tells of social life and customs while wearing native clothing. Every costume is set in front of scenery and architecture emblematic of a nation. Each country is described by pithy factual snippets on economy, geography, history, and politics but also by the occasional pointed negative remark about a culture. The finale is Julien’s voyage to England, the “favoured island” that “excels every other nation in the variety and excellence of its

⁵⁷ “Temple of Fancy,” Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 14456, Thursday, May 22, 1817. 19th Century British Library Newspapers.

⁵⁸ *St. Julien, The Emigrant; Or, Europe Depicted: Exhibiting the Costumes, and Describing the Manners and Customs of the Various Nations* (London: Printed for the author, and sold by I. and E. Wallis, 42, Skinner Street, Snow Hill. London: Vigurs, printer, 5, Princes Street, Leicester Square, 1812). Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library.

manufactures.” Julien is enamoured with England, which he calls the “champion of freedom,” “avenger of the oppressed,” and “refuge of the destitute.” Meanwhile, information on England’s enemy and Julien’s home country, France, is relegated to an addendum at the end of the text.

The Fuller doll-book appealed to consumers in countries beyond England. It was popular in France and Holland, and possibly other countries, into the 1820s. Though we do not know where or how the doll-book circulated, it is clear publishers outside England considered the format and subject matter appealing to customers. Narratives were translated from English and adapted for local consumption or were translations of the English version. Only one year after the issue of the Fullers’ *Frederick, or the Effects of Disobedience*, Paris publisher Didot le Jeune released *Frédéric, ou les effets de la désobéissance: imité de l’anglais* (1817).⁵⁹ In the same year, Didot le Jeune issued *Paul, ou, l’application; orné de figures découpées et coloriées*.⁶⁰ In Amsterdam, the Van Arum brothers published *De Schalksche Willem: In Zesderlei gedaanten of de verrassingen. Een onderhoudend geschenk voor jongens. Met zeven gekleurde beweegbare plaatjes* (1827).⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Frédéric, ou les effets de la désobéissance: imité de l’anglais* (à Paris: de l’imprimerie de Didot le Jeune, 1817).

⁶⁰ *Paul, ou, l’application; orné de figures découpées et coloriées* (à Paris: de l’imprimerie de Didot le Jeune, 1817). Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books, Toronto Public Library. Another example from France is *Les metamorphoses d’Auguste* (Paris: Chez Nepvue, Libraire, Passage des Panoramas, No. 26, 1821) in Theriault, *Paper Dolls*, 23.

⁶¹ *De Schalksche Willem: In Zesderlei gedaanten of de verrassingen. Een onderhoudend geschenk voor jongens. Met zeven gekleurde beweegbare plaatjes* [*The Mischievous Willem: In the Sixth Form or the Surprises. An Entertaining Gift for Boys. With Seven Coloured Movable Pictures*] (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Van Arum, 1827), in Theriault, *Paper Dolls*, 11.

Masculinities

The five collections of Fuller paper dolls and their books “commodified and commercialized” masculinity.⁶² Images of masculinity are materialized and visualized in the dolls and books that equates age and masculinity with adventure and theatrical performance in the service of England. Narratives are aspirational conduct of life literature for boys, youth, and young men. The materiality and handling of the dolls encouraged imagination and animated the narratives. Paper dolls gave players license to experiment with alternative masculine roles that embodied fictional characters, actual people, and cultural stereotypes. Dolls and narratives mirrored each other to represent and communicate nation-building attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviour. At the same time, playing with the paper doll-book generated what Oleksijczuk terms a “spatial and temporal disjunction between “here and now” and a “there and then” that became a crucial locus for forming new [national and social] identities.”⁶³ Oleksijczuk is referring to British spectators’ reception of large-scale panoramas. As Oleksijczuk explains, the panorama was a visual medium that worked on “both intellectual and somatic levels to convey ideologically powerful messages.”⁶⁴

Paper dolls and books also created a disjointed reality for players. The meanings of age, masculinity, domestic life, life in Britain beyond the home, and life in foreign worlds fluctuated depending on the outfit a paper doll wore. A boyish male face on the transferrable head moved through time and space from youth into manhood. In the frontispiece of a post-Napoleonic War book, brothers Ben the sailor and Ned the soldier recount their hardships

⁶² Hannah Doherty Hudson, ““Botany Bay” in British Magazines, 1786-1791,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54, no. 2 (2021): 261. Hudson uses the phrase “commodified and commercialized” in reference to a handbill advertising a 1790s exhibition of a menagerie of exotic animals.

⁶³ Oleksijczuk, *First Panoramas*, 3. Robert Barker invented the panorama in 1787.

⁶⁴ Oleksijczuk, 3.

during the War to family members and neighbours inside their parents' home. The domestic scene is the essence of the complex disjunction that Oleksijczuk refers to. Ben and Ned left their home as youths, went to war, and matured into men during their absence. After many years, they return as different people and relate their experiences, and the experience of war in general, to people removed from direct involvement in war (fig. 13).



13 W. F. [William Francis] Sullivan, “Ben the Sailor and Ned the Soldier relating their Adventures to the Company Assembled to Celebrate the Christmas Holidays,” folding frontispiece in *Pleasant Stories, or, Histories of Ben the Sailor and Ned the Soldier* (London: Published Jany. 1, 1818, by A. K. Newman & Co., & Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-Street, 1818), frontispiece is for text on page 33, copperplate engraving. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

During the French Revolutionary (1789-1799) and Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), it was strategic for an English publisher to release attention-grabbing partisan publications. The Fullers catered to the political sentiment and social values of their clientele. A male youth

portrayed as a sailor or soldier in paper-doll format was ideal. Didacticism, entertainment, patriotism, and political propaganda were rolled into one plaything marketed to parents and children. One of the earliest boy paper-doll sets titled *The Child of the Regiment* (1810, issued by an unknown publisher), illustrates a youthful paper-doll soldier outfitted with seven military uniforms and a military kit, including a bedroll and knapsack, four different headdresses, and a drum.⁶⁵

The Fuller series conveys life lessons through paper dolls and simplistic stories that refer to critical domestic and foreign issues. The Fullers released the first set of dolls, *The History and Adventures of Little Henry* (1810) (fig. 9) during the height of the Napoleonic Wars. The Temple of Fancy announcement in *The Morning Chronicle* on Monday, September 3, 1810, called *Little Henry* “a Companion to the much admired work of Little Fanny. These little works are admirably calculated for the amusement of the young mind.”⁶⁶ Part fantasy and part military recruitment campaign, Henry’s story is “a miniature heroic adventure tale” and a journey of maturation from youth to manhood.⁶⁷

The first doll portrays Henry in a plain blue suit with a laced collar. He is a member of the gentry, “a miniature landed gentleman while still a boy.”⁶⁸ The Henry dolls, and those in all the Fuller sets, conflate youth and manhood as the movable head with the boyish face is

⁶⁵ Marian B. Howard, *Those Fascinating Paper Dolls: An Illustrated Handbook for Collectors*. (New York: Dover Publications, 1981), 287, 290 No. 258, *The Child of the Regiment*, 1810, hand-painted youth 5 ½ inches high, seven uniforms, one drum, contained in a 4-5/8 by 7-3/16-inch wooden box with sliding cover. Howard does not give information about the author, printer, publisher, or country of origin and states the dolls are in an unnamed private collection.

⁶⁶ “Advertisements & Notices,” *The Morning Chronicle*, issue 12891, Monday, September 3, 1810. 19th Century British Library Newspapers.

⁶⁷ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, “Fuller ‘Paper-Doll’ Books: Playing Across Gender and Genre,” in *Interactive Books: Playful Media Before Pop-Ups* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 139.

⁶⁸ Reid-Walsh, 139.

transferred from one doll body to another. The first Henry paper doll stands motionless, but Henry becomes animated as he embarks on an adventure. He assumes the role of a youth kidnapped by a beggar and then sold to a chimney sweeper. Of the seven doll outfits, four are military uniforms: one soldier-drummer and three sailors. As a drummer, Henry displays “dexterity of hand” and achieves “regimental fame” for his skill. But when he becomes a sailor on a war ship, Henry shines. Henry’s doll wears a “blue jacket and trim trowsers,” and the neck scarf of an ordinary seaman.⁶⁹ Henry works with the “patriotic ardour” that will “clip bold Napoleon’s wings and humble France.”⁷⁰ Admired by other seamen and officers, Henry displays “fearless spirit” and “dauntless mien” in battle. He becomes known as a “future Nelson” and is rewarded for his merit with a promotion to midshipman. A midshipman was usually a youth between twelve and fourteen years old from the gentry or had a wealthy mercantile background. He was assigned to the entry-level office-in-training position under the care and guidance of a specific ship’s captain. At thirteen years of age, midshipman Augustus Brine (1769-1840) enlisted in the Royal British Navy aboard the *Belliqueux* under the tutelage of his father Admiral James Brine (d. 1814). A portrait of Augustus Brine (1782) by John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) depicts a confident uniformed recruit with his right arm akimbo and left hand outstretched holding a cap as Brine stands in front of a ship’s hull (fig. 14). But images of a midshipman were not limited to formal portraits.

⁶⁹ *Little Henry*, 15.

⁷⁰ *Little Henry*, 15.



14 John Singleton Copley, *Midshipman Augustus Brine*, 1782, 127 x 102 cm, oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Public domain.

In the player's manual for the board game *The Road to the Temple of Honour and Fame* (1810), position fifteen is a midshipman. Its rule states, "Pay one counter, and recollect that the immortal Nelson was an officer of this rate once, and then displayed courage and perseverance, which afterwards shone resplendent in his country's cause."⁷¹ Henry is now equated with Nelson, Britain's ultimate naval hero.

⁷¹ *Rules and Directions for Playing the Game, The Road to the Temple of Honour and Fame; Shewing that the most Exalted Situations in Life may be Gained by Good Conduct and Attention to Learning* (London: Printed by H. Byer, Printer, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, for J. Harris, Corner of St. Paul's Church-yard, 1810), 10, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/bbd82420-74a7-0130-f0e1-58d385a7bbd0/book?page_start=right#page/3/mode/2up.

As Harvey points out, “Sailors, ships and sea may have held the promise of freedom from constraint in the popular imagination.”⁷² Camaraderie between men featured large in a sailor’s life. “Aboard ship, sociability united men and was crucial to the safety of all on board, the success of a voyage and thus to the national project. As such, ship sociability served as a particularly vivid example of the joyful unity of men.”⁷³

Over an unspecified period, Henry grew in “stature, strength, and age.”⁷⁴ He wears the midshipman’s uniform of a long dark blue jacket and white pants as he confidently stands with arms crossed on the ship’s deck. Henry’s naval trajectory finds him performing “prodigies of bravery to the admiration of the whole crew.”⁷⁵ He leads ships into battle, is “brave and bold,” and is rewarded with honours and his “purse with gold.” When Henry finally returns home to his parents, he is almost a national hero.

Following in 1811, two paper doll sets and their texts spotlight masculinity through theatrical performances: *Frank Feignwell’s Attempts to Amuse his Friends on Twelfth Night. Exhibited in a Series of Characters* (fig. 15) and *Young Albert, The Roscius, Exhibited in a Series of Characters from Shakspeare and Other Authors* (fig. 16). In *Frank Feignwell*, the dolls and text are a tribute to theatrical masculinity and reveal cultural biases. Twelfth Night is the last day of the twelve days of Christmas and marks the Epiphany but is also the title of Shakespeare’s play. The first Frank doll stands leaning on a table holding a festive “twelfth cake.” As part of the celebrations, Frank impersonates an assortment of characters through

⁷² Harvey, “Ritual Encounters,” 194.

⁷³ Harvey, 195-196.

⁷⁴ *Little Henry*, 19.

⁷⁵ *Little Henry*, 19.

seven additional paper dolls and a short humorous poem for each. After toasting the king (George III), Frank impersonates the Inca warrior Rolla, a barber, the Italian commedia dell'arte character Harlequin, the Scotchman William Wallace, a Jewish peddler, and the lawyer Counsellor Puff. These famous and infamous personalities would likely have been known to players.



15 “Paper Dolls,” in *Frank Feignwell’s Attempts to Amuse his Friends. Exhibited in a Series of Characters, second edition* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place, 1811), 10 x 11 cm, hand-coloured paper. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

Rolla, who is “Valiant in war, in virtue bold,” holds a sword in his right hand and grasps a rescued child in his left hand.⁷⁶ The barber wears an apron with scissors and comb in

⁷⁶ The paper doll of Rolla replicates a painting of actor John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) in the role of Rolla. See Thomas Lawrence, *John Philip Kemble as Rolla in Pizarro adapted by Richard Brinsley Sheridan from Die Spanier in Peru by August Friedrich Ferdinand von Lotzebue*, 1800, 42 x 28 cm, oil on canvas, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, S.808-1991. The play *Pizarro* is about the Spanish invasion of the Incan empire in

the pocket, holds a wig on a stand in his extended right arm, and is mocked in the text for being a quack doctor. Harlequin parades in his signature diamond-patterned costume with laced collar. The Scottish hero Wallace, the legendary outlaw the English reviled, wears a tartan. Lawyer Counsellor Puff wears a “great wig” and robes, and holds a document titled “Evidence of Peter Smuks” in his right hand. “Not a smoother tongued lawyer can ever be had, I will make your case good though you fancy it bad.”

A closer look at the Jewish street vendor reveals that Jewish men embodied an othering of a masculinity that was demeaned and ridiculed. In *Frank Feignwell*, the text mimics the Jewish vendor’s speech and dialogue and the doll displays familiar qualities. A Jewish peddler was commonly seen in the marketplace. In the early nineteenth century, a traveller wrote that he could not leave London “without being besieged by a small army of Jew boys” selling “oranges, lemons, sponges, combs, pocket books, pencils, sealing wax, paper, many-bladed pen knives, razors, pocket mirrors, and shaving boxes.”⁷⁷ The paper-doll adult vendor carries an open box of goods including watches, a comb, scissors, and a pair of earrings. His outstretched right hand holds a watch. The seller’s long dark beard signals he is likely Jewish.⁷⁸ Depictions of sellers of all sorts were common in eighteenth-century paintings and prints. Known for depicting the daily life of ordinary people, an engraving by

Peru in the sixteenth century. See August von Kotzebue, *Pizarro: The Spaniards in Peru; or, the Death of Rolla. A Tragedy in Five Acts: The Original of the Play Performing at the Theatre Royal Drury-Lane, under the Title of Pizarro. 2nd ed.*, translated from the German by Anne Plumptre (London: Printed for R. Phillips, No. 71, St. Paul’s Church-Yard. Sold by H. D. Symonds and T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; Carpenter and Co. Old Bond-Street, R.H. Westley, Strand, 1799). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*.

⁷⁷ Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: The Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Cannot Work, and Will Not Work*, vol. 2 (London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1861), 130. *Nineteenth Century Collections Online*.

⁷⁸ Toni Wein argues that in English theatre a beard signalled Jewish men. Toni Wein, ‘By a Nose’ or ‘By a Hair’: Bearding the Jew on the Georgian Stage.” In *Staging the Other in Nineteenth-Century British Drama*, edited by Tiziana Morosetti (Oxford, UK: Peter Lang, 2015), 17-39.

Luigi Schiavonetti (1765-1810) in *Cries of London*, after Francis Wheatley's (1747-1801) painting, shows a bearded man selling oranges carried in a basket to two women.⁷⁹ Street vendors selling various types of foods and household goods were popular subjects made as decorative porcelain figures. Trinket sellers, male and female, Christian and Jew, were conspicuous by the familiar box of small items they carried.⁸⁰ The board game, *The New and Fashionable Game of the Jew* (1807), gamifies, visualizes, and perpetuates long-held English anti-Semitic views and stereotypes of Jewish masculinity, and by extension, the othering of a culture.⁸¹ Toni Wein suggests publisher J. Wallis copied the title from Richard Cumberland's popular play *The Jew* (1794), which was still being performed in 1807.⁸²

Following the *Frank Feignwell* collection, dolls in *Young Albert, The Roscius, Exhibited in a Series of Characters from Shakspeare and Other Authors* (1811) exude British patriotism.⁸³ The dolls' theatricality stems from Shakespeare's plays. Shakespeare and his work were captured and memorialized in household items that could be found in a domestic

⁷⁹ Luigi Schiavonetti (after Francis Wheatley), "Sweet China Oranges, Sweet China," *Cries of London*, 1794, 40.6 x 30.5 cm, coloured engraving with stipple, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT, <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:54782>.

⁸⁰ *Trinket Seller*, Germany or France, before 1706, ivory, silver, gilt, enamel, diamonds wooden pedestal, height 10.2 cm, including pedestal. Green Vault, Dresden State Art Collections; *Trinket Seller*, Germany, Meissen, modelled by Johann Joachim Kaendler, ca. 1745, height 18.6 cm, hard-paste porcelain with overglaze enamels and gilding. Private collection of Alan Shimmerman, in Karine Tsoumis and Vanessa Sigalas, eds., *A Passion for Porcelain: Essays in Honour of Meredith Chilton* (Stuttgart, DE: arnoldsche, 2020), 53, figures 12 a/b and 13 a/b.

⁸¹ *The New and Fashionable Game of the Jew* (London: Published by J. Wallis, senr., no. 15, Warwick Square: M. Dunnett, no.3, Cheapside: And J. Wallis, junr., no. 188, Strand, 1807), 48 x 41cm, hand-coloured engraving in twelve sections with illustrations mounted on one sheet of linen. Harvard University, Houghton Library, <https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:434741087>; Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3439799?image_id=1097923.

⁸² Toni Wein, *Monstrous Fellowship: 'Pagan, Turk and Jew' in English Popular Culture, 1780-1845* (Oxford, UK: Peter Lang, 2018), 124-126.

⁸³ "Roscius" refers to the famous Roman actor Quintus Roscius Gallus (d. 62 BCE).

interior, including miniature ceramic busts and figures, mugs, and textiles.⁸⁴ In the board game *The New Game of Human Life* (1790), Shakespeare's status as an English cultural icon was possibly gamified in the character named The Tragic Author (position 45). The ultimate game rule states, "Lastly, the Tragic Author at 45 shall go to the place of the Immortal Man at 84, and win the Game by succeeding him." Hannas hypothesizes Isaac Newton is the Immortal Man.⁸⁵ The paper doll-book is another medium to celebrate Shakespeare and Britain.

Young Albert contains seven dolls and two heads (one black and one white) with corresponding brief excerpts from British plays (fig. 16). Dolls and text are an homage to Shakespeare. Plays include the tragedies *Douglas* (the character of Norval) by Scottish author John Home (1722-1808), first performed in 1756 in Edinburgh, and *Barbarossa* [Red Beard] (Selim) by English writer John Brown (1715-1766), performed at Drury Lane Theatre, London on December 17, 1754. But it is the five plays by Shakespeare that stand out: *King Richard III* (Glo'ster), *Hamlet* (Hamlet), *Othello* (Othello), *As You Like It* (Jaques), and *King Henry IV* (Falstaff).

The domestic interior was the main space where most people first encountered Shakespeare's plays and poetry.⁸⁶ In the early nineteenth century, chiefly boys learned about

⁸⁴ Examples of Shakespeare-inspired things include: Enoch Wood, *Shakespeare*, bust, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, 24 x 16 cm, glazed earthenware, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Enoch Wood & Sons, *Figure of Shakespeare*, ca. 1810-1825, height 46 cm, lead-glazed earthenware painted in over glaze enamels, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Robert Hancock (engraver), Worcester Porcelain Factory, *Mug*, ca. 1775, 15 x 10 cm, porcelain transfer-printed in black enamel, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; John Slack (engraver), *Shakespeare's "Seven Ages of Man,"* ca. 1805, 105 x 66 cm, printed on cotton, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁸⁵ Hannas, *English Jigsaw Puzzle*, 115.

⁸⁶ Ziegler, 133.

Shakespeare at school. The introductory paragraphs of *Young Albert* portray the protagonist as “meek, mild, and modest with refined manners.”⁸⁷ Albert is noted for his “love for learning,” “enthusiasm for wisdom,” and “desire for pre-eminence.” He shuns “idle sports” to learn the classics and Shakespeare’s works.



16 “Paper Dolls,” in *Young Albert, The Roscius, Exhibited in a Series of Characters from Shakspeare and Other Authors* (London: Published by S. and J. Fuller at the Temple of Fancy, Rathbone Place. 1811), 10 x 11 cm, hand-coloured paper. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

The child actor William Henry West Betty (1791-1874), known by the monikers “Little Roscius” and Master Betty, was likely the inspiration for the character of Albert.⁸⁸ Betty was an acting prodigy who became associated with Shakespeare and the renowned

⁸⁷ Ziegler, 139.

⁸⁸ Ziegler, 139.

actor David Garrick (1717-1779) in the English imagination.⁸⁹ On August, 19, 1803, the fourteen-year-old “juvenile wonder” sprang onto the acting scene with a performance at Theatre Royal Belfast.⁹⁰ In Belfast, spectators were urged to see Betty as a “manifestation of loyalty” to the Crown.⁹¹ Afterward, audiences of people from all walks of life throughout Ireland, Scotland, and England became obsessed with the phenom.

The paper dolls and text add another item to the plethora of Master Betty souvenirs that materialized during his career. Master Betty and his performances were an antidote to Britain’s conflicts with Napoleon. The boy who performed serious adult male roles personified a youthful patriotic masculinity that offered hope to audiences for a peaceful and prosperous Britain.

While *Albert* is a theatrical performance, *Hubert, The Cottage Youth; Being the Sequel to Phoebe, The Cottage Maid. Exemplified in a Series of Rural Figures* (1812) presents a pastoral ideal (fig. 17). Like *Little Henry*, *Hubert*’s subtitle links the protagonist with a female counterpart in a separate paper doll collection. Unlike other dolls and books in the series that emphasize the foreign, the exotic, and danger, *Hubert* is about British domesticity cultivated through diligence, hard work, loyalty, education within the boundaries of one’s social status, and following a conventional prescribed path in life. Hubert is an ideal rural boy trying to better himself. In concert with the poetic anecdotes, the sequence of eight dolls visualizes Hubert’s gradual transformation from a schoolboy in pursuit of knowledge to a mature man who marries.

⁸⁹ See Jeffrey Kahan, *Bettymania* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010). See also Georgianna Ziegler, “Introducing Shakespeare.”

⁹⁰ Kahan, *Bettymania*, 34. See also Jim Davis, “Freaks, Prodigies, and Marvellous Mimicry: Child Actors of Shakespeare on the Nineteenth-Century Stage,” *Shakespeare* 2, no. 2 (2006): 179-193.

⁹¹ Kahan, *Bettymania*, 16.



17 “Paper Dolls,” in Hubert, *The Cottage Youth; Being the Sequel to Phoebe, The Cottage Maid. Exemplified in a Series of Rural Figures* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum, Rathbone Place, 1812), 10 x 11 cm, hand-coloured paper. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

The text informs us that Hubert is endowed with a “handsome mien” and “sweet benevolence of mind.”⁹² While attending the village school, Hubert shows “rare emulation” and receives many prizes for his work. He aspires to become a farmer. We see Hubert harvesting corn, working as a shepherd’s boy, and cutting wood for fuel. Hubert spends his leisure time with Phoebe, a friend and neighbour. Over time, Hubert “increases in Knowledge and Age.”⁹³ The reader is told, “Behold how fortune favours man, Who with his station is contented, By constancy, and honest toil, He bought the farm his father rented.”⁹⁴ When he reaches

⁹² Hubert, 3.

⁹³ Hubert, 17.

⁹⁴ Hubert, 17.

manhood, Hubert and Phoebe marry and “to high esteem they rose, And much importance did acquire.”⁹⁵

The final collection, *Frederick, or the Effects of Disobedience. Exemplified in a Series of Characters* (1816) (fig. 18) highlights the consequences of a specific moral failing. *Frederick* is a didactic short story written in prose that centres on filial piety. *Little Henry* and *Frederick* bookend the series. While in *Little Henry* a youth ventures into a warring world through no fault of his own, *Frederick* tells of an impetuous youth who runs away from home, suffers for it, but redeems himself. Seven paper dolls visualize Frederick’s journey from defiant schoolboy to repentant son: common sailor, Moor, old woman, French girl, peasant, and soldier. Main character Frederick Melvin is “a fine youth of fourteen, endowed with every good quality except perseverance.”⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Hubert, 20.

⁹⁶ *Frederick*, 6.



18 “Paper Dolls,” in *Frederick, or the Effects of Disobedience. Exemplified in a Series of Characters* (London: Printed for S. and J. Fuller, Temple of Fancy and Juvenile Museum, Rathbone Place, 1816), 10 x 11 cm, hand-coloured paper. Photo by author. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library.

The first doll depicts Frederick as a defiant student seated sideways on a chair, legs outstretched and arms crossed, beside a desk. In contrast, the last doll embodies a disciplined soldier injured at the Battle of Waterloo. In between, five dolls are snapshots of Frederick on his road to redemption. Initially, Frederick refuses to return to school and runs away from home. He dresses as a common sailor and is hired as a cabin boy on a merchant vessel. The captain is cruel, and Frederick is ridiculed and bullied by the captain and mates. When a fierce storm erupts, Frederick feels “remorse for his disobedient and ungrateful conduct” toward his parents.⁹⁷ The crew is captured in the Mediterranean by Barbary corsair or

⁹⁷ *Frederick*, 11.

Muslim pirates, and Frederick is sold into slavery in Algiers.⁹⁸ He works in the master's garden, becomes fluent in the "Moorish language" within one year, manages to save the master's life, and is given his freedom. After reflecting on his immature behaviour at home, Frederick repents and makes "solemn vows of atonement and future good conduct" for his parents.⁹⁹ Subsequently, through a circuitous series of misadventures and good luck, Frederick cross-dresses as an old French woman and a young girl, becomes a volunteer soldier at the Battle of Waterloo where he behaves heroically, is wounded in the right arm, and receives a military commission. Frederick returns to England "dressed in his new regimentals," and "was presented to his parents as a repentant son, who had seen his error—had smarted sufficiently for—and was fully resolved to err no more."¹⁰⁰

The Fullers may have stopped publishing the paper doll-book series soon after *Frederick*. But announcements in *The Morning Post* on Monday, October 25, 1824, and Wednesday December 30, 1825, confirm they revived the complete collection of male and female doll-books in the first half of the 1820s.¹⁰¹ During the same period, other notices in periodicals indicate the Fullers modified the Temple of Fancy's advertised merchandise to

⁹⁸ See frontispiece "Christian Slavery at Algiers," and an account of English slaves in *The Cruelties of the Algerine Pirates, Shewing the Dreadful Present State of the English Slaves, and other Europeans, at Algiers and Tunis; with the Horrid Barbarities Inflicted on Christian Mariners Shipwrecked on the North Western Coast of Africa and Carried into Perpetual Slavery*. Authenticated by Mr. Jackson, of Morocco; Mr. MacGill, merchant and by Capt. Walter Croker, of his Majesty's Sloop Wizard (London: Printed for W. Hone, 55, Fleet-Street, 1816), <http://archive.org/details/crueltiesofalger00crokuoft/page/n5/mode/2up>.

⁹⁹ *Frederick*, 26.

¹⁰⁰ *Frederick*, 31.

¹⁰¹ "Little Fanny," Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 16800, Monday, October 25, 1824. 19th Century British Library Newspapers; "New Year's Gifts," Multiple Classified Ads, *The Morning Post*, issue 17170, Wednesday, December 30, 1825. 19th Century British Library Newspapers.

satisfy the public's ongoing fascination with metamorphosis. Audiences were now captivated by panoramas and panoramic painting.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The series of five Fuller paper-doll sets and their didactic books was designed to shape players' personal beliefs about masculine identity to uphold conventional British social morals. The dolls were a cognitive force that shaped players' thinking about social conduct with the goal of correcting errant ideas and behaviour. Images worked with the narrative to foster a player's imagination. The materiality, intermediality, seriality, and paratext of the dolls and text support and showcase multiple masculinities.

Masculinity was condensed and embodied in a series of alternative characters and performances to try on and take off. Paper dolls and text had a symbiotic working relationship in which dolls and narrative mutually reference and strengthen each other. Dolls visualized masculinity through real and fictional characters as a series of theatrical performances, often patriotic figures in service of a stable Britain. Narratives echo visual portrayals. Visuality, materiality, and the sensorial experience of doll play spurred imagination to encourage a personal vision of masculinity within the bounds of British nationalism. Imagination is the core feature that enhanced a player's conception of masculinity. At the same time, paper dolls and book reinforced cultural and political statements that reflected social beliefs in an iterative process. The paper doll-book bolstered specific cultural and social norms by showcasing tacit themes: the iconic Shakespeare, the

¹⁰² See Oleksijczuk, *First Panoramas*.

glory of military service, and perpetuating class divisions. It encouraged imaginary adventures yet simultaneously directed players toward compliance with social norms.

Wide-ranging cultural, economic, political, and social processes impacted the contents of paper dolls and texts. Doll imagery exploited the Napoleonic Wars with France, anti-Semitism, slavery, and the cultural prominence of Nelson and Shakespeare, seen as ordinary men who rose to great heights. Paper dolls and their texts were a commercial product designed to feed and reinforce conventional social beliefs, ideas, and opinions about masculinity and age. This was achieved by projecting masculinity as a theatrical performance, an interplay between dolls, texts, and player inside the domestic interior. Playing with dolls was virtual role-playing and a simulation of real life for and about males that occurred inside the home.

The visual and material culture of paper dolls conveys an English understanding of masculine identities through miniature male characters, narratives, and role-playing. The paper dolls visualize a male's world that entertains, escapes reality, and performs a mixture of fiction and reality that celebrates masculinities. Paper dolls bring to life cultural readings of boyhood, youth, and manhood as experienced in the domestic interior. These embodiments of masculinity convey meanings of home. Home may be the social spaces inside the domestic interior or more expansive visions of the economic, geographical, or political home that was England or Britain.

Age and masculinity represented in the Fuller paper dolls are cultural and social constructs experienced and reproduced to fashion and uphold community stability. Eighteenth-century English educators pursued policies that blended instruction with entertainment. This strategy persisted in early nineteenth-century paper-doll images and their

narratives. Education instilled morals in childhood and youth to nurture lifelong beliefs and behaviour that benefitted social order – bravery, diligence, duty, honour, industry, loyalty, and satisfaction with one’s station in life. The Fuller paper dolls introduced a new medium of communication into the domestic interior that shaped players’ thinking and behaviour about age and masculinity.

Conclusion

By analyzing miniature representations of boys, youth, and men found on board games and paper dolls with their books, I have shown how a strategic mixture of instruction and recreation in these playthings shaped masculine identity. I introduced an analytical lens based on a theoretical framework of Rusch's deep games, Clark and Chambers' extended mind hypothesis, and Rajewsky's intermediality. I also added the structural features of seriality and paratext to my interpretation. My approach revealed games and paper dolls were intended to impact players' ideas, opinions, and behaviour. Cognitive and sensorial experiences with this visual and material culture in domestic sociable settings shaped players' thinking and behaviour around masculine identity. Physical design and layout, accessories and containers, expressive informative images, and purposeful wording of prose and verse, instructions, and rules of play worked in unison to inspire player imagination and convey concepts and social values about masculinity.

Such small-scale quotidian entertainments reinforced existing cultural meanings and engendered new personal meanings. Board games and paper doll-books were markers of social conventions, beliefs, and prescribed and prohibited behaviour. Intended for ludic enjoyment, they were also motivating playthings in service of education and empire. These playthings had cognitive and cultural weight that mediated how players thought about age and masculinity and how they behaved in the domestic interior and elsewhere.

The domestic interior was occupied by the messiness of cultural and social dynamics between people, things, and external worlds that entered the home. Identity formation, domestic interior, and miniature things were entangled and not easily separated. My focused

study of miniature depictions of masculinity is one fruitful way to grasp how visual and material culture could shape masculine identity. There is no simple path to identify or understand how people acquired their ideas about identity or how those ideas were implemented at home or out in the world. I constructed my analysis at the intersection of the miniature object, social interactions in domestic spaces, and personal meanings of ostensibly trivial belongings.

Two case studies confirmed miniature depictions of males on board games and paper dolls have cultural and social currency. Educators and publishers took board games and paper dolls seriously. They were media to teach moral lessons and societal expectations in the guise of entertainment. They were political vehicles presented as amusements to consumers. The domestic interior was the catalyst for shaping concepts and behaviour about masculine identity. Inside domestic social settings, games and dolls guided players and communicated through visual, material, and sensorial interactions. Players interacted with family members and others inside the home. Interactions connect and bind people with ideas and each other, perhaps forming a mutual understanding about how their community works. But the social authority of these playthings extended beyond the domestic interior. Players could use ludic exchanges to navigate and develop a personal awareness of household matters and outside circles. With Rusch's deep-games theory for contemporary digital game design, I showed *The New Game of Human Life* directed players' ideas as they played with visual and textual depictions of masculine vice and virtue. By using Rajewsky's approach to intermediality, I clarified that Fuller paper dolls and their texts encouraged players to imagine and act out adventures about local and faraway places that appealed to males. At the same time, players encountered rhetoric about domestic and foreign cultures, politics, and societies.

By examining historical games and paper dolls played in the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century English domestic interior, I uncovered complex socio-political issues around the subject of age, masculinity, and identity. Drawing on resources from many disciplines, I constructed a deep interpretation of how one board game and a series of paper dolls embodied English society's belief system about age and masculinity. Games played in the home were serious media designed to shape ideas and behaviour and communicate vital English beliefs. Games bolstered widely held concepts about age and masculinity to maintain and reinforce social stability. A player carried any personal transformation of ideas and behaviour inside the home to life in the outside world.

Board games and paper dolls played inside domestic spaces comprise rich visual and material culture. Yet they are overlooked untapped resources in the art historical scholarship of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England. These playthings present an opening to discuss how previously unexamined ludic forms of material culture can be inserted into art historiography and contribute to a shifting canon. My work has unearthed opportunities for future research about board games, paper dolls, and potentially other playthings, and their importance in shaping masculine identity. By studying board games and paper dolls, scholars can discern significant socio-political issues, important stages of life and life events, such as processes and rituals around courtship, marriage and marital relations, child rearing, older age, and death. Board games and paper dolls offer new directions as teaching resources and sources for digital art history. There are opportunities to design board and digital games as tools for teaching late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century art history and visual culture.

A relatively small number of institutional collections in Western galleries, libraries, archives, and museums retain most board game and paper doll specimens from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Private collectors may own most specimens. Who are the collectors and what exactly is in their collections? What are their motivations for collecting? Rather than being donated to institutions, collections may be more likely to be auctioned off and specimens dispersed.

Issues of age, gender, and identity are at the heart of my research. What other kinds of masculinities are depicted in board games and paper dolls? Sporting activities, including hunting and fishing, and occupations are avenues to explore. Another topic is the depiction of masculinity in the British Army and Royal Navy. A further theme is royal studies and the portrayal of kingship and masculinity. Though I focus on males, detailed analyses of depictions of girls and women in board games and Fuller paper dolls would add a new element, along with a comparative study with male depictions in Fuller dolls. All these subjects will enlarge our understanding of the cognitive clout and robust contribution of how board games and paper dolls fashion identity during play in the domestic interior.

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