Introduction

In 1860 an up and coming draftsman and printer opened the first color lithography shop in Springfield, Massachusetts. With a knack for art and science and a few thousand dollars saved, after graduating high school the young man named Milton had commuted from his family home in Lowell to Harvard University’s Lawrence Scientific School, but when his family moved away to Hartford, Connecticut in 1856 he was compelled to drop out of school. Soon after, his talent for drawing earned him a job with the Wason Locomotive Car Works in Springfield, and it was then that he first became interested in printmaking. Wason had hired the Bingham & Dodd lithography firm to create broadsides to promote their commission to build a private locomotive (Fig. 1) for the ruler of Egypt, the Khedive Muhammad Sa’id Pasha—the project which probably introduced Milton to lithography.
The nineteenth century lithographic process of printing from a stone—rather than earlier processes of engraving or etching which printed from wood or copper plates that degraded—revolutionized the manufacture of popular prints by allowing for a nearly unlimited quantity of impressions. The demand for lithographic presses in America was then on the rise with color lithographs increasing from 15 to 30 percent of prints in the US by the 1870s. After purchasing a press in Providence, on January 31, 1860 Milton brought the press to Springfield, where his first commissions included a design book for a local monument maker. Next came what seemed the opportunity of a lifetime for Milton when the chairman of the Republican Convention, Congressman George Ashmun, visited him and suggested he print an election year portrait of President Abraham Lincoln (Fig. 2) as he faced off against the democratic senator Stephen Douglas. But as fate would have it, President Lincoln changed his appearance by growing his famous beard at that very moment, rendering the hundreds of thousands of portraits unsellable. Facing bankruptcy and rumblings of the Civil War, Milton’s next venture needed to be a hit, and with a bit of good fortune, it was. Selling 45,000 copies in the first year, The Checkered Game of Life (Fig. 3) became an instant success that bankrolled the enterprising printmaker, beginning the ascendency of his iconic game company that bears his name: Milton Bradley.

For certain generations Milton Bradley was synonymous with board games, famously producing hits such as Life, Chutes & Ladders, Battleship, and Candyland (Fig. 4) well into the 2000s when the brand, which had been absorbed into Hasbro, was discontinued. Few in the public realm, however, remember Milton Bradley as an artist or printer, with works such as his pro-union 1863 tobacco label presenting Liberty and Union as sisters (Fig. 5), or his colorful 1883 poster advertising the Springfield Bicycle club (Fig. 6), all but forgotten. Milton Bradley was also a dedicated arts educator, writing and self-publishing numerous books, including Color in the school-room: a manual for teachers (1890) and Elementary Color (1896) a guide written for children on color theory (Fig. 7), including the use of toy color tops and games to help children manipulate, play with, and understand the properties and relationships between shades and hues (Fig. 8).

The Checkered Game of Life functioned on the same didactic principle, a wholesome entertainment to teach proper conduct, the 1889 catalogue of the Milton Bradley Co. (Fig. 9) describes it as “a pioneer among the moral and instructive amusements which have been welcomed into our homes during the past 15 years.” Bradley mapped the trials and tribulations of life’s journey onto the eight by eight grid of a chessboard: the player begins at infancy and navigates important steps such as college and marriage, learning by trial and error about the virtues that stagnate one’s life and virtues that lead up to happy old age. A product of its time, the moralizing Checkered Game of Life reproduced Victorian middle class values at odds with vice filled adult games, emphasizing the ruin and poverty caused by gambling and intemperance and the wealth and happiness caused by industry, honor, and bravery. The success of The Checkered Game of Life was due in part to the technological innovations of commercial lithography in the 19th century that enabled Milton Bradley to produce and distribute works on a mass scale, and in part due to a demand for this kind of popular culture, a thirst for novel games that reflected the interests and values of their world, and an audience with time for leisure activities. But while Bradley’s board games were novel for his 19th century audiences many of their elements were not at all new, and in fact were based in part on printed games from centuries earlier.

This essay considers how the legacy of printed games dating back to the sixteenth century in Italy laid the foundation for modern board games like those of Milton Bradley. Attention to this historical context sheds light on their creation and dissemination through reproductive media. Crucially such relationships with their early modern, printed predecessors impacted not only the distribution and economics of games, but also their social, moral, and visual significance.

Play in Print

Milton Bradley’s games such as The Checkered Game of Life originated from the confluence of the technology of image reproduction and cultures of play. The history of printed games in Europe, starting with playing cards, also emerged from a culture of play that was not only enabled by technological innovation but in fact spurred it. The earliest origins of playing cards in Europe are still disputed, with general agreement that hand painted playing cards entered Spain and Italy in the 14th century from the Mamluks or the Near East. The fast spread of playing cards throughout Europe by 1400 came at the same time as the burgeoning of paper mills and woodcut printing, leading many to believe that printing itself developed in part because of the demand to reproduce playing cards inexpensively and disseminate them to a wide audience. Playing cards were probably

Figure 4: The Game of Life, Chutes & Ladders, Candyland, Battleship, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY

Figure 5: The twin sisters liberty and union, A tobacco label produced for C.S. Allen & Company, lithograph printed in blue, yellow, and black on wove paper, 14.6 x 11.2 cm, 1863, Library of Congress

first widely printed as woodcuts on paper, an inexpensive medium printing sheets of cards to be cut apart into decks. Although the earliest surviving woodcut printed cards in Europe known as the Lichtenstein deck (Fig. 10), date to around 1440/1450, these cards use the Italian suit system, and furthermore, several pieces of earlier evidence reference woodcut cards and printing, including the 1430 catasto of Florence which cites one Antonio de Giovanni di Ser Francesco who calls himself a maker of playing cards and who owned playing cards printed by wood.10

Given their utility and inexpensive production, it seems unsurprising that the earliest woodcut cards may not survive despite their great quantity, and instead that slightly later and costlier engraved cards do survive. A document from Ferrara in the same decade references work done for the engraver Guido Castellani, including a “tarchio di carte” a Mantuan press for printing playing cards, which were beloved by the ruling Este family there.11 Interestingly enough this word tarchio, large press, was the word for pressing wine grapes, suggesting that Italians repurposed this technology to create playing cards. German artisans brought their improved technology of engraving across the Alps into Italy in the 15th century, so although playing cards entered Europe through Italy and Spain, German printers played an important role in their explosion.12 Nearly 70 playing cards survive, mostly from unique impressions, from the German engraver the Master of the Playing Cards.13 His Queen of Flowers (Fig. 11) showcases the role of printing innovation in its manufacture. Not only finely and beautifully engraved with tonality and volume, the artist used two plates in the creation of the card: one for the Queen, and one for the suit symbol, in this case flowers. The two plates allowed images to be combined onto each sheet of cards, a process responding to the same needs that inspired the movable type successfully commercialized by Johannes Gutenberg in 1450.

The popularity of playing cards resulted in the production of many different suit systems and games over the next centuries, including the invention of tarocchi style cards in Italy (Fig. 12) whose imagery enabled the play of trump or primiera games.14 In 1526 Florentine poet Francesco Berni comically describes the new trump card game primiera in his Chapter on the Game of Primiera (Fig. 13), emphasizing the prevalence of the game in its use in all seasons and times,

“...Then that which has happened through fate, you must correct through skill.” – Terence20

And if you look closely part by part
There are things there you will not find elsewhere.
If you want a hundred thousand cards.
‘Things useful, beautiful, and new.
Things to take up in the summer, and the winter.
The night and day, when it is sunny and when it rains.”21

Berni’s report that primiera would be played night and day seems true, as in Sigismondo de’ Rossi’s report to Francesco I de’ Medici on the festivities undertaken on July 30, 1565 when Duke Alfonso II d’Este of Ferrara arrived to visit the court in Innsbruck. Rossi recounts that the archduchess Joanna of Austria and her sister Barbara have invited the gentlemen to play primiera.

“Yesterday after dismissed by their highness, they returned to their rooms and invited Alfonso II to play primiera... Then I went where Joanna, Barbara, the Duke, and a gentleman... played until the 22nd hour.”22

The numerous new games were supplemented with treatises and handbooks describing their rules for would be players. For example La maison academique contenant les jeux published in Paris in 1659 lists numerous games and sports, including printed games like the game of the goose, while the frontispice features card games alongside chess, dice, and croquet (Fig. 14-15). English translator and poet Charles Cotton wrote The compleat gamaster (Fig. 16) in 1674, which became a hallmark work describing the rules of games for polite British society, including “Instructions how to play at billiards, trucks, bowls, and chess. Together with all manner of usual and most genteel games either on cards, or dice.”23 In the 18th century Edmond Hoyle, for whom the phrase ‘according to Hoyle’ refers, became the authority on the trump taking card game whist by publishing its rules in A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist. Later editions capitalized on his jurisdiction for dictating the standard rules for card games (Fig. 17), and Hoyle remained a trademark of authority when Hoyle’s Games (Fig. 18) came to America in editions printed in Philadelphia in the 1850s and 60s-the same time Milton Bradley printed the first edition of his game of life.24

Morals and Fortunes

“The life of men is like the game of dice: If the throw you need does not happen,
‘Then that which has happened through fate, you must correct through skill.” – Terence20

Despite the enduring ubiquity of printed games from the 16th century to the present, concerns over the

Figure 9: Catalogue of games, sectional pictures, toys, puzzles, blocks and novelties, Milton Bradley Company, 1889, Smithsonian Library

Figure 7: Milton Bradley, Elementary Color Springfield, Mass.: Milton Bradley Co., 1895, The Getty Research Institute

Figure 8: Milton Bradley, Elementary Color Springfield, Mass.: Milton Bradley Co., 1895, The Getty Research Institute
Figure 10: Lichtenstein Playing Cards, Upper Rhineland, woodcut, ca. 1440-1450. Louvre Museum, Paris

Figure 11: Master of the Playing Cards, The Queen of Flowers, engraving, Alsace, ca. 1435–40. The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 12: Tarot pack, etching, 17th century, Bologna, 30 millimeters x 17 millimeters, British Museum, London

Figure 13: Francesco Berni, Capitolo del gioco della primiera. Venice: B. de Bindonis, 1534. UNLV Special Collections

Figure 14-15: La maison académique contenant les jeux, Paris: Chez Estienne Loyson, 1659, UNLV Special Collections
Figure 16: Charles Cotton, The compleat gamester, London: Printed for H. Brome, 1680, UNLV Special Collections

Figure 17: Hoyle’s games improved: being practical treatises on the following fashionable games, viz. whist ... tennis, ... by James Beaufort. London: S. Bladon, 1775. UNLV Special Collections

Figure 18: Hoyle’s games ... with American Additions. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1865. UNLV Special Collections

Figure 19: Marcantonio Maiorâgio, Antonii Comitis pro Decreto Illustriissim: Principis Alphonsi Avali Istonii Marchionis, & integerrimi Senatus Mediolanensis, in Aleatores Ortio: Aleator, gausquis es, hoc helleboro vesanam sanabis insaniam. Rome: Mediolani, 1541. UNLV Special Collections.

Figure 20: Caravaggio, The Cardsharps, c. 1595, Oil on canvas, Kimbell Art Museum, Ft. Worth, Texas, AP 1987.06
morality of such gambling games have also continued from the Renaissance forward. For example, Anton Maria de Conti (1514-1555), founder and Chair of Rhetoric of the Accademia dei Transformati in Milan, wrote a legal treatise, Oration on Gamblers (Fig. 19) subtitled, “For anyone who is a gambler, this remedy will cure your raging madness” wherein he cites ancient authors to condemn the sin gambling.23 Caravaggio imagines such immorality and creates a dramatic scene of unscrupulous professional gamblers in the 16th century; The Cardsharps (Fig. 20) shows the men cheating at cards, but also references other games of chance with the cup, dice, and backgammon board in the foreground. The men in Caravaggio’s painting bring Terence’s sentiment to life- by cheating they correct through skill the fate of their drawn cards. Other authors sought to legitimize some kinds of gambling, in particular the kind undertaken by the nobility, as in a treatise on gambling written by Florentine theologian Tommaso Buoninsegni (Fig. 21), wherein he lauds the possible virtuosity of gambling noting, ‘it can be a virtuous act’ if it is done in moderation by those who do not undertake it to earn money- a convenient excuse for his patroness Eleonora da Toledo, the Grand Duchess of Florence and an infamous gambler. Buoninsegni also situates the role of chance in gambling games as guided by ‘infallible providence of God’ and ‘divine will,’ excusing another of chance in gambling games as directed by ‘infallible providence of God’ and ‘divine will,’ excusing another. 24 Buoninsegni also situates the role of chance in gambling games as guided by ‘infallible providence of God’ and ‘divine will,’ excusing another. The combination of chance and the symbolic significance of the spinning of fortune’s wheel have become an iconic aspect of our modern gaming culture- visible in obvious places such as the TV game show Wheel of Fortune, but also playing a part in casino games like roulette (Fig. 29), which expanded on earlier wheel games in Italy and France in the 17th century with the addition of advanced probability by thinkers such as Blaise Pascal to become the casino game we know today.25 Casino slot machines also rely on the wheel of fortune to operate, developed initially at the end of the 19th century, the machines mechanize the matching of symbols, originally based on cards and card suits through the turning of internal wheels. 26 And much like the matching of dice throws to determine the winning or paying of wagered money in the Game of Loading the Donkey, slot machines function through the same operation (Fig. 30-31).

Board games too divulge the influence of the wheel of fortune. In 1905 Milton Bradley released The Fortune Teller game (Fig. 32) which featured a witch holding a stick, behind which was a wheel featuring combinations of three cards which would direct the player to their fortune on a detailed instruction sheet. Here we see a similarity between the matching of tarot cards in Marcolini’s fortune book game (Fig. 24) and Milton Bradley released The Fortune Teller game. The spinning wheel also came into play in the form of a teetotum, the number of top that Milton Bradley employed in his Checkerboard Game of Life in lieu of dice, which were
Figure 24: Francesco Marcolini, Le sorti intitolate giardino d’i pensieri, Venice, 1540

Figure 25: Il novo et piacevol gioco di carica e scarica asino, published by Giovanni Antonio de Paoli, Rome, 1589-1599, 468 millimeters x 349 millimeters, engraving, British Museum, London

Figure 26: Il novo et piacevol gioco di carica e scarica asino, published by Giuseppe Maganza, Milan, 18th century. Biblioteca Universitaria Bologna

Figure 27: Ambrogio Brambilla, Il piacevole e nuovo giuoco trovaro detto pel chiu, engraving and etching, 404 x 523 mm, 1589, British Museum, London

Figure 28: Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, Libro della Ventura di Lorenzo Spirito, Veneja: Venturino de Roffinelli, 1543
associated strongly with immorality during Evangelical Christian revivals of the 19th century.31

The Game of Life

One board game in particular had a lasting effect on our culture of play, and that was the game of the goose (Fig. 33). Reprinted thousands of times since our first surviving prints from 16th century Italy, the game of the goose was a kind of path race game, wherein players start their tokens at the portal at the bottom left, and by rolling two dice advance through the spiral course toward the central space that signifies victory and winning the agreed upon pot of money.32 The spaces on the game of the goose evoke points on a journey- the well, bridge, inn- but also imply a kind of journey through life, as the kabalistic number 63, the final space, represented the number of years of human life, and the space of death near the end, which sends the player back to the beginning of the game.33 Another variant is an etching dating to the 1630s of a game titled The New Game of Honor (Fig. 34) by Bolognese printmaker and painter Floriano dal Buono, which depicts a kind of path game with an entry portal in the lower-right side of the sheet with numbered spaces on the path of play. The game proceeds with a winding path up a mountain in the hilly landscape, and figures of virtues and vices occupying spaces on the board- fear, tiredness, idleness, apathy, industriousness, and prudence. The object of the game is to climb the hill and reach the summit where there is a villa and a statue of honor signaling victory, with virtues advancing you up the mountain and the vices sending you back down.

The game of the goose continued to be prominent throughout Europe into the 19th century, where it inspired other versions of the game, including The New Game of Human Life (Fig. 35) published by Elizabeth Newberry and John Wallis in 1790. The New Game of Human Life uses the same spiral path structure of the game of the goose and an employment of virtues and vices similar to the Game of Honor, and it advertised itself as a moral game for children.

“If parents who take upon themselves the pleasing task of instructing their children (or others to whom that important trust may be delegated) will cause them to stop at each character and request their attention to a few moral and judicious observations, explanatory of each character as they proceed and contrast the happiness of a virtuous and well spent life with the fatal consequences arising from vicious and immoral pursuits, this game may be rendered the most useful and amusing of any that has hitherto been offered to the public.”

Milton Bradley's Checkered Game of Life adopts features of each of these games: as in The New Game of Human Life the player begins at infancy and ends at old age, and as in the Game of Honor virtues such as hard work lead to victory, while vices such as idleness send the player back (Fig. 36). Even the feature of the prison in the game of the goose is replicated in the Checkered Game of Life (Fig. 37), as well as in the iconic game Monopoly.34 At the 100 year anniversary of the Checkered Game of Life Milton Bradley re-released the game, this time employing a new structure, a winding pathway where players race around the board in order to be the first to finish, similar to and in fact derived from the tradition of sixteenth century printed games like the game of the goose. But in the new Game of Life (Fig. 38) the morality we've become accustomed to expecting from our board games has been replaced by more material pursuits. The spins of the central wheel of fortune allocate houses and wealth, and the player's fate is not solely controlled by chance, but rather in part their choices in the game, reflecting the values of American capitalism in the 20th century. The purely chance based version was relegated to young children in the form of Candyland (Fig. 39), another imaginative space concerned less with morals and virtues and more with fantastical saccharine delights.

A longue durée visual history of printed games demonstrates salient connections between our current culture of play and that of the Renaissance. The technology of print and the broad publics it reached enabled the spread of a common gaming culture- one built upon shared visual structures in game boards. Modern board games, of course, relied upon similar rules and replicated the ludic functions of their Renaissance progenitors. But perhaps more importantly, they built upon and perpetuated entrenched narratives about how fortune and morality contributed to lived experiences, presenting their viewers and players with a familiar printed imagination of the game of life.

Figure 33: Il novo bello et piacevole gioco dell ocha, published by Lucchino Gargano, 1598, engraving. 507 millimeters x 378 millimeters. British Museum, London

Figure 34: Il Nuovo Gioco dell’Honore, Floriano dal Buono, 1630-1647, etching. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna

Figure 35: The New Game of Human Life, published by Elizabeth Newberry and John Wallis, London, 47 cm x 68.5 cm, 1790, hand colored engraving. Victoria and Albert Museum, London


Figure 39: Candyland, 1949, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY
Origins of European Printmaking


22 23 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
About the Author

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