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A HISTORY OF PLAY IN PRINT

BOARD GAMES FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO MILTON BRADLEY

Kelli Wood

ABSTRACT: This essay considers how a historical legacy of printed games dating back to the sixteenth century in Italy laid the foundation for modern board games like those produced by Milton Bradley. 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.

Keywords: board games, print technology, gaming, early modern play.

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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.¹ 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.²

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.³ 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.⁴ 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 ascendancy of his iconic game company that bears his name: Milton Bradley.⁵

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).⁶

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 vices 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.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ Playing cards were probably

Figure 1: State carriage for his highness the vice-roy of Egypt. Built by T.W. Wason & Co. Springfield Mass. U. S., printed by Bingham & Dodd, Hartford, Conn., ca. 1859-1862. The Jay T. Last Collection of Graphic Arts and Social History, Huntington Digital Library



Figure 2: Portrait of Abraham Lincoln, lithograph, Milton Bradley Co., © Hasbro

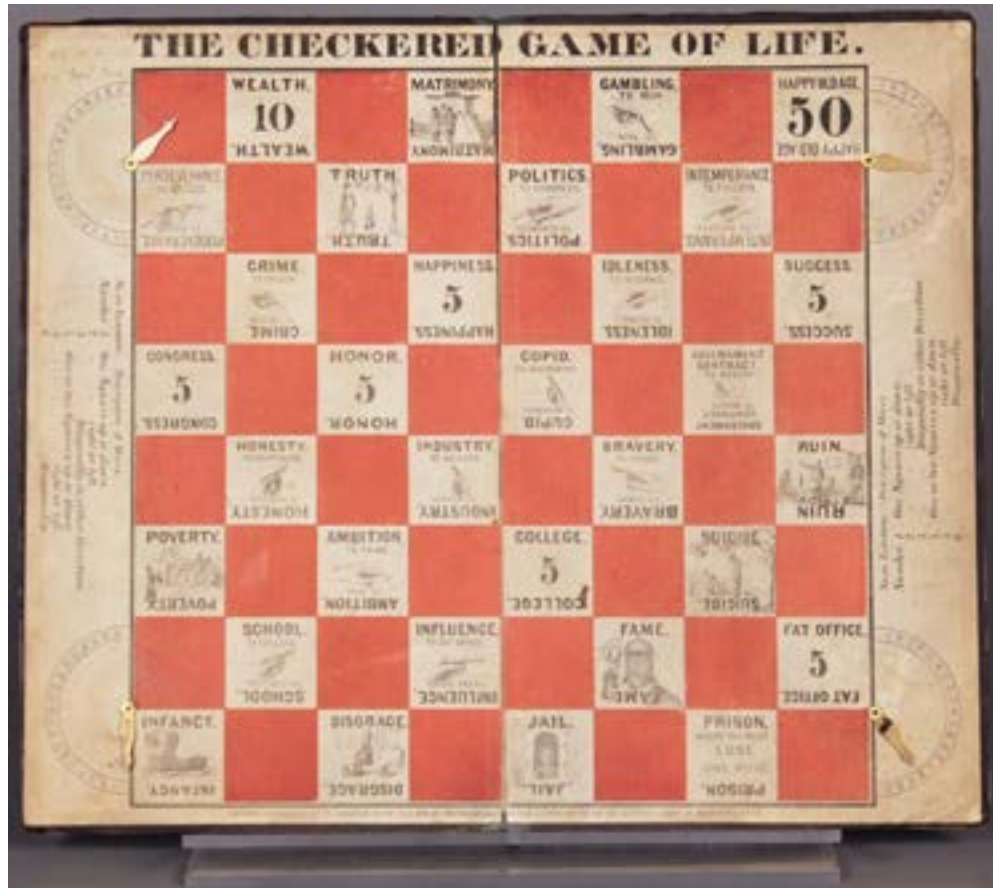


Figure 3: The Checkered Game of Life, 1860, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass. Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY



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



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



Figure 6: Springfield Bicycle Club, 1883, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass., Library of Congress



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

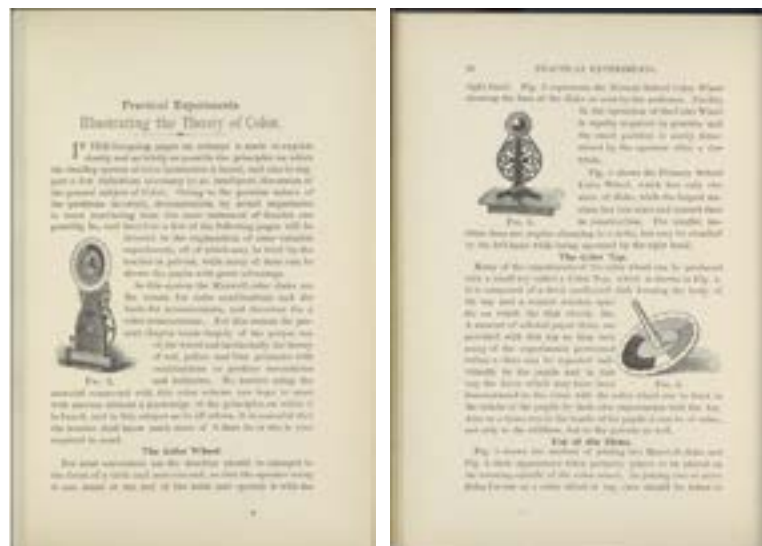


Figure 8: Milton Bradley, Elementary Color Springfield, Mass.: Milton Bradley Co., 1895, The Getty Research Institute

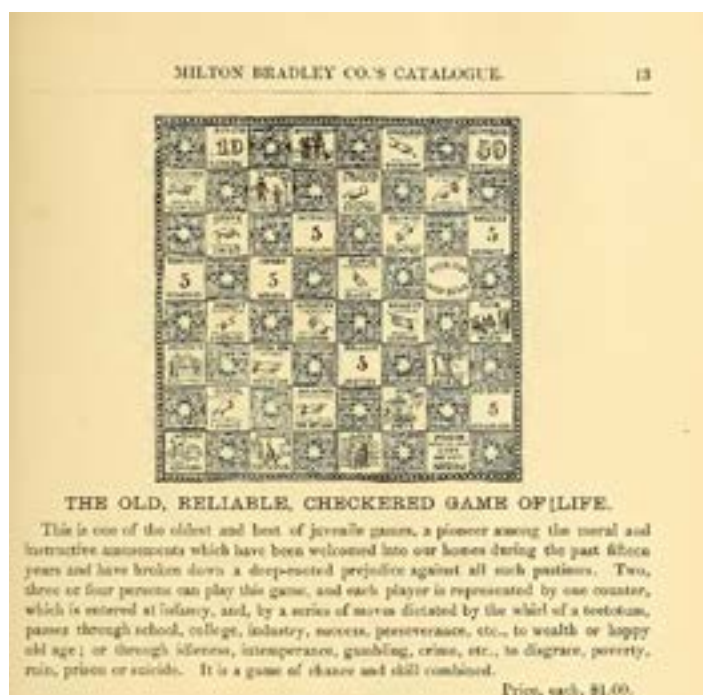


Figure 9: Catalogue of games, sectional pictures, toys, puzzles, blocks and novelties, Milton Bradley Company, 1889, Smithsonian Library

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 “torchiolo da carte” a Mantuan press for printing playing cards, which were beloved by the ruling Este family there.¹¹ Interestingly enough this word *torchiolo*, 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 *trionfi* 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,

“He who knows without the use of a compass,
that nature, fortune, and skill make up the parts of
primiera.”

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.”¹⁵

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.”¹⁶

The numerous new games were supplemented with treatises and handbooks describing their rules for would be players.¹⁷ 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).¹⁸ English translator and poet Charles Cotton wrote *The compleat gamester* (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 gentile games either on cards, or dice.”¹⁹ 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*.²⁰ 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.²¹

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.”

-Terence²²

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



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 primera. Venice: B. de Bindonis, 1534. UNLV Special Collections

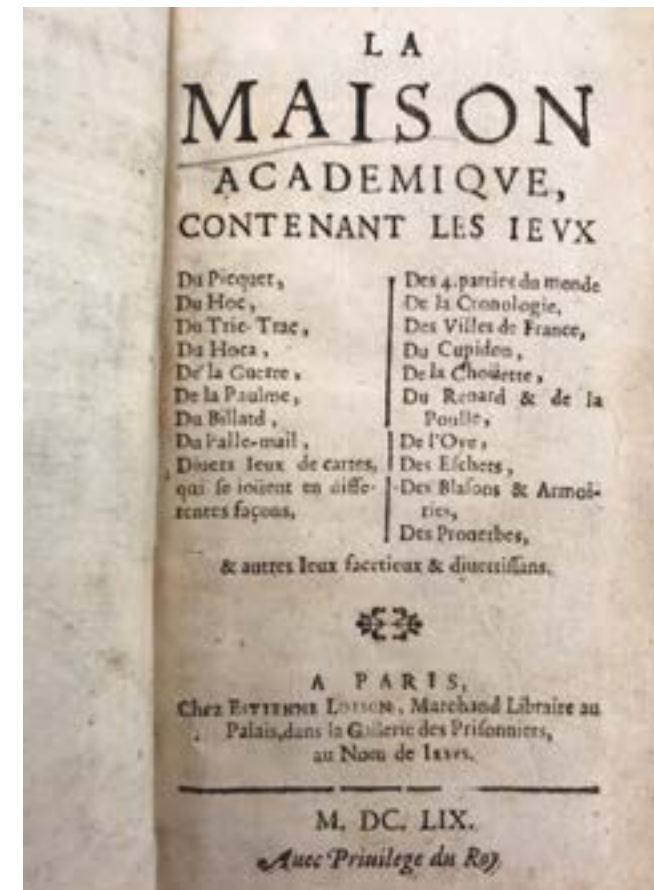


Figure 14-15: La maison academique contenant les jeux, Paris: Chez Estienne Loyson, 1659, UNLV Special Collections



Figure 16: Charles Cotton, The compleat gamster, London: Printed for H. Brome, 1680, UNLV Special Collections

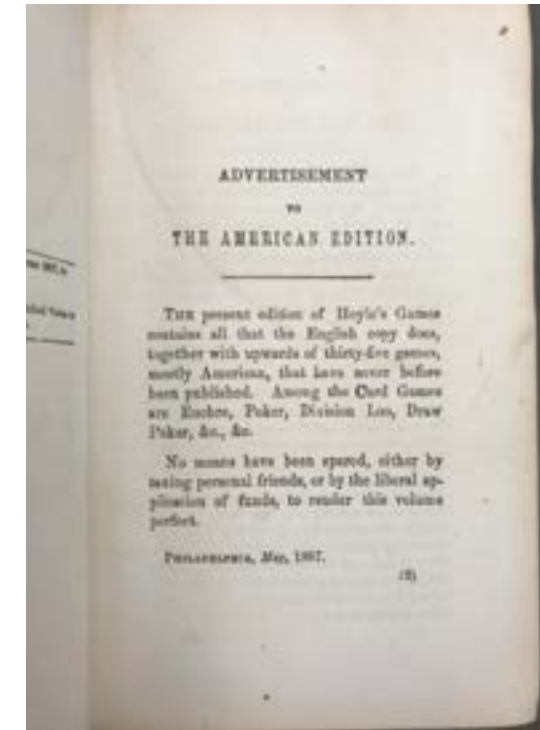


Figure 18: Hoyle's games... with American Additions. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1865. UNLV Special Collections

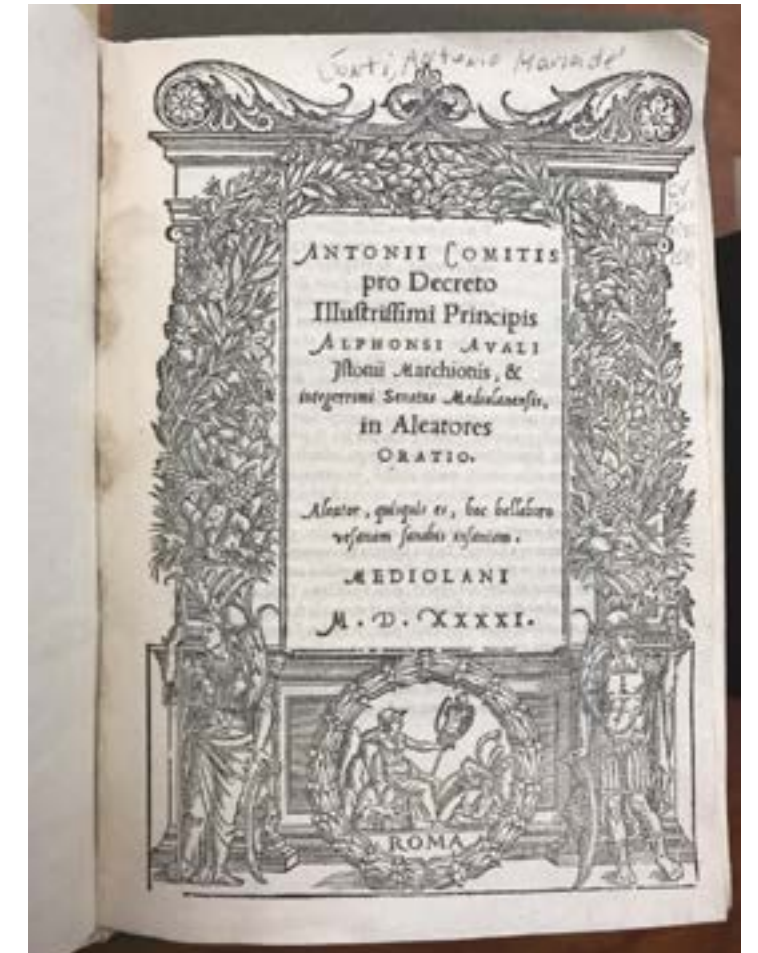


Figure 19: Marcantonio Maioràgio, Antonii Comititis pro Decreto Illustrissimi Principis Alphonsi Aвали Istonii Marchionis, & integerrimi Senatus Mediolanensis, in Aleatores Oratio : Aleator, guisquis es, hoc helleboro vesanam sanabis insaniam. Rome : Mediolani, 1541. UNLV Special Collections.

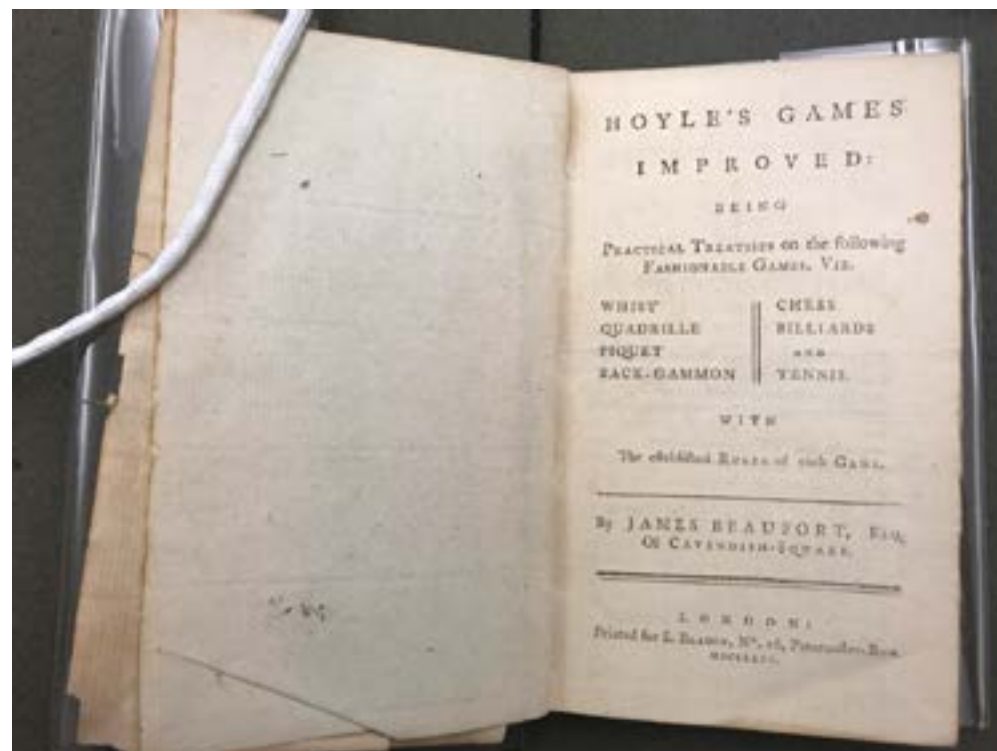


Figure 17: Hoyle's games improved: being practical treatises on the following fashionable games, viz. whist ... tennis. ... by James Beaufort. London: S. Bladon, 1775. UNLV Special Collections



Figure 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.²⁴ Buoninsegni also situates the role of chance in gambling games as guided by 'infallible providence of God' and 'divine will,' excusing another problematic aspect of printed games- the act of telling the future, the realm of fate placed necessarily in the hand of God in Catholicism.²⁵

Early fortune book games created in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries functioned as a kind of combination of astrological guides and dice games, including chance play with allegorically meaningful figures that served a divinatory purpose. Players asked questions relating to their daily lives, about their health and wealth, and then they threw dice or drew tarot cards to navigate a series of wheels and sayings of prophets to finally find their listed proverb to answer their query, such as in Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri's *Book of Lots* (Fig. 22-23), completed in 1482 and reprinted many times over the next century, and Sigismundo Fanti's *Triumph of Fortune* (Fig. 24), first printed in 1526.²⁶ These fortune book games inspired later printed board games, for example in *Game of Loading the Donkey* (Fig. 25), which demonstrates a clear visual connection with the earlier tradition of divination books: The gridded layout, the depiction of dice combinations, and the central placement of his image of the donkey strongly resembles Lorenzo Spirito

Gualtieri's *Book of Lots*. The player would roll three dice and then find their combination on the printed sheet in order to determine whether they won or lost coins. What's more, printed games like *Game of the Donkey* could have a long shelf life as they continued to be reprinted and played well after their original editions, in this case into the end of the 18th century (Fig. 26).

Other printed game boards of the late 16th century also visually evoke these earlier fortune book games, sharing their structure of a central image surrounded by an outward radiating wheel of symbols and text with directions for the player, such as *The Game of Plucking the Owl* (Fig. 27) by the printer Ambrogio Brambilla, which used combinations of three dice to match players to a symbolic image and a win or loss of coins.²⁷ These games are purposefully visually evocative of the *rota fortunae*, the wheel of fortune (Fig. 28), where one is king one day and disgraced the next, the turning of fortune's wheel representing the vicissitudes of the earthly realm.²⁸

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 gameshow *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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 numbered top that Milton Bradley employed in his *Checkered Game of Life* in lieu of dice, which were

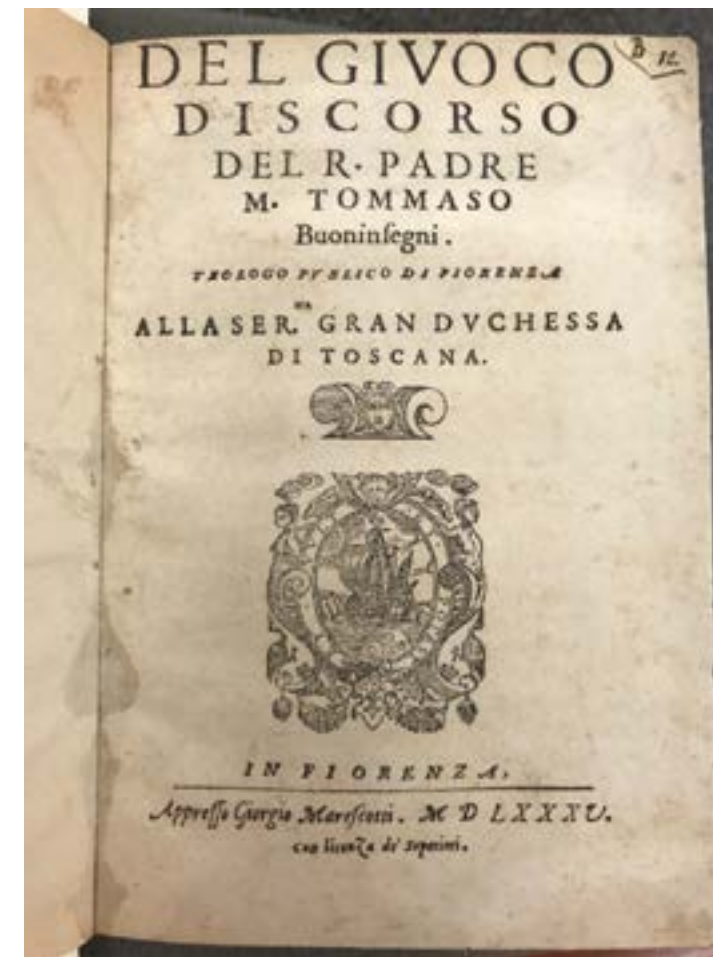


Figure 21: Tommaso Buoninsegni, Del giuoco: discorso del padre m. Tommaso Buoninsegni. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1585, UNLV Special Collections.



Figure 22-23: Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, Libro della Ventura di Lorenzo Spirito, Vinegia: Venturino de Roffinelli, 1543



Figure 24: Francesco Marcolini, Le sorti intitolate giardino d'i pensieri, Venice, 1540

Figure 25: Il novo et piacevol giocodi carica 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

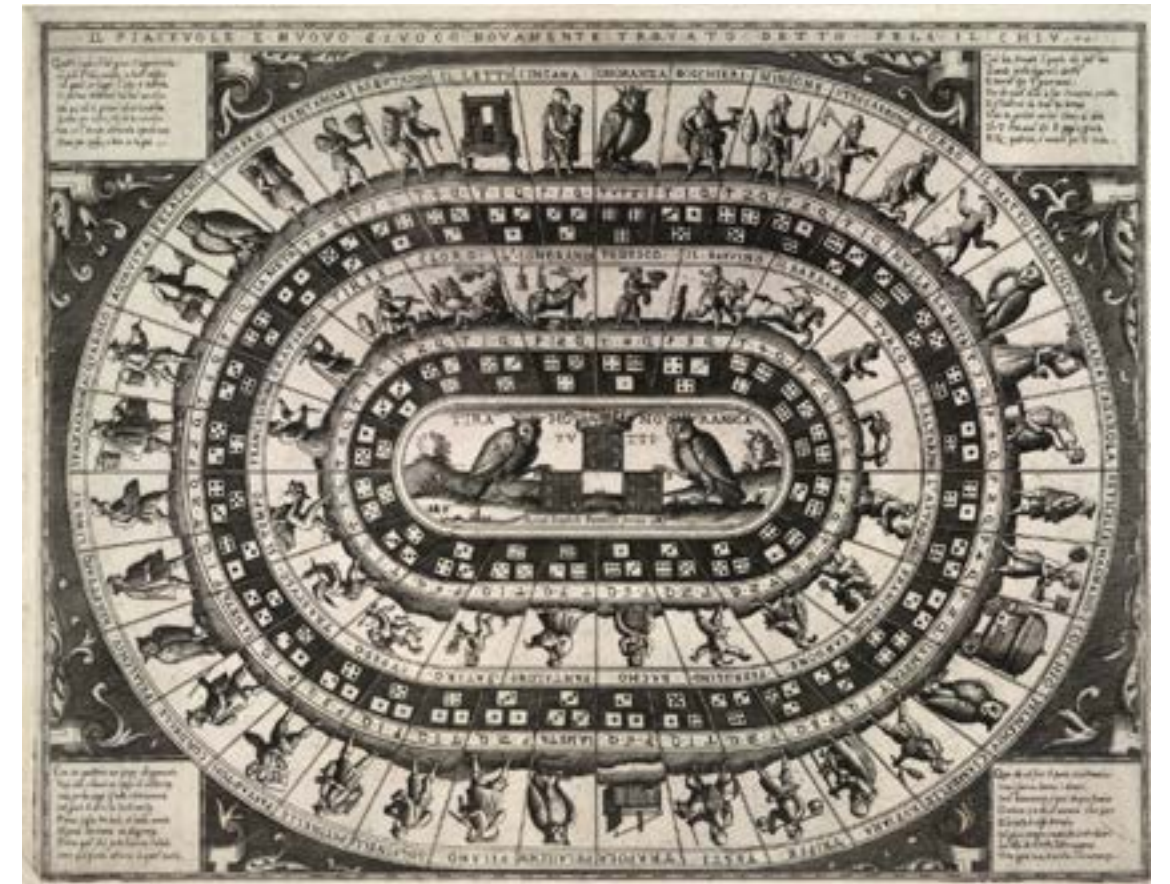


Figure 27: Ambrogio Brambilla, Il piacevole e nuovo gioco trovato detto pela il chiu, engraving and etching, 404 x 523 mm, 1589, British Museum, London



Figure 28: Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, Libro della Ventura di Lorenzo Spirito, Vinegia: Venturino de Roffinelli, 1543



Figure 29: Postcard of people playing roulette at the Apache Casino in Las Vegas, Nevada, ca. 1932-1939. UNLV Library, Harold Stocker Collection.



Figures 30-31: Photograph of a slot machine in the Sands Hotel casino, Las Vegas, ca. 1950s, UNLV Library and detail from *Il novo et piacevole giuoco di carica asino*, published by Giovanni Antonio de Paoli, Rome, 1589-1599, 468 millimeters x 349 millimeters, engraving, British Museum, London

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 1790.³⁴ *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*!³⁵ 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 32: The Fortune Teller game, 1905, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass. Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY

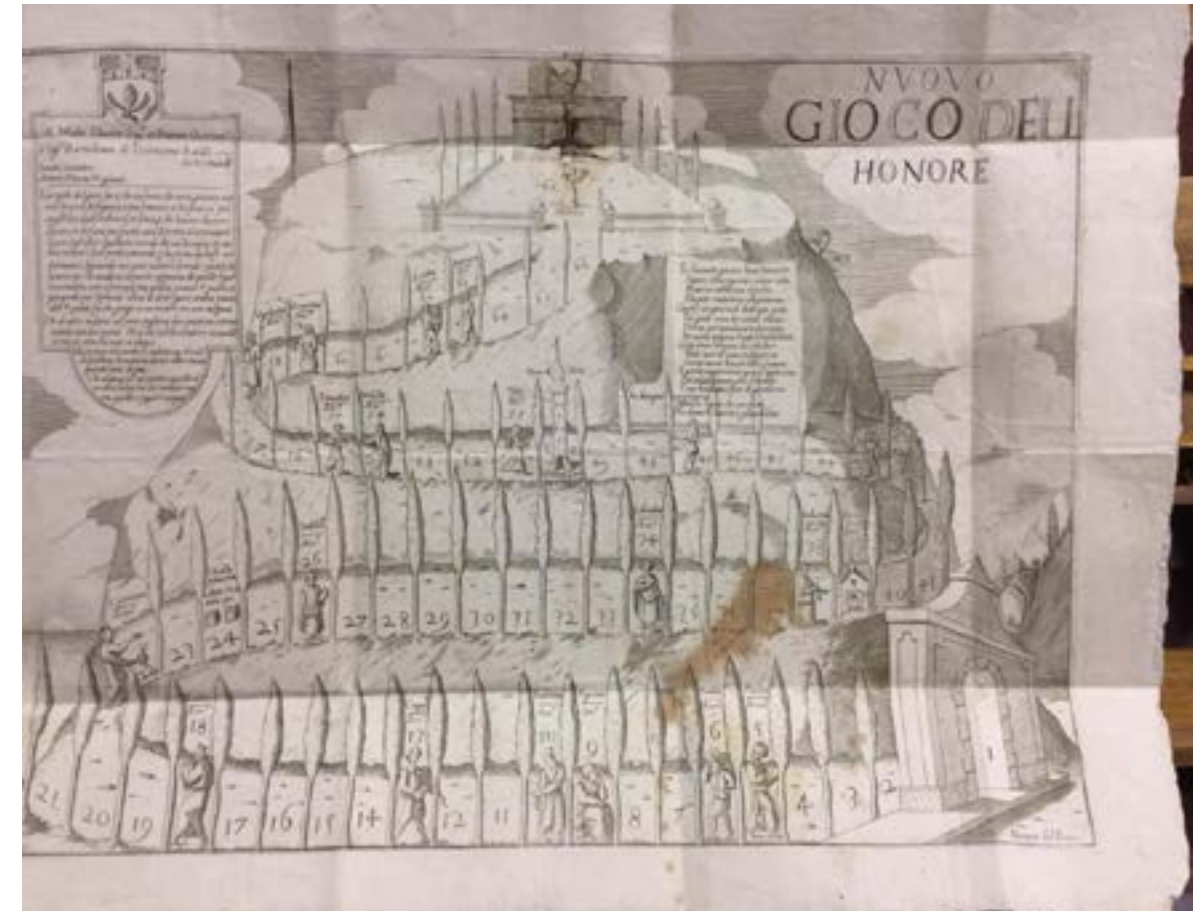


Figure 34: Il Nuovo Gioco dell'Honore, Floriano dal Buono, 1630-1647, etching, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna



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 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 36: Comparison of The Checkered Game of Life, 1860, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass. Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY and Il novo bello et piacevole gioco dell' ocha, published by Lucchino Gargano, 1598, engraving, 507 millimeters x 378 millimeters. British Museum, London

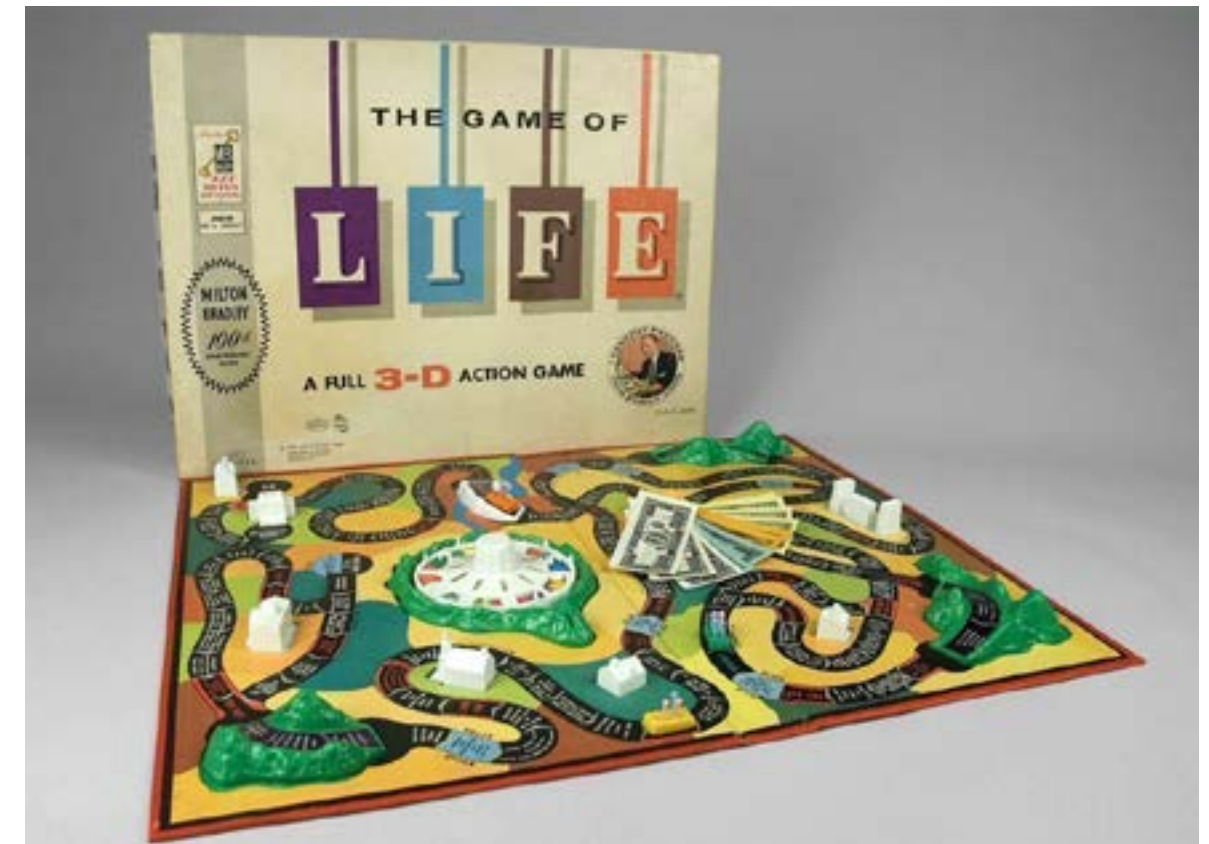


Figure 38: The Game of Life, 1960, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass. Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY



Figure 37: Comparison of the prison space from The Checkered Game of Life, 1860, published by Milton Bradley & Co., Springfield, Mass. Strong National Museum of Play, Rochester, NY and Il novo bello et piacevole gioco dell' ocha, published by Lucchino Gargano, 1598, engraving, 507 millimeters x 378 millimeters. British Museum, London



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

- 1 For details of Milton Bradley's life, see: James Shea, *The Milton Bradley Story* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1973).
- 2 Moses King, ed. *King's Handbook of Springfield, Massachusetts: A Series of Monographs, Historical and Descriptive* (Springfield, MA: James D. Gill, 1884), 319. See also the online archives of the Mid-Continent Railways Museum, North Freedom, Wisconsin, at <https://www.midcontinent.org/rollingstock/builders/wason1.htm>
- 3 Erika Piola, ed., *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828-1878* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2012), 235 and Jay Last, *The Color Explosion: Nineteenth Century American Lithography* (Santa Ana: Hillcrest Press, 2005), 15, 40.
- 4 Ginger Cruickshank, *Images of America: Springfield, Volume II* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 55.
- 5 James Shea, *The Milton Bradley Story* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1973).
- 6 For Milton Bradley on education, see: Jennifer Lee Snyder, "A Critical Examination of Milton Bradley's Contributions to Kindergarten and Art Education in the Context of His Time" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2005).
- 7 Ruth Bloc, *Gender and Morality in Anglo-American Culture, 1650-1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).
- 8 For a history of playing cards, see: Tim Husband, *The World in Play: Luxury Cards 1430-1540* (New York, 2016), Franco Pratesi, *Giochi di carte nella Repubblica fiorentina* (Ariccia (RM): Aracne editrice, 2016), Felix Alfaro Fournier, *Playing cards: general history from their creation to the present day* (Victoria, Spain, Fournier Museum, 1982), and Catherine Perry Hargrave, *A History of Playing Cards and a Bibliography of Cards and Gaming* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930).
- 9 Peter Parshall discusses the role of playing cards in the development of early European prints, see: Peter Parshall, *Origins of European Printmaking* (New Haven and London, 2005), 23-25, 38-40.
- 10 Peter Parshall, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 23.
- 11 Gherardo Ortalli, "The prince and the playing cards. The Este family and the role of the courts at the time of the kartenspiel-Invasion.," *Ludica* 2 (1996), 175-205.
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- 15 Francesco Berni, *Capitolo del gioco della primiera* (Venice: B. de Bindonis, 1534), 2.
 "Qui si conosce senza torre il sesto,
 Che la Natura, la fortuna, e l'arte hanno fatto a primiera del suo resto.
 E se tu guardi ben a parte, a parte
 Cose son qui, che non saranno altrove,
 Se tu volgessi cento milla carte.
 Cose util e belle e cose nuove.
 Cose d'adoperar la state e' l verno.
 La note, el di, quando è sol, quando piove."
- 16 Archivio Storico di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato, Vol. 516a, fol. 933. From Sigismondo de' Rossi in Innsbruck to Francesco I de' Medici in Florence, July 30, 1565. "Hieri dopo desinare loro Alt. si ritirano nelle loro stanze et invitorono S. E. a giocare a primiera, et io che me n'era ritornato a casa per desinare, loro Alt. subito mi mandorono a chiamare che io andassi a giocare. Così andai dove giocò la regina Giovanna, Barbera, il Duca, un gentilhuomo della casa di Sua Maestà quale è stato a Roma come debbe sapere V.E. per un negozio del signor Duca, et io. Giucossi insino alle XXII hore..."
- 17 A few examples of handbooks with rules of games in the sixteenth century include Innocenzo Ringhieri, *Cento giuochi liberali, et d'ingegno* (Bologna, 1551), Antonio Scaino, *Trattato del Giuoco della palla* (Venice: G. Giolito de'Ferrari et fratelli, 1555), Girolamo Mercuriale, *Artis gymnasticae* (Venice, 1569), and Girolamo Bargagli, *Dialogo de' Giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usano di fare* (Siena, 1572).
- 18 *La maison academique contenant les jeux* (Paris: Chez Estienne Loyson, 1659)
- 19 Charles Cotton, *The compleat gamester, or, Instructions how to play at billiards, trucks, bowls, and chess. : Together with all manner of usual and most gentile games either on cards, or dice. To which is added, the arts and mysteries of riding, racing, archery, and cock-fighting* (London: Printed for H. Brome, 1680), first edition in 1674.
- 20 Edmond Hoyle, *A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist* (London: Printed for W. Webb, 1742).
- 21 James Beaufort, *Hoyle's games improved: being practical treatises on the following fashionable games* (London: S. Bladon, 1775), and *Hoyle's games...with American Additions* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1865).
- 22 Terence, *The Mother-in-Law. The Brothers*. Edited and translated by John Barsby. Loeb Classical Library 23 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 337. "Ita vltast hominum quasi quum ludas tesseris: Si illud quod maxume opus est iactu non cadit, Illud quod cecidit forte id arte ut corrigas."
- 23 Marcantonio Maioràgio, *Antonii Comitit pro Decreto Illustrissim: Principis Alphonsi Avali Istonii Marchionis, & integerrimi Senatus Mediolanensis, in Aleatores Ortio : Aleator, guisquis es, hoc helleboro vesanam sanabis insaniam* (Roma : Mediolani, 1541).
- 24 Tommaso Buoninsegni, *Del giuoco: discorso*, Florence, 1585, 9 and 17. "Venendo poi al giuoco ordinato al guadagno, che è il principal mio intento, parlo di quello, che si esercita per fine, & oggetto di guadagnare, come è il giuoco delle tavole, de le carte, de i dadi, & altri simili, i quali son più giuochi di fortuna, che d'ingegno, & industria. Perche chi giocasse à questi giuochi, non per guadagnare principalmente, ma per passarso tempo, non faria peccato, quantunche in tal giuoco si esponesse qualche somma di danari, perche quello non si fa come fine ma come stimol, & mezzo per ricrear l'animo.; 'il giuoco per se stesso...anzi può essere atto virtuoso."
- 25 Buoninsegni, *Del giuoco: discorso*, 11. "perche come ne dimostra S. Tommaso, i casi fortuiti si riducano nell' infallibil prouidenza di DIO, appressò la quale niente è fortuito, preuedendo ogni cosa col eterno suo occhio; onde il commettere qualcosa alla sorte (purché si facci con giudizio, de non per tentare IDDIO) è il rimmetterlo alla disposizione del diuin volere)"
- 26 Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, *Libro della Ventura di Lorenzo Spirito* (Vinegia, 1543), Sigismundo Fanti, *Triumpho di Fortuna* (Venice, 1526). For fortune book games, see: Allison Lee Palmer, "Lorenzo 'Spirito' Gualtieri's *Libro delle Sorti* in Renaissance Perugia" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 47, no. 3 (2016), 557-578, and Suzanne Karr Schmidt, 'Lotteries, Gaming, and the Public Reaction' in *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance* (Brill: Leiden, 2017), 325-352.
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