Geographical board game: promoting tourism and travel in Georgian England and Wales

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Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

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ABSTRACT

Geography was an important subject for middle- and upper-class children to study in Georgian Britain. Publishers saw a marketing opportunity to exploit this development by producing a range of educational puzzles and games to complement more formal approaches to learning found in geography textbooks. About the same time, transportation improvements encouraged wealthy travellers to explore the country's towns and cities, country seats, mills, mines, docks, ancient monuments and natural curiosities. Resorts dedicated to the provision of health and leisure were also on the rise. This article contextualises the production of five early board games in terms of changes, especially in travel and tourism during the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also examines the extent to which these geographical pastimes were also travel guides and whether some promoted tourism more than others.

Introduction

> SALISBURY – A city and bishop's see. Stay one turn here to see its beautiful cathedral, and take notice of a stream of water flowing through every street-.[1]

In 1794, the London-based publisher John Wallis marketed an educational board game entitled *Wallis's Tour through England and Wales a New Geographical Pastime.*[2] The game was designed to teach children geography, but, as the quote demonstrates, it also promoted Salisbury as a tourist destination. When playing participants undertook an imaginary tour around England and Wales pausing at places en route determined by the spin of an eight-sided spinning top, or teetotum. All the sites existed in reality and therefore, in this sense, the pastime could be viewed as a type of travel guide. This article compares five such games produced between 1770 and 1809 to explore the extent to which they functioned as travel guides as well as educational aides. It also contextualises the games in terms of some of the socio-economic and political transformations which took place during the period the pastimes were produced. As a background to the study, previous research into historical juvenile games and puzzles is reviewed, followed by a brief account of the evolution of educational pastimes as relevant to this study. Some background context is also offered in

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[1]John Wallis, *Wallis's Tour through England and Wales, a New Geographical Pastime* (London: John Wallis, 1794).
[2]Ibid.

terms, for example, of changes in travel and transport, which is further developed as the games are analysed.

Academics have become increasingly interested in educational pastimes, as historical sources. Romita Ray's work, for example, demonstrates how visual images in an early nineteenth century board game constructed and validated imperial ideas and stereotypes.[3] The manufacture of the game coincided with a critical point in the history of India when the East India Company underwent a transformation from a commercial body to an imperial power. Similarly, Megan Norcia illustrates how dissected maps promoted notions of British superiority and empire, while puzzles by John Spilsbury and the Darton family are the subject of research by Jill Shefrin.[4] War-themed board games have also been the focus of scholarly inquiry. Haim Grossman, for example, in a study of games devised around post-1945 Israeli wars finds that they generally present events from the perspective of the victorious Israeli side only, while Alfred Wallace in an account of board games themed around the American Civil War notes they largely ignore why the Confederate South lost.[5] Melanie Keene explores the influence of the rules and conventions of play of an early nineteenth century board game created to teach astronomy, while Jane Dove analyses the accuracy of the information within a Victorian card game designed to teach children about the principal towns and cities in England.[6] Dove's article also briefly considers the role of the game as a travel guide, an idea further developed here.

The first marketed English geographical board game, *A Journey through Europe, or the Play of Geography,* appeared in 1759, designed by John Jefferys and printed by Carington Bowles.[7] It was based on 'the game of goose', which itself was devised in Italy as a gambling game for adults and then developed into an educational juvenile pastime in France in 1645.[8] From 1770 a number of other board games like that devised by John Jefferys, based on world, European and British maps began to appear. All used a teetotum, rather than dice, to move players around the board, to avoid any association with gambling. Such board games complemented other juvenile pastimes, especially dissected maps, the first commercial examples of which John Spilsbury produced in 1762.[9]

Spilsbury, in advertising his dissected maps, claimed he had produced them 'in order to facilitate the teaching of geography'.[10] In the period during which the board games in this study were made the subject was taught in a wide variety of institutions including grammar and public schools and dissenting academies, as well as in the home by

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[3]Romita Ray, 'The Beast in a Box: Playing with Empire in Early Nineteenth-century Britain', *Visual Resources* 12, no.1 (2006): 7–31.

[4]Megan Norcia, Puzzling Empire: Early Puzzles and Dissected Maps as Imperial Heuristics', *Children's Literature* 37 (2009): 1–32; and Jill Shefrin, '*Neatly Dissected for the Instruction of Young Ladies and Gentlemen in the Knowledge of Geography': John Spilsbury and Early Dissected Puzzles* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Occasional Press, 1999).

[5]Haim Grossman, 'War as child's Play: Patriotic Games in the British Mandate and Israel', *Israel Studies* 9, no.1 (2004): 1–30; and Alfred Wallace, 'The War in Cardboard and ink: Fifty Years of Civil War Board Games', in *The Civil War in Popular Culture*, eds. L. Kreiser and A. Randal (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2014): 175–90.

[6]Melanie Keene, 'Playing among the stars: Science in Sport, or Pleasures of Astronomy' (1804), *History of Education* 40, no. 4 (2011): 521–42: and Jane Dove, 'The Counties of England: a nineteenth-century geographical game to amuse and instruct', *History of Education* 43, no. 5 (2014): 691–707.

[7]John Jefferys, *A Journey through Europe, or the Play of Geography* (London: Carington Bowles, 1759).

[8]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): 257.

[9]Ibid., 260.

[10]Thomas Mortimer, *Universal Directory* (London: Mortimer, 1763) 27.

private tutors.[11] Georgians regarded geography as important because British trade, commerce and maritime power were all expanding at the time.[12] They also considered geography an appropriate subject to discuss in the drawing rooms of polite society. Sensing a commercial opportunity, publishers began to produce a range of games and puzzles to complement the more formal approaches to teaching the subject found within specialised textbooks.[13] Such products met a ready market with the upper-and middle-classes, which had the financial means to purchase the games and an interest in using them to improve their children's geographical education. We cannot be certain where, and between whom, the games in this study were played, but several references in the literature to dissected maps, a popular contemporary pastime, provide clues. A pupil for example at Cheam School in 1764 wrote to his parents that he had lost Flintshire, one of the counties of his wooden map, and wondered if it could be replaced.[14] Dissections, as Hannas suggests, were also used by the educationist Richard Edgeworth and his daughters as they fitted well with their philosophy on teaching.[15] Puzzles are also mentioned in Jane Austen's novel 'Mansfield Park' (1815) where the heroine Fanny Price is criticised by her cousins for failing to complete the map of Europe.[16] As with dissected maps there is evidence to suggest, therefore, that the board games analysed in this study were played both within the school environment and in private homes. Given that many girls were educated at home at this time, it is also highly likely that both genders played the games, between themselves, with a private tutor or governess, or perhaps with their parents.

Publishers offered the games against a background of the world's first Industrial Revolution, a period of vast change, upheaval, urbanisation, and growth in Britain. Coalbrookdale, where Abraham Darby constructed the first Iron Bridge during the years between 1777 and 1781, was among the most celebrated manufacturing areas in England and soon became an object of the tourist gaze.[17] Cotton, then iron and finally wool producing towns grew swiftly in the North West, the West Midlands and West Yorkshire, respectively. Significant improvements in communications and transport, especially coach travel, also occurred between 1770 and 1809 (i.e. between when the first and last game was produced). Turnpike trusts developed especially rapidly between 1760 and 1780. They improved existing roads and built new ones making travel much easier at the end of the period than it was at the beginning.[18] The adoption of steel springs from about 1760 also enabled coaches to travel more safely at speed.[19] Mail coaches, introduced after 1784, were built to high standards of manufacture making them fast and reliable.[20]

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[11]Paul Elliot and Stephen Daniels, '"No Study So Agreeable to the Youthful Mind": Geographical Education in the Georgian Grammar School', *History of Education* 39, no. 1 (2010): 16.

[12]Ibid., 20.

[13]Examples of textbooks which ran to several editions include John Aikin, *England Delineated or a Geographical Description of Every County in England and Wales: With a Concise Account of its Most Important Products, Natural and Artificial. For the Use of Young Person's* (London: S. Bladon, 1788); and Richard Gadesby, *A New and Easy Introduction to Geography By Way of Question and Answer* (London: T. Bensley, 1776).

[14]Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw Puzzle 1760 to 1890* (London: Wayland Publishers, 1972), 60.

[15]Ibid., 62.

[16]Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: Allan Wingate, 1948), 14.

[17]Barrie R. Trinder, 'Industrialising Towns 1700–1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, ed. P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 820; and Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain, The English Tourists 1540–1840* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 98.

[18]Eric Pawson, *Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: Academic Press, 1977), 289.

[19]Ibid., 285.

[20]Ibid., 286.

Such improvements all meant that travel schedules could be re-organised, reducing the time spent at overnight inns.[21] The time, for example, taken to travel between London and Bath fell from 22 hours in 1770 on the road, to 10 hours by 1811.[22] The games also coincided with canal development, which grew especially rapidly between 1770 and 1820 a change vital to the commercial needs of an industrialised nation. An increase in domestic and overseas trade encouraged growth in ports such as Newcastle and Liverpool. Passenger services also expanded: thus, for example, boats travelling between London and the Kentish seaside resorts of Margate and Ramsgate carried as many as 18,000 persons by 1792.[23] Travel to the continent, for the upper classes on the Grand Tour, however, was interrupted by the French Revolutionary Wars (1793–1802) and more especially the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815). Two of the games were published during these conflicts and this study will examine whether the upheaval is reflected in them.

The games appeared during what might be termed the birth of tourism in Britain, a development largely encouraged by advances in coach travel, but also by war in Europe, new notions of aesthetics inspired by Edmund Burke's sublime and beautiful', an expanding Romantic movement, a reaction against urbanisation and attendant pollution, and other factors. Spas, designed for the pleasure and health of both the upper classes and those of the 'middling sort', expanded rapidly, Bath's resident population, for example, rose from about 7000 in 1750 to nearly 35,000 by 1801.[24] Seaside resorts similarly grew. Estimates suggest that the number of people visiting Brighton, for example, rose from a minimum of 320 in 1769 - just one year before the first game was published – to between 12 and 15,000 by 1811 three years after the last game in this analysis appeared.[25] A wealthy elite began to visit a variety of tourist attractions in towns and cities, as well as ancient monuments, country seats and attractions spawned by the Industrial Revolution such as mines, mills and canals, all well documented by Ian Ousby and Esther Moir.[26] Meanwhile visitors in search of sublime and picturesque landscapes travelled to places such as the Lake District, the Peak District, the Wye Valley and North Wales in increasing numbers, well described in texts such that by Malcolm Andrews.[27]

Set against this background this article compares five different geographical board games produced between 1770 and 1809 to assess the extent to which they were travel guides as well as geographical pastimes. The games compared, all based around a map of England and Wales, are:

- The Royal Geographical Pastime Exhibiting a Complete Tour Thro' England and Wales by Thomas Jefferys published in 1770 (the 'Jefferys game');
- Bowles's British Geographical Amusement or Game of Geography, In a most Compleat and Elegant Tour thro' England and Wales, and adjoining Parts of Scotland and Ireland printed by Carington Bowles in 1780 (the 'Bowles game');

[21]Ibid., 292.
[22]Ibid., Figure 40, 289.
[23]Philip S. Bagwell, The Transport Revolution (London: Routledge, 1988), 50.
[24]Allan Thompson, The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750–1950, vol 1. Regions and Communities (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 20.
[25]Sue Berry, Georgian Brighton (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005), 27; and Penelope Corfield, The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 62.
[26]Ian Ousby, The Englishman's England: Taste Travel and the Rise of Tourism (London: Pimlico, 2002); Moir, The Discovery of Britain.
[27]Malcolm Andrews, The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1716–1800 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 177.

- A New Royal Geographical Pastime for England and Wales published by Robert Sayer in 1787 (the 'Sayer game');
- Wallis's Tour through England and Wales, a New Geographical Pastime published by John Wallis in 1794 (the 'Wallis game');
- Walker's Tour through England and Wales, a New Pastime designed by John Walker and published by William and Thomas Darton in 1809 (the 'Walker game').[28]

At the time that his game appeared in 1770, Thomas Jefferys, a cartographer, engraver and print publisher, as well as geographer to George III was based in St. Martins Lane, London. Carington Bowles, a member of the Carington publishing family, had premises at 69, St. Paul's Churchyard in 1780. Robert Sayer, a major publisher and printseller in 1787, was based at 53 Fleet Street. After his death in 1794, Robert Laurie and James Whittle took over the business and they continued to produce the game under discussion. John Wallis, a leading publisher of children's board and card games as well as dissected maps, operated from his London warehouse at 16 Ludgate Street in 1794. A second edition of the Wallis game appeared in 1802, although it contained the same information as the original version. William and Thomas Darton, who published the Walker game were also leading publishers of children's educational games and puzzles and were based in 58, Holborn Hill when this game appeared in 1809. John Walker, who designed the tour taken by players of the game, was a physician, geographer and engraver. The current article first examines board design, to answer questions such as whether such maps could have been used by actual travellers to plan a route. It then considers which places were promoted and how this was done.

Board design

The pastimes were all largely based around hand-coloured, copper engraved maps of England and Wales (see Figure 1). The maps were then dissected, re-laid on linen and folded into a slip-case which bore an engraved label. The lithographic printing process was invented at the end of the eighteenth century and games from the 1830s, such as those published by the Wallis family, used this technique.[29] A cheaper printing method than copper engraving, this would have lowered the price of the games making them more accessible to a wider social class, but this was in the future. All games were played in a similar manner, namely players moved wooden pyramids, known as 'travellers', around the map, stopping periodically at places determined by the spin of a teetotem.

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[28]Thomas Jefferys, *The Royal Geographical Pastime Exhibiting a Complete Tour Thro' England and Wales* (London: Jefferys, 1770); *Bowles's British Geographical Amusement or Game of Geography, In a most Compleat and Elegant Tour thro' England and Wales, and adjoining Parts of Scotland and Ireland* (London: Bowles, 1780); *A New Royal Geographical Pastime for England and Wales*, (London: Robert Sayer, 1787); *Wallis's Tour through England*, and *Walker's tour Through England and Wales, a new Pastime* (London: W. and T. Darton, 1809). For images of the Wallis, Bowles and Walker games see Bodleian Library Special Collections digital library database: John Johnson and Harding Collections http://www2.odl. ox.ac.uk/gsdl/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=bodjjo01&ct=0&l=en&w=iso-8859-1 (accessed December 27, 2015). The Sayer game can be viewed at the Victoria and Albert, Museum of Childhood, London. Images of the Jefferys game can see on the Bonham's Auctioneers database http://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17162/lot/585/ (accessed April 14, 2015).
[29]F.R.B Whitehouse, *Table Games of Georgian and Victorian Days* (Royston: Priory Press Ltd, 1971), 15.

Figure 1 Part of Wallis's Tour through England and and Wales, a New Geographical Pastime.

Upon landing on a place, players were often required to miss a turn(s) to view, for example, a cathedral, or a manufacturing process, sometimes also paying counters into a kitty for the privilege of so doing. Players occasionally were sent backwards; often because they had landed on a place associated with a vice, for example, Newmarket and gambling on horse races.[30]

Figure 2 summarises the main similarities and differences between board game map layout. The first general observation is how strikingly similar the designs are, perhaps because all the publishers had map-making experience and were London-based and may well have drawn upon each others ideas for the games they produced. The Sayer game had the most 'stops' and, therefore, promoted more places than the others. This was despite the fact its board size was smaller, than, for example, the Bowles game, which would have provided space for more places to be included. The fact that players all began the game in the South East, and finished in London, may well have been because this was where the publishers were based and many of the wealthy, to whom the games were marketed, lived. London, as the prize for winning the game, was empha-sised in importance as a rapidly expanding commercial capital city. All the maps largely focus on England and Wales, largely I suspect because a majority of dissected maps pro-duced at this time, also focussed on this area.[31] The dissections and the board maps would

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[30]Newmarket is an important horse racing centre in Britain, patronised by Charles II since the 1660s.
[31]Linda Hannas, *The English Jigsaw*, 21.

Publisher/Designer		Jefferys	Bowles	Sayer	Wallis	Walker
year produced		1770	1780	1787	1794	1809
number of 'stops'		111	114	169	117	118
start point		Ware	Dover	Windsor	Rochester	Maidstone
end point		London	London	London	London	London
Map depicts	counties of England	●	●	●	●	●
	principal rivers	●	●	●	●	–
	relief	●	●	–	–	–
	stops in England	●	●	●	●	●
	stops in eastern Ireland	–	●	●	–	–
	stops in southern Scotland	–	●	●	–	–
	stops in northern France	–	–	●	–	–
	distance of each stop from London	●	●	●	●	●

Figure 2 A comparison of board designs.

also have complemented each other in teaching the geography of England and Wales. This is not to say that Scotland and Ireland were not tourist destinations at this time, but board size would have restricted the area included. The Sayer game did just venture into these locations and players also made excursions to the Channel Islands and Northern France, which was feasible given that hostilities between Britain and France did not begin until 1793.

Planning a route

Could actual travellers use the maps to plan a route? One way of assessing this is to compare the board game maps with contemporary tourist maps and guides. Comparing the Bowles' game map (1780) with *Bowles's New Travelling Map of England and Wales*, (1778), for example, it was possible to move from Exeter to Plymouth and then on to Truro, Lands End, Launceston and Barnstable by road.[32] The route, however, gives no indication as to the quality of the roads, which varied considerably. One traveller in 1791, for example, thought 'some of the worst roads he had ever travelled' were between Oakhampton to Barnstable.[33] Some routes depicted in the games, however, did not appear to exist. The Bowles game, for example, links Berwick and Woolner, but no road between these places is shown on *Bowles's New Travelling Map* published just two years earlier than the pastime. Similarly a straight line links Woolner and Appleby in the Bowles game, but *Bowles's New Travelling Map* shows the journey would have involved diversions to Hexham and Penrith. Some board game routes also involved sea journeys, some of which were possible: thus the passenger service between Holyhead and Dublin existed in reality, taken for example by Arthur Young during his tour of Ireland in the 1770s.[34] Real travellers were rowed across the Severn, also depicted on some game route maps.[35] Other voyages, however, are more questionable such as the sea journey

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[32]*Bowles's New Travelling Map of England and Wales, Exhibiting all the direct and principal cross-roads; with distances in miles* (London: Carington Bowles, 1773).

[33]Edward Daniel Clarke, *A tour through the south of England, Wales and part of Ireland during the summer of 1791* (London: Minerva Press, 1793), 125.

[34]William Mavor, ed., 'Tour in Ireland, made between the years 1773 and 1779, by Arthur Young Esq. F. R.S. '' in *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Comprehending the Most Recent Celebrated Tours in the British Islands*, vol.2 (London: J. Gillet, 1814), 259.

[35]Clarke, *A tour through the south of England*, 125.

from Exeter to Plymouth via the Eddystone Lighthouse: traveller's accounts instead suggesting most journeyed between the two cities by coach.[36]

As mentioned in the introduction, although road travel improved over the period the games were produced, there is no evidence that later map routes followed new roads. Routes, however, were undoubtedly influenced in a general way by an awareness of the location of principal and main cross roads, for example the Jefferys game begins at London and then proceeds to Ware, Huntington, Grantham and Newark and on up to Berwick, a route on, or lying close to, the then Great North Road. Overall the maps therefore may have been useful for suggesting travel itineraries, but not for detailed planning. The appearance of these maps had, I suggest, much more in common with the sketch maps included in juvenile geography textbooks such as Aikin's *England Delineated*.[37]

Promoting places

Each place featured in the games is described in one or two short sentences at the side of the map. Possible sources for the remarks are not difficult to find, many bearing close similarities to comments found in contemporary traveller's guides and gazetteers. In the Sayer game, for example, Barnard (or 'Bernard' Castle) is noted for 'the best white bread in the country', while in the Bowles game Dunstable is 'a town without springs, where the inhabitants have only rain water to use', both comments almost identical to those found in Jonathan Carver's *The New Universal Traveller*, published in 1779.[38] Similarly, several games frequently refer to Shrewsbury as a place where many genteel families reside, a remark very similar to that found in Nathaniel Spencer's *The Complete English Traveller* which appeared in 1772.[39]

Comparing the games, the first general point of note is the high degree of consistency in terms of which spots are promoted: 66 locations feature in all 5, representing between 39% and 62% of the total number of places included. This is not surprising, given that a geographical game would have been expected to include the largest towns and cities, which in comparing for example the Walker game with town size as recorded in the 1801 census, appears to be the case.[40] The games also included most county towns, again desirable in a pastime designed to teach children about the counties of England. From the prospective of a travel guide, however, this means the same places were consistently brought to the attention of the tourist gaze, while other places lost out. A further similarity across the games is that descriptions often included comments on the appearance, or affluence of a town, for example, in the Wallis game Northampton is described as 'handsome', Warwick 'neat', Lewes 'well-built', Harlech 'a poor town' and Ely 'a place of little consequence' 'only remarkable for its cathedral'. Shrewsbury is described in the Wallis game as 'full of respectable, genteel families' while in the Bowles game Carmarthen is noted 'for the politeness of its inhabitants', attributes all likely to appeal to the polite classes to whom the board game

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[36]Ibid., 57.

[37]Aikin, *England Delineated*, front-piece.

[38]Jonathan Carver, *The New Universal Traveller Containing A Full and Distinct Account Of All The Empires, Kingdoms, and States in the known World* (London: G. Robinson, 1779), 467, 415.

[39]Nathaniel Spencer, *The Complete English Traveller: Or a New Survey and Description of England and Wales* (London: J. Cooke, 1772), 436.

[40]Joyce Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres 1700–1840' *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, ed. P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), table 20.1, 679.

	Jefferys	Bowles	Sayer	Wallis	Walker
number of stops	111	114	169	117	118
Attribute mentioned as a % of total					
River on which settlement is located	0	3	0	13	30
County in which settlement is located	0	10	3	11	85
County town, city, market town	4	25	14	78	62
Bishopric/see	5	2	13	22	7
Port	16	16	11	14	19
Spa or seaside resort	5	3	11	7	6
Size and or extent of settlement i.e. 'populous'	0	24	2	15	8
Age of settlement i.e 'ancient'	0	4	6	9	8
Notable products or manufactures	19	25	12	22	35
Historical association	50	18	16	16	14
Feature of architectural feature i.e. cathedral	30	2	35	24	16
Associated legend	2	2	4	1	0
Sporting event i.e. horse-racing	1	1	2	0	0
Named country seat nearby	2	1	3	2	1
Named natural attraction or curiosity nearby	2	2	7	3	3
Miscellanous i.e. 'smuggling', 'unheathy situation'	2	4	6	2	0

Figure 3 A comparison of the types of information included in the description of the places expressed as % of the total mention in each game.

was addressed. Negative comments also feature, especially in the Bowles game, where Cambridge, for example, is described as 'a disagreeable town', 'Donaghadee' is noted for 'the ill-behaviour of the people', Hertford is 'large and dull', Dolgelly is 'paltry' and Lewes is 'full of inhabitants addicted to smuggling'. Comments such as these within a travel guide would be likely to deter visitation. Figure 3 summarises other differences in how places are described across the games. The following discussion places these descriptions in context and explores whether the games differ in their geographical or tourist focus. As mentioned in the introduction, travellers were visiting a variety of different types of tourist attraction over the period the games were produced including:

- watering places,
- country seats,
- ancient monuments, geological wonders and picturesque and sublime landscapes,
- towns and cities.

For convenience, which places are included and how they are described are discussed under these groupings.

Watering places

The rise of inland and coastal resorts, referred to in the introduction, is reflected in their mention in all of the games (Figures 3 and 4). Their inclusion directly supports the argument the board games were a type of travel guide, although several of the resorts, especially those in the south of England, were also some of the fastest growing settlements in the eighteenth century and therefore highly appropriate to include in a geographical game.[41] Bath, was by far the most celebrated spa in Britain throughout the eighteenth century, its visitor numbers estimated to be 10,000 by 1812, three years after the last

[41]John Langton, 'Urban growth and economic change c. 1688–1841', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*. vol. 2, ed. P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 479.

Game	Jefferys	Bowles	Sayer	Wallis	Walker
Date	1770	1780	1787	1794	1809
Mention as a watering place					
Bath	●	●	●	●	●
Tunbridge Wells	●		●	●	
Hotwells -Bristol	●	●	●		
Cheltenham			●		
Buxton			●	●	
Matlock			●		
Harrogate (Knaresborough)	●		●		
Hollywell-Flint			●		
Scarborough	●	●	●	●	●
Margate		●	●	●	●
Southampton	●		●	●	●
Brighton(Brightelmstone)			●	●	●
Weymouth				●	●
Pool			●		
Teignmouth			●		
Exmouth			●		
Sidmouth			●		
Aberystwith				●	●
Swansea	● (spa only)				●

Figure 4 Places mentioned as watering places in each game.

game appeared.[42] Unsurprisingly therefore this is the one spa which features in all the games. Tunbridge Wells, the next most frequently mentioned (see Figure 4), although the most dynamic spa at the beginning of the eighteenth century and a rival to Bath, was becoming less fashionable by the time the games were produced.[43] It still drew the leisured classes from the metropolis, but by the end of the century it was becoming more of an upper-class retirement centre than a smart spa, its visitor numbers estimated in 1795 at 2458.[44] Its statistics were actually boosted in that year because of an influx of militia as the result of war with France.[45] Hotwells peaked as a spa between 1760 and 1790, after which it suffered a dramatic decline.[46] Thereafter, following recovery from the collapse in 1793 of a building boom, which left many construction projects in Clifton unfinished, the leisured classes instead went to the Gorge and nearby Clifton to enjoy the climate and scenery, rather than to use its medicinal springs. The demise of this spa, therefore, took place shortly after its final mention in the Sayer game. Cheltenham was developing as a spa at the time the Sayer game appeared in 1787, a visit by George III the following year making it fashionable. It also benefited from hostilities with France, which closed the continent to foreign travel by the wealthy elite who instead patronised domestic spas and resorts. It was, nevertheless, still a small spa in 1795, with visitor numbers estimated at 1500–1600, its best years yet to come.[47] Similarly Buxton and Matlock, which feature in the later games (see Figure 4), were also expanding during the period the pastimes were produced. The later games, therefore, reflect the

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[42]Phyllis May Hembry, *The English Spa 1560–1815: A Social History* (London: Athlone Press, 1990), 308.
[43]Peter Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts 1700–1840', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, ed. P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 779.
[44]Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, 60; Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History*, 21; and Hembry, *The English Spa*, 308.
[45]John Towner, 'The English tourist and war 1500–1800' in *Tourism and War*, eds. R. Butler and W. Suntikul (London: Routledge, 2012), 60.
[46]Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, 60.
[47]Hembry, *The English Spa*, 193.

actual changes in tourism and travel which were taking place, which themselves were stimulated by northern regional economic growth as the Industrial Revolution got underway.

Scarborough, which the Jefferys game describes as 'famous for its spa and bathing in the sea', became fashionable from the 1720s and continued to be popular throughout the century.[48] Its inclusion, therefore, in all the games would seem justified. Margate, similarly integrated in four of the board games, was also an early resort. Developed from the 1730s it grew in popularity because it was close to, and accessible by boat from, London. By the end of the century it attracted an expanded range of social classes.[49] The Walker game, however, which appeared in 1809, makes no mention of its widening appeal, and instead simply describes the site as a 'fashionable resort for sea bathing with elegant assembly rooms'. Interestingly Brighthelmstone (Brighton) is not mentioned in the early games, which is perhaps surprisingly given that, by 1770, it had resort facilities including a sea-water bath, assembly rooms, library, bathing machines and lodging houses.[50] Such games, however, were produced before the visit of the Prince of Wales (Prince Regent, later George IV) in 1783, whose royal patronage made the resort highly fashionable, its population doubling between 1783 and 1801 to reach 7000.[51] Similarly, Weymouth, an early resort on the south coast, with bathing machines from the 1740s, features only in the later games, when George III, who made regular visits from 1789, made the resort fashionable.[52]

As Figure 4 shows, smaller resorts located in the South West and Wales feature in the later games. Patronised by the local gentry from the late 1780s and stimulated by hostilities with France, their inclusion accurately reflects contemporary developments in tourism.[53] Mention of a resort function, in some cases however, is excluded. Swansea for example, was noted for sea-bathing from the 1780s, but the Wallis and Sayer games do not mention this, and instead describe its other functions: sea-port and place for the smelting of copper ore.[54] Similarly, although Aikin in *England Delineated* in 1788 notes that Great Yarmouth is 'much frequented in the season as a place for sea-bathing', no games mention this, but instead focus on the town's fishing industry.[55] In fairness, fishing was a significant industry at the time, while sea-bathing contributed little to the town's prosperity and most visitors were drawn from close by, yet to ignore this function meant it was not brought to the attention of the traveller's gaze.[56]

Taken collectively it is interesting to note that the Sayer game includes more watering places as a proportion of the total number of sites it features (see Figures 3 and 4). One possible explanation for this is that he may have had personal experience of such spots, for example, players in his game stop at the seaside resorts of Exmouth, Teignmouth and Sidmouth while passing through Devon. He also may

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[48]Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts', 776.
[49]Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History*, 23.
[50]Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 27; Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, 62.
[51]Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History*, 21.
[52]Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 40.
[53]Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts', 780.
[54]Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts', 780; and Aikin, *England Delineated*, 411.
[55]Aikin, *England Delineated*, 218.
[56]Peter Borsay and John Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750–1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), 51.

have been very aware that northern spas were expanding over the period his game was produced and he wanted to include them in order to give the pastime a contemporary feel.

Country seats, ancient monuments, geological wonders and picturesque and sublime landscapes

Landing on a town or city, players are sometimes detained to visit nearby attractions in the countryside as well as, or instead of, those in the settlements themselves. Stopping at Buckingham, for example, players in the Wallis game are told they must miss a turn to visit Stowe Gardens which are near the town, while at Plymouth they are required to see the country seat of Lord Edgecombe. In reality the country house at this time was not just something to be glimpsed at a distance, but also an attraction to be entered and viewed.[57] Some houses were open one or two days a week, though many might be seen at any time, providing visitors appeared genteel.[58] The gardens at Stowe, for example, which are promoted in several games, were pre-eminently popular, its groves, temples and meandering streams widely praised in contemporary travellers' accounts.[59] The games, therefore, reflect in reality what travellers were doing. Interestingly the Walker game largely ignores attractions such as Stowe and Mount Edgecombe, perhaps because as a geographer he considered their mention less relevant in a game designed to teach geography. This viewpoint is evidently shared by Aikin, who, in his description of the geography of England, deliberately excludes mention of 'noblemen's and gentlemen's seats.'[60] He also omits 'antiquities' on the grounds that the details of this subject 'could not possibly be brought within the prescribed limits of this work', but the board games do mention features such as Stonehenge, which players are required to visit.[61] Conveniently located near the Bath road along which the wealthy elite travelled, and encouraged by William Stukeley's claim in the 1740s that the stones were a druid temple, visitors to this ancient monument were in increasing numbers.[62] Richard Sullivan, for example, touring the area in 1778, described it as 'one of the wonders of the world 'which "fills the traveller with astonishment"'.[63] In addition, the games include stops at geological wonders, such as Flamborough Head, which is mentioned in the Sayer game. Aikin, in *England Delineated* describes Flamborough Head as 'a remarkable promontory whose snow-white cliffs is seen far out to sea, and serve for direction to ships'.[64] As a distinctive landform and seamark, it was therefore an appropriate subject for a geographical game, but it was also a tourist attraction, visited, for example, by Thomas Pennant in 1769

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[57]Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 50.
[58]Moir, *The Discovery of Britain*, 58.
[59]Ibid., 81–82; William Mavor, ed. 'Tour to the West of England in 1788, by Rev. Stebbing Shaw, M. A. Fellow of Queens College Cambridge' in *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Comprehending the Most recent Celebrated Tours in the British Islands*, vol.3, (London: J. Gillet, 1814), 146.
[60]Aikin, *England Delineated*, VIII.
[61]Aikin, *England Delineated*, VII–VIII.
[62]Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 75.
[63]William Mavor, ed., 'Tour through different parts of England, Scotland and Wales by Richard Joseph Sullivan Esq. performed in 1778' in *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Comprehending the Most recent Celebrated Tours in the British Islands*, vol. 3, (London: J. Gillet, 1814), 32.
[64]Aikin, *England Delineated*, 55.

who described its cliffs as of 'tremendous height and amazing grandeur'.[65] The Sayer game also features the Giant's Causeway, which is described as 'a natural curiosity worthy inspection by all travellers'. First attracting the attention of the scientific community in the 1680s, the Giant's Causeway became the subject of wider public attention after water-colours by Susan Drury were exhibited in Dublin in 1742 and later reproduced as engravings.[66] Also described in Carver's 1779 *The New Universal Traveller* and mentioned by Arthur Young in a tour of Ireland that he undertook in the 1770s, the Giant's Causeway was well known before appearing in the game in 1787.[67] Another geological wonder features in the Jefferys game where players landing on Derby, 'must stay a turn to see the Devil's A – of the Peak'. Regarded at the time as the most important of the 'seven wonders' of the Peak District, this large limestone cavern was also well known before 1770 when it appears in the Jefferys game.[68]

The Peak District, in which the cavern is found, was one of several areas, as mentioned in the introduction, attracting visitors in search of picturesque and sublime landscapes, over the period the games were produced. One popular destination was the Lake District whose lakes are marked on most board maps, but only the Sayer game directs travellers who land on Kendal or Keswick to visit. This might be surprising given that the games were published at a time when writers were bringing the area to the public's attention. Thomas West's classic guidebook *A Guide to the Lakes*, for example, which is widely credited as encouraging visitation, appeared in 1778, well before most of the games were published.[69] The area around Keswick was also one of the most eagerly sought-after areas in tours of the Lakes.[70] Instead, Keswick is often described only as market town and Kendal is noted for its woollen manufactures. The Lakes are not the only picturesque landscape to receive scant attention. No game, for example, mentions the Wye Valley, a description of which by William Gilpin, published in 1782, is widely credited as establishing the picturesque movement.[71] Tourists could travel by boat down the Wye from Ross to Chepstow in the 1770s, but the Bowles game which appeared in 1780, and features Ross, makes no mention of this. Similarly the scenery of North Wales, which began to attract visitors from the 1770s, with many more coming once road access improved towards the end of the century, is rarely referred to in the games.[72] Cader Idris receives a mention in descriptions of Dolgellau or 'Dolgelly', in the Bowles game, but this is the exception. The games instead focus on the appearance of towns such as Harlech and Radnor, or their history, while surrounding dramatic scenery is ignored, reasons for which are discussed in the conclusion.

[65]William Mavor, ed., 'First Tour of Scotland, by Thomas Pennant performed in 1769' in *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Comprehending the Most recent Celebrated Tours in the British Islands*, vol. 2 (London: J. Gillet, 1814), 19.
[66]Philip Doughty, 'How things began: the origins of geological conservation', in *The History of Geoconservation*, eds. C.V. Burek and C. D. Prosser (London: Geological Society Special Publications 300, 2008), 8–10.
[67]Mavor, *The British Tourists*, vol. 2, 259.
[68]Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 502.
[69]Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes* (London: Richardson and Urquhart, 1778).
[70]Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 177.
[71]William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales Etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London: R. Blamire, 1782).
[72]Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 109.

Towns and cities

A majority of places featured in the game fall into this category. They are described in a variety of ways, for example in the Wallis game Bedford is 'a county town on the river Ouse', Lewes is a 'well-built and populous town, near which King Henry III was defeated and taken prisoner in 1263', at Chichester 'needles are here manufactured; and its haven produces fine lobsters', while at Salisbury players must view its afore-mentioned cathedral. At Worcester players are frequently detained to visit porcelain factories while at Birmingham tourists view hardware products. At Portsmouth players are detained to view warships, while at Liverpool they admire docks piled high with goods. Mention of location, products and landmarks support the notion that the game is a geographical pastime, but, in requiring players to visit a cathedral, or sample a local product, such as Dorchester's fine ale, or view a manufacturing process, the games could also be said to promote travel and tourism.

As mentioned in the introduction, the games were produced over a period when travel by coach became faster and services more frequent, which would have made reaching places, such as Salisbury and Liverpool easier for real travellers. The Industrial Revolution created a variety of new products whose manufacture was a source of curiosity to tourists. Ports were some of the most dynamic towns and cities of the time, growing rapidly in response to an increase in overseas and domestic trade. Britain was at war for much of the time the games were produced and the harbours at Portsmouth and Plymouth would have contained warships. Placed in context, therefore, the descriptions of the towns and cities in the games reflect socio-economic changes and political events taking place concurrently. Travellers' journals also confirm that real tourists visited such places: Sullivan for example in 1778 describes visiting Worcester's porcelain works and the docks at Liverpool.[73]

The descriptions of manufacturing centres such as Sheffield and ports such as Bristol in the games are often glowing, but were such places really like this? Sheffield, for example, famed in the game for its cutlery, was according to Carver a place 'where streets are narrow and the houses black occasioned by the smoke of the forges'.[74] Bristol, widely praised in the game for its wealth and where in the Bowles game players are delayed to examine its glasshouses, was according to Sullivan, who came in 1778, a place of 'houses so meanly built and streets narrow, dirty ill-paved and the public nuisances of their glass houses – the continual smoke arising from them, being constantly darkened, while the inhabitants are almost suffocated with noxious effluvia'.[75] Manchester, where players in the Walker game stop to 'see the manufactories, the handsome streets and elegant houses', was in the view of Hon. John Byng, who visited in 1790 'a great nasty manufacturing town'.[76] It would, however, be misleading to assume all manufacturing centres were soot blackened, grubby and squalid.[77] Industrial towns and cities using coal as a fuel to drive machinery, such as Manchester, or to forge iron or create steel such as at Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Sheffield were undoubtedly smoky, but those still reliant on

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[73]Mavor, *The British Tourists*, vol. 3, 69–7, 79.
[74]Carver, *The New Universal Traveller*, 456.
[75]Mavor, *The British Tourists*, vol. 3, 43–44.
[76]C. Bruyn Andrews, ed. *The Torrington Diaries a selection from the Tours of the Hon. John Byng between the Years 1781 and 1794* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1954), 258–9.
[77]Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History*, 24.

water-power were not. In West Yorkshire, for example, the woollen industry was still largely a rural activity reliant on water-power until the 1820s, when steam power made possible its concentration in town and factories.[78] The general unattractiveness of ports and other manufacturing centres at this time, therefore, should not be exaggerated, although a little later when industrialisation was more fully established by the 1840s, horrified travellers tended to avert their gaze.[79]

Close reading reveals subtle differences in the way towns and cities included in the games are described. As Figure 3 shows the Walker game places more emphasis on geographical facts such as the county in which the town is located, while the Sayer, Bowles and Jefferys games hardly ever refer to this. The Walker game frequently includes a reference, where appropriate, to the river on which the town is located, but other games ignore such details. Half of the towns in the Jefferys games are described in terms of a historic event, or figure, or legend associated with the settlement, while this is much less common in the other games. It describes, for example, Guildford as a town where 'King Henry II, King John and King Edward III used to keep their Christmas', while the Walker game refers to it as 'the county town of Surrey, on the river Wye, which is navigable from hence to the Thames'. The Jefferys game also often mentions royal connections where appropriate. Harwich, for example, is 'celebrated for the first landing of our present most gracious QUEEN CHARLOTTE, whom God long preserve', while Chelmsford is the place where 'QUEEN CHARLOTTE passed through this town in her way to London'.

In some cases, important manufacturers or products are ignored and descriptions instead focus on other connections. Northampton, for example, is frequently mentioned as the town near which King Henry IV was defeated and made prisoner in 1460, but only the Walker game notes it was an important centre of boot and shoe making, for which it was well-known throughout the period the games were produced.[80] Coventry is frequently linked to the story of Lady Godiva, but only the Walker and Wallis games mention its ribbon manufactories, which again it was well known for.[81] At Leicester players are often told they must stay one turn to see Richard III's coffin, now converted into a water trough for horses, but only the Walker game mentions the city's connection with the hosiery industry, again a significant industry when the games appeared.[82] In the Jefferys and Sayer games Derby is mentioned only in the context of its proximity to Peak Cavern and Buxton spa, despite the fact that the town then contained Britain's first silk mill, which is fully described in Carver's *New Universal Traveller* and was visited by William Bray during his tour of the area in 1777.[83] The Wallis and Walker games, in contrast, focus on descriptions of Derby itself, their references being to its silk and porcelain manufactures. The Bowles game ignores Birmingham, despite the fact it was a significant

[78]Trinder, 'Industrialising Towns', 814.
[79]Gordon Jackson, 'Ports 1700–1840' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. 2, ed. P. Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 730; and Ellis, 'Regional and County Centres', 703.
[80]Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, 23.
[81]Spencer, *The Complete English Traveller*, 454.
[82]Carver, *The New Universal Traveller*, 430.
[83]Carver, *New Universal Traveller*, 441; William Mavor, ed., 'Tour through some of the Midland Counties into Derbyshire and Yorkshire by William Bray F.A. S. performed in 1777', *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, Comprehending the Most recent Celebrated Tours in the British Islands*, vol. 2, (London, 1814), 227.

producer of iron and goods at the time when the game appeared in 1780.[84] The above findings, therefore, suggest that some games, in ignoring notable products are less geographical in focus than others.

Conclusions

Although advertised as geographical pastimes, this study finds the games were also types of travel guides, for example, promoting watering places, country seats, ancient monuments, natural curiosities and towns and cities, all of which real tourists explored in growing numbers. It should be stressed that, at the time, such places were only visited by a small wealthy elite and children were largely absent from spas, although they may have accompanied their parents to the seaside and on visits to country seats and ancient monuments.[85] What Thompson calls 'unpleasant towns', that is some ports and manufacturing centres, were largely 'unfamiliar to the polite classes', although they were visited by a few curious explorers.[86] Nevertheless, the inclusion of such 'attractions' in the games brought them to the attention of parents and also to children who might become future travellers.

As well as teaching geography, this article demonstrates that the games taught moral lessons, as, for example, where players landing on Newmarket are penalised because the town is associated with gambling and made to retrace their steps, or in some cases lose the game. Similarly, players landing on Guernsey are detained because of the island's connections with smuggling. While players stopping at 'Donaghadee' in Ireland are told that because the town is associated with ill behaviour, they must retrace their steps in order to learn some good manners. All of these examples suggest that the functions of the games expand well beyond that of extending geographical knowledge. Indeed several contemporary pastimes were designed solely to teach youth moral lessons, such as *The Game of Human Life,* a board game where players are warned of the likely vices they might encounter from childhood to old age.[87] The games analysed in this study, therefore, in part reflect this objective. Arguably, the games were also designed to instil other values as well, such as a sense of patriotism at a time when Britain was at war, well illustrated, for example, in the description of Torbay as a place 'where the travellers must stay to view the English Grand Fleet lying at anchor' in the Wallis game. The games were also designed to encourage in children a sense of pride in Britain's growing commercial success in both overseas and domestic trade and industrial innovation, well illustrated for example by the description of Liverpool in the Walker game as 'a town that fills all with astonishment' and which is praised for 'the industry of its inhabitants and the magnificence of its public and private buildings' which 'demonstrate its importance to the British Empire'. In this sense, the findings support previous research by Ray and Norcia who propose that juvenile games were used to promote notions of empire and overseas expansion.[88] Moreover, the games in their comments imply that children as adult travellers should visit such places, out of a sense of patriotism.

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[84]Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 362.
[85]J. H. Plump 'The new world of children in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present* 67 (1975), 87.
[86]Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History*, 23–24.
[87]*The Game of Life* (London: Wallis and Newberry, 1790).
[88]Ray, 'The Beast in a Box'; and Norcia, *Puzzling Empire.*

In comparing the games, one of the most significant findings is how frequently the same places are mentioned, although the Sayer game includes more 'tourist' sites. The consistency may be explained by board-size which would have limited the number of places included, and the fact that, as a pastime designed to teach children geography, the board designers may have felt the largest towns and the county towns must feature. Nevertheless, the repetition would have meant places not mentioned were consistently not brought to the attention of the players, and consequently children may have been unaware of them as potential places to visit as adults. A further important finding is that there were subtle differences across the games in how places are described. The Walker game consistently emphasised geographical facts (i.e. notable products and the site and situation of a town or city) while the Jefferys game mentions associated historical events, legends and royal connections. The Bowles and Wallis games occupy half-way positions between these in incorporating geographical facts and historical information within their descriptions of the towns visited, while the Sayer game stresses tourist attractions. Such differences in emphasis are likely to be explained by the board designers' interests and knowledge. Walker for example was a geographer by profession, while Jefferys, as geographer to the king, might have felt obliged to include references to royal connections in place descriptions where appropriate. The differences in emphasis may have influenced how such places were recalled by children in their adulthood.

How valuable were the pastimes as travel guides? Comparing the board game maps with real traveller's maps reveals that although in general the routes followed were possible, simplification meant that in reality journeys would have been much more circuitous. Although the maps may have suggested in a generalised way possible travel itineraries for the children to undertake as adults, essentially they were designed to teach geography. Travellers visited the places mentioned and the sites also reflected contemporary trends in tourism and travel. Major, early watering places such as Scarborough and Bath feature in all the pastimes, and the Sayer game in particular highlights some of the second wave of resorts and spas that developed later in the century. Weymouth and Brighton, however, although two of four or five early resorts on the south coast, only appear in the games after royal patronage made them fashionable.[89] Spas which were becoming less stylish, such as Bristol Hotwells and Tunbridge Wells, still feature in later games. A further notable finding is that despite the growing visitor interest in picturesque and sublime landscapes during the period the games were produced, they receive little mention in the pastimes. This might seem surprising given that the games were marketed to the middle and upper classes who were the groups likely to visit such places. One reason for this omission is because the games were designed largely around visiting towns and cities, rather than scenery en route between these places. Also as a geographical game, the emphasis would have been on familiarising children with what the towns were noted for, rather than describing the surrounding scenery. Limited board space also restricted what could be included in any description.

The findings have relevance for the close reading of other historical educational pastimes with associations with travel and tourism, many of which await interpretation. Board games continued to be popular into the Victorian period. For example, the

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[89]Berry, *Georgian Brighton*, 16; Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts', 777; and C.V. Chalkin, *The Provincial Towns in Georgian England: A Study of the building process, 1740–1820* (Montreal: McGill-Queens UP, 1974), 53.

coming of the railways encouraged Edward Wallis, who took over the business from his father, to update the 1794 game to *Wallis's Railway Game, or a Tour through England and Wales* and also to publish *Wallis's Picturesque Round Game of the produce and man-ufactures of the counties of England and Wales.*[90]

Comparing these later games with earlier ones will reveal the extent to which they kept pace with changes in tourism. For example, *Wallis's Picturesque Round Game* features small vignettes of the royal pavilion and the chain pier at Brighton, both relatively new attractions, but Swansea is still mentioned as an important bathing place, although its role as polite resort by the 1830–1840s was being undermined by commercial and indus-trial expansion.[91] The extent to which the games reflect the changing fortunes of spas, such as Cheltenham, which was faltering by the 1830s, might also be explored.[92] Earlier games modelled on the European Grand Tour also merit attention, such as *Bowles's European Geographical Amusement, or, Game of Geography.*[93] Advertised as a game based on the actual travel experiences of Dr Nugget, one possible line of enquiry might be to examine the extent to which the game accurately reflected patterns of travel in Europe at the time. It is interesting, for example, that *Walkers's Tour of Europe*, published in 1810, appeared when travel to the continent was restricted by the Napoleonic wars.[94] Another question might be to assess how the rules and conventions of the game may have influenced which places were 'visited' in the pastime and thus brought to the tourist's attention. The games analysed in this study were primarily designed to teach geography, but I suggest they may have exerted a powerful influence on the tourist gaze. Placed in context they also record real changes which were taking place in, for example, tourism and transport. As tourism artefacts, therefore, these and other juvenile games have much to offer in providing critical insights as to how they may have influenced the tourist gaze.

Acknowledgements

Notes on contributor

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[90]*Wallis's Railway Game, or a Tour through England and Wales* (London: E. Wallis c1826–37); *Wallis's Picturesque Round Game of the produce and manufactures of the counties of England and Wales* (London: E. Wallis c1826–1835 and later J. Passmore c 1840s).
[91]Borsay, 'Heath and leisure resorts', 780.
[92]Ibid., 779.
[93]*Bowles's European Geographical Amusement, or, Game of Geography, Designed from The Grand Tour of Europe by Dr Nugent.* (London: Bowles and Carver, 1795).
[94]*Walker's New Geographical Game Exhibiting a Tour Throughout Europe* (London: William and T. Darton, 1810).