

The Games We Play

A study of *The Pirate and The Traders of the West Indies* by William Spooner in relation to British Empire and the indoctrination of Victorian children

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Introduction

In both games and empire, there is always a winner and a loser. The fictitious worlds and characters in which we inhabit weave us through stories of adventure and discovery: a tale through foreign geographies that we otherwise would not encounter. Spin the 'teetotum' and 'start your voyage'¹.

The Pirate and the Traders of the West Indies is a children's board game published in 1847 by William Spooner, a successful print-seller and entrepreneur. According to the *British Map Engravers Dictionary*, Spooner was also known for his 'transformation "protean" scenes, satires, military prints, etc.'² What remains at the core of this essay, however, is the place and time in which this object sits: birthed between the establishment of the *Royal Geographical Society* in 1830 and the empirical rule over Caribbean islands by Britain during the 1900s. With the overarching romanticism of discovery, geographical knowledge and the ideals of the perfect nationalist, it is apparent through revealing evidence that this board game was a metaphorical tool for the colonial indoctrination of Victorian children.

¹ William M. Spooner, *The Pirate and The Traders of the West Indies*, Board Game, 1847, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

² Worms Laurence and Ashley Baynton-Williams. *British Map Engravers : A Dictionary of Engravers Lithographers and Their Principal Employers to 1850*. (London: Rare Book Society. 2011), pp. 625

Chapter 1: Geography as desire and the emergence of cartographical play

'The unknown is the largest need of the intellect.'³ Picture this: it is 1815 and Britain's war with France has finally come to an end. British society is recovering from the upending atmosphere associated with said war, leaving the late 18th century with an ever-growing empire emerging across the global seas. According to Megan A. Norcia, 'The British catalog reveals that the 'number of books concerning geography published in the 1760s was twice that published in the 1750s, and the numbers increased substantially in the 1780s and 1790s.'⁴ These numbers are indicative of the symbiotic growth between the empire and British society's interest in it.

Thus, it is no coincidence that in 1830, the *Royal Geographical Society* was established, and was the first of its kind to 'collect, digest, and publish interesting and useful geographical facts and discoveries; to accumulate a collection of books on geography, voyages and travels, and of maps and charts.'⁵ Discovery here is the gasoline that ignites the need to devour the *discovered*. Dickinson's phrase not only best articulates the overarching desire for such knowledge, but also alludes to the fact that there are no boundaries to which it can be achieved. 'It is obvious that as soon as the people of England began to foster and encourage maritime enterprise and the discovery of unknown countries, the need for some provision or other through which these objects might in part at least be attained would be felt and, to some extent, supplied.' Not only has this itch for knowledge festered through the *RGS*, but has evidently been a widespread phenomenon through the press and other forms of mass output, as illustrated by Andrew O'Malley '[geographic knowledge] specifically of the raw materials, resources, and agricultural conditions of a given country, was of increasing importance at a time of colonial expansion and broadening international commerce.'⁶

³ Emily Dickinson, 1876

⁴ Norcia, Megan A. *X Marks the Spot: Victorian Women Writers Map the Empire*. (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing. 2004), p.7

⁵ Markham, C.R. *Royal Geographical Society. The Fifty Years' Work of the Royal Geographical Society*. 1881.

⁶ Norcia, Megan A. *Gaming Empire in Children's British Board Games, 1836-1860*. (London: Routledge. 2020), p.108

Simultaneously, it is important to note that the dissemination of this information came with a curated audience in mind. The price of access benefitted elite Victorian society, as the *RGS* often publicized its meeting minutes and yearly updates in the likes of *The Morning Advertiser*: ‘exhibiting the situation and extent of the appropriated lands...’⁷ along with sale announcements of a variation of maps for the price of 30s (equivalent of ~£60 today).⁸ What’s more, the transparency it ushers its readers regarding budget and expenditure per year; ‘the state of the Society’s finances was satisfactory, although the expenditure for the past year had been considerable, viz., 2260/ of which 490/ had been paid towards the expedition in British Guiana; 350/ towards that in Southern Africa.’⁹ Not only does this signify the high social demographic of its readers, but also the investment within the field of geography itself. Additionally, the use of language by the *RGS* in the tale of their voyage is very notable and provokes a clear relationship between those above and below the conquest. In this case, the ‘faithless Arabs’ are barbarized and juxtaposed as the villains to the protagonist’s noble pursuit ‘in the cause of African discovery.’ Here, the inhabitants of undiscovered territory are objectified and bare no contribution to the geography of the land, but are, rather, barriers to Britain’s quest for knowledge. It’s the story, as Martin Green put it, that ‘England told itself as it went to sleep at night,’ manifesting the nightmares of conquer and rule, masked as explorative dreams.¹⁰

Geography and the acquisition of it, therefore, was of growing importance for British society within the Victorian era. In conjunction with the *RGS*’ existence, several methods of teaching geography became apparent in the form of games by publishers such as William Spooner, Abbé Gaultier and many more. A wider reach of audiences imbued, as parents too were encouraged to share their fascinations with their children. In several advertisements, William Spooner’s geographical board games can be seen as worthy purchases for Christmas; calling the attention of wealthy parents to help foster the curiosity of their children. Across said advertisements, you may find phrases such as ‘a most amusing

⁷ The Royal Geographic Society, ‘Map of the Colony of New South Wales’, *The Morning Advertiser*, 6 September 1837

⁸ Currency Converter: 1270-2017, *The National Archives*, <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/>> [accessed November 24th, 2022]

⁹ The Royal Geographic Society, *The Morning Advertiser*, 17 May 1837

¹⁰ Martin Green. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. (London: Routledge, 1980), p.3

geographical game'¹¹; 'a humorous game'¹² or 'interestingly illustrated'¹³ connoting the mastery behind Spooner's production, using romantic verbiage to satisfy the cravings of his audience. What's more — each spread acts as visual evidence of the high commercial demand for these printed ephemera (and by extension, geographical knowledge), as a result of the expansion of the British Empire. 'The period of high imperialism in the late 19th century as the time when "a close relationship [was] established between the system of secondary schooling, propaganda and the concept of imperialism.'¹⁴

Social and financial status reign as core themes when analyzing these advertisements, as they resonate with both the game and the seller. We cannot ignore the fact that Spooner's publishing address includes 'Strand' — one of the richer thoroughfares of London and is a surrounding hub for shops and commercial activity. To expand on this, according to the British Map Engravers Dictionary, Spooner's printshop also spanned the following addresses: 259 Regent street (1831-1836) | 377 Strand (1837-1846) | 379 Strand (1847-1882): all within the same vicinity of the richer portion of London society. Finally, the range in cost of each game (5s being the lowest) equally solidifies the target audience and ideals of the elite. This relates to Green's comment, 'luxury may not be a good way of supporting an economy, but it is a good way of holding a society together, because of the fascination which the haves exert over the have-nots' as geographical knowledge stood its place on the pedestal of high, intellectual society, and thereafter disseminated through the form of games to upper-middle class consumers.

¹¹ William Spooner, New Games for Christmas, *The Morning Post*, 7 December 1847

¹² William Spooner, New Games for the Holidays, *Daily News*, 27 December 1848

¹³ William Spooner, New Games for the Holidays, *Daily News*, 21 December, 1849

¹⁴ J.A. Mangan. *The grit of our forefathers: invented traditional, propaganda and imperialism*. 1986. p.15

Chapter 2: Gaming as indoctrination of empire

At the epicenter of these geographical exploits, there are two types of victorian consumers sitting at the feet of their mass production — those who purchase and those who utilise. In the words of J.H. Plumb, children are the ‘sales target’¹⁵ of these commercial pursuits, and embody the consumer archetype that *utilises*. In a similar vein, Teresa Michals explains, ‘in treating their children as occasions for conspicuous consumption, parents also taught their children a new set of relations to consumer culture’¹⁶ alluding to the overarching impact that both societal and material consumption have on children. Board games as a form of education ushered a way for children to acquire knowledge in intellectual pursuits, but also served as a catharsis for fun, by means of capitalism. More importantly, education in the Victorian period surmounted to a tight framework in which to mould the perfect gentleman, or more poignantly, the British patriot. The methods and publications surrounding education and child-rearing during the early eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century lead me to believe that, along with the appetite for geographical knowledge, there was a coerced intersection led by the speculative eyes of empirical power. In other words, ‘a close relationship [was] established between the system of secondary schooling, propaganda and the concept of imperialism,’ as indicated by J.A. Mangan.

One of the more prominent outputs of child education is *Locke’s Thoughts Concerning Education*, a handbook for parents to procure manicured citizens-to-be, and to me, a lived reflection of the civic work that was expected to be carried out in the home. I think of the dynamic between child and parent in this instance and see a distinct parallel within the submission of appetite and desire to rational principle; it is this that constitutes for Locke ‘the dignity and excellency of a rational creature.’¹⁷ Similarly, in looking through Women’s Magazines of the 1800s, there is a hushed allegiance to societal expectations when it comes top the parents’ (more often mother’s) role in a child’s upbringing. The

¹⁵ Plumb, J. H. “The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England.” *Past & Present*, no. 67, 1975, pp. 64–95. JSTOR, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/650233>>. [Accessed 23 Nov. 2022].

¹⁶ Michals, Teresa. “Experiments before Breakfast: Toys, Education and Middle-Class Childhood.” In *The Nineteenth Century Child and Consumer Culture*. Ed. Dennis Denison. Ashgate: Aldershot, England, 2008.

¹⁷ Locke, John and F. W. Garforth. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. (London: Heinemann. 1964) p. 35

emphasis to expose the adult world to their children, as they were ‘human becomings’¹⁸ socialised for adulthood. This is particularly relayed in extracts such as ‘nothing contributes more to raise the gentle, pleasing emotions, than the view infant innocence, enjoying the raptures of a game at play’¹⁹ and ‘instill a new element of education into minds of the young... and take the legislation of the world upon their shoulders.’²⁰

For Locke, ‘learning might be made a play and recreation to children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were proposed to them as a thing of honour, credit, delight, and recreation,



FIG 1. ‘A NEAT TURN OUT’ PRINT BY WILLIAM SPOONER, 1834, LONDON, THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION

or as a reward for doing something else,’ this alludes to the correlation of learning and play — a foreshadowing to the rise of educational board games in succession. This, I believe, also points to the integration of adventurous storytelling within the forms of educational play: the children have the ability to see themselves as heroes in the phantasm of thematic teachings such as trade, empire and power relations. Even more thought provoking, Locke’s emphasis on the globe as a device for global and economic intellect, particularly when confronted through pleasure: ‘...for the learning of the figure of the globe, the situation and boundaries of the four parts of the world and that of particular kingdoms and coin ties being only an exercise of the eyes and memory, a child with pleasure will retain them.’ Here, I bring to question the validity of these

teachings in relation to the construction and perceived structure of the globe — what were the boundaries that Locke referred to and to what extent have these devices (globes, maps, board games etc.) act as discourses for abstract distinctions? In other words, what is the plausibility of these seemingly logical and scientific notions of geographical boundaries posing as political divergence and

¹⁸ Sarah L. Holloway and Gill Valentine. *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning*. (London: Routledge. 2000) p.5

¹⁹ On the Happiness of Domestic Life, *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, Volume 13, September 1804

²⁰ The Duty of Mothers in Reference to War, *The British Mothers' Magazine*, Vol 3, 1 March 1847



FIG 2. 'HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS VICTORIA, HEIRESS PRESUMPTIVE TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND,' PRINT BY WILLIAM SPOONER, 1833-1837, LONDON, THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION



FIG 3. TITLE UNKNOWN, PRINT BY WILLIAM SPOONER, 1833, LONDON, THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION

the metaphorical line between “us” and “other”? According to Johanna M. Smith, within these geographical objects contain ‘witness mapping, a scientific activity but also “a political act of appropriation which has obvious strategic utility.”²¹

Under the lens of strategic utility, I’d like to examine the way in which the outlined influences of educational principles and geographical significance apply to the basis of the *TPTTWI* board game by Spooner, to stimulate economic and historical intellect within Victorian children. This is relative to Smith’s discourse on history, geography and economics as the trifecta for a ‘Gentleman, or a Man of Business in the World.’ Like many of Spooner’s other geographical board games, *TPTTWI* takes a far more serious stance in craftsmanship and tone in contrast with his other prints of the time (see *Figures 1 to 3*), conveying the fact that these were prized possessions and of shared importance within the household.

According to Norcia, ‘the intricate detail and careful craftsmanship involved in manufacturing these games suggest that they, like the books they may have reposed next to on a bedroom shelf, were reference materials designed to illustrate important lessons.’

Though Spooner was infamous for his satirical depictions of upper-middle class society and the British Monarchy, I interpret these map-like games as vehicles for the consumers’ idea of fun — instead, the satire is subtle and dictated by the player(s) whereas Spooner places himself as the subdued facilitator.

Terms such as *voyage, trading, capture, pay, take, occupied* are repeated across the game description and rules: an intentional and

calculated language that illustrates the transactional nature of the literal and metaphorical game:

²¹ Johanna A. Smith, *Constructing the Nation: Eighteenth Century Geographies for Children*. Mosaic, no. 34/2, 2001, pp. 133–143. JSTOR, <<http://www.jstor.org>>. [Accessed 09 Nov. 2022].

Spooner's game and the game of empire. This aligns with the words of Roland Barthes, '... the real game is not to mask the subject but to mask the playing itself.'²² Subsequently, the game's rules indicate that each player performs the role of either the *trader* or the *pirate*; the pirate having the agency to plunder the counters of other players, yet sharing the common goal to gather as much wealth as possible to the end. The *trader* nevertheless takes the form of the protagonist; the one who begins the journey ahead of the *pirate*; the one who is protected by his finances and land. Another indication of the masked play is depicted in the description stating, '... of these islands, Cuba and Porto Rico belong to Spain; Guadeloupe and Martinique to France; and St. Domingo is independent. The rest belong chiefly to Great Britain.'²³ The word *belong* reinstates the players' realities — despite the imagined voyage through a constructed geography, the one thing that remains true to time is the ownership by Britain of the unnamed Caribbean islands. As Edward Said put it, 'Europe *did* command the world; the imperial map *did* license the cultural vision.'²⁴

It is equally important to note that despite the motive of discovery in this game, there is little to no adherence to the act of mapping, surveying, or other related geographical practices. There is equally no encouragement to interact with inhabitants of the island(s) or explore any cultural aspects beyond the commercial nature of the Caribbean. Nonetheless, I imagine a group of children at the dinner table, playing this game with their parents and adapting to the language and perspectives used to describe this pilgrim's utopia. Similarly to Bell's theory that 'children must have learnt much without realising it — countries, rivers, towns, industries, and peoples were all absorbed painlessly...'²⁵ but I would stress on the fact that what they've actually internalised is the filtered perception of the 'countries, rivers, etc.' set before them. As put by Green, '... adventure seems to mean a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in settings remote from the domestic and probably from the civilised.' *The Pirate and Traders of the West Indies* is a game of transaction, and the children playing the game are introduced to the pitfall of capitalism as it relates to Caribbean history. This relates to Norcia's

²² Roland Barthes. *Roland Barthes*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1994)

²³ William M. Spooner, *The Pirate and The Traders of the West Indies*, Board Game, 1847, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

²⁴ Edward William Said. *Culture and Imperialism*. (London: Vintage. 1994) p.48.

²⁵ Robert Charles Bell. *Discovering Old Board Games*. (Bucks: Shire Publications Ltd, 1980) p.18.

examination of these relationships, particularly in, 'Spooner's game offers a glimpse of how take-or-pay economics could be established in the contact zone to create profitable trade relationships (for the imperialist).'

Chapter 3: The romanticism of ‘the voyage’ and the perception of the Caribbean

‘We were condemned to be out of place or displaced, transported to a phantasmic zone of the globe where history never happened as it would.’²⁶ Looking at this object from the perspective of a Caribbean historian, I am presented with an all-too-familiar rhetoric that has become part of Caribbean history.

A place to reap and rape; spread across a linen rectangle and folded neatly on the bookshelf of a white British family who may never care to visit the Caribbean’s shores beyond the two dimensional experience they’ve thrown 6s towards (the equivalent of ~£18 today). As put by Franco Moretti, ‘penetrate; seize; leave (and if needed, destroy). It’s the spatial logic of colonialism; duplicated, and ‘naturalised’ by the spatial logic of the one-dimensional plot.’²⁷ This board game, therefore, demonstrates the way colonialism was dispatched and rehearsed by Victorian children. With trade as a packaged accompaniment to this game, it simultaneously was the engine that fueled the British Empire. According to Linda Colley, ‘trade was not only an indispensable part of the British economy, but also vital for the state’s revenue and naval power. In return, traders depended on the state for maintenance of civil order, for sympathetic legislation, for protection in peace and war, and for access to captive markets overseas.’²⁸

On the account of constructed geographies, it is necessary to analyse the central motif of the board game: the map of the Caribbean as the foundation of play. Displaying the Caribbean in this way almost disassociates it from its reality, but also reimagines its larger plurality within the geographical context. Maps in the context of board games serve as a ‘tight, airless worlds of move and countermove’ (Clifford Geertz, *Blurred Genres*, 25-26); a performative realism that goes against conventional designs of other cartographic examples of the time. For example, by juxtaposing *Figure 4* with *Figure 5*, one may argue that while Spooner’s map is influenced by *true* geographical elements

²⁶ Stuart Hall. *Familiar Stranger: A Life between Two Islands*. (London: Allen Lane, 2017). Chapter 3. P.61.

²⁷ Franco Moretti. *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*. (London: Verso, 1999). P.62.

²⁸ Linda Colley. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). P. 71

and forms, the style of the work has more illustrative tendencies and there is less adherence to cartographic details as the shapes and arrangement of the islands are quite skewed in order to

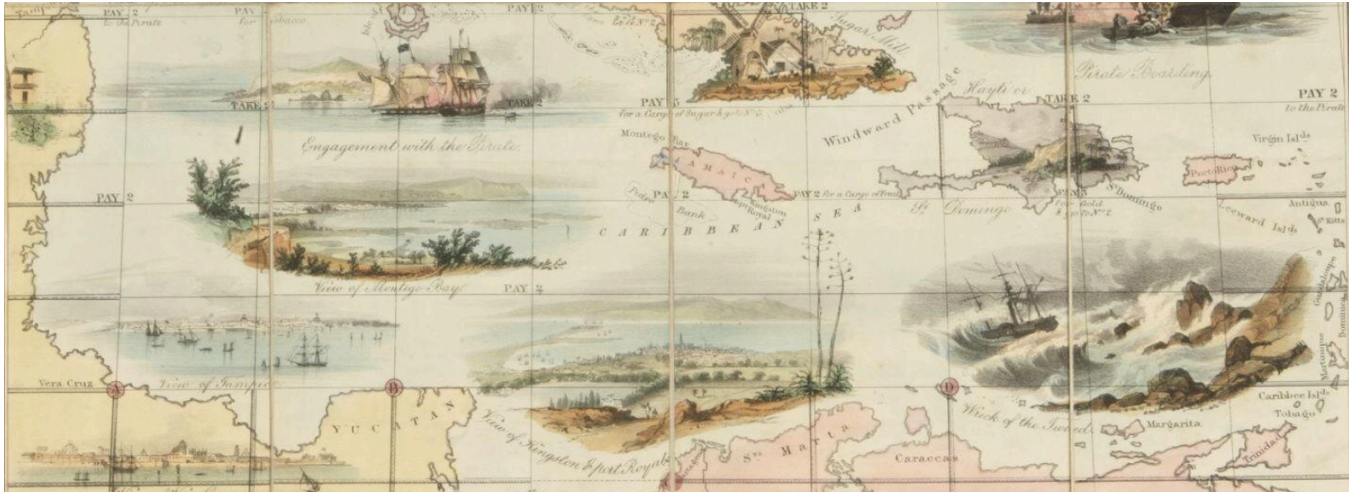


FIG 4. DETAILS OF THE LOWER HALF OF 'THE PIRATE AND THE TRADERS OF THE WEST INDIES' BOARD GAME, WILLIAM SPOONER, 1847, LONDON, V&A COLLECTION

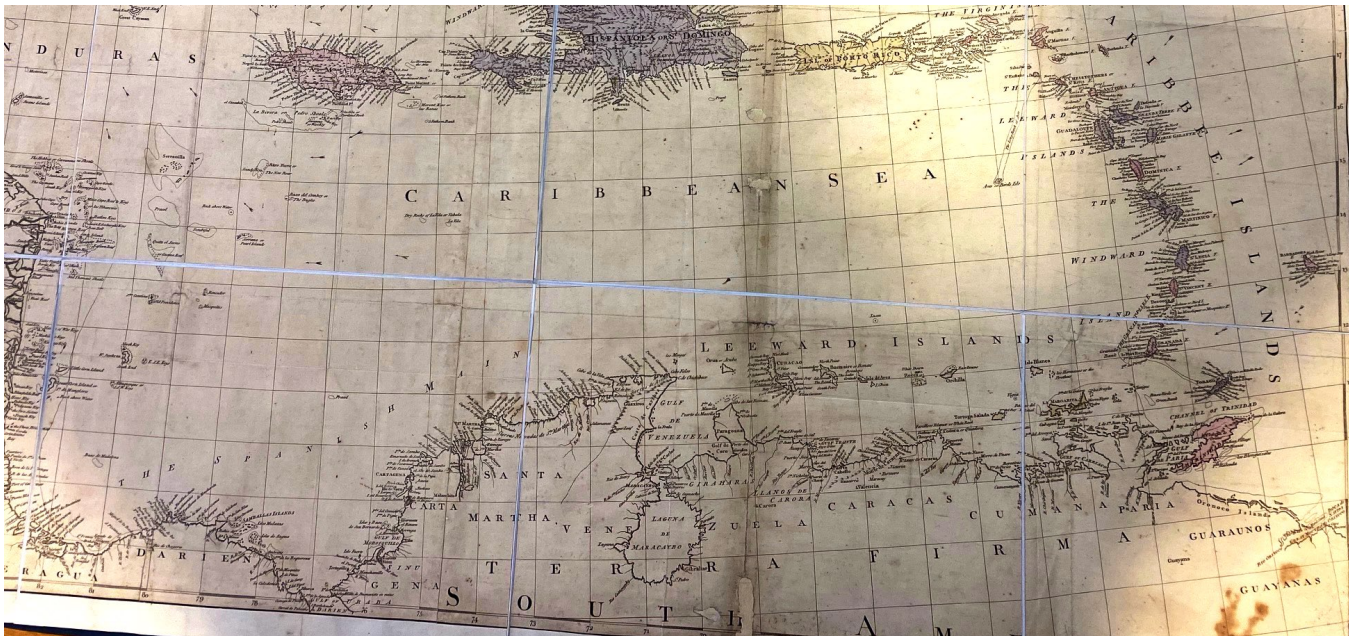


FIG 5. DETAILS OF THE LOWER HALF OF 'A NEW MAP OF THE WEST INDIES, FOR THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES', BRYAN EDWARDS, 1793, LONDON: JOHN STOCKDALE. THIS IMAGE WAS TAKEN BY ME IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY ON NOV 12, 2022.

accommodate storytelling motifs and space for play. This, therefore, signifies the fickle nature of maps as objects, particularly for this object, as it can be easily perceived as a traditional map. The map in this instance is a weapon for a misconstrued acquisition of knowledge, but also a careful decision by Spooner, evoking the portrayal of the Caribbean as a fictional trading ground, whilst leaning on the

fact that ‘maps are authoritarian images... The map is never neutral.’²⁹ On the other hand, when contrasting *TPTTWI* with more educational practices, such as *A Complete Course of Geography, by Means of Instructive Games* by the Abbé Gaultier, there is a significant difference within the treatment of geographical fact versus farce, which according to Spooner’s print portfolio, is what he is more notable for. As highlighted in Chapter 1, Spooner is regarded for his playful and satirical tone of voice in his prints. Furthermore, he markets his games to the public using verbiage such as ‘humorous game’ and ‘most amusing geographical game.’

Here we see guided teachings and lessons on the geography of the Caribbean. Gaultier’s approach to education, in contrast, is far more methodical and to some extent clerical in the use of *Question* and *Answer*. For example, in *Question 370*, ‘how can the Little Antilles be divided?’³⁰ to which Gaultier lists the three associated categorisations — a system I am familiar with from my own educational experience in Trinidad. This is contrary to the depiction of the *Little Antilles* within the map of *TPTTWI* as Spooner omits the *Winward Islands* in addition to most names of several countries within the chain. Aside from the aforementioned comparisons between *TPTTWI* and other maps or forms of geographical education, what also takes precedent in my research is the cultural neglect of my regional home, and the cyclic impact this could have on audiences of today’s world. The *voyage* is a double-edged sword: the traditional definition³¹ is flipped on its head as it results in the tyranny and displacement of the land it traverses. As elaborated by James Clifford, ‘[culture] is constantly reconfigured through “discovery”, conquest, migration, adaptation, enforced assimilation, resistance, and translation,’ thereby concretizing the argument that the Caribbean is victim to the romanticisation of voyage and discovery.

²⁹ Harley, J.B. “Deconstructing the Map.” *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*. Eds. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan. London and New York: Routledge, 1992. p.247.

³⁰ Abbé Gaultier. *A Complete Course of Geography, by Means of Instructive Games*. (London: John Stockdale, 1793)

³¹ According to the Oxford Dictionary:

voy·age | 'voi(i)j

noun

a long journey involving travel by sea or in space

verb

go on a long journey, typically by sea or in space

Furthermore, though Spooner's replica of the Caribbean map in *The Pirate and Traders of the West Indies* deems inaccurate of details, I strongly believe that it is still reflective of the impressions of Victorian society — after all, Caribbean islands were nothing more than colonies of imperial power, or as acclaimed by Benedict Anderson, 'imagined communities.'³² Anderson went on to say that the British Empire 'profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion— the nature of human beings it rules, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry' thus illustrating the trickling effect of cultural misrepresentation, disfigured nationalism within the Caribbean, and the provocation of 'ethnic absolutism.' According to Paul Gilroy, this is the 'ethnic and national difference which operates through an absolute sense of culture so powerful that it is capable of separating people off from each other and diverting them into social and historical locations that are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable.'³³ This is particularly used in relation to the displacement of the Caribbean within Spooner's board game as the infiltration of the *Pirate and Traders* is reminiscent of that of British colonizers whom have impacted the telling of Caribbean history and played a huge role in shaping the functions and bases of society today. The voyage, and by extension the British Empire, were 'of immense importance to the grandeur and prosperity of England.'³⁴

Furthermore, as a result of this conquest by Britain and the 'moral obligation to bring reason and progress to the non-West,'³⁵ Caribbean natives own perception of their cultural identity becomes oblique and more importantly, subjugated by colonial powers — 'BWI society has sufficiently internalised the myth of the British Empire as the epitome of the moral idea of freedom, that the dominant conception of the anti-colonial struggle scarcely extended to the overthrow of any British institutions.' As a result, Spooners board game and many other geographical board games of the time pose as stains to the telling of our histories and in turn, objectify the Caribbean as a monolith to

³² Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2000.

³³ Paul Gilroy. "Nationalism, History and Ethnic Absolutism." *History Workshop* (30). 1990. Pp.114-120.

³⁴ Eric Williams. *Capitalism and Slavery*. (USA: Penguin Publishers,1994). P.48.

³⁵ Watson, Hilbourne A., and Caribbean Philosophical Association. "Caribbean Marxism After the Neoliberal and Linguistic Turns: A Critical Interpretation." *The CLR James Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2004, pp. 167-199.

commercial gain. Discovery here is a fatal monument for the Caribbean, as inscribed by poet Olive Senior, 'already I know, the moment you land I | become islanded.'³⁶

³⁶ Olive Senior. *Discovery. Over the Roofs of the World*. (Toronto: Insomniac Press, 2005).

Conclusion

In conducting this research, I have confronted (and continue to confront) my own discovery as a Caribbean person the agency I have as a historian to vocalise our histories with intention. I identify with fellow Caribbean writers who have proclaimed their experience in the disparity between the place we call home and the telling of it, for example, in the words of C.L.R. James, 'what at home is the greatest virtue becomes in the colonies the greatest crime.'³⁷ The colonisation of the Caribbean was a momentous period for England during the mid to late 1800s and has left its mark on methods of education, intellectual teachings and manifestations of play, such as *The Pirate and The Traders of the West Indies*. Not only were these markings representative of the commercial demands of Victorian society, but also inflicted an imperial system for upper-middle class children to consume and adhere to. Thus, I believe it is of grave importance that the description and portrayal of this object at the *Museum of Childhood* and *V&A Online Catalogue* be further developed so that the imperial imprint is not reductive. As a result, this study has inspired me to envelop a further analysis of the *voyage* as it relates to Caribbean material culture and potentially incorporate it into my future thesis.

³⁷ C.L.R. James, *The Life of Captain Cipriani: An Account of British Government in the West Indies, with the Pamphlet the Case for West-Indian Self Government*. (Durham: Duke University Press.)

Appendix

BWI: British West Indian

RGS: Royal Geographical Society

TPTTWI: The Pirate and Traders of the West Indies

V&A: Victoria and Albert Museum

Primary Sources

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