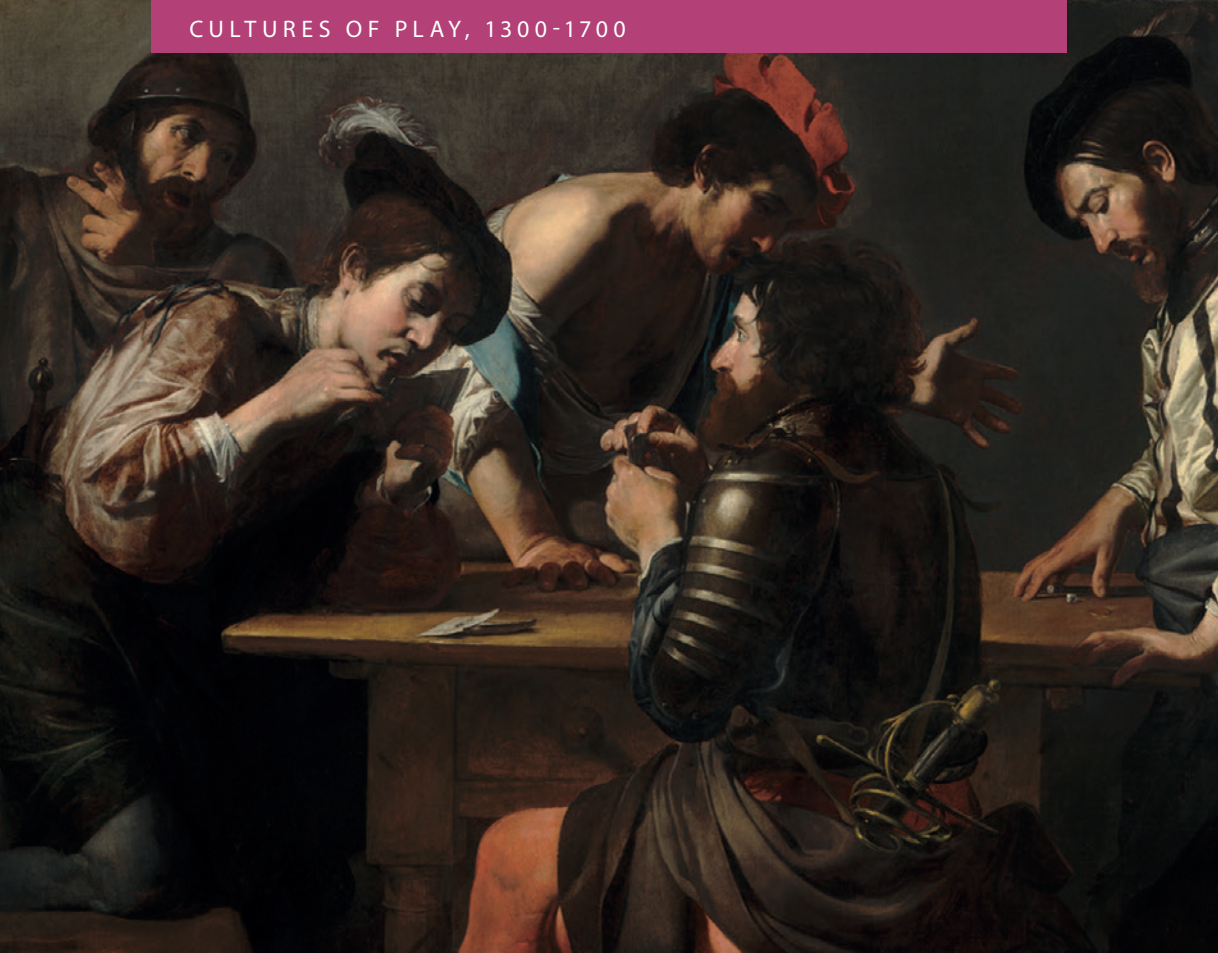


CULTURES OF PLAY, 1300-1700



Edited by Holly Faith Nelson and Jim Daems

Games and War in Early Modern English Literature

From Shakespeare to Swift

Amsterdam
University
Press

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Cultures of Play, 1300–1700

Cultures of Play, 1300–1700 provides a forum for investigating the full scope of medieval and early modern play, from toys and games to dramatic performances, from etiquette manuals and literary texts to bulls and tractates, from jousting to duels, and from education to early scientific investigation. Inspired by the foundational work of Johan Huizinga as well as later contributions by Roger Caillois, Eugen Fink, and Bernard Suits, this series publishes monographs and essay collections that address the ludic aspects of premodern life. The accent of this series falls on cultural practices that have thus far eluded traditional disciplinary models. Our goal is to make legible modes of thought and action that until recently seemed untraceable, thereby shaping the growing scholarly discourses on playfulness both past and present.

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In memory of Bryn Frederick Hutchinson (1998-2016), who embraced the joy of play and discovery in all aspects of the game of life and lived life to the fullest with pleasure and wit. *Mors nos non disiungit.*

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H.F.N. and J.D.

The Interplay of Games and War in Early Modern English Literature: An Introduction

Jim Daems and Holly Faith Nelson

The association of warfare and games has a long history. The phrase ‘war game’ was coined in 1728 by A.B. Granville to refer to a military simulation, with Granville describing ‘the “war-game” table, on which the present Emperor, when Grand-duke, used to play’.¹ However, war games or the games of war, including military reenactments, date back to ancient times, as Helen Lovatt explains in *Statius and Epic Games: Sport, Politics and Poetics in the ‘Thebaid’*. While Lovatt insightfully studies ‘the relationship between games and war’ in one classical text, there are very few studies of the intersection of these two concepts and the discourses that surround them in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² Though there are a wide spectrum of books and articles on war and literature in general in early modern England as well as a number of studies on the mediation of medieval and early modern warfare in contemporary video games, this collection of essays carves out a new conceptual path by examining the ways in which the language of games and warfare inform and illuminate each other in the early modern cultural imagination. The essays herein explore how warfare and games are mapped onto each other in aesthetically and ideologically significant ways in early modern poetry, drama, prose fiction, and prose non-fiction. In so doing, their authors address the terms ‘war games’ or ‘games of war’ in the broadest possible sense, which frees them to uncover the more complex and abstract, rather than purely concrete, interplay of war and games in the imaginations of early modern writers. In theorizing the relations between war and games in works from Shakespeare’s

1 A.B. Granville, *St. Petersburg: A Journey of Travels to and from that Capital*, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn, 1828), II.75, quoted in the *OED*, online ed., sv. ‘war-game’ (n).

2 Helen Lovatt, *Statius and Epic Games: Sport, Politics and Poetics in the ‘Thebaid’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 257.

Henry V through Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, the contributors to this volume also draw on recent historical and theoretical work on war games.

In the past decade, two monographs and a collection of essays have been published that are useful in establishing the nature and significance of the interplay of games and warfare in early modern literature: Philipp von Hilgers's *War Games: A History of War on Paper* (2008; 2012 English translation), Martin van Creveld's *Wargames: From Gladiators to Gigabytes* (2013), and Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum's 59-chapter *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming* (2016). All three volumes attempt to rework the definition of war games and to consider how the practice of war-gaming evolved over time and across various media. Von Hilgers tends to emphasize the continuity between wars and games, explaining in his study of war games in a German context that the 'game turns out to be a site from which' related 'military and mathematical practices first arise, even before concrete [military] applications are able to justify them'.³ He is inclined to locate war games and war on a single spectrum. Though also exploring the inextricable intersection of games and war in his historical survey of war games, and recognizing some overlap between war games and war, van Creveld underscores the 'clear separation between war games and "real warfare"' since the former are characterized, to his mind, by their artificiality and he designates encounters within them as, by definition, 'unreal'.⁴ For van Creveld, war games are marked by their intention of limiting or preventing the very violence that defines 'real' war. However, despite these differences in emphases, both historians view strategy as the critical element of war games, with von Hilgers highlighting the development of strategy games we play on boards or through various video-gaming platforms from the medieval period through the twentieth century, and van Creveld exploring the role of strategy—defined as the 'interplay between' opponents, whether individuals or teams, that requires 'trying to detect, predict, interfere with, and obstruct' the strategy of the adversary—in the war games of hunter-gatherers through video gamers.⁵

While von Hilgers and van Creveld provide useful starting points in mapping out the interplay of wars and games in both material and theoretical terms, Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum's collection is especially relevant to our current collection of essays because of the liberality of its definition and treatment of the war game, partly due to the fact that the contributors to their collection engage in research in a wide range of disciplines or work in a range of related professions or fields. This multidimensional approach to the subject allows for 'a richer and

3 Philipp von Hilgers, *War Games: A History of War on Paper*, trans. Ross Benjamin (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012), xi.

4 Martin van Creveld, *Wargames: From Gladiators to Gigabytes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4.

5 Van Creveld, *Wargames*, 3.

more granular set of perspectives on war-gaming's past, present, and future', as the volume's editors argue.⁶ However, it also allows for a broadening of the definition of war game, including, for example, the notion that literature is a vehicle or vessel of war-gaming, an atypical claim, but perhaps explicable given that Kirschenbaum is himself an English scholar, whereas the historians von Hilgers and van Creveld are inclined to conceive of war games in more familiar terms.

All the essays in this current collection engage to some extent with aspects of war-gaming as theorized in the monographs of van Creveld or von Hilgers, given the important contribution of these works to the field, and all share Harrigan and Kirschenbaum's openness to the role played by literature in mediating or constituting war games. In drawing on these works, however, our contributors do not necessarily affirm them in the whole. This is the case, for example, with the problematic analysis of sex and gender in relation to war games put forth by van Creveld. Early on in his monograph, van Creveld writes, 'in all that concerns wargames women are a separate species', later dedicating an entire chapter to issuing what might be viewed as questionable claims about the relation of biological sex, gender, and war games. These include the assertion that, while males enjoy 'playing games that involve fighting', women prefer games that allow them 'to socialize, interact with one another, and reach some kind of desirable outcome'.⁷ The evidence offered up in support of such claims consists of a patchwork of biological, psychological, and social theories along with anecdotes from friends or colleagues; yet van Creveld is comfortable concluding that males and females appear 'to come from different planets' in terms of their response to war games.⁸ The essay in this volume on Margaret Cavendish offers up an alternative way of reading the relation of gender and games of war.

The many intersections of games and war discussed in what follows would, in some cases, be far too wide and, in others, far too specific from van Creveld's perspective to be considered war games. He accuses nearly 'all modern workers in the field' of misdefining war games because they either apply 'the term' too liberally 'to any kind of mock adversarial engagement without regard to whether what is simulated is war, or politics, or economics, or whatever' or too strictly to 'the kind of games played by opposing individuals or teams in some kind of room'.⁹ Like most 'modern workers in the field', our contributors also operate within an understanding of war games or games of war in both very broad and very specific terms—though not necessarily deviating from van Creveld's definition in the same

6 Pat Harrigan and Matthew G. Kirschenbaum, editors' introduction to *Zones of Control: Perspectives on Wargaming* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), xvi.

7 Van Creveld, *Wargames*, 2, 285.

8 Van Creveld, *Wargames*, 320.

9 Van Creveld, *Wargames*, 5-6.

manner he describes in the passage quoted above. They explore the significant intersections between games and war that occur in both obvious and unpredictable ways in early modern works, though the figuration of romantic love as a type of merry combat is sidestepped or troubled since this trope has been discussed at length in studies of, for example, courtship and conduct literature.¹⁰

That the contributors find in early modern English literature the subtle and varied interweaving of the discourses of games and warfare is unsurprising when we consider that during our period of study the British actively participated in, and / or were deeply invested in the outcome of the Thirty Years' War, two Anglo-Spanish Wars, the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, the Irish Confederate Wars, three Anglo-Dutch Wars, the Monmouth Rebellion, the Nine Years' War, the Jacobite risings, and the War of the Spanish Succession. The early modern cultural imagination and practices, therefore, were deeply rooted in all things military. In fact, some of the essays in this volume highlight that simulated war games cannot be so tidily separated from politics, economics, or other socio-cultural issues. The Accession Day Tilts during Elizabeth I's reign, for example, were both a ritualized war game (a single combat of champions) and a political event in which, through the revival of chivalric tournaments, courtiers could jockey for status and influence. They were, as Roy Strong argues, 'a marriage of the arts in the service of Elizabethan statecraft'.¹¹ This combination, Strong concludes, allowed the monarch 'to surround the actualities of present-day politics with the sanctions of historical myth and legend'.¹² The Accession Day Tilts no doubt influenced the literary representation of jousts in the work of two of the greatest Elizabethan poets—Edmund Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* (1596) and Sir Philip Sidney in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590). But we should also note the critical nature of those representations by these poets and the advocacy of a more militant stance than Elizabeth I pursued on the Continent, particularly in Spenser's jousting and Christian knights. This expansionist, nationalist vision is also present in William Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), albeit without the militant

10 Some recent analyses of love, war, and games that go back to courtly love include Tison Pugh, 'Christian Revelation and the Cruel Game of Courtly Love in *Troilus and Criseyde*', *The Chaucer Review* 39, no. 4 (2005): 379–401; Cynthia N. Nazarian, *Love's Wounds: Violence and the Politics of Poetry in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016); and Chapter 2 ('Playing with the Devil: The Pleasures and Dangers of Sex and Play') of Guido Ruggiero, *Machiavelli in Love: Sex, Self, and Society in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). For an extended reading of the influence of military technology on chivalric romance, see Sheila J. Nayar, 'Arms or the Man I: Gunpowder Technology and the Early Modern Romance', *Studies in Philology* 114, no. 3 (2017): 517–560, and 'Arms or the Man II: Epic, Romance, and Ordinance in Seventeenth-Century England', *Studies in Philology* 115, no. 2 (2018): 343–395.

11 Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), 129.

12 Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 161.

Protestant vision of Spenser and Sidney. As Louise Fang argues here in “Can this cock-pit hold the vasty fields of France?” Cock-Fighting and the Representation of War in Shakespeare’s *Henry V*, the Chorus draws on the ‘sport’ of cock-fighting to represent Henry’s war with France. In contemporary sources, fighting cocks were often represented as ‘knights’ fighting to the death in single, joust-like combat. *Henry V*, then, makes use of the analogy to capture the violent spectacle of warfare which the players cannot simulate effectively in the ‘wooden O’ of the Globe Theatre. Fang concludes that the dramatic cock-fighting analogy works to unify two popular pastimes that brought together significant cross-sections of the population in order to construct a vision of national unity.

With the accession of James VI to the English throne, however, the court gradually eliminated jousting, as the new king fancied himself ‘Rex Pacificus.’ James VI / I’s ‘distaste for conflict, signified almost immediately by overtures of peace to Spain upon taking the throne, prompted those who preferred militaristic solutions to look to Henry as a more apt champion of their political program.’¹³ In this scenario, ‘Henry served as the natural heir to Eliza, an aggressive, consciously militant, Protestant leader who would restore England to the glorious days of his godmother’.¹⁴ This sentiment finds literary representation in Ben Jonson’s *Prince Henry’s Barriers* (1610), a text consisting of speeches made by the Lady of the Lake and Merlin at a ritualized combat on foot in Whitehall in which Henry took part. With Henry’s untimely death in 1612, James VI / I’s desire to remain out of Continental conflicts largely predominated, even under considerable pressure as the Thirty Years’ War broke out in the latter years of his reign. But this did not end literary mixes of gaming and warfare. James VI / I’s negotiations to marry Charles, Prince of Wales to the Spanish Infanta aroused widespread concern, and this found a popular outlet in Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* (1624), which ran at the Globe Theatre for nine performances before it was suppressed because of its political content. In the play, the White King represents James VI / I and the Black King represents Philip IV of Spain—the other pieces represent various British and Spanish court and ecclesiastical figures—and ‘Checque-Mate [is] given to vertues Foes’, the Spanish.¹⁵

Not surprisingly, during the civil wars, gaming and warfare play a prominent role in the literature of the period. Chess figuratively represents the differences between Charles I and Parliament in William Cartwright’s *The Game at Chesse. A Metaphorical discourse shewing the present estate of this Kingdome* (1642). The tract asserts that chess was invented by *Xerxes, King of Persia*, many yeeres before

13 Richard Badenhause, ‘Disarming the Infant Warrior: Prince Henry, King James and the Chivalric Revival’, *Papers on Language and Literature* 31, no. 1 (1995): 21.

14 Badenhause, ‘Disarming the Infant Warrior’, 22.

15 Thomas Middleton, Prologue, *A Game at Chesse* ([London], 1625), sig. A2.

the nativity of our Saviour, to avoid idlenesse among his souldiers'.¹⁶ Charles I and his ecclesiastical and Cavalier supporters are represented by the black pieces, which signify 'justly and aptly his Maiesties [Army], which both produced so many blacke and bloody effects in this Kingdome'.¹⁷ The tract specifically mentions the early battle at Edgehill as a 'game'.¹⁸ While Middleton's use of chess as a political analogy turns on the strategy of courtly and international intrigue, Cartwright's turns on bloody conflict. However, a rule-bound board game, unlike cock-fighting, attempts to impose some limits on the 'bloody effects' of the king's Cavaliers and counsellors. As both van Creveld and von Hilgers note, war games are designed to do precisely this. Yet, as Sean Lawrence demonstrates in 'Game Over: Play and War in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*' in this volume, rules and boundaries cannot always effectively contain the potential for violent excess in war. Focusing on Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1602), Lawrence argues that the play's violence gradually spirals out of control, unhinged from its original justification, leading to the horrible spectacle of Troy's destruction, which the audience, but not the characters, know will happen.

Cavaliers, however, would also make, at times, surprising analogies between games and war. Richard Lovelace's 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warres' (1649), for example, draws on chivalric notions of warfare that allows for 'a distancing of the real horrors of battles like Marston Moor and Naseby. In place of the shattered limbs, the gaping gashes, the festering bullet-wounds, pillaging of the dead, and communal graves Lovelace offers a version of war as tourney'.¹⁹ But the poem also more subtly represents war as a game. The speaker's argument for constancy to Lucasta—based on performing first, his higher duty to his monarch as a precondition of his love for her—is distanced further from the realities of war in the poem's second stanza:

True; a new Mistresse now I chase,
The first Foe in the Field;
And with a stronger Faith imbrace
A Sword, a Horse, a Shield.²⁰

16 William Cartwright, *The Game at Chesse. A Metaphorical discourse shewing the present estate of this Kingdome* (London: Printed for Thomas Johnson, 1642).

17 Cartwright, *The Game at Chesse*, 4.

18 Cartwright, *The Game at Chesse*, 7.

19 Thomas Corns, 'Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling and Richard Lovelace', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry, Donne to Marvell*, ed. Thomas Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 214.

20 Richard Lovelace, 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warres', in *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c.* (London: Printed by Tho. Harper, 1649), 3.

The poem evokes gaming here in another clever way. The word 'mistress' is meant in a conventional sense, as the beloved of the male speaker, but also denotes a higher deified figure. This elevates the mistress to a position somewhat analogous to the higher political ideal that the Cavalier serves as a 'pure light', and also works to sublimate the speaker's love beyond the purely physical. Another meaning is, however, implied that equates this chivalric battle to gaming: a 'mistress' is another name for the jack in the game of bowls.²¹ Again, the motivation for the analogies to both chivalric notions of warfare and bowling is a claim that stresses rules and boundaries on violence.

While Cartwright's and Lovelace's gaming analogies aim to accomplish this end, those of the Puritan John Milton in *Paradise Lost* (1667/1674), as David Currell argues here in 'Milton's Epic Games: War and Recreation in *Paradise Lost*', are more complex. They reveal both an awareness of the self-destructive nature of civil war and the possibility of a regenerative aftermath. Milton recognizes the principle of war-gaming in the cosmos itself, leading him to imagine that through civil destruction comes the possibility for civil reconstruction. Milton's awareness is, therefore, more nuanced in its gaming analogies than either Cartwright's or Lovelace's, but it is still dependent, as Currell notes, upon God as an 'umpire' imposing boundaries in the warring cosmos, while guaranteeing the possibility of civil renewal.

Milton's wider corpus provides a means by which to illuminate the approaches taken to war and games by the remaining contributors to this collection. In 'Of Education' (1644), for example, Milton uses military discipline and war games in an argument that asserts, 'The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright'.²² The notion is, in some respects, an extension of Spenser's use of war games in *The Fairie Queene* to represent militant Protestantism's temporal and spiritual battles. Milton's curriculum in 'Of Education' works towards fashioning the 'true warfaring Christian' of *Areopagitica* (1644) who 'sallies out' to confront his 'adversary'.²³ This, in turn, motivates Milton's personification of Truth as a warrior that 'grapple[s] with Falsehood' in single combat, as well as the militant author who rallies reason strategically in the 'wars of Truth' fought out in what Sharon Achinstein argues is an emergent public sphere.²⁴

21 *Oxford English Dictionary*, online ed., s.v. 'mistress' (n.IV.13.)

22 John Milton, 'On Education', in *Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 227.

23 John Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 247-248.

24 Milton, *Areopagitica*, 269; Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Francis Barker notes that what Milton values 'in the practice of knowledge [...] is not so much the knowledge itself but its deployment'.²⁵

Several contributors to this collection consider the 'deployment' of knowledge in relation to war and games in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century print culture, which rapidly expanded between the reigns of James VI / I and George I. Jim Daems argues in 'Thomas Morton's Maypole: Revels, War Games, and Transatlantic Conflict' that the conflict between Ma-re Mount and the Plymouth Plantation can best be understood as an extension of the paper battles resulting from Puritan reactions to James VI / I's *Declaration of Sports* and Charles I's 1633 reissue. In 'War and Games in *The Battle of the Books* and *Gulliver's Travels*', Lori A. Davis Perry theorizes that Jonathan Swift satirizes war-gaming in order to demonstrate the limitations of the transferal of the knowledge gained by gaming into the real world of either warfare or politics. Yet, from at least the time that press censorship lapsed in the mid-seventeenth century, the public sphere was the site of textual battles. Some of these battles operated within strictly literary contexts, such as the conflict continued by Flecknoe's successor Shadwell in John Dryden's 'MacFlecknoe' (1678), who vows '[t]hat he till death true dullness would maintain, / And in his father's right and realm's defence / Ne'er to have peace with wit nor truce with sense',²⁶ through Alexander Pope's *Dunciad in Four Books* (1742). Other paper wars were played out with much higher real-life stakes. In 'Time-Servers, Turncoats, and the Hostile Reprint: Considering the Conflict of a Paper War', Jeffrey Galbraith focuses on some key characteristics of how that war deployed its forces while being consciously aware of the real-world possibility of violent conflict. As he explains, 'The paper war exists at a point between the ideal of irenic conversation and the harm of physical violence, while continually threatening to devolve into the latter'. Galbraith demonstrates that the 'time-server', a player of political games whose allegiance turns on a dime, operates as a critical figure in the paper wars, revealing and intensifying anxiety about the instability of identity and the volatility of political and, by extension, military life.

While the reader is invited to invest in the conflict in both Davis Perry's and Galbraith's analysis of paper wars in late Stuart and early Hanoverian Britain, Katherine Ellison's contribution to this collection, 'Ciphers and Gaming for Pleasure and War', demonstrates how readers were constructed as active participants in it through ciphering handbooks. Initially developed as a means to transmit strategic instructions secretly in political or warring contexts, ciphering, as Ellison shows,

25 Francis Barker, 'In the Wars of Truth', in *The Culture of Violence: Essays on Tragedy and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 97.

26 John Dryden, *Selected Poetry and Prose of John Dryden*, ed. Earl Miner (New York: Random House, 1985), 114-117.

could in itself be a playful and pleasurable intellectual pursuit for the reader. This awareness resonates with Holly Faith Nelson and Sharon Alker's contribution to the collection, 'Virtual Reality, Role Play, and World-Building in Margaret Cavendish's Literary War Games', which focuses on the pleasure of 'cerebral war games' in the writings of Cavendish, who playfully simulates military conflict in a number of works to 'take on and overcome the warring gamesters that she could not combat in real life'. In their reading of selected Cavendish texts as literary war games, Nelson and Alker further propose that Cavendish, writing in Restoration England in the aftermath of the civil wars, appears to deploy aesthetic strategies that anticipate features of contemporary video war games.

Although Karol Cooper's essay in this collection, 'Dice, Jest, and the "Pleasing Delusion" of Warlike Love in Aphra Behn's *The Luckey Chance*', does not associate historical and contemporary games of war, it does reveal Behn's exposure of and resistance to the promotion of 'sexual violence as a diverting game of social warfare' in the sex intrigue comedy. Cooper demonstrates how Behn's handling of cuckolding plots on the Restoration stage critically interrogates that subgenre. In doing so, Behn also deconstructs the martial language so familiar in early modern literary discourses of love that go back to, at least, the introduction of Petrarchanism to England by Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey that have the male lover besieging his beloved's 'fort'. Cooper's interrogation of this form of 'social warfare' also calls to mind Behn's engagement with Restoration libertinism and the socio-political theories of Thomas Hobbes, notably the Hobbesian conception of the 'miserable condition of Warre' that men strive to escape by creating commonwealths.²⁷ The libertine's drive to satisfy his desires cannot be impeded by either the concept of rationality at the expense of the senses or by social conventions or laws. As Klaas Tindemans argues, libertinism is a "particular school" testing the concept of the "state of nature", and Behn's work provides a proto-feminist test of that concept.²⁸

The chapters by Nelson and Alker and Cooper clearly complicate van Creveld's view on the subject of women and the games of war, an important critical step given the serious implications of van Creveld's theory. Discussing Johan Huizinga's theory of games, van Creveld writes, 'play and games represent the real source from which all human culture, everything beautiful, true and good, springs', taking note of Huizinga's belief that 'a game is an activity characterized above all by the fact that it creates its own little world'.²⁹ If all things in 'human culture' that are 'beautiful,

27 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), 135.

28 Klaas Tindemans, 'Nature, Desire, and the Law: On Libertinism and Early Modern Legal Theory', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (2012): 135.

29 Van Creveld, *Wargames*, 1.

true and good' become linked to war-gaming in his book, then, for van Creveld, women play little to no positive role in 'human culture'. Without a doubt, women in the early modern period clearly engaged in forms of gaming that we suggest should be seen as types of 'war games', which involve, as Nelson and Alker show in relation to Cavendish's 'cerebral gaming', the generation of their 'own little world[s]'.

An awareness of the prevalence of the interplay of war and games in early modern literature broadens our understanding of these terms—a conceptual link made even in an explicitly political document such as James VI / I's *Declaration of Sports* and Charles I's reissue that recognize that 'lawful' sports '*make their* [the king's subjects'] *bodies more able for Warre, when Wee or Our Successours shall haue occasion to vse them*'.³⁰ While the obvious intention here relates to physical exercise preparing subjects' bodies for war, the notion that all sports (or, at least lawful ones) are a sort of war game poses a significant challenge to van Creveld's definition of the term. The *Declaration* also suggests that participating in sports not only for recreation but also pleasure prepares the king's subjects for war. Van Creveld generally overlooks pleasure in analysing war games (beyond noting an audience's pleasure) because he closely associates them with the real-world consequences of violent conflict. Yet even Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim's reconstruction of the Siege of Namur in Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, though ultimately motivated by Uncle Toby's trauma, is pleasurable for the participants. As the essays collected here make clear, the authors and works examined often either emerge from a context of warfare or can be seen as partaking in socio-cultural conflicts that lead to war, but there is a pleasure involved for both audience and participants in the games.

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30 James VI / I, *The Kings Maiesties Declaration to His Subiects, concerning lawfull Sports to be used* (London: Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1618), 4-5.

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