BLACK SPARTACUS
Hero of the Haitian Revolution

BIRTH OF
BOLLYWOOD
Lights, Bhangra, action!

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

MAKING OF WITCH FOLKLORE
Spells, charms and superstitions

RISE OF THE MEDICIS
How one dynasty became the rulers of the Renaissance

HISTORY’S FIRST TRANS ICON

ROME’S STOLEN MYTHOLOGY
The Greek legends that forged Roman identity

TULSA RACE MASSACRE
What caused America’s bloodiest race riot?

FIRST FEMINIST MANIFESTO
Meet the Latina poet who took on the patriarchy
WWII British Paratroops
Code: A02701V
In December 1940, the British 1st Airborne Division was created. Their distinctive mark was the maroon beret and a shoulder patch with Bellerophon asride the winged horse Pegasus.

WWII German Infantry
Code: A02702V
In the early stages of WWII the standard German infantry uniform consisted of a field jacket, trousers tucked into black leather jackboots, and the characteristically shaped helmet.

WWII U.S. Infantry
Code: A02703V
The US infantry regiment of World War II was a powerful, flexible infantry division. During the Battle of the Bulge in 1944/45 the infantry suffered high casualties, but managed to turn back the German army.

WWII U.S. Paratroops
Code: A02711V
The American airborne landings in Normandy were the first US combat operations of Operation Overlord. 13,100 paratroopers of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions where dropped on D-Day.

WWII German Paratroops
Code: A02712V
Paratroops were used decisively in the invasion of Norway and the Netherlands, reaching a peak in the conquering of Crete in 1941 where casualties were deemed to be unacceptably high.

WWII British Infantry
Code: A02718V
The British Infantry fought with courage and distinction in many theatres, but the freeing of occupied Europe was its biggest triumph.
Welcome

I’ve been looking forward to presenting this issue’s cover feature to you for a while. The Medici family is one of the most fascinating of the powerful medieval players, as influential as any king or queen of which the Medici were able to claim a couple in their time. Ruling from Florence, they were integral to the flowering of the Renaissance, fostering the careers of artists, sculptors, architects and more with their riches.

There is also a story of political manipulation, the powerful role of the Catholic Church and the interconnected nature of the European powers. Take any big piece of history from this era and there’s a chance the Medici had a hand in it somewhere. I’m pleased to have historian Elizabeth Norton to introduce us to their incredible rise to power.

This issue we also mark the 100th anniversary of the Tulsa Race Massacre, one of the worst crimes committed in the USA as an entire African American community, known as Black Wall Street for its economic success, was wiped out in a single night. It’s an event that has become better known in recent years, but was buried for decades and deserves greater attention.

With further features on Bollywood, Cocolinelle, the first feminist manifesto and Haitian revolutionary Toussaint Louverture, we have an issue that’s tackling a lot of subjects. I hope you enjoy it.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor
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**Subscribe and save!**

Discover our exclusive offer for new readers on page 24
Rise of the Medicis
How one dynasty became the rulers of the Renaissance
Seven months after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, Checkpoint Charlie – the most infamous crossing-point between West and East Berlin – was finally dismantled. The guardhouse was removed during a ceremony attended by representatives from Germany, France, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, and it is currently on display in the Allied Museum in Berlin.
6 July 1957

ALTHEA GIBSON WINS WIMBLEDON

American Althea Gibson was the first Black player to win a tennis Grand Slam when she triumphed at the 1956 French Championships. The following year she became the first Black athlete to win Wimbledon, defeating Darlene Hard in straight sets. Gibson is pictured here after winning the Wimbledon title again in 1958, the year that she retired from tennis.
Step back in time to 1940 and immerse yourself in the brutal struggle waged between Nazi Germany’s Luftwaffe and the people of Britain, a battle that helped to shape the outcome of World War II.

Forged in the flames of war, governed by a ruthless Senate and ultimately destroyed by one man’s endless ambition, the Roman Republic endured numerous crises and yet changed the world. This is the story of how it did so.

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Tracking the birth of Rome’s Senate, the building of the early Roman colonies and the seeds of imperial rule
Key Events

**TWELVE TABLES**

At the insistence of the public, ten men write a legal code. It recognises the superiority of the patrician class and is posted on bronze tablets in the Roman Forum. The Twelve Tables would never formally be abolished, although they are superseded by later legal codes.

**GAULS SACK ROME**

A Gallic army begins to invade Roman territory. An outnumbered Roman army suffers defeat, and the Gauls pour into Rome and sack the city. Celts continue to cause trouble for another 50 years.

**LONG LIVE THE REPUBLIC**

509 BCE

King Lucius Tarquinius Superbus is overthrown by a popular uprising, signalling the end of the 230-year-old Roman Kingdom.

**LEX LICINIAE SEXTIAE**

367 BCE

Named after the two tribunes of the plebeians who formed them, the Lex Liciniae Sextiae are four acts introduced to Roman law. Covering debt and elected officials, they also decree that no one can hold more than 125 hectares of land.

**PYRRHIC WAR**

280 BCE

Rome goes to war against King Pyrrhus of Epirus, and ultimately wins. However, there is a stalemate in Italy until Pyrrhus’ retreat.

**ROME EXPANDS**

320 BCE

Rome grows its borders by annexing Etruria and Campania in 320 BCE before spreading further south towards the end of the decade.

**PUNIC WARS BEGIN**

264 BCE

In a series of three wars, Carthage and Rome rage against each other. Rome wins all three and ultimately destroys Carthage completely.

**THE ROMAN NAVY**

Before the Punic Wars, Rome’s army operated on land, with boats reserved for maritime trade. Now the Romans put together a navy inspired by the Carthaginian ships. It leads to their Punic victory, and the Romans begin to dominate the Mediterranean.

**FIRST ROMAN GLADIATORS**

264 BCE

The first Roman gladiators are slaves made to fight to the death at the funeral of Junius Brutus Pera. It’s possible that this tradition has been inspired by the Etruscans, who held gladiator bouts at funerals.
THE CATILINE CONSPIRACY
Catiline starts a conspiracy to topple the patrician class, but loses the consul election. Cicero is elected and foils his enemy’s plan through espionage and traps. Catiline is finally killed in battle, but Cicero doesn’t fare much better and is assassinated a few years later.

CARTHAGO DELENDA EST 146 BCE
The Third Punic War draws to a close. Rome decides to completely destroy Carthage and kill its inhabitants. The civilization is no more.

CONQUEST OF GAUL 58-51 BCE
Julius Caesar heads to Gaul and wages war against the tribes there. He emerges victorious, expanding Rome’s territory.

SECOND TRIUMVIRATE 43 BCE
Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus form the Second Triumvirate. The Republic is then split, with each man ruling a different territory, but Octavian and Mark Antony’s rivalry grows.

BATTLE OF ACTIUM 31 BCE
Octavian and Mark Antony finally face off at the Battle of Actium. Octavian is the victor, and his opponent heads back to Egypt and commits suicide. Octavian is the last man standing.

HAIL AUGUSTUS 27 BCE
After holding onto power for four years, the Senate bestows the title of Augustus on Octavian. Slowly but surely, he begins to dismantle the Republic and ushers in the Roman Empire, which lasts for over 1,000 years.
The First Punic War was the first of three wars fought between the Roman Republic and the Carthaginian Empire. It broke out in 264 BCE when Carthage intervened in a dispute between the cities of Messina and Syracuse on the island of Sicily, a Carthaginian province. Rome got involved on behalf of Messina while Carthage supported Syracuse, triggering a bitter war for control over Sicily that lasted over 20 years.

While Carthage had a powerful navy that dominated the waves, it was the first time that Rome was required to build one. It was said by Polybius, a Greek historian, that the Romans did not know how to build warships and so they looked to a Carthaginian ship - a quinquereme - that had washed ashore. In just a few weeks, they built a fleet of 100 quinqueremes (as well as 20 triremes) based on this ship.

The Romans finally scored their first naval victory at the Battle of Mylae in 260 BCE, during which they managed to destroy or capture 44 Carthaginian ships. Even though other vessels were used, the quinquereme became the main warship used by the Romans during the Punic Wars. These ships were evolved over time and Rome’s eventually emerged victorious, with the Punic Wars culminating in the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE.

The quinquereme helped the Romans gain supremacy over the Mediterranean and played a major role in their naval battles for centuries. However, these ships were ultimately superseded by smaller ones after the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, a naval battle that took place at the end of the Roman Republic. We have chosen to look at an example of an early version of the quinquereme, although it is worth noting that particular details of the ship still remain unclear.

**THE CORVUS**
Roman quinqueremes were vulnerable to the ramming ability and speed of the Carthaginian ships, especially as their crews were less experienced. To solve this, the Romans created the corvus, a bridge with an iron spike that could be lowered and locked onto an enemy ship, allowing their infantry to cross over and attack. Although successful, the weight of the corvus made the ships unstable and so they were eventually abandoned.

**EMBELLISSING THE SHIP**
As the quinqueremes became more developed, the Romans also added more decorative elements. The prow of the ships could be in the shape of a sacred animal or a god, and the stemposts and stempstools decorated with figureheads.

**APOTROPAIC EYE**
Painted on the prow of quinquereme ships was an apotropaic eye, a divine element that was believed to protect against envy, misfortune and evil spirits. The Romans also thought that the eye would help keep their ships on course.

**ARMED FORCES**
The size of the ship enabled it to carry a large naval infantry force, with between 40 to 120 marines onboard at one time. As the quinquereme was developed, artillery weapons such as catapults and ballistae became later additions to the ship, as well as archery towers.

**THE ROSTRUM**
The rostrum was located at the front of the ship and would have been used to ram enemy vessels, either breaking the hull or the ears. It could be positioned either on the waterline or underwater, and as the quinquereme was a heavy ship it had the potential to sink an enemy vessel on impact.
**SIEGE VESSELS**

If siege equipment was needed, two quinqueremes could be joined together so that siege towers and large catapults could be ferried to the target. This was done during the Siege of Syracuse in 213 BCE, which took place during the Second Punic War.

**STRONG AND STEADY**

The Roman quinqueremes were bigger than those built by the Carthaginians — according to Greek historian Polybius they were 45m long and 5m wide. Although this made the quinqueremes more difficult to manoeuvre, it also made them more stable, particularly in bad weather conditions.

**THE MAINSAIL**

Unfortunately, the specific details of quinqueremes remain unclear, although they definitely had at least one or even two sails. It is likely that the mainsail was eventually decorated with the SPQR emblem that was adopted during the Late Republic, around the 1st century BCE.

**TIGHT ON SPACE**

The ship was designed to have up to 300 rowers onboard at once. This meant that there was little to no room to carry any food or even the amount of water that the rowers needed, up to three litres a day per man. The crew would have likely eaten a diet consisting of hard biscuits, which did not spoil easily.

**CREW ARRANGEMENT**

Quinqueremes got their name because they were operated by oarsmen arranged in groups of five. It is thought that there were three banks of oars, around 50 on each side, with pairs of men on the top two rows and one man on the bottom.
Anatomy

ROMAN ORATOR

Roman Republic
c.2nd-1st century BCE

EXPRESSIVE DELIVERY
Orators would employ a series of gestures using their arms, hands and fingers, as well as facial expressions, to help illustrate their point and give their words greater impact. The various gestures that orators used had different meanings that were usually understood by the audience.

SMART DRESS
Orators were the typical outfit for a Roman man – a toga. Draped over the left shoulder, it restricted the use of the left arm, leaving orators with only their right arm to move freely and gesture. An orator’s appearance would be scrutinised, and if they looked messy their moral character was called into question.

MAINTAIN COMPOURSE
While orators were expected to be expressive and vary the pitch of their voice during their speeches, their delivery also had to be restrained. They were supposed to maintain an upright posture, giving them an imposing presence, and it was considered excessive to move around a lot.

DIVERSE EDUCATION
Cicero, a great orator himself, believed that the ideal orator had to possess a wide range of general knowledge so they could both speak wisely and have the ability to develop great ideas. Many members of the elite would receive training in oratory as part of their education.

A CRUCIAL ART
Oratory - the practice of public speaking - played an important role in the political arena and decision-making of the Republic. An essential art for those who wanted to be successful in public and political life, persuasive oratory was used for different reasons - for example, to sway public opinion or spread propaganda.

MALE ARENA
Oratory was performed by elite men, while women - even educated, elite women - were not supposed to speak in public. However, one of the greatest orators of the Late Republic was Hortensius, who delivered a speech in front of the Senate that led to the partial repeal of a tax on Rome’s richest women.

PUBLIC PERFORMANCE
In Rome, orators would stand on the rostra, a platform that was originally part of the Comitium and later moved to the Roman Forum. They always gave their speeches stood above the audience, which symbolised their moral and political authority as members of the elite.
Historical Treasures

SILVER TIVOLI TABLEWARE

Buried for centuries, this collection is an important find Tivoli, Mid-First Century BCE

Held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, this collection of silverware comprises two wine cups, a trulla, ladle, and six spoons. The cups bear the inscription “Sattia, Daughter of Lucius”, though no other information about this figure is known. While Andrew Oliver Jr, writing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Bulletin in 1965, noted, “The name Sattia is recorded elsewhere.” he also stated, “The owner of this set of silver cannot be connected with any of her namesakes, not even the Sattia, who lived to the remarkable age of ninety in the reign of Emperor Claudius.” Additionally, the history of the set itself remains enigmatic. It is suspected that the silverware was buried in the area surrounding Tivoli, possibly as a result of the Civil Wars. Most likely, the mysterious Sattia would have intended to return and recover the silverware once it was deemed safe enough to do so, though evidently this never occurred. This area was a popular site for luxury villas, and several centuries later, Roman Emperor Hadrian would himself have a gorgeous countryside retreat here, which can still be visited today. The set itself was most likely designed for both drinking parties and for dining; as it includes a trulla (the small jug with the long spout for pouring), as well as the pair of decorated wine cups.

This small collection of items is suspected to be part of a much larger one, probably comprising some 30 pieces and with a number bearing the same inscription. Items within the collection first came to light at the end of the 19th century, when European art collector Edouard Warick came into the possession of 13 vessels and seven spoons. In 1905, the collection was offered up for sale, and the following year, Mrs Chauncey J Blair gave the items to the Museum of Chicago. It would be another 14 years before the remainder of the set – the items shown here would find they’re way into the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

LADLE

The ladle is adorned with the head of a swan or duck, which functions as a hook so it can hang on the side of a bowl. This is one of the many items with the 30-piece set inscribed with Sattia’s name, and also with its individual weight.

SKYPHOS (DRINKING CUP)

These drinking cups were most likely made by having the handles and base cast separately. A particularly famous skyphos is the Warren Cup, renowned as an early example of homoerotic art.

COCHLEARIA (SNAIL SPOONS)

Examples of these smaller, slender spoons with unusual handles have been found at a variety of ancient Roman sites. They have earned the nickname ‘snail spoons’, as it is suspected that the handle was perfect for removing snails, as well as seafood such as cockles, from their shells.

PITCHER

Having no inscription or decoration, this pitcher would have been used to store and pour wine, hence its long spout. This particular one appears unique, with no similar examples in Roman silverware or pottery.
Hall of Fame

FAMOUS ROMANS

Meet ten Romans who helped shape the Republic – even in its dying days

SCIPIO AFRICANUS
236 BCE – 183 BCE

When it comes to the Punic Wars, one of the most well-known Roman leaders is undoubtedly Scipio Africanus. Famous for defeating the Carthaginian Hannibal at the Battle of Zama, Scipio’s legacy as a general is certainly secure. In fact, that’s how he won the surname ‘Africanus’.

Scipio had been born into a wealthy patrician family, and his military career began at the Battle of Cannae in 216 BCE. He soon gained a reputation as a military mastermind, before heading to the Senate in 199 BCE: he held the position of princeps senatus from then until his death.

Lucius Junius Brutus
Unknown – c. 509 BCE

It was scandal that saw the end of the Roman kings. In its wake, Lucius Junius Brutus launched an uprising, overthrowing King Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, expelling the royals and founding the Roman Republic in 509 BCE. Brutus became the first consul of the Republic and the fatherland came before all else.

When his sons tried to plot against the nation, they were found out and killed on Brutus’ orders.

JULIUS CAESAR
100 BCE – 44 BCE

The last major leader of the Roman Republic, Julius Caesar’s name lives on today. Born into civil war, Caesar rose to become a celebrated general, conquering Gaul and even heading across the Channel in an unsuccessful attempt to invade Britain.

Caesar’s entrance into politics would later see the end of the Roman Republic and the start of the empire, ending years of civil war. But it unfortunately culminated with Caesar’s assassination on the Ides of March.

Spartacus
c. 111 BCE – 71 BCE

While little is known about Spartacus’ early life, it is known that he was sold into slavery and became a gladiator. His training took place in Capua, north of Naples - but his fighting in the arena isn’t what he’s known for.

In 73 BCE, Spartacus escaped his training and fled to nearby Mount Vesuvius. He was joined by a number of other escaped slaves, and he turned them into an army numbering around 100,000 men. Through guerilla warfare, they kept outsmarting the Roman army and headed north towards Gaul. But their luck wouldn’t last forever.

An army led by Crassus trapped them and Spartacus was killed – 6,000 of the slaves who managed to escape were hunted down and crucified.

The date of the founding of the Republic comes from the Roman scholar Varro, but some believe it actually happened four years later.

A socialist group called the Spartacist League was named after Spartacus in Germany in 1918.
CORNELIA AFRicana C.190s BCE – C.115 BCE
The daughter of famed general Scipio Africanus, Cornelia was presented as the perfect Roman woman. She was born into a powerful family, and married into another one - family, in fact, was one of her priorities.

But there was more to Cornelia than that. She was politically active, something that was almost unheard of for a woman at the time. In fact, Cornelia was one of the most influential people of her time and didn’t slow down after the death of her husband. She even took the teaching of her sons, the Gracchi brothers, on herself.

Cicero 106 BCE – 43 BCE
Known as the greatest orator of the late Roman Republic, Cicero’s early career went from strength to strength. Born into a wealthy family, he worked his way up the political ranks to become consul in 63 BCE. However, it was during his consulship that he ran into trouble. A politician by the name of Catiline was accused of trying to overthrow the Republic. Cicero’s speeches played a part in putting the perpetrators behind bars, but his choice to execute them eventually found Cicero exiled and assassinated. It didn’t help that he had spoken out against Mark Antony, calling him a public enemy.

ENNIUS 239 BCE – 169 BCE
Before Virgil’s Aeneid was Ennius’ Annales, an epic poem that told the story of Rome from the days of Aeneas to his present day. While only 600 lines survive, Ennius’ legacy has lived on. While he served in the military and was a teacher, he is known for his writing. He penned Sabinæ, Ambracia and Scipio, and created a new literary genre: satire.

SALLUST 86 BCE – 35 BCE
One of Ancient Rome’s most famous writers and politicians, Sallust came from relatively humble beginnings. He wasn’t born into the ruling class, but still rose in the cursus honorum. His military service started around 70 BCE, and in 52 BCE he was elected a tribune of the plebs. However, he was expelled from the Senate just two years later. It wasn’t the end for Sallust, though. He sought refuge with Julius Caesar, and commanded one of his legions against Pompey.

Cincinnatus c.519 BCE – c.430 BCE
When Cincinnatus was appointed dictator in 458 BCE, it was at a time of crisis. An army was surrounded by the Aequi people on Mount Algidus. Cincinnatus supposedly defeated the enemy in a day. He went on to bring Rome out of the crisis before resigning from his position and returning to his farm outside of the city. Cincinnatus’ legacy has endured, and his story was used to represent ideal republican simplicity in the early days of the United States of America. His humble background was a juxtaposition to the luxury and decadence of the British Empire and George III.

Many of George Washington’s contemporaries compared him to Cincinnatus as he fought for independence from the British
ROME’S STOLEN MYTHOLOGY
Dr Gina May explains the origins, purpose and importance of Roman legends

How much of Roman mythology was influenced by the Greeks?
Many of the Roman gods were the same as the Greek, for example Aphrodite the Greek goddess of love became Venus to the Romans. This pattern is replicated across the pantheon of gods but it is too simple to say that the Romans just took the Greek gods, changed their names, and made them their own. Ancient cultures from across the world had their own names for gods of the sun, the sky, the growth of crops, dawn, night, birth, death, etc. They had gods for a whole host of other things as a way of explaining everything from emotions to why there was dew on the ground in the mornings. It seems reasonable therefore that the Romans, whose Trojan ancestors had settled with the people of Latium, would have had a set of gods, some of whom did the same thing as the Greek gods. After all, in Homer’s Iliad, the Trojans and the Greeks do not have different gods even though they’re different cultures at war. This may well be why many of the myths surrounding the Roman gods are the same as those told earlier by the Greeks. The Romans also created myths of their own.

Was there anyone specific that contributed to Roman myth-making?
Particular writers/mythographers contributed to the corpus of Roman myth such as Virgil, Livy and Ovid. One of the many myths told by Virgil about Aeneas’ journey from Troy to Latium includes the creation of a mythological reason for Rome’s later battles with Carthage. In Book 6 of the Aeneid Virgil tells of Carthaginian Queen Dido’s love for Aeneas and how she commits suicide after he leaves her in search of his destiny, the founding of Latium. Livy contributes to the myths surrounding the foundation of Rome, as well as giving examples of heroic chastity in his myths of women like Verginia and Lucretia. Both women are sexually assaulted with Verginia being killed by her father to protect her chastity and Lucretia killing herself after being raped. Both were important because they sparked revolts resulting in new political beginnings and the foundation of the Roman Republic. Ovid’s Metamorphoses contains 230 stories split into 15 books and uses myths, some of which are new and invented, to explain how everything came into being or gained its name from the very beginnings of creation up to the deification of Julius Caesar.

What was the purpose of myths in Roman culture?
One of the most important roles that myth played in Roman culture was to explain where Romans came from and how the city came to be called Rome. We are told that Aeneas, one of the princes of Troy, escaped the burning city and followed his fate to found Latium. His journey is told in Virgil’s Aeneid, which was commissioned by Augustus, and demonstrates a clear genealogical line between himself and Venus, the mother of Aeneas. Later came Livy’s quasi-historical foundation myths of Romulus and Remus, who were born to Rhea Silvia, a vestal virgin, after being raped by Mars the god of war. After being left to drown on the banks of the River Tiber, the babies were found and suckled by a she-wolf before being taken in by a shepherd. Grown up, they fought over what to call the new city. Romulus was victorious and called the city Rome. Livy’s History of Rome also recounts the Romans’ abduction of women from neighbouring tribes, among them the Sabine women. All of those taken were young and unmarried and were shared out between the men. By the time the men of their families came back to rescue the women, they had fallen in love with their captors and begged their relatives to join with Rome instead of going into battle. Other quasi-historical myths came into being as

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a way of showing a wide range of things from why wars were fought to how women should behave.

### What do these myths tell us about Roman values?
The foundation myths show how important it was to the Romans to be able to demonstrate their city’s provenance. Livy declares his intention of creating a history of Rome to show how it had shaped its people and to act as moral instruction. It includes events from Aeneas’s escape from Troy up to the age of Augustus. Being able to trace their history back to Troy meant that Rome could claim to be an ancient culture whose earliest ancestor was the son of a goddess. The myths surrounding the founding of Rome itself and how it grew were equally important to the Romans. Romulus was the first king of Rome and example of cities that had done so by choice rather than by force.

### How are these Roman myths seen in modernity?
Mythological stories about Rome’s beginnings together with Ovid’s myths of creation were amusing anecdotes, popular at Roman dinner parties. They may not stand up to scrutiny by modern standards, but they don’t need to. We do not know how exactly old Rhea Silvia was when she was forced to become a vestal virgin by her uncle but they were typically chosen between the ages of six and ten. He planned to ensure that she didn’t have any sons who might avenge the death of her father. When she did become pregnant, he didn’t believe her claim that the father was Mars, and ordered her twin babies, Romulus and Remus, to be thrown into the river. Virgins and Lucretia were both held up as paragons of heroic virtue, showing Roman women how they too should consider their chastity as more important than their lives. Ovid’s 700 line poem *Metamorphoses* covers everything from primordial chaos to Caesar but also multiple descriptions of sexual assault against both men and women. But we cannot look at these, or any other myth, with modern eyes. They were not created by or for us so as difficult as that may sometimes be, we can’t lose sight of what they really are: products of an ancient society seeking to cement its place in the world and poets who sought to cement theirs. We may not like what we see, but we cannot and should not look away.
CONIMBRIGA
PORTUGAL

Conimbriga was one of the largest cities in Roman Portugal, with a population nearing 10,000, and was first inhabited between the 9th century BCE and the 8th or 7th centuries BCE. It was due to the conquering of Decimus Junius Brutus that Conimbriga came under the control of the Romans in 139 BCE. Taking the loose settlement that existed prior to their arrival, the Romans organised Conimbriga’s layout. Walls were built, as well as two watchtowers whose purpose was to defend the town, along with shops, spas, grand homes, aqueducts and public buildings known as basilica.

Although many of the ruins date from the latter days of the Roman Empire, the remains of Conimbriga are astonishingly well preserved, most not being unearthed until the 2000s, which accounts for their incredible condition.

Open Monday to Sunday from 10am to 6pm. Closed Easter Sunday, 1 May, 24 July and 25 December. Tickets €4.50

ANTIOCH
TURKEY

Founded in 300 BCE by Seleucus I Nicator, Antioch was annexed in 64 BCE when it was made the capital of the Roman province of Syria. It would quickly become one of the most important cities in the entire Roman Empire, alongside Alexandria and, of course, Rome itself.

At the peak of its status as one of the bastions of the empire, the city was home to nearly half a million people. Emperor Augustus altered the city, enlarging the theatre and adding numerous roads. He also built a variety of temples dedicated to the Roman gods, and saw that the city became a hive of art and culture.

Later, the city would be important to the foundations of Christianity, as St Paul is noted to have preached his first sermons here, and also founded a church. Today, numerous Roman ruins can still be seen at Antioch, including several ancient Roman roads.

Open Tuesday to Sunday from 10am to 7pm in the summer and 8am to 5pm in the winter. Entrance fee is 10TL (Turkish Lira)
3

EPHESUS
TURKEY

Today, the ruins of Ephesus are located near the village of Sekuk, a city renowned for its arts and culture in the ancient world. In 356 BCE the Temple of Artemis was burnt down, and the Ephesians replaced it with a temple that was so grand that it would become one of the seven wonders of the Ancient world.

Although the city had some extent been under the control of the Romans since 189 BCE (giving the city to the King Pergamum; later Attalus III would give both it and all his possessions to the Roman Empire) it was a troubled rule. In 88 BCE, the Ephesians rose against their Roman rulers, although they would soon fall under Rome’s control once again. Under Emperor Augustus, it became the first city of the Roman province of Asia, and was an impressive and important cultural centre. It became a famous port city, and had a large business district through which to deal with the numerous goods arriving into Ephesus from around the empire.

In later centuries, the city was vital in the spread of Christianity, but by 262 CE it was all but destroyed by the Goths. Today, numerous ruins still remain visible, particularly those built under the reign of Augustus, such as the amphitheatre, the Library of Celsus and the fabulous aqueducts.

Open 8am to 6:30pm in summer and 8:30am to 6pm in winter. Entrance fee 40TL (Turkish Lira)

4

TARRACO
CATALONIA

Tarraco, today known as Tarragona, was taken over by the Romans in 218 BCE as part of the Second Punic War. Initially, the city started life as a military stronghold. Following this, Julius Caesar declared it a colony, and began its transformation into one of the jewels of the Empire’s crown. Emperor Augustus made Terraco the capital of Hispania Tarraconensis, a Roman province, and he supposedly used the Castle of Pilate as his palace. Pliny the Elder also famously praised Tarraco’s fine wines.

Tarraco’s layout is particularly interesting, the city itself being designed around the area’s natural landscape and resulting in a series of terraces descending from official state buildings at the top with the residential areas towards the bottom. The series of walls around the city perhaps belies its origins as a military stronghold, providing perfect defence against any attackers that might choose to assail it. In the surrounding landscape there are also the ruins of Roman quarries from many construction projects.

Open Tuesday to Friday from 9am to 8.30pm, Saturday from 9:30am to 8.30pm, Sunday from 9:30am to 2:30pm. Entrance is free
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RISE OF THE MEDICIS

How one dynasty became the rulers of the Renaissance

Written by Elizabeth Norton
The Medici family were the wealthiest in Europe, rising from humble roots to become grand dukes, queens and even popes. Their rise was as fascinating as it was meteoric, but there were many bumps in the road.

They are synonymous with Florence, with the earliest recorded members of the family already resident there. In the medieval period Florence was a mercantile centre, becoming a leading centre of banking and credit by the early 13th century. Florentine bankers lent money to kings and princes across Europe and, by at least 1300, members of the Medici family had entered the banking trade. Initially small scale, their wealth increased over the course of the 14th century.

The first significant member of the family was Giovanni di Bicci de Medici, who was born in 1360. He spent his early adulthood as a banker in Rome, managing deposits made by the Catholic Church. In 1397 he had established himself enough to move back to Florence, where he registered a new bank with the Banker's Guild. This is usually considered to be the founding of the famous Medici Bank.

Giovanni's bank grew steadily. By the end of the century there were branches in Florence, Rome and Naples, with a fourth branch, in Venice, opened a few years later. The Medici Bank, which was founded "to deal in exchange and in merchandise with the help of God and good fortune", was a merchant bank, heavily involved in the purchase and sale of luxury goods, as well as in money lending. Branch managers across Europe would be instructed to purchase luxury goods, such as tapestries or horses, which could be sold in Italy or elsewhere for a profit. They also accepted deposits from clients, on which interest was paid.

Money lending, often to high-ranking churchmen and princes, was more risky, but lucrative. Giovanni was an excellent networker, identifying and befriending those likely to become prominent in the church. This was the case with Baldassare Cosse, who secured a cardinalcy in 1402 after paying the pope 10,000 florins loaned to him from the Medici Bank.

As a former pirate, he was an unlikely

"The Medici family are synonymous with Florence, with the earliest recorded members of the family already resident there"
churchman. However, Giovanni's bet on Cosse paid off in 1409 when he was elected as pope, taking the name John XXIII. Even John's removal as pontiff in 1415 failed to dent the fortunes of his bankers. When Giovanni died in 1429 he was one of Florence's most prominent citizens, with his bank reporting profits of more than 186,000 florins in the 15 years between 1420 and 1435. His son, Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici, was even more ambitious, opening branches across Europe, including as far afield as London.

Cosimo was a shrewd businessman, keeping a close eye on his branches from Florence. He was not, however, involved in the day-to-day business of his bank as his father had been, instead focusing on politics and the arts. He was enormously wealthy, building a new home in Florence, the Palazzo Medici. This palace, although reasonably modest in size so as not to attract too much attention, was grandly furnished. Donatello, who was patronized by Cosimo, created his bronze statue of David to stand in the courtyard of Cosimo's palace, as well as other works. The artist, Filippo Lippi also painted some of his greatest works within the building's rough-hewn stone walls.

Cosimo intended his construction projects to be his legacy, once telling a friend that “before 50 years have passed, we shall be expelled, but my buildings will remain”. As well as his own homes, he also adorned Florence with the artworks he commissioned, including patronizing Fra Angelico, whose colourful murals still adorn the walls of the monasteries of San Domenico di Fiesole and San Marco. He was a learned man, possessing a library of over 70 books, something that was remarkable for the time.

Although interested in the arts, it was politics that increasingly took up most of Cosimo's time. Florence was a republic, with its government, or Signoria, formed by drawing lots from the names of its most prominent citizens every two months. Even before his father's death, Cosimo had begun to use his considerable financial clout to gain influence within Florence. This was resented by many of the more established families, with Cosimo arrested, tried for treason and exiled in October 1433. He had already anticipated this, having transferred much of his wealth out of Florence before his arrest. Biding his time in Venice, Cosimo remained abreast of Florentine affairs, returning home with a private army of 3,000 soldiers the following year. From then on he personally selected the names included in the draw for the Signoria, placing the control of the government firmly in his hands.

As the ruler of Florence in all but name, Cosimo continued to use his wealth and influence to build his own prestige and that of his city. In 1439 he secured a considerable triumph in persuading Pope Eugenius IV to move the Council of Ferrara to Florence, incentivizing the pope with promises of substantial loans. This council, which saw the arrival of the pope, the patriarch of Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor in Florence, was the most important church event in recent years, with its aim to bring about a union between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. Although it failed to achieve this aim, it was a huge financial success.
Rise of the Medicis

Abridged Medici Family Tree

A quick guide to how the powerful lineage connects together.

Related
Illegitimate
Married

Giovanni di Bicci
1360 – 1429

Cosimo de’ Medici
1389 – 1464

Lorenzo the Elder
1395 – 1440

Pierfrancesco the Elder
1430 – 1476

Giovanni di Bicci
1360 – 1429

Clarece Orsini
1453 – 1488

Lorenzo il Magnifico
1449 – 1492

Giuliano
1453 – 1478

Caterina Sforza
1463 – 1509

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Lorenzo
1463 – 1503

Piero “il Gottoso”
1461 – 1469

Giovanni
1421 – 1463

Pierfrancesco il Giovane
1487 – 1525

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Carlo
1428 – 1492

Clement VI
1478 – 1534

Lorenzo
1463 – 1503

Cosimo de’ Medici
1389 – 1464

Lucrezia di Tornabuoni
1427 – 1482

Piero il Gottoso
1461 – 1469

Giovanni
1421 – 1463

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Eleonora di Garzia di Toledo
1553 – 1576

Lucrezia Tornabuoni
1427 – 1482

Giovanni
1421 – 1463

Carlo
1428 – 1492

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Cosimo I
1519 – 1574

Eleonora di Garzia di Toledo
1553 – 1576

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Caterina Sforza
1463 – 1509

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Cosimo I
1519 – 1574

Eleonora di Garzia di Toledo
1553 – 1576

Lorenzo il Magnifico
1449 – 1492

Leo X
1475 – 1521

Giuliano duca di Nemours
1479 – 1516

Caterina Sforza
1463 – 1509

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Clement VI
1478 – 1534

Leo X
1475 – 1521

Clement VI
1478 – 1534

Giovanni il Popolano
1467 – 1498

Cosimo I
1519 – 1574

Eleonora di Garzia di Toledo
1553 – 1576

Caterina Medici
1519 – 1589

Lorenzo il Duca d’Urbino
1492 – 1519

Eleonora di Garzia di Toledo
1553 – 1576

Christine de Lorraine
1565 – 1637

Pietro
1554 – 1604

Johanna von Habsburg
1547 – 1578

Bianca Cappello
1548 – 1587

Christine de Lorraine
1565 – 1637

Pietro
1554 – 1604

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Johanna von Habsburg
1547 – 1578

Bianca Cappello
1548 – 1587

Christine de Lorraine
1565 – 1637

Pietro
1554 – 1604
**WHAT DID THE MEDICIS DO FOR US?**
Famous works of art and architecture from Florence’s ‘first family’

**The Birth Of Venus**
It’s been suspected that Sandro Botticelli’s famous depiction of Venus was originally commissioned by the Medici family between 1485 and 1486. However, since the painting was kept secret due to its not being a strictly Christian work of art and was not mentioned until the 1550s, it’s hard to pin down its exact lineage. What we do know is that Botticelli was a favourite of the family and a frequent guest in their home.

**The Last Judgement**
Michelangelo was another favourite artist of the Medici family and while they were not responsible for his work on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, it was a Medici pope in Clement VII who had him work on the altar wall of the Chapel in 1536. Clement had actually been a childhood friend of Michelangelo’s, further showing the degree to which the art world and the Florentine family were deeply connected.

**David**
This bronze statue by Donatello was most likely commissioned by his friend Cosimo de’ Medici, and his representation of David predates the more famous marble work by Michelangelo by at least 50 years. It was the first bronze male nude and the first free-standing statue since antiquity. At the time of its making, David was seen as a symbol for Florence itself, a scrappy upstart city without a duke, defending itself against mightier enemies.

**Procession of the Magi**
Commissioned by the father of the Medici family line himself, Cosimo, from Benozzo Gozzoli, this work is stretched across three walls of the main room of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi. Each represents one of the Three Kings going to visit Christ and took about 150 days to produce. Within the works are depictions of members of the Medici family and the artist himself, with Cosimo shown astride a donkey— which is something he did in reality as a sign of his humility.

**ABOVE**
Known as Lorenzo the Magnificent, Lorenzo de’ Medici spent lavishly on culture and the arts, but he neglected his business affairs.

**RIGHT**
Cosimo de’ Medici was a great patron of the arts, employing Donatello, whose bronze statue of David stood in the courtyard of the Medici Palace.
for the Medici, with the branch of their bank making double its usual profit in that year. More importantly for Cosimo it dramatically increased Florence’s reputation on the international stage, and that of the Medici family.

Cosimo was still the effective ruler of Florence at his death in 1464, with the Signoria bestowing the posthumous title ‘Father of the Nation’ upon him. Upon his death, control of the Medici Bank passed to his son, Piero, who also became the de facto ruler of Florence. He was considerably more cautious and less financially gifted than his father and grandfather. The family fortunes dipped significantly under Piero, who held assets worth only half as much as his father in 1469. He did not, in any event, long survive his father, dying at the end of that year and leaving the Medici Bank in the control of his 20-year-old son, Lorenzo.

Lorenzo, who was nicknamed ‘The Magnificent’, had been raised to consider himself an aristocrat. In order to compete with the princes of Europe, he was prepared to spend on a lavish scale, with his patronage of artists, such as Michelangelo, particularly important. He was educated and cultured, but no businessman, failing to keep watch over the branches of his bank. Lorenzo also took much more from the bank to fund his extravagant lifestyle than he put in, while he propped up his branches with public funds from Florence. As branches of the Medici Bank began to close across Europe, even the Rome branch was facing financial ruin in the 1490s. Lorenzo, however, just kept spending.

Lorenzo was determined to increase the influence and status of the Medici on an international stage, writing to Pope Sisto IV in 1472 of “the long standing desire to have a cardinal in our family”. Cardinals were princes of the church, with Lorenzo anxious to finally achieve aristocratic status for his family. At first, matters seemed hopeful, but when Lorenzo refused a loan to the pope of 40,000 ducats, the Medici were removed as papal bankers. To his dismay, his rivals, the Pazzi family, were appointed in their place.

To make matters worse, the pope continued to support the Pazzi family, giving his tacit approval when they and some of the pope’s own nephews conspired to rid Florence of the Medici. On the morning of 26 April 1478 Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano were at mass in Florence’s Duomo. As the Host was raised, they were surprised by the arrival of Francesco de Pazzi, who frantically stabbed Giuliano, while two priests attacked Lorenzo. Although badly wounded, Lorenzo survived the attack, but his brother was less fortunate. The pope very firmly sided with the Pazzi, excommunicating Lorenzo when he took revenge on the leading conspirators.

“**Cosimo continued to use his wealth and influence to build his own prestige and that of his city**”

and placing Florence under an interdict. Lorenzo and the Medici were relieved when Sixtus died in August 1484.

The new pope, Innocent VIII, proved a friend to the Medici, betrothing his son to Lorenzo’s daughter in exchange for a substantial dowry. More significantly he also agreed to make Lorenzo’s second son, the 14-year-old Giovanni de Medici,
a cardinal on 9 March 1489. Lorenzo paid a heavy fee for this honour, but it was a significant moment for the family. Giovanni was the highest-ranking Medici there had been so far.

Lorenzo’s triumph in securing a cardinal’s hat for his son further increased his ambitions. Unlike his father and grandfather, who had always presented themselves as ‘first among equals’ in Florence, his own style of government made his pre-eminent position much more obvious. Only Lorenzo was exempt from a law banning weapons in the city, while he maintained a substantial private bodyguard, for example.

Like his father, Lorenzo suffered from considerable ill health, dying on 8 April 1492 at the age of only 43. Although some in Florence lamented his death, a large proportion of the citizens celebrated, hoping that it would mark an end to Medici dominance.

It was certainly a difficult year for the Medici in 1492, with Lorenzo’s 20-year-old son, Piero, who was both incompetent and unlucky, struggling to maintain the family’s position. In spite of increasing unpopularity, Piero insisted on maintaining a pro-Naples policy, something which placed him at odds with Charles VIII of France, who himself claimed the Italian kingdom. He mishandled his approach to Charles, at first refusing to give his troops safe conduct through Florentine territory and then being forced to negotiate, surrendering Pisa to the French king. Within days, he had been deposed as ruler of Florence, with the citizens rising under cries of “The People! Liberty!” The Signoria then exiled Piero, his brother, Cardinal Giovanni, and other members of the family.

In the Medici’s absence, Florence came under the authority of the theocratic government of the radical preacher Girolamo Savonarola, whose austere government saw the burning of artworks and books in the city. In spite of Savonarola’s growing unpopularity, Piero de’ Medici was unable to secure popular support when he arrived outside the city with an army of 2,000 troops in 1497, being once again forced to withdraw. Even Savonarola’s own fall from power, which saw him hanged and then burned at the stake in 1498, did not see any damour for the Medici family’s return. Piero continued to plot, from exile, but bad luck overcame him once more. On 27 December 1503 he fell into a river and drowned.

By 1503, the Medici had been exiled from Florence for nearly a decade, while their bank, which had founded their
wealth, was in ruins. It must have seemed as though they had reached their lowest ebb, with Piero's sons still being young children with little prospect of ruling. The family did, however, have a trump card in Cardinal Giuliano, who had maintained his position in the church. Through his relationship with Pope Julius II, he was able to engineer a return to prominence for the family, with the Pope himself writing to the city in July 1512 to insist on the return of the Medici - and its abandonment of its French allegiance.

Although the city at first demurred, when Cardinal Giovanni and his younger brother Giuliano arrived at the gates of the city on 14 September, accompanied by an army, they were forced to admit them. Entering Florence in triumph, the Medici once again took control of the city's governance. Although the return of the Medici was not universally celebrated, there was little that the citizens could do, with Cardinal Giovanni becoming Pope Leo X the following year, something that crowned the family's remarkable achievement. Pope Leo, too, continued to view Florence as his home, making a ceremonial entry in 1515, where he was welcomed by firework displays, gun salutes and triumphal arches.

As was so often the case, however, the family's triumph was short-lived. The Medici secured a second pope when, in 1523, Leo's cousin Giulio de Medici was elected as Pope Clement VII. However, this brought them into conflict with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who sacked Rome in 1527 and placed Clement under house arrest. When news of this reached Florence, the citizens rose, shouting anti-Medici slogans and burning effigies of the Medici pope in bonfires. Once again, the Medici were forced into exile.

Clement was finally able to return to Rome in October 1528, where he attempted to shore up Medici power in the church with the appointment of his 18-year-old kinsman, Ippolito de Medici, as a cardinal. He also came to terms with the Emperor Charles V, promising to crown him as Holy Roman Emperor and to betroth another kinsman, Alessandro de Medici, to Charles's illegitimate daughter.
With imperial support, the Medici took an army to besiege their city. Florence, which had reinstated republican government, refused to yield for nearly a year, with hunger so desperate that mice were sold in the marketplace as food. When plague broke out, the citizens had had enough, rising to demand the return of the Medici to end their hunger. Once again, the Medici had returned to Florence, although they found the city devastated by the lengthy siege. In 1531 their rule was formalised, with the Emperor Charles V issuing a decree to declare Alessandro de Medici as Governor of the Republic of Florence and Head of the Government in Perpetuity. Although this title, which was not the dukedom Alessandro had desired, maintained a pretence of republicanism, in reality it appointed Alessandro as the city’s prince.

It was still not enough for Alessandro, who in 1532 secured the title of Duke of the Republic from his kinman, Pope Clement VII. In spite of this, Alessandro was far from secure, building a fortress, the Fortezza de Basso, with a view to defending himself against his own citizens. He was also still only nominally the head of the family, with Pope Clement arranging the prestigious marriage of his 14-year-old niece, Catherine de Medici, to the second son of Francis I of France in 1533. Catherine de Medici would become the first Medici to sit on a throne when, in 1547, she became queen of France. She would later be followed, over 50 years later, by a second Medici queen of France.

Alessandro was deeply unpopular in Florence and un lamented following his assassination in 1537. With his death, his dukedom was inherited by a distant cousin, Cosimo I, who was a descendant
**Rise of the Medici**

"**WITH THE CREATION OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF TUSCANY, ALL PRETENCE THAT FLORENCE REMAINED A REPUBLIC WAS ABANDONED**"

**MACHIAVELLI AND THE MEDICI**

They were connected by deep personal and political ties

Niccolo Machiavelli has a well-earned reputation as a political thinker and strategist, but throughout his life it would seem that the Medici family often held the upper hand over him. In fact, his numerous interactions with them, directly or indirectly, could be said to have shaped much of his political writing and theory.

Machiavelli actually grew up being friends with Giuliano di Lorenzo, son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, but when the French invasion of Florence saw the Medici family exiled, he took up a job with the new republican government under the Great Council. This seems to have been a political project, with a truly independent Florence, that Machiavelli truly believed in. When the Medici led a force to take back Florence on behalf of Pope Julius II, it was Machiavelli who was charged with organising the defence of the city.

His attempts failed, however, and in 1512 the Medici were back in control of Florence and while he petitioned for a position in their new regime (ever the pragmatist), he was ultimately imprisoned, tortured and then exiled for his suspected participation in the Bocchi conspiracy against the family. He appealed to his old friend Giuliano for release, but to no avail.

Still, his most famous works in the years that followed were deeply tied to the Medici. *The Prince* was first dedicated to Giuliano and later to Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and tackled how young rulers should conduct themselves and wield power. He later looked for Medici patronage in writing the *Florentine Histories*, appealing to then Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII).

In his works he began to explore the strengths and weaknesses of building a government around the virtues and administrative skills of a single person as well as the inherent weaknesses that had existed in Florentine politics that had allowed then Medici to rise to power. By the time he wrote *Histories*, it appears he had very much turned against the Medici control of Florence, although he still praised individual leaders. This experience changed his view of the role of 'the prince' as a single ruler who could change the system to someone who was ultimately created and influenced by the system instead.

The experience of Machiavelli with the Medici reflects the relationship between Florence and the family; friend and foe at different times, impossible to ignore or avoid, dangerous to associate with.
At the dawn of the 21st century, India was producing nearly 1,000 films a year, in a variety of languages and for a global fanbase. The term Bollywood no doubt conjures images of colourful musical numbers, lavish escapist action sequences and glamorous stars. Yet Bollywood has a long tradition and history within India, much of which has been defined by the country’s own changes and conflicts. This gives Bollywood productions a distinct and unique flavour, far removed from the more typical American and British releases that usually fill the screens at multiplexes. The term Bollywood refers primarily to the Mumbai film industry, which caters to a Hindi speaking audience yet, to Western audiences, the term has been used to refer to Indian cinema as a whole. Stretching back to the dawn of the 20th century and the era of silent film, Bollywood’s story is as striking and engaging as those of the films it produces. While it would be impossible to cover the entire history of the industry, the tropes and trends, the highs and lows, form a distinct narrative that reflects the changing tastes of Indian audiences.

The first full-length Bollywood production was created in 1913 when India was still under British rule. The film, Raja Harishchandra, was written, directed, produced and even distributed by Dadasaheb Phalke, now considered to be the father of Indian cinema. Based on Hindu mythology, the film was originally given a trial showing for leading citizens before being put on a much wider release. The success of Raja Harishchandra opened the doors for a new wave of Indian silent films and Phalke himself would follow it with Mohini Bhasmasur; perhaps just as important for featuring a female lead when acting was deemed a taboo profession for women. Phalke was also the first Indian filmmaker to export his films and took three productions to London for a trade show, where they won foreign acclaim. The director would create other
masterpieces such as 1977’s Lanka Dahan, which was such a huge hit that cinemas were forced to begin screening the film at 7am in order to meet demand. Several other companies were formed and they capitalised on Thalke’s success, producing a slew of similarly themed mythological epics. So why was early Indian cinema obsessed with films on the topic of Hindu myths and legends? As the Encyclopedia of Hindi Cinema explains: “Political-nationalist topics would have been taboo under British rule. Even contemporary subjects might have been resented in those orthodox times, that too in a new medium which was considered cheap, vulgar and socially unacceptable.”

Despite their popularity, many of these silent films were still relatively low-budget and amateurish productions, particularly when compared to German films from the same era such as The Cabinet of Dr Caligari and Metropolis. These early Bollywood films were not without merit and are historically important, but were arguably lacking the visual refinement and elegance that defined these European works. The man who would be credited with bringing technical sophistication to Indian cinema was Himanshu Rai. Born into a wealthy Bengal family in 1892 in Cuttack, Rai sought the advice of European filmmakers in an attempt to improve the quality of Indian productions. Subsequently, Rai would be the man behind one India’s first big budget productions, Prithviraj Kapoor’s (The Light of Asia) in 1925. Featuring an entirely Indian cast, including Rai himself in the role of Gautama Buddha, the film was co-produced with Emelka Studios in Munich, Germany, after Rai’s attempts to convince British film studios fell through. He would follow this with a number of other co-productions with UFA, the studio behind the aforementioned German classics.

One of the most renowned traits of Bollywood productions is the sensation al song and dance numbers featured in the majority of films, even movies such as 1962’s Aashirvaad - ostensibly a moody gothic mystery thriller. This trait began in the early 1930s as Indian filmmakers began to experiment with the new technology of sound. As Rajay Vijayakar explains in his paper The Role of a Song in a Hindi Film, songs were incorporated into the early talkie films as “in a country accustomed to folk and classical music (with huge diversities across state and language), the audiences now got to hear their simpler, hum-worthy variants in the movies. Hence film songs became instantly popular”. He then goes on to state that, in a world where a film with sound was not an immediate guaranteed success, “the savvier filmmakers decided that songs were the way to box office acceptability”. The decision to incorporate songs proved hugely successful, and some of the first recording studios in India grew out of the desire of audience members to repeatedly listen to actors singing songs from

**Dilip Kumar**

Considered to be one of the greatest Indian actors of all time, Dilip Kumar has starred in a variety of films throughout his long and varied career. He became known as ‘the King of Tragedy’, before opting to play more light-hearted heroic types in films such as 1955’s Azaad. After taking a hiatus from acting in the late 1970s he returned during the 1980s and continued working until 1998 when he retired.

**Must-see films:** Mughal-e-Azam (1960), Madhumati (1958)

**Amitabh Bachchan**

Perhaps India’s greatest action star, Amitabh Bachchan has starred in a wealth of cult hits and popular films. Personifying the ‘angry young man’ hero of the mid to late 1970s, Bachchan would take a break from acting to enter politics, being elected to the Indian parliament in 1984. He returned to the film industry in 1990, winning a National Film award for Agneepath, in which he played a crime boss.

**Must-see films:** Deewar (1975), Don (1978)
their favourite films. While many elements of Bollywood film production have changed, the inclusion of song and dance remains. Over the years, this tradition of film songs, which began with actors singing them ‘live’ and often with very few dancers or supporting acts, has grown in sophistication. Now the songs are often released ahead of films and are an integral part of the viewing experience.

In the 1940s further changes were to come, but not just to the film industry. India itself was about to undergo arguably the single most important event in its own recent history. In 1947 the British, after 300 years of colonial rule, withdrew from India. Under the Indian Independence Act the country was split into two, Pakistan and India, each a new and separate dominion with the intention of purposefully segregating the Muslim, Hindu and Sikh communities. What resulted would be the biggest forced migration in recent times that was not the result of war or famine. For Bollywood, 1947 would prove to be just as important cinematically as it was politically. The most popular and highest-grossing film that year was Jugnu, a musical romance about class divide that shows the industry’s lack of desire to confront the issue of partition. The same year also saw legends such as actor, producer and director Raj Kapoor and actress Madhubala make their debuts within the Indian film industry with the release of Neel Kamal. Kapoor would later become one of India’s biggest stars, his work with the actress Nargis in films such as Andaz defining them as one of the country’s biggest acting duos.

One of the most important films following partition was Mother India from 1957, which since its debut has become a national classic, re-released numerous times. Taking its name from the controversial 1927 polemical book by US historian Katherine Mayo, which argued against Indian self-rule, the film was a fierce rebuke of the arguments stated within Mayo’s work. The book has been described by the actress and author Sushmita Mukherjee as having “contained sensational material on child marriages and child brides. No wonder it was celebrated by Imperialists and condemned by Nationalists”. Filmmaker Mehboob Khan saw a chance to remake his earlier work, Aurat, as a distinctly patriotic and nationalist production that purposefully used the book’s title in a satirical manner. The film also set out to promote the empowerment of women within India in a way that directly contradicted the claims in Mayo’s book. The film Mother India tells the story of Radha, a poor mother who faces a variety of obstacles as she struggles to raise her sons. Despite the various trials and tribulations, Radha never loses her integrity. Gayatri Chatterjee, the author of a BFI Film Classics book analysing Mother India, stated of the film’s enduring popularity: “From 1958, for more than 40 years, every day between nine in the morning and midnight, one could stand still, close one’s eyes and say to oneself, ‘Mother India is playing somewhere in India.’”

It was in the 1960s and 1970s that many of the traits that now define modern Bollywood cinema truly began. While there were more artistically minded productions, it was genre cinema and all-around entertainment that became the order of the day. One of the directors who made a name during this period

**Madhubala**

Famed for her beauty, Madhubala was perhaps the most popular actress of the 1950s and early 1960s. Starring in a variety of films, from romantic tragedies to thrillers and comedies, she quickly became a cinematic icon. A frequent co-star of Dilip Kumar, the two were involved romantically for a short time. Afflicted with a congenital heart condition, Madhubala passed away shortly after her 36th birthday.

**Must-see films:** Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi (1958), Mohal (1949)

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**Meena Kumari**

Known as the Tragedy Queen, Kumari was popular for her roles in a string of tearjerkers and lived a life almost as distressing as those of the characters she played. She would pass away at the age of 38, mere weeks before Pakeezah (arguably her most famous and beloved film) was released to rave reviews and great success.

**Must-see films:** Pakeezah (1972), Sahib Bibi Aur Ghulam (1962)
was Vijay Anand, whose neo noir and Hitchcockian thrillers such as Teesri Manzil (The Third Floor) from 1966 and Jewel Thief from 1967 became huge hits at the box office. Bee's Saad Baad from 1962 was a gothic thriller, based on the Sir Arthur Conan Doyle novel The Hound of the Baskervilles, which became the highest-grossing film of that year. It was so successful that the director, Biren Nag, would follow it with Kohraa, a Bollywood take on Rebecca using mostly the same cast and crew. There were also huge Bollywood blockbusters such as 1960's Maghahe Azam, a historical drama that has been described by filmmaker Anil Zankar as ‘one of the great Indian film epics, a phenomenon’. Waqt (1965) was a romantic drama film that starred some of Indian cinema’s biggest names, including Balraj Sahni, Raj Kumar and Sharmila Tagore among numerous others. The film told the story of two brothers who were separated at birth and then found themselves throughout the course of the film, a trope that would become a hallmark of many Bollywood productions. The film was the first example of the distinctive cinematic style of its director, Yash Chopra, which was defined by picturesque locations and a large dose of glitz and glamour.

Perhaps one of the most surprising genres that originated during this period is the unfortunately named ‘Curry Western’. First appearing in the late 1960s, these films were a response to the Italian low-budget (and equally ill-named) ‘Spaghetti Westerns’. These films, such as Sergio Leone’s ‘Dollars’ trilogy starring Clint Eastwood (comprising 1964’s A Fistful of Dollars, 1965’s For a Few Dollars More and 1966’s The Good, the Bad and the Ugly), and 1966’s Django, became incredibly popular upon release in India. Seeking to capitalise on the success of these imported productions with homegrown affairs, Indian producers scrambled to create their own unique twist on the most typical of American film genres. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these early ‘Curry Westerns’ is 1975’s Sholay, which has become one of the all-time greats of Bollywood cinema. In the film, a pair of prisoners is hired by a local landlord to rid him of a group of dacoits (a term for a group of armed bandits). The breakout character of the film was Gabbar Singh, the villain of the piece, portrayed memorably by Amjad Khan and made to resemble Gian Maria Volonté, who played the villain in the aforementioned Leone films. So popular were Singh’s unique mannerisms and delivery that he became a Bollywood icon - even having a 2012 film named after him. Such was the success of Sholay that author William van der Heide, when discussing the ‘Curry Western’, stated that since its release “mercenaries and vigilantes have remained the dominant protagonists of Indian popular cinema”.

It was also during the 1970s that a new and still popular Bollywood genre was created, that of the Masala film. Describing the origins of the style, author Martha P. Nochimson states: “Masala is a pre-mixed blend of spices that Indians use to flavour foods. Critics faced with the amazing patchwork of action, comedy, and tragedy in the action films of the 1970s compared them to that well-known Indian combination of spices.” Although it has been suggested that the form existed in Tamil cinema since the early 1950s, most critics attribute it to producer, director and writer Nasir Hussain. His 1973 work, Yaadon Ki Baaraat, is still considered to be the definitive Masala film. Utilising
From Bollywood to Tollywood
Some of the many brands of Indian cinema explained

**Bollywood** *(Hindi)*
Taking its name from the city in which its movies are produced, Bombay (now Mumbai), Bollywood produces films in the Hindi language and is the largest segment of the Indian film industry. It accounts for nearly half of film production today.

**Pollywood** *(Punjabi)*
The name used for films produced in Punjabi, Pollywood stretches across India and Pakistan and can trace its roots back as far as 1935. It’s grown into an even bigger portion of the industry in recent years, with increasing budgets and star power.

**Chhollywood** *(Chhattisgarhi)*
Based out of the Chhattisgarh region in Central India, the film industry began here around 1965 but didn’t take off for some time. The local industry has grown in strength since the Chhattisgarh state was created in November 2000.

**Tollywood** *(Bengali or Telugu)*
The term Tollywood can refer to films in Bengali or Telugu. The Telugu industry can trace its roots back to the silent film era, while Bengali cinema got started not long after and enjoyed its golden era in the 1950s and 1960s.

**Jollywood** *(Assamese)*
Credited with producing one of the most groundbreaking films of Indian cinema, Assamese-language films can claim the 1935 movie *Jaynatri* as among its biggest releases. Like much of the industry, it found a second wind in the 1950s.

**Sandalwood** *(Kannada)*
With its first silent film released in 1931, movies in the Kannada language got back a long way into Indian cinema history, although its first colour film was not released until 1964. Still, it’s credited with some of India’s most celebrated cinematic works.

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**Mother India**, from 1957, became a Bollywood classic

The popular long-lost brothers trope made fashionable by *Waqt, Yaadon Ki Baaraat* follows three brothers who seek both each other and the man who killed their parents. Another director, Manmohan Desai would take the template established in *Yaadon Ki Baaraat* and make a number of successful blockbusters such as *Amar, Akbar and Anthony* (1977), *Parvarish* (1977), *Naseeb* (1981) and *Coolie* (1983). *Amar, Akbar and Anthony* in particular was one of the highest-grossing films of the decade and starred many of Bollywood’s biggest names. When asked about his approach to making films, Desai spoke openly of his desire to give audiences escapism. “I want people to forget their misery,” he said. “I want to take them into a dream world where there is no poverty, where there are no beggars, where fate is kind and god is busy looking after his flock.”

It now seems appropriate to mention one of the other defining traits of Bollywood cinema. To those perhaps more familiar with Western movies, where the average film rarely goes over the 120-minute mark, the runtimes of some Bollywood productions might seem a little on the long side. For example, crime drama *Deewar* from 1975 has a runtime of two hours and 55 minutes. *Amar, Akbar and Anthony* runs at three hours and five minutes; and 1965’s classic *Waqt* is three hours and 25 minutes. For many years an intermission halfway through the film, allowing audience members to take a break and stretch their legs, has remained a common trait. While the length of these films might seem eye-watering for those of us with slightly shorter attention spans, there are numerous reasons for Bollywood’s longer runtimes. Mostly it’s because a large amount of the movie is taken up by the song and dance numbers. For example, a two hour 30 minute Bollywood production might have 45 minutes of song numbers, resulting in an overall runtime of one hour and 45 minutes — no longer than the average Western production.

Following what is considered a relative high point in the 1970s, the Bollywood productions of the 1980s and 1990s were more divisive, with a 2020 *Indian Express* article stating that: “Most critics generally brush off the 1980s as a ‘Low Point’ in Hindi cinema.” Yet these decades still have their interesting productions, including a big-budget 1980 Soviet co-production based on *Alibaba and the Forty Thieves* that proved to be a success in both countries. Meanwhile, *Mahakaal* from 1994 has become an established cult horror film, even receiving a DVD release in the United States due to its similarities to Wes Craven’s 1986 film *A Nightmare on Elm Street*. Other film genres, such as the aforementioned *Masala* movies, continued to grow in popularity and became staples of the Bollywood industry, created some of its most iconic moments.

Today the Bollywood industry continues to entertain, with a huge number of films produced across a variety of genres. For any individual looking to dive into the magical world of Bollywood cinema, there are a huge number of movies to choose from. So what are you waiting for? Plan your snack breaks around the intermissions, get your dance moves ready for all the catchy songs, and settle in for a wild ride. ☺
From humble beginnings in 1930s Paris, Coccinelle’s star quality led her to become a key figure of transgender history

Written by Elliot Evans

The effects of the Great Depression struck Paris in 1931, bringing an end to the economic and artistic boom that had characterised Paris during the interwar years, often known as ‘les années folles’. That same year, a rare ray of light in an otherwise gloomy period shone through: the child who would grow up to become Jacqueline Charlotte Dufresnoy, better known by her stage name Coccinelle (Ladybird), was born.

Raised in the Temple district of Paris, nearby to what is now the thriving gay nightlife of the Marais, at the age of four Dufresnoy reported her sense that something was wrong with the gender she had been assigned at birth. She was not born to an affluent family, and her first job was working in a hairdressing salon, which her father feared would turn the person he knew as his son into a homosexual. Her next job, however, would see her working in the vibrant cabarets of Paris.

It was as a teenager that Dufresnoy adopted the name Coccinelle after attending a fancy-dress party in a red dress adorned with black spots. This would become her stage name as a performer within the city’s thriving scene of transformistes. These transformistes were generally understood by the public as female impersonators, with some performers identifying as transvestites or seeing themselves something along the lines of what we might now recognise as drag queens. Many, though, such as Dufresnoy, clearly felt an affinity with feminality that extended far beyond their stage persona, and a community of trans women was to form around and through this lively cabaret scene in Paris’s Pigalle district.

Coccinelle’s stage show drew on the iconic film stars of her day, particularly the style and presence of her idols Brigitte Bardot and Marilyn Monroe. Her fascination with these figures far exceeded her performances on stage – indeed, Coccinelle’s life off-stage was also marked by theatricality, charisma and a cultivated glamour that she dearly enjoyed. Coccinelle worked firstly at the cabaret venue Chez Madame Arthur, which opened its doors on the Rue des Martyrs in the late 1940s, and then at the famous Le Carrousel de Paris, which had opened in 1947. At that time, Le Carrousel featured acts by other trans women, including the...
British actress and model April Ashley and the Algerian-born performer Bambi (Marie-Pierre Pruvot). Some of the friendships initiated within this scene would last a lifetime, such as that between Coccinelle and Bambi - with Coccinelle reportedly telephoning her 'Bambichette' every Sunday during the last years of her life.

This Parisian cabaret scene was a renowned haven for transfeminine individuals; a place where their gender expression was not simply tolerated but admired and valued, even rewarded financially. The community surrounding it also provided a network of care and communication, as well as a means of sharing tips regarding possible support and medical interventions. It was from a fellow trans woman who Coccinelle met while on tour in Nice that she learned of the possibilities available to her.

Following up on this lead, Coccinelle eventually became a patient of Dr Georges Burou, the French gynaecologist, whom many trans women visited at his Clinique du Parc in Casablanca, Morocco. Around this time, there were only very few such centres of medical expertise. Dr Magnus Hirschfeld's pioneering Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Institute of Sexology, or Sexual Science) in Berlin, which provided treatment for Lili Elbe (whose story was made famous by the 2015 film *The Danish Girl*) and Dora Richter, was all but destroyed after Hitler came to power in 1933, its archives and library publicly burned. The Institute only re-emerged - this time in Frankfurt - in 1973. In the US, the Stanford Gender Dysphoria Program in Palo Alto, California, associated with the pioneering doctor of transgender healthcare, Harry Benjamin, would not be founded until 1968. Some medical assistance for trans individuals was available in Europe in Sweden, and in Denmark's Copenhagen University Hospital, which provided surgical interventions for the American trans woman Christine Jorgensen in the early 1950s, after she had obtained special legal permission from the Danish Minister of Justice. In France, however, many surgeons feared prosecution if they dared to carry out innovative gender affirming surgeries, since legislation existed at the time banning 'castration'. As a result, the first sex reassignment procedure in France (at least officially) would not take place until the late 1970s.

Dr Burou, however, pioneered surgical techniques for trans women by working in Morocco, benefitting from a relative freedom from restrictive legislation and a tightly controlled, nationalised healthcare system (such as that which existed in France). Morocco presented neither of these problems, largely because it had been a French Protectorate until 1956 when it won independence from its European colonisers. Other patients who travelled to North Africa to visit Dr Burou included the British historian and travel writer Jan Morris, author of *Conundrum* (1974), and the British model and actress (and Coccinelle's fellow performer on the stages of Paris) April Ashley. Dufresnoy made her trip to Casablanca for surgery shortly after Moroccan independence in 1956, and on her return to France took the legal name Jacqueline Charlotte Dufresnoy.
The Life and Legacy of Coccinelle

“Coccinelle’s unabashed visibility as a trans woman is striking”

It was not long afterwards, in 1962, that Coccinelle married her first husband, the French journalist François Bonnet. Quite incredibly, the marriage was supported by the Roman Catholic Church in France, in a ceremony at the Saint Jean de Montmartre church in Paris, on the condition that Coccinelle was re-baptised a second time, now as a woman, as ‘Jacqueline’.

Coccinelle’s marriage to Bonnet effectively established a legal precedent in France, whereby trans people had the right to marry: hers was the first union between a transgender individual and another to be officially recognised by the French state. The marriage itself was very much a public affair, and it became a preoccupation of the media both within and outside of France. Coccinelle’s unabashed visibility as a trans woman and her refusal to live in either secrecy or shame is striking even by today’s standards. She refused to accept any limitations arising from her transition, and was without a doubt a pioneer in this regard. Unfortunately, the legal precedent set by Coccinelle led (at least in the short term) to a negative response from the French state, which had not up to this point had to deal publicly with transsexuality. It began to tighten the legal loopholes and ‘blindspots’ of the French juridical system with regards to trans rights. Hormones, for instance, had previously been unregulated and readily available to buy in pharmacies, but this would soon no longer be the case. Some even argue - quite unfairly - that Coccinelle’s ‘star quality’ and the way she embraced her visibility contributed to this ‘crackdown’ by the French state on many trans practices that had previously gone under the radar.

Similarly, after the public furor surrounding her first marriage to Bonnet, trans individuals who had undergone gender reassignment surgeries like Coccinelle’s were no longer able to obtain new identity papers from French authorities as she herself had done. Even much later, in 1982, the senator Henri Caillavet proposed laws allowing trans individuals in France access to gender reassignment surgery and a change in official identity papers that legally recognised their sex, but these proposals were dismissed, despite the relatively new, socialist government led by François Mitterrand being ostensibly gay friendly and progressive. This did not change until 1992, and only after the European Court of Human Rights condemned the French State’s sustained refusal over nearly two decades to award new identity documents to a trans woman who had undergone sex reassignment surgery. And while Coccinelle struggled to gain access to surgical interventions like those carried out by Dr Brou, having to travel outside of France to do so, contemporary trans rights in France have focused on the right not to have to undergo surgery as a legal requirement to change sex. This was, in effect, the case until 2016, with trans people in France being required to undergo medical intervention amounting to sterilisation, and then having to present this evidence in front of a court in order to change the sex recorded on their legal documentation. Despite the lasting legacy and the publicity surrounding Coccinelle’s first
marriage, the union itself was dissolved within only a couple of years. She soon married again, this time with a fellow performer, the dancer Mario Florentin Heyns, from Paraguay. Her second husband dearly adored Coccinelle – sadly, though, he passed away in 1977.

A third marriage, this time to the trans rights activist Thierry Wilson, followed in 1996 when Coccinelle was in her mid-sixties and Wilson in his mid-twenties. Wilson and Coccinelle met in the late 1980s, and were together for 20 years until her death in 2006. Since Wilson is also a performer – the creator of the persona Zize Dupanier – it is no great surprise that this third and final marriage also became a spectacle. Positively embracing the inevitable media attention, the ceremony was performed live on the principal French television channel, TF1 on the programme Tout Est Possible (Anything Is Possible), funded in return for coverage by the celebrity news magazine France Dimanche. Wilson recounted in an interview after her death that Coccinelle knew the media would sense a scandal due to their age difference and actively welcomed this idea: “Or Coccinelle adorait les scandales” (Oh but how she loved a scandal).

Together, Wilson and Coccinelle founded and ran the venue Cabaret Coccinelle in Marseille, where they lived together. Coccinelle was as much an activist as she was a performer, and in many ways her unbowd visibility as a trans woman was the greatest activism she could have undertaken. The way she lived her life confronted the French state with transsexuality, which opened a necessary and evolving conversation regarding the rights of trans people. In addition to the defiant, outrageous-yet-dignified way in which Coccinelle lived her own life, she also founded the organisation Association Devenir Femme (To Become a Woman) in 1994, as well as the Centre for Aid, Research, and Information for Transsexuality and Gender Identity, both of which existed to provide support to those considering or undergoing a process of transition.

To honour her memory, a street has been named after Coccinelle in the Pigalle area of Paris, close to the Rue des Martyrs where the club where she began her career as a performer, Chez Madame Arthur, is still open and running as a drag venue. The street sign reads: “Promenade Coccinelle (Jacqueline, Charlotte Dufrasney) 1938-2006 Artiste de Cabaret”. This is the first street named in remembrance of a trans person in Europe, and demonstrates Coccinelle’s continued

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**TRAILBLAZING TRANS WOMEN**

Four inspirational individuals whose stories and lives changed the world

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**ROBERTA COWELL**

The first male to female British person to undergo gender reassignment surgery, at the age of 18, Roberta Cowell forged a career as a racing driver, winning the Land’s End Trial. During World War II Cowell served as a fighter pilot and was shot down over Germany. Following the war she met Michael Dillon, the first female to male to undergo gender reassignment surgery. Dillon performed an operation on Cowell and a year later, in 1954, her story broke. Cowell continued her career as a racing driver into the 1970s.

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**CHRISTINE JORGENSEN**

It was in 1950 that US Citizen George William Jorgensen Jr travelled to Denmark to begin her transition from male to female. Two years later, when the story became public, Jorgensen had to deal with a mainly transphobic press who treated her story with disdain. Initially Jorgensen disliked the publicity, but soon turned it to her advantage, developing a nightclub act and telling her story for a fee. Despite the attitudes at the time, Jorgensen’s story began American discussions around trans identities and has an important legacy.

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**RENEE RICHARDS**

Dr Renee Richards was the focus of an intense legal battle when she refused to take a chromosome test for entrance into the United States Open Tennis Championships. Billie Jean King served as a witness and Richards was granted the right to compete. Despite the ongoing controversy and unsavoury comments from fellow players, Richards would become the 20th top tennis player in the world and coach Martina Navratilova, who became world number-one. Richards retired from the spotlight and now lives in up-state New York.

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**CHEVALIER D’EON**

The Chevalier D’Eon lived openly as both a man and a woman at varying points in their life. After a shaky relationship with Louis XV, his successor Louis XVI stated they could return to France if they readopted women’s clothing. How much the Chevalier’s decision was forced by Louis XVI is unknown, but they spent the final 33 years of their life publicly as a woman. While there has been much debate whether to label the Chevalier a proto-trans figure, their life demonstrates an early case of acceptance of fluid gender identity.
“Her success as a performer, especially as a trans performer, is remarkable”

importance as a key figurehead of trans rights in France and beyond.

Coccinelle’s success as a performer, and especially as a trans performer, is remarkable. After the publicity of her first marriage, she went on to produce her own show, Chercher la Femme (Searching for the Woman), which ran at the Paris Olympia from 1963. In her typically up-front style, Coccinelle referenced her trans identity in her lyrics, defiant and unabashed as ever. She would later star in residencies at the renowned Chez Nous in Berlin, and then in venues across South America. She also had roles in a number of films over the years, including the Italian Europa Di Notte (1959) and the Spanish Dias De Vigo Color (1968). She released recordings of her music, including a ‘Best Of’ in 2005, only a year before she died. As a performer, Coccinelle toured the world – appearing on stages from Iran to Australia, as well as in French-occupied Algeria, which is how Bambi recalls she first even heard of transsexuality. Internationally renowned, interest in her as a performer and as an individual extended far beyond France. As the historian Joanne Meyerowitz notes: “Coccinelle... inspired dozens of magazine and newspaper stories that associated her with the world of celebrity. For American MTFs, the French example served as a draw.” For many abroad, Coccinelle was the epitome of Parisian glamour and what was perceived to be the relatively free and accepting approach to gender and sexuality in the French capital.

Coccinelle’s refusal to live a life in the shadows, and her willingness to confront the state’s lack of imagination in recognising trans people’s rights, ensured that her legacy lives on today. It is through her inimitable life and the style with which she lived that many in France, and internationally, came to learn about transsexuality, of which she became the inimitable - and immensely glamorous - public face.

LEFT Coccinelle at the Saint-Blaise Club in 1963
BELOW Coccinelle in her wedding dress

♫ COCCINELLE’S FURTHER LISTENING
Five of the French singer’s greatest hits

♫ Chercher La Femme (Look For The Woman)
♫ Je Cherche Un Millionnaire (I’m Looking For A Millionaire)
♫ Avec Mon Petit Faux-Cul (With My Little False Bottom)
♫ New York New York (cover of the Frank Sinatra classic)
♫ La Fin d’un Roman d’amour (At The End Of A Love Story)
HERO OF THE HAITIAN SLAVE REBELLION

Dr Sudhir Hazareesingh, author of Black Spartacus: The Epic Life of Toussaint Louverture, on the remarkable revolutionary leader

Written by Jessica Leggett

Revolutionary hero and military genius Toussaint Louverture led the successful slave revolt in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, resulting in the abolition of slavery and ultimately the founding of Haiti, the world’s first independent Black republic. A former slave, Louverture became a symbol of Black liberation who continues to inspire the global fight against racial injustice today, over two centuries after his death. In his book Black Spartacus: The Epic Life Of Toussaint Louverture, Dr Sudhir Hazareesingh charts Louverture’s extraordinary story, his rise as a leader of the Haitian Revolution and the enduring significance of his complex legacy.

Firstly, could you sum up for our readers who Toussaint Louverture was?

He was born into enslavement – his parents were captured as slaves and forcibly transported to the then-French colony of Saint-Domingue in the Caribbean sometime in the early 18th century. He grew up on a plantation, and Saint-Domingue was the wealthiest French colony in the 18th century, but it had a huge number of slaves – half a million. All of this wealth was dependent on slavery. In 1791, two years after the French Revolution, the enslaved people revolted and overthrew the system of plantation slavery, and Louverture was the man who led this slave revolution.

It’s a revolution that unfolded in a number of different stages. First of all, it forced the French – who were still the colonial masters – to abolish slavery, which they did in 1794. Then Louverture becomes the effective political leader of the colony while it’s still under French rule. He develops an original political system, where people’s equality and basic democratic rights are recognised, so he becomes one of the most remarkable political figures of his time.

Unfortunately for him, in the late 18th to early 19th century, Napoleon takes over as French ruler and he doesn’t like people who are independent, strong-minded, and particularly people who are Black, of course, like Louverture. So he sends an army to get rid of Louverture and the regime that he has created, and he manages to capture Louverture in 1802. But his lieutenants continue the fight against the French, and in 1804 they defeat the French, and that’s how the state of Haiti is born – the world’s first Black independent post-colonial state. Louverture's...
a remarkable figure, because he can be regarded as the founding father of modern Black post-colonial independence.

Why did you choose the title ‘Black Spartacus’ for your book?
Well, for two reasons. One is that Louverture until recently was relatively unknown in Britain; he is a bit better known in France and America. I wanted a title that would immediately explain to the potential reader who this person was, and I think ‘Black Spartacus’ does that because you immediately appreciate that this is going to be about a slave revolt, and the leadership of that slave revolt is by a Black person. I also chose this title because it was bestowed upon him by his many admirers, and in particular by one of the local French republican governors, Etienne Laveaux, who was a great admirer of Louverture. So this was a name that Louverture himself was given, and quite readily accepted. For that reason, I thought it would be very appropriate to use it as the title.

How did you conduct the research for your book?
That was a big task, because all the historical material about the Haitian Revolution and Louverture is outside Haiti. There’s very little material that was left there – the bulk of the archives, letters, manuscripts, publications of various kinds were all in France in the National Archives in Paris and the colonial archives in Aix-en-Provence. I used those extensively and read everything that I could on the period in the French colonial archives.

One of the characteristics of the Haitian Revolution is that it also involves all the great powers of the time: the British are involved – they tried to capture Saint-Domingue in the late 1790s - the Spaniards are also there, as are the Americans. So I also wanted to be sure that I was looking for material there too, and I found some interesting stuff in British, Spanish and American archives. It was quite a comprehensive bit of archival research that was needed, but it yielded a lot of original material.

Was there anything you found particularly challenging when trying to piece together Louverture’s life?
Various things, one is that the amount of source material is very unevenly distributed. We have a lot of documents about his life from the mid-1790s up to 1802, the time of his death; but for the first 50 years of his life, during most of which he was an enslaved person, we have very little because slaves were not expected to know how to read and write, although we think Louverture probably did become literate (he was probably taught by the Jesuits). He didn’t leave many records, so there were decades of his life where there’s little direct material. The other big challenge is the difficulty in interpreting the material at times. Louverture, because he is such a clever, sophisticated person, sometimes keeps you guessing in terms of what his real intentions were. So that was quite challenging, but in a positive way.

“LOUVERTURE IS A REMARKABLE FIGURE BECAUSE HE CAN BE REGARDED AS THE FOUNDING FATHER OF MODERN BLACK POST-COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE”

Louverture was a former slave how did he rise to become one of the leaders of the Haitian Revolution?
That’s what’s so remarkable about him. He was already recognised as a man with great leadership potential, even as a young boy and as a young man, because his exceptional talents are noticed by the people on the Brèda plantation. The plantation manager Bayon de Libertat eventually hires him as his coachman, and the coachman was in effect, the assistant manager. So, from early on, his skills as a leader were recognised. I think it was his personal qualities – his intelligence, his strategic thinking, his organisational capacity and his intellectual abilities in general – that allowed him to emerge at the time of the revolution.

The other thing is that he was in tune with the wishes of the people. What I try and do in the book is to emphasise the extent to which Louverture isn’t an isolated figure. What makes him so special is that he understands what his people want and works hard to try and make that possible. What they seek is to be free, to be united, not to be exploited by imperial and colonial powers.

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION
The story behind the most successful slave rebellion in history
Partly inspired by the French Revolution and after suffering years of oppression and brutality, the enslaved people on the plantations of Saint-Domingue – the French colony on the island of Hispaniola – launched an organised revolt in August 1791. They burned numerous plantations, killed their masters, and by March 1792, the French government had granted civil and political rights to free Black people in an attempt to regain control.

However, the rebels formed alliances with the British and Spanish, who had both declared war against the French in 1793. Hoping to take advantage of France’s problems in the colony, the British and Spanish provided the rebels with supplies such as food, weapons and medicine. To put an end to this, the French government was forced to abolish slavery in its colonies, including Saint-Domingue, in 1794.

During the revolt, former slave Toussaint Louverture had emerged as the leader of the rebels. After slavery was abolished, he subsequently joined sides with the French and helped them prevent Spain and Britain from overtaking the colony. He eventually named himself as Governor-General for life of Saint-Domingue in 1801 after consolidating his control, but he was arrested by Napoleon’s forces the following year.

After Louverture’s arrest, Napoleon declared that he wanted to reintroduce slavery in Haiti. This triggered a new revolt in 1802 led by Jean-Jacques Dessalines, one of Louverture’s lieutenants, which saw the French forces ultimately defeated at the Battle of Vertières in 1803. After the French officially surrendered, Saint-Domingue was declared independent from France on 1 January 1804. Renamed Haiti, it became the first country to be founded by former slaves, with the revolution inspiring other revolts across the Caribbean and United States.
and to be given back the dignity that they have as their right. I think Louverture's capacity to understand these aspirations and express them made him the great leader that he became.

**Louverture was not born with the name Louverture, so how did he end up with it?**

That's a very nice story, because slaves were not born with names of their own - insofar as they have names; sometimes they're not given any names at all - but they are names that are associated with their plantation. For a long time, Louverture was called Toussaint Bréda, because Bréda was the name of the plantation where he was born, and where he spent the first 50 years of his life. At the time of the revolution, he chose a political name, and this was the first time that as a former enslaved person he was able to make this choice. He chose a name that would resonate with his people, and Louverture means 'opening' in French, so what he's trying to do there is signal his capacity to do new things. It's also a nod to the French Enlightenment and the ideals of education and learning.

What I also came to understand is that Louverture was someone who was connected to the spirituality of the people of Saint-Domingue, Caribbean and African spirituality, particularly the people who followed the Vodou religion. In the Vodou religion, you have various spirits, or loas, as they call them, who guide people through their lives. One of these spirits is called Papa Legba, and Legba is the person who opens the gates of destiny. Louverture choosing the name Louverture is a very good example of his leadership - he is speaking both to the French, who think of him as one of their disciples, but he's also speaking to the African-born and Caribbean-born formerly enslaved population, who will see in his name a reference to Vodou culture.

**Louverture did not live to see the founding of Haiti, because he died in captivity. What was Louverture’s relationship with Napoleon Bonaparte like?**

Louverture initially hadn’t learned much about Napoleon, but when he realised that this general was a rising star he did whatever he could to be on good terms with him. For example, the family of Napoleon’s then-wife, Joséphine, had land in Saint-Domingue, and the estate had fallen into disuse. Joséphine wrote to Louverture, and he helped restore the plantations and enable her family to earn substantial income from that plantation. So he tried to help and be supportive of Bonaparte as far as he could.
Napoleon, unfortunately, was very racially prejudiced against Black people in general. While he would have been happy to accept someone like Louverture, if he was completely subservient, he wasn’t willing to work with someone who wanted to be treated as an equal. The relationship breaks down in 1800-01 because Napoleon simply won’t allow any kind of autonomy to the colony, or even any equality for the Black people. That’s why he sends an invading army to overthrow the regime.

Are you right to say that Louverture was not looking for independence, but rather autonomy?

I think this is one of many big questions that Louverture’s life throws up. Was he someone who, as his enemies and critics said, was after independence, and so wanted to break away from France? Or was he someone who was just trying to remain within the French family? In a way, he has been criticised for both things. People who thought independence was the right move thought that Louverture was too timid, and people who were supportive of the French government at the time thought that Louverture was behaving too impertinently even in asking for autonomy.

But I think autonomy is exactly what he wanted, he wanted Saint-Domingue to remain within the French Republic but to be given the right to govern itself, in a limited way, according to the interests of the colony. This is what his 1801 Constitution proclaims. I don’t think he made any secret of the fact that he welcomed French settlers there – he wanted them to take part and help build the economy. There was an element of self-interest. He was aware that the Black people at the time did not have the sort of technical know-how to manage these big plantations, so he thought that was a sort of partnership that could work. Unfortunately, the French government at the time didn’t feel the same and they ended up paying a very heavy price as a result.

Did Louverture and the success of the Haitian Revolution inspire subsequent liberation movements across the globe?

Yes, absolutely. That story is one that I pick up with a lot of relish towards the end of the book, because when you look at the history of the 19th and 20th century you see that Louverture himself and the Haitian revolutionaries inspire a string of revolts from enslaved people in the Caribbean, South America and, of course, in the United States. The whole abolitionist movement up to 1865 is a movement in America, which has Louverture and the Haitian people as their heroes and their models.

The story continues through the 20th century, and you see it in the emergence of anti-colonial movements. Many of them, whether they’re in the English- or French-speaking world, continue to talk about Louverture as a hero and model. So his story, his afterlife continues through until the present, people are still talking about him as an iconic figure, a symbol of Black liberation and Black dignity. People who are struggling in America today to have Black people respected and treated in a dignified way are still talking about Louverture.

Would you say that Louverture’s story and the Haitian Revolution remain relevant to the world today? Especially in light of movements such as Black Lives Matter?

Yes, this is very much a contemporaneous story. I think the echoes are, on the one hand, that he is someone who inspires people to fight for their rights and particularly for the rights of people fighting racial injustice. I think it’s also an interesting story at a time when we’re rightly being encouraged to discuss the ongoing impacts of slavery and empire on modern and contemporary societies. Louverture is a great reminder that emancipation from slavery was achieved as a result of heroic actions by enslaved people in the colonies.

Far too often, when we talk about abolitionism or the emancipation of slavery, we think of European or North American figures. It’s quite right – we should celebrate people like William Wilberforce, Victor Schoelcher and Abraham Lincoln – but I think they sometimes lead us to forget that the larger work was actually done by Black people themselves fighting for their own emancipation. That’s the story of Louverture, that’s the story of the Haitian Revolution and that’s why I think it’s a really important story for the present moment as well.

What would you like readers to take away from your book about Louverture?

That it’s an uplifting story and one that shows that the human spirit can never really be defeated. Whatever the indignities and the cruelties that they face, human beings will continue to fight for freedom and justice. That, I think, is an absolutely timeless lesson for us all.
In 1801, Louverture issued a new constitution that proclaimed him as Governor-General of Saint-Domingue for life. This angered Napoleon, who sent an army led by his brother-in-law, General Charles Emmanuel Leclerc, to invade Saint-Domingue and restore French control in January 1802, despite Louverture’s insistence that he remained loyal to France. Fighting broke out between Louverture’s men and the French, with both sides experiencing heavy losses. To bring an end to hostilities, Louverture negotiated amnesty for himself and his generals, acknowledged Lederc’s authority, then retired to his own plantation in May. However, shortly afterwards, Louverture was invited to a parley, where he was arrested and deported to France. Imprisoned and interrogated repeatedly at the Fort de Joux, Louverture wrote a memoir defending his actions and denouncing his treatment by the French. He died just under a year later in April 1803 after months of ill health, with his death possibly caused by malnutrition and pneumonia. Although Louverture did not live to see the success of the revolution he had spearheaded, he is still remembered and celebrated in Haiti and around the world today.
The First Feminist Manifesto

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz challenged patriarchal oppression to champion women’s rights

Written by Jessica Leggett

Mexican writer, poet, scholar and nun Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz is often celebrated as the first feminist in the Americas. An advocate for women’s rights and a national icon in Mexico, Juana consistently rejected the gender expectations placed on her, choosing to pursue a life dedicated to education and the defence of women.

Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Santillana was born around 1648 near Mexico City, the illegitimate daughter of Pedro Manuel de Asbaje, a Spanish captain, and Isabel Ramírez, a Creole (a person of Spanish descent born in Spanish America). At the time of her birth, Mexico had been a multicultural Spanish colony – known as ‘New Spain’ – for over a century, following the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire.

Pedro left Isabel while Juana was still young, leaving her mother to raise her and her sisters alone. However, her maternal grandfather owned estates and was able to ensure that his daughter

and granddaughters had a comfortable life. Although she was uneducated, Isabel successfully managed one of her father’s farms for over three decades, setting an example of a strong woman for her daughters.

Juana had an insatiable thirst for knowledge from a very early age and it is said that when she was just three years old she followed her older sister to school and tried to attend the lessons. Using her grandfather’s library she taught herself a variety of subjects including philosophy, arithmetic, science, history and music, and several languages including Latin and Nahuatl – the language of the Aztecs.

Creative and talented, Juana began writing poetry and prose in her adolescence, dealing with topics such as love, feminism and religion. When she discovered that only men were allowed to access higher education, she begged her mother in vain to let her disguise herself as a man so that she could study at university.

When she was 16 years old, news of her intelligence and wit attracted the attention of the Spanish Court in Mexico City. In particular, she intrigued the 2nd Marquess of Mancera, the Spanish vicerey who served as the king’s deputy in New Spain. Even though Juana was not of noble birth,
“At the convent, Juana built up one of the largest private libraries in the New World”
“Juana successfully defended herself during the questioning and her answers left the scholars astounded by her intellect”

she was appointed as a lady-in-waiting to the viceroy’s wife, Vicereine Leonor del Cretto.

To test her renowned knowledge, the viceroy assembled a panel of 40 scholars to question her on various subjects like science, literature and philosophy. She successfully defended herself during the questioning and her answers left the scholars astounded by her intellect. Juana was, indeed, a prodigy and as a result she would eventually become known as ‘the Tenth Muse’. With the support of the viceroyal couple who served as her patrons, Juana wrote several literary works such as plays, poetry and sonnets, for which she was greatly praised at court.

As a woman in a patriarchal society Juana’s education and accomplishments were unprecedented and in the eyes of male conservatives, controversial. But she was still admired and this, coupled with her beauty, led to her receiving several marriage proposals. Yet Juana, whose only desire was to continue her pursuit of knowledge, turned all of her suitors down.

At 19 years old, wanting the freedom to study and to maintain her independence, she chose to leave the court and become a nun, entering the Monastery of St Joseph in Mexico City. Juana did not stay at the convent, where the regime was said to be harsh and restrictive, for too long. However, a year or so later she decided to enter the Hieronymite Convent of St Paula, where she adopted the name by which she is best known today - Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

At the convent, Juana built up one of the largest private libraries in the New World, as well as a vast collection of musical and scientific instruments. With the time to focus on her studies, she wrote religious poetry, music, numerous essays on topics like philosophy and mathematics, as well as plays including dramas and comedies that feature bright and capable female characters. Juana was also able to teach others at the convent and she was even entrusted with managing the convent’s accounts as treasurer.

Despite being cloistered away, Juana still had a lot of contact with the outside world. Her nun’s quarters were transformed into a salon visited by Mexico City’s intellectual elite, from ecclesiastics and scholars to aristocrats, including the vicereine. Her work was also in demand, with Juana commissioned to produce different literary pieces for occasions such as holy days and birthdays.

In 1680, the 3rd Marquess of la Laguna and his wife, Countess Maria Luisa de
Paredes, arrived in Mexico to serve as the new Spanish viceroyal couple. Juana was commissioned to design the triumphal arch for their entrance into the city, becoming the only woman known to have been asked to create one. The viceroy and viceraine were so impressed that they asked to meet the person who designed the arch, and they quickly became Juana's new patrons.

Thanks to their favour and support, Juana was able to publish her work in Spain, with the circulation of her writings turning her into a popular literary figure in both Spain and its colonies. She also became close friends with the countess and dedicated passionate poetry to her, which has led to continued speculation about the nature of their relationship, although there is no concrete evidence to prove whether they were lovers or not.

While Juana continued to earn praise for her work, there were those – particularly church officials – who disapproved of what she was doing. After all, she did not conform to the traditional expectations of a cloistered nun, who was expected to dedicate her life to spiritual, not secular, matters. It was during the 1680s that Juana wrote one of her most famous and outspoken poems, titled You Foolish Men. In it, she strongly criticised the double-standards and misogyny of men:

"You still expect her to behave - you, that coaxed her into shame."

The viceroy and viceraine left New Spain around 1688 and with their departure, Juana lost their protection against those who sought to denounce her. In 1690, she wrote a private criticism of a Jesuit sermon from 1650 that had criticized the Church Fathers such as Saint Augustine.

Her criticism was subsequently published without her knowledge by the Bishop of Puebla, who titled her critique the Letter Worthy of Athena, triggering accusations that Juana had attacked Jesuit theology. Assuming a female pseudonym, Sor Filotea, the bishop also published a letter chastising Juana and telling her that she should devote herself to prayer rather than spending her time on secular studies.

In response to the bishop, Juana wrote her Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz (Reply to Sor Filotea de la Cruz) in March 1691, an autobiographical defence of women's right to an education as well as to teach, write and publish their work. She lists several learned women from both the Bible and history, for example, Deborah, Zenobia and Hypatia of Alexandria, who had set a precedent asserting the intellectual ability of women. Meanwhile, to justify her own studies, Juana argued that she needed to learn about the arts and sciences to fully understand and learn the Holy Scriptures.

Juana's Respuesta has since been frequently hailed as the first feminist manifesto for its defence of female intellect, even though the term 'feminist' did not exist in her lifetime. Instead, she should be considered a protofeminist, with her Respuesta held up alongside other works such as Christine de Pisan's 15th-century The Book of the City of Ladies and Mary Wollstonecraft's 18th-century A Vindication of the Rights of Women. Her war of words with the bishop, however, caught the attention of the Archbishop of Mexico, who was angered by her radical arguments that challenged traditional and patriarchal gender roles.

Eventually, Juana ended up selling her huge collection of books and musical and scientific instruments in 1694. The reason why she did this – either in response to pressure from the archbishop and her critics or through her own free will – is still debated. Regardless, she donated the proceeds of the sale to charity and dedicated herself to charitable causes for the poor. She also wrote a reaffirmation of her religious vows, signing "I - the worst of all" in her own blood.

Juana died in 1695 during a plague epidemic while caring for her fellow sisters in the convent. Today, that convent where she lived, died and wrote most of her work for the last 25 years or so of her life has been turned into the University of the Cloister of Sor Juana.

As her work has become known to English-speaking audiences in the last few decades, Juana has become a focus for popular culture, with novels, television series and songs written about her – she even features on the 200 Mexican pesos banknote. Declared as 'the Phoenix of America' during her lifetime, Juana stood resolute against criticism and injustice to become one of the biggest champions for women's empowerment in history.
AMERICA’S WORST RACE CRIME

Written by Jonathan Gordon
On the night of 31 May, 1921, a prosperous Black community in Tulsa, Oklahoma, was attacked by an armed white mob bent on murder and destruction. The ensuing massacre claimed over 300 lives and is among the most horrific events in U.S. history - so why has it remained buried for 100 years?

It came to be known as ‘Black Wall Street’ - a 35-block district called Greenwood neatly segmented from the neighbouring areas of Tulsa by a rail line - and it was a beacon of African American entrepreneurship and culture. In the era of Jim Crow laws and segregation, Greenwood had thrived. It had its own schools, hospital, stores (that served Black customers, unlike the ones across the tracks), two newspapers and two movie theatres. Of the 10,000 or so African Americans who lived in Tulsa (out of a population of around 100,000), about 80 per cent of them lived in Greenwood.

But by early morning on 1 June 1921 Greenwood had been razed to the ground. Over 1,400 homes had been destroyed, businesses had been looted and as many as 300 people had been killed. Thousands of white invaders had stormed the district, armed with machine guns and even using a plane to firebomb the town. While at the time it was referred to as a riot, the word massacre seems far more appropriate and is more commonly used today. It was a horrific crime, yet not a single person was convicted. How did it happen? And why?

First, we need to understand a little more about Greenwood, the wider experience of African Americans in this era and...
why Black Wall Street was so important. “The community began in about 1906,” Hannibal B. Johnson, attorney and author of Black Wall Street 100, explains. “Established by wealthy Black businessman OW Gurley, a migrant from Arkansas, the area blossomed into the most enterprising and successful Black business community in the nation in the early 20th century, a period marked by legal segregation of the races in virtually all aspects of life.” But while it was successful, it was not immune to those forces. “The Greenwood district was unique only in terms of the development and sophistication of its business community. Black Tulsaans felt the sting of racial oppression in a segregated society like their brothers and sisters in many other parts of the country. The size and strength of the Black Wall Street economic engine provided some buffer and solace against the systemic racism of the day.”

Tulsa and Oklahoma more broadly had drawn masses of newly liberated enslaved people to its lands in the years since the end of the Civil War. “Even though Oklahoma was a slave territory, after the Civil War ended it was opened up in two different chunks to freed slaves and white settlers, and it was very, very cheap,” explains Bethany Rains, who is currently living in Oklahoma and researching the Tulsa Massacre for her thesis. “Their goal was to have reliable income, to have land, to have everything, so that their freedom couldn’t be taken away.” There was, however, a ceiling to success for Black communities in segregated states. While money could be focused on their own community since it couldn’t be spent elsewhere, new technology and training was being kept out of reach.

Acute racial tensions remained in many regions of America. Sixty-one lynchings and 25 race riots were recorded in America in 1919, 61 lynchings in 1920, and 57 in 1921. A bill had been proposed in 1918 to make lynching a federal crime, and while it passed the House of Representatives it died in the Senate after three failed attempts to get enough support. Meanwhile, white supremacist group the Ku Klux Klan had returned in a new form in 1915, starting in Georgia. By 1921 it had around 2,500 members in Oklahoma, with doctors, lawyers, judges, sheriffs, ministers, bankers, city employees and more among its members.

In Tulsa vigilantism had also been on the rise as various corruption scandals and political issues had seen the police force weakened. One group calling itself the Knights of Liberty attacked unionists such as the Industrial Workers of the World (or Wobblies), with one incident involving members being whipped, tarred and feathered. Only a few months before the massacre of 31 May, a white 18-year-old named Roy Belton was lynched in Tulsa after he was accused of killing a taxi driver named Homer Nida. While the mob hanged him, the police were said to have directed traffic around the spectacle.

All of this was the backdrop to the events that unfolded in Tulsa in 1921, and tensions were further increased by local animosities towards the growing influence of the Greenwood community and jealousy over its success. “Tulsa was a tinderbox — a powder keg — in 1921,” says Johnson. “It took only a single spark — an igniter, a catalyst — to set the town alight. That trigger was an elevator incident in downtown Tulsa on 30 May 1921 involving two teenagers — a Black boy and a white girl. In this America, Black male/white female relationships were presumptively suspect, and in many places taboo. The boy apparently bumped into the girl. She overreacted, the police were called, and the Tulsa Tribune reported the incident the next day as an attempted rape.”

The exact details of what happened became fuzzier and more exaggerated as the day passed, but testimonies and police records paint a clearer picture. Dick Rowland, a teenage shoe shine, had entered the Drexler building to use the restroom (in the segregated Tulsa, his employer had negotiated permission for

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**TIMELINE OF EVENTS**

**What we understand happened on the 31 May and 1 June 1921**

**19:30**

Hundreds of white Tulsa residents gather outside the Tulsa County Courthouse in which Rowland is being held and demand that he be handed over to them, but the sheriff refuses. The top floor is barricaded in an attempt to protect Rowland.

**21:00**

The African American community in Greenwood hears about what’s happening and organises a party of about 25 armed men, many of them WWI veterans who still have their guns, to offer aid to the sheriff in defending the courthouse. The sheriff turns down their help. Meanwhile, an attempt is being made to break into the local National Guard armory, but the white mob is turned away by the guardsmen.

**22:00**

False rumors spread to Greenwood that the mob is storming the courthouse and so a second group is formed, now estimated to be about 75 Black men, to again offer help to the authorities. The white mob now numbers between 1,500 and 2,000 people. At some point, possibly as the Greenwood residents are leaving, someone tries to disarm one of the Black men and the gun goes off. Rioting outside the courthouse ensues.
Black employees to use it). Rowland entered the elevator operated by white teenager Sarah Page, and when the elevator lurched Rowland fell into it. It seems he stepped on her foot, at which point Page slapped him. He grabbed her arm to stop her from doing so again, and she screamed. A clerk working at the nearby Renberg’s store ran to her aid and Rowland fled, fearing the potentially catastrophic repercussions for a Black man grabbing the arm of a white woman.

Not only did the Tulsa Tribune claim Rowland had assaulted Page in its afternoon edition the next day, it also included an editorial titled “To Lynch Negro Tonight”, suggesting Rowland would be attacked in retaliation. A few hundred copies of this edition were already distributed before some of the paper’s editors convinced publisher Richard Lloyd Jones to retract the piece. As it happens, no copies with this editorial have been found, as the only known surviving copy has the offending article torn out. But the surviving report on the incident itself paints Rowland as having premeditated his assault and even scratching Page and tearing her clothes, neither of which appear to be true. As it happens, Rowland was picked up by police and booked into custody at the County Courthouse not long after the Tribune hit the streets. Anticipating trouble, the police barricaded the floor where the cells were located. As 31 May progressed, a lynch mob of a few hundred men, women and children gathered in front of the courthouse.

“The Black community knew the courthouse wasn’t going to be protected,” says Rains. “If it hadn’t been able to hold off a mob trying to kill a white man, there was no way at this point to do so for a Black man.” On two occasions a small group of armed Black men from Greenwood (many of them WWI veterans and still carrying their military-issue firearms) offered to help the sheriff protect Rowland and the courthouse, but they were declined. As darkness fell the mob grew to number a few thousand (by some estimates) and tensions flared, resulting in someone trying to disarm one of the Black men. “At some point, and nobody knows why, there’s gunfire,” says Rains. “And immediately when this shot went off the white mob started shooting.”

**TOP**
The attack on Greenwood was compared to WWII fighting in Belgium

**ABOVE-LEFT**
What was left of the Greenwood avenue after the attacks in the early hours of 1 June 1921

**ABOVE-RIGHT**
The Red Cross was one of the few organisations to offer aid to Black residents of Tulsa

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A full-blown race riot ensued as around 75 men from Greenwood began to retreat and lynchers began taking out their vengeance on any Black person they saw. Car-loads of armed white men drove around downtown Tulsa, firing at people as they went, and one unarmed man was shot dead in a movie theatre. According to witnesses, the police were deputising members of the white mob, giving them authority to kill African Americans as they saw fit in the name of putting down an ‘uprising’. But this was just the beginning and by midnight fires were started on the outskirts of the Greenwood district, before a quiet finally descended on the city.

The peace didn’t last long, though, and a second, more coordinated phase developed. “A lot of people, when they talk about it, act as if the entire thing was this kind of chaotic mob,” says Rains. “There’s a chase and then they just kind of lost their minds and destroyed Greenwood, but that’s not true. You can almost divide the massacre into two parts: a battle and then a pogrom, just an absolute catastrophe.”

Barney Cleaver was a Black deputy sheriff and had been at the courthouse for most of the day. Returning home to Greenwood, he sent his wife and sister-in-law to safety somewhere further out of town. As he sat in a building near the train tracks on the edge of town, he heard more gunfire and felt a shot hit the outside of his own house. The black guard of his house was shot and killed, and a white guard had been shot in the same street. The house was burned down.

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**America’s Worst Race Crime**

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**“TULSA WAS A TINDERBOX - A POWDER KEG - IN 1921”**

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of Greenwood at around 5 am he heard a whistle, followed by relentless gunfire. Thousands of armed white people had surrounded the district and were now invading.

"The white mob that invaded the Greenwood district looted pawn shops and sporting goods shops downtown for weapons," says Johnson. "Many were deputised by local law enforcement. The mob prevented firefighters from putting out fires and there's also evidence of some organization and coordination among these criminal elements."

As the mob went door to door, ransacking homes and businesses, the residents of Greenwood attempted to flee or fight back. The unlucky ones were shot in their homes or in the street, while the more fortunate were arrested by the police and National Guard. Over 6,000 people from Greenwood were held at the Convention Hall and Fairgrounds in the days that followed. Meanwhile on Standpipe Hill a small group attempted to defend their homes and fierce fighting took place, but ultimately the people of Greenwood were outgunned and outnumbered.

"Most historians now assume that it was fully preorganised and preplanned," says Rains. "But there's still the question of who did that? Who organised this invasion? Probably city officials were involved, and the police." However, it does remain unclear. One of the arguments that some greater level of local authority was involved is the use of at least one plane to drop incendiary devices on Greenwood, which would go some way to explain how quickly it was destroyed. Several eye-witnesses claimed planes were involved.

"They dropped some kind of incendiary devices. There are enough sources that refer to it, including [local Greenwood attorney] BC Franklin's that was discovered in the last five years," Rains explains. Even the Tulsa Tribune agreed that planes were involved, although it claimed they were doing reconnaissance, finding residents who were shooting at the white crowd.

The final death toll is believed to be around 300, although early estimates originally put it at only 30. On 1 June the Tulsa Tribune claimed 68 African Americans and nine white people had died in the 'Race War' overnight. The property damage was easier to quantify. "There were five structures left, and none of them were undamaged," says Rains.

"Most historians now assume that it was fully preorganised and preplanned"
While martial law was declared later in the morning of 1 June and the killing finally stopped, the cruelty and injustice hadn’t ended. Those residents detained by the police and National Guard had to be vouched for by a white employer before they were released. What’s more, the city authorities blocked anyone rebuilding in the Greenwood district unless they could prove the materials being used would not be flammable. Segregation meant that access to such materials was incredibly hard without aid. Meanwhile, donations of money from outside areas were blocked, meaning churches and groups like the NAACP (The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) couldn’t help. But the people of Greenwood didn’t back down.

“BC Franklin worked from a white tent because everything had been buried to the ground,” says Rains. “He said to fellow Greenwood residents, ‘You rebuild. I will represent you for free if they arrest you.’ He appealed a ruling against one of the people who’d rebuilt their property all the way to the Oklahoma Supreme Court. The Tulsa municipal government’s policy was ruled unconstitutional and Greenwood residents were able to rebuild. But if that hadn’t happened they would have entirely lost their property as well.”

Greenwood was rebuilt, although many families never recovered from their losses. Rowland was exonerated and all charges against him were dropped, and while a grand jury was assembled to investigate the massacre, no convictions were ever made. The Tulsa Tribune headline summarising the judgement read: ‘Grand Jury Blames Negroes for Inciting Race Rioting. Whites Clearly Exonerated.’ It wasn’t until 1997 and the Tulsa Race Riot Commission that the state of Oklahoma properly investigated what had happened, even using radar to look for potential mass graves. The commission proposed that the state should pay $33 million in restitution to the 121 victims who were still alive at that time, but no action was taken on that recommendation. Finally, though, 100 years later, the magnitude and horror of the Tulsa Race Massacre seems clear and its victims are getting the recognition they deserve.

Who was BC Franklin?

An eyewitness account of the massacre in Tulsa was discovered in 2015 and donated to the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History and Culture. The ten-page manuscript – written by Buck Colbert Franklin, an attorney in Tulsa at the time of the unrest – shed new light on the terrible events of 1921.

BC Franklin was born in the Chickasaw Nation, a Native American territory before it became part of Oklahoma, and went on to become a lawyer. Having experienced racial prejudice within the American judicial system early in his career, he committed himself to defending his fellow African Americans in Oklahoma. After surviving the massacre in 1921 he represented the survivors when the city council attempted to block Black residents from rebuilding the Greenwood district.

The man who fought for justice and whose personal account only recently resurfaced

The case went to the Oklahoma Supreme Court, where Franklin won.

He began to write an autobiography, but died in 1960 before it was published. His son John Hope Franklin, a prominent civil rights advocate who was involved in the Brown versus Board of Education case, had the book published posthumously.

However, his father’s ten-page account of the massacre did not surface until after John had also passed, in 2009. Within it BC Franklin describes the growing anger and violence of the day, and confirms the use of turpentine balls dropped from the air to set buildings on fire. It’s a powerful first-hand account by a gifted writer of a truly harrowing event in which BC Franklin manages to convey the heroism and defiant spirit of the community that he committed himself to serving.
The Prussian King, Wilhelm I, oversees the defeat of the Austrians accompanied by Chancellor Bismarck, Moltke and Minister of War Albrecht Roon.

**Greatest Battles**

**Battle of Königgrätz**

CZECH REPUBLIC, 3 JULY 1866

Written by Murray Dahm

The Battle of Königgrätz was the most decisive clash between the armies of Prussia and those of Austria and her allies during the seven-week Austro-Prussian War in 1866. It was one of the largest battles of the age, with almost half a million men fighting on the field.

The context of the Austro-Prussian War was one of nationalism and the unification of German states. At the time, the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia were the two largest and most dominant forces in the German-speaking world. There were actually 37 separate states in the German Confederation but their unification became a hot topic known as 'The German Question' in the post-Napoleonic world.

From 1815 tensions had grown over which of the states would lead the new ideology of
German nationalism; unification under Prussia was known as 'Little Germany' and under Austria 'Big Germany'.

Another fiercely debated topic in 19th century politics was the Schleswig-Holstein Question. This involved the disputed land between Prussia and Denmark in the Jutland Peninsula. In 1863 an attempt to integrate the territory into the Kingdom of Denmark was made, leading to a war in 1864. Prussia invaded, this time with Austria as an ally. The alliance was so successful that they invaded Denmark itself, eventually occupying all of the Danish mainland. The Treaty of Vienna ceded the disputed territories to Prussia and Austria from Denmark (losing 40 percent of her total area and population). Prussia wanted to absorb the territories into her kingdom as provinces, but Austria wanted them to be independent autonomous duchies.

Under the Gastein Convention of 1866, Prussia would control Schleswig and Austria Holstein. The rest of Europe reacted negatively to the Convention but it set the stage for war between the two rivals the following year.

**A PRETEXT FOR WAR**

In early 1866 the issue of the status and governance of Schleswig-Holstein erupted. Austria brought the issue before the German Diet on 1 January. Prussia declared the Gastein Convention null and void and, on 7 June, invaded (Austrian-controlled) Holstein. The German Diet voted mobilise against Prussia on 14 June and German leader Otto von Bismarck declared that the German Confederation was ended. Both sides mobilised for war.

The other German states were conflicted on which side to ally with. Several saw that they could not stand against Prussian arms but other autocratic rulers feared for their own position if they did not side with Austria. Fear of Prussian expansion was also widespread. In the end the southern German states allied with Austria, including Hanover, Bavaria, Württemberg and Baden, joined by Saxony, Hesse, and others. Prussia had allies in Oldenburg, Brunswick and both Mecklenburg houses. Several states (including Liechtenstein and Luxembourg) remained neutral.

**PREPARATIONS AND TECHNOLOGIES**

The Second Schleswig War had shown that the military reforms in Prussia, undertaken since 1862, had proven highly effective. These included the
adoption of universal conscription (which made Prussia’s potential army much larger), Austria still used old conscription methods, which meant the majority of her troops were poorly trained. Prussian conscripts by contrast were drilled to a much higher degree. Prussia, aided by a booming economy, also adopted the Dreyse needle gun, a bolt-loading, bolt-action rifle capable of faster and more accurate fire than the older muzzle-loading Lorenz rifles of the Austrian army. Prussian troops could fire five rounds a minute, the Austrians could manage two.

Another important factor in the Austro-Prussian war was the use of railroads. The Prussian railroad system was more advanced and extensive than that in Austria and this allowed Prussian forces to mobilise much faster than those in Austria. The Prussian Chief of the General Staff, Helmuth von Moltke, assessed that Prussia’s five railway lines could concentrate almost 300,000 men in under four weeks, whereas Austria’s single rail line would take almost twice the time to amassed fewer men. In reality, the use of rail was not seamless, but it marked the way of the future.

**INVASION**

Moltke mobilised his forces on the Prussian border for an invasion of Bohemia through Saxony on 16 June. The Austrians, meanwhile, had been amassing for a defensive strategy at Olmütz in Moravia in order to protect Vienna. Preliminary engagements were fought in late June. Elements of the Prussian advance were met by Austrian forces but these encounters were indecisive, although the Austrians suffered heavy casualties.

The Austrians then moved to the fortress of Josefstadt (Josefov) and to defend the mountain passes into Bohemia. Marching against them were three Prussian armies: the First Army under the command of Moltke (although nominally commanded by King Wilhelm); Second Army (commanded by Crown Prince Frederick and Leonhard von Blumenthal); and the Elbe Army (commanded by Karl von Bittenfeld).

Using modern telegraph communications to his advantage, Moltke was able to coordinate and concentrate his three separate forces with precision. He guessed that the Austrian commander, Ludwig von Benedek, would retreat to the Elbe River. Benedek was of Hungarian descent but unwaveringly loyal to the monarchy and believed courage and valour were the soldier’s most important tools on the battlefield. He also knew his limitations as a commander and this may have been the cause of his reticence on the battlefield. The preferred Austrian method was Stoßtaktik (shock tactics), 1,000-man columns engaging with the enemy at close quarters. These tactics suited Benedek’s concept of war but were sadly outlived. The accuracy and rapid fire of the Prussian rifles would decimate the courageous advances of the Austrians, inflicting huge losses.

**AUSTRIAN BACKS TO THE WALL**

Benedek knew from the losses inflicted in the opening engagements that his army faced annihilation if he faced the Prussians en masse. On 30 June, he requested Emperor Franz Joseph I make peace but this was refused. Benedek took position on high ground between Sadova and Kônigrütz with the Elbe River at his rear.

His position was alerted by the Prussians on the evening of 2 July and plans were made to attack the following morning. The Prussian Elbe and First armies were in position but communication with the Second Army, on the Prussian left flank, was broken and so old-fashioned dispatch riders were sent, reaching the Second Army at 4.00am on 3 July. Nonetheless, the Second Army immediately leapt into action and marched to close the trap on the Austrians later that day.

**OPENING SALVOS**

The Austrians had a superior position on high ground stretching from Problus (Probluz) to Chlum. They also outnumbered the two Prussian armies which initially opposed them; the Elbe army was 39,000 strong and the First Army had 85,000 men. The Austrians had 215,000 men, with the army of Saxony on their left flank. In the rain, the Austrian artillery opened fire just before 8.00am. The Austrians should have had the edge in regard to artillery; with modern, breech-loading rifled artillery whereas the Prussians still used smooth-bore, muzzle-loading cannons. Despite the greater accuracy and longer range of the Austrian artillery, this edge would not prove decisive. On the left
flank of the Prussian centre, General Eduard von Fransske advanced with the 7th Division into the Swiwald Forest, where he clashed with two Austrian Corps.

Fransske was tasked with clearing the Austrian centre and covering the Prussian right flank until the arrival of the Second Army. The First Army moved in support of Fransske, capturing Sadowa and wading across the Bistritz (Bystrice) River. This advance was, however, halted by accurate Austrian artillery fire. All reserves were committed by midday but the Second Army had not yet arrived.

Up to now Benedek’s superior numbers and the greater range of his artillery kept the Prussians at bay and the battle was going in his favour. The infantry battle being waged in the Swiwald also meant that the Austrians could not use their artillery for fear of hitting their own troops.

At around 11.00am the Austrians began to manoeuvre to outflank the Prussian 7th Division on their right. Finally, an Austrian charge led by Colonel Pöch of the 4th Corps, commanding a brigade consisting of two infantry regiments and a fieldjäger battalion, all but dislodged the Prussian 7th Division from the Swiwald. Benedek, however, refused to order a charge against the pinned First and Elbe amities even though his commanders insisted he do so.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SECOND ARMY

Pöch’s Brigade, flushed from their successful charge, had no time to savour their success. They were suddenly hit with devastating fire on their right flank as the advance units of the Prussian Second Army finally arrived on the field. Pöch was killed and the brigade was obliterated. 2,000 dead in minutes and barely a man unwounded.

At the same time, the Prussian 8th Division strengthened the 7th and the Austrians, who had belatedly moved to outflank the Prussians on their right, now presented their own exposed right flank to the newly arriving Prussian Second Army. The bulk of the Second Army was not in position until around 2.30pm but this was still a remarkable feat — marching more than 30km having only received orders at 4.00am that morning.

The balance now shifted decisively. Crown Prince Frederick and the Second Army brought 100,000 fresh Prussian troops to the field and they now outnumbered the Austrians. What is more, the new troops had a vulnerable flank to attack and they lost no time in taking advantage. The Second Army attacked the Austrian right flank as they made more piecemeal attacks on the reinforced Swiwald. The artillery of the Second Army could also fire on to the Austrian centre. The Prussian cavalry of the 1st Guards Division of the Second Army broke through to the Austrian artillery, forcing it to withdraw. It could therefore no longer support any attacks being made by Austrian forces. Benedek was forced to order the general withdrawal of his forces at 3.00pm. The Austrians had already taken heavy casualties but the attacks
of the Second Army broke them. Units of the Second Army smashed through the Austrian lines and took Chlum (which was in front of the Austrian line facing the Prussian 7th Division). The Austrians were now in complete disarray.

The Elbe Army, held in place since the opening of the battle, now advanced and broke through the Saxons and the Austrian left flank, taking Proh鞋. Wilhelm ordered an advance across the entire Prussian line. The advancing units met Chlum just as the Austrians had finally forced the 1st Guards Division back into the town. The superior firepower of the advancing Prussians proved decisive and the Austrians were unable to stand before them. A series of cavalry charges and artillery repositioned in the rear allowed the retreating artillery and infantry to cross the Elbe, but these were conducted at a heavy price.

THE COST
The Prussians had lost 9,000 men killed or wounded, most from artillery fire and successful counterattacks in the Swiepawl. The Austrians had lost 44,000 men killed or wounded with a further 22,000 captured (along with almost 200 cannons). Some accounts claim these losses are exaggerated and place the number of Austrians killed or wounded much lower at around 14,500, others that the 44,000 includes the prisoner tally.

THE AFTERMATH
The victorious Prussians did not pursue aggressively but continued to shadow the Austrians until the armistice on 22 July. Bismarck encouraged Wilhelm to make peace quickly so as not to cause acrimony towards Prussia among the other German states. Austria’s reputation and position within the German states was severely damaged, indeed the idea of a ‘Big Germany’ was essentially laid to rest – Austria was permanently excluded from German affairs. By contrast Prussia’s position was enhanced and she absorbed several of Austria’s allies, including Hanover, Hesse and Nassau. Schleswig-Holstein also became a province of Prussia. Saxony was not annexed but joined with Prussia the following year. Liechtenstein and Luxembourg became independent states.

With Austria excluded, Prussia formed and led the North German Confederation, created in 1867 and incorporating all states north of the Main River. Prussia chose not to demand any Austrian territory and thus not alienate the Austrian Empire entirely. Austria did surrender Venetia to France, who then gifted it to the Kingdom of Italy. The remaining German states allied with Prussia in the Prussian victories in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71.

This opened the way for both German unification and the creation of the German Empire under Kaiser Wilhelm I (and with Otto von Bismarck as chancellor) in 1871. The humbled Austria meanwhile compromised with Hungary, forming the dual monarchy Austria-Hungary in 1867.

3 JULY, 1866

01 Before the battle
The Prussian Elbe Army and First Army make contact with the Austrians on 2 July. They prepare to attack the Austrian defensive positions on 3 July and send word to the Second Army to join them with all haste.

02 Prussian positions
On the Prussian right, Moltke has the Elbe Army with 40,000 men in three divisions, between them and the First Army is the Prussian cavalry Corps. In the Prussian centre, the First Army has six divisions with 85,000 men. These face the superior guns and prepared positions of the Austrians across the River Bistritz. The Prussian Second Army of 100,000 men in nine divisions is some 30km to the north.

03 Austrian positions
Benedek divides his army into four groups, in the centre, III and X Corps, 44,000 men and 134 guns. On the left, VII Corps and the Saxons, 40,000 men and 140 guns. On the right is II and IV Corps with 55,000 men and 176 guns. Each flank is covered by a cavalry division. A reserve of I and VII Corps, heavy cavalry and artillery consists of 47,000 men, 11,435 cavalry and 320 guns.

04 Austrian artillery
The Austrian Inspector General of Artillery, Archduke Wilhelm, positions his superior artillery excellently. They are on the high ground, have clear fields of fire, and can take advantage of their greater range. They hold the majority of the Prussians at bay for most of the battle.

Kaiser Wilhelm I in Hussar uniform (he would accept the title of Kaiser following victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871).
By 10am, determined but futile attempts by separate Austrian Brigades try to retake the Swiepwald but are repulsed. A final bayonet charge by Pöckh’s Brigade dislodges the Prussians, who have committed all their reserves. Pöckh’s position is hit in the flank by the first elements of the Second Army, quickly falling 2,000 men. Benedek does not follow up on Pöckh’s initial success.

By 2pm, Benedek is having difficulty in recalling his engaged Corps from the Austrian right. Their flank is now threatened by the Second Army. Withdrawal is eventually achieved but a general retreat follows. The Army of the Elbe and First Army begin to advance. The 1st Guards Division breaks through the Austrian lines to Chlum. Threatened, the Austrian artillery is forced to withdraw.

The Elbe Army takes Problus but is halted by a Saxon counterattack allowing the Austrian left to retreat. The Prussian First and Second armies advance. The Austrian line at Chlum is broken and the Austrians begin streaming from the field at around 4pm, crossing the Elbe. Valiant cavalry counterattacks and artillery fire hold off the pursuing Prussians to allow more Austrians to cross.

The Prussians advance
At 8am the First Army advances to Sadowa and the Bistriz River. The 7th Division advances to Benatek. The Elbe Army advances to Nechanitz on the Bistriz River but is halted by Austrian artillery fire. The First Army causes the Bistriz around Sadowa but is halted by Austrian artillery fire. The Prussian 7th Division takes the Swiepwald with 5,000 men.

Austrian counterattack
By 10am, determined but futile attempts by separate Austrian Brigades try to retake the Swiepwald but are repulsed. A final bayonet charge by Pöckh’s Brigade dislodges the Prussians, who have committed all their reserves. Pöckh’s position is hit in the flank by the first elements of the Second Army, quickly falling 2,000 men. Benedek does not follow up on Pöckh’s initial success.

Second Army gains ground
By 2pm, Benedek is having difficulty in recalling his engaged Corps from the Austrian right. Their flank is now threatened by the Second Army. Withdrawal is eventually achieved but a general retreat follows. The Army of the Elbe and First Army begin to advance. The 1st Guards Division breaks through the Austrian lines to Chlum. Threatened, the Austrian artillery is forced to withdraw.

Austrians withdraw
The Elbe Army takes Problus but is halted by a Saxon counterattack allowing the Austrian left to retreat. The Prussian First and Second armies advance. The Austrian line at Chlum is broken and the Austrians begin streaming from the field at around 4pm, crossing the Elbe. Valiant cavalry counterattacks and artillery fire hold off the pursuing Prussians to allow more Austrians to cross.
In 1789 revolutionary forces stormed the Bastille, but could the guillotine have come to Greenwich?

Interview by Callum McKelvie

In 1700s France the so-called ‘Third Estate’, comprising everyone from peasant farmers to the bourgeoisie, were not happy. Politically they were invisible to both the First and Second Estates (the classes who wielded the most power) and, despite their poverty, were often subject to high taxation. The intellectual ideas of the Enlightenment began to preach the rights of the common man over the elites and following the extravagant spending of King Louis XVI, France’s involvement in the American Revolutionary wars and other additional factors, France erupted into revolution. In 1793, this would lead to execution of the monarchy. A revolutionary wave swept across Europe but in Britain, despite fears to the contrary, there was no people’s uprising. Was it ever a possibility? And what could have happened had the masses taken to the streets?

What were some of the responses to the French Revolution in Britain?
Initially, both politically and ideologically, there was an awful lot of enthusiasm and a sense that the French were becoming a bit more like Britain after 1688, forging a constitutional monarchy. There was also a radical movement, which embraced the French Revolution as a cause for parliamentary reform of Britain. At this stage Britain wasn’t a democracy, far from it. Parliament primarily represented landed interest. However there were some notes of caution as well. In his book Reflections On The Revolution In France Edmund Burke basically said that this wasn’t going to end well. In the British government, William Pitt believed that because France was so tied up with internal efforts to reform that effectively Britain didn’t have to worry too much and Europe would be at peace for quite a long time.

How did the government and conservative groups respond to the perceived threat?
Initially very sluggishly, until 1792 when the revolution radicalised and the monarchy was overthrown. This was the start of the slide of Britain joining the French Revolutionary Wars. However there was also concern about the radical ideas floating around Britain, including those written by Thomas Paine. He wrote Rights Of Man, which was a quite brilliant defence of the French Revolution. The second part, published in 1792, proposed some measures that in a sense anticipated the modern welfare state, in a very mild way. In response, the government issued a royal proclamation against seditious writings in May 1792. However, the real panic began when the French revolutionary armies spilled across Europe, conquering territory.
November 1792. The Association for the Preservation of Liberty and Property was founded to challenge a burgeoning popular radical movement in Britain. The association founded branches across the country to put pressure on radicals, to intimidate them and bully them into violence. Another way in which conservative groups respond was to create volunteer movements. Initially the government was reluctant because the volunteer movement was essentially creating militias, in theory to guard against French invasion, but also to act as a counter revolutionary militia against domestic radicalism.

**If an English Revolution had occurred were there any groups that could have led it?**

If a revolution had occurred in the mid-1790s, then the London Corresponding Society would have been the obvious choice. Between 1797 and 1799, when there was perhaps more of a possibility of revolution, the London Corresponding Society became increasingly more radical until it was formally banned in 1799. There were other underground organisations like the United Scotsman, the United Irishman (who actually started a revolution in Ireland in 1798) and the United Englishman. However, it’s hard to tell how serious a threat some of these were because most of what we know about them comes from government agents and propaganda. The vast majority of British reformers insisted they weren’t Jacobins and weren’t in favour of a violent revolution, only reform of the House of Commons. If a revolution had occurred, it would’ve been led by a very small radical fringe.

**Were any plans in place?**

All the radical organisations had a kind of a programme of change, but more often than not it was through persuasion. They hoped they could persuade parliament that it was time to reform. In Scotland, the radical Society of the Friends of the People established what they called a Convention in Edinburgh to debate parliamentary reform and they hoped that they would act as a kind of “conscience” for parliament. They wanted it to be a kind of assembly that expressed a broad will of a very broad range of people. However, in terms of plans for actual violent revolution? They exist but most seem to come from radicals in exile. For example Wolfe Tone, an Irish Republican, spoke to the French about landing a force in Ireland to back an insurrection. There’s also Thomas Muir, who had been found guilty of sedition and transported to Australia. He escaped and ended up in Revolutionary France, where he petitioned the French government to support a revolution in Scotland by landing a force. But a lot of these exiles had been out of the country for a long time and were out of touch. With Tone in Ireland the French did send a force, too late, but they sent one.

**Were there any legal ramifications of the perceived threat?**

Yes. There were some 23 laws against seditious writings; correspondence with France, once war had broken out, was illegal; and there was the Alien Act, empowering the government to deport anybody who they thought threatened the established order. They also passed a law against seditious meetings and banned what they called Combinations, which are the early forms of trade union. Also, there are the treason trials. In 1793, members of the Edinburgh Convention, including Thomas Muir, were tried for sedition and sentenced...
The French Revolution Had Spread To Britain?

The French Revolution had spread to Britain, and the British government was very concerned about the possibility that it might topple the monarchy. The French Revolution was seen as a threat to the established order in Britain, and there were fears that it might lead to a radical change in the political system. The British government attempted to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas by censoring publications and suppressing radical movements. However, the movement for change continued to grow, and there were several failed attempts to overthrow the government. The attempted English Revolution in the late 1700s or 1800s could have been a possible outcome, but it would have had a different result than the French Revolution. The British Empire initially might have abolished slavery earlier because the French revolutionaries abolished slavery in 1794, and Napoleon reintroduced it in 1802, which led to Haitian independence. However, the British Empire could have abolished slavery earlier if it had acted sooner. The French Revolution had spread to Britain, and the British government was concerned about the possibility that it might topple the monarchy.
The pointy hat, long nose and broomstick have defined a popular image of the witch as a figure of fun, to be worn by children on Halloween alongside skeletons with cardboard bones and ghosts made out of bed sheets. Yet for centuries, witchcraft was a deadly serious subject and has its origins in antiquity. In Homer’s Odyssey the figure of Circe turns men into pigs and is described as a “witch”, but it was in the medieval and early modern period that a fear of witchcraft swept across Europe.

In the early Renaissance period Albrecht Dürer, along with several other artists, helped cement the modern image of the witch. During the 15th and 16th century Europe’s witchcraft obsession was at an all-time high, with even King James VI of Scotland publishing Daemonologie (1597), a study on the subject of witchcraft. Perhaps most notoriously, witch hunts (particularly those undertaken by Matthew Hopkins) became rife.

Oxford University Press’s The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic traces the developing image of the witch through history, as well as a variety of superstitions and magical practices. Highlighted within are a number of objects and artworks that were significant to either the development of the witch myth or perceived magical abilities.
JOSEPH GLANVILL'S SADUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS

This 1681 text argued against the increasing scepticism towards witches and the occult, as well as the rise of atheism. The resulting work was a collection of first-hand accounts of encounters with witches, demons, ghosts and all manner of goblins and ghouls.
© Wellcome Library, London

MANDRAKE AMULET

Not simply the subject of a slapstick joke in Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets, mandrake roots have a long history in magic. As some mandrake roots have a vaguely humanoid form, they often found themselves being used for good luck, love spells and herbal medicine. They were even believed to increase your chances of winning a lawsuit.
© Wellcome Library, London

WANDERING AT NIGHT IN A SOLITARY PLACE

This 18th century etching is by the French artist Claude Gillot, who was known for his comic and grotesque style. Although he would become famous for his theatrical designs and drawings of court scenes, he began his career with these highly stylised mythological paintings.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
A GROUP OF WITCHES

Hans Baldung was in his late twenties when he created this disturbing woodcut, which would go on to be extremely influential. It has been described as creating a visual model for witchcraft which linked the practice directly to female groups.

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

CONCEALED SHOES

This child’s ankle boot was found concealed in a chimney. The practice of hiding shoes in walls for spiritual or superstitious purposes is fairly well recorded and is suspected to have been used to ward off intruders.

© The Portable Antiquities Scheme CC BY-SA
AMULET IN THE FORM OF A PHALLUS

Known as a ‘fascinum’, this is a form of Roman amulet designed to ward off evil, with bells to keep malicious spirits at bay. They were also worn by boys to indicate if they were slaves or free.
© Wellcome Library, London

TALISMAN AGAINST THE PLAGUE

This drawn talisman for protection against the plague was discovered in an English physician’s handbook. Due to the invention of the block press, paper amulets for protection against the plague were fairly common and were stuck to the door of a house or folded up and worn in a pouch.
© Wellcome Library, London

BROOMSTICK RIDE

In this etching by Pieter van der Heyden, based on an original drawing by Pieter Bruegel from 1565, we see a witch riding a broomstick alongside others riding creatures such as goats and dragons. The association between witches and brooms has been linked to pagan rituals as well as a symbol of domesticity.
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic
by Owen Davies is out in July priced £19.99
THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

A harrowing and spectacular piece of television

**Distributor:** Amazon Prime  **Cast:** Thuso Mbedu, Joel Edgerton, Chase W Dillon  **Released:** Out now

So far in 2021, *The Underground Railroad* stands out as the most essential viewing experience of the year. Created and directed by Barry Jenkins and based on the celebrated novel of the same name by Colson Whitehead, this new Amazon Prime series is an often harrowing look at the experience of slavery in early 19th century America that needs to be seen.

The idea of a ten-episode exploration of slavery may sound a little intimidating, but *The Underground Railroad* aims at something more than brutal realism. Much like the book on which it’s based, the show is a mix of history and heightened reality. The titular railroad, for example, which in reality was a network of safehouses and ‘conductors’ who helped enslaved people to free states, is depicted here as a real subterranean rail system. But this railroad doesn’t so much take people to freedom as it takes us from one example of the subjugation and dehumanisation of Black people in America to another.

Jenkins is a master storyteller and he expertly weaves us through these moments, managing to create a gripping story of escape, emancipation, hope, dread and more. He is ably assisted by longtime cinematographer James Laxton, who marries beauty and destruction incredibly well throughout. The landscapes depicted are captivating, but always have a lingering threat of the unknown behind them. Nothing is purely good in this world.

This is the lesson that Cora gradually comes to learn, in a breakout performance from South African actress Thuso Mbedu. She’s put through an emotional whirlwind: tormented, chased, saved, lost, and always running. We understand Jenkins had a therapist on set to help his actors and crew deal with the emotional weight of what they were trying to portray. Given the deep well of emotional anguish on display in Mbedu’s performance, we can understand why that would feel necessary. Mbedu balances anger and torment very well, rightfully enraged and terrified in equal measure much of the time.

*The Underground Railroad* isn’t afraid to show the complex and contradictory nature of life during slavery in America. Some enslaved people seem resigned to their fate, much as Cora begins, while others resist. Some have sided with their enslavers and are ready to betray others for preferential treatment. One of the cruelest examples of this is the young boy Homer (Dillon) who works with the slave-catcher Ridgeway (Edgerton). He is not a slave, but is devoted to his White caretaker and committed to his role as sidekick in pursuit of Cora and others like her.

Ultimately, what the show displays incredibly well is the toxic effect slavery has on everyone, regardless of their place in or outside of the system. No one’s hands are clean when this level of injustice and systematic violence is allowed to persist. It’s a message wrapped up in stunning visuals, incredible performances and a captivating reimagining of history. **JG**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
CREATORS, CONQUERORS & CITIZENS
A new Folio edition packed with stunning illustrations

Author Robin Waterfield Publisher Folio Society Price £69.95 Released Out now

As we explained in our review of the original release of Waterfield’s book last year, this is a fantastic introduction to the topic of Ancient Greece that manages to strike a canny balance between the big names of the era with the daily lives of ordinary Greeks. Now presented in this Folio edition, we have a package that complements the quality of the writing rather nicely.

If you missed our previous examination of this work, then let us simply say that Waterfield’s extensive research and smart structuring of this book makes it an excellent way to look at Ancient Greek history from a new perspective. Broken down into the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Periods, examining and explaining the evidence available, Waterfield paints a vivid picture, with engaging writing, of the rise and decline of Greece as an ancient power. And all of this is ably assisted by maps and other illustrative images embedded throughout the book.

Those illustrations are now expanded and supplemented by this Folio edition, which includes 32 pages of colour imagery. As always with a Folio edition, the quality of these images is second to none, both informative and beautifully presented throughout to complement the material. They include images of statues, reliefs, coins, vases and more, all adding greater depth to the book. There really is no better way to experience what was already a fine piece of writing about a fascinating period of ancient history.

MEET THE GEORGIANs
An entertaining gallop through an extraordinary era

Author Robert Peal Publisher William Collins Price £18.99 Released 8 July 2021

In Meet the Georgians: Epic Tales from Britain’s Wildest Century, Robert Peal attempts to tell the story of an era through the lives of 12 remarkable people. From pirate queens to radicals, the ladies of Llangollen to courtesans, and not forgetting Lord Byron and Tipu Sultan, each story captures a fresh facet of life in the Georgian world.

For those unfamiliar with the Georgian era, Peal provides a useful introduction that neatly encapsulates the kings who reigned, the politicians who governed, and what the Georgian world looked like to those who lived in it. Though there is humour - the farting club, for example - the book doesn’t shy away from the ugly side of the era. Peal confronts the issue of slavery unflinchingly, and devotes a chapter to the extraordinary story of Olaudah Equiano, a formerly enslaved man who became a prominent voice in the campaign for abolition.

Meet the Georgians is an entertaining introduction to a tumultuous era. Although there are few surprises among the dozen figures chosen to be profiled, for those seeking an introduction this will provide all they need to get started. There is no bibliography but Peal provides a useful selection of further reading for those wishing to take a deeper dive, ranging from popular and gossipy accounts to more scholarly approaches. Meet the Georgians is an excellent primer for one of the most fascinating periods the world has ever seen.

★★★★★
MURDER: THE BIOGRAPHY
A gruesome but engaging history of murder

Author Kate Morgan Publisher Mudlark Price £16.99 Released Out now

This is perhaps the most comprehensive history of murder that readers will have ever seen. In fact, it's hard to imagine how this remarkable book could be bettered in the future. Never salacious and far from sensationalist, Murder: The Biography is instead a gripping journey through the legal history of murder. The book is filled with chilling tales such as the starving crewmates who murdered and ate their ship's cabin boy under the now outlawed defence of necessity to murder; the still controversial case of Ruth Ellis, the last woman to be hanged in England; and the recent tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire. Kate Morgan takes readers back through the centuries to discover exactly how and why the murder laws in the United Kingdom have reached their current status.

As a lawyer, Morgan is no doubt well versed in the art of making a compelling argument or presenting an engaging case, and she has crafted an absolutely fascinating history in Murder: The Biography. What might have become a rather drab legal history is anything but, and by employing a vast canvas that takes in everything from corporate manslaughter to medical malpractice, self-defence and beyond, she crafts an all-encompassing and immensely readable work. Despite Morgan's legal expertise, this never becomes a legal textbook and instead she proves herself skilled at taking the most complex matters and turning them into a page-turning narrative. Of course, it's inevitable that any book whose focus is on the crime of murder must contain a number of case studies to illustrate its narrative. Those readers of a squeamish nature may occasionally wince, but Murder: The Biography is a world away from the voyeuristic prurience that some works on true crime stray towards. There is no hint of tabloid sensationalism at all and Morgan describes the crimes analytically where necessary, but also with a great deal of compassion. Morgan also provides a lot of historical and societal context, which is invaluable when it comes to the sometimes shocking stories found here. She makes sense of the many definitions of murder, as well as manslaughter and other associated charges too.

Morgan's book is not concerned with telling true crime stories so much as demonstrating how they have shaped and influenced the changes in the murder laws over centuries. It is clearly meticulously researched and written by an expert in the field, but Morgan succeeds in taking what could be complex or dry material and presenting it in a way that is anything but.

This is an excellent book that deserves to find a large readership, and it will no doubt appeal to a wide audience. Whether readers are interested in legal history or true crime, or are simply looking for a compelling history that is both current, exceptionally readable and always enthralling they will find much to admire here. Murder: The Biography poses some very difficult questions, and doesn’t shirk from telling what is sometimes an ugly, unvarnished truth.

“Morgan doesn’t shirk from telling what is sometimes an ugly, unvarnished truth”
01 The opening shows the new ship being christened with a bottle of champagne - this was believed to bring good luck. However, the real Titanic was never christened this way as it was not the policy of the vessel's owners, White Star Line.

02 Kenneth More plays second officer Charles Lightoller. The real Lightoller was the most senior member of the crew to survive and although the film ignores some of his mistakes, his widow visited the set and described it as extremely accurate.

03 In the film the SS Californian is ten miles from the Titanic. They attempt to warn the Titanic but are told by the wireless operator to "shut up", which really occurred. Through a variety of mishaps, the Californian never knew a disaster was occurring.

04 A woman returns to her cabin to rescue her 'lucky' pig, a musical toy. Later on she's shown demonstrating it to two children. This actually happened and the passengers, Edith Russell, and the pig were photographed with the cast as part of the film's publicity.

05 As the ship sinks it stays in one piece rather than breaking in two. When the wreck of the Titanic was discovered in 1985, some 27 years after A Night To Remember was made, it was confirmed that it had indeed snapped in two.
SOUP JOUMOU
CELEBRATING HAITIAN INDEPENDENCE, HAITI, 1804 – PRESENT

Over two centuries ago the people of Saint-Domingue revolted against the French colonists and established the nation of Haiti. The former slaves had been banned from eating joumou, a hearty beef and pumpkin soup, which was a delicacy that only their French oppressors were allowed to eat. According to legend, Marie Claire Heureuse – the wife of revolutionary leader Jean-Jacques Dessalines – started the tradition of eating joumou annually on 1 January to commemorate Haiti’s independence. This tradition continues today, with joumou symbolising freedom and unity for the Haitian people, as well as the legacy of their ancestors.

METHOD

01 Place the diced beef in a colander, rinse it with lukewarm water and then transfer it to a large bowl. Add the lime juice and rub it into the beef, before stirring in the epis seasoning.

02 Once the meat is coated, cover and marinate in the fridge for a minimum of 30 minutes or ideally overnight. When you are ready to make the soup, remove the beef from the fridge and allow to come to room temperature.

03 Add the butternut or calabaza squash to a blender with about 250ml of water and blend until it’s smooth, then set aside.

04 In a large pot, heat the olive oil over a medium heat. Add the marinaded beef to the pot with the tomato paste and crumble in a stock cube using your fingertips. Stir the beef for approximately 10 minutes until it’s nicely browned and then transfer to a bowl to set aside.

05 To the pot, add 1.5 litres of water, bring to the boil and add the second stock cube, stirring until it has dissolved. Then add the potatoes, turnips, squash puree, cabbage, carrots, cloves, onion, leek, celery, parsley, thyme, Scotch bonnet pepper, salt and pepper to the pot.

06 Next, add the beef and its juices back into the pot, reduce the heat and simmer the soup for 30 to 35 minutes, stirring occasionally until the vegetables are tender. Keep an eye on the Scotch bonnet pepper and remove it from the pot before it bursts, otherwise the soup will be very spicy!

07 Add the rigatoni or pasta of your choice to the soup and cook for another 10 minutes, until the pasta is cooked to your preference.

08 Give the soup a stir and add more water if it’s too thick. Serve with a splash of lime juice and a side of crusty bread.

Did you know?
Joumou is the Kreyòl word derived from giroumon in French, which means ‘pumpkin’.

Ingredients

- 450g stewing beef, diced
- 200g rigatoni, or a pasta of your choice
- 3 medium carrots, chopped
- 3 whole cloves
- 2 potatoes, peeled and chopped
- 2 small turnips, peeled and finely chopped
- 2 beef or chicken stock cubes
- 1 medium onion, diced
- 1 leek, finely chopped
- 1 half medium cabbage, diced
- 1 butternut squash or medium calabaza squash, peeled and chopped
- 1 stalk of celery, chopped
- 1 Scotch bonnet pepper, whole
- 1 parsley sprig
- 1 thyme sprig
- 5 tbsp epis seasoning
- 3 tbsp fresh lime juice
- 2 tbsp olive oil
- 1 tbsp tomato paste
- 2 tsp salt
- ½ tsp black pepper
- Water
AFRICA REIMAGINED
RECLAIMING PROSPERITY FOR THE CONTINENT
BY HLUMELO BIKO

Steve Biko argued that ‘the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed’. Hlumelo Biko unpacks this in its practical import and shows how changing the situation can transform Africa.
"A masterful pulse-pounding narrative that transports the reader into the middle of the action."

CARL GNAM
Military Heritage

The Last Viking
THE TRUE STORY OF KING HARALD HARDRAADA

The king of the East
Has been drawn westward
Toward a glorious death.
That is my destiny.
There the ravens
Will pick their fill
From the sovereign's warriors.
I'll be there to feed them.

KING HARALD'S SAGA

Combining Norse sagas, Byzantine accounts, Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and King Harald's own verse and prose into a single, compelling story, Don Hollway brings the true tale of this Viking hero to life.

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