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The reckless youth who became a WWII leader

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

RISE OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

How the mysterious order forged power and prestige to conquer the Holy Land

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Sir Ranulph Fiennes dissects the Shackleton expedition

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Welcome

The Templars really are a fascinating group to examine. Looking at them in the context of their own time, they represent the religious zeal of the era and the belief that it was righteous and justified to violently oppose anyone who did not share their religion. Over time, however, they have come to represent a number of different things: religious heroes, violent extremists, a global cabal of elites, and much more. Search for the Knights Templar online and you’re in danger of falling down some dark rabbit holes of conspiracy theory and fantasy.

Suffice to say, the true history of the Templars is dark enough for us already, so we’ve focused purely on their origins and early influence this issue with the help of historian and author Susie Hodge. This issue we also had the incredible honour of speaking with renowned explorer and writer Sir Ranulph Fiennes to discuss the legendary Shackleton Expedition, and to chat with historian Stephen Bourne about his long career bringing to light many stories about Black British history. Plus, we learn all about Yokai, the Japanese ghouls that haunt their folklore, examine the early years of Churchill’s career and uncover the life of Rome’s first empress and the first Lady of history, Livia Drusilla.

Lots to get into, then, in the following pages, so I won’t keep you any longer. Hope you enjoy the issue.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor
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Rise of the Knights Templar

How the mysterious order forged power and prestige to conquer the Holy Land

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Defining Moments
On the 16th anniversary of the Beer Hall Putsch, Adolf Hitler narrowly escaped an assassination attempt after delivering a speech in Munich. Georg Elser had planted a bomb behind the speaker’s platform, which went off 12 minutes after Hitler had left, killing eight people and injuring 62. Elser was imprisoned and he eventually died at the Dachau concentration camp in 1945.
At the Geneva Summit in Switzerland, US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Union General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev met for the first time. The summit's goal was to de-escalate the nuclear arms race between the US and the Soviet Union. It concluded with both parties announcing in a joint statement their commitment to reducing their nuclear arsenals.
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ALL ABOUT CLOCKS

Wind back the years as we reveal the origins of timekeeping and how its methods and technology have evolved

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20 LOST HISTORY OF WOMEN AND CLOCKS

Written by Jessica Leggett, Murray Dahn, Kate Marsh
STONEHENGE AND THE SOLSTICE
The prehistoric stone circle in Wiltshire, UK, along with many other monuments, is built along the axis of the sun on the summer and winter solstice, allowing important moments of the year to be identified.

THE CANDLE CLOCK
A candle is burned with markings (or next to markings) of the hours allowing for time to be told indoors, in the dark, or on cloudy days. Alfred the Great is credited with the invention of the candle clock in England in the 8th century, and they continue to be refined.

THE CANDLE CLOCK
A candle is burned with markings (or next to markings) of the hours allowing for time to be told indoors, in the dark, or on cloudy days. Alfred the Great is credited with the invention of the candle clock in England in the 8th century, and they continue to be refined.

THE HOURGLASS
The Frankish monk Liutprand in Chartres uses sand pouring inside a glass vessel to determine the length of an hour. Hourglasses remain in use for centuries.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TIME KEEPING c.600 BCE
Instructions and calculations for keeping time using a waterclock are inscribed on a cuneiform tablet in Babylon - time is told by measuring the weight of water.

THE SUNDIAL c.3500 BCE
Using the position of the shadow of the sun as the Earth rotates on its axis allows daylight hours to be divided throughout the year.

INCENSE AND OIL TIMEKEEPING c.1400 BCE
Some cultures realise that oil, incense or (later) candles of known dimensions will burn at a known rate and so can be used to measure time.

TOWER OF THE WINDS c.1st Century BCE
A tower is built in Athens (the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes) with eight sundials, a waterclock (clepsydrae) and a weather vane - the first city clock tower?

FIRST GEARED CLOCK c.11th Century
The Muslim engineer Ibn Khalaf al-Murdi in Andalusia builds the world’s first geared waterclock, known as the Castle and Gazelle Clock. He invents several others.

THE FIRST ALARM CLOCK
The Athenian philosopher Plato invents a clock (perhaps using a candle) that will cause lead balls to drop noisily to wake sleeping students. Another story of Plato’s invention is that it involved a water clock that whistled to wake up people who were asleep.

THE WATERCLOCK c.1500 BCE
Water flows out of a vessel at a known rate - it can therefore be used to measure time accurately, whether it be hours or minutes. These begin in China, Babylon, Egypt and Persia, and continue to be used into the Greek and Roman periods and beyond.

THE WATERCLOCK c.3000 BCE
Water flows out of a vessel at a known rate - it can therefore be used to measure time accurately, whether it be hours or minutes. These begin in China, Babylon, Egypt and Persia, and continue to be used into the Greek and Roman periods and beyond.
THE FIRST ELECTRIC CLOCK
Scottish inventor Alexander Bain creates the first electric clock using electricity to sustain the motion of the pendulum. His ideas are added to by Frenchman Jules Lissajous and the Curie brothers who discover the piezoelectric qualities of quartz, meaning it can store an electric charge.

THE VERGE AND FOLIOT ESCAPEMENT 1275
The escapement mechanism uses a gear train and allows for the regular measurement of time using gravity. The movement of the gears gives clocks their "tick." 

THE MAINSPRING 16TH CENTURY
A spiral torsion spring is given energy by winding it tighter, which can then be released regularly as the spring unwinds—these remain the " mainspring" of mechanical clocks and watches.

HENRY DE VICK'S CLOCK 1360
Called to Paris by king Charles V, De Vick creates the first mechanical clock (it takes him eight years). His clock strikes a bell on the hour.

INVENTION OF THE WATCH 1524
Clockmaker Peter Henlein from Nuremberg makes small portable timepieces which can be attached to clothing—the watch is born. Watches grow in importance into the 19th and 20th centuries.

THE ASTROLABE
The Persian astronomer Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Farisi builds an astrolabe to measure astronomical time. Although men have measured the position of heavenly bodies before, accuracy is now increased and allows seafarers to accurately measure latitude.

CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS' PENDULUM CLOCK
Dutch mathematician Christiaan Huygens invents a pendulum clock using harmonic motion, a breakthrough and the most accurate clock in 300 years. He goes on to make a marine clock, designed to remain horizontal at sea, and improvements to the accuracy of his inventions continued for centuries.

IN 1656...
Inside History

ELIZABETH TOWER

London, UK
1859 – Present

THE GREAT BELL
Although many people refer to Elizabeth Tower as Big Ben, this moniker refers to the clock tower’s great bell, which was probably named after Sir Benjamin Hall. The original bell, which weighed 16 tonnes and was cast in 1856, cracked when it was tested. In 1858, a replacement was built, weighing 13 tonnes and standing two metres tall.

CLOCK ROOM
This room contains the clock mechanism, which is wound three times a week by hand. There are two parts of the mechanism, the chiming and striking trains, which drive the mechanisms that operate the hammers to sound the bells. The four small bells are rung by the chiming train, while Big Ben is rung by the striking train.

PRISON ROOM
There is a prison room inside the tower, which was originally the Serjeant at Arms Office that can only be accessed through the House of Commons. Charles Bradlaugh, the newly elected MP for Northampton, was the last person imprisoned there in 1880. He was arrested by the Serjeant at Arms after refusing to swear the religious oath of allegiance to Queen Victoria.
At Queen Victoria’s request in 1885, the Ayrton Light, a lantern-like structure, was installed at the top of the Palace of Westminster. The queen apparently wanted to be able to see from Buckingham Palace whether members of either House of Parliament were sitting after dark. It was named after Acton Smeee Ayrton, a Liberal politician.

The cast-iron spire of the tower is adorned with an orb and cross, as well as a shower of golden stars below. It was regilded as part of the tower’s restoration, and it now looks as it did in the Victorian era.

There are 3,433 cast iron tiles on the roof. Heraldic shields with the floral emblems of all parts of the United Kingdom (a rose, thistle, shamrock and leek) as well as a portcullis to represent parliament and a fleur-de-lys, adorn the roof above the Ayrton Light. The roof has also been regilded as part of the conservation project to make it look as it did in the Victorian era.

There are four smaller bells in the bell room, known as the belfry, that ring every quarter of an hour as they are struck by hammers. These bells play a chime based on Handel’s Messiah.

The ironwork of the clock dial was originally painted Prussian blue, but it has been covered in layers of paint over the last 160 years. It is believed that the dials were painted black in the 1930s to cover the effects of pollution. However, the conservation team have decided to restore the dials back to their original Prussian blue and gold paint.

Cables pass through the link room to connect the belfry and clock rooms. These cables link the clock mechanism to the mechanism that operates the bells’ hammers.

The pendulum, which weighs 310kg and is 4.4m long, is suspended below the clock mechanism down the central shaft. Three weights for the pendulum also run down the inside of the tower along the central shaft.

The clock tower, which is a Grade I listed building and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, was renamed Elizabeth Tower in 2012 to commemorate Queen Elizabeth II’s Diamond Jubilee. In 2017, essential and extensive renovation work began on the tower and it is due to be completed in 2022.
CLOCKMAKER

Europe
14th century – present

GENDER ROLES IN HOROLOGY
Clockmaking was once thought to be a male-dominated profession, but women played an important and underappreciated role in the industry. They were often responsible for metal engraving and dial painting, and there is evidence that women made clocks prior to industrialisation.

CONTROLLING TRADE
The Worshipful Company of Clockmakers, one of the first guilds for clockmakers, was founded in London in 1633 to control the horological trade in the city. The company established a library and museum in 1813 and it remains the oldest surviving horological institution in the world.

CLOCKMAKER’S TOOLS
A clockmaker required specialised tools in addition to common tools like pliers, hammers and screwdrivers for their highly intricate work. For example, a piercing saw was used to repair the ends of clock hands, and a deepening tool was used to determine the proper distance between a wheel and a pinion.

LONGCASE CLOCK
The longcase clock was invented in England around 1680, and it quickly spread throughout Europe. They were traditionally made with a 30-hour or eight-day duration and were tall pendulum clocks. These clocks are also known as grandfather clocks, after Henry Clay Work’s 1876 song Grandfather’s Clock.

MASTER CRAFTSMEN
Clockmaking is a highly skilled profession, and before the 18th century all clocks were made by hand. As a result, clockmakers must have excellent fine motor skills because the machinery and gears they work with are small and delicate.

MASS PRODUCTION
Clock parts and eventually clocks themselves were increasingly manufactured in factories after the arrival of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries. As a result, many clockmakers turned their attention to repairing clocks.
The history of portable timepieces dates back to 16th century Europe. The first step towards reducing the size of clocks was the development of the mainspring mechanism, which was invented by famous clockmaker Peter Henlein around the year 1510. Not only did the mainspring improve the accuracy of clocks, but it also allowed them to be wound without the use of weights. Henlein is often credited as the inventor of the watch but this claim is controversial due to a lack of conclusive evidence.

Small spring-driven clocks known as ‘Nuremberg Eggs’ became popular in the second half of the 16th century. One style of clock-watch produced in Nuremberg at this time was the pomander watch. These spherical watches were housed in small pomanders - small containers for perfume - that could be worn on a chain around the neck or the waist. They were, however, expensive and inaccurate, so they were more novelty items for the nobility rather than useful timepieces.

This began to change with the invention of the balance spring in the 17th century. For the first time, the balance spring allowed portable timepieces to keep time more accurately, and this was an important step in the development of pocket watches over the next few centuries. Although it is debated whether Christiaan Huygens or English polymath Robert Hooke invented the balance spring, Huygens did create the first watch that used the balance spring, in 1675.

The spherical table watch shown here is the earliest-dated watch currently known to exist, and it is one of only two dated examples of watches dating back to before 1550. Despite the lack of a watchmaker’s mark, this watch is thought to have been made in Nuremberg, which is widely regarded as the birthplace of spherical watches.

According to an engraving on the watch, it was either commissioned by Philipp Melanchthon, a German reformer and humanist, or it was given to him as a gift by the city of Nuremberg. As a result, this timepiece is often referred to as ‘Melanchthon’s Watch’. Henlein, who was known for his pomander watches, is thought to have made it. This watch is currently on display at Baltimore’s Walters Art Museum.
HOROLOGISTS

Meet ten pioneers of timekeeping, from the inventor of the first mechanical clock to the creator of the wristwatch

BETTY LINDEROTH
Sweden, 1822 – 1900
Betty Linderoth was trained by her father, a watchmaker, after demonstrating an aptitude for watchmaking at a young age. Despite the male apprentices’ disparaging remarks, she continued her apprenticeship and went on to become an award-winning watchmaker, and was the first female watchmaker to display her work at the London World’s Fair in 1862. She married fellow watchmaker Gustaf Wilhelm Linderoth in 1844, and after his death in 1891 Betty took over his clockmaking business.

Peter Henlein
Germany, 1485 – 1542
Peter Henlein was a horologist and locksmith who worked in Nuremberg. Around the year 1510, he invented the mainspring, which improved the accuracy of his clocks. Henlein is widely credited as the inventor of the portable timepiece. His pocket clocks, which were shaped like small boxes and could be hung from a belt, are considered the forerunners of the pocket watch. However, it is debatable whether Henlein’s clocks were the first of their kind, as there is no evidence to support this claim. Despite this, Henlein is widely regarded as the inventor.

JOOST BÜRGI
Switzerland, 1552 – 1632
Jost Bürgi was a horologist, astronomer and mathematician who developed a series of inventions that improved the accuracy of mechanical clocks. This includes the invention of the first minute hand in 1577, the cross-beat escapement in 1584 and the gravity remontoire around 1595. Thanks to his efforts, clocks became accurate enough that they could be used as scientific instruments for the first time. In 1603, he moved to Prague, where he worked as the imperial clockmaker to Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II. Several of Bürgi’s clocks can be found in museums all over Europe.

Yi Xing
China, 683 – 727
Yi Xing was a Tang Dynasty mathematician and Buddhist monk. Some scholars credit him with inventing the first mechanical clock in 725. The clock was powered by water and featured a clockwork escapement mechanism, with water dripping onto a wheel over 24 hours, causing it to fully rotate. Yi Xing’s clock worked as an astronomical clock, tracking the movement of the planets and stars as well as the hours of the day.
Abraham-Louis Breguet

Switzerland and France, 1747 – 1823

One of the greatest horologists of all time, Abraham-Louis Breguet developed a number of inventions that revolutionised watchmaking. This included the tourbillon regulator, which eliminated errors in pocket watches caused by gravity; the pare-chute, a shock protection system for watches; and gongs for repeating watches. In 1812 he created the world’s first wristwatch, for Caroline Murat, Queen of Naples. In 1815, Breguet became the official chronometer-maker to the French navy and he received the Legion of Honour from Louis XVII.

ALEXANDER BAIN

Scotland, 1810-77

Clockmaker Alexander Bain is best-known for inventing the electric clock, which he patented in 1841. His first electric clock used a pendulum to measure time, but instead of springs or weights he used electromagnetic impulses to move it. He was dubbed the ‘Father of Electrical Horology’ for his efforts, and he later improved the design by adding a battery. At the 1851 Great Exhibition he received an exhibition medal for his clocks.

KINTARÔ HATTORI

Japan, 1860 – 1934

Kintarô Hattori, the founder of watch manufacturer Seiko, is credited with modernising Japan’s timepiece industry, earning him the moniker ‘King of Timepieces in the East’. He started his own clock and watch repair business when he was just 17, and four years later he founded his own company that repaired, imported and sold clocks and watches. In 1913 he introduced the Laurel, Japan’s first wristwatch, and in 1924 he introduced the first Seiko watch.

THOMAS TOMPIION

England, 1639 – 1713

Horologist Thomas Tompion, known as the ‘Father of English Clockmaking’, was a pioneer in the field of timekeeping. He developed the recoil escapement for clocks and the cylinder escapement for watches, and his work greatly improved English clockmaking. Such was Tompion’s ground-breaking expertise, he was hired as the clockmaker for the new Royal Greenwich Observatory in London in 1676. During his lifetime, Tompion’s renowned workshop in Fleet Street produced around 650 clocks and 5,000 watches, and he also enjoyed the patronage of King Charles II, King William III and Queen Anne.

Christiaan Huygens

Netherlands, 1629-95

Mathematician, physicist and astronomer Christiaan Huygens was motivated to improve timekeeping accuracy because it was required for his astronomical work. He invented the pendulum clock after adapting Galileo’s Law, which stated that the period of a pendulum’s swing was independent from the amplitude of the swing. In either 1656 or 1657, he patented the first working pendulum clock, and later developed a balance spring that served as a watch regulator. Huygens’ inventions greatly improved the accuracy of clocks and watches, and they are widely regarded as a watershed moment in the history of timekeeping.

ISMAIL AL-JAZARI

Anatolia/Turkey, 1156 – 1206

Muslim polymath Ismail al-Jazari served at the Artuqid court in Diyar Bakr and was known as the ‘Father of Robotics’. He designed a variety of automations, including clocks powered by both water and weights. The elephant clock, pictured here, was his most famous clock. Every 30 minutes, the bird on the dome whistled, causing the man below to throw a ball into the dragon’s mouth, followed by the driver hitting the elephant with his goad.
**What is the difference between clocks, watches and timepieces?**

Clocks, watches and timepieces all primarily have the same function, which is to measure the passing of time. The word ‘clock’ is derived from the medieval word ‘clagge’, which translates as ‘bell’. As early clock technology came to England from the European low countries, our word ‘clock’ came from the Dutch word ‘klokket’. A clock is categorised as such by it having a bell to strike the hours, whereas a timepiece needs to tell the time without the need for a chime. Watches can either be pocket watches or wrist watches and are categorised by their being wearable. Just to confuse matters more, some watches, in particular early pocket watches, strike too and these are known as clock-watches.

**Can you tell us about what roles women played in the horological industry?**

As with much of women’s history, the role of women in early horology is much untold. We do know, however, that in the 18th century women played a vital role in the production of watch parts. Most watchmakers of the day did not make all the components for their watches in-house; rather, they would purchase the parts and assemble them, adding their maker’s mark to the finished article. There are records from a number of small factories in Christchurch, Dorset, showing that women and children from the local workhouses were employed to make fusee chains. These incredibly fine chains were used in most English pocket watches in the 17th and 18th centuries. The individual links were often less than 1mm across and these were made en masse by the workers, often in poor light conditions and through the winter months when there was less work to be had on the land.

While there were some women horologists through the 18th century, the laws around women’s rights to own businesses meant that once women were married their husbands owned their trade too, making it harder to keep working. One woman who was able to keep working was Ann Kirk of Nottingham. Working in the early 1700s, she produced a number of watches signed in her name, and after marrying she continued to do so, turning her hand to longcase clocks that she signed in her married name Ann Pigott from the early 1720s.

Horology is still a male-dominated industry but this has been changing in recent years as women begin to take a more prominent role in the science and technology of watch- and clock-making.

---

**Who was the Greenwich Time Lady?**

Ruth Belville (1854 - 1943) was the daughter of John Henry and Maria Belville, who made their living in the 19th century selling the time to Londoners. Every morning, John Henry would set his Arnold & Son marine chronometer to the accurate time at the Greenwich Royal Observatory where he worked and then head out to the offices and workshops of his customers to set their clocks to the accurate time. This service was carried out on a subscription basis, with those he visited paying him a monthly fee for doing so. When her parents died Ruth carried on the family business, using the same chronometer favoured by her father. Ruth continued working until the start of World War II, when it became too unsafe for a woman, now in her 80s, to walk the streets of London.

**What sort of artefacts does the Museum of Timekeeping display?**

The museum has a unique collection of clocks, watches, timepieces and ephemera including the only complete collection of working GPO/BT Speaking Clocks, longcase and regulator clocks. Our new Wonders of Watches exhibition incorporates a mix of antique and modern watches, chronometers and war watches, and features digital content, an exhibition booklet and hands-on exhibits. We also have a room dedicated to electric industrial clocks, which includes a rare Shortt Free Pendulum synchronome clock and a number of turret clocks. We pride ourselves on being informative, engaging and enjoyable for visitors of all backgrounds and interests.
In the 18th century women played a vital role in the production of watch parts

Are there any clocks, watches or timepieces in the museum that you are particularly fond of?
My favourite clock in the museum is our oldest longcase clock, made by well-known London maker Joseph Knibb. The Knibb clock has a beautiful walnut case and chimes the hour as well as displaying the time and seconds on the main dial. Dating from 1675, this clock is wound weekly and keeps reasonably good time. The invention of the pendulum clock in 1656 by Christiaan Huygens revolutionised timekeeping by increasing the accuracy of clocks from an average time loss of 15 minutes a day to 15 seconds.

My favourite watch in the collection is undoubtedly one that belonged to Captain Robert Falcon Scott. This simple pocket alarm clock was a vital piece of kit for the Antarctic explorer as he and his team needed to wake frequently through each night to move around and eat and drink to avoid frostbite. The watch itself, having spent much time in the frozen wastes of the tundra is in a terrible state of repair yet comes with the tale of endeavour, bravery and human will, which captivates and enralls our visitors. It demonstrates the many ways in which the art and science of timekeeping have aided humanity in our understanding of our world.
Places to Explore

FAMOUS CLOCKS

Visit some of the world’s most spectacular timepieces

1  PRAGUE ASTRONOMICAL CLOCK
PRAUGE, CZECH REPUBLIC

Mounted on its tower in 1410, Prague’s Astronomical Clock is a sight to behold. Created by imperial clockmaker Mikuláš of Kadaň, its uniqueness is a reflection of Prague’s multicultural community at that time. As a result, it never stopped evolving. In 1490, a calendar plate was added that always shifts to the next day at midnight, and the rotating lunar sphere system was made in 1659.

But the clock and its tower didn’t escape World War II unscathed. An incendiary shell in the final days of the conflict almost destroyed the clock mechanism as well as most of the exterior decorations. It would take three years before it was operating again, and its 1948 restoration also saw the bell and drum set to Eastern European Time.

Visitors today can see the parade of the Apostles when the clock strikes the hour. While it is visible from the Old Town Square, a better view can be found in the clock tower’s chapel.

The tower can be climbed Mon-Sun. The standard entrance fee is 250 Czech Koruna

2  ABRĀJ AL-BAYT
MECCA, SAUDI ARABIA

While the Ablāj al-Bayt in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, is only the fourth-tallest building in the world at 601 metres (the 830-metre Burj Khalifa in Dubai is the tallest), it does have another impressive accolade to boast of: the largest clock face at the time of its construction. Each face is an enormous 43 metres (141 feet) in diameter, making them more than five-times the size of Big Ben’s in London.

The skyscraper complex it sits atop has 1.5 million square feet of apartments, hotels, shopping centres and prayer areas that cost $3 billion to construct. But the project wasn’t without its controversies – this is all directly across the street from the entrance to the Haram Mosque, home of the Ka’bah, Islam’s holiest shrine. There was bound to be some resistance. Construction of the Ablāj al-Bayt and its mighty clocktower also facilitated the demolition of the Ajyad Fortress, an 18th-century Ottoman castle, despite objections from the Turkish Ministry of Culture.
3 COSMO CLOCK 21
YOKOHAMA, JAPAN

It's impossible to miss the enormous Cosmo Clock 21 - it's a 112.5-metre (369-foot) ferris wheel, after all. Boasting the title of biggest clock in the world, it was built in 1989 for the Yokohama Expo and can carry 480 people in 60 gondolas. Views from the top are spectacular - you can see Yokohama Bay, the Bay Bridge, and sometimes even Mount Fuji.

Every 15 minutes, the ferris wheel is illuminated with fireworks, flowers, spirals and targets. But make sure you catch it when it strikes the hour; the 60 spokes turn into a spectacular five-minute light show that's especially attractive at night.

There's an added bonus when visiting this particular clock, too - it's situated in Yokohama's Cosmo World amusement park (in fact, it's one of the rides). Entry to the park is free; visitors just pay for the individual attractions, and with plenty of rollercoasters and stalls nearby it definitely makes for a fun day out.

**11am-8pm, 900 yen**

4 TORRE DELL'OROLOGIO
VENICE, ITALY

On the north side of the Piazza San Marco in Venice is an often-overlooked beauty: St Mark’s Clocktower. A marvel of 15th century engineering, it was commissioned by Doge Agostino Barbarigo in 1493, with construction starting three years later. Its grand unveiling was on 1 February 1499 and legend has it that it was so beautiful the doge had the clockmaker blinded so that he couldn't create another to rival it. It’s unlikely that happened, though, and the clock’s two mechanics became its caretakers and lived in the tower with their families.

The clock itself is brimming with symbolism. Two large bronze statues (often called the Moors) strike the bell every hour – one man is old, the other young, to represent the passing of time. On a semi-circular balcony a statue of the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus can be found (in case you forgot that you were in the heartlands of Roman Catholicism), and three wise men circumvent them twice a year, on Epiphany and Ascension Day.

You can tell more than just the time looking at the clock. If you wish to see the phases of the moon and zodiac signs, you’ll be able to here. Perhaps most impressively, though, the bell that tolls today is the original that was cast in 1497.

**Mon-Wed, 10-11am, Thurs-Sun 2-3pm, Entrance: €12**

5 PEACE TOWER
OTTAWA, CANADA

Standing atop Canada’s Parliament Hill in Ottawa, the Peace Tower, or Tower of Victory and Peace, commemorates the fallen Canadians of World War I. First striking at noon on 1 July 1927, the Victorian High Gothic-inspired tower stands at 92.2 metres (302 feet) and boasts around 370 gargoyles, grotesques and friezes. Each of the four clock faces measures 4.8 metres (15 feet) in diameter, and the clock itself was given by the UK to Canada, which was still under British rule.

While the clock runs to Canada’s official time, as set by the National Research Council’s atomic clock, it never moves backwards. When Daylight Saving Time ends, the clock has to be manually stopped at 2am for a full hour before it is resumed. At the start of Daylight Savings, it’s stopped so that the hour hand can be moved forwards.

Visitors to the clocktower will see more than just the mechanisms. You will also find the Memorial Chamber, dedicated to everyone who has given their life in service to Canada.

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Originally founded by eight or nine comrades in either 1118 or 1119, and existing for over two centuries, the Knights Templar formed after the First Crusade of 1096-99 and became the most powerful and secretive military religious Order in history. Initially called the Order of the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Jesus Christ and the Temple of Solomon - a name that was soon abbreviated to the Knights Templar - they were established to protect Christian pilgrims visiting sacred locations in the Holy Land and to defend the area from Muslim armies. As time passed, they expanded and diversified, growing into a vast and successful international organisation - until they were annihilated by a jealous and greedy king in the 14th century. In the centuries that have passed since their downfall, a huge amount of conjecture has developed about the Knights Templar, with romantic, sinister and mysterious legends emerging about them, many of which are controversial or elusive. These include theories about what they did, who they worshipped, what they were in possession of, what they believed in, their practices, and what happened to them after they disbanded in 1314. Not much can be verified, because when Jerusalem was taken by the Muslims in the late 13th century the Templars retreated to Cyprus, taking their archives with them. When the Turks took Cyprus in the 16th century these were probably destroyed.

**THE FIRST CRUSADE**

Since the 7th century, Muslim armies, that emerged originally from Arabia, had frequently attacked traditionally Christian territories, including parts of Europe, North Africa and the
Defining moments of the Knights Templar

**Important dates in the founding of this powerful order**

**Founding of the Templars**

- **1119**
  Hugues de Payens, with eight companions, swore the monastic vows of obedience, poverty and chastity in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. All nine men were experienced soldiers, trained for war from a young age, and now they were dedicating their skills to the protection and defence of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and to the defence of Outremer itself.

**Recruiting to the Order**

- **1128**
  The Order grew only slowly in its first few years. However, when Hugues de Payens travelled back to Europe - to France, England and Scotland - he recruited many men to the Order, as well as securing its finances with the gifts of estates and incomes in Europe. The future of the Order was secure for the time being, apart from one thing: it needed a Rule.

**Taking a Rule**

- **1129**
  At a Church council in Troyes, France, over which Pope Honorius II presided, the Order was both approved by the Church and a Rule for its governance and the conduct of its soldier monks worked out and promulgated. The Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon was now an official Order of the Church.
Middle East. Quickly and violently, these armies captured large tracts of land including several Christian holy sites. To halt these attacks and to win back lost lands, Christian leaders decided to retaliate. In 1054, after centuries of differences and disagreements, an East-West Schism occurred in which the Christian Church divided and separated into the Roman Catholic and the Eastern Orthodox Churches. However, within a short time, the Byzantine Empire, which was the centre of the Eastern Orthodox Church, fell into difficulties. In 1095, the emperor, Alexios I Komnenos (c.1056/57-1118), sent an envoy to France to meet with Pope Urban II, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, to plead with him to help the Eastern Christians in their struggles against the Muslims. The Pope perceived Alexios’ request as an opportunity to reunite the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches under his rule and also to regain lands that had been lost to Muslim fighters, especially Jerusalem, the holiest of cities. He called the Council of Clermont, where he urged all those present to take up arms under the sign of the Cross and launch an armed pilgrimage to recover Jerusalem and the East from the Muslims. The response to his call was overwhelming and it led to the First Crusade.

Although not used until the 13th century, the word ‘crusades’ described several attempts by Christians to fight back against Islamic armies and regain the lands they had lost, particularly Jerusalem. After the Pope's rousing speech, an army was raised, led by several of Europe's monarchs and nobility, and ultimately these ‘Crusaders’ recaptured much of the Holy Land - or as they often called it - Outremer, meaning ‘overseas’, from the French term ‘outre-mer’. To secure it, they created four territories, known as Crusader States: the County of Edessa (1098-1150), the Principality of Antioch (1098-1287), the County of Tripoli (1102-1289) and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1298).

However, after their success most Crusaders returned to Europe, which left the Holy Land vulnerable to further attacks from Muslim armies. The many Christian pilgrims who travelled there were also frequently attacked, as well as the local citizens, including Christians, Jews, Muslims and new settlers from Europe, also needed to be governed.

“The Order’s Formation”

There are many suggestions about who proposed the idea of having a confraternity of knight-monks protecting those in the Holy Land and who was initially involved in developing the concept, plus who they were and when the first band of men became established. Several years after their initiation, between 1165 and 1184, William, the Archbishop of Tyre, wrote The History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and this remains the greatest source of information about the Templars’ founding. As it is the only account of Jerusalem in the 12th century by someone living there, it has generally been assumed to be objective, but as William of Tyre was involved in the kingdom’s politics, it is probably biased. Nonetheless, it remains an important work and a valuable resource. In it, William asserts that the first Templars were a group of “noble knights” who took the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. In 1118, he says, these noblemen pledged to protect all Christians and sacred sites in Jerusalem, by force if necessary. He wrote that the Order began when Hugh de Payns and a small group of men “of knightly rank” were accepted by the new king and patriarch of Jerusalem, Baldwin II, to form a community of religious knights in the Holy Land.

Little is substantiated about Hugh de Payns (also spelled Hugues de Payens), the first Grand Master of the Knights Templar. A French knight from the Champagne area in Burgundy who most likely fought in the Holy Land during the First Crusade, as the vassal of Hugh, the Count of Champagne, he was poorly educated but reliable and a good fighter. Sometime between 1114 and 1116 he visited the Holy Land, and probably returned there in 1118 with eight other men - relatives and acquaintances. They were Godfrey de St Omer, André de Montbard, Payen de Montdidier, Archambaud de St Aignan, Geoffrey Bisol, and two knights recorded only by their Christian names of Rossal and Gondemar. The ninth member may have been Hugh, the Count of Champagne, although it would have been highly unusual that a lord would have subsequently answered to his vassal, which would have been the case here. However, it is also likely that Hugh of Champagne had helped to plan the notion of a band of bodyguards living and working in the Holy Land to protect it and those who travelled there.

The brotherhood was first planned as a charity and originally the men were there simply to protect Christians from individual robbers or small groups of bandits and brigand groups. Later, they became among the most legendary warriors in history, fighting against thousands in huge battles. The idea of Christians using violence to defend their faith was a controversial topic even then, with theologians such as Saint Augustine of Hippo.
discussing how to reconcile Christ's peace-keeping teachings with fighting for spiritual gains. In general, all knights of the Crusades were described at the time as 'militiae Christi,' meaning 'knighthood of Christ,' as they perceived that fighting for their faith had been forced through the Islamic attacks.

It was decided to call the confraternity of knights in Outremer the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Jesus Christ, and Baldwin II invited them to set up their headquarters on the sacred Temple Mount, in a wing of his palace. As this was believed by many to be built on top of the ruins of the Temple of King Solomon, built in c. 950 BCE, the group became known as the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Jesus Christ and the Temple of Solomon, which soon became abbreviated to the Knights Templar.

**THE ORDER EVOLVES**
The Templars' first headquarters has been the subject of much speculation. The nine knights and the ensuing members of the fellowship remained based in one wing of the palace on Temple Mount for 68 years. While there, they allegedly spent time excavating and building beneath the palace. The reasons for this digging and building - if true - have been the subject of great conjecture. Some believe that among the remains they found the Holy Grail, which in Christian mythology is described as the cup or chalice that Jesus drank from at the Last Supper. Some believe that they found the Ark of the Covenant: the most important symbol of the Jewish faith, mentioned in the Bible, in 2 Chronicles 35:3. This, the last reference to it, was when King Josiah ordered that it should be placed in the Temple: "Put the Holy Ark in the house which Solomon the son of David, King of Israel did build, it shall not be a burden upon your shoulders." Nonetheless, despite all these theories and more, no evidence of either of these objects have ever been found.

The Order survived and expanded through donations. Along with many grateful pilgrims, Baldwin II and his nobles contributed. As new recruits joined, they bequeathed all their worldly possessions, and in this way, Templar assets multiplied. In 1128, Pope Honorius II granted the knights of the organisation the right to wear plain white habits and mantles for distinction and as a symbol of innocence. No other Order was allowed this. In 1146, Pope Eugene III decreed that all members of the Knights Templar could wear the spalled red cross as a sign of martyrdom.

Although the first members of the Order were knights of noble birth, over time, Templars were recruited from all social
The brotherhood was first planned as a charity, and originally the men were there simply to protect Christians

classes. Many were craftsmen, farmers, masons or cooks. In January 1120, a meeting of ecclesiastical and secular lords was held in Jerusalem. Called the Council of Nablus, it established 25 rules for the Templars, including: “If a cleric takes up arms in the cause of self-defence, he shall not bear any guilt,” emphasising the requirement for these holy men to fight for their faith. Nine years later, in 1129, the Council of Troyes, led by Hugh de Payns and the Benedictine abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, created a further 68-point code of conduct for the Templars that became known as the Primitive or Latin Rule. Designed to accentuate their piety and zeal, the Latin Rule set out instructions about how Templars should conduct themselves at all times. The rules covered everything from what they wore to the types of horses they could ride, the length of their hair, the style of their beards (at a time when most men were cleanly shaven) and even how much meat they could eat each week. By the mid-13th century, there were over 700 Templar rules. Among these were no wearing of pointed shoes, owning any possessions or having sex, and no kissing their mothers. They were not allowed to drink, gamble or swear. They had to eat in silence, were forbidden to argue or gossip, and they especially venerated the Virgin Mary. When not training or at war, these ‘warrior-monks’ were to dedicate their days to work and worship.

Bertrand de Blanquefort
1109-69
Bertrand de Blanquefort presided as the sixth grand master of the Knights Templar, and was elected to the office in 1156 during the reign of Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem. During his term as grand master, Blanquefort initiated revisions to the Templars’ Rule, adding regulations dealing with the military and a hierarchy of the Order. The original Rule dealt primarily with monastic life.

Gerard de Ridefort
?-1189
Gerard de Ridefort joined the Templars around 1180. Known for his arrogance and overconfidence, he provided unwise counsel to King Guy, leading to the disastrous defeat at the Battle of Hattin in July. Gerard was the only Templar to survive and was later ransomed. He joined Guy in the siege of Acre and was captured and beheaded in October 1189.

Robert de Sable
1150-93
Robert de Sable fought under King Richard the Lionheart during the Third Crusade. At the end of 1191, King Richard sold the island of Cyprus to Sable and the Knights Templar, who anticipated the formation of their own country. Sable failed to fully establish Templar bases on Cyprus, and the conduct of the Templars led to poor relations with the civilian population of the island.
prayer. Like monks of other Orders, they had to observe the Seven Canonical Hours, which were times of the day set aside for prayer and devotion. Each day began at 4am with Matins, or Morning prayer, and ended with Compline, or Night prayer. The Knights Templar were famously courageous, known for their tough discipline that was enforced with a system of harsh punishments, including floggings or being forced to eat their two frugal daily meals on the floor with the dogs.

Bernard of Clairvaux was a nephew of André de Montbard and the highly respected founder of the Cistercian Order. In a letter of c.1136, ‘In Praise of the New Knighthood,’ he wrote convincingly on the Templars’ behalf, defending the Order against its critics, and this contributed to its development and success. At the Council of Troyes, Bernard led a group of prominent churchmen to formally ratify the Order on behalf of the Catholic Church. With this official blessing, the Templars were accepted throughout Christendom, receiving money, land, businesses and nobly born recruits.

After enrolling in Europe and travelling to the Holy Land to fight, most in the Knights Templar soon became hardened to the Order’s austere conditions. They became accustomed to having every aspect of their lives regulated, with no leisure time. By joining the Order, many Templars believed that they were purifying themselves of the corruption and temptation of the world. However, this was not the case with all, and eventually many of the rules were bent or broken in order to attract new members. In 1139, Pope Innocent II issued a Papal Bull called Omne Datum Optimum (Every Good Gift), that confirmed the Latin Rule and placed the Templars under the Pope’s direct protection, making them answerable only to him and no one else. The Bull declared that unlike other brotherhoods, the Templars did not have to pay taxes to the Church. They were given an allowance to build their own oratories and were free to travel across borders unhindered. All these privileges aroused envy among other Orders across Europe, but by then the Templars’ power was unstoppable.

**MONEY AND POWER**

While as individuals the Templars were bound to vows of poverty, the Order, as a whole accumulated great wealth on an unparalleled scale. By the 1130s, there were over 300 extremely disciplined and well-armed knights, as well as all the other hardworking men who made up the rest of the organisation. An ever-increasing flow of money into their coffers allowed them to buy weapons, armour and horses, and they soon also held substantial estates in France, England, Scotland, Flanders, Spain and Portugal. In Scotland, England, France and Flanders, they were landlords and businessmen. In Spain and Portugal, they were

**“By joining the Order, many Templars believed that they were purifying themselves”**
asked to help win back territories that had been taken over by the Berbers. For example, in 1128, Theresa, the Countess of Portugal gave them the town of Fonte Arcada and in 1142, King Alfonso of Aragon in Spain made a will leaving his entire kingdom to the Templars, the Knights Hospitallers and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. With their reputation for bravery and strength, the Templars were asked to accompany King Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade from 1147-50, and the English King Richard (the Lionheart) on the Third Crusade (1189-92). Meanwhile, more roles became established for non-fighting Templars, such as bankers and architects. They set up a prosperous and highly efficient network of banks, with the Paris Temple as their major financial base.

The Templars’ banking system included what constituted the first ‘traveller’s cheques’, allowing European pilgrims to deposit assets near to their homes and to withdraw funds when in the Holy Land as needed. Because of the risk of attack, pilgrims were wary of carrying large sums of money, so from 1150, the Templars allowed them to deposit enough cash at their local Templar preceptories to cover the estimated costs needed for their pilgrimages. In return Templar treasurers gave each pilgrim a coded receipt of the transaction. While on their travels, pilgrims could exchange these receipts at Templar treasuries for cash as they needed it in return for re-coded receipts. By freeing themselves of carrying large amounts of cash in this way, bandit attacks were reduced. The Order also gained money through loans. At the time, it was forbidden for Christians to charge interest on loans and so money-lending as a profession had been restricted to Jews, but the Templars worked around this. As they were allowed to charge rent for leasing a house...
“Templars were known for being the first on to a battlefield and the last off”

or land, they used the same principle and charged ‘rent’ rather than interest for their financial services. They offered various other financial services as well, such as providing pensions and annuities, and undertaking accountancy and auditing services for many, including European monarchs and governments. As their banking role increased, they became the leading money handlers of Europe. They lent money to destitute monarchs, including Henry II of England and Louis IX of France, and their reputation for being reliable bankers grew, in effect, creating and establishing the modern notion of banking. French monarchs in particular came to rely heavily on their services.

HIERARCHY

From the start, the grand master was the supreme ruler of all Templars everywhere, and he remained in that position for life. From c.1119 until the fall of Jerusalem in 1191, the grand master was based in Jerusalem. From 1191, he was stationed at Acre, and after the loss of Acre in 1291, he was based on the Island of Cyprus. The seneschal was the grand master’s deputy. Each country had its own master Templar who was answerable to the grand master and seneschal, and below these a group of senior officials helped to organise and run things efficiently. These officials included turcopoles, who were in command of the light cavalry and sergeant brothers. Marshals were in charge of all arms, horses and military decisions. Next in line were under marshals, in charge of footmen and equipment, and the standard bearer, who carried

the Beaufort banner into battle. Featuring two rectangles, one white, one black, embazoned with the spayed red cross, this flag heartened Templar allies on the battlefield and drove fear into the hearts of their enemies. By then, Templars were known for being the first on to a battlefield and the last off. Templar knights would not retreat unless outnumbered by more than three-to-one, and even Templar horses were trained to kick and bite the enemy. Because knights had to be noblemen, they were actually a relatively small group within the brotherhood, while the bulk of the Templar army was made up of turcopoles who were only lightly armoured with lances and bows. Each knight was permitted one squire and three horses – which greatly contrasted with their initial symbol of two poor monk-knights sharing one horse. While the noble knights wore white, turcopoles and sergeants did not have to be of noble birth and wore black or brown mantles – but all with the spayed red cross. Turcopoles and sergeants had one horse each and were required to be their own squires. Other serving Templars performed menial tasks and kept the institution running, while chaplains and ordained priests attended to everyone’s spiritual needs. Most were uneducated like their founder Hugh de Payns, but those who were educated generally served as financiers or architects.

KEEPING THE PEACE

At the height of their powers, the Templars were unparalleled warriors and monks – the embodiment of Christianity’s crusade against Islam. As religious men, they considered the soul to be above the transitory life on Earth, so they were exceptionally trustworthy and they used their immense wealth with skill and wisdom, making significant investments in land, agriculture and industry. With their gifts of estates and money, they soon became one of the most powerful organisations in Europe. Gifts of land were used to protect Christians against the ‘infidel’. On holy sites where pilgrims travelled, the Templars built fortifications and set up patrols. Being directly responsible only to the Pope, they were free from the dominance of secular leaders, and they built castles, chapter houses, preceptories (monastic houses) and priories throughout Europe and the Holy Land, and took over many existing castles and fortifications.

Through their coherent, disciplined structure, the Order grew and expanded as a commanding and authoritative enterprise. Consistent with all they did, they understood and appreciated the value of sound architectural practices, and they explored and experimented as they chose, acquiring expert building techniques from the diverse cultures they lived amongst, employing local workmen who used regional materials and methods.

They became skilled in building on challenging terrain, such as sand or marsh, and as well as individual buildings they created whole towns, such as Temple Garway in Hertfordshire. Among their building projects across Europe and the Holy Land were chapels constructed with circular naves that emulated the design of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. As their vast and wide network of property was sanctified, well-defended and often impregnable, they were able to protect many individuals’ amassed wealth, and at the height of their influence the Templars established financial networks across the whole of Christendom. They managed farms and vineyards; they were

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Rival Schools

Dr Rory McLellan reveals the differences between the Templars and the Hospitallers

Were the Hospitallers in competition with the Templars?
They do end up competing a bit, because they’re both religious institutions and supposedly both working to look after the poor, as a charity, and defending pilgrims and the Crusader states. They’re also both landlords and they’ve got properties and they both have political power. This does lead them into conflict, as sometimes they disagreed about strategy and competing for land and donations from the same sorts of people.

So, they do end up having conflicts in the 1200s, the 1240s and 1250s onwards, as the Kingdom of Jerusalem starts falling into a lot of political disputes between internal factions. Sometimes, the Hospitallers back one faction and the Templars, the other.

The Templars became famous for their wealth and developing early banking practices, what about the Hospitallers?
They did have that similar sort of system, not as extensive and developed as the Templars’, but they were quite wealthy and even by the time they inherit the lands from the Templars, even before then, they were quite significantly wealthy. By the time they inherit the Templars’ lands, they were the richest religious order in England, for example, and most of that wealth was what they already had, before they got anything from the Templars.

How did the Hospitallers manage to evade the same fate as the Templars?
There are often attacks on these other orders. The Teutonic Knights order, around 1300, were quite in danger of being accused of similar things to the Templars, but both they and the Hospitallers had the advantage of... more visibly and actively trying to Crusade. So in 1306, the Hospitallers begin moves to take Rhodes (the island) from the Byzantines, they were other Christians [Eastern], but it takes them about four years to take the whole island. They’re also more actively staying in the East and fighting, while the Templars, though they have their headquarters in Cyprus, they haven’t done as much. They end up taking a small island off the coast of Syria in 1302, but there’s no water supply on it and they end up losing it after two years. While the Hospitallers take Rhodes, they’re defending Catholic-held parts of Greece, and they start naval campaigns. By the time the Templars are suppressed, the Hospitallers have their own base on Rhodes, and the Teutonic Knights have their base in the Baltic. The Templars are based in Cyprus, somebody else’s kingdom, and they were much more vulnerable, as they do not have an independent base. Once one king, Philip IV, tries to take their lands, it’s easier for other kings to follow. It’s really that the Hospitallers seemed to be fortunate in having their own base and wouldn’t always have to appease local kings.

involved in manufacturing, import and export; they had their own fleet of ships; and at one point they even owned the entire island of Cyprus. In essence, they were probably the world’s first multinational corporation.

Yet while Templars fought to the death on the battlefields, off them they also made treaties with Islamic leaders, negotiating in order to keep the peace in the countries they served. Many of the higher-ranking brothers acted as diplomats and politicians, and they had no qualms about using mediation if that was the most effective way to make some locations safer. For most Christians, the notion of negotiating with a Muslim was unthinkable, but the Templars, who lived each day in close proximity with their Islamic neighbours, realised that tolerance, respect and a degree of understanding was necessary to maintain harmony. For many decades, all these factors amalgamated and the success of the Knights Templar continued to rise. For a long time, it seemed as if they were invincible, but that was not to last.
How one woman shaped a blueprint and legacy that would last for millennia

If you stroll through the halls of the Museo Pio Clementino in Vatican City, you'll be surrounded by men. The marble busts boast strong Roman noses, and the full-length statues show the grandeur of Ancient Rome's elite ruling class. They’re men – emperors, senators, consuls – who helped shape the empire, creating the legacy we know today. But not all of them are men.

One of the white marble statues is a woman, portrayed with her hands up. Her hair is covered, and her stola covers her body. Most importantly, there’s a reason her likeness is here. This is Livia Drusilla, and she has as much of a right to be there as her neighbours.

Livia’s beginnings perhaps don’t suggest what she was destined for. She was born in 58 or 59 BCE to a wealthy family; so wealthy that she married Tiberius Claudius Nero (remember those names for later), a member of the well-to-do Claudian clan. But in the dying days of the Roman Republic, Tiberius Nero chose his allies poorly, siding with the optimates opposite Julius Caesar, and then supporting Mark Antony when he fought at Philippi. Exile followed, and Livia went with him and their son, Tiberius, to Greece in 39 BCE.

Just one or two years later, Livia fell pregnant again, but her husband never got to see the newborn. The 30s were a tumultuous time in the Mediterranean; the Republic was in its final days, with a young upstart, Octavian, vying for control. A member of the Julian clan and the adopted son of Julius Caesar, he was a strong contender for leader of Rome. And he
was recently divorced; his second wife, Scribonia, who had given him a daughter, had become tiresome to him.

Octavian's sights were set on Livia. She was beautiful, dignified and intelligent, and embodied the republican ideals of what a woman should be. It didn't hurt that she was now associated with the Claudians, either. But while she didn't have the privilege of providing her second husband with a son, it didn't matter. Livia already had a son, and now she could make him emperor.

To do that, she needed power, and that wasn't something Roman women enjoyed very often. Women were to be modest, quiet, dutiful and loyal, and were given few rights. There was no voting or standing for office, and hardly any would manage to run their own businesses. But in wealthy families, some women held another power: they had their husbands' ears. And Livia made sure the emperor trusted her completely.

Of course, we know little about Augustus and Livia's private life, but we do know that Livia enjoyed a level of freedom that not many women at the time shared. Strict moral and marriage laws had to be followed, but Livia was able to circumvent these with no repercussions. At gladiator matches and other entertainment events, she was able to sit at the front with the Vestal Virgins, the only other women who weren't relegated to the back of stadiums. She was also able to go out and about on her own - a rarity in the late Republic - and she enjoyed a certain amount of financial freedom.

Her step-grandson called her 'Ullies stolatus' ('Ulysses (Odysseus) in a frock') for her sharp tongue, and she would have open and frank conversations with the emperor about politics and how he should approach his opponents. There were many in Augustus' inner circle who knew Livia had a certain amount of influence over him; she wasn't one to be crossed.

Among them was Livia, who actually credited it for allowing her to live well into her 80s. She enjoyed a glass a day for most of her adult life. Pliny the Elder was another who swore by it, and who knows how far past 55 he would have lived had he not been killed by his curiosity of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE.
But it was all well and good Livia earning her husband's trust and affections behind closed doors; they needed to prove to the public that they were the perfect Roman power couple. Livia was the first wife of an emperor (or princeps, first among equals - perhaps at that time 'emperor' would have smacked a little too much of the dreaded Roman monarchy). She was the first first lady of Rome, if you will. There was no precedent here to follow, no blueprint from women gone by. This was the first time a Roman had held absolute power in about 500 years; it was new territory.

Livia was presented as the perfect Roman matrona. She always dressed modestly, and spun the cloth for her and her husband's tunics herself. She kept a conservative hairstyle, and wore little jewellery. Everything about her could be traced back to the old Roman values of marriage, family and morality. She didn't appear on too many coins either - Augustus was the one in power, after all.

But she was still princeps Romana, the first lady of Rome. Statues of her would be created, and she commissioned and dedicated public buildings to gain favour. She appears (we think) on the Ara Pacis, or Altar of Peace, both as herself and as a possible model for the goddess of fertility. Perhaps of more significance is that the altar was dedicated on 30 January 9 BCE: her birthday. A major portico - the Porticus Liviae - was dedicated to her two years later, and Strabo claims in Geography that she was one of the major contributors to the beautification of Rome alongside her husband, his sister Octavia, and the general Agrippa.

Livia was established in her role; she was treated with respect held a certain amount of influence in the burgeoning empire - so much so that she was sometimes referred to as mater patriae, or mother of the nation. But if she wanted to truly cement her legacy, she needed the throne to pass to her son, which would be far from easy.

While Augustus had no sons of his own, it didn't necessarily matter in Ancient Rome. Augustus himself wasn't Julius Caesar's son - instead, he was adopted. The emperor could adopt any man or boy to be his heir, and there was no guarantee it would be Tiberius. Especially because Augustus' daughter, Julia, had three sons: Gaius, Lucius and Agrippa Postumus. The real kicker? Their father was Marcus Agrippa, one of the emperor's friends and commanders. Gaius and Lucius were adopted by Augustus around 17 BCE (their younger brother was yet to be born).

However, all three boys would meet an untimely death. Some have questioned whether the empress had anything to do with their demises, but it's incredibly unlikely. Gaius was slain on the battlefield in 4 CE at the age of 23, while the middle brother, Lucius, would never live to see his 20s. Illness took him in 2 CE while he was in Gaul. Agrippa Postumus lived the longest of the brothers. While he was exiled at a young age, he would ultimately be executed after Augustus' death. As far as Livia was concerned, he wasn't a threat.

By all accounts, Tiberius was brought up as an heir. Born in 42 BCE, he was significantly older than his rivals, and given responsibilities as a result. In 6 BCE, he was given the power of a tribune, and was married to Augustus' daughter. Today we'd consider the relationship questionable, but in the early days of the empire it was a sign of Tiberius' power - and in 4 BCE, it was his time to be adopted by Augustus.

This isn't to say that Augustus was happy about the situation, though. Tiberius would later claim that...
Augustus never really treated him well; the others were higher on his wishlist for a successor. When Tiberius tried to exile himself to Rhodes to escape the imperial family, the emperor declared it desertion. But Livia wanted her son to become princeps, and would eventually bring him back into the fold.

Through all of this, Livia's marriage was going strong - or as strong as can be expected. Augustus was notoriously unfaithful, but they remained a power couple, a dynamic duo. However, in the 10s CE, the emperor's health was failing; his time was coming to a close. He became more withdrawn, but still communicated with his wife, primarily through letters. When the end came in 14 CE, Livia was by his bedside in Nola, near the infamous Mount Vesuvius that would decimate the area 65 years later.

But how did Augustus actually die? Some sources, both ancient and modern, suggest that his loving wife was behind it. A poisoned fig was apparently her weapon of choice. Some also think that she delayed the death announcement because Tiberius wasn't in Rome at the time; the death wasn't announced until the new emperor arrived at the house.

While Augustus may have been dead, Livia's prestige didn't die alongside him. In the first emperor's will, he had adopted his wife (again, this wasn't too strange for the time), and she was given the name Julia Augusta. 'Augusta' would go on to become a honorific for empresses.

But there was more - Augustus was deified, and Livia became a priestess of his cult. The one-third of his estate that she inherited was a nice bonus, too.

Perhaps most importantly, she was now the mother of the most important man in the Mediterranean. Letters to the emperor were addressed to her as well, and she signed letters that Tiberius sent. In 20 CE, it became treasonous to speak out against her. When she recovered from a grave illness in 22 CE, thanksgiving offerings were made by the people.

Livia wasn't one to let go of power. As time wore on, she became the ultimate overbearing mother. She interfered in her son's court, showing favour to politicians who Tiberius didn't necessarily like. She interfered in trials too, with Plancina, the wife and accused poisoner of Calpurnius Piso, being pardoned "by the request of [Tiberius'] mother".

But Tiberius wasn't his adoptive father; he didn't take kindly to this woman meddling and having influence above her station. This was where her narrative played directly into the hands of historians portraying her as a meddlesome and wicked woman. It seemed that Tiberius was beginning to resent Livia's presence in Rome. As far as he was concerned, she wasn't a mater patriae, and she shouldn't
be having honours bestowed on her left, right and centre. Worst of all, he was the emperor of Rome, he didn’t want the annals to merely call him ‘son of Livia’, despite the petty irony of most simply referring to Livia as ‘wife of Augustus’ over the centuries.

Livia’s ambition had earned Tiberius his position, and there’s every reason to believe that it embarrassed him. He wanted distance between them, so in 26 CE, he fled to the island of Capri. What he got up to there is a source of some debate, but we know that he only saw his mother once or twice more before her death.

Livia would live for another three years after her son’s departure. In 29 CE, at the age of 86, she breathed her last. Tiberius wouldn’t attend her funeral, but whether she knew it or not, her legacy was secured. A dynasty was made from her blood that would last until 68 CE with the suicide of Nero. Remember her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero? His names would be lent to three of the Julio-Claudian leaders, all thanks to his wife.

It would be Claudius who would turn her into a goddess in 42 CE. It was a first in Ancient Rome: here was a woman who had risen to become so powerful that she was deified. She was loved. She was the wife, mother and grandmother of emperors by that point (she would later become the great-grandmother of an emperor, too). She had done everything to bring power to herself and her son, despite how Tiberius felt about it.

By today’s standards, Livia was a feminist icon. In a patriarchal society, she found her way to the top and stayed there. She lived out her entire natural life without being assassinated (something that can’t be said for many high-profile Roman men), and wielded control in her household and, to a certain extent, the empire. But that’s not how history has remembered her.

Until relatively recently, women haven’t been able to hold much power, simply because it has been thought that they shouldn’t. As a result, depictions of Rome’s first-ever, trendsetting empress have shown her as conniving, scheming and wicked. While she was revered for her pietas and morality, she was put down for her enjoyment of almost equal rights. Her influence exceeded what was appropriate for her gender in the eyes of many chroniclers over the centuries.

But the truth of the matter is that she was an icon. She paved the way for every empress of Ancient Rome, every first lady of the United States. With absolutely no precedent before her, she set the blueprint for behaviour, public image, and for those who married emperors after her. While Augustus may have found a city of bricks and left one of marble, Livia left a dynasty, the first Roman imperial house, and the defining role of the first lady for millennia to come.
“IT IS AN ABSOLUTELY INCREDIBLE SURVIVAL STORY”

FIENNES ON SHACKLETON

Written by Tom Garner

Speaking as part of the publication of his new biography, Sir Ranulph Fiennes OBE discusses the achievements of the great polar explorer.
The Endurance, pictured trigged and frozen in the pack ice of the Weddell Sea shortly after the return of the sun after the long Antarctic winter.
Sir Ernest Shackleton (1874-1922) was a principal figure in what became known as the 'Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration'. An Anglo-Irish Merchant Navy officer, he commanded three expeditions to Antarctica during 1907-22. The second of these, the Imperial Trans-Antarctic 'Endurance' Expedition of 1914-17, is one of the most famous survival stories of all time, with Shackleton becoming a role model for leadership.

One of Shackleton's many admirers is fellow polar explorer Sir Ranulph Fiennes. Among his many exploration achievements, Fiennes is the first person to visit both the North and South Poles by surface means and the first person (along with Professor Mike Stroud) to completely cross Antarctica on foot unsupported.

As such, he is uniquely placed to assess Shackleton as a polar explorer. Here, Fiennes discusses Shackleton's successes and failures and reveals how he finally completed the aims of the original 'Endurance' expedition in the 1990s.

'A DIFFERENT WORLD'

A veteran of many expeditions to the Arctic and Antarctic, Fiennes knows better than most how mentally challenging and physically perilous polar exploration can be. "Trying to describe the unpleasantness of polar travel is difficult and it's hard to know what it feels like to be really cold because it's a different world," he says.

"Additionally, if you cross an unknown crevasse in Antarctica you can often fall in and you need another guy who is roped up to pull you out. In the Arctic it's even more difficult to gauge the thickness of new ice over the water. It's like being on a pond when you go skating, except that the water is 17,000-feet deep.

"It's also likely that you'll end up hating the people you're travelling with, even if you like them in normal life. But the worst number of people to take is actually on a solo expedition. You have nobody else to hate and you have no one to be tied to a rope with. You have heavy clothing, you're pulling a heavy sledge, and if you're by yourself getting out of a crevasse is a major problem. If you have companions they'll detect the crevasse if you haven't and rope up before crossing it. They'll also pull you out, not with ease, but it can be done. Therefore, 'soi' is a very stupid word for polar travel."

'DISCOVERY' AND 'NIMROD'

Fiennes' observations on how difficult polar exploration can be for just one person make Shackleton's achievements as a leader of men even more remarkable. However, Shackleton was not in command for his first expedition to the Antarctic. During the British 'Discovery' Expedition of 1901-04, Shackleton served as third officer under the command of Captain Robert Falcon Scott.

The expedition was a landmark in British polar exploration that conducted extensive scientific and geographical research into what was then a largely unexplored continent. It also included an early attempt to reach the South Pole. Shackleton accompanied Scott and Dr Edward Wilson on this journey and they reached a 'Farthest South' record of 676km from the Pole on 30 December 1902.

The men achieved this despite Shackleton suffering from ill health. Fiennes reflects that this was the beginning of a trend that troubled Shackleton throughout his exploration career: "On 'Discovery' he was only the Third Officer and Scott was definitely the leader. However, Shackleton did show an incredible willpower and it had to be greater than anybody else because of his illnesses. He had a weak heart and knew it so he wouldn't allow anyone to test it. He also had lung problems, which were exacerbated by altitude. When Mike Stroud was with me near the Pole [during 1992-93] he suffered from altitude problems and described it as 'running on empty'. That's a good description but Shackleton had such a powerful willpower that he could keep going. On all of his expeditions most people would have withdrawn with that state of health."

In 1907, Shackleton returned to the Antarctic but this time he was in command of what was known as the 'Nimrod' Expedition. He achieved a new 'Farthest South' record with Jameson Adams, Eric Marshall and Frank Wild. Fiennes explains what an achievement this was: "Shackleton got much further south by finding an inlet at Mount Hope to get to the Beardmore Glacier. He then got to within 97 miles [156km] of the South Pole, which was amazing. This was a world record and I would call it a success on the way to the ultimate success. It wasn't a failure but Shackleton realised that his critics would deem him a failure because he hadn't quite reached the Pole."

As well as the 'Farthest South', a separate group from the expedition reached the estimated location of the South Magnetic Pole. The expedition also achieved the first ascent of Antarctica's second-highest volcano, Mount Erebus, and Shackleton was knighted upon his return.
‘ENDURANCE’
The Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen finally reached the South Pole on 14 December 1911, with Scott following close behind on 17 January 1912. Scott died on the return journey, which left Shackleton as the surviving leading British Antarctic explorer. His ambitions had not dimmed with the conquest of the Pole. “Shackleton thought the next thing would be to cross the whole of Antarctica,” says Fiennes. “His expedition would consist of two ships: one would drop supply depots for him and the other from the other side of the continent, which he would personally lead. He hoped to cross Antarctica and make a famous name for himself over and above Scott.”

Formally known as the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Shackleton began his voyage to Antarctica in August 1914 on the eve of Britain’s entry into WWI. He sailed to the Weddell Sea via South Georgia island in the ship Endurance, while on the other side of the continent the Ross Sea Party planned to drop off depot supplies from the ship Aurora. With a crew of 28 (including Shackleton), Endurance entered the Weddell Sea but became trapped in pack ice during December 1914. The ship drifted with the pack to within approximately 50km of the continent in January 1915, but she then began to drift northwards.

Endurance was slowly crushed by the pack until Shackleton ordered the crew to abandon ship on 27 October 1915. The ship sunk shortly afterwards and all thoughts now turned to reaching safety. With just three lifeboats and ever-diminishing supplies, Shackleton used all his powers of leadership to guide his men through the ice pack for months as they tried to reach land.

On 25 March 1916, it was discovered that the isolated Elephant Island in the Southern Ocean was around 160km due north of the expedition’s position and on 9 April Endurance’s crew finally left the ice floe in the lifeboats. Using both sail and rowing they managed to reach Elephant Island on 14 April. Shackleton’s men were by now in a desperate state, both physically and mentally, and the island was uninhabited and extremely remote. Ships rarely visited this part of the world and Shackleton knew they could only escape if help was summoned. Under these extreme circumstances, he made the difficult decision to leave behind the majority of his men while he sailed away to raise the alarm.

VOYAGE OF THE CAIRD
While the two other boats were upturned and transformed into a shelter, Shackleton decided to sail to the whaling stations of South Georgia in a 6.9-metre lifeboat called the James Caird. This was to be no ordinary voyage – the James Caird had to sail 1,300km through the Southern Ocean, which is one of the most dangerous seas in the world. Its hand-picked crew of six could expect

ENDURANCE’S ICONIC PHOTOGRAPHY
A veteran of the Australasian Antarctic Expedition of 1911-14, Frank Hurley (1885-1962) was the official photographer of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. A consummate artist, he documented the expedition and captured many stunning images – often at great personal risk to himself. He persuaded Shackleton to save the best negatives when the Endurance sank but was forced to destroy many more.

Hurley was a pioneer, and while he was with the expedition he also produced Paget colour photographs and moving film footage. He even managed to film the Endurance as she visibly disintegrated. Hurley later compiled both photographs and footage into the 1919 documentary film South. Shortly after returning from the Antarctic, he joined the Australian Imperial Force during WWI and captured many arresting battlefield photographs.
hurricane-force winds in the waters of the Drake Passage, which was known by mariners as the 'great graveyard' of ships.

Endurance's carpenter, Harry McNish, raised the sides of the James Caird and made a protective deck using wood from the other lifeboats. He also improvised by sealing the boat with materials such as lamp wick, oil paints and even seal blood. This was a desperate endeavour but Shackleton saw the voyage as their only chance of rescue.

Leaving the remainder of his men in the care of second-in-command Frank Wild, Shackleton set sail in the James Caird on 24 April 1916. What followed was a hellish voyage that Fiennes remains in awe of: “It was the most amazing suffering over a long period. There were constant rebuffs and to be wet and cold is utterly debilitating. How none of them went completely mad over that period of floating is just incredible. I have never experienced hot or cold suffering that reminded me in an even miniscule way of Shackleton's Caird voyage.”

The James Caird endured constantly heavy seas, Force nine winds and ice build-ups on the hull that threatened to capsize the boat. The waves were terrifyingly huge, some over 30 metres, and they moved at speeds of 80kph. On 5 May 1916, the boat was even struck by a tidal wave that Shackleton initially mistook for the sky. He later wrote: “I have never seen a wave so gigantic.”

Somehow, the James Caird didn't flounder, despite the weather and the crew's poor physical condition. Fiennes credits this to Shackleton's incredible leadership: “They'd already experienced Endurance sinking and lived on ice floes for months before trying to work out the safest way out. Whatever way Shackleton chose, death was the likely outcome but he kept cheerful.”

Finally, after 17 days at sea, the James Caird landed on the southern coast of South Georgia. The crew were exhausted but unfortunately the whaling stations were on the north side of the island. Shackleton left three of his men with the James Caird at King Haakon Bay while he, Tom Crean and Frank Worsley made the first confirmed land crossing of South Georgia.

The island's interior consisted of hazardous mountains and glaciers but, incredibly, the three men successfully crossed South Georgia in a continuous 36-hour trek with minimal hiking equipment. They reached the station of Stromness on 20 May 1916 to the astonishment of the resident Norwegian whalers who had long given up Shackleton for dead. The remainder of the James Caird's crew were soon picked up and Shackleton spent months frantically trying to arrange a rescue ship to collect the crew left

“A MOST ASTONISHING TRIP”

Endurance’s Captain Frank Worsley saved his crew by sailing to South Georgia in a lifeboat

A merchant seaman and Royal Naval Reservist, New Zealander Frank Worsley (1872-1943) had 27 years’ maritime experience before he joined the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. Shackleton appointed Worsley as captain of the Endurance and he was known by all as Skipper. Even though Endurance was crushed by ice and sunk in October 1915, Worsley’s worth to the expedition ironically increased thanks to his prodigious navigation skills.

His successful navigating of Endurance’s lifeboat the James Caird to Elephant Island made him indispensable to the crew for the journey to South Georgia. The success of the voyage entirely depended on the accuracy of Worsley’s navigation. Finding the tiny island in a huge ocean with atrocious weather conditions was a herculean task. His equipment consisted only of a sextant, compass, chronometer and navigation tables and charts. For much of the journey he was forced to rely on dead reckoning as the skies were mostly stormy and overcast. Nevertheless, Worsley safely navigated the boat to South Georgia with only four confirmed sightings of the sun over the 17-day voyage.

“Shackleton knew that Worsley was above average and an amazing navigator,” says Fiennes. “This was not just mechanically or mathematically but more importantly in willpower. He had to keep the navigation equipment flat and see where the sun was while the boat was going up and down and everyone was soaked. His navigation was unbelievable.”
on Elephant Island.

After several abortive rescue attempts, Shackleton was sent a tugboat called Yelcho by the Chilean government and he finally reached Elephant Island on 30 August 1916. A smoke signal was sent from the shore while Shackleton approached the beach in a small boat. Figures emerged from the capsized lifeboats and when he was within earshot Shackleton called out: “Are you alright?” The reply was: “All well!” Miraculously, all the men on the island had survived, and as Fiennes succinctly notes: “It is an absolutely incredible survival story.”

COMPLETING THE CROSSING
The ‘Endurance’ part of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition has rightly become legendary as a supreme example of survival against the odds. However, as Fiennes points out, the neglected Ross Sea Party became stranded off Antarctica until January 1917 and their attempt to lay depots proved fatal as well as futile. “Shackleton was criminally negligent in his planning for the other side,” he says. “Three of the party (including the commander Aeneas Mackintosh) died and of course there was no way of knowing that the Endurance had sunk. The three men died horribly for nothing. They had actually managed to drop most of the food off, even though their ship with most of their kit had been caught in the ice and taken away before they had unloaded properly. It was a disaster.”

Because the story of Endurance has become so famous, the sufferings of the Ross Sea Party and the fact that Shackleton achieved none of his actual objectives during 1914-17 have almost been forgotten. It wasn’t until Sir Vivian Fuchs’ Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition of 1955-58 that the first overland crossing of Antarctica was completed. Fuchs achieved this by using tracked snow vehicles and it wasn’t until Fiennes’ Unsupported Antarctic Continent Expedition of 1992-93 that a foot crossing was successfully attempted.

With Stroud, Fiennes’ aim was to effectively complete Shackleton’s plans almost 80 years after the original expedition. “A lot of Shackleton’s critics say that he failed at every expedition aim that he set out to do. If he had been able to cross Antarctica that would have been a huge achievement but it was left to us to prove that Shackleton could have done it.”

Key to achieving the unsupported crossing was remaining properly nourished: “Mike knew that Shackleton and his companions were much tougher than him and myself. Therefore, if we could do it they definitely could have done it. Mike planned it in the same way that Shackleton’s team did but with a better knowledge of nutrition. Although they had knowledge of scurvy in the early 20th century they frequently suffered from it. For the first 30 days we were towing a c.450lb load each. At the beginning that was 180lb greater than any previous man-haul since the days of Scott and Shackleton, and they were pretty powerful men. We just managed to reach our final depot; although we were pretty much dead and I’d lost 55lb despite eating 7,000 calories a day. However, we had definitely done what Shackleton wanted to do.”

“SUPERB HEROES”
Scott and Shackleton were colleagues and then rivals in their quests to explore the Antarctic. For many years Scott was the more lionised of the two, particularly because he reached the South Pole but died in the attempt. He was regarded as a ‘heroic failure’ but in recent decades Shackleton’s reputation has grown compared to Scott. This is largely because of his survival skills and unique leadership qualities.

Fiennes, who is also a noted advocate for Scott’s achievements, holds both men in high regard: “They are superb heroes of mine because they both suffered hugely. The suffering of Scott is not completely covered because he and his men died. Their tale only survived because of the tiny notes that were found in their tent. If they had returned (like Shackleton) to write their story then Scott’s suffering would have probably been regarded in the same way as Shackleton’s.”

In terms of where Shackleton ranks in the history of polar exploration, Fiennes is also equally balanced in admiration: “I have a finishing post in rankings where a lot of explorers go to within a second of each other. In my opinion Scott and Shackleton are right up there. They are first at the post neck-and-neck together.”
By some accounts, Japan is a country littered with strange and mysterious creatures. For instance, if you bathe in a river on a hot summer’s day then beware turtle-like monsters that snap at you from the water, threatening to pull you in and consume you. Travellers walking moonlit roads should be heedful of warnings of vast skeletal ghouls, whose chattering teeth and rattling bones can be heard on the wind. That’s not all: watch out for one-eyed umbrellas with long tongues or women who seem ordinary enough, until their necks stretch in the night and their heads go seeking prey. What do all these bizarre and peculiar monstrosities have in common? They are all Yokai, a class of supernatural beings from Japanese folklore whose enduring popularity and creative versatility has made them something of a cultural staple. “Generally the way the term Yokai is used these days is as a catch-all phrase for all sorts of mysterious and spooky creatures,” says Dr Michael Foster, a Yokai expert and the author of The Book of Yokai: Mysterious Creatures of Japanese Folklore. “It generally refers more to monsters based in folklore as opposed to something like Godzilla, because he’s been invented within popular culture. Yokai are everything from small water sprites to flying creatures.” Despite the variety of Yokai and the multitude of stories connected to them, there are some common tropes between them. Like Western ghosts, the spirits of Japan are commonly associated with abandoned or lonely places such as small rural settlements. What do all these Yokai have in common? They are all said to march through the streets, and in folklore, they are associated with abandon, loneliness, and danger. Yokai are a staple of Japanese folklore, and their enduring popularity and creativity have made them a cultural phenomenon.
villages, deserted mountains, forests and ancient cities.

The origins of Yōkai are hard to pinpoint, primarily due to them being essentially a collection of folk tales, each originating at different times. “Each Yōkai has a slightly separate origin story,” Foster explains. “The earliest documents in Japan are from 712 and 722 and don’t use the word Yōkai but do feature demonic creatures.” However, as is often the case when examining the development of folklore or myth, it is difficult to draw direct lines between how we define Yōkai now and some of these earlier ghouls. “What I would call Yōkai, things like the Kappa and the Tengu, they start developing in local legends probably around the 10th and 11th centuries,” says Foster. “But it’s hard, they were part of folk culture and as a result it really wasn’t well documented.”

The ‘Golden Age of Yōkai’, when these tales and stories begin to develop greater

- **ABOVE** A water spirit known as a Kappa, sometimes depicted as fearsome
- **RIGHT** An illustration of a Yuki Onna or ‘Snow Woman’ from an early 1900’s Yōkai book

popularity, is often considered to be the Edo period, which took place between 1603 and 1867. “During that time people really started writing down the stories associated with Yōkai,” Foster explains. “They’re kind of abstracted from oral tradition, written down, illustrated and then reintroduced into oral tradition as well. To me, this is a vital time in which Yōkai as a category and as a way of thinking becomes much more pervasive.” But what is it about the Edo period which facilitated such great interest in folklore and legends? As Foster explains in his book, this was a period of great social upheaval when “the domains of the Japanese islands were, relatively speaking, united as one country through a complex system of oversight with a strong military government based in Edo.” This city became a centre of cultural exchange from small rural communities all over Japan. This coincided with a boom in the popularity of woodblock printing (Western-style printing presses were banned in Japan until 1848) saw a proliferation of interest in, and publications about, the strange and the weird.

A popular pastime during this period was a ceremony known as Hyakumonogatari Kaidankai. This practice involved a large gathering where 100 candles would be lit. Each of the gatherers would then tell a short spooky kaidan (the Japanese term for ghost story) and blow out one of the candles. At the end of this the room would be plunged into darkness, out of which a real Yōkai would emerge. So popular was this practice that publications began to appear specifically for the purpose of collecting these tales. The popularity of these collections, as well as picture scrolls by artists such as Tosa Mitsunobu and Kawanabe Kyōsai, set the stage for one of the most important pieces of Yōkai media.

Toriyama Sekien’s series of illustrated Yōkai encyclopedia, named Gazu Hyakki Yagyō, roughly translated as Illustrated Night Parade of a Hundred Spirits, is something of a misleading title as the four works actually depict some 200 creatures and entities. Sekien provided text alongside the illustrations, detailing each of the monster’s backgrounds and habits. Sekien built on earlier Yōkai

Rokurokubi

Long-necked spirit

This creature appears as an ordinary woman, but has the ability to either grow its neck incredibly long or detach its head. This allows the head to fly around freely of its own accord at night while the body sleeps blissfully unaware. Unlike other Yōkai, who are born as monsters, Rokurokubi are usually the result of a curse or by someone committing an indescribable sin. Sometimes these sins are not committed by the Rokurokubi but by their husbands or fathers, but it is always the women who are punished.

“Their rattling bones and chattering teeth can be heard as they hunt any mortal foolish to wander late-night roads”
Kappa have been revered as water gods   "explained Foster. Organs and eat them. They're particularly fond of cucumber but previously they had another, more macabre diet. Historically they would yank children into the water, reach up through their anus, pull out their internal organs and eat them. They're pretty gruesome," explains Foster.

In the Japanese religion of Shinto, Kappa have been revered as water gods and offerings of cucumbers have been made at river banks. They are known to be skilled in the art of bone-setting and in Richard M Dorson's *Folk Legends of Japan* he relates a story in which a Kappa bargains for its life by offering to teach this skill. As Dorson states, this man goes on to "be the founder of the family line of the famous surgeon Tachiki." In some stories Kappa are benign, even befriending lonely children - something of a contrast to their earlier-mentioned habit of eating organs. However, it is the duality of Yōkai that make them so flexible and is arguably responsible for their enduring popularity, able to be both hero or villain. This is in much the same way that ghosts in Western media can be the subject of horror films such as *Paranormal Activity* or children's media like *Gasper*.

"Kibyōshi", meaning 'yellow covers', can be deemed largely responsible for this more lighthearted approach to Yōkai. Popular in the late 1700s and early 1800s, Kibyōshi were cheaply produced picture books designed for adults and can be considered something of a precursor to Manga. Containing usually only around ten pages and spread over numerous volumes, each page would feature one drawing which would then be supported with text. The Kibyōshi were known for their irreverent humour and sharp, biting satire. In fact, so satirical were these publications that it is possible that this may have been a reason behind their coming to an end in 1806. During the 30-plus years that Kibyōshi were being produced, some 1,800 separate works were printed. This short and playful fiction often saw Yōkai used as a cast of rich stock characters, replacing either a class or type of person. As Foster explains in *The Book of Yōkai*: "For the most part, Yōkai in Kibyōshi were anything but scary; they were goofy and comical, their language full of puns and topical references." Following these portrayals Yōkai began to appear on board games, in shooting galleries and even a card game known as Yōkai Karuta, which Foster notes is "remarkably similar to contemporary Pokemon." These entertainments, springing from the cheeky creativity pioneered in the Kibyōshi, existed side by side with the more...
Yōkai ON THE SCREEN

These colourful creatures remain a favourite in Japanese cinema and during the 1960s starred in a trilogy of popular films

Yōkai, perhaps due to their bizarre visual traits, remain a popular subject for filmmakers. One of the most notable examples is a trilogy of Tokusatsu films (live-action films making heavy use of special effects) beginning with 1968’s Yōkai Monsters: Ten Monsters. The film tells of a rich and evil landowner who incurs the wrath of a group Yōkai after holding a Hyakumonogatari Kaidan ceremony. A success, it was its sequel Yōkai Monsters: Spook Warfare that became arguably the most beloved of the three. This saw the Yōkai facing terrifying Yōkai that were portrayed in folk tales.

One particularly famous Yōkai, though one with few comic traits, is the Tengu, a fearsome red-faced demon. Originally the Tengu was closer to a bird-like creature and would live in the mountains, disguising itself as a monk and using shape-shifting abilities. As might be imagined, the connections to Buddhism meant that these mythical entities often found themselves being used as propaganda. They were used for political purposes; one sort of faction of monks would accuse the others of being Tengu, of following a false path to purity,” says Foster.

According to Buddhist legend, a Tengu is created when a person is not evil enough to go to Hell but not pure enough in spirit to ascend to Heaven. The Tengu exist in two castes, the Daitengu and the Kotengu. The former is larger and more imposing, closer in form to humans and are generally thought to be wiser in nature. These are the creatures with the red faces and long noses that are said to exist on solitary mountaintops. They are thought to be skilled in martial arts and know multiple forms of combat, and have been viewed as almost god-like beings. These are often flanked by other creatures called Kotengu, or ‘Koppa Tengu’, described in Charles Russell Coulter and Patricia Turner’s Encyclopedia of Ancient Deities as “goblins who have mouths like beaks and bodies with small wings” and “are the inferiors of the Tengu.” These creatures are more vicious and cruel than their noble counterparts.

As the Edo age came to an end and the Meiji era (1868-1912) dawned, a period defined by radical restructuring of Japanese society and culture began to occur. Japanese scholars now sought to rationalise the folkloric and a number of books appeared that aimed to debunk national belief in these magical creatures. It was during this time that Buddhist philosopher and supernatural expert extraordinary, Inoue Enryō, invented the study of yōkai-gaku, meaning ‘monsterology’. Enryō encouraged people to send him their folkloric stories as well as any perceived encounters with Yōkai in order that he could study and eventually explain these creatures. “In order to debunk it, he collected a lot of stories and in doing so repopularised the subject,” explains Foster. “As a result he became known throughout Japan as Doctor or Professor Yōkai.”

The folkloric importance and connection to Japanese history of many of these creatures must have made it hard for Enryō to shake belief in them. A Yōkai with a particularly rich historical background, not to mention one of the most visually terrifying, is the Gashadokuro, described by Matthew Meyer as: “Skeletal giants which wander around the countryside in the darkest hours of the night.” Fifteen-times the size of a normal human, they are the result of victims of plague or soldiers...
who die in lonely fields and abandoned forests who do not receive the correct funerary rites. The anger felt by these lost souls remains and eventually, after years of rotting and decay, the malevolent bones of hundreds of these victims combine into a single Gashadokuro. They hate the living and their rattling bones and cackling teeth can be heard as they hunt any mortal foolish to wander late-night roads.

The most famous and in fact the earliest recorded story involving a Gashadokuro is the legend of Taira No Masakado, the first samurai. Masakado led a bloody rebellion against the emperor and was eventually killed for his treachery, his body brought to the city of Kyoto. Legends soon began of Masakado's angry spirit seeking revenge and of his daughter, a witch named Takiyasha, living on in his fortress. His severed head was said to howl in the night and longed to be returned to its body. Eventually Takiyasha summoned a Gashadokuro from the bodies of Masakado's fallen soldiers and used it to attack Kyoto. It is this scene which is depicted in the oft-seen print Takiyasha the Witch and the Skeleton Spectre by Utagawa Kuniyoshi.

The history of the Gashadokuro may be rich, but arguably one of Yōkai's most popular periods occurred relatively recently, in the years following World War II. Shigeru Mizuki, described by Foster as "the individual responsible for making Yōkai relevant during this period," was the creator of the long-running Manga series GeGeGe No Kitarō (roughly translated as Spooky Kitarō). First published in 1960, GeGeGe was itself based on a folk tale and follows the titular young boy Kitaro, the last survivor of the Ghost Tribe, as he meets and interacts with other famous monsters from Japanese mythology.

Mizuki served in World War II with the Japanese infantry in Papa New Guinea, where he lost his left arm. He returned to Japan in 1950 and studied at Musashino Art School until 1957, when he began a career illustrating cheaply produced Kashi-hon Manga. He first invented Kitarō while at art school, but soon made him the lead figure in a Manga series called Kitarō of the Graveyard. When the time came for the character to be adapted into an anime cartoon series, the sponsors insisted that 'graveyard' be dropped and instead GeGeGe No Kitarō was born. Mizuki incorporated much of his knowledge of Yōkai folklore into his creation, and following its success he authored a number of similar Yōkai-themed Manga.

Like the Western vampire or ghost, Yōkai continue to appear in new stories in a variety of Japanese media and are constantly reinvented and reinterpreted. Doubtless, it is this versatility that allows Yōkai to be constantly relevant and a key part of Japanese culture. "I think they tell us a lot about any given period in Japanese history," says Foster. "They’re very malleable, their shape-shifting nature allows them to be interpreted differently by every generation. I think this is also why monsters such as vampires and ghosts are similarly evergreen." Like these creatures, Yōkai also allow us an escape from our everyday lives, as Foster puts it: "The idea that beneath the surface of everything that you know there is the possibility of something strange. A Kappa in the waters or a Tengu in the mountains."
The history we were taught was very narrow."

Stephen Bourne discusses his long career and his work in rediscovering Black history.

"For the last three decades, Stephen Bourne has dedicated his career to uncovering the forgotten stories of Black Britain, from the servicemen and women who fought during the World Wars to the pioneers of Black British theatre. He spoke to Bourne about his career and finding the lost history of Black Britain and how he's fought to get Black history published in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement."

Interview by Jessica Leggett
DEEP ARE THE ROOTS: TRAILBLAZERS WHO CHANGED BLACK BRITISH THEATRE
BY STEPHEN BOURNE
IS OUT NOW FROM THE HISTORY PRESS

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Why did you decide to become a historian?

To be honest, I didn’t decide to become a historian. It didn’t work like that. I come from a working-class background. I went to a Secondary Modern School in the early 1970s in South London, and we left at 16 with no qualifications. There was no route to university and an academic career. History at school wasn’t taught. I think we were taught history maybe in the first or second year and it trailed off after that.

History only interested me because I was fascinated by the stories of older women in my family. My mother was a little girl during the Blitz; she grew up in London and my grandmother and my great aunt were always talking about the Blitz and how it impacted them. They were working-class women’s voices and this was missing in history books, television and film. The men in my family never talked about it. The women did. When I was old enough to travel across London alone, I abscended from school and went to Fulham to spend time with the older female relatives and listen to their stories.

One of them was an adopted aunt, Aunt Esther, who was a Black Londoner born before World War I. Her experiences of World War II were similar to the other older women in my family but she was Black. I became interested in her life as a Black working-class woman in Britain at that time and I questioned her about her childhood, what it was like trying to get a job and so on. When I left school I realised that she couldn’t have been the only Black person in Britain before Windrush - we didn’t really know about Windrush in those days - so I started to delve a bit deeper.

It all came naturally to me, it wasn’t an academic thing. I just found my way into this subject. I did not call myself a historian because I thought only people from Oxford and Cambridge universities could be historians. I found a different way of learning history, by talking to older relatives and people in the community, and realising that life stories are history.

“I found a different way of learning history, by talking to older relatives and people in the community”

Tell us about how you conduct your historical research...

This is very difficult to answer because I never came through the academic route. I just use my imagination, keep an open mind and follow clues. Obviously, it’s much easier now because of the internet.

I talked to my Aunt Esther many times over the years but I never intended to write a book about her. But, in 1991, I was invited to a book launch at the Imperial War Museum. The book was *West Indian Women At War*, a wonderful book by two Black historians Colin Douglas and Ben Bousquet. They interviewed several women from the Caribbean who’d joined the armed services, including the ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service), in WWII.

Colin worked for Hammersmith and Fulham Council and I told him about Aunt Esther. He said: “Do you realise that in Hammersmith and Fulham we have an Ethnic Communities Oral History Project?” He told me that Aunt Esther would be perfect for their remit, but the subjects of the books have to tell their own stories. He put me in touch with Sav Kyriacou, who was responsible for publishing these amazing books. I gave him all the tapes that I’d recorded of Aunt Esther talking and he loved them. They commissioned the book and they were excited because they didn’t know that they had this Black woman in Fulham, born in 1912, who had this fascinating story. That’s how my first

RIGHT Stephen’s Aunt Esther with her father, Joseph, in 1918

BELOW Esther and Kathy, Stephen’s mother, pictured together in 1947
What's it like to be a white man writing Black history?

Bourne reveals how he has been received by the Black community

I haven't had any criticism about being white. I always state that not all white people come from all-white families. My Aunt Esther was a young adult when my great grandmother adopted her into my family during the Second World War. By the time I was born she was part of my family and that was normal. I'm thankful to have come from a family that had that diversity. Those who have been suspicious, wary or critical, are white middle-class people. I don't have a chip on my shoulder - some of my best friends are white and middle class! But if they don't know me, or if they do and know my background, they still don't get it. White working-class people get it, Black people get it, but the white middle-class people are very wary.

Even now, after 30 years of writing Black British history books, I still come across this suspicion because I don't fit the profile. The profile has always been if you're white and write about Black subjects then you must be a lefty or a liberal. I'm apolitical. I don't subscribe to that way of thinking and that is problematic for a lot of people because they can't pigeonhole me or fit me into a box.

I just know that the positive reaction I've had from the Black community in Britain has been phenomenal, and it's been the thing that has really spurred me on and made me want to do more research and continue this work. It's just evolved. I never know, from one year to the next, what's going to happen. I'm just thankful that I've had the stamina and the bloody-mindedness to persevere with the things that I believe in and that I'm most passionate about. It has been an incredible journey and I wouldn't have missed it for the world.

This year, you're celebrating the 30th anniversary of Aunt Esther's Story. How has the market for Black British history changed over the last three decades?

That has changed hugely because of the tragic murder of George Floyd last year and the Black Lives Matter movement. The landscape is changing radically, not in terms of the people that publish, they are still predominantly white and middle class, but they have had to come on board with this. We're seeing more Black interest books, most of them by established or new Black authors. That is fantastic to see.

From the end of the 1990s until 2010, it was impossible for me to get a Black book, co-authored with Aunt Esther, was published 30 years ago and I've never looked back.

I realised through Sav that firsthand testimony was paramount in relating history and I decided that if I wrote any more history books, they would focus on firsthand testimony. This is very difficult when you're dealing with World War I, as I did with my book Black Poppies. But if you seek, you will find, it's as simple as that. You don't have to worry about words ending in -ology or theoretical concepts, the information is out there.

However, we had funding in 1991. That oral history project was funded by the local authority, but the funding for local history publications has gone now. In 1991, people like me, with no experience of writing history books, had the opportunity to learn through these local publishing ventures. It breaks my heart that it is not supported anymore. The Hammersmith and Fulham project folded in 2001, I believe, and it was horrible to see that opportunity taken away from local communities.
Call: Britain’s Black Service men & Women
that they commissioned The Motherland Calls: Britain’s Black Servicemen & Women 1939-45 in 2012, and Black Poppies: Britain’s Black Community and the Great War in 2014 for the centenary of World War I. I’ve never looked back and they’ve published most of my books. Also, Jacaranda, which is a Black women’s publishing house, have published two of my Black British history books.

Another book that I tried to get published was Deep Are The Roots: Trailblazers Who Changed Black British Theatre. Eleven publishers turned it down. They told me there is no market for it and that Black people don’t buy books. It was nothing to do with me being white, it was everything to do with the subject matter. It was that blatant.

Your new book Deep Are the Roots is about to be released. What inspired you to write it?
I was always interested in film, television, theatre, radio and, within that, Black actors, directors and writers and what they were doing. I’d already written a book in 1998 called Black in the British Frame, on Black British film and television history. The theatre intrigued me because it had never really been done. I made friends with older Black actors and actresses in the 1980s and 1990s and talked to them. They were always proud of certain things that they’d done but they didn’t want to talk about the negative stuff, the periods of unemployment or the racism they experienced. That was very influential on me. A big lesson that I learned is that the older generations of Black people wanted to talk about the positive things that had happened in their lives.

I love collecting information, talking to people and so, again, it’s that firsthand experience.

“We told me there is no market for it and that Black people don’t buy books”
testimony that is very much a feature of Deep Are the Roots. But I have put myself in the book as well; there are a lot of personal anecdotes and memories that I wanted to share about meeting some of these amazing people.

How important was it for you to write Deep Are the Roots from a personal perspective?
I was always told never to personalise anything and to write objectively. It goes back to this academic way of doing things. I told my editor at The History Press about Deep Are the Roots, that it had been rejected and I hadn’t looked at the proposal for 10 years. He commissioned it and I asked if I could write it from a personal perspective and put myself in the story. I said it’s a bit of a risk because traditional historians don’t like that sort of thing, but I’m not writing it for them, I’m writing it for everyone.

I discovered by giving hundreds of talks on Black British history that people engage with me because I speak from personal experience. But I hadn’t picked up on that and translated it into my books, so it’s a bit of an experiment. I believe there’s room for all of us. There’s room for me, there’s room for anyone who wants to write about history in whatever shape or form they want to write it and we should give people that opportunity.

I was contacted by several publishers last year because of Black Lives Matter. The publishing world has shifted a bit and let’s hope that more historians of Black Britain are commissioned to write books. Not necessarily me, because I’ve written plenty already, but to bring new voices in and not inhibit them. Certain publishers will inhibit writers because they will still expect a certain academic approach or way of writing. That worries me.

Having overcome many obstacles to get your work published, have your books proven that there is indeed a market for Black British history?
I knew there was a market when Aunt Esther’s Story was published in 1991. It was a small print run, admittedly, but it sold out completely and so did the second edition in 1996. But you have to understand that in the 1990s we had a thriving Black media. We had several Black newspapers and magazines, radio programmes, feminist magazines – they all supported Aunt Esther’s book. The fact that that book sold two editions showed there was an interest in the subject, particularly in the Black community, and that there was support for such books. But publishers are very white, middle-class and resistant. I would love to know how many publishers in this country are now publishing Black British history books.

I’ve been very fortunate with The History Press and my books have been popular. I didn’t receive my author’s copy for the first edition of Black Poppies - I phoned up my editor and he said it had sold out before it was even published. I did a revised edition in 2019 because a lot of people had shared more information and photos with me. It flies in the face of what a lot of publishers think of this subject.

I asked Black people that came to my Black Poppies talks why they were drawn to the book. They said it was because of the cover photograph of the Black sailor and the soldier that the title resonated with them. My book was ignored by the media but through word of mouth in the Black community its popularity spread.

There are lots of Black interest books and works by Black authors coming out now. I don’t know whether the scales have been tipped in favour of more Black British history books because what I am hearing from parents and primary school teachers is that there is still a dominance of African-Americans in history lessons. They’re still teaching young people about Dr Martin Luther King and African-American Civil Rights, but they’re not teaching about Black people from British history.

You’ve dedicated your career to rediscovering untold stories – not just Black British history but in gay culture as well. Why is that important?
It’s to broaden our perspective of British history. When I was younger, I was very conscious of the fact that the history we were taught either in schools, books or on television was very narrow. It was very much a white male-dominated world. Women didn’t have much of a place unless she was Florence Nightingale or Queen Victoria. Black women had no place at all, they didn’t exist. It’s trying to fill in those gaps in the cultural diversity of this country, despite what we’ve been taught, and finding these wonderful stories.

What do you hope that readers will take away from your work?
How wonderful British history is in its complexity and diversity, and how important it is. I’ve learned a huge lesson: it doesn’t matter where you’re from, or what background you’re from, or what you look like, or how we stereotype people – they will always be interested in something if it’s presented from a human point of view and done with respect.
The most common perceptions of Winston Churchill held in the public consciousness date to the early 1940s, when he was Britain’s wartime prime minister. He was an important figurehead and firebrand for a nation under siege, and that image has been burned into our collective memory. However, that is just one moment in a long career of victories and calamities. Here, Anthony Tucker-Jones explores Churchill’s life before the war and how he became the man remembered by history today.

THE HUNT FOR GLORY
Like many young men, Winston Churchill had a great thirst for fame and glory driven by the impetuousness of youth. Foremost though, Winston wanted to please his parents, especially his father, Lord Randolph. Quite wrongly as it turned out, Randolph decided his son was a dunderhead with no academic aptitude - therefore, his only career choice lay with the military. Winston had soldiering in his DNA, however, as he was a descendant of John Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough and one of the country’s most accomplished generals. This also helped fuel his undying interest in history, and made him immensely proud to be British and everything it represented.

Once Winston was in uniform, he clearly revelled in the excitement, and went to quite extraordinary and often dangerous lengths to get into the thick of the action. To that end, he showed a remarkable disregard for the chain of command - if there was a war on, he got to it. Ultimately he
Anthony Tucker-Jones is a historian whose works include Operation Dragoon: The Liberation Of Southern France 1944 and Kursk 1943: Hitler’s Bitter Harvest. His new book, Churchill Master And Commander, is available 25 November 2021 from Osprey Publishing.
wanted to emulate his father and become a politician. He knew that being a decorated veteran would provide a good publicity platform, especially if he could win the coveted Victoria Cross. Churchill simply loved the camaraderie and excitement of it all; he never won the VC though, despite his best efforts.

LESSONS OF WAR
It is very important to understand that Churchill learned, particularly from the Boer War and the disastrous Gallipoli campaign, that wars cannot be run by committee. It saps initiative and flexibility. He understood that the service chiefs had to be directed firmly if strategic objectives were not to be lost. Winning battles is not the same thing as winning wars. Churchill developed a good grasp of the bigger picture, which of course was vital when it came to fighting a global conflict. Likewise, Churchill as an advocate of the intelligence services and a sponsor of the development of the fleet air arm, the tank, the commandos and combined operations, was clearly a forward thinker. Crucially, he supported the RAF after World War I, and saved it from being disbanded. This had significant ramifications come the summer of 1940.

CHURCHILL THE IMPERIALIST
Churchill, like many politicians and soldiers of his day, was an ardent imperialist. He made no apology for this, and it was woven into his DNA. Rightly or wrongly, he firmly believed in the benefits of Empire, seeing its existence as ensuring Britain’s place in the world. In the case of India and Ireland, he believed that British rule prevented sectarian violence and kept a lid on long-simmering historic hatreds. He also knew that if either were granted home rule then it would be the beginning of the end for the empire. By the 1930s, such views were increasingly at odds with the Labour and Liberal parties, and indeed some elements within the Conservative party.

In the case of the rise of Bolshevism in Russia, during and after WWI, he saw it as a threat to the world order, and wanted it strangled at birth. This brought him to loggerheads with Prime Minister Lloyd George, who did not want a costly full-blown military intervention in Russia in the wake of the dreadful conflict just endured by Europe. Churchill’s very public stance and clear warmongering helped fuel the Soviet Union’s enduring distrust of the West. Lloyd George’s response was to sack Churchill as Secretary of State for War and Air and make him the Colonial Secretary, which still had a military aspect to it, not to mention the creation of Iraq and Jordan.

CHURCHILL THE RISK TAKER
Churchill’s escapades during the conflicts in Cuba, Sudan, India and South Africa mark him out as an adrenaline junky and danger seeker. After facing down death on numerous occasions, he became convinced that he was invincible. Fundamentally, it taught him that nothing is gained in life without showing initiative. He did not believe that good things come to those who wait. He made his own opportunities, which often made him unpopular. When he crossed the floor of the House of Commons, defecting from the Conservatives to the Liberals, it greatly boosted his political career. When he then crossed back, to many this marked him out as untrustworthy.

NEAR MISSES
Churchill said, ‘There is nothing more exhilarating than to be shot at without result.’ The number of times he was almost killed is amazing. Most memorably, he escaped death at the Battle of Omdurman during the famous charge of the 21st Lancers. If he
had come off his horse, he would have been instantly hacked to pieces, like a number of his unfortunate comrades. On the Northwest Frontier, he deliberately exposed himself to enemy fire in the hope of getting mentioned in despatches and winning a medal. To be fair, he exhibited great bravery in India, and even the death of a close friend seemed to do little to moderate his often reckless behaviour. Instead, he packed himself off to the Sudan and South Africa seeking more adventure.

During the Boer War, he miraculously survived a train crash, and although captured, he managed to escape. He was almost killed at Spion Kop when a Boer sniper shot the feather from his hat. At Hussar Hill his brother Jack was wounded, but Winston again proved bulletproof. At Dewetsdorp he lost his horse, and was only just rescued in the nick of time when another rider came to his help. The list just goes on. In 1945 he came under shell and sniper fire while scrambling on a wrecked bridge over the Rhine. Some of his staff feared he had developed a death wish because he was so irresponsible.

**ORIGINS OF AN ORATOR**

At school, Churchill did not excel, but he made up for it as a young man by becoming a voracious reader. He also became the king of the sound bite, impishly saying, “History will be kind to me for I intend to write it.” He spent many of his early years dual-hatted as a soldier and a war correspondent. In need of money, he developed a career as a journalist and an author, writing articles and books recounting the wars he was involved in. From this he learned the power of the written word and its value in drafting speeches for the hustings and in the House of Commons. Interestingly, Churchill later pointed out, “People say my speeches after Dunkirk were the thing. That was only a part... They forget I made all the main military decisions.” This is true - however, it was the power of his oratory in the dark days of 1940 that rallied the nation.

**BELIEVER IN BRITAIN**

Crucially, as a soldier, politician and historian, he understood the resilience of the British armed forces, and indeed the nation, which proved so vital during the testing years of 1940-41. Churchill was also very aware that the dominion forces of Australia, Canada and New Zealand had fought shoulder to shoulder with Britain in WWI. He was greatly pleased that they answered the call again during World War II. In contrast, he was infuriated by Ireland’s neutrality, which he saw as an act of betrayal.

Churchill had seen how time and again the British armed forces prevailed in the Empire and in Britain’s mandates. Seeing the Anglo-Egyptian Army mowing down the Dervishes at Omdurman must have left an everlasting impression on him. Thanks to his various ministerial posts, he had an extremely good appreciation of the capabilities and weaknesses of the armed forces. He knew that by the 1930s, Britain was increasingly unable to fight a two-front war at sea. The Royal Navy became stretched to breaking point trying to conduct operations in the Atlantic, Mediterranean and the Far East. Luckily though, it had a good carrier fleet, something the Germans and Italians lacked. He appreciated that the US was emerging as a global player, and that Britain would need her as a strategic ally if Hitler was to be defeated. Churchill knew that Britain needed a decisive leader in standing up to Hitler, and was prepared to make difficult decisions. On many occasions the service chiefs did not agree with him, but they nonetheless marched to his beat.
AFTER the devastation of WWII and the occupation of France by Nazi Germany, the post-war French government looked to regain at least some of its prestige. One way was to reassert control of its colonial empire, which stretched across the globe but had become largely destabilized in the aftermath of the conflict.

Inevitably, the colonial initiative would require the deployment of French armed forces, and the colony of Indochina in Southeast Asia soon emerged as a hot spot. Early confidence gave way to frustration and disaster. Eventually, the French dream of resurgent preeminence in Indochina was shattered at Dien Bien Phu, a valley in the northeast, where the European army surrendered after a two-month siege masterfully conducted by communist Viet Minh forces.
Amid the August Revolution of 1945, Ho Chi Minh, a young communist revolutionary and leader of the Viet Minh, a coalition intent on establishing an independent nation, announced independence from France and the creation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Inspired by their charismatic leader and their fusion of communist and nationalist fervour, the Viet Minh launched a guerrilla war against the French.

Utilising hit-and-run tactics, keeping the French off-balance and refusing to commit substantial forces to a decisive battle, the guerrillas managed to stymie the efforts of a succession of French field commanders to end the insurgency and pacify Indochina. Among the half-dozen French military leaders who had tried via diplomatic or military means and failed were Philippe Leclerc de Hautevelcque and Jean de Lattre de Tassigny, both heroes of the Free French forces during WWII. Leclerc received little support for a deal he brokered between Ho and French negotiators and was killed in a plane crash in November 1947. De Lattre bolstered flagging French morale. His outnumbered command defeated two divisions of Viet Minh, more than 20,000 men, at Vinh Yen in January 1951, and again at Mao Khe in March. He was appointed high commissioner and commander-in-chief of the French Far East Expeditionary Corps that year but ill health forced him to return to France and he died in early 1952. Perhaps the greatest opportunity for French victory in Indochina died with de Lattre - and soon enough the downward spiral to defeat gained momentum.

FREE FROM FRANCE

In the spring of 1953, General Henri Navarre was appointed to command French forces in Indochina, replacing General Raoul Salan, who had followed de Lattre. The French perspective on the war had changed, and the government contemplated the prospect of peace negotiations.

The Viet Minh, however, continued to operate aggressively, establishing supply bases in Laos and advancing further into the country. Meanwhile, French commanders had failed to establish clear objectives and lapsed into half-hearted reactionary operations. Navarre considered his limited options to blunt the Viet Minh offensive and wrest the initiative from the communists.

Colonel Louis Berteil, commander of Mobile Group 7 and chief of planning on Navarre's
staff, suggested the ‘hedghog’ concept. The plan was simple - construct a forward military base in northwest Indochina, in the rear of the Viet Minh thrusts into Laos, and threaten the enemy’s thin supply lines. The Viet Minh would be compelled to fall back and at long last be drawn into a decisive battle.

**THE MARCH OF FOLLY?**

Peering at a map of Southeast Asia, Navarre chose Dien Bien Phu, in Lai Chau Province, the extreme northwest of Indochina near the frontiers with Laos and China, as the location to establish an air-head. Here airborne troops would be inserted to execute the plan, named Operation Castor. An abandoned airstrip, built there by the Japanese during World War II, would facilitate the initial insertion, as well as the deliveries of reinforcements and supplies as needed.

Still, Dien Bien Phu presented several easily identifiable weaknesses. Resupply would, after all, have to take place by air due to distance, enemy resistance on the ground and extremely dense jungle. The local topography offered another significant challenge, which seems to have been dismissed once French soldiers were deployed. The chosen French position in the Nam Yum River Valley, which stretched 16km, was surrounded by high ground, leading General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander of the victorious Viet Minh, to describe Dien Bien Phu as a rice bowl with the French at the bottom and his troops around the rim.

When Navarre unveiled the details of Operation Castor to his closest staff officers – to a man – protested. There were obvious weaknesses, and would it actually be possible to maintain combat efficiency with supply by air? Navarre was insistent. He envisioned a success similar to an earlier engagement at the fortified air-head of Na San in late 1952. The Viet Minh had hammered the base with frontal assaults and failed to dislodge the French defenders. Giap, however, had learned his lesson well. Once Operation Castor was set in motion, he realised that the French had ‘fixed’ themselves. He might well lay siege to their base, batter them with artillery, bring up anti-aircraft guns to interfere with resupply, and bleed them white.

**INTO THE VALLEY**

On 20 November 1953, the first elite French airborne forces, 9,000-strong, parachuted or were flown into Dien Bien Phu. Remarkably, their commander, Colonel Christian de Castries, failed to seize the surrounding high ground and instead chose to defend his position with a series of strongpoints constructed along the valley floor and the lower hills.

These strongpoints were named Gabrielle, Beatrice and Anne-Marie to the north; Claudine and Huguette to the west; Dominique and Eliane in the east, and Isabelle to the south. While these names were likely derived from the first letters of the alphabet, a few of de Castries’ critics asserted that they were the names of several of his numerous mistresses.

From the outset, defending Dien Bien Phu presented a significant challenge, let alone mounting any offensive raids to interdict Viet Minh supply lines or interrupt their communications. Major André Sudrat, the French chief engineer, was woefully under-equipped to build fortifications stout enough and in quantity to protect French soldiers from communist artillery fire.

Perhaps the greatest miscalculation of all among the French commanders was their underestimation of Viet Minh resolve. Initially, Giap ordered the communist forces in the area of Dien Bien Phu to offer what resistance they could. However, while the French garrison swelled to about 16,000 airborne, Foreign Legion, colonial and loyal Vietnamese troops, the communists, too, were marshalling their forces for the coming battle. Giap patiently amassed five divisions, roughly 50,000 troops at peak strength, and he understood that time was his ally.

Giap also accepted the gift of the high ground and made the most of it. In an incredible feat of logistics, determination and dedication to a cause, Viet Minh fighters and civilian labourers manhandled more than 200 artillery pieces, many of them 105mm howitzers capable of deadly plunging fire, up the dirt trails of the surrounding heights. One Viet Minh fighter remembered a man who flung himself before the wheels of a heavy gun, which had snapped its lines, to prevent it rolling into a nearby ravine. Soviet-made Katyusha multiple rocket launchers were brought in, along with scores of anti-aircraft weapons placed to make the skies over Dien Bien Phu hazardous to low-flying French aircraft. The Viet Minh fighters were continually digging, and by the time ground action began in earnest they had excavated 100 kilometres of trenches closer and closer to the northern redouts.

Finally, when the first Viet Minh artillery shells began to fall on the French air-head in January 1954, the communists outgunned the defenders in heavy weapons four-to-one and had completed their encirclement of Dien Bien Phu.

**THE CURTAIN RISES**

Following months of preparation, Giap ordered the first major ground action by the Viet Minh, an effort to capture Beatrice, on 13 March. Preparatory artillery fire was devastating, and a single direct hit killed the commander of the 3rd Battalion, 13th Foreign Legion Demi-Brigade defending Beatrice along with most of his staff.

The French had constructed three defensive positions, and these were assailed by the 141st and 209th Regiments of the Viet Minh 312th Division. The southernmost position, hammered by 75mm mountain guns, was quickly captured; however, the two remaining put up a courageous defence. The attackers became tangled in barbed wire and were raked by flanking fire from French machine guns. After seven hours of bitter fighting,
however, Beatrice fell. The last French resistance was extinguished well after dark, and only about 100 French soldiers were able to escape. With 350 dead, wounded or taken prisoners, the French were stunned by the ferocity of the attack. Although the capture of Beatrice had cost Giap 600 killed and 1,200 wounded, communist morale soared.

Colonel Charles Piroth, the French artillery commander, blamed himself for French inability to mount effective counter-battery fire. The following night, Piroth, also regretting his early overconfidence, killed himself with a hand grenade.

With the fall of Beatrice, the Viet Minh tightened their stranglehold on Dien Bien Phu. Artillery fire blasted gaping holes in the runway, and concentrated anti-aircraft fire virtually shut down the airfield. Parachute supply drops were conducted from high altitudes, out of range of the communist guns, but were so inaccurate that more supplies fell into the hands of the Viet Minh than the French, whose outlook grew worse with each passing day.

On the morning of 14 March, Giap turned his attention to Gabrielle. Again, communist artillery fire wreaked havoc, seriously wounding the commander of an elite Algerian battalion that was defending the position and shaking his soldiers.

Two regiments of the Viet Minh 308th Division launched repeated assaults, beginning around 8pm. A counterattack by the Vietnamese 5th Parachute Battalion under Colonel Paul Langlais was broken up by artillery fire, and only a few of these troops reached Gabrielle at all. The situation became untenable, and on the morning of 15 March the Algerians abandoned Gabrielle. The Viet Minh suffered up to 2,000 casualties, and French dead and wounded amounted to about 1,000.

The situation steadily worsened as Anne-Marie, garrisoned mainly by ethnic Tai troops, was evacuated on 17 March. Some of the Tai defenders had been compromised by communist propaganda and defected, while others had lost heart after the defeat at Beatrice and Gabrielle. Meanwhile, communist artillery continued to rain down on the defenders of Dien Bien Phu, affording them little respite. Supplies dwindled, and the number of wounded swelled beyond the capacity of medical personnel to provide even rudimentary care.

**THE NOOSE TIGHTENS**

Communist pressure was unrelenting, and for two weeks the Viet Minh continued to dig trenches while attacking the central defensive positions at Eliane, Claudine, Dominique and Huguette. By 30 March, Isabel, further south, and its 1,800 defenders were cut off. At the end of April, its defenders were without water and ammunition was scarce.

At the same time, the French officers at Dien Bien Phu had lost confidence in de Castries, who was increasingly detached from the situation, often secluding in his bunker and unable to exercise command. Stories of an armed ‘mutiny’, during which the colonel was told he would retain command in name only while others effectively

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**Battle of Dien Bien Phu**

**VIET MINH**

**VO NGUYEN GIAP**

Rising up through the ranks of the Viet Minh during the Japanese occupation of Vietnam in WWII, Giap was a history teacher by training, but would prove himself to be a great military strategist in the First Indochina War and Vietnam War. He went on to be minister of defence and deputy prime minister.

**HO CHI MINH**

Leader of the Viet Minh independence movement from 1941, Minh was the founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (often called North Vietnam) which was firmly established by victory at Dien Bien Phu, followed by the Geneva Accords that partitioned Vietnam at the 17th parallel.

**HOÀNG VĂN THÀI**

Dropping out of school at 13 because of his family’s financial problems, Thai took work as a barber and miner, becoming a communist on the way, before fleeing to China where he had military training. When he returned he joined the Viet Minh, becoming chief of staff in 1945 and later a general.

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**FRANCE**

**CHRISTIAN DE CASTRIES**

Born into the noble French family of Castries, Christian started his military career in the cavalry but left for a short time to pursue equestrian sports, before rejoining the army as WWII began. He was captured in 1940, escaped a prisoner of war camp in 1941 and ended the war commanding the 3rd Moroccan Spahis. He spent time stationed in Vietnam before defending Dien Bien Phu.

**HENRI NAVARRE**

Navarre had fought in both the first and second World Wars before taking overall command of French forces in the First Indochina War from 1953 as the war appeared to be unravelling for the French. His task was to stabilise events so that a peace agreement could be made with the Viet Minh, however he risked an offensive in Dien Bien Phu, which ultimately brought about France’s defeat.

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**THE N O O S E  T I G H T E N S**

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01 The French arrive
French airborne troops under the command of Colonel Christian de Castries are parachuted or delivered by air to Dien Bien Phu in November 1953. The French hope to threaten Viet Minh lines of supply and communication and force them into a decisive battle.

02 Establishing the ‘Hedgehog’
Although construction materials are woefully inadequate to build defensive positions capable of withstanding heavy artillery fire, the French fortify eight mutually supporting strongpoints at Dien Bien Phu in the valley of the Nam Yum River in the extreme northwest of Indochina. These are named Beatrice, Gabrielle, Anne-Marie, Huguette, Claudine, Dominique, Eliane and Isabelle.

03 The harrowing heights
When the French neglect to seize the high ground around Dien Bien Phu, Viet Minh commander General Vo Nguyen Giap takes full advantage, establishing heavy artillery positions to bombard the French almost continuously. Eventually, these artillery barrages tip the balance in favour of the besieging communists.
took charge, have circulated. It is known that an
effort to replace de Castries with Major General
René Cogny was unsuccessful when Cogny's plane
from Hanoi was unable to land at Dien Bien Phu,
driven off by intense communist anti-aircraft fire.

The fight for Dien Bien Phu had become a battle of
attrition, and its outcome was inevitable as the
surrounded defenders were systematically pounded
into submission. Five undemanned battalions
defended strongpoints Dominique and Eliane
east of the Nam Yum River, and a pitched battle
erupted at Dominique in late March. Although two
positions fell rapidly to the Viet Minh, the third held
on tenaciously as the gunners of the 4th Colonial
Artillery Regiment levelled their weapons and fired
point-blank into the faces of the attackers.

The Viet Minh were pushed back from Dominique,
but other assaults gained ground as the 316th
Regiment forced Moroccan troops from portions
of Eliane, which were recaptured in a French
counterattack. Portions of Huguette also changed
hands more than once. Although the French had
fewer than a dozen tanks at Dien Bien Phu, their
appearance near Eliane on the night of 31 March
helped maintain a tenuous hold on the strongpoint.

As the fighting stretched into mid-April, the Viet
Minh sustained heavy casualties. Giap, however,
was undeterred. He ordered reinforcements to the
area from across the Laotian frontier. A French
counterattack on 10 April managed to retake
portions of Eliane, but Huguette was overrun by
the 22nd and the communists claimed nearly all
of the precious airstrip, rendering resupply for the
beleaguered French in their shrinking perimeter
nearly impossible.

Following the costly April attacks, Giap relied
more on advancing trenches and infiltration to
erode the French will to resist. Then, on 1 May,
he ordered heavy attacks that overran portions
of Eliane, Dominique and Huguette. Five days later,
the Viet Minh detonated a large mine beneath
Eliane, which devastated remaining defensive areas.
Hours later, the strongpoint fell. On 7 May, the
communists, outnumbering the French more than
eight to one, renewed their attacks.

DESPERATION AND DEFEAT
The Viet Minh had lost 8,000 dead and
approximately 15,000 wounded. However, they
had captured 12,000 prisoners – including 5,000
wounded men – and 1,150 French soldiers had died.

Giap had won a tremendous victory. De
Castries was held prisoner for four months while
negotiations to end the fighting led to the Geneva
Accords, dividing Indochina at the 17th parallel.

The communist-dominated north was backed
by the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of
China. The US supported the south, which was not
a party to the Geneva agreement. Although the
last French soldiers departed Vietnam in 1956 as
their colonial empire crumbled, years of conflict
remained before Vietnam was unified under
communist rule and peace was finally realised.
What If...

ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES HAD BEEN BANNED?

How excluding one book could have created a devastating hole in human understanding of ourselves and the world around us

Interview by David J. Williamson

The publication of Charles Darwin's pinnacle work was to ignite a fire of fierce debate about the origins of the natural world, and even of mankind itself. The future of both scientific thought and deeply rooted religious beliefs hung in the balance, as rival theories and the traditionally unquestioned acceptance of how the natural world came to be was turned on its head. The debate over On The Origin Of Species challenged fellow scientists, and even questioned God's creation. The views and beliefs of the winning side would shape the future of all living things forever.

How explosive was the publication of On The Origin Of Species at the time?
The concept of evolution as a historical event was a hot topic among biologists and geologists prior to Darwin's book because there was so much evidence accumulating, but I suspect biological evolution hadn't really impinged on people outside of the academic bunker. As long as science knew of no mechanism to explain how evolution happened, it could be safely dismissed as a crank idea - a kind of 19th Century equivalent of alien abductions and Nazi moon bases.

Even Darwin and Wallace's 1858 scientific paper demonstrating natural selection as the evolutionary mechanism probably made little impact, as it was given only to a tiny audience of scientists at the Linnean Society. But Darwin's 1859 book, On The Origin Of Species, detonated Victorian society like, in the modern world, a flying saucer landing in Trafalgar Square and a little green man popping his head out to request directions to Betelgeuse would.

Darwin's book was widely available, easy to read and understand, comprehensive and utterly compelling.

What would Darwin's rivals and critics in the scientific world have to gain from a ban, who were they, and why would they benefit?
Anybody floating a new, revolutionary idea in science can expect ferocious and exhaustive criticism, particularly from the old guard of venerable and learned professors whose careers are pinned to the status quo. A major driving force in science occurs when a young, keen PhD student tentatively suggests a completely new concept to a noted professor, only to be met by a patronising laugh and casual dismissal. I have personally been in that scenario both as the student and as the professor!
This makes science conservative, and that's good, as it stops crackpot ideas spreading like a virus. If the student is
right, and gets enough evidence, they will win in the end.

In the case of Darwin, he had a very serious enemy in the form of Sir Richard Owen KCB FRMS FRS - arguably Britain's leading natural scientist and paleontologist. He created the British Museum of Natural History (now better known as London's Natural History Museum). Among other things, Sir Richard invented the word 'dinosaur'.

Owen had published his own ideas on evolution that natural selection superseded. Despite his many scientific achievements, Owen was egotistical, incapable of admitting error, and notorious for suppressing and even stealing other people's work - something that eventually got him ejected from the Royal Society's Zoological Council. To Owen's mindset, Darwin was a rival, an enemy who had to be crushed by all and any means possible.

Were there any surprising supporters of Darwin?
Many clerics in the Church of England were quite receptive to natural selection, seeing it as the mechanism by which God had created life. Similarly, a number of Catholic writers also dismissed Genesis as a literal (as opposed to moral) story, and were open to scientific ideas on evolution. Other clerics accepted evolution as a clearly demonstrable event, but supported scientific hypotheses of the mechanism in competition with natural selection. The simplistic idea of Creationism versus Evolution is actually quite a modern schism invented by a number of American fundamentalists in the 20th Century.

How much would a ban have slowed scientific progress and development in the 19th century and beyond, and what would the consequences have been?
I think history has already answered that question. Clerics who accepted evolution as a historical fact but opposed natural selection as too secular fastened on the ideas of Lamarck. Lamarckism can be summed up as the inheritance of acquired characteristics.

An illiterate Russian agriculturist called Lysenko picked up Lamarck's ideas and persuaded Stalin to adopt them as 'Socialist' in the 1920s. Modern biology (and science in general) was dismissed as
Darwin's The Descent Of Man still have been written and have an impact?
I think The Descent Of Man depended entirely on the publication and general acceptance of On The Origin Of Species. Although Darwin had not focused on the human connection to evolution in Origin, it was perhaps only a matter of time before that link was plotted and explored, enveloping humans in his overarching theory as another species to which the 'rules' applied.

What parts of the theory were open to doubt even today that could discredit the man and his work?
The short answer is none. Natural selection - or to put it another way, variation, heredity and differential fitness - is the core theory of modern biology. It is to biology what say, quantum mechanics and special relativity are to physics or the atomic model is to chemistry. Core theories are the fundamental scaffolding of science. They are often modified, usually by expansion, but if our core theories are wrong then all modern science is wrong, and rationality no longer applies. If that is the case then we may as well go back to studying chicken entrails.

What major things would we not have today if On The Origin Of Species had been banned and Darwin discredited?
The consequences to our modern society and the development of a global society could have been devastating. We would have lost high-yield agriculture, much of our medicine, any genetic or gene-related technologies, and all molecular biology. Indeed, anything involving modern biology or biochemistry would be problematic.

But more than that, we would have a big hole in our philosophical understanding of the universe and our place within it. We would not understand that there is only one human species, constantly changing and evolving, but always unified in a single gene pool that originated in Africa and populated the globe. That is Darwin's greatest legacy.

Would Darwin’s The Descent Of Man still have been written and have an impact?

What major things would we not have today if On The Origin Of Species had been banned and Darwin discredited?

The Possibility

THE ‘HAVES’ AND THE ‘HAVE NOTS’

How an ever-growing global population can be properly fed, especially in developing countries, has become a major focus, and without the groundwork done by Darwin, the knowledge necessary to produce crops that are more pest resistant and with higher yields may have developed far more slowly, if at all. Countries unable to produce enough food would forever be at the mercy of those who could supply them, unable to fend for themselves, bringing unstable governments and devastating poverty in an even more unequal world.

THE POSSIBILITY

1950s

BUILDING BLOCKS OF LIFE REMAIN A MYSTERY

The mapping of genes was one of the major leaps forward in human ability to understand all living things. The evidence of DNA confirms Darwin’s central thinking: that heritable variation arises continually and is gradually accumulated. However, without this principle to work from, our ability to harness knowledge of what makes us tick may never have come about, and hereditary disease would continue to blight the future of individuals, families and even whole ethnic populations.

AN INCURABLE FUTURE

Medicines created through the development of microbiology have saved millions of lives and tamed or eliminated many killer diseases. But without Darwin’s breakthrough theories to trigger a new way of thinking about the behaviour, construction and development of micro-organisms, such dangers would still plague humans and animals alike today. To constantly be at the mercy of viruses and bacteria, the ability to vaccinate against killer viruses and combat debilitating disease would mean a bleak future both for humans and the species we share the planet with.
A series of large, fierce waves with white foam frothing at their edges: Under The Wave off Kanagawa (above, also known as The Great Wave Off Kanagawa) is one of the most famous and celebrated works of Japanese art. The striking painting is said to have inspired works such as Claude Debussy’s La Mer (The Sea) and German poet Rainer Maria Rilke’s Der Berg (The Mountain). Yet this image is only one of a large number of works created by the artist Katsushika Hokusai.

Now, the British Museum is launching a new exhibition, focussing on a series of drawings produced by Hokusai for an illustrated encyclopedia called The Great Picture Book of Everything. For reasons unknown the book was never published and many of these drawings have languished in obscurity alongside more famous works such as The Great Wave. The illustrations vary in nature: many show moments from Chinese and Buddhist legends and mythology, while others are humorous in nature. These works, produced between the 1820s and 1840s (Hokusai died in 1849), are rare examples of images from the artist’s later years and show that his unique talent continued to burn bright.

Over 100 ‘lost’ works by the great Japanese artist are soon to be displayed at the British Museum. We present a tantalising selection...
Devadatta was a Buddhist monk who tried to reform the monastic community by creating a stricter form of life. In the Buddhist text the Lotus Sutra, he was an archetypal villain and evildoer. Here he is shown communing with a variety of evil spirits.

Evidence of rice wine in Japan dates back to the 3rd century, but one particular account states that it was the brewer Yi Di who first presented rice wine to Yu the Great of the Xia Dynasty. In this comic depiction the men are attempting to use a rock to squeeze liquor from the rice.
MEIJIAN CHI’S MACABRE REVENGE

This illustration depicts a particularly gruesome scene from Chinese legend. Here the hero Meijian Chi’s severed head pops out of the cauldron in which it was supposed to be boiled, intending to avenge itself, holding its father’s sword in its mouth.

THE DRAGON FORM OF AVALOKITESVARA

In Buddhist mythology, Avalokitesvara is a Bodhisattva (a Buddha to be) of compassion and has some 33 manifestations. This drawing shows the deity seated upon the head of a dragon. A similar version of this work was completed in 1814.

A LADDER TO THE MOON

Zhuang Zhou is a Chinese Daoist philosopher who wrote the Zhuangzi, considered one of the fundamental texts of Daoism. Here, he is depicted fashioning a ladder out of clouds so a group of peasants can see the Palace of the Moon.

BEAUTIFUL BIRDS

This illustration showcases various types of aquatic birds. In the top-right is a diving grebe, and the bottom-centre shows a mallard duck. Hokusai would once again depict these two birds in another of his works, 1847’s Ducks in Flowing Water, made when he was 88 years old.
Kitsune, or spirit foxes, are an important part of Japanese folklore. These shape-shifters can appear as guardians or tricksters and are said to grow more tails the older they get. The nine-tailed Kitsune, shown here, is a particularly common image.

This illustration shows Virudhaka, a king of Kosala (a state in India) who sought to wipe out the Buddha Shakyamuni. Destroying the Shaky kingdom, he and his soldiers were killed seven days later in a violent storm - as was foretold by the Buddha. Here Virudhaka is shown being struck by lightning.
For our money the golden age of the British spy thriller was the 1960s, the era of authors such as John Le Carré, Len Deighton and Adam Hall. Not the fantastical James Bond epics featuring Sean Connery behind the wheel of a gadget-laden Aston Martin (though they have their own charm), but movies like The Spy Who Came in From the Cold and The Ipcress File. Down-to-earth, full of cigarette smoke and battered rain macs. Dominic Cooke, the director of The Courier, is clearly something of a fan too. Based on the true story of Greville Wynn, the film stars Benedict Cumberbatch as the middle-aged businessman who between 1960 and 1962 worked with Oleg Penkovsky, a high-ranking Soviet official, to pass top-secret documents and information to the West.

As suggested, The Courier owes as much to spy thrillers of the past as it does to real history. In particular, the script seems to take more than a pinch of inspiration from the late, great Le Carré. Given that Le Carré was working for MI6 during the 1960s, at the time Wynn was operational, it makes perfect sense to draw on the world depicted in his works. However, screenwriter Tom O’Connor has gone further and takes inspiration from the master in terms of where to focus his story. As such, despite discussions of trade craft, top-secret documents and shadowy observers, The Courier isn’t really interested in the mechanics of being a spy - more what it means to be one. Much of the film is spent on the impact that being a spy can have on one’s personal life, versus the impact on the world. The film makes clear the risks to both Penkovsky and Wynn and spends time exploring their motivations, resulting in an increasing build up of tension, leading to a devastating climax.

Obviously, with a script aiming for such thematic depth, a strong lead is required and it should come as no surprise that Cumberbatch excels in the role of Wynne. For the first half, Cumberbatch gets to play the role very much as a fish out of water, excelling in a number of light comedic moments. Later, as the narrative takes a darker turn, Cumberbatch convincingly sells a horrific physical transformation, alongside a mental one. Of course it helps immensely that he is cast opposite Mareb Ninidze as Penkovsky who contrasts Cumberbatch’s more obviously ‘nervy’ performance with a quiet, understated intensity. Rachel Brosnahan’s Emily Donavan, a CIA agent, may be a fictional construct designed to tell a leaner story but still manages to be one of the film’s highlights. She’s both convincingly manipulative but not heartless, humanising a somewhat bland role.

The Courier is a solid thriller that is sure to delight espionage fans. However, despite this, if there is one crime of which the film is guilty, it is unoriginality. It is perhaps too focussed on drawing from the past works of this type to show any real imagination of its own. Despite a strong script, tight direction and excellent performances, The Courier can’t help but feel a little tired and repetitive. Still, for some the throwback charm and old-fashioned style may bring delights all of their own. CM
**THE FIRST BLACK ARCHAEOLOGIST**

An inspiring story of a remarkable man

**Author:** John W I Lee  **Publisher:** Oxford University Press  
**Price:** £26.99  **Released:** 1 April 2022

In *The First Black Archaeologist*, John W I Lee tells the story of John Wesley Gilbert, a man famed within his lifetime as a pioneer of archaeology, but whose remarkable achievements have been all but forgotten today. It is an inspiring, deeply involving account of a life that deserves to be remembered.

Gilbert was born to enslaved parents in rural Georgia, but he eventually found himself attending Brown University on a scholarship, where his outstanding academic performance saw him given the opportunity to continue his field studies in Greece. It was the start of a glittering career, one marked by firsts. He travelled widely and became an influential and sometimes controversial figure.

In researching *The First Black Archaeologist: A Life of John Wesley Gilbert*, Lee’s work has taken him across the world, and he uses archival material that has never been examined before to bring a changing world vividly to life. From the farmland of Georgia to Gilbert’s draining mission to the Belgian Congo, it is the story not just of one man but of a world and its people. It also offers new insights into early American archaeological work in Greece, where Gilbert was one of the first 50 Americans to carry out field studies.

*The First Black Archaeologist: A Life of John Wesley Gilbert* is an inspiring and authoritative biography. It is also a fascinating look into the history of American studies in Greece and an invaluable insight into African-American lives at the turn of the century. CC

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**A MATTER OF OBSCENITY**

An engaging examination of law, literature and society

**Author:** Christopher Hilliard  **Publisher:** Princeton University Press  
**Price:** £28  **Released:** Out now

From the age of the Victorians to the premiership of Margaret Thatcher, Christopher Hilliard charts the development, interpretation and application of obscenity law in Britain. The focus is primarily on literature, although other subjects – such as theatre and, later, film are also considered.

*A Matter of Obscenity* explores the provisions of the 1857 Obscene Publications Act, the infamous Penguin Books trial in 1960 following the publication of DH Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, and the campaigns of Mary Whitehouse. It is a detailed account of a changing and conflicted society. As well as providing an in-depth consideration of legal trials and judgments, this book considers how law and censorship influenced ordinary daily life.

Tackling issues such as policing and politics, citizenship and consent, social class and social change, Hilliard shows how questions of obscenity and censorship are related to those of authority and freedom. This is a thought-provoking and, at times, uncomfortable read.

*A Matter of Obscenity* draws upon an array of sources and is interwoven with a range of contemporary voices. It also offers an interesting discussion of language and the interpretation of certain words. This will naturally appeal to those interested in legal and literary history, and will also find readers among those interested in the history of Britain in the 19th and 20th centuries more generally. MJ

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In his bold attempt to chronicle the vast majority of the history of China, John Keay was both helped and hindered by the preponderance of records and primary sources that can be drawn from the tell the story. He was helped because it means the end result is a very nicely balanced book that gives due attention to China’s ancient and early modern history as well as to the more recent past. He was hindered because there is just so much to try to encapsulate in what was originally about 500 pages (now extended to 688 pages split across two volumes for this Folio edition).

So, we can’t expect a thorough examination of the Han, Tang or Song Dynasties as you might get in books dedicated to those periods, but what we get is impressive given the constraints of trying to condense so much history into one narrative. Keay finds his path by looking at events and philosophies through Chinese history that draw a consistent throughline for the nation, which is apt given that China often seems consumed by recording and reconsidering its past to contextualise its present. It’s thanks to this fact that we have so many records and such a clear picture of events in Chinese history.

The bulk of the book is focused on the aforementioned dynasties, plus the Ming and Qing, making up the ‘big five’ of Chinese history. The important achievements and failings of each dynasty, the ebb and flow of their destinies and the legacy each dynasty left for those that followed are concisely represented and always kept in mind. Keay does an excellent job of drawing the connected threads of history together and offering us a guided tour through Chinese history on every page. He brings a comforting authority and approachability to this topic that can very often feel impenetrable to a Western reader who is less familiar with the language and geography of the region.

In fact, both language and geography are nicely addressed early in the book to help set up some basic concepts for readers. As an introduction to Chinese history, this book really couldn’t be doing much more to prime you for further reading. As Keay admits himself, he is not an academic, but he comfortably achieves his primary goal of making a subject spanning 3,000 years accessible.

As always, we can only marvel at the quality of the production of this dual volume set from Folio. Working with Keay on this new edition, we have a new introduction from the author that offers some additional contemporary context and continuations of the topics discussed in the pages to follow, including COVID-19 and the response of the Chinese government to recent events. Together they have also brought 90 colour plates across the books that give us gorgeous images of historic artefacts and paintings and 27 integrated maps, not to mention a number of graphs and tables that visualise important timelines and events. It’s another stunning piece of work.

“Keay does an excellent job of drawing the connected threads of history together”
HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD
Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

Does this exploration of life in the Maze prison reflect the reality of the Troubles?

01 The film opens with Davey Gillen's arrival at the Maze prison in Northern Ireland. This is a fictional character, but his refusal to wear prison uniform in protest at IRA members having political prisoner status rescinded is based on real events.

02 Gillen is brought to his cell with only a blanket to cover himself and finds it covered in excrement. This is a depiction of the blanket and no-wash protest by IRA prisoners, one of many dirty protests that was attempted before a new hunger strike was taken up.

03 A prison guard is shown to participate in beatings of prisoners and is then assassinated by a paramilitary member while visiting his mother. While this event is fictional, 16 prison officers were killed by paramilitaries during the hunger strike, as the film notes.

04 The centre of the film is a long conversation between Bobby Sands and a priest about his planned hunger strike. While there is no record of such a conversation it appears to be based on similar encounters with two priests that Sands recorded in his diary.

05 Sands' hunger strike plays out through the end of the film. What the film does not depict is that he stood for election from jail while on hunger strike and won the seat of Fermanagh and South Tyrone. He died less than a month later after 66 days without eating.
Kaiserschmarrn is a light and fluffy shredded pancake dessert popular in Austria, Bavaria, and other countries that were once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The origins of kaiserschmarrn are a mystery and there are different stories explaining how it came to be. In one, a farmer prepared the dish for Emperor Franz Joseph I after the latter sought refuge in his home during a storm in the Alps. Due to his nervousness, the farmer mistakenly scrambled the pancakes, and to cover up his error he topped them with jam. The emperor was so fond of the dessert that it was given the name kaiserschmarrn in his honour. While it can be served with a number of toppings, it is traditionally served with zwetschgenröster, plum compote, and icing sugar.

**Method**

01 In a small bowl, cover the raisins with the rum and set aside to soak while you make the batter.

02 Preheat the oven to 200°C/180°C Fan/Gas mark 6. In a bowl, beat together the egg whites with 1 tbsp of sugar and the salt until stiff peaks form - make sure not to overbeat them.

03 In a separate bowl, whisk together the egg yolks, half of the milk, 1 tbsp of sugar and the vanilla extract. Next, fold in the flour until a smooth batter is formed and then add the rest of the milk.

04 Add around ⅓ of the beaten egg whites and stir them into the batter using a hand whisk. Once this is done, carefully fold in the remaining egg whites, maintaining the volume in the batter.

05 In a large frying pan, heat the unsalted butter on medium heat. Pour in the pancake batter and tilt the pan to make sure the batter has spread evenly. Cook the batter for around 3 minutes, scatter on the drained rum-soaked raisins, then cook for another 3 minutes.

06 When the pancake is golden brown underneath, divide it into quarters using a spatula. Turn the quarters over in the pan, and cook them for another 3 to 4 minutes.

07 Using either two forks or two spatulas, cut the pancake up into bite-sized pieces. Dust the kaiserschmarrn with icing sugar and serve alongside the plum compote or a fruit compote of your choice.

**Ingredients**

- 4 large eggs, separated
- 125g plain flour
- 50g raisins
- 200ml milk
- 3 tbsp rum
- 2 tbsp granulated sugar
- 1 - 3 tbsp unsalted butter
- ½ tsp vanilla extract
- ½ tsp salt

To serve:

- Plum compote (or any fruit compote)
- Icing sugar for dusting

**Did you know?**

Kaiserschmarrn roughly translates to ‘the emperor’s mess’ in English.

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THE MORNING AFTER THE NIGHT BEFORE...

On December 7th 1941, Second Lieutenant Kenneth Taylor took to the skies still dressed in full black tie evening wear from the previous night – the Japanese surprise attack had interrupted his weekend leave, but even a mere hour of sleep wasn’t going to stop him jumping aboard his Curtiss P-40B Warhawk. Alongside his wingman George Welch, and at times outnumbered six to one, Taylor earned the Distinguished Service Cross for his actions in defence of Pearl Harbor.