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Welcome

What’s the first thing you think of when you hear the term ‘British Empire’? Possibly it’s a portrait of Queen Victoria looking very unamused, a rousing rendition of ‘Rule, Britannia!’ or even the Union Jack fluttering majestically.

When we asked a panel of historians this question, most of them said they pictured a map or a globe with one-fifth of the world painted pink to signify they were British territories. However, we quickly discovered that this iconic map was a lot like a Rorschach inkblot test – people project what they want to see onto it. Some think the empire represents an unrivalled era of trade, exploration and innovation. Others point out that this prosperity was built on slavery and later colonial oppression.

While we can’t guarantee the sun will ever set on this debate, James Walvin, Shrabani Basu and the rest of our panel give it a good go. Turn to page 30 to explore the empire’s origins and how our experts think its legacy should be regarded.

If this topic really interests you, we’ve posted additional interviews with Amanda Behm and other historians on our website.

After you’ve finished reading all of that, let us know what you think of the British Empire — and our panel’s conclusions — via Facebook or Twitter.

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Editor’s picks

Secrets of the bog people
There are mummies buried in many of northwest Europe’s swamps – but who were they in life and how did they get there?

Medieval most wanted
From a nobleman who became a pirate to a murderer who was a master of disguise, discover the most feared bandits and outlaws of the Middle Ages.

The Death of Stalin
Win a copy of Armando Iannucci’s critically acclaimed dark comedy set in Soviet Russia, plus the amazing graphic novel that inspired it.

Find out how Christian Dior transformed fashion from page 78

Jack Parsons
Editor

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Captive Apache leader Geronimo sits behind the wheel of his Ford as he shows some of his fellow Native Americans around a ranch in Oklahoma. Once feared by the white settlers for his ruthless attacks, Geronimo eventually gave himself up to the authorities in his old age. Kept as a prisoner of war, he was exhibited at shows nationwide before being sent to retire on a reservation. He died on 17 February 1909, aged 79, a shadow of his former self and regretful of his surrender.
IN THE BLAST ZONE

A London policeman stands among the wreckage of Canary Wharf, after an IRA bombing on 9 February 1996. As peace negotiations between the British Government and Irish Republican political parties broke down, the IRA halted its ceasefire and placed a truck bomb at the heart of the financial district. Although the IRA had sent warnings and the area was evacuated, two died and more than 100 were injured in the explosion.
On 17 February 1958, this iconic 'peace' symbol was officially chosen by the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as its logo. Designed by artist Gerald Holtom, and inspired by the signals for 'N' and 'D' in semaphore, it was first used in a march from the Atomic Research Centre at RAF Aldermaston in Berkshire to London. However, it was deliberately never copyrighted so the simple yet attractive design soon became the symbol for world peace.

1958
The week between 21 and 28 February 1972 was momentous for international relations. After almost 25 years of silence between China and the US, President Richard Nixon visited the communist country as a gesture of friendship, touring some of its landmarks and meeting prominent political figures. For the first time, many Americans were able to get a peek inside the secretive state and relations with China improved.
This year marks the centenary of women getting the vote in Britain, but the fight for this right was a global struggle that has taken many different forms

Written by Jessica Leggett, Jen Neal and Jack Parsons
From the mid-19th century to the present day, discover how women around the world have fought for their right to vote.

### MAKING A MOVE
The Seneca Falls Convention took place in the United States and it marked the beginning of the country’s women’s rights movement. It was here that the calls for suffrage first occurred.

### A CALL FOR CHANGE
John Stuart Mill, a British MP, presented the earliest mass petition calling for female suffrage to the House of Commons. Although unsuccessful, it sparked the beginning of a serious campaign.

### THE GREAT PROGRESSION
During the 1930s, some countries like Spain and Brazil, granted universal suffrage for the first time. Others, such as Portugal and Romania, allowed partial suffrage but it came with restrictions.

### OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS
Upheaval both during and after World War II led to a number of countries embracing female suffrage, including France, Italy and China. In Japan, suffrage was granted in 1945 during the American occupation.

### SUFFRAGE FOR ALL
The 19th Amendment was ratified in the United States and suffrage was granted to every woman across the whole country. Before this, a few states had already allowed women to vote and the first had been Wyoming in 1869.

### A BRITISH TRIUMPH
The Representation of the People Act granted suffrage to women over the age of 30 who met the property qualifications, in Britain. They now made up 43.3% of the electorate.

### FINDING FREEDOM
A wave of female suffrage legislation was introduced following a series of successful independence movements across Africa throughout the 1950s. This included Ghana in 1954 and Zimbabwe in 1957.

### GETTING YOUNGER
Women in Britain had to be aged 30+ to vote from 1918. This had decreased to the age of 21 with the Equal Franchise Act in 1928. The Representation of the People Act lowered the voting age again to 18 in 1969.

### SUCCESS FOR SWISS SUFFRAGETTES
Switzerland eventually gave women the vote around a century after the suffrage campaign started in the 1860s. The previous female suffrage referendum, held in 1959, was rejected by 67% of men.

Appenzell Innerrhoden became the last Swiss canton to allow women to vote on a local level in 1991.
THE ‘MONSTER PETITION’

30,000
Number of women from the colony of Victoria, Australia, who signed the petition demanding the vote

260 METRES
Length of the petition

6 WEEKS
Time taken to collect signatures

THE FIRST VICTORY

After years of campaigning by the suffragists, New Zealand became the first self-governing country in the world to grant the vote to all women, allowing them to vote in parliamentary elections.

COMMITTED TO THE CAUSE

Millicent Garrett Fawcett founded the National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) to peacefully campaign for the vote in the United Kingdom. By 1913, it consisted of almost 500 regional suffrage societies.

FAMOUS MASS PROTESTS

3,000
Number of women who took part in the ‘Mud March’ suffragist rally in London, 1907

5,000-8,000
Estimated number of women who attended the Washington, DC, parade for suffrage in 1913

250,000
Number of women at the suffragette rally in Hyde Park, London, 1908

DEEDS NOT WORDS

Emmeline Pankhurst established the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU). Frustrated by the NUWSS’ lack of success, Pankhurst advocated direct action and outright militancy to gain the vote.

AUSTRALIANS ACHIEVE THE VOTE

With the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, the Commonwealth Franchise Act was passed, granting female suffrage. However, Aboriginal Australians were still disqualified from voting.

ABOUT TIME!

Following unsuccessful referendums in 1968, 1971 and 1973, Liechtenstein finally introduced enfranchisement for women. It was the last country in Europe to grant women the right to vote.

A STEP FORWARD

King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia granted women the right to vote. They were able to vote for the very first time during the 2015 municipal elections.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

15.8% Russia
19.4% US
24.2% China
32% UK
39% France

According to the Global Gender Gap Report, Bolivia has the highest percentage of women in Parliament at 53.1%.

The indigenous people of Australia were not given full suffrage until the Commonwealth Electoral Act in 1962.
The Endell Street Military Hospital was the only one of its kind to be entirely run by women, with female doctors, nurses, surgeons and orderlies — all of them campaigners for women’s rights. Over 26,000 patients were treated at the hospital, including soldiers wounded during World War I and those infected during the Spanish Flu pandemic of 1918-19.

The hospital was founded in May 1915 by doctors Louisa Garrett Anderson and Flora Murray. Garrett Anderson — Millicent Fawcett’s niece — had previously been sent to prison for smashing a window during a protest while Murray was known for treating militant suffragists recovering from hunger strikes. They realised that they would struggle to get approval to open a military hospital so they approached the French instead, who were known to be more liberal, and established one in Paris, followed by another in Wimereux.

The success of the French hospitals, under the Women’s Hospital Corps, won the British authorities over. The War Office gave them a former workhouse, St Giles Union, in London’s Covent Garden. It was ideal because of its large size and proximity to major railway stations, so convoys of casualties arrived for treatment.

While the hospital was critical to treating the war-wounded, Garrett Anderson and Murray understood that it was also the perfect propaganda opportunity for the suffrage movement. Its success proved that women were just as capable and therefore as equal as their male counterparts.

A banner with the suffragette motto ‘Deeds Not Words’ hung above the stage in the hospital’s recreational room. When the Representation of the People Act was passed in 1918, giving women over 30 the right to vote, a flag for the Women’s Social and Political Union was also hoisted in the hospital’s courtyard in jubilant celebration.
Let there be light
As the lighting in the hospital was inadequate for its needs, the staff made an appeal for some standing lamps to brighten up the wards. After great difficulty, the hospital finally received some — but only 30. In the end, St Leonard’s School eventually donated 180 lamps, which made the wards far more comfortable.

Cutting-edge research
While the war provided a huge impetus for medical research, the hospital had its own laboratory where the women could carry it out. In fact, seven papers from Endell Street staff were published in The Lancet, a respected medical journal — the first to be written by British women.

Treating the wounded
All dressings were changed at least once a day or, in many cases, every few hours. Treatment could take the doctors and nurses all day if the wards were completely full. The process was sometimes so long that once finished, the staff found that it was time to do it all over again. When BIPP antiseptic gauze was introduced, it proved so effective that wounds could be left alone for days at a time.

A homely feel
In keeping with the idea of creating a positive environment for the patients, each ward was filled with fresh flowers, maintained by a group of volunteers led by Mrs Alan Garrett Anderson, Louisa’s sister-in-law. Beds were covered with brightly coloured blankets in shades of red and blue to liven up the wards and screen covers were also available to provide privacy for those receiving treatment.

War surgery
Though the medicine and surgery of World War I bore no resemblance to the civilian medicine that these women had trained for and practised up until 1914, they quickly adapted. It was not unusual for the hospital’s surgeons to carry out over 20 operations a day. Many of these took place at night, when the soldiers arrived from France in urgent need of amputations and other operations.
Anatomy of

WOMEN’S BATTALION OF DEATH SOLDIER

RUSSIA, 1917

DEPLOYMENT

WARRIOR WOMEN

Created with special permission from Tsar Nicholas II, this all-female combat unit fought the Germans during World War I. Emmeline Pankhurst visited the unit, describing them as “the greatest page written in the history of women since the time of Joan of Arc.”

RIFLE WITH BAYONET

SHARP AND DEADLY

The 1st Russian Women’s Battalion of Death learned how to use bayonets and rifles before being deployed to the front in July 1917 for the Kerensky Offensive, where they successfully captured several German trenches. This was a rare act in the year the Russian military collapsed due to revolution.

A PEAKED CAP

KEEP YOUR HAT ON

The peaked cap was a piece of standard-issue uniform that was given to the female soldiers. These caps often sported the battalion’s insignia: a skull and crossbones. While their male counterparts eventually received steel French helmets during the war, very few female soldiers, if any, were given them.

SHAVED HEAD

CUT OUT FOR WAR

The battalion’s leader, Maria Bochkareva, was determined to prove that women could fight just as well as men. She enforced strict discipline, insisting that all the women shave their heads, sleep on bare boards during training, and endure the same corporeal punishments as male soldiers.

BELT

BUCKLE UP, SOLDIER

Belts were used to synch the oversized tunics in at the waist. In some cases, there were also pouches attached so that the soldier could carry some smaller pieces of equipment and supplies with her. Uniform provided for the women was minimal at best.

A SOLDIER’S SHIRT TUNIC

ONE SIZE FITS ALL

The women wore plain shirt-tunics, which fastened at the collar and either down the front or the side with buttons. Also called a gymnasterka, the shirt-tunics were often too large as they were designed for men and not for the smaller, female figure.

MILITARY BOOTS

SIZING UP

The female battalions were all kitted out with standard-issue military boots. However, like the rest of the uniform, they were designed for men and so the large majority of female soldiers had boots that were too big for them.
Where do you think you come from?

- 43% Europe West
- 31% Great Britain
- 12% Scandinavia
- 8% Iberian Peninsula
- 6% Italy/Greece

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Influenced by the militant tactics of British suffragettes, American women’s right activists Alice Paul and Lucy Burns decided that a march would help grab attention for their cause. For maximum impact, they scheduled the parade to demand change for 3 March 1913, the eve of President Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), who organised and fundraised the event, approved the date and it turned out to be a great choice, grabbing many headlines on Wilson’s big day. 5,000-8,000 women marched for the night to vote, defying crowds who hissed, jeered and violently attacked them as they went.

GET READY!
After weeks of preparation, the day of the Washington, DC, suffrage parade had finally arrived. The protestors readied themselves in the morning as they faced a long day of marching through the capital to demand the right for equality. Many of the women chose to wear cloaks in white, purple and gold, the official colours of the National Women’s Party.

ARRIVAL OF THE ‘PILGRIMS’
To promote the parade, a group of women, led by ‘General’ Rosalie Jones, hiked from New York City to DC. Starting on 12 February, the so-called ‘suffrage pilgrims’ walked 376 kilometres in 17 days. They carried a letter for the president-elect, demanding he make suffrage a priority. The group joined the other women in time to start the march.

MEET YOUR BRANCH
As well as delegations from each US state’s suffrage branches, individuals from abroad — travelling from as far as Sweden and New Zealand — assembled at the Capitol Building, the home of the Senate and House of Representatives. Notable marchers included Jeannette Rankin, who would later become the first woman to be elected to the House of Representatives, journalist Nelle Bly, and black activist Ida B Wells, despite complaints from segregationist marchers.
The 8,000-strong procession featured four mounted brigades, nine bands and a grand total of 20 floats. Although it began late, it got off to a good start as the women marched along Pennsylvania Avenue. They held up flags, placards and banners for all of the spectators to see, with powerful slogans such as ‘Man and Woman Make the State: Man Alone Rules the State.’

The women found themselves subject to abuse from the surrounding mob of people that was trying to block the parade, sometimes forcing the protesters to march in single file. The women were tripped, spat on and physically attacked as they proceeded, with little support from the police. This harassment meant it took over an hour for the procession to walk the first ten blocks.

According to eyewitness reports, there were two ambulances that “came and went constantly for six hours”, attempting to treat around 300 women who had been injured along the way. In a number of cases, jeering bystanders attempted to prevent the ambulances from reaching those who urgently needed medical attention. Over 100 women ended up in hospital as a result of their injuries.

Despite facing a hostile crowd, many of the women managed to complete the parade as intended, reaching the Treasury Building. Cavalry troops were eventually brought out to escort the women, many of whom were left in tears by the verbal and physical abuse they received. Their ill treatment hit the headlines the next day, which bolstered their popularity and cause.

To commemorate the parade, an allegorical tableau was held on the Treasury Building steps. 100 women dressed in costumes to represent different virtues, such as Justice and Hope, alongside the figures of Colombia and Liberty and historical heroines like Joan of Arc. It highlighted the moral influence of women and how this would extend to their use of the vote.

After an exhausting day, the protestors could finally make their way home to relax and reflect on the momentous achievement of the parade. While it would be another seven years before the 19th Amendment was ratified, the march in Washington helped to create a renewed vigour for the suffrage movement in the US.
How to MAKE A SUFFRAGETTE ROSETTE

STAND UP IN SUPPORT OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND WEAR YOUR PIN WITH PRIDE BRITAIN, 1908-1918

There is no item more emblematic of the suffrage movement than a purple, white and green rosette declaring ‘Votes for Women’. Created by the English Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), members were encouraged to wear the tricolour ‘as a duty and a privilege’.

A triumph for fashion branding, the WSPU introduced the official colour scheme ahead of a demonstration in London’s Hyde Park on 21 June 1908. Many of London’s most fashionable stores, such as Selfridges and Liberty, stocked suffragette badges and sashes as well as clothes to match — Derry & Toms even sold underwear in purple, white and green!

However, not every suffragette could afford to buy a ready-made rosette. In this tutorial, we will show you how to make your own in six simple steps.

WHAT YOU’LL NEED...

CARD AND RIBBONS
STAPLER AND STAPLES
BLACK FINELINE PEN
SAFETY PIN
PVA GLUE

01 MEASURE AND CUT CARD
Using cream card, measure and cut out two 10-centimetre circles and one 5-centimetre circle. You can do this by either using appropriately sized circular objects, or crack out the compass from your old maths kit. Be careful not to prick a hole in the centre if you’re using the compass — especially on the smaller piece, as this will be used for the front.

02 PREPARE YOUR RIBBONS
To measure your ribbon, run each colour around the edge of the larger piece of card three times. For the hanging lengths, measure out 25-centimetre pieces of ribbon, fold them half at the end and cut a triangle from the outside edge into the centre to create an inward V at the end of each one. Staple them with the flat edge to the backing piece of card.
Why are these colours used?

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, co-editor of the Votes for Women newspaper, devised the suffragette tricolour in 1908 to reflect the depth of WSPU members' belief in women's rights. Pethick-Lawrence wrote, "Purple as everyone knows is the royal colour, it stands for the royal blood that flows in the veins of every suffragette, the instinct of freedom and dignity [...] white stands for purity in private and public life [...] green is the colour of hope and the emblem of spring." Sylvia Pankhurst, a graduate of the Royal College of Art, designed many of the organisation's badges and banners so that they would match. However, other suffrage groups in both Britain and the United States boasted their own distinctive set of official colours. The mainstream National American Woman Suffrage Association adopted yellow from the Kansas sunflower as early as 1867. The more militant American group, the Women's Political Union, utilised the WSPU's tricolour as an act of solidarity with their English sisters.

**ATTACH YOUR RIBBONS**

Starting with the green ribbon, hold the inner run of ribbon to the edge of the circle, folding the inner edge more tightly under to let the outer wave appear looser. At each rise of the ribbon, staple it to the card and repeat this around until all the ribbon secure. Repeat this with the cream and then purple ribbons — you will need to trim the ends as they go in.

**WRITE YOUR SLOGAN**

Before you place the pin on the back, take a pencil and sketch out the famous slogan, 'Votes For Women'. Once you are happy with the placement, go over it with your black fineline pen, making sure to keep your lines strong and clear. If you like, you can try different embellishments around the letters to add a personal flare to your rosette.

**GLUE ON THE FRONT**

Take the smaller piece of card and place it over the top of the layered ribbons. Staple further outwards to make sure that the centre ribbons do not push the centre piece of card up too much. Now glue down the smaller piece of card but be sure not push down too hard over the staples as this could leave an embossed mark.

**FIX THE PIN**

With the second larger circle, place the pin in the centre and mark where the two ends sit with a pencil. Create two holes for the ends of the safety pin and then insert the length of the pin through one hole with the clasp end through the other. Stick it down using the glue to hold it in place, and also remember to hide the staples.
Hall of Fame

WOMEN’S RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

Discover the women who pioneered the fight for female suffrage across the world

SUSAN B ANTHONY  AMERICAN 1820-1906
In 1869, Anthony co-founded the National Woman Suffrage Association with Elizabeth Cady Stanton to secure a constitutional amendment allowing women to vote in the US. She toured the country delivering speeches promoting female suffrage and relentlessly lobbied Congress. Although Anthony clashed with the American Woman Suffrage Association, which campaigned on a state level, the two joined together in 1890 as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Anthony became president in 1892, a role she continued until her retirement in 1900. She never lived to see the ratification of the 19th Amendment, which granted female suffrage in 1920.

ANNA HASLAM  IRISH 1829-1922
Haslam was a key figure of the Irish suffrage movement. With her husband, Thomas, she founded the Dublin Women's Suffrage Association in 1876. It was a small but important organisation, as the DWSA peacefully promoted votes for women in the city. Haslam campaigned tirelessly for over five decades, challenging the idea that women did not belong in the public sphere. When female suffrage was granted in 1918, she was almost 90 years old.

DAME MILICENT FAWCETT  BRITISH 1847-1929
Fawcett was the founder and president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). Unlike the militant tactics of the suffragettes, Fawcett and her followers, the suffragists, believed that non-violent campaigning was the way forward. They organised petitions, peaceful demonstrations and the lobbying of MPs, although Fawcett did not condemn the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) altogether. When World War I broke out, Fawcett suspended the NUWSS' marches but continued campaigning peacefully. She retired as president after the Representations of the People Act of 1918, living just long enough to see the voting age lowered to 21 with the Equal Franchise Act in 1928.

KATE SHEPPARD  NEW ZEALAND 1847-1934
Sheppard led the New Zealand branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union from 1887, an organisation that believed female suffrage could bring about social and legal reform. After attempts to pass the female suffrage bill failed, Sheppard organised a petition with nearly 32,000 signatures, all women, and presented it to Parliament in 1893. Despite strong opposition, the lower house of Parliament supported it. The Electoral Act passed that year, granting every person 21 years of over the vote, including women. Thanks to Sheppard’s campaigning, New Zealand became the first country in the world to allow female suffrage.

“We are tired of having a ‘sphere’ doled out to us, and being told that anything outside that sphere is ‘unwomanly’”
Kate Sheppard
EMMELINE PANKHURST (BRITISH 1858-1929)

Pankhurst was a leading figure of the women's suffrage movement in Britain and the founder of the WSPU. She encouraged her followers, known as suffragettes, to use militant tactics such as arson and window smashing to promote their cause. These decisive methods were criticised as some believed they did more harm then good. During World War I, Pankhurst ceased militant activity to support the war effort and once the war ended in 1918, women over 30 were finally granted the right to vote. Ten years later, this was extended to women aged 21 and over, but this extension happened just after Pankhurst's death.

DORIA SHAFIK (EGYPTIAN 1908-1975)

Shafik, a passionate feminist, founded the Bint al-Nil union in order to promote equal rights for women in Egypt. In 1951, she notably led a march on the Egyptian parliament with 1,500 women to demand female suffrage, and three years later she went on a hunger strike in protest at a newly created, all-male constitutional committee. Her actions are often cited as the main catalyst for Egyptian women gaining the vote in 1956.

“...A nation cannot be liberated whether internally or externally while its women are enchained...”

Doria Shafik

FUSAE ICHIKAWA (JAPANESE 1893-1961)

After witnessing the women's suffrage movement in the US, Ichikawa co-founded the Woman's Suffrage League of Japan with Shigeri Yamataka in 1924. Six years later, the League held Japan's first national convention on female enfranchisement. With the American occupation of Japan following World War II, Ichikawa fought for women's suffrage to be included in the post-war constitution. She became the president of the New Japan Women's League and her campaigning ultimately contributed to women gaining the right to vote in 1945.

IDA B WELLS-BARNETT (AMERICAN 1862-1931)

In 1913, Wells-Barnett established the Alpha Suffrage Club in Chicago, reportedly the first black women's suffrage association in the US. Gender and racial equality were often at odds in the American suffrage movement, with many NAWSA activists unwilling to support the right to vote for both black and white women in segregated southern states. Wells-Barnett encouraged black women to join the fight for female enfranchisement to ensure that they too were awarded the vote. Although female suffrage was granted in 1920, black women, particularly in the South, still faced obstacles when it came to exercising their right to vote.

CLARA CAMPOAMOR (SPANISH 1888-1972)

When women gained the right to stand in elections for the first time in 1931, Clara Campoamor was one of the three women elected to the Constituent Assembly. As part of her role in helping to draft the Spanish Constitution of 1931, she fiercely advocated women’s rights, in particular universal suffrage. Thanks to her efforts, Spanish women were finally granted the right to vote in December 1931, although they faced restrictions during the rule of Franco.

LIN ZONGSU (CHINESE 1878-1944)

Inspired by the women's rights movements in Europe and America, Lin founded the first female suffrage organisation in China, the Women’s Suffrage Comrades Alliance, in 1911. Despite her efforts and numerous petitions, women were still denied the vote in the provisional constitution of 1912. The National Assembly felt threatened by their demands and Lin eventually ceased her activities under the suppression of Yuan Shikai in 1913. Women were finally granted the vote in China in 1949.
Why were activists called 'suffragettes'?

Thomas Sherborne

In 1906, the Daily Mail journalist Charles E Hands coined the term to mock the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), adding the suffix -ette to suggest they were diminutive or feminine. But Emmeline Pankhurst's organisation embraced the term as a badge of honour. While it is now used as a catch-all term, technically only militant activists like the WSPU were suffragettes. Millicent Fawcett's peaceful National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies should be called 'suffragists'.

Why did activists boycott the 1911 census?

Cathy Harington

As one protest sign explained, "if women don't count, neither will they be counted." As the census only counted those on the property on 2 April, some women spoiled their forms while others spent the evening out. They walked the streets, met at cafes, or hid together - like the pictured group, which gathered at a house in Manchester renamed 'Census Lodge'. Emily Davison even hid in a cupboard in parliament. The protest's impact on the nation was small but it did raise awareness for the cause.

Why were the suffragettes force-fed?

Lisa Reilly

After WSPU member Marion Wallace Dunlop was released from Holloway Prison after three days of refusing food for fear that she might die in 1906, some of the other imprisoned suffragettes followed suit. They believed that they had found a powerful weapon with which to fight the British government.

However, the authorities soon decided that prisoners would be force-fed rather than released when they fell ill from hunger-striking. This involved a rubber tube being stuck up the nose or down the throat and into the stomach. The striker was also restrained in a chair and had a steel gap pushed in their mouth, screwed open as widely as possible to fit the tube. While the government defended force-feeding as a medical procedure, it was invasive, demeaning, dangerous and, in some instances, damaged the long-term health of the victims.

The so-called Cat and Mouse Act of 1915 curtailed force-feeding but instead created a vicious cycle: starving prisoners were sent home to recover before being imprisoned again once they were healthy. This led to suffragettes' sentences - already often disproportionately harsh - effectively being greatly extended.

Next month's topic is... the theatre. Send your questions to

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From the slave trade to Indian partition, top historians debate the real legacy of the dominion that ruled the waves

Written by Harry Cunningham
Meet the panel

James Walvin
An emeritus professor of history at the University of York, James became a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 2006 and has also been awarded an OBE for services to scholarship. He has written several books on slavery and social history, the most recent of which is Sugar: The World Corrupted from Slavery to Obesity.

Shrabani Basu
An Indian journalist and author, Shrabani has written for The Times of India and The Telegraph. Her books include For King and Another Country, about Indian soldiers on the Western Front, Spy Princess, about World War II heroine Noor Inayat Khan, and Victoria and Abdul, which is now a major film starring Judi Dench.

Richard Toye
Richard is a professor of history at the University of Exeter, prior to which he was director of studies for history at the University of Cambridge. He focuses on British history and its global and imperial context from the late 19th century onwards. His works include Arguing about Empire: Imperial Rhetoric in Britain and France, 1882-1956.

John Broich
John is associate professor in the history of modern Britain and its empire at Case Western Reserve University in the US. His latest book is Squadron: Ending the African Slave Trade, which is about the attempts of British Navy officers and abolitionists to end the slave trade that continued illegally into the 1880s.
Richard Toye: Oh gosh! Nostalgia, I suppose. Just thinking about the current Brexit issues being inflected by the romantic views of the lost empire.

James Walvin: The Last Night of the Proms – it's all that pomp and circumstance with the drums and trumpets. It's a modern-day celebration of something from the past that has a dark side we're not really interested in talking about, and it somehow represents a view of the British Empire that I don't really buy into and don't much like. The irony is that they sing 'Britain never will be slaves', yet when that song was written at the accession of George II [in 1727], the British were carrying tens of thousands of Africans across the Atlantic in their slave ships.

John Broich: Anyone who answers that they think of anything other than the old map with the empire coloured in pink is lying – they probably think that's not a sophisticated enough answer. After I envision that map, it tends to get a lot messier in my mind's eye. I see fuzzy outlines, weird illuminated strands of an uneven web connecting the world, pulses of energy moving between parts of the map.

Almost everything on the face of the world is touched by this. This is the real map of the historical empire – an almost impossibly complicated network of influences ricocheting around the planet.

Shrabani Basu: As an Indian, obviously it starts with the crushing of the mutiny and then I think of so many things that are not good: the Bengal famine, all those people who were hanged for fighting for Indian independence. It's a long, unsavoury list, I'm afraid.

What aspect of the empire do you wish was more widely understood or acknowledged?
Shrabani Basu: The very fact that the empire was built on the people. It was the people who created it who should be acknowledged for everything. You walk through London and it was all made with money from the empire. You see all these grand country houses and half of them were built with fortunes from the East India Company. That's how those merchants made their money – they owe a lot to the wealth they got from India.

But it's not just about the money. I think what I want to see as a historian is that the role of the colonies is acknowledged in the world wars and all these little stories that people don't know. One and a half million people came to fight in World War I, two and a half million came in World War II. They fought in a war that wasn't theirs.
and the harshest battles were in Kohima, where
the Indians took on the Japanese.
All of these facts need to be known from a
very early stage, from school — it should be part
of the education curriculum, that’s how I see it.
The damage is done but at least now the people
should be acknowledged.
The dialogue has always been along the lines
of we gave them parliamentary democracy and
railways but that is very one-sided. [The British]
got money from the empire that helped to run
the health service, the education system and
everything else — the money from [India] was
gone. It needs to be recognised now.
Money aside — it can be recovered, now India
is recovering — I think the harshest legacy is the
wounds of partition that still fester and that is
lasting damage that the empire dealt.

**JW:** I suppose the dark side of the empire should
be more widely acknowledged, in a way. The
benefits are all around us, right down to the
kind of statuary that you find in English civil
buildings and public squares. For instance, lions
are everywhere in the United Kingdom. I was
walking through Hull a couple of years ago with a
very eminent African historian and he looked up
at these lions and asked, “Is the lion a native of
East Yorkshire?”

You’d imagine that would be the case because
somehow the lion sums up empire and the
British. There is a dark side to the animal that
seems to reflect the ruthlessness of the way the
British, Europeans and Americans governed their
own native citizens and their conquered people,
assisted as well as what they wanted to extract from them
and their land. It is a very harsh story and while
you can try to counterbalance it by saying we
gave them the English language, we gave them
democracy, we gave them the rule of law, even
that presumes a lot.
The British don’t really talk about the dark
side of the empire that much because it doesn’t
look very favourable to them. People have come
to [the British Empire] via their own indigenous
roots. Indians have found their own story, which,
understandably, looks at the British Empire in a
very different light.

**RT:** I think it would be good if there was more
recognition or further attempts to bring to light
those people who were the subjects of the empire.
By that, I mean the ordinary people from a wide
variety of different countries and with their
particular experiences.

A lot of the historiography — and I include
myself here — tends to focus on the views of
those at the centre, so the colonial officials who
were doing lots of record-keeping, and that the
voices of those who experienced the empire when
other people came and took over their countries
and administered them are often lost.

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**Victoria’s Empire**

Equally, the peoples of the Caribbean have a
story that is embedded in the slave past and the
whole great swathes of Africans that came very
quickly under imperial control from the 1870s
onwards. All of that was done at the end of a
sword or a gun with the ambition of exploiting
the natural resources and the labour that went
with it. So local people have come to the story
later because they’ve only really woken up to the
nature of history more recently.

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**Egypt**

Finding itself in economic rot, Egypt
sold half its stake in the Suez Canal
to Britain. This prompted an eventual
rebellion and launched the 1882 Anglo-
Egyptian War. Britain won and took
the country under its control. Egypt
provided a vital trade route between
Britain and India, cutting out the
long journey around Africa.

**South Africa**

The British gained control of the Cape
of Good Hope in the early 19th century
to use it as a stopping station on the
way to India. However, when gold and
diamonds were discovered in the region,
their interest in the region increased
leading to the Zulu and Boer Wars.

**Australia**

Initially a British penal colony, thousands
of convicts were transported to the
continent. But when gold was discovered
there, British immigrants went willingly
in search of their fortune. Loss of land,
ill treatment and European diseases
severely affected Aboriginal people.

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**India**

After largely being controlled by the
East India Company, India became part
of the British Empire in 1858. Known as
the ‘jewel in the crown’, India was the
most valuable piece of Britain’s empire,
with lucrative trade from spices, jewels
and textiles. Most important provision of
India, though, was its huge population
that fuelled Britain’s military might.

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**Painting the world pink**

The scale and breadth of the British Empire
cannot be overstated. By the turn of the 20th
century, it had exceeded even the might of the
Roman Empire to truly become a land on which
the sun never set. However, historians often
divide the empire into two eras. The First British
Empire mostly consisted of colonies in North
America and the West Indies, which were fuelled
by slave labour harvesting sugar and tobacco.
In the 18th century, Britain fought numerous
wars against France, capturing their Canadian
territories and trading posts in India. The First
British Empire ended with the American War of
Independence in 1783.
The Second British Empire saw the nation
turn its interest to the east. Captain James Cook
made landfall on New Zealand for the first time
in 1769, and the first shipment of prisoners
arrived in Australia in 1788. Britain asserted its
authority over Hong Kong during the Opium
War with China in 1841. The British government
then took control of India (including
Pakistan and Bangladesh) from the
East India Company in 1858,
with Queen Victoria declared
empress of India in 1876. The
so-called ‘Scramble for
Africa’ from 1880s to the
First World War saw Britain
acquire colonies in Africa,
stretching from Cairo to
Cape Town.
The British Empire

**ARCHITECTS OF EMPIRE**

**CHARLES I** 1600–19

Colonies created by this monarch became havens for persecuted Puritans

After the union of the crowns brought England, Ireland and Scotland under the Stuarts’ personal rule in 1603, Charles I continued the work of his father, James I, to expand his three kingdoms into a global power.

Once the Pilgrim Fathers had established the Plymouth colony as a place of refuge for Puritans in 1620, the Massachusetts Bay Colony soon followed in 1630. Carolina, not yet divided into North and South, was settled and named after the king and Maryland, which was intended as a place of sanctuary for Catholics, followed in 1634. The colonisation of the Caribbean also picked up pace. Among others, St Kitts, Barbados and Nevis were all quickly settled.

What made the colonies more successful than early the Elizabethan attempts was the amount of ordinary people motivated to make the journey. The political situation in England was becoming increasingly acrimonious with civil war looming and there were also great plagues that were devastating the country. A new life in a faraway continent where there was more than enough land to go around seemed a welcome retreat.

**How fundamental was slavery to the birth of the British Empire?**

**JB:** The sort of things I teach a new set of students every year; that the British Empire was not like the Galactic Empire, it was not maintained by imperial stormtroopers. Yes, the Royal Navy was an awesome power and hugely influential, but its reach was limited. Influence occurred in a million other ways.

**How fundamental was slavery to the birth of the British Empire?**

**JW:** Slavery was really one of the key elements in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The British wealth was accumulated from trade in the Atlantic, Africa and the Caribbean, and that laid the basis for all kinds of imperial strength, like the rise of the great cities of Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow. Glasgow was built on tobacco that was cultivated by Africans and the sugar coming into London and Liverpool from the Caribbean was also important.

The empire had started before slavery. What the British did was plug into a slave system in the Atlantic that the Spanish and Portuguese had managed to perfect before them. We were latecomers to empire but once we got into our stride, we became the great pacemakers. Once we had managed to perfect before them. We were a huge sugar factory possible — it multiplied British wealth was accumulated from trade in the Atlantic that the Spanish and Portuguese— that’s a story we also need to know and it’s waiting to be told.

**Conversely, how fundamental or transformative to the British Empire was the battle to end slavery?**

**RT:** I would say that there’s often a lot of self-congratulation among the British, particularly politicians, about Britain’s obviously important role in ending the slave trade. However, there isn’t much acknowledgement of its role in promoting it in the first place.

**SB:** All you hear about the abolition is William Wilberforce but abolition also happened because black people themselves fought against it and that’s a story we don’t hear. It wasn’t just the British giving it away. There was a lot of rioting and enough resistance so they had to give it away — that’s a story we also need to know and it’s waiting to be told.

**JB:** Let there had been no slavery, there would have been no slave trade and no British Empire as we know it. Murderous slave labour operations made the transformation of the Caribbean and the American southeast into a huge sugar factory possible — it multiplied Britain’s productive land many times over.

That sugar and rum fuelled the British Empire and the resulting money further drove Britain. The slave trade and carrying trade and Royal and merchant navies funded and trained generations of British sailors.

**SB:** Slavery played a major role, of course. They say that the slaves were liberated but you also had indentured labour that followed. This was exactly like slavery because those [former slaves] couldn’t go back home.

You got the indentured labour to go to the [British] Caribbean islands — and a lot of Indians went there from Eastern India as well — and they worked in the sugar cane fields but they could never return home. This replaced slavery but it was exactly the same, just with a different word — and yes, it built the empire.

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**JB:** If there had been no slavery, there would have been no slave trade and no British Empire as we know it. Murderous slave labour operations made the transformation of the Caribbean and the American southeast into a huge sugar factory possible — it multiplied Britain’s productive land many times over.

But slavery came to an end in a very short space of time partly because the Europeans lost confidence in it and in what they were doing. They were beginning to realise that slavery was morally tainted in a way that they hadn’t really thought of before.

I don’t think there’s any doubt that the British thought slavery was wrong in 1833. Over 1.3 million people from all walks of life signed petitions against it and that hadn’t happened in 1733 or 1633. Something had changed.

The British people became much more influenced by nonconformity, Baptists, missionaries, aspects of Anglicanism. They also came to believe in the rights of man — it’s the age of revolution, the ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality, all of those issues that had come from the French and American revolutions, and they became blended between 1780 and 1830.
was a 50-year period where what they saw in the Americas was deeply tainted and what gave that feeling a much sharper edge was learning about the way in which the slaves were actually being treated in the Caribbean and the Americas.

To start with, more and more people were becoming literate and there was also more cheap print available — a lot of British citizens could now read about slavery. Missionaries, fresh from Jamaica, came back to the United Kingdom to tell the stories about the violation of slaves in crowded churches and there was a building sense of a moral outrage about this.

If you think about it, ending slavery was an extraordinary transformation. What's interesting is that not only did the British decide they didn't want anything more to do with slavery for a whole host of complex reasons, but that they then became abolitionists in an imperial sense.

The British wanted to embark on abolition as an aspect of their imperialism and to do so they had to oblige other people to become abolitionists in the way they were. They tried to persuade the French, the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Americans by treaty, and they tried to convince the Africans by force and diplomacy.

Everyone must accord to British abolition — the poacher of the 18th century became the gamekeeper of the 19th century and the irony is that Britain's conversion to abolition became a key element in its determination to impose empire in other parts of the world. For instance, they had to make sure that the Africans didn't become slavers, and to do that they had to control them.

**The slaves themselves constantly shook their shackles**

An illustration from 1902 showing Britannia fighting against barbarism

SB: We should ensure that we never discount the role played by the English liberals not just in slavery, but also in opposing colonialism. There were a lot of people who were against what was happening and they helped India. They were on the other side, assisting the freedom struggle, and I appreciate the efforts and the contributions that they made.

We also have to remember to look at things as a two-way relationship — the situation is never in black and white. We really need to make sure that we understand and give respect where it's due.

JB: The battle to end slavery was extremely transformative to the British Empire. We just have to look to the Royal Navy's suppression of the slave trade on the west and later east coasts of Africa to see the roots of military humanitarian intervention that we still have today.

As cynical as we tend to be, and as critically as we want to examine all British imperial history, the sacrifices of British and African (Kroomen) sailors on these stations were great and the expenditure from the British treasure very high.

*Mad King George* is often blamed for losing the 13 American colonies but this is unfair. By the 18th century the sovereign relied on their Whig and Tory ministers in an increasingly constitutional monarchy and George was suffering from what we now know was porphyria, a serious mental condition.

One of the most pressing issues following the signing of the Treaty of Paris on 3 September 1783 — when the US formally gained independence — was where to send convicts who had previously been shipped across the Atlantic. The loss of America also meant problems for the economic activity of the Caribbean since Britain no longer had a base on the continent.

By the end of George III's reign in 1820, Britain had overcome these issues and made its empire even more powerful. Australia had become a new home for transported convicts and the Far East was now the powerhouse. Cotton and silk were taken back to Britain and used in the factories of new industrial towns in the north. The Caribbean became irrelevant as extracting homegrown sugar from the beet became far more profitable than importing it, and slavery became both economically untenable and morally repugnant to many people in Britain.
By 1700, the slave trade accounted for 80 per cent of Britain’s foreign income.

By 1700, sugar production on the British Caribbean islands had reached 25,000 tons. By 1750, sugar exporters were producing 150,000 tons of sugar, 36,000 tons of which came from Jamaica alone.

Between 1662 and 1807, slave exports in British colonial ships numbered about 3 million.

**The triangular slave trade**

Seeing the success of Portuguese and Spanish slave traders, British sailors followed suit from the 1640s. A brutally efficient trade triangle was soon established, with British slave traders repeating a three-legged journey. They would set out to the west coast of Africa, where they exchanged captured men, women and children for European goods like guns, textiles and alcohol.

With a cargo of enslaved Africans, traders would cross the Middle Passage of the Atlantic over six to eight weeks. Up to 20 per cent of those chained in the holds of the slave ships died before they even reached their destination. In the Caribbean, those Africans who had survived the treacherous journey would be sold at slave markets for huge profits.

Traders used this money to buy cash crops that could be sold back home, including coffee, tobacco, sugar and later cotton — all of which were products of slave labour.

Between 1695 and 1807, 10,600 slave ships set sail from English ports, with 50 per cent sailing from Liverpool alone. The exact number of Africans transported to the Americas as slaves is hotly debated, with estimates as high as 28 million.

In the 18th century alone, perhaps 6 million Africans were taken to the Americas as slaves, at least a third of them in British ships.

“**It’s not simply the case that every time there was decolonisation it was accompanied by huge waves of violence**”

JW: This wasn’t just an economic phenomenon. It was the rise of great economic systems but it was encouraged at all points by the British state. Acts of Parliament controlled this — the Navigation Acts dictated what could and couldn’t be carried in British ships. The Royal Navy developed in the 18th century and was used in the Atlantic as well as in Asia and the Indian Ocean to safeguard the interests of the British state, which was actively involved in this.

It’s not as if the British were innocent bystanders, just watching companies get on with it — they had colonial officials, armies, militia and Royal Navy depots in place. What they were doing was making sure that Britain’s economic interests were safeguarded by whatever means necessary. In the 18th century, that meant going to war, so the conflicts with the French were a battle between two great empires in India and the Atlantic for dominance that would yield economic benefits to the victor.

RT: Well, as with anything, it was a combination of factors. There were those who felt as though they had moral imperatives to civilise things that from our perspective might not look like genuine morality but were nonetheless deeply felt at the time — though how effectively that was done is a different question.

I certainly think it’s important to emphasise that the British Empire can’t just been seen as being centrally run and directed from London, where a decision was made by the men in Whitehall and then immediately implemented in the colonies or in India.

This was, of course, a time of slow communication and therefore an important principle was that things should be left to the man on the spot. However, that left a big window of opportunity for traders and businessmen to get a foothold in places where authorities may not necessarily have been wholly comfortable with what they were doing but they didn’t really see a very powerful reason — or perhaps didn’t even have the power — to stop it from happening.

JB: The responsibility was mixed. The British state had its own Crown Colonies and later the Indian Empire, for which it was directly responsible. It was authoritative, too, in that it granted monopolies or other concessions to semi-private colonial operations. But yes, sometimes a great deal of blame for the horrors belongs to individual people — like Rhodes, an express global white supremacist.

SB: It was built entirely on cotton. Manchester and Lancashire were big industrial areas and they grew on the strength of the textile industry and Indian cotton coming in, but also at the expense of opportunity for traders and businessmen to get a foothold in places where authorities may not necessarily have been wholly comfortable with what they were doing but they didn’t really see a very powerful reason — or perhaps didn’t even have the power — to stop it from happening.
The son of a merchant from Yorkshire, Wilberforce campaigned for the abolition of slavery from his earliest days but only became interested in politics while at Cambridge University. It was here that he met with two people who would become instrumental in his fight for abolition: the future Tory leader and prime minister William Pitt the Younger and the aristocrat Thomas Babington, whose manor house in the Leicestershire village of Rothley would provide a welcome retreat for them to draft the historic anti-slavery legislation.

Wilberforce allegedly spent £8,000 on his campaign to become independent Member of Parliament for Kingston upon Hull but soon became disillusioned at having run for office for personal gain. He met the cleric John Newton, who had been a slave overseer on the Gold Coast and was horrified by what he had seen. The writings of James Ramsay — a doctor and preacher who had spent 19 years living on the Caribbean island of St Kitts — also had a profound effect on him.

Wilberforce soon had an epiphany: abolishing the slave trade, he felt, was God's mission for him. As an independent Member of Parliament he sided with Whigs and Tories, working with both to achieve the abolition of both the slave trade in 1807 and slavery itself in 1833.

of Indian production because the local industry was then killed.

You could write so many books on how the British destroyed the entire cotton spinning industry in India. Weavers were put out of a job, so real lasting damage that was done.

The late Victorian view of the British Empire was that it was this great ‘civilising’ mission. In your opinion, how successful was it?

RT: That’s a bit of a loaded question because the Victorian concept of civilisation may not have been entirely welcomed by the people who were on the receiving end. If you look at it simply in terms of building infrastructure, then the Victorians were certainly quite successful — whether that served any great benefit to the people who lived in the conquered countries is much more questionable, though.

I think that if you were really to take the question literally of if they succeeded, it’s basically asking to what extent did they really manage to convert the rest of the empire to the British values of the time. To that, you have to say that the decolonisation phase shows that, at the very least, the British had failed to win significant elements of those societies to their side. If the British had really adhered to what they wanted in terms of their effects on the indigenous people, the empire would presumably still be going in some form today.

JW: The empire was successful in the sense that it brought hundreds of millions of people together under one flag — the imperial British flag. You can’t look at a map of the world in 1944 and not say that the exercise wasn’t a success — the whole world seems to be pink!

In fact, that was one of my first memories of learning about the empire in primary school: looking at maps and the teacher saying, “This is ours.” Great swathes of India, the Americas — it was ours. It included the Commonwealth countries, of course, and so if empire is successful in terms of its spread around the world and control, then the British Empire triumphed.

How you calibrate the empire’s success in terms of ‘civilising’ I don’t know because it also brutalised. It imposed certain political, educational and language systems on native peoples at the gunpoint.

SB: It wasn’t — it was purely a money-making exercise. From the beginning to the end, it was all about the money. I mean, you can justify it by saying that the British were on a civilising mission, and I’m sure they believed that, but it is actually completely untrue.

JB: Violence and coercion can never be civilising.

The process of decolonisation was often bloody and chaotic. To use India as an example, do you believe the former ‘imperial’ powers have a responsibility to ‘manage’ the outcome, or was the ‘correct’ thing to do to step back?

RT: I think it was a catch-22 in the sense that it’s always possible to say that decisions could have been taken better and that the bloody violence of partition could really have been averted. Could it have been minimised or made less awful? Well maybe, but you’ve got to remember that there were peaceful handovers, too. It’s not simply the case that every time there was decolonisation it was accompanied by huge waves of violence.

In the case of India, I think that it’s incredibly difficult to see how the British could have extracted themselves without that occurring. Of course, the point is that the British themselves had quite consciously stoked up the communal tensions between the different ethnic and religious groups in India as a policy of dividing and ruling over the decades. If the British had been more receptive to Indian nationalism earlier on and had been prepared to work more a little more constructively at an earlier stage, perhaps things could have turned out differently.
By the end of World War II, the British really were in a catch-22. The British government [of 1945–51 under Clement Attlee] sincerely wanted to withdraw for very good, practical reasons; its hands were tied really in terms of needing to speed things up. It’s difficult to see if those tensions that were already so high could have been permanently suppressed.

**JW:** It is a catch-22, I think. I’m not sure that the British handled the ending of the Indian Empire well and that may be partly due to Louis Mountbatten, the governor-general of India. There was a certain kind of arrogance to the man that tainted the way he ordered withdrawal from India and partition but I’m not sure that the outcome would have been any less violent.

It looks as if what happened was a concoction of circumstances, made worse by Mountbatten and also the doggedness of Muhammad Ali Jinnah not making concessions when he needed to. Whether it had to be quite as violent as it was is difficult to say.

**JB:** The horror of empire is that it almost always ends the way it did in India, and if you break it, you own it. It’s not simply that the British executed their withdrawal there, or fromPalestine or areas of Africa, poorly — it’s that during their rule, they created conditions that favoured such blood-letting. It was their divide-and-conquer techniques, the suppression of democratic movements, and the systematic underdevelopment of industry, education, electrification and so forth.

**SB:** I think [the British] were responsible. They stood back and watched the rioting and they were there. It was their responsibility to ensure a smooth transfer and to look after the situation. The police were part of the British police before this but Pakistan didn’t have a police force after the partition. While the administrators were transitioning, they had nothing over there — it’s not a situation that you can just walk away from after 200 years. The police were given instructions to look after the British and make sure they weren’t hurt in the riots. It’s completely outrageous, really.

Another example is the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the carving up of the Middle East. In your opinion, could Britain have known about the divisions that would result, or is that only capable with hindsight?

**JW:** Had they known what was to happen now, I doubt it would have occurred — but who could have predicted that there would be warfare from 1948? Who could have known when the Balfour Declaration was made that Hitler would do what he did to European Jews?

No one knew that the Final Solution was going to come and alter the whole game plan. Who in their right mind could even have thought that would happen? It looked a generous offer to the Zionists but it was made at the expense of others and I don’t think it was fully appreciated just how costly it would be to the Arabs.

**RT:** It’s not as if everybody thought that the Balfour Declaration was a brilliant idea. Edwin Montagu was secretary of state for India from 1917 to 1922 and although he was Jewish, he was strongly opposed to it because he resented the Zionist idea that Jews ought to live in a special
nation with the possible risk that they'd be seen as not being legitimate or come under attack in the countries that they'd originally been born in.

Put it this way: it wasn't obvious to everyone that this would be unproblematic. I'm not saying Montagu foresaw the precise issues that emerged in terms of the resentment between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine and he probably couldn't have predicted what that was going to involve, but I think it would take enormous foresight to realise that doing this could be dubious.

The British did wake up to the full difficulties of it to some extent in the 1920s and they did try to carry out a balancing act. The wording of the declaration states that "the freedom of the existing population, both economic and political" must be maintained. Of course, people were aware that there was a non-Jewish population but the British should arguably have shown more foresight.

**JW:** The English language, English legal systems in certain parts of the world and certain kinds of democracy, although they weren't always suitable — but how you balance these achievements against the disadvantages is hard to say. If you look at a map of Africa with its straight lines and rectangles divided up into countries that owe no loyalty to those lines whatsoever, it's difficult to determine if the harm that came with that, riding roughshod over tribal, ethnic divisions, is actually counterbalanced by the fact that they were taught in English and were given certain parliamentary procedures. It is a very precarious balance.

**RT:** I think I'm going to say none because if you start talking about positives and negatives and begin weighing things up, it's that's not particularly helpful for the historical understanding of what went on. It's problematic because you can get to a situation where it's very tempting to go down a route where people say, "Well yes, there were quite a few massacres and there were famines and there was slavery — but on the upside we built loads of bridges and railways, and we spread the rule of law. On balance, can't we say that the British Empire on the whole was rather a good thing?"

I think that's a line of thought that many people find compelling, and yet I feel as though it reinforces a lot of cozy assumptions that the British may have about themselves. What sounds like a fair approach can end up whitewashing some of the darker episodes.
The British Empire

When trying to look for some light, I suppose that one can point to the positive relations between many of the countries in the Commonwealth and perhaps there is or has been some goodwill from them.

I don't want to go down the route of saying that the history of the British Empire was just nonstop massacres, which is over the top. But this isn't to say that everything that has gone wrong in decolonised countries since they have left the empire necessarily has to be laid wholly at the feet of the British.

Of the British Empire's darker legacy, what do you believe to be its single greatest shame?

JB: Take your pick: slavery, robbery, wars of rapacity and arbitrary horrors like the Victorian famine responses in India. The list goes on.

RT: Well, I think that slavery would probably have to be the obvious one.

SB: It's the exploitation of people for material gains to the extent that you hang anyone who opposes it. You kill them, you destroy their country. What could be worse than that?
During Queen Victoria’s 63-year reign, the British Empire grew and changed irrevocably at home and abroad. Cities like Manchester and Birmingham evolved through industrialisation and the creation of revolutionary railways, which allowed for the transportation of goods around the country in the same day.

The railways were funded not just by archetypical Victorian capitalists who had made their profits from buying commodities in the new Far East colonies and then making them back home, but also by a new lower-middle class that had indirectly benefited from the profits of empire and had become valuable shareholders in a modernised economy.

The monarchy was now firmly on the path towards constitutionalism, so Queen Victoria was more of a symbol of empire than a major player like her Stuart predecessors. A state in Australia bears her name and Victoria’s capital is named after her first prime minister, Viscount Melbourne. There is also a Victoria in British Columbia, Canada, and Victoria was the name of the capital of colonial Hong Kong, leased by Britain from China until 1897.

Under Victoria, the economic and de facto political control that Britain had imposed on India under Elizabeth I through the East India Company came under threat. In 1857, Indian soldiers began to revolt, perturbed by the continued imposition of British values at the expense of their own local customs and frustrated that they were not receiving any of the social or economic benefits of empire.

Rumours had begun to circulate that newly introduced rifles required Indian soldiers to bite into the cartridges, allegedly greased with animal fat from sacred animals, abhorrent to both Muslims and Hindus. The Indian soldiers marched on Delhi with the support of the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II and revolt soon spread across the Ganges to Agra, Cawnpore and Lucknow.

Most historians generally agree that the British slaughtered 100,000 soldiers but the Indian historian Amaresh Misra argues that the death toll could be as high as 10 million if the number of civilians killed in the ten years following the revolt, as the British attempted to reassert their control, are taken into account.

In the aftermath of the mutiny, India was formally incorporated into the ever-expanding British Empire as a colony and Queen Victoria was made empress of India in 1876. She took a great interest in the newest country to be welcomed into the fold and, with the encouragement of her Indian servant and confidante Abdul Karim, she even learned to write in Hindustani.

STATS
By the end of Victoria’s reign, the British Empire comprised one quarter of the world’s surface area and population

* 5% world’s surface
* 12-13% world’s population

In the late Victorian period, many British people emigrated for a new life in the colonies. Emigration rose from 1.64 million in 1880 to 1.68 million by 1900 and 1.8 million by 1920

1.64m 1.68m 1.8m

By 1901, Britain’s population was around 37 million and united by one main language but India had a population of 284 million, 179 languages and 544 regional dialects

37m 194m
Bluffer’s Guide

Bonfire of the Vanities

FLORENCE, 7 FEBRUARY 1497

Timeline

- MAY 1494: Living at the San Marco convent, Savonarola preaches against the excesses of Florence’s rich and warns of the coming apocalypse.
- NOVEMBER 1494: After Charles VIII of France invades, Savonarola meets with him and prays the king as God’s tool to purify the city. The Medicis flee.
- 1 APRIL 1495: After the French move south, Savonarola preaches to huge audiences in the cathedral, declaring Florence a ‘New Jerusalem’ governed by strict religious laws.
- 7 FEBRUARY 1497: On the day of the traditional Mardi Gras festival, Savonarola’s supporters collect and publicly burn thousands of unholy ‘vanities’ in the Piazza del Signoria.
Bluffer’s Guide

BONFIRE OF THE VANITIES

What was it?
Florence was the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance but in 1497, a fanatical Dominican friar named Girolamo Savonarola convinced the citizens to burn many of their masterpieces. Books, paintings, fine clothing, decorative carpets and even cosmetics were rounded up by Savonarola’s followers and piled high in the Piazza del Signoria. Representatives of each Florentine district symbolically lit the pyre, which was topped with an effigy of Satan, while women wearing white robes, olive branch garlands and red crosses danced around it.

The city’s ‘vanities’ were destroyed because Savonarola claimed they were distracting from religious duties. The friar prophesied God would punish them by sending an apocalyptic flood in 1500 if they didn’t repent. The spiritual leader also forbade the city’s famous carnivals, replacing them with solemn religious processions. Sodomy was also banned and he declared that anyone overweight was declared a sinner. Street urchins were employed to hunt anyone wearing immodest clothing or eating fancy foods.

Why did it happen?
Savonarola moved to Florence in 1490 at the invitation of the city’s ruler. Lorenzo de’ Medici was convinced the Dominican friar would bring him prestige and so offered to protect him after his unorthodox views had got him into trouble elsewhere. However, Savonarola gained popularity by preaching against the exploitation of the poor and corruption within the clergy. He also warned that the city’s vices were making God angry, which was seemingly confirmed when Charles VIII of France invaded in 1494.

The people had already started turning against the Medicis when Lorenzo died in 1492 but his son’s inability to prevent the invasion only worsened things. Savonarola welcomed the French king as Christianity’s saviour, while his followers burned down the Medicis’ bank. The ruling family fled into exile.

After the French marched further south, Savonarola filled the power vacuum. His new political party, the Frateschi, established a ‘popular’ republic that imposed his strict theocratic law for several years.

Who was involved?

Girolamo Savonarola

1452-98

This Dominican friar belonged to a fringe group within the already strict order that sought to reassert simplicity and poverty.

Sandro Botticelli

1445-1510

Either out of ardent support for Savonarola or self-preservation, this painter burned several of his own artworks.

Pope Alexander VI

1431-1503

Profiting from the corruption Savonarola rallied against, the Pope didn’t tolerate the friar’s rule for long.
Naresuan: Warrior King

A national hero in his native Thailand, Naresuan the Great defied Burma and conquered much of Southeast Asia in the 16th century

Written by David Roos and Jessica Leggett

It says something that the film series The Legend of King Naresuan is one of the most expensive movie projects in Thai history. The action-packed, six-part historical epic, which celebrates the larger-than-life conquests of Somdej Phra Naresuan Maharaj – otherwise known as Naresuan the Great – cost more than £14.8 million ($20 million) to produce.

With financial backing from the Thai state, the movies chronicle how Naresuan, a 16th-century warrior king, threw off the shackles of the detested Burmese occupation and established an independent state that was a strong political and military force in Southeast Asia. Imagine George Washington if the American general had ditched his horse for a battle elephant.

To understand the importance of Naresuan in Thai history, you need to appreciate the political dynamics of 16th-century Southeast Asia. First of all, the country we now know as Thailand didn’t exist until the 20th century. Instead, the region was made up of a series of Thai kingdoms, known collectively in the West as Siam, the largest and most powerful of which was Ayutthaya.

Dubbed the ‘Venice of the East’, Ayutthaya was a walled city of intersecting canals that floated like a fortified island in between three converging rivers. Its walls and rivers defended it against attack while its culture flourished, producing remarkable Buddhist-themed architecture, as well as art and music that were influenced by both East and West. Fertile rice fields surrounded the city and Ayutthaya grew rich exporting rice to European traders and China, the reigning superpower of East Asia.

However, the kingdom was literally surrounded by enemies: Burma lay to the northwest, Cambodia and the Khmer to the southeast, and disparate tribal states had made their homes to the east and north. But Burma was by far the most potent threat. The ruling Toungoo dynasty had spent the last two generations conquering smaller states to amass an empire.

Regime change

In 1548, the Ayutthaya kingdom had managed to repel a formidable attack but the Burmese king Bayinnaung returned in 1564 with an even larger force, which included hundreds of Portuguese mercenaries.

Ayutthaya fell under Burmese control. The city was pillaged and thousands of were deported to Burma as slaves – but the regime change worked in favour of Naresuan’s family. King Bayinnaung got rid of Ayutthaya’s ruler, Maha Chakkraphat, and put Naresuan’s father, Maha Thammarachathirat, a high-ranking nobleman, on the throne instead. However as a pledge of his allegiance, the new king was forced to send his two sons – Naresuan, then aged nine, and his younger brother, Ekathotsarot – to be raised in the Burmese capital of Pegu.
"As the first-born son, expectations were high for the young prince"
A hostage in the Burmese court for seven years, Naresuan may have spent his time studying Buddhist philosophy. However, he also became an avid pupil of Burmese and Portuguese military tactics as well as hand-to-hand combat.

In 1571, when Naresuan turned 16, King Bayinnaung allowed the prince to return home in exchange for his sister's hand in marriage. Young Naresuan was put in charge of the northern city of Phitsanulok as the Uparat, or presumptive heir, to the throne of Ayutthaya.

As you can imagine, Naresuan was in an unusual political position. Raised in Burma as a prisoner-prince, he both resented and respected the Thai people's feudal overlords. Some even claim that Naresuan loved Bayinnaung like a father. If Thailand's champion had early dreams of rebellion he hid them well, biding his time and pledging his continued loyalty to Burma.

Ironically, it was during a show of this loyalty that Naresuan would get himself into trouble. After the death of Bayinnaung, Nanda Bayin became king of Burma in 1581, and Naresuan was sent by his father to pay homage and express the Thai kingdom's unwavering allegiance.

To test this fealty, Nanda Bayin recruited Naresuan and his army to help quash a rebellion in the Shan states to the north. When Nanda Bayin and his troops failed to take a key city, Naresuan swept in to conquer it. Instead of encouraging the king that Naresuan could be a trusted ally, the act embarrassed and enraged him.

Naresuan returned to his home in Phitsanulok but he was quickly summoned by Nanda Bayin a second time to help put down another uprising. Naresuan dutifully assembled his troops but not without his suspicions. Word had reached him that the Burmese had begun constructing a road to the Thai capital of Ayutthaya, a sign that the foreign king was looking for ways to further tighten his grip on the kingdom.

As Naresuan marched towards Pegu, he was intercepted by two Mon warriors. The Mon people had developed close links with the Ayutthaya kingdom, as after their capital had been conquered by the Burmese army, many Mon people had sought refuge there. The two warriors warned Naresuan of Nanda Bayin's secret plan to ambush and kill him.

Naresuan had played the loyal puppet for long enough and now that he knew of the Burmese plot to assassinate him, there was no need for him to retain (or feign) such fealty. The time had come for Naresuan to become the leader that his people so desperately needed.

**Hail to the new king**

To win Ayutthaya's independence back, Naresuan publicly and formally renounced his allegiance to Burma in 1584, declaring an end to the Burmese tributary. When Naresuan returned to Ayutthaya, his royal father entrusted him with the city's protection and with building an army ready to answer the full strength and anger of the Burmese.

Naresuan took advantage of the widespread disaffection with Burmese bullying in the region by recruiting troops from the Shan and Mon states to reinforce the Thai ranks.

King Nanda Bayin wasted no time answering Naresuan's rebellion. He sent his army against Ayutthaya very rapidly, but Naresuan repelled the first attack easily, along with the second and third Burmese attempts in the years that followed. Even the Khmer tried their luck, hoping to capitalise on Thai entanglements with Burma. Incredibly, Naresuan not only held off this offensive, but pursued his attackers all the way back to the walls of Lovek, the Khmer capital. He only turned back because his supplies had run out.
Clash of the titans
How Naresuan won independence with an elephant duel

The Suphan Buri province is home to one of Thailand’s most popular tourist attractions, a towering statue of King Naresuan on his battle elephant. It is supposedly built over the exact site of the battlefield of Nong Sarai, where Naresuan fought the most famous duel in Thai history.

In 1593, the Burmese army, under crown prince Mingyi Swa, marched towards Ayutthaya while Naresuan and his troops marched west from the city. They met outside the small village of Nong Sarai, where their armies clashed. Naresuan’s battle elephant may have panicked, and accidentally ran straight into the fray.

Naresuan spotted Mingyi Swa on his own elephant and famously challenged him to a duel. According to legend, the two armies stopped fighting and circled their leaders. The duel only lasted a few minutes but is recorded in dozens of paintings and even re-enacted in Thai action movies. In one version of the story, Mingyi Swa slashed at Naresuan with his long-handled war scythe but only nicked the king’s hat. Extending his scythe once more, he exposed his body and Naresuan delivered a swift, fatal blow. Their crown prince killed, the Burmese army scattered.

Tiered umbrella
A symbol of Thai royalty, the umbrella is the most ancient and sacred of all the regalia. The number of tiers depended on rank: five for a crown prince, seven for an unconsecrated king and nine for a full king.

Deadly weapons
The howdah held weapons such as spears and curved pike blades ready for the warrior to strike the enemy down. Naresuan supposedly used a Portuguese musket to kill the crown prince.

A winning method?
The Siamese and the Burmese offer differing accounts of the battle. Where the Siamese say that Naresuan stabbed the crown prince, the Burmese say that the latter was actually killed by a musket shot.

Helping hands
As the warrior, Naresuan was positioned on the elephant’s neck while a man in the howdah passed him weapons and gave signals. At the back there was a mahout, who was responsible for driving the elephant.

Animal armour
Elephants wore armour to minimise injury. Iron rings were placed on the tusks to prevent them from being broken, while they wore armour on their feet to protect them from caltrops.

Take a seat
Murals of the Battle of Nong Sarai depict the use of howdahs during the fight. However, it is debatable whether they were actually used in elephant duels as they were too heavy for the elephants to move freely.
Life in the time of Naresuan

East meets West

Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, one of the most successful explorers of the Age of Discovery, became the first European to sail a sea route to India in 1498, landing in Calicut. Successions of Portuguese armadas established a spice route and a colony in India. Naresuan wisely nurtured healthy trade relations with Portugal as well as with the Spanish Philippines to the benefit of his own nation and its peoples.

Crown of Thai civilisation

The city of Ayutthaya flourished from the 14th to the 18th century and at its height was one of the world's largest and most technologically advanced cities with a population far greater than any other metropolises in South East Asia. The island city was protected by three rivers and saved from floods thanks to a remarkably innovative hydraulic system.

Ayutthaya architecture

When the Burmese sacked and burned Ayutthaya in 1767 during the Burmese–Siamese War that had started in 1765, they left only the ruins of a few Buddhist monasteries. These overwhelmingly stone towers and intricately carved bas-relief sculptures have been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The Ayutthaya Historical Park is made up of the ruins of the former capital of the kingdom of Siam.

Gun power

The Chinese invented gunpowder in the 9th century and crafted the first crude firearms or 'hand cannons' shortly after. But it was the Portuguese musket that was widely adopted by Japanese, Korean and Southeast Asian armies in the 16th century. They became a cornerstone of the Ming army only after its conquest of China, giving Ming armies a distinct advantage over their neighbours.

Ming superpower

The Ming dynasty, also called the Empire of the Great Ming, ruled China from 1368 to 1644 and extended its borders from Outer Mongolia in the north down to Vietnam in the south. China exuded tremendous political and military influence in the region during Naresuan’s rule. At its zenith the empire's standing army exceeded 1 million troops.

In 1590, King Maha Thammarachathirat died, making Naresuan the sovereign ruler of Ayutthaya. While he devoted some of his energy to centralising political power and reforming the traditional patronage system enjoyed by princes, he also acted as a diplomat and ambassador, signing trade agreements with Portugal and Spain. But Naresuan’s greatest talents were as a savvy military strategist and cunning warrior.

The final showdown

Naresuan’s greatest moment came during a last-ditch attempt by the Burmese army to crush the rebellious Ayutthaya state in 1593. The warrior king’s spies sent word that Nanda Bayin’s army was on the move yet again, led by his eldest son, Mingyi Swa.

Thai legend likes to suggest that Swa might have been an old rival of Naresuan – that they may have been sparring partners who fought during those hand-to-hand combat lessons of his youth. However, Swa was three years younger than Naresuan and there’s no hard evidence that says they fought until this fateful day.

Rather than hunker down behind the city walls, Naresuan marched his army west to intercept the enemy forces that were descending from the dramatic Three Pagodas Pass. The two armies met near the small village of Nong Sarai and engaged in a bloody, drawn-out battle that initially favoured the Burmese. However, the tide turned when Naresuan, mounted on his battle elephant, allegedly challenged Swa.

“Come forth, and let us fight an elephant duel for the honour of our kingdoms”, he jeered at his opponent. The two men faced off atop their trusty steeds, armed with razor-sharp war scythes and surrounded by their battle-weary armies. Dodging an errant joust by Swa, Naresuan quickly dispatched his rival with a mortal slash. Their leader dead before their eyes, the Burmese fled.

The battle proved to be a critical turning point in the long-standing Burmese-Thai conflict. Before Nanda Bayin could conscript new forces to retaliate for the death of his son, civil war broke out among contenders for the crown prince’s throne. Sensing an opportunity, Naresuan turned the tables on the Burmese and sent generals to capture their territory. Siam claimed port cities in the coastal Burmese region of Tenasserim, winning unrestricted military and trade access to the Indian Ocean.

Emboldened, the sovereign then invaded Cambodia, toppling the Khmer king and returning to Ayutthaya with thousands of prisoners of war to repopulate Northern Thailand.

At the very spot of his famous victory at Nong Sarai, Naresuan ordered the building of a pagoda (or chedi in Thai), a version of which still exists today. Before his death in 1605 during a military campaign, he also led army expeditions deep into a greatly weakened Burma, through the now-ruined capital of Pegu up to Toungoo.

Setting his sights northwards, the great Siamese king brought the old fortified city of Chiang Mai under Ayutthaya influence.

“Naresuan quickly dispatched his rival with a mortal slash”

The ruins of Ayutthaya, Naresuan’s capital city
Aside from his military achievements, Naresuan proved to be highly skilled at the dangerous game of diplomacy, too. He had developed a favourable relationship with the Ming dynasty and China, the superpower of 16th-century Asia. However, China had found itself in the sights of the Japanese, whose navy conquered the Korean Peninsula in 1592. Eager to make a strategic show of loyalty, Naresuan sent an emissary to China in order to pledge the military support of his kingdom. He knew that the offer would likely be refused – which it was – but his actions assured China’s protection of lucrative Thai trade routes.

Naresuan was only around 50 years old when he died, potentially from disease during a campaign in the Shan States to Ayutthaya’s north. Despite his early death, his heroics on the battlefield cemented the Thai kingdom as the undisputed power in Southeast Asia for the next century.

When his younger brother, Ekathotsarot, took the throne, he continued Naresuan’s important work, establishing trade relations with Goa, Japan and the Netherlands for the first time.

Every year on 18 January, the day of Naresuan’s victory at Nong Sarai, Thailand celebrates its National Armed Forces Day. Locals will occasionally lay flowers at the feet of Naresuan statues, showing their undying gratitude to him for winning independence. In 1990, a college in Phitsanulok was renamed Naresuan University to celebrate the 400th anniversary of his ascension to the throne. Clearly, the legend of Naresuan the Great is more than a great action-movie plot – it’s the story of a people’s first taste of freedom and power in the early modern age.
Famous Love Letters

Discover the words that wooed Anne Boleyn, the woman that inspired John Keats' poetry and more

Written by Jessica Leggett
Below Some believe that Antonie Brentano (top) is Beethoven’s mystery lover, while we know the composer definitely adored Josephine Brunsvik (bottom).

Beethoven & his ‘Immortal Beloved’
The secret identity of the composer’s lover that provokes fascination to this day

Ludwig van Beethoven’s passionate love letter is one of the most famous of all time. Originally written in 1812, it was left undiscovered for 15 years until the composer’s death in 1827. Beethoven never referred to his love by name but addressed her as his ‘Immortal Beloved’, supposedly inspired after seeing her in the town of Teplitz in the modern-day Czech Republic. As a consequence, the identity of the woman remains a mystery to this day. Beethoven’s letter is heartfelt and dramatic, evident from the following excerpt:

“My angel, my all, my own self... Can our love persist otherwise than through sacrifices, than by not demanding everything? Canst thou change it, that thou art not entirely mine, I not entirely thine?”

A number of women have been suggested as the intended recipient, although the most plausible candidates appear to be the aristocratic women Josephine Brunsvik and Antonie Brentano. Brunsvik received at least 13 love letters from Beethoven from 1804 to 1807, but their relationship never developed because of disapproving pressure from her family. As for Brentano, she was close to Beethoven but evidence has shown that she did not visit Teplitz, making her chances of being the immortal beloved unlikely. Both women married but Beethoven died a bachelor.

“The identity of the woman remains a mystery to this day”
**Famous Love Letters**

**Henry VIII & Anne Boleyn**

The beginning of the most explosive love story in English history

He surviving letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn provide a rare insight into the king's determined pursuit of his ill-fated second queen. Written between 1527 and 1528 — while Henry was still married to Catherine of Aragon — they paint the king as a lovesick puppy:

"It is absolutely necessary for me to obtain this answer, having been for above a whole year stricken with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail finding a place in your heart and affection, which last point has prevented me for some time past from calling you my mistress... I promise you that not only the name shall be given you but also that I will take you for my only mistress, casting off all others besides you out of my thoughts and affections, and serve you only."

We have to assume telling someone that they are the only person you will cheat on your wife with was more romantic in Tudor times. Also knowing that Henry ordered Anne's beheading less than a decade after this was written cheapens his proclamations of ardent devotion somewhat. Anne's replies unfortunately no longer exist but she clearly gave him reason to hope for the future.

**John Keats & Fanny Brawne**

An obsessive love that was destined to be thwarted

It is perhaps unsurprising that one of the brightest stars of the Romanticism movement knew how to woo a lady. In 1818, John Keats met Fanny Brawne when they were aged 23 and 18 respectively. Circumstances soon saw the pair becoming neighbours, ultimately sparking their intense love affair.

This culminated in a clandestine engagement over a year later, although the young couple faced the staunch opposition of Fanny's mother. She withheld her consent for the marriage, believing that Keats was not financially stable enough for a wife — but Keats and Fanny continued to exchange passionate letters for months on end.

In one particular letter, the poet wrote:

"I cannot exist without you — I am forgetful of every thing but seeing you again — my life seems to stop there — I see no further. You have absorb'd me... I could die for you."

Keats' fervent letters are noted for their inherent jealousy and insecurity and while none of Fanny's letters survive, it is clear that she loved him just as deeply. However, their relationship was tragically cut short when Keats succumbed to tuberculosis after a long period of ill health at the age of 25. Fanny mourned his death for six years, wearing black clothes and never removing Keats' ring.
Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning

An intense, affectionate love immortalised in poetry.

Beginning in 1845 and throughout their courtship, poets Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning exchanged 574 heartfelt love letters. The first of these, sent by Robert, started with the now-famous line, “I love your verses with all my heart, dear Miss Barrett.” It not only triggered the start of their relationship but also a love affair that has continued to tug at heartstrings ever since.

Elizabeth was already in her late 30s when their secret relationship began, her father having vowed to disinherit any of his children who got married. However, this threat did nothing to diminish the love between the couple, and nor did Elizabeth’s permanent ill health. Elizabeth’s feelings inspired her to produce a total of 44 love sonnets – that were eventually published in which she declared to her love, “You have touched me more profoundly than I thought even you could have touched me.” One of the most famous sonnets, number 43, opened with Elizabeth’s iconic line, “How do I love thee? Let me count the ways.”

The couple eloped in 1846, angering Elizabeth’s father, and they relocated to the warmer climate of Italy with high hopes of improving her health. The couple lived happily there for 15 years but unfortunately Elizabeth’s illness worsened. She passed away in her devoted husband’s arms in 1861, aged 55.

Robert never remarried after his wife’s death.
Some of history’s best and worst Valentine’s presents

Monument of love
Mughal emperor Shah Jahan was devastated when his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal, passed away in 1631 while giving birth to their fourteenth child. Determined to symbolise his undying love for her, the Shah had the Taj Mahal built for her as her final resting place.

Roses for Marilyn
Although their marriage lasted for just nine months in 1954 and 1955, baseball player Joe DiMaggio remained in love with Marilyn Monroe for the rest of his life. Distraught at her early death in 1962, he allegedly had half a dozen roses sent to Marilyn’s grave three times a week for two decades.

The Taylor-Burton Diamond
Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton were known for their tumultuous relationship, which saw the film stars marry and divorce twice. In 1969, Burton presented Taylor with a 68-carat diamond, worth more than $15 million today.

Symphony of love
Richard Wagner created a symphony, the Siegfried Idyll, for his wife Cosima’s birthday. He organised an orchestra on their stairs and she awoke to the music. Originally supposed to be a private piece, Wagner eventually sold the song to clear some of his debts, upsetting Cosima.

Fabergé eggs
Tsar Alexander III had the first Fabergé egg created in 1885 for his wife, Maria Feodorovna, as an Easter gift. The intricate eggs were inspired by her childhood and Maria was deeply touched by the gesture, sparking a new tradition for the imperial family.

Off with his head!
Peter the Great was left furious after he heard rumours of an affair between his wife, Catherine, and her secretary, Willem Mons. He had Mons executed and allegedly had his head pickled in a jar, which the Russian tsar forced Catherine to keep on her bedside.

Frida Kahlo & Diego Rivera

The tempestuous relationship of two renowned artists

Artist Frida Kahlo had an extremely tempestuous marriage to fellow painter Diego Rivera. They married twice with both parties conducting numerous affairs, which led to jealous and impassioned fights. However, it is clear from Frida’s letters, drafted in her diary, that she was hopelessly in love and deeply affected by their relationship:

“Diego,

Nothing compares to your hands, nothing like the green-gold of your eyes. My body is filled with you for days and days. You are the mirror of the night. The violent flash of lightning. The dampness of earth. The hollow of your aments is my shelter.”

Her words are just as expressive as her self-portraits, which invoked the many personal tragedies of her life, namely her lifelong poor health and her heated relationship with Rivera. They were unable to stay away from one another until Frida’s painful death at the age of 47—a day that Rivera described as “the most tragic day of my life.”

“...It is clear from Frida’s letters, drafted in her diary, that she was hopelessly in love...”
Napoleon Bonaparte & Joséphine de Beauharnais

"Not tonight, Josephine!" Napoleon's love-hate relationship

Napoleon's doting letters to his first wife, Joséphine, symbolise his passionate and obsessive love for her that was often plagued by his own jealous insecurities. He began writing to Joséphine when she became his mistress, during which time he famously declared, "I awake full of you. Your image and the memory of last night's intoxicating pleasures has left no rest to my senses."

Similar affirmations of his devotion to Joséphine continued after they married in 1796, with Napoleon writing a considerable amount of amorous correspondence to her whenever he was away leading his military campaigns across Europe. On one such occasion he wrote, "Ever since I left you, I have been sad. I am only happy when by your side. Ceaselessly I recall your kisses, your tears, your enchanting jealousy; and the charms of the incomparable Joséphine have constantly alighted a bright and burning flame in my heart and senses."

However, their relationship was no fairytale. Both of them had extramarital affairs and a jealous Napoleon could turn nasty in his letters — for instance, in one he called his wife "a naughty, gawky, foolish slut."

The couple eventually divorced as Joséphine had failed to provide Napoleon with the heir he so desperately needed, although they did continue to care for one another for the rest of their lives.

Héloïse & Abélard

From tutor and pupil to long-distance lovers

The love affair between Héloïse, the niece of a priest, and Abélard, a philosopher, in 12th-century France has gone down in history thanks to their amorous letters. After entering the household of Héloïse's uncle Fulbert as her tutor, the pair quickly began a passionate but doomed relationship.

Héloïse fell pregnant and to appease Fulbert, the couple married in secret. However, Fulbert was still enraged and Abélard forced his love to retire to a convent for her safety. He was right to be fearful — one night, Fulbert ordered his men to finstrate him.

Héloïse's letters are remembered for their unashamed intensity:

"I cannot avoid the illusions of my heart. I dream I am still with my dear Abélard. I see him, I speak to him and hear him answer... I awake in tears. Even into holy places before the altar I carry the memory of our love, and sob from lamenting for having been seduced by pleasures, I sigh for having lost them."

After Fulbert's attack, Abélard retired to a monastery, forcing Héloïse to do the same. They were separated for the rest of their lives, save for their letters.
The city of Pompeii was a flourishing Roman resort before it was destroyed. As well as being beautifully positioned off the Bay of Naples, it was home to around 20,000 people. It offered fun in the sun, with a giant arena, shops, taverns, brothels and bathhouses. If you decide to visit it in August 79 CE, you can enjoy the Vucalanalia celebrations honouring the mountain god. However, make sure you leave when the earthquakes begin. While these were commonplace in Pompeii, this one will signal Vesuvius' eruption. It will be followed by a mushroom cloud of hot rock and gas that will burst 20 kilometres into the air and block out the sun as it rains down on the city. With buildings in ruins, the ground shaking and pumice raining from above, it's going to be difficult to get out of town in one piece — especially if you leave it until the last minute.

Dos & don'ts

- Get upwind of the eruption. The breeze will send all the ash and pumice to the south so you're more likely to survive the further north you go.
- Take shelter in a building. If you can't get out of town, bunker down to avoid the pumice spewing from the volcano.
- Write some graffiti on a wall. This is your time to make your mark in history — the graffiti on the walls of Pompeii will be found when the town is excavated 1,500 years later.
- Worship the god of fire. Some believe that Vulcan is unhappy with the sacrifices made during Vucalanalia. Perhaps you will be able to placate him?
- Drink from the aqueduct. There's a good chance that the lead content of the water in the aqueducts has skyrocketed, meaning that drinking it will make you very sick.
- Get sentimental as you flee. Taking objects with you will only slow you down. Your main priority is getting out of town — and fast.
- Do anything embarrassing. You're going to be stuck in whatever position you die in for eternity when archaeologists make plaster casts of the victims.
- Think the quakes are normal. Just because this region has earthquakes a lot, don't dismiss these. Something much more serious is going to follow soon after.

WHERE TO STAY

If you can get out of the city, you'll want to make your way north of the volcano, not south — and ensure you get further than Herculaneum because the small seaside town will suffer the same fate as Pompeii. Your best bet is to head for Neapolis (modern day Naples) or Misenum. In fact, in Misenum you'll find the house of Pliny the Elder, which is a perfect place to watch the eruption from a safe distance.
**WHO TO BEFRIEND**

**Pliny the Younger**
This future Roman senator is staying at his aunt and uncle’s house in Misenum. From here, he’s got the perfect view of Vesuvius right across the Bay of Naples while being almost completely out of harm’s way. His vivid and insightful letters to his friend Tacitus a few years later, about the “black and dreadful cloud, broken with rapid, zigzag flashes” will form a basis for future historians studying the catastrophic event. If you stick with this Pliny, all should be fine.

**Extra tip:** Whatever you do, don’t go with Pliny the Elder — the Younger’s uncle — on his rescue mission across the bay. While the Roman Navy fleet commander’s intentions are nothing but good, the trip is doomed as he’s going to sail right into trouble. Though he’ll make it across the stormy sea and reach Herculaneum, winds will trap him there and the choking air will kill him.

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**WHO TO AVOID**

**Drusilla**
Whatever you do, be sure to stay away from Drusilla and her husband, Claudius Felix. Although she’s the daughter of King Herod Agrippa I of Judaea, Mount Vesuvius doesn’t discriminate. Like the citizens of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Stabiae and the other doomed towns, Drusilla will desperately try to escape with her husband and son, Agrippa. However, hugely underestimating the danger of the volcano, she’ll ultimately leave too late, perishing along with the thousands of other victims as a result of the suffocating heat and the dust and smoke rolling through the region.

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**Helpful skills**

**Be alert**
Make sure that you’re aware of your surroundings so that you can move quickly through the rubble to avoid the pumice and ash falling from the sky.

**Volcanology**
As you’re going back in time to visit, some modern knowledge of volcanoes and eruptions could come in handy — that way you can know when the danger is becoming too much and can flee.

**Writing**
Being able to write, especially on a traditional Roman wax tablet, would make you invaluable to Pliny as he tries to record every detail of the disaster as it unfolds.
SECRETS OF THE BOG PEOPLE
MEET THE MYSTERIOUS IRON AGE MUMMIES BURIED IN NORTHWEST EUROPE’S SWAMPS

Written by Jerry Glover
The Iron Age bog bodies of northwest Europe are some of the best naturally preserved human remains from the ancient past. While their skin looks like tanned leather and their bodies are seemingly deflated, they are pretty similar to you or me, which is astonishing considering many of them are at least 2,000 years old.

Hundreds of these mummies have been found in the peat bogs of England, Ireland, the Netherlands, Denmark and northern Germany. While sometimes only heads and arms are uncovered, the complete cadavers that have been unearthed often bear traces of terrible violence. Occasionally hanged or stabbed or with their throats and stomachs slashed open, the shocking ways in which these people died both repels and fascinates. One of history's most profound murder mysteries, no contemporary writing can tell us for sure why they were killed or buried in violation of the normal death rites. But evidence increasingly suggests they were key players in human sacrifices.

All of the bodies were interred in peat bogs, which form in low-lying ground where moss gathers. The small amount of oxygen prevents bacteria from breaking down the dead vegetation each year. The resulting peat increases at a rate of just one metre every 1,000 years, creating a cocktail of chemicals — humic acid — that is able to preserve soft material and bones, tanning skin like leather.

The earliest record of a bog body find comes from Shalkholtz Fen in Germany in 1640. We don't know what people thought of the mummies when they were first discovered but it was claimed that one found at Haraldskjer in Jutland was the lost remains of Queen Gunnhild in 1835. According to Icelandic sagas, she was a cunning witch who was lured to the bog and drowned by King Harald Bluetooth in the 10th century.

We now know that Haraldskjer Woman is actually 1,500 years old, so she can't be Gunnhild. Her proximity to Bluetooth's royal residence at Jelling may have caused her misidentification. Cases of mistaken identity have happened elsewhere. The finding of a preserved Iron Age woman's head in Lindow Moss, England, in 1983 caused a local man to confess to the murder and disposal of his wife in the same bog — a mistake that led to his conviction.

Research into Denmark's bogs began in 1859 when Conrad Engelhardt investigated Nydam Mose in Jutland, finding iron weapons and an oak boat. They have now yielded over 500 Iron Age bodies from between 400 BCE and 400 CE.

For his astonishing preservation and calm appearance, the most celebrated of these is the man who was found in Jutland's Tollund Fen in 1950. He lay on his side as if sleeping, his only attire a pointed skin cap, fastened under the chin by a hide string, and a hide belt around his waist. A rope of two twisted leather strings encircled his neck, drawn tight to cause lacerations, then it coiled across the shoulder and down his back. A few days of stubble covered his chin and upper lip but otherwise he was clean-shaven.

Danish police took a fingerprint analysis from his right thumb and found that it was indistinguishable from that of a living person, a result of him being buried in the bog when the water was cold. If it had been more than 4°C, the soft body parts would have begun to decompose before the humic acid could entirely infuse the corpse, arresting the decay.

Tollund Man's excellent decomposition was due to a large amount of collagen fibres that were tanned by the moss in his dermis (inner) skin layer, as well as the keratin of his hair, fingers and toenails. The tanning effect also preserved the lacerations made by the noose and his wounds. Likewise, his brain was remarkably well preserved and his teeth were intact.

Like most other Danish bog bodies, Tollund Man lived and died around the midpoint of the period when ironwork emerged in northwest Europe, between 500 BCE and 200 CE. Anaerobic bacteria, which don't need oxygen, concentrate iron deposits around bogs, leaving behind oily springs to show these iron 'bog ore' deposits.

After about 500 BCE, the peoples inhabiting northwest Europe began to source and work this ore, needing about four football-sized lumps to make just one axe head. Since iron is easier to source than the tin and copper that make up bronze, and is more durable, its discovery transformed lives and social orders across Europe.
The bogs that made this possible with peat and iron ore were therefore considered to be special and sacred places, and Tollund Man’s area was rich in the stuff.

In the age of the bog people, the dead were often burnt on a pyre. Afterwards, their bones were gathered up, put in urns or wrapped in cloth and often buried under a mound with a few goods. To some cultures, cremation was bound with the belief that fire helped the body give up the soul so it could travel to the land of the dead to be reborn. Contrast this with the burials of the mummies, Before dying, the victims all received a last meal. Tollund Man and Grauballe Man enjoyed a grainy gruel, and the latter’s contained a hallucinogenic fungus. He was killed when his throat was neatly sliced, from ear to ear. The lack of fruits and vegetables shows that these men died in winter or early spring, possibly during the midwinter celebrations, a time connected to sacrifice. Perhaps their villages were on the edge of famine and the men were gifts for the gods in hope of a more successful harvest.

Little gold figures found in Danish bogs depict naked figures with belts and neck nooses, just like Tollund Man. The Oseberg Tapestry and picture stones, both dating from 700 to 900 CE, also show hangings as offerings to Odin, the god who had hanged himself to gain power. Several centuries separate these Viking-age artefacts from the bog bodies but even so, they indicate how the mummies may have been sacrificed as part of a cultic ceremony where hanging and strangulation were often used.

Before becoming Britain’s best-preserved bog body, Lindow Man ate a cooked mixed grain cake called bannock. Some of it was burnt, possibly singling him out for death. He also ate mistletoe, prized by the Druids as a powerful medicine. From other clues such as the fox fur around his arm and his well-kept fingernails, it has been speculated that he was an aristocrat or even a Druid priest-in-training. Red Franz was named after his hair colour, which was dyed by acids in the peat. From other clues such as the fox fur around his arm and his well-kept fingernails, it has been speculated that he was an aristocrat or even a Druid priest-in-training.

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His unusual death — his remains show signs of bludgeoning, garrotting and strangling — and the year of around 60 CE make it possible that he was ritually sacrificed as a last resort against the Roman advance. General Gaius Suetonius Paulinus was marching towards the island of Anglesey, a Druid stronghold, and the bog man’s location was en route. Moreover, his death also coincided with Boudicca’s rebellion against the Romans.

The manner of Lindow Man’s death is echoed by Worsley Man, found in the outskirts of Manchester, who was buried around 100 CE. The idea of them being sacrificed to avert Roman conquest is refuted by experts who see them as murder victims. But if Lindow Man was murdered, why was he naked and in such a remote place? Similarly, if Tollund Man was hanged as a criminal, why was he so carefully buried? The high status of some of these bog people can also be seen in Ireland. For instance, Old Croghan Man from County Offaly was tall and enjoyed a meat-rich diet and manicures. In County Meath,
MAKING A MUMMY

Though the bog bodies varied by country, culture and era, they were often buried in the same way.

**Raised bog**
The best-preserved bodies were all found in raised bogs, which form in basins where poor drainage leaves the ground waterlogged and slows plant decay. A raised bog contains few minerals and very little oxygen.

**Natural preservatives**
Peat comprises decaying pollen and vegetation — mainly sphagnum moss — where bog bodies are found. The peat releases an acid similar to vinegar that pickles the skin like leather and dyes the hair ginger.

**Cold conditions**
The mummies would have had to have been placed in the water during winter or early spring when the bog was coldest to refrigerate the body and prevent it from decaying.

**Handled with care**
Despite having been brutally murdered, bog bodies often show signs of being delicately placed. Tollund Man was found in a fetal position with his eyes and mouth deliberately closed after his death.

**Secured in place**
Bodies were often held down by rocks or with sharpened branches driven into the peat, likely to prevent the corpses from floating back to the surface.

**Wearing a noose**
Elling Woman and Tollund Man were hanged, the ropes still around their necks in death. The Borremose Man was hanged or strangled with a rope noose. Yde Girl was strangled with a woollen belt.

"BOTH WERE KILLED, MUTILATED AND DEPOSITED IN BOGS NEAR HILLS WHERE KINGS WERE INVESTED"

Meanwhile, Clonycavan Man’s hair was styled with an expensive gel made from plant oil and pine resin, likely imported from France or Spain. Both were killed, mutilated and deposited in bogs near hills where kings were invested or at the intersections of tribal boundaries.

Irish legends add to the idea that these two men were kings who were sacrificed to ensure the fertility of their lands as they had failed their communities in hard times. The 4,000-year-old Cashel Man from County Laois, pinned in the bog with stakes, attests to a very ancient Irish tradition of ritual killing.

Dyed woollen clothes, amber beads and a bone comb testify to the wealth of Denmark’s Huldremose Woman, who met her violent end in approximately 150 CE. Recent analysis of her garments revealed their exotic foreign origin, which probably meant she had either traded or travelled abroad for them. Alternatively, she may possibly have emigrated to Denmark.

Similar unusual connections came from a study of Haraldskær Woman in 2014, kindling the idea that these women were considered to be special because of their outsider status and they were thus more efficacious as sacrifices. This theory argues that they were shamanic wisewomen who supposedly went willingly as gifts to the marsh goddess, blessing their communities with their own special sacrificial value as a result. Of course, it also possible that they were despised foreigners or prisoners of war.
WHERE THE BODIES ARE BURIED

Mummies have been found all over northwest Europe, particularly in areas with a high concentration of peat.

01 Tollund Man
   The best-preserved bog body was about 30 when he was hanged in the 4th-3rd centuries BCE. Apart from a cap, belt and a noose around his neck, he was buried naked.

02 Lindow Man
   This young man was strangled, bludgeoned and had his throat cut sometime in the 1st century CE at Lindow Moss in Cheshire. This was Britain's first well-preserved bog body.

03 Grauballe Man
   Discovered in Denmark in 1952, this 30-year-old man may have experienced starvation before having his throat cut from ear to ear around the third century BCE.

04 Cashel Man
   Possibly a king, Cashel Man lived in County Laois, Ireland, in the early Bronze Age around 2,000 BCE, making him the oldest fleshed bog body in Europe. The way in which he was buried suggests ritual sacrifice.

05 Huldremose Woman
   This wealthy Jutland woman wore a checked woolen blue skirt, a red scarf and two sheepskin capes. She also had a comb and headband, and ate a form of rye bread before being hanged.

06 Kayhausen Boy
   One of the few children to be found in a peat bog, this seven-year-old boy met his end after being stabbed in the throat three times with a dagger. He died in the 4th century BCE in Lower Saxony, Germany.

07 Elling Woman
   This woman died in her 20s and was found wrapped in a sheepskin cape with a leather cloak tied around her legs. Her long, red hair was split into seven twisted pigtails and she is thought to have been hanged around 280 BCE.

08 Haraldskær Woman
   Found in Gunnhild's Bog in Jutland, she was misidentified as Queen Gunnhild, who was drowned in a bog in the 10th century in Icelandic sagas. She is actually 15 centuries older!

09 Yde Girl
   This 16-year-old, who lived in the early 1st or late 2nd century BCE, was found wrapped in a woollen cape in northeast Holland in 1897. She suffered from a curved spine and had long, reddish-blonde hair.

10 Old Croghan Man
   At almost two metres, this man from County Offaly, Ireland, was unusually tall for his time. Possibly royal, he was in his early 20s when he died between 362 and 175 BCE. Only his torso survives today.
According to Tacitus, a Roman historian, Germanic tribes punished cowards and the “disreputable of body” by drowning them in marshes under wattled hurdles, which may have been what happened to Haraldskær Woman. This also occurred in Ireland and northern Germany.

Since these tribes didn’t write about themselves, Tacitus is one of our best sources about them, although his records relied on second-hand sources regarding their customs as he never visited them himself. His accounts also serve to justify the subjugation of the ‘barbarians’ at the fringes of the Roman Empire.

In the most significant weather event since the Ice Age, Europe became dramatically colder and wetter after about 750 BCE. The resulting bad harvests produced may have stoked a widespread feeling that the angry gods had to be placated by human sacrifices.

So-called ‘water cults’ saw a revival in western Europe, with offerings of weapons starting at lakes and rivers - perhaps these included humans when people were really desperate. Just how many of these killings were happening? Since water doesn’t preserve skin and bone, we can only ever know the bog sacrifices and further clues exist to signify the importance of making offerings to watery places.

The rarest and most prestigious of bog depositions in Denmark’s pre-Roman Iron Age coinciding with the bog bodies are bronze and silver cauldrons, a number of which have been discovered. The finest is the Gundestrup Cauldron, which may have originated as far away as the Balkans before it was dismantled and interred in the Danish bog around 100 BCE, close to the sites of three bog bodies. On 12 silver plates, it depicts the mysteries of the mummies’ religion, either the male or female pantheon of deities, or possibly religious officials such as Druids or shamans.

One plate shows a large figure plunging warriors into a kind of cauldron, while ‘reborn’ warriors on horses ride away in a procession. Another panel shows a cross-legged horned figure holding a torc and a snake – a shamanic god among animals.

Since bog bodies are always found by accident, often damaging them, do you think it will ever be possible for them to be detected before they are disturbed? Ethical issues are important. These are people, not artefacts, and need to be accorded respect. If they are to be displayed, the model of excellence is the Tollund Man room in Silkeborg Museum, where he resides peacefully in a small room decorated as though it were a bog, and where only a few people can see him at a time.

Recent research highlights the ‘geographic outsider’ status of two of the Danish bog bodies (the women of Huldremose and Haraldskær). Do you agree that this was the most important factor in their deaths? This new interpretation, based on isotopic analysis, is very important for endeavours to understand who these people were in life. In no way does it detract from the idea of the special status according those who ended up as bog people.

The idea of the spiritual journey makes total sense to the notion that Haraldskær Woman was some kind of religious leader, even a shaman. Pilgrimage was important in the ancient world and someone who had travelled widely would have been invested with exotic and powerful status. Not many people within Iron Age communities would have the opportunity to make such journeys; they would be expensive, time-consuming and potentially risky, so those undertaking them would not have done so lightly.

Does scientific evidence support the theory that many bog people were ritually killed? In speaking to colleagues involved in bog body research, particularly in Denmark, there is widespread agreement that scientific techniques applied now serve to endorse and bolster ideas of ritualised deaths. Of course, it is impossible to be dogmatic and assume that all the bodies we know about died in sacrificial circumstances, but the highly choreographed killings, the overkill violence and the ‘last suppers’ of so many all seem to point to the choice for bog-based ceremonies being wrapped around with ritual behaviour.

Which is your favourite bog body? One is Haraldskær Woman and the other is Clonycavan Man from Ireland. New examination of both has the potential for revealing many more secrets associated with seasonality, status and links with foreign lands. With Clonycavan Man, these links are symbolised by his exotic hair gel, imported from southern Europe.

Since bog bodies are always found by accident, often damaging them, do you think it will ever be possible for them to be detected before they are disturbed? This is something that I am actively considering. It should be possible to develop techniques for underwater and underground testing of areas of raised bogs where bodies have already been found. At present, likely sites for this include central Ireland, the Tollund marsh in Denmark, and Lindow Moss in Cheshire.

Is it right to display these kinds of human remains in much the same way as other artefacts? Ethical issues are important. These are people, not artefacts, and need to be accorded respect. If they are to be displayed, the model of excellence is the Tollund Man room in Silkeborg Museum, where he resides peacefully in a small room decorated as though it were a bog, and where only a few people can see him at a time.

Miranda Aldhouse-Green’s latest book, Bog Bodies Uncovered: Solving Europe’s Ancient Mystery, is published by Thames and Hudson.
The Huldremose Woman, who was found in Denmark in 1879

"YET, AS THE EVIDENCE GROWS, SO SCHOLARSHIP TENDS MORE TOWARDS THE IDEA OF RITUALISED OFFERINGS"

In Celtic mythology, the origins of cauldrons are always mysterious. As a symbol of rebirth, the cauldron is part of other Indo-European traditions and it foreshadows the symbol of the Holy Grail, while its iconography shares motifs with ancient art from the Near East and even India with its cross-legged shaman.

Most scholars believe that the cauldrons were votive offerings to the indigenous gods, perhaps because the earlier human sacrifices were not propitious enough for them and the deities required more precious gifts. The more valuable the sacrifice, the more pleased the gods would be.

Even so, the possibility of how this and the other cauldrons were hidden to prevent them becoming the spoils of other tribes, later forgotten when the communities who interred them were displaced, cannot be ruled out. With no first-hand accounts to tell us for certain, we are only able to hazard conjectures. Yet as the evidence grows, so scholarship tends more towards the idea of ritualised offerings.

The greatest amount of Iron Age bog deposits in Denmark comprise swords, spearheads and shields that were bent or broken before being carefully arranged in bundles and placed in bogs or cast out into lakes. Serving as votive offerings to the gods, these weapons were usually the war booty from military clashes between Scandinavians and Romans. Of Denmark's many weapon-sacrifice sites, the most prominent is Illerup Adal, where at least three deposits amount to thousands of items.

Julius Caesar, who related similar activities when he was in Gaul, corroborates the ritual purpose of these weapon-sacrifices. Ultimately, for having supplied the weapons for these conflicts to armies on both sides, Roman merchants profited the most.

'Bog butter' usually comes in earthenware pots, or wrapped in animal skins or bark. In 2013, a 5,000-year-old piece weighing some 45 kilograms was found in County Offay, and a 35-kilogram chunk that is 3,000 years old was found in County Kildare in 2009. Around 300 more examples have emerged.

Since bogs make good natural fridges, it could simply be that the butter was deposited to preserve it, or even to improve the taste. Those brave enough to have tried recreations describe it as "gamey" and "funky". But if the intention was to retrieve it later, then why was so much butter left in the ground?

Perhaps they were survival caches, put away for leaner times and later forgotten. Yet since butter was valuable – and later used to pay taxes – it seems much more likely that they were sometimes buried as protection from thieves, or even made as sacred offerings to the gods.

The bog body phenomenon peaked around the 2nd century BCE before tailing off around the time that the Roman Empire was spreading into the north of Europe. It's worth mentioning that this was also a time when political power was being consolidated in eastern Jutland.

The pattern of the bog body deaths in similar ways and by similar means suggests that, despite the great distances between them, the peoples of northwest Europe shared broadly similar perceptions about the sacred importance of ritual offerings made to watery places, even if the precise circumstances of individual bog bodies and depositions vary.

These beliefs lasted centuries and even survive today whenever a wish is made before throwing a coin into a fountain. Out there, somewhere in the mires, there must be other bog bodies that can tell us even more about their world and why they came to be.
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Shroud of doom
A pall of smoke from the discharge of muskets hangs above the scene of battle and dissipates slowly due to the forest canopy overhead. The Native Americans that fought most of the battle with the British were well-armed and exacted a heavy toll.

Hand-to-hand fighting
British soldiers and colonial militiamen grapple with their assailants at the height of the battle. Whether such close encounters actually occurred is open to debate; however, it was widely reported that Native Americans scalped the dead of the Braddock Expedition.

Panic and pursuit
A British soldier, peering over his shoulder, appears to be fleeing the battlefield. Although many of the colonial militiamen fought back from the cover of the trees, British troops retreated down their route of march. A half-hearted pursuit slowed and stopped as the Native Americans took booty and scalps.

Officers rush forward
Seeing their commander stricken, British officers rush to his side, stretching towards him. In their bright red uniforms, British troops, particularly officers, were excellent targets in the forest surrounding the Monongahela River and several units lost all of their officers, killed or wounded.

Discarded equipment
Demoralised British troops threw away their muskets and any other equipment that might slow them down as they ran from the scene. Teamsters towards the rear of Braddock’s column cut their horse free, and several barely escaped with their lives.
The Seven Years' War, one of numerous coalition conflicts that erupted in Europe during the 18th century, may be considered as the first global war. Its North American theatre, where Britain vied with France for control of the expansive Ohio Country, was the scene of bloody conflict years before the conflict erupted in Europe in 1756.

As the French sought to dominate the continental interior and isolate Britain's colonies between the mountains and the Atlantic coast, they constructed Fort Duquesne on the site of present-day Pittsburgh in western Pennsylvania. By the spring of 1755, Major General Edward Braddock, British commander-in-chief in North America, was determined to remove the threat. Braddock underestimated the rigours of wilderness campaigning, doubted his adversaries' capabilities and believed the French would abandon Fort Duquesne.

Despite the misgivings of observers, the Braddock Expedition, including the 44th and 48th Regiments of Foot and militia from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, began to depart Fort Cumberland, Maryland, in stages. Braddock's main force set out on 10 June, the entire expedition totalling about 1,850 men. The advance was glacial; forward elements hacked a road through the forest.

En route, Braddock divided his force in two. A "flying column" might advance more rapidly while wagons proceeded as able. However, the expedition was plagued by supply shortages.

Meanwhile, the French commander at Fort Duquesne, Claude-Pierre Fécaud de Contrecœur, learned of Braddock's approach, ordering Captain Daniel Lienard de Beaujeu to organise a force of 637 Native Americans, including the Huron, Delaware, Shawnee, Odawa and Miami tribes, along with 150 French-Canadian militia and 106 troupes de la Marine, naval forces trained to serve on land or sea, to stop Braddock.

By the morning of 9 July, the gruelling, roughly 180-kilometre march had eroded British combat efficiency. Nevertheless, spirits were high and as the expedition neared Fort Duquesne, colours were uncased and the band struck up the *The British Grenadiers*, their marching tune.

The route of march required two crossings of the Monongahela River, and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Gage led forward an advance party of three companies of foot in the early afternoon. No skirmishers were deployed. Within an hour, the opposing forces clashed. Although Beaujeu had intended to ambush Braddock's column, the encounter actually began by chance. Taking cover behind rocks and trees, the Native Americans fired into the massed British ranks and enveloped Gage on both flanks. In response, British troops loaded and returned fire and their third volley killed Beaujeu but the attackers were undeterred.

As Gage was forced to fall back, Braddock's advancing main body became entangled with it on the narrow road. The British remained in the open and took heavy casualties, some from friendly fire. Braddock was mortally wounded by a ball that punctured his lung and sent him flying from his horse. The shrill war cry of the Native American forces unnerved the British, who panicked and fled.

In a twist of fate, the British were saved by none other than George Washington. At this time, the future leader of the American Revolution was a loyal colonel in the Virginia Militia who had been attached as an aide to Braddock's expedition because he was familiar with the terrain. However, the overconfident Braddock had set off without him because Washington had been seriously ill. Fortunately, the colonel hadn't taken no for an answer and had managed to catch up with the column that morning.

Washington — despite having no official position in the chain of command — organised a rearguard that provided cover fire and distracted the attackers, allowing many of the Redcoats to make their escape.

The Battle of the Monongahela was a costly and embarrassing defeat for the British Army, with approximately 456 killed and 422 wounded. French and Native Americans losses amounted to 30 dead and a few wounded. Braddock died on 13 July, and was buried along the route of retreat.

For a time after the stunning defeat, Native American raids became common along the British colonies' western frontier. France retained control of the Ohio Country — but only for now.
01 Deer Lick Council
On 3 July 1755, General Braddock holds a war council at Deer Lick and against the advice of one of his subordinates, Sir John Saint Clair, decides to press on toward Fort Duquesne without consolidating his force. Iroquois scouts return from a reconnaissance with the scalp of a French officer, and provisions from the trailing wagon train reach the main body, which has suffered from shortages of food and water.

02 Crossing the river
On the morning of 9 July, the vanguard of the British force, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Gage, crosses the Monongahela River. His three companies of British infantry climb the 3.5-metre embankment and reach the opposite side without difficulty. However, few, if any, pickets are posted to warn of contact with the enemy.

03 Concentrating at Frazier's cabin
Although they expect to encounter resistance from hostile tribes and possibly French troops, Gage's command concentrates at Frazier's cabin on the east bank of the Monongahela River and no initial contact with the enemy is made. Some British officers have assumed that the French have abandoned Fort Duquesne without a fight but an enemy force is already in the field, searching for the Braddock Expedition and intent on stopping it.

04 Braddock advances
Soon after Gage crosses the Monongahela, Braddock follows with the main body and steps off for the final 11-kilometre march from Frazier's cabin to Fort Duquesne. Believing the French have withdrawn, Braddock relaxes standard precautions and allows his troops to march with colours flying and a band playing.

05 French foray
Departing Fort Duquesne, Captain Daniel Léonard de Beaujeu and his French and Native American command intend to ambush the advancing British columns. But visibility is limited in the thick forest, and there is no time to set a trap when the enemy is detected at mid-afternoon. Experienced in frontier fighting, the Shawnee forces take cover behind rocks and trees and begin firing steadily at Gage's advancing soldiers.
**Battle of the Monongahela**

**10 Heroic stand**
George Washington, a colonel of the Virginia Militia, emerges from the debacle a hero after piecing together a rearguard that saves the lives of many British soldiers during the retreat.

**09 Trail of defeat**
The outnumbered French fail to seriously follow up their victory, particularly as the Native Americans stop fighting to collect scalps and other spoils of war. Some sources suggest they began to consume casks of rum, which were abandoned in the British wagon train. Although the defeat of the Braddock Expedition is completed with minimal casualties, the French allow the badly mauled British to reach relative safety beyond the Monongahela River.

**08 Fateful advance**
Braddock marches up the road toward Gage, and the advance force and main body are soon inextricably entangled. The French fire into the massed Redcoats and Braddock is mortally wounded while attempting to rally his troops. Officers are prime targets for enemy sharpshooters, and several units are left without leaders.

**07 Swift envelopment**
The Native American fighters use their frontier tactics to great advantage, slipping around the flanks of the British advance formation and executing a double envelopment. Facing the enemy on three sides, the British soldiers sometimes mistakenly fire on their own troops. Each soldier may have been supplied with 24 musket rounds and ammunition begins to run low. Some soldiers discard their weapons and run.

**06 Stand and deliver**
Fighting European style, Gage’s troops deploy in the open on the road. Their third volley kills Beaujeu but they are forced to give ground. Discipline begins to disintegrate within the ranks.

**French Army**
- **TROOPS:** 108
- **NATIVE AMERICANS:** 637
- **MILITIA:** 146

**CAPTAIN DANIEL LIÉNARD DE BEAUJEU**
- **LEADER**
  - Although he had hoped to ambush the British, Beaujeu’s Native American forces nevertheless carried the day.
  - **Strengths:** He was courageous, experienced and capable in the field.
  - **Weaknesses:** He failed tactically when trying to execute an ambush.

**TROUPES DE LA MARINE**
- **KEY UNIT**
  - French Navy troops serving on land or sea, they embraced frontier tactics and were later reinforced by units of the French Army.
  - **Strengths:** The troops were versatile with innovative tactics.
  - **Weaknesses:** They were few in number and lacking heavy weapons.

**CHARLEVILLE MUSKET**
- **KEY WEAPON**
  - The .69-calibre smoothbore Charleville musket was standard-issue with French troops before and during the Seven Years’ War.
  - **Strengths:** The adaptable firearms were in use for over a century.
  - **Weaknesses:** They had a relatively short range and low accuracy.
The mythical Robin Hood might have ruled Sherwood, but his real-life counterparts gave him a run for his money!

Written by Catherine Curzon

Since they were first told in the Middle Ages, the legendary tales of Robin Hood and his Merry Men have become firm favourites in folklore across the world. Filled with romance, intrigue and heroic deeds, the legend of Robin Hood told of an outlaw that only the wealthy and villainous need fear. With his famed modus operandi of robbing from the rich to give to the poor, this hugely popular wanted criminal became an enduring hero of popular myth and a potent symbol of the fight against oppression.

Yet fictional outlaws with a social conscience like Robin Hood weren't so easy to come by in the factual records of the Medieval world. Outlaws weren't in short supply by any means but Merry Men were rarely anywhere to be found. In fact, those with a price on their head weren't usually too interested in robbing the rich, dropping a pithy one-liner and hastening off to distribute the wealth. In real life, they were far less choosy about the social status of their victims, while the whole giving to the poor bit that Robin Hood was so fond of often proved to be nowhere near as attractive as keeping all the spoils.

Whether saints-in-waiting, fearsome pirates or disinherited noblemen, the history of Europe is rich with tales of outlaws whose stories were every bit as fantastical as their folkloric counterpart. From murderers to blackmailers and robbers to bandits, these ten criminals at least attempted to follow Robin Hood's creed and give the spoils of their often shocking crimes to the poor. Of course, it's worth remembering that sometimes the poorest person those outlaws knew just happened to be themselves!
Eustace the Monk
Fact and fiction collide in the Black Monk’s tale

Eustace Busket was born into privilege as the son of a nobleman and initially seemed set for a life in holy orders as a monk of Saint Samer Abbey, where he supposedly studied black magic. However, when his father was murdered, Eustace abandoned his monastic career and demanded justice from Renaud de Danmartin, Count of Boulogne. But Eustace was later accused of fraud and outlawed, losing his rank and territories.

The monk headed for the coast and England, where he was hired as a pirate by King John. He was such a valuable and fierce mercenary that, even when he raided English villages, the king pardoned him. Eventually Eustace switched sides again when his old enemy, Renaud, allied with the English. He may even have captured the Channel Islands but was eventually captured himself during a fearsome naval battle. Though he offered a fortune in return for his freedom, Eustace was beheaded.

Eustace passed into romantic legend thanks to a posthumous biography that painted him as a wizard of sorts, who hid in the forest and toyed with Renaud just as Robin Hood did with the sheriff of Nottingham. There is, however, no truth in the tale.

William Wallace remains a hero of Scotland and a symbol of independence to this day

in 1296, Edward I of England seized power in Scotland. Few of his new subjects were happy about it and one man decided that something must be done. William Wallace was determined to lead a rebellion against the English king’s rule in Scotland.

After a decisive victory against the king’s forces at the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, Edward sent an army after Wallace. Yet the newly ennobled Scottish hero was one step ahead of his pursuers and following a bruising battlefield defeat in 1298 he may have hastened to France, where he hoped to win military support for his cause.

Wallace returned five years later to find that Robert the Bruce and Edward had declared a truce. As a result, Wallace was declared a wanted man and the price on his head was high. His luck ran out in 1305 when he was captured in Glasgow. Taken to London for trial, he was charged with treason. While he argued that he had never recognised Edward as king of Scotland, so couldn’t have committed treason, his defence fell on deaf ears. On 23 August, Wallace was hanged, drawn and quartered. His head was put on display as a warning to others.
Crime history

Ghino di Tacco Late 13th century
An Italian who made banditry a family business

Given that Ghinotto di Tacco spent his formative years joining his father, uncle and little brother on bandit raids, it’s hardly surprising that he continued his criminal career into adulthood. Motivated by dissatisfaction at the greed of their rulers, who imposed crippling taxes on the people of La Fratta, where the family lived, the bandits became notorious. When the elder di Taccos were captured and executed, it was left for Ghinotto and his brother to carry on the family business.

Ghinotto seized control of a castle and made it his base of operations, venturing out to rob travellers on the road. Considering himself to be a gentleman thief, he sometimes left his victims with enough to survive their journey and made sure to treat them to a feast before they went on their way. He was also known to only prey on the rich, and he never robbed from the poor.

However, he was not above killing his enemies and parading around with their heads on spikes to prove his fearsome reputation. When Ghinotto finally decided that the time had come to retire, he kidnapped an influential abbot and held him prisoner until he agreed to secure a pardon from Pope Boniface VIII, which allowed Ghinotto to live out his final years in peace.

Eppelein von Gailingen c.1310s – 15 May 1381
This German robber baron made a daring escape from death

Eppelein von Gailingen wanted it all, whatever the cost. He was born into a family of minor nobles and watched in annoyance as his so-called masters spent money with abandon, while he was forced to borrow to fund his own relatively meagre lifestyle.

He decided to lead a life of crime and for a time, travellers on the roads around Nuremberg lived in terror of encountering Eppelein’s company. When highway robbery started to prove less lucrative than he had hoped, Eppelein raided the city itself and distributed the takings among his gang and local peasants.

Eppelein was eventually captured and sentenced to death — but he allegedly escaped the gallows by leaping onto his horse and jumping the battlements and moat of Nuremberg Castle, riding to safety. Though he was later executed for his crimes, Eppelein is commemorated today by a triannual festival in his honour.

Thomas Dun c.1068–1135
The mysterious Thomas Dun was a master of disguise

Thomas Dun was not a romantic hero. Operating around Bedfordshire, he wandered the roads disguised as a disabled beggar. When travellers stopped to offer assistance, he murdered them and stole whatever they were carrying, even going so far as to steal livestock and sell it on as his own.

As Dun’s criminal ambitions grew, he headed into the shelter of England’s forests. But Dun was certainly no Robin Hood as he headed north to find new hunting grounds, he formed a gang with some of the other outlaws he met in the forest, becoming their self-appointed leader.

Dun’s luck ran out when he was recognised in a village and pursued by both the sheriff and locals. After a 20-year criminal career, he was captured and sentenced to death without trial. Though he even tried to fight off the executioners, he was eventually disemboweled in front of a celebratory crowd.
Eustace Folville
C.13th-14th century

A notorious gang that made innocent travellers tremble

Tired with the corrupt regime of Hugh Despenser the Younger, Eustace Folville, the son of a noble family, decided to do something about it. In 1326, he gathered together a gang of around 50 men and together they attacked and killed Sir Roger de Beller, the corrupt Baron of the Exchequer and a long-time enemy of the Folvilles.

Although initially outlawed for their crimes, the gang later received a pardon when Despenser’s regime fell. By this time, however, Folville and his men had become lauded as heroes for standing up to their tyrannical rulers. Like a Medieval A-Team, they remained at large and accepted contracts from people who were seeking retribution or wanted to right a wrong.

With robbery, ransom and abduction the everyday work of the Folville Gang, they were soon making a habit of being outlawed and pardoned. Although Richard, one of Eustace’s younger brothers, was captured and beheaded, Eustace himself managed to escape punishment and even lived well on the proceeds of his commissions.

Mentioned in contemporary literature alongside Robin Hood, the Folvilles were regarded as heroes by some and villains by others. As one of the first named criminal gangs of the era, though, they marked an important entry in the annals of crime in the Middle Ages.

Roger Godberd

Unknown - 1276

Was a servant literally the real-life Robin Hood?

Roger Godberd might have passed into the mists of history unremarked were it not for the fact that he has been named as a prime contender for the inspiration behind the legend of Robin Hood.

Godberd was a servant to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, until he was made an outlaw in 1265 for fighting against Henry III. Forced from his lands, he made camp in Sherwood Forest where he remained for five years as the head of a band of mercenaries. Sadly, history records no Friar Tuck or Little John among his gang.

Outlaws for hire, the Folville Gang would seek retribution on anyone’s behalf – for a price.

Pier Gerlofs Donia

C.1480-1520

A giant of a man, Big Pier became a legend

Born in Frisia, now the Netherlands, Pier Gerlofs Donia was a giant in every sense of the word. When his wife was allegedly raped and murdered by the Black Band, the duke of Saxony’s brutal regiment, the giant of a man swore that he would exact revenge.

He formed a pirate band known as the Black Hope and waged war against the House of Habsburg, plundering their ships and those of their supporters. Attacking coastal areas, they sacked the towns and killed the inhabitants, burning houses and castles alike to the ground.

Supposedly standing at over two metres tall and wielding a sword that weighed nearly 7 kilograms, Pier struck fear into the hearts of his enemies – but fear alone wasn’t enough to defeat the might of the Habsburgs. He died peacefully in 1520 and is remembered today as a legendary freedom fighter, striving to free his people from oppression.

Pursued by the sheriff of Nottingham, Godberd proved a tricky man to apprehend. When captured, he always seemed able to escape but his good luck eventually deserted him and the sheriff managed to get Godberd behind bars. Transferred to the Tower of London, he waited for three years to see what his punishment would be.

In fact, Godberd’s good fortune returned once more because Edward I returned to rule England before he could be put on trial. He apparently pardoned the loyal Godberd and the notorious outlaw returned to his farm, where he lived out the rest of his happy days in peace.

This giant pirate sought revenge for his wife and freedom for his people.
Hajduk Momčilo

The flip-flopping Momčilo always followed the money

Hajduk Momčilo, known as Momčil, began his criminal career as a bandit terrorising the Rhodope Mountains. Assisted by his peasant army, he struck fear into the hearts of travellers. Because the territory he prowled was part of an ongoing border dispute, the warring parties of Serbia, Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire all wanted to secure Momčilo’s support. He was ennobled and his outlaw army became a recognised military force.

When the Byzantine Civil War broke out in 1341, Momčilo played both sides off against each other like a pro. By switching between Stephen Dušan and his opponent, Emperor John VI Cantacuzene, on multiple occasions, when he left Cantacuzene’s service to throw his considerable might behind Dušan once too often, his card was marked. Cantacuzene declared him an enemy and Momčilo was killed at Peritheorion, when the townspeople locked the city gates and left him to the mercy of his enemies.

Stig Andersen Hvide

Sometimes the best pirate is a disenfranchised nobleman

After nobleman Marsk Stig Andersen Hvide was wrongly implicated in the murder of King Eric V in 1286, he was forced to be an outlaw. However, he wasn’t about to surrender and instead began a new career as a pirate, with his frequent raids laying waste to the coast of his homeland. He established his headquarters on the island of Hjelm and from here sailed out to plunder Danish ships and coastal towns.

Although Stig vigorously protested his innocence of the regicide, Denmark refused to listen. Finding that his pleas for clemency were being ignored, Stig instead joined forces with the Norwegian crown. He continued to be allied to Norway until he died of natural causes in 1293.

Yet Stig’s memory didn’t die with him on Hjelm. Instead he became a legendary hero who either killed the king after the king seduced Stig’s wife, or, more frequently, was considered a patsy by those who wanted to curtail the power of the nobility. Stig’s story has been turned into novels, poetry and popular folklore. The pirate lord even became the subject of a popular 19th-century Danish opera that cements his heroic credentials.
In one of his last acts as Soviet Union dictator, the increasingly paranoid Joseph Stalin launched an investigation into prominent Moscow doctors, claiming evidence of a Zionist plot to assassinate him. But while hundreds of Jewish doctors were being tortured, Stalin became deathly ill. In a twist of fate, the clamp-down on doctors made it practically impossible for the Kremlin to find a highly skilled healer to save him.

Such stranger-than-fiction real-life events fuel the dark comedy of Armando Iannucci’s latest political satire. The award-winning director of The Thick of It and Veep focuses on the insanity the USSR was plunged into once the Man of Steel expired in 1953. With the prospect of supreme power over the nation within grasp, Iannucci turns the devious plotting and farcical backstabbing that broke out in the corridors of power into a hilarious ‘comedy of terrors’. The movie has an all-star cast to bulk out Stalin’s ranks of snivelling sycophants and ageing couriers that suddenly find themselves vying for the top job, including Michael Palin, Jefferey Tambor, Steve Buscemi, Jason Issacs, Paul Whitehouse and more.

The Death of Stalin is available as a digital download from 19 February and on Blu-ray and DVD from 26 February. However, we have two copies of the movie on Blu-ray and the original graphic novel by Fabien Nury to give away.

For your chance to win, visit historyanswers.co.uk and answer the following question:

In what year did Stalin die?

A. 1935  B. 1945  C. 1953
What if...
John Wayne had joined with George Wallace?

The Duke could have convinced the Dixiecrat to take an even harder stance and kept Nixon out of the White House

Written by David Crookes

Remembered as one of the silver screen's most iconic heroes, there was a time when John Wayne's accomplishments could have stretched even further, away from Hollywood and towards Washington. So what drove him politically?

"Throughout his early years, he voted Democrat and called himself a socialist," says Carolyn McGivern. "He was liberal and concerned about Americans. But as he became disillusioned with the chaos he saw around him, he looked to conservatism, which mirrored his anti-government stance. His ideas were fresh and unusual and not always Republican. The only consistent thing about his politics was his love of America."

Come 1968, Governor George Wallace was considering an offer to Wayne to join his ticket for the presidential election. "Wallace became the American Independent Party candidate in the 1968 presidential election, and in the period of the Civil Rights Movement he famously stood for 'Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever,' even standing in front of the University of Alabama in an attempt to stop the enrollment of African-American students in 1963;" says McGivern. "Wayne told everyone that he supported Nixon for president, but if there was one thing that might've tempted him to join Wallace, it was his campaign slogan, 'stand up for America'.

"Wayne confided in his secretary that he didn't like the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing discrimination based on race, religion, colour and sex. He felt that people who owned their own property or business should have the right to refuse service. He and Wallace shared similar views on communism, law and order, and patriotism."

So what could have happened if Wayne hadn't turned Wallace down? McGivern predicts that "the election would probably have been closer, with the Humphrey/Muskie ticket representing the left, Nixon/Agnew the centre and Wallace/Wayne the right. Wallace/Wayne would have run a 'law and order and a 'stand up for America' campaign, and election night would have been nail biting."

With Wayne joining Wallace, there would have been an interesting dynamic. But how would Wayne have influenced his partner and the campaign itself? "Wayne would have opposed Wallace's generous increases for beneficiaries of social security and Medicare," explains McGivern. "Wallace also pledged to withdraw troops from Vietnam if the war was not winnable within 90 days of him taking office, but Wayne couldn't understand a 'pull out' attitude."

With a star like Wayne on the ticket, could Wallace have won the election? McGivern doubts it. "It would have been impossible, mainly because of Wallace's lack of strength outside the Deep South. He carried five states in the South but he wasn't able to challenge Nixon in the Border States. He came close in New Jersey or Ohio towards Hubert Humphrey and the election would've been thrown into the House of Representatives."

If Wayne had steered his career in a different direction, it could've had a bigger cultural impact. "Wayne wouldn't have made movies after 1968, robbing Americans of the roles that were part of their education in what it is to be American," McGivern explains. "The US wouldn't have had a man who attempted to put it on the high road. Even now, he represents the idea of how Americans see themselves."

How would it be different?

Real timeline

1963

- Wallace opposes civil rights
  In a pivotal moment in America's civil rights struggle, George Wallace tries to stop two black students entering the main campus of the University of Alabama.

Real timeline

1964

- Wallace's nomination
  Governor Wallace of Alabama unsuccessfully goes up against President Lyndon B Johnson for the Democrat nomination following JFK's assassination.

Alternate timeline

1968

- Wallace targets states
  Wallace wants to split the conservative vote and deny an Electoral College majority. He peaks at 21 per cent in the polls. September 1968

1968

- LeMay joins Wallace
  Despite turning down two previous requests, Curtis LeMay finally agrees to become Wallace's vice presidential running mate. Wallace's polls slump. October 1968

1968

- Poll ratings soar
  Wayne's personal sway and popularity helps Wallace build on his 21 per cent poll share of September. The conservative vote is increasingly split. October 1968

- Wallace calls Wayne
  Scrambling for a running mate, Wallace picks up the phone to Wayne and rather than decline, the actor agrees. September 1968
JOHN WAYNE HAD JOINED WITH GEORGE WALLACE?

Carolyn McGivern
is the author of
the acclaimed
biography John
Wayne: A Giant
Shadow, which has
been updated and extended to
coincide with the actor’s 100th
birthday. She has also written
The Lost Films of John Wayne
and studied at both York and
Brunel University.

Wallace loses election
Wallace rallies against Big
Government and wins over
13.5 per cent of the electorate
with 9.9 million votes. Richard
Nixon wins.
5 November 1968

Re-elected as governor
Now a Democrat again,
Wallace is elected governor
of Alabama for a second
term, running on a distinctly
anti-black agenda.
1970

Assassination attempt
Having decided to contest the
presidency as a Democrat, he is
shot five times during campaigning
in a Maryland shopping mall,
leaving him wheelchair-bound.
15 May 1972

Loses the nomination
Although he does well in the
South, Wallace fails to win
the nomination, which goes
to George McGovern. Nixon
remains president.
7 November 1972

Wallace takes states
Wayne’s influence helps Wallace
takes the states of North
Carolina, South Carolina and
Tennessee. Humphrey takes
New Jersey and Ohio.
5 November 1968

Wayne makes gaffes
Wayne speaks his mind
and has little energy or
time for diplomacy, which
gets him into trouble.
He promptly apologises.
1970

Wayne becomes president
Some nine years before actor
Ronald Reagan comes to power,
John Wayne takes office as the
38th president of the United
States of America.
7 November 1972

No Watergate scandal
With Richard Nixon having
never become president, the
United States’ top office is
not blighted by the scandal
that was Watergate.
1972

Wallace has power
Wallace falls far short of
becoming president himself but
the conservative vote is indeed
split and Hubert Humphrey
enters the White House.
5 November 1968

Wayne makes presidential bid
Building on his celebrity status
and previous support for Wallace,
Wayne runs for president and
gains the Republican nomination.
1972

Beats the anti-communist drum
Fiercely anti-communist,
John Wayne delights in the
USSR’s Era of Stagnation, its
worst financial crisis.
1973

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True Grit released
True Grit is comes out in the
cinema but Wayne’s involvement
with Wallace ensures it is his last
movie. Clint Eastwood is cast in
The Undefeated.
1969

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Say ‘Dior’ and most people think of luxury, haute couture and leggy models strutting up and down the runway in the latest high-end fashions. But before becoming one of the world’s biggest and most recognised fashion brands, it was just one man, Christian Dior, struggling to make his mark in war-torn Europe.

It was 12 February 1947 when the designer’s scandalous ‘New Look’ shocked post-World War II society and revolutionised the fashion industry forever. Taking place just under two years after Victory in Europe Day, Dior stunned the world’s fashion elite when he presented his debut collection in Paris. Models swanned past in swathes of rich fabric, long, heavy skirts and dresses synched at the waist. The story goes that one influential onlooker, Carmel Snow, editor of Harper’s Bazaar, was so shocked that she declared Dior’s collection a truly “new look” – and the name stuck.

Dior’s designs, made up of two fashion lines named En Huit and Carolle, were all about creating an overtly womanly hourglass silhouette. It was a figure that, for better or worse, set the standard for fashion and femininity for the next decade, reflected in the famous styles of 1950s Hollywood stars such as Marilyn Monroe.

Among the impressive 90 pieces that made up Dior’s collection that day, the real headline act was the Bar suit. Still heralded today, it summed up the New Look: a large, dark, corset skirt, padded at the hips, teamed with a cream blazer that synched in and kicked out from the waist.

Following rave reviews, the designs spread across Europe like wildfire and made their way over the Atlantic to New York City. Many praised Dior with having single-handedly revived Paris’ struggling post-war fashion industry. His designs were most popular, of course, among society’s glamorous upper class. Hollywood leading ladies Ava Gardner and Rita Hayworth were both said to be fans. However, his most prestigious fanbase actually came from within the British royal family – namely Princess Margaret.
The fashionable young royal was a huge fan — so much so that she chose one of Dior’s designs for her 21st birthday. It was immortalised in a famous portrait by photographer Cecil Beaton in 1951. Perched on a sofa, straight-backed and stoic, her small frame sits atop swathes and swathes of luxurious fabric that make up her almost Disney princess-like gown.

While these designs may seem glamorous, they don’t necessarily seem shocking or particularly fashion-forward today. To understand the hype, it’s important to appreciate the huge effect that the war had had on everyday fashions.

During World War II, the fashion industry was hit not only by rationing and austerity measures but, with the war’s hefty demand of fabric and labour, there was a significant reduction in raw materials, skilled workers and factory space. Ultimately, the fashion of the early 1940s was dominated by simple suits and knee-length dresses with boxy, almost militaristic shoulders.

With the introduction of rationing in Britain in 1941, simpler, slimmer outfits became more popular as more coupons were needed for more fabric and skilled handiwork. This was also the year that most silk was commandeered to make parachutes for the Royal Air Force. Adornments such as pleats, ruching, embroidery and even pockets were restricted under austerity measures while additions such as hats and lace — deemed luxury items — were heavily taxed.

After food, clothing was the hardest hit by the demands of the war effort, which explains the series of ‘Make-Do And Mend’ campaign posters and pamphlets issued by the government. What you wore became a direct reflection of your contribution to the war effort. A band of London designers even came together to form the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers (IncSoc), to popularise austerity-friendly designs.

In 1942, IncSoc created 32 designs of so-called ‘utility styles’ — fashionable outfits that used limited resources — that they then presented to the public. Restricted to tight fabric rations, the resulting coats, dresses and suits were said to have no pleats, tucks or frills with no ‘unnecessary’ buttons. They were intended for all seasons, with paper patterns made available for those wishing to make them at home.

Reactions were mixed. While many of the leading fashion houses and magazines were happy with the surprisingly sleek designs, other fashion-conscious folk were unsure about the cookie-cutter styles. The Daily Mail argued, “Mrs Jones’ is nervous that she will walk out to coffee one morning in a Mayfair-style suit and meet her neighbour in, if not the same colour, the identical cut.” On the other hand, another critic thought these Mayfair designs were actually too fashion-oriented and “not sufficiently practicable for the housewife or the woman in the war factory”.

Whatever their feelings, these simpler, utility-style designs became the general trend, representing both fashion and the home front’s dedication to the war effort. For a large part of society, this was an attitude not only reserved for wartime, but something that carried on, and in some cases intensified, in the years following the conflict. In fact, clothes rationing ended in 1949, and food restrictions lingered until 1954.
It must have been shocking to see visions of Dior’s models enveloped in layers of lavish materials, covered in fine details and accessories. While IncSoC’s utility-style dresses were rigorously restricted and made sure to use no more than 1.8 metres of fabric, it is said that Dior’s more elaborate offerings often contained over 18 metres each. This unapologetically glamorous and feminine style was a complete rejection of the wartime austerity that had been gripping the entirety of Europe so tightly.

The world’s fashionistas, for the most part, approved of the lavish designs and the move away from the stale trends of wartime. “The hulkingness of the coats and capes to go over these tremendous skirts is startling,” said one reporter for *The New York Times*. “Wide sunny pleats each backed in taffeta and slashed open to the knee are so manipulated that the swing of the skirt is a gracious thing.”

Covering the collection in 1948, another journalist, who was particularly taken by the pockets, wrote, “One felt that these were an integral part of the costume for it added great style to see the manikins thrust their hands into them, pushing them slightly forward in a gesture that contributed immeasurably to the movement of the full skirts.”

Strangely, among the synched waists, exaggerated bosoms and extravagant accessories, it was actually the long skirts that seemed to cause the most controversy. While 1940s fashion had generally seen skirts and dresses stop somewhere around the knee, the New Look wasn’t concerned with fabric rationing and so its hems sat around the mid-shin instead. To some, those seemingly inconsequential inches were seen as a snub to the war effort itself.

However, back in the 1940s, Dior and his family had seen their fair share of involvement in the war. Born in Normandy in 1905, his family moved to Paris when he was a child and the family name was best associated with his father’s lucrative fertiliser company. As an adult, Dior was always submerged in the capital’s creative scene, eventually falling under the guidance of Robert Piguet – the same fashion designer who was said to have trained Hubert de Givenchy. Sadly this was short-lived and, at 35 years old, Dior was called up for military service in 1940.

After his two-year service, he returned to the capital where he was scooped up as a designer by the
Dior's New Look

Utility clothing versus the New Look

Let's get creative
When resources were low, people used their imaginations. Some used aircrew’s outdated escape maps to make blouses, scraps of factory plastic for jewellery, wedding dresses from parachutes, and beetroot juice as lipstick.

Bring a bag
Pockets and buttons were both deemed unnecessary. coat was limited to three pockets maximum and buttons were restricted to only the necessary in 1942.

Plainer the better
Embroidery and lace on clothing were banned under wartime austerity measures, as was fancy details on corsets and ruching on women’s underwear. So wartime fashion tended to be plain with few embellishments.

Knee-length skirts
Wartime rationing and a demand on materials for uniforms meant there was less fabric for everyday clothing. So shorter skirts and dresses that stopped at the knee became popular.

The square shoulder
Practicality was key with sales and dresses of wartime Britain. Outfits had to be suitable for everyday use and all seasons. This often resulted in practical, military-style shoulders.

Always more accessories
Elegant hats, belts that synch the waist, glittering jewels, shawls that reach the ground, dainty gloves that reach your elbows, the odd crown. With accessories, one was never enough.

Coat for days
Like skirts and dresses, coats got bigger and more luxurious. Women were taking up as much room as possible in voluminous, often shapeless, coats that used swathes of fabric.

Something in the air
A drop of perfume was the finishing touch to any glamorous look. Dior allegedly sprinkled Miss Dior in the air before debuting his famous ‘New Look’ as a finishing touch.

Big, long skirts
The end of austerity meant the end of size considerations. Skirt hems dropped to mid-shin, which was seen as more elegant and extravagant, and were full of hip-accentuating pleating.

prominent couturier Lucien Lelong. It is said that while Dior worked for Lelong, the team, like many fashion houses during the French Occupation, dressed the wives and family members of elite Nazis and French collaborators.

However, when Hitler tried to move Parisian haute couture to Berlin, Lelong travelled to Germany just to argue against it. He won that battle, saving a workforce of roughly 25,000 women, some seamstresses working in specialised fields of embroidery or beading, that was partly made up of Jewish refugees.

Meanwhile, Dior’s sister Catherine was a member of the French Resistance. Allegedly part of the Polish intelligence unit based in France, she was eventually arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp in 1944 until its liberation in 1945. Two years later — in the same year that he launched his famous ‘New Look’ — Dior released his first and most famous fragrance, Miss Dior, named after his sister.

By the time Dior made the cover of Time magazine in 1957, he was easily considered one of the world’s most famous Parisians. However, just a few months later — and only one decade after he was first launched into the spotlight with his New Look — the designer died of a heart attack while on holiday in Italy at 52 years of age.

While it was a shock to everyone, Dior had already personally named his successor and the role of artistic director fell on the shoulders of a young assistant by the name of Yves Saint Laurent. However, he only managed to run the company for a few years as he was called back to the home country of Algeria for military service — but he did eventually begin his own self-titled label in 1962.

As a brand, Dior has launched countless perfumes as well as make-up and fashion collections over its 70-year history, each time pushing different trends, styles and silhouettes, including its 1961 ‘The Slim Look’ and its first men’s range in the 1970s. Nothing, however, has come close to recreating the social and historical impact of that first controversial New Look from February 1947.
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Joe Louis

Some argue that the African-American heavyweight boxer who KO’d Hitler’s Aryan delusions didn’t do enough to fight discrimination at home.

Written by Jessica Leggett

Joe Louis is frequently referred to as one of the best, if not the greatest, heavyweight boxers in history. He rose through the ranks of amateur and professional boxing to become the world champion, a title that he managed to hold on to from 1937 to 1949, defending it a record 25 times — four of which were while he was serving in the United States Army.

Despite this glorious career, Louis is best remembered for his ‘fight of the century’ with Max Schmeling in 1938. When he knocked out the boxer from Nazi Germany in the first round, Louis became an overnight American hero.

The legendary fight was actually a rematch. Louis and Schmeling had fought before in 1936 but Louis had been defeated. Up until that point, he was a rising star that had never lost a fight — in contrast, Schmeling was a former champion who was considered by many to be past his prime, having been defeated by Max Baer in a tenth-round technical knockout in 1933.

Louis was confident that he would sail to victory but he had underestimated Schmeling, who had studied Louis’ technique intensely. 12 rounds in, Louis suffered the first knockout defeat of his career, learning a valuable lesson in humility. Back in Germany, Schmeling’s win was portrayed as a triumph for the Aryan race, another notch in the Nazi propaganda belt.

Louis actually went on to win the heavyweight title from Jim Braddock in 1937 but he refused to call himself a champion until he had beaten Schmeling — he demanded a rematch. While war between the United States and Germany was still four years away, rising tensions between the two powers turned the fight into an international sensation. Despite the fact Schmeling wasn’t even a member of the Nazi Party, the media pitched it as the ultimate culture clash: democracy versus fascism.

On the night of the sold-out fight at Yankee Stadium in New York, the city welcomed 30,000 visitors and made more than $3 million from them in sales; hotels, nightclubs and train lines were struggling to handle the demand. Beyond New York City, it’s estimated that 64 per cent of all radio owners across the US tuned in to listen to the fight — a figure that was only exceeded in the internationally tense period by two presidential broadcasts.

Defining moment

Kracken Slayer

Having fought in amateur circles for two years, 20-year-old Joe Louis made his professional debut by defeating Jack Kracken in Chicago. Following his trainer Jack Blackburn’s advice, he worked Kracken’s torso until the Norwegian let his guard down. Louis then finished him with a clean left to the chin. Louis earned $59 for knocking out the reigning champion in the first round.

4 July 1934
“Despite the fact Schmeling wasn’t even a member of the Nazi Party, the media pitched it as a culture clash: democracy versus fascism”
After being so hotly anticipated, it was perhaps a let down that the fight only lasted two minutes and four seconds. Louis unleashed a tireless barrage on Schmeling, which the German fighter seemed entirely unprepared for. But by 'destroying' Schmeling in the first round, Louis provided assurance to millions that America could beat the best Germany had to offer.

At a time when the American South was still segregated and the north was still rife with discrimination, Louis won the admiration of both blacks and whites. Where Louis had often been caricatured before the bout with Schmeling as ignorant, lazy and ape-like on the front pages of daily newspapers, he was now portrayed as a hero and cartoonists depicted him punching Adolf Hitler. It was a small but significant step in American racial iconography.

When the United States did enter the war, the government sought to use Louis’ soaring popularity for the purposes of propaganda. In January 1942, he agreed to a charity bout against Buddy Baer to raise money for the Navy Relief Society. Agreeing to the fight proved to be a controversial choice for Louis, as black Americans were only allowed to hold lowly positions in the navy at this point. Regardless, he raised approximately $47,000.

The next day, Louis volunteered for the US Army, though he never saw combat. Instead, he undertook a series of promotional tours across Europe, performing exhibition matches to entertain the troops. He was depicted in uniform on recruitment posters alongside the quote “We’re going to do our part... and we’ll win because we’re on God’s side.”

He also appeared in the 1944 propaganda film The Negro Soldier. Principally intended to encourage African-Americans to enlist in the military, the docu-drama produced by Italian-American director Frank Capra is considered a watershed moment for American cinema in its depiction of black Americans. The film showed black people as lawyers, musicians, athletes and other valued professions at a time when Hollywood only portrayed them as slaves or comic relief.

Despite his record-breaking achievements, Louis had his critics. The war years saw the emergence of the Double V Campaign, which argued black Americans should be fighting for victory — that’s to say, equal rights — at home as well as in Europe. Some contemporary African-American civil rights campaigners disapproved of the fighter’s active support of the armed forces due to the fact that troops were segregated.

These accusations only got worse after the war. Muhammad Ali went as far as to outright label Louis as an Uncle Tom — a derogatory epithet for a black person whose behaviour towards whites is obsequious and servile.

While the Army would have censored Louis if he had spoken about racism publicly, the star was stage-managed to avoid controversy. His managers, John Roxborough and Julian Black — both of whom were black — established a code of conduct for him.
Defining moment
A close call
One of the greatest heavyweight matches of all time, Louis faced Billy 'The Pittsburgh Kid' Conn in New York. Conn was the world light heavyweight champion and, like with Schmeling, Louis had underestimated his opponent. Conn stood strong for 12 rounds, until his attempt at a knockout in the thirteenth gave Louis the opportunity he needed to turn it around with a knockout of his own.

18 June 1941

As well as embodying clean living and good sportsmanship, he was prohibited from being photographed with a white woman. This was a concerted effort to not provoke the white anger that Jack Johnson, 'the Galveston Giant', had done a generation before. The black heavyweight star had provoked public violence from white fans for his flamboyant flouting of America's strict racial mores in the 1910s. More immediately relevant to Louis, white boxers had refused to fight Johnson and the establishment made it clear that they would not accept another black fighter like him.

Despite (or because of) his natural talent as a fighter, Louis - the son of Alabama sharecroppers growing up in 1930s Detroit - would not have been able to build such a successful career without presenting him as passive and respectable. Muhammad Ali would later criticise him for this, but it could be argued that Louis helped black boxers to become more mainstream.

While he may not have spoken out publicly, Louis was willing to risk his career for what was right in private. He refused to perform or speak in front of segregated audiences and frequently spoke on behalf of his fellow black soldiers who experienced discrimination. When the prestigious Army Officer Candidate School refused entrance to future baseball player Jackie Johnson on the grounds of his race, Louis intervened. Despite his celebrity status, the boxer was also arrested when he defiantly ignored a 'White Only' sign at an army camp bus depot in Alabama.

Louis' popularity began to wane after the war and he retired in 1949. However, financial problems forced him to return to the ring and his first match was against the heavyweight champion, Ezzard Charles. Although Louis still cut an imposing figure, he was soundly defeated. He stepped down again after losing to Rocky Marciano in 1951.

At the end of his boxing career, Louis had no money or family and faced an insurmountable federal tax debt, for which the government would hound him for the rest of his life. In his twilight years, Louis served as a 'greeter' at Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, where he shook hands with tourists, gambled with house money to lure others and played golf with high rollers before his failing health incapacitated him.

Perhaps surprisingly, one of the people that helped support Louis in his later years was Max Schmeling. The one-time rivals became close friends and, as well as helping fund Louis' funeral in 1981, Schmeling acted as a pallbearer.

The case for Louis as a 'villain' is certainly thin on the ground. He may not have publicly stood up for racial issues, and it is true that there was no immediate change in response to his work, but his actions might also have given millions of black Americans a reason to hope for change.
Did you make it? Let us know! www.historyanswers.co.uk /AllAboutHistory @AboutHistoryMag

On the Menu

BOBOTIE

SPICY AFRIKAAN MOUSSAKA

SOUTH AFRICA, 1600S – PRESENT

Made of spiced minced meat and topped with an egg custard, bobotie (pronounced ba-boo-tea) could only have been created in the cooking pot of South Africa’s colonial past. Mixing Eastern and Western influences, it was developed by generations of Malay cooks — initially slaves imported from the Dutch East Indies — to suit the tastes of Cape Town’s wealthy white households.

While bobotie was widely enjoyed by all sections of South African society, it disappeared from high-class restaurant menus in favour of traditional European dishes after the British took control of Cape Colony in 1814. But Malay ‘cook-shops’ in Cape Town’s side streets kept the recipe alive, along with the Boer frontiersmen who ventured into the country’s interior. Since the end of apartheid, bobotie has become South Africa’s national dish. The recipe below serves eight.

**Ingredients**

- 2 slices of bread
- 2 onions, chopped
- 25g butter
- 2 garlic cloves, crushed
- 1kg lean minced meat
- 2 tbsp Madras curry paste
- 1 tsp dried mixed herbs
- 3 cloves
- 2 tbsp mango chutney
- 3 tbsp sultanas
- 6 lemon or bay leaves
- 300ml full-cream milk

**METHOD**

01 In the 17th century, bobotie would have been made with leftover pork or mutton but today it more commonly uses beef or lamb — it’s up to you how authentic you want your dish to be. Either way, the rest of the ingredients and the recipe remain the same.

02 While many recipes call for white bread, brown can also be used. However, use slices that are already a day old for the best results. Pour cold water over the bread and set it aside to soak. Next, heat the oven to 180°C/fan 160°C/gas 4.

03 Fry the chopped onions in the butter, stirring regularly for ten minutes until they are soft and starting to colour. Add the garlic and meat and mix well, crushing the mince into fine grains until it turns brown.

04 Stir in the curry paste, herbs, spices, chutney and sultanas before adding one teaspoon of salt and plenty of ground black pepper. For an extra tang, you could also consider adding ginger.

05 Add two of the lemon leaves. While any self-respecting South African chef would surely think them a poor substitute, you can swap them for bay leaves if necessary.

06 Cover and simmer for ten minutes. Squeeze the water from the bread and then beat it into the meat mixture until everything is well blended. Next, tip it into an oval ovenproof dish that has been rubbed with butter.

07 Press the mixture down well and make sure that the surface is smooth. For the topping, beat the milk and eggs with seasoning, then pour this over the meat.

08 Top with the remaining lemon (or bay) leaves and bake your dish in the oven for 35-40 minutes until the custard topping is set and starting to turn golden.

09 Serve your bobotie with rice and stewed apricots. Depending on whether you’ve gone for lamb or beef, pair your dish with a South African Coastal Region Chenin Blanc or a Stellenbosch Cabernet respectively.

Did you know?

The name ‘bobotie’ is thought to derive from ‘bobotok’, a traditional Javanese dish that is made from entirely different ingredients.
Interview

IN BED WITH THE GREEKS

Author Paul Chrystall shines a light on sex and sexuality in the ancient world

Interview by Alice Barnes-Brown

Known for their adventurous and seemingly unconventional attitudes to love, sex and gender, the Ancient Greeks have long appealed to our most basic instincts, satisfying our curiosity with lurid tales.

Though widely remembered for their practice of homosexuality, their legacy today is definitely much more than that of a sex-mad civilisation, with depraved practices to make any reader with 21st century sensibilities cringe.

To that end, we spoke to Paul Chrystal, author of In Bed with the Ancient Greeks, to learn more about how the Greeks perceived, loved and had sex with each other — and what impact that all had on the development of one of Europe's most advanced ancient societies.

The Ancient Greeks are known for having a more nuanced view of love. What do you think this says about them — and about our own society for relying on just one word?

There are four words for love in Ancient Greek: agape, eros, philia, and storge. The first, agape, is brotherly love, the love of God for man and of man for God. Agape can be love for one's children and for a husband or wife, or other family members. Next up is eros, which means sexual love and passion. Eros can be destructive, like when Zeus was overwhelmed by eros for Hera.

Philia, meanwhile, is able to portray both sexual and nonsexual relationships; it means affection, friendship — a virtuous love, as conceived by Aristotle. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, philia is loyalty to “friends, family and community”. It can also describe camaraderie. Lastly, storge is love and affection, particularly of parents and children, although it was rarely used in Ancient Greek.

These words cover the whole gamut of love. The one word ‘love’, a Middle English-Germanic word, on the other hand, has to describe all the types on its own. Stereotype as it is, it belies a degree of bluntness and lack of emotion, like the temperament of northern Europeans.

“Sexuality, love and intercourse were inextricably connected.”

Were the Greeks openly homosexual as we understand it today, or did they simply not distinguish sexual desire along gender lines?

While ‘Greek love’ is sometimes used to refer to anal intercourse, to the ancient Greeks, relationships between males and between women were indicative of a balanced sex life. This was considered normal so long as one partner was an adult and the other was aged between 12 and 15.

To the ancient Greeks, sexual orientation carried little of the stigma that it does in modern societies. They weren't obsessed with gender-based sexual desire or behaviour but were more concerned with the role that the participants played in the homoerotic sex act — essentially, whether they were an active penetrator or being passively penetrated.

This active-passive model corresponded with dominant and submissive roles in wider society. What was important was not that one practiced sodomy — it was how one did it. To sodomise was accepted (up to a point) but there was no excuse for being sodomised.

It was fine for a man to indulge with males lower down the social ladder, male prostitutes or slaves, so long as he assumed the penetrative role. Penetration was manly and powerful; passivity was weak and effeminate: something that women, foreigners and slaves did.

How tolerant were the Greeks of same-sex relationships?

They were tolerant within certain restrictions and conditions. For instance, controversy rages over whether the Spartans practiced pederasty (relationships with young boys) like many of the other ancient civilisations. Xenophon says quite categorically that “in Sparta lovers should refrain from molesting boys, just as much as parents avoid having intercourse with their children or brothers with their sisters” — thus putting it on a par with incest.
However, Cretan pederasty was an early form of paedophilia involving the ritual kidnapping of a boy from an elite background by an aristocratic man (the philetor), with the consent of the boy's father. The philetor took the boy out into the wilderness, where they spent two months hunting and feasting, and he showered the boy with expensive gifts, including an ox for sacrifice to Zeus. According to Strabo, the boy had to choose between continuing or putting an end to the relationship, and whether to denounce the man if he has misbehaved.

These days Sappho is portrayed as a lesbian icon. But how much do we really know about the poet and lesbians in Ancient Greece?

We don't know that much. Sappho ran a thiasos — a community in which Greek girls could receive a basic education and were exposed to homosexual love, sometimes from their teachers or from each other. As the polis evolved, however, marriage as we know it now became established as a social norm, bringing an end to the thiaso and with it much of early Athenian female independence and homosexuality.

It wasn’t long before Sappho was subjected to male abuse and ridicule. Comedies and satirical biographies predictably portrayed her as a stereotypically short, fat, ugly woman who turned to women because she was unable to attract a man. Others simply slandered her as a prostitute. Aristotle was truly surprised that the "people of Mytilene honour Sappho". Why? Well, because "she is a woman".

Plutarch, meanwhile, tells us that Spartan noblewomen took young girls as lovers. He says that same-sex erotic relationships between older and younger women were prevalent among Spartans: “This love was so acceptable to them, that even the beautiful and good women took girls as lovers.” Plutarch, in one line, neatly exploded the male stereotype that ‘lesbians’ were all ugly and of ill repute.

How significant was sex in Ancient Greek mythology?

Very. To the ancient Greek mythologisers, sexuality, love and intercourse were inextricably connected with the creation of the Earth, the heavens and the underworld. Zeus wasted no time in asserting his dominance over all things and his cavalier attitude towards female sexuality, as manifested in serial rape and seduction, set the tone for centuries of male domination and female subservience.

Conversely, the depiction of Hera as a distracting, duplicitous and deceptive woman opened the door for years of male mistrust, insecurity and misogyny that still prevails in society today.

Your book discusses ‘erotic magic’. What does this mean and was it a recognised part of mainstream Greek religion, or more of a fringe practice?

It was fringe but it was very popular. It was a sinister form of ancient hate mail, and about 1,600 curse tablets have been found. Around one-quarter of them show erotic magic, deployed to wreak revenge on duplicitous lovers, or bind an object of desire with the dedicator for the day. Voodoo dolls were another popular way of cursing the people the Greeks loved to hate and 38 have been found. They were supported by some sinister instructions, all designed to make the subject have sex with the curser forever.

Dehumanisation and ritual abuse — physical, psychological and sexual — were the order of the day in Ancient Greece.

In Bed with the Ancient Greeks by Paul Chrystal is available to buy from Amberley Publishing now for £10.
The Stuarts may be set to steal the Tudors’ crown as Britain’s most popular royal family in 2018. Last year saw Game of Thrones’ Kit Harrington plot to kill King James I in hit series Gunpowder. This November, James’ mother gets the Hollywood treatment in Mary Queen of Scots. Bookshop shelves now groan under the number of tomes dedicated to the family, from Andrew Lacey’s The Stuarts: A Very British Dynasty to Linda Porter’s Royal Renegades. Our obsession with the Stuarts has also extended to the fiction aisle, with Elizabeth Freemantle’s The Girl in the Glass Tower, the first in a Stuart-themed series.

Leanda de Lisle was ahead of the trend, publishing After Elizabeth in 2005 about James I. Her latest book focuses on one of Britain’s most controversial kings: Charles I. Best known for losing the crown — and his head — after the English Civil War, Charles is often vilified by his enemies as a wicked tyrant responsible for the bloodshed, while royalists herald him as a martyr to a doomed cause. White King: Charles I — Traitor, Murderer, Martyr tries to pin down the monarch’s elusive character.

This biography is told as a gripping narrative, charting the king’s life through birth, marriage, civil war and death on the scaffold. But de Lisle gets to the heart of Charles’ identity by reviewing the evidence — and she often finds it wanting. For example, a legend that a young Charles had a whipping boy who received beatings on the future king’s behalf has been repeated time and time again but de Lisle finds that the story didn’t appear until 70 year after Charles’ death and had its roots in fiction.

She avoids hot takes and easy answers in favour of careful research

De Lisle cuts through the controversy that surrounds Charles I and reveals a man more compelling than might be expected.
THE BUTCHER, THE BAKER, THE CANDLESTICK MAKER
210 years of fascinating tales from the British census

Author Roger Hutchinson Publisher Abacus Price £12.99 Released Out now

This history of modern Britain is quite unlike any you'll have read before. Far from chronicling the celebrated movers and shakers of British history, this is the story of a nation that comes from the smallest minutiae of its people, as captured by the census.

The census was a monumental undertaking and Roger Hutchinson weaves the tale of its origins in 1801 and its development up until the most recent in 2011. With a book like this, the charm is all in the detail — and what detail there is. The census is all about numbers and Hutchinson ably navigates what could be a mind-boggling collection of facts and figures. Finding the charm behind the statistics, he teases out the humans behind the returns, including a mother with more than 30 children!

“Contained within these pages are some remarkable human stories!”

REIGNS: HER MAJESTY
Will you rule with gentle grace or with an iron fist?

Developer Nerial Available On iOS, Android and Steam Price £2.99 Released Out now

Reigns: Her Majesty is the follow-up to the 2016 hit mobile game Reigns. Like before, the premise is to rule your kingdom for as long as possible but this time as a queen instead of a king. By swiping either left or right (in a similar vein to Tinder) you make decisions that cement your legacy as a beloved or a feared ruler in the eyes of the Church, the people, the army and the treasury. But be warned — become hated and your enemies will rise up against you, become too popular and you will be trampled to death by your adoring people.

Interestingly, many of the treacherous dilemmas you face have an underlying hint of sexism, which provides some realism. For example, you may be asked to dress more conservatively or you could be ridiculed for your ‘girlish ideas’. Assert yourself and the cardinal scolds you, declaring that the kingdom has no use for a domineering woman. It shines a light on the genuine issues that female rulers throughout history have faced in a fun and engaging way.

Each time your queen is killed she will be reincarnated and you instantly become hooked on exploring the several different deaths that your character can experience. To this end, you can find yourself going through these incarnations very quickly!

Frustratingly, it is sometimes unclear why your decisions produce a negative impact. However, it is an enjoyable game that you will soon become obsessed with!
THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS

A gritty and realistic – if unreliable – account of Algeria's struggle for independence

Certificate 15  Director Gillo Pontecorvo
Cast Brahim Haggiag, Jean Martin, Saadi Yacef Released Out now

S
o often today, highly publicised ‘restoration’ or ‘remastered’ versions of classic cinema turn out to be very little more than thinly veiled, cynical cash-grab exercises. That is just one of the reasons why this particular 4K restoration of The Battle of Algiers is such a welcome sight.

Its release fitting unnervingly well into the late-2017 state of world affairs, The Battle of Algiers is famously the first big-screen Algerian-produced film, the product of a newly independent state’s burgeoning cinema and art community – one still very much dealing with a nation’s turbulent past.

Co-produced by Italian filmmakers, directed by famous Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo and scored by Pontecorvo and the legendary Ennio Morricone, the film bears a very strong resemblance to Italian neorealist cinema. But instead of jarring against the highly dramatic narrative, based on a first-person wartime account by Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) commander Saadi Yacef (who also produced and starred in the film as a fictional FLN commander based on himself), the near-propaganda-like tone of the screenplay perfectly complements the disciplined approach by director Pontecorvo.

Of course, as a subjective account by an FLN fighter, the factual validity of the story will never be fully clear, especially seeing as the response by the French upon its original release in 1966 was to ban the film for years.

It’s made believable by virtue of the realistic directorial approach, as well as Pontecorvo’s admirable decision to avoid painting one side as the poetic heroes and the other as snarling villains.

The antagonist, French lieutenant-colonel Mathieu, becomes a three-dimensional, empathetic character, and we see the morally questionable actions of the Algerian guerrilla forces highlighted, especially in a stunning sequence where three women are sent into Algiers’ European quarter to plant bombs among innocent civilians. In this sequence, sound and music editing is masterfully employed to heighten emotion and increase tension, and the performances, most by untrained actors, are convincing and empathetic.

Playing out to traditional Algerian drumming, the suspense is palpable, immersing the viewer into the scheme to almost a witness-like level, showing the protagonists as people who are definitely capable of evil, just like their enemies. This sequence, along with several others, highlights the emotional horrors of war and the unsavoury decisions made by both sides in any military struggle.

The historical significance of The Battle of Algiers, regardless of its debatable factual accuracy, cannot be overstated. Showing an actual expert insight into the methods and philosophy of guerrilla fighters up against a seemingly overwhelming industrial military force, the film has since been used as a blueprint on how not to fight a war against an indigenous rebellion, even by Pentagon officials in relation to the Iraq War post-9/11.

A dramatic retelling of Algeria’s fight for self-determination, The Battle of Algiers is still effective viewing today.
A LAB OF ONE'S OWN

A comprehensive study of the role of women during World War I

Author Patricia Fara
Publisher Oxford University Press
Price £18.99 Released Out now

The idea of a society in which women were viewed as second-class citizens not to be trusted with the vote is rightly an alien concept in today’s world. However, such views were commonly held in Britain until relatively recently, despite the crucial role that countless women played in supporting the nation through its darkest hours. It is therefore vital that the efforts of these women are documented, a task that Patricia Fara achieves with aplomb in a book published for the centenary of women’s suffrage.

In what amounts to possibly the most detailed look of the role of women during World War I, Fara’s new book charts the lives of a host of pioneers, including the mental health expert Isabel Emslie. However, it is the lives of some lesser-known women of the time that truly captivate.

A prime example is Dr Elsie Inglis. Told to “go home and sit down” by staff at the War Office, Inglis campaigned for sufficient funding from the Scottish Suffragists and other women’s groups to establish two all-female hospital units. She then ventured to Serbia to tend the wounded, working in appalling conditions. Eventually captured and sent home, Inglis would return to the Eastern Front once more before disease finally claimed her.

But all was not lost. A blow for liberty had been struck — the first of many that would see the chains holding women back broken for good.

A CABINET OF BYZANTINE CURiosITIES

An amusing history of incest, insults and idols in Constantinople

Author Anthony Kaldellis
Publisher Oxford University Press
Price £14 Released Out now

Voltaire called the Byzantine Empire “a worthless collection of miracles, a disgrace for the human mind”. Author Anthony Kaldellis takes a light-hearted approach to the bizarre world of Byzantium, but as a professor of Greek and Latin, we’re confident that he writes about the melting pot of Roman, Hellenistic and Middle Eastern cultures much more reverence than the great philosopher.

Those unfamiliar with the Byzantines should not expect to be caught up to speed as although Kaldellis adopts a zany approach — bashing in the bloodshed and wolfing down fermented fish sauce (a local delicacy, apparently) — a Cabinet of Byzantine Curiosities is not a primer for novices who want to learn more. Kaldellis does not provide any details on the empire’s establishment but this oversight is quickly forgotten as you delve deep into a treasure-trove of salacious stories and decadent details.

Using sources that he has largely translated himself, the author explores a broad spectrum of strangeness, from the civilisation’s political and religious life to court scandals, favourite games and, of course, its fabled complex bureaucracy — hence the adjective ‘Byzantine’.

One particular anecdote details Emperor Mauricius’ efforts to secure a truce by sending the leader of a nomadic tribe an elephant. Then there is the murder of Konstantas II, who was killed by an assailant brandishing a soap dish. Another highlight is the great litany of crimes attributed to Constantine the Great.

All in all, this is an amusing coffee table book that is guaranteed to raise a few smiles and as many eyebrows. However, those looking for deeper stimulation should look elsewhere.
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Did *Batman Begins* director Christopher Nolan compromise historical fact to make his World War II blockbuster?

**01** At the beginning of the film, the Luftwaffe drop thousands of propaganda pamphlets onto Dunkirk’s beaches, urging the Allied troops to surrender. While this did actually happen in real life, the design of the pamphlets used in the movie is inaccurate.

**02** The film’s characters are fictional but some of their stories are rooted in fact. Commander Bolton is a composite character with some of his actions based on the real-life story of pier-master James Campbell Clouston. He died during the evacuation.

**03** While it’s hard to imagine civilian boats being used in a rescue mission of this scale, around 700 ‘Little Ships of Dunkirk’ did sail to save soldiers, alongside 43 Allied destroyers. These were either British or Canadian ships, but the one used in the movie is French.

**04** Just like in the film, there really were dogfights between the British Spitfires and the German Messerschmitt Bf 109s. However, the German planes are depicted with yellow noses when in reality they were not painted that colour until a month after Dunkirk.

**05** The troops at Dunkirk truly believed the RAF had abandoned them because they could not see the Allied aircraft — in the film, a desperate soldier demands to know where they are. Of course, the RAF was actually fighting the Germans across the Channel.
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