THE GREAT WAR'S GREAT DEBATE

WHY BLAME THE KAISER?

Revealed: The family feud that doomed Europe
- Toxic imperial ambitions
- Naval race to war

Dan Snow exclusive
Top TV historian lets us in on his boldest project yet

Lord of the Horizon
How Henry the Navigator took an empire with the caravel & cannon

WHISKEY, WOMEN AND THE WEST
Inside the debauched world of the Old West saloon

BRONZE AGE BLITZKREIG
How Ramesses II's chariots won the Battle of Kadesh

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was within sight... just around the next corner.

But although the German 'Beast' was mortally wounded, he was still lethally dangerous. As every Allied soldier knew it paid to be extra careful and cautious at all times. No one wanted to be the last casualty of the war!

Here, KING & COUNTRY'S
"To think that Georgie and Nicky should have played me false!" Kaiser Wilhelm II lamented after Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914. 'Georgie' being King George V and 'Nicky' Tsar Nicholas II, heads of state for two of the key players in World War I, but also the kaiser's cousins. Wilhelm added: "If my grandmother had been alive she would never have allowed it."

Indeed, she wouldn't have. The trio's grandmother, Queen Victoria, believed that intermarriage between royals would ensure lasting peace on the continent. She was a compulsive matchmaker for her children and 40-odd grandchildren so that by 1914, no less than seven of her direct descendants, and two more of her Coburg relations, were on European thrones. But in the end, these blood ties did nothing to prevent the march to war. In fact, the mix of petty family jealousies with imperial ambitions may have exacerbated the problem.

For his part, Wilhelm blamed Georgie for the war; he was convinced that Britain could have persuaded France and Russia to back down. But many more blame him for starting it. This issue we consider the accusations against the kaiser and try to settle the great debate of the Great War.

Jack Parsons
Editor
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DEATH FROM ABOVE

The Hindenburg explodes over New Jersey as it comes into land. Caused by a static spark igniting hydrogen leaking from the balloon, fire consumed the German airship before it crashed into the Lakehurst Naval Air Station. The disaster killed 35 passengers and crew, plus one worker on the ground. The zeppelin’s very public destruction also signalled the death knell for the entire airship industry.

1937
FOOTBALL’S COMING HOME

England captain Bobby Moore holds the World Cup aloft after the country won the football tournament for the first (and only) time since it began in 1930. Beating West Germany 4-2, the victory was all the more momentous because it was won on home turf, with England hosting the competition and the match played at London’s Wembley Stadium. Queen Elizabeth II personally awarded the team their trophy.

1966
BROTHERS IN ARMS

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara (far-left and centre) march through the streets of Havana with fellow rebels. While the rest of the revolutionaries wear military fatigues, Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado looks out of place in his business suit. Torrado had been an outspoken Marxist intellectual arrested and exiled to Mexico during the Batista years, but he was appointed Cuba’s first post-revolution president by Castro.

1959
CROWNING THE QUEEN

Madonna owns the stage during the 1985 Virgin Tour. Her debut tour, following the success of her second album 'Like A Virgin' (1984), saw the controversial singer oversee every detail of the stage show. Despite mixed reviews from the press, the tour grossed an estimated $5 million (over $11 million in 2017 money), transformed Madonna into a style icon and crowned her the Queen of Pop.
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ALL ABOUT

AZTECS

From ball games that end in beheading to gods that demand human sacrifice, discover the bloody empire that ruled Central America.
Rise and fall of the Aztec empire

After centuries of wandering, the Aztecs built an advanced civilisation - only to have their empire reduced to rubble by Spanish conquistadors.

NUAHTL SPEAKERS SETTLE IN MEXICO
The Mexica tribe leave their homeland of Aztlán for a new place to settle, guided by their god Huitzilopochtli. If Aztlán is a real place, it’s thought to be California.

MEXICA TRIBE SETTLE IN CHAPULTEPEC
Chapultepec, on the western shore of Lake Texcoco, is taken by the Tepanec tribe, a similar people to the Aztecs. The Mexica try to settle, but the Tepanecs force them to move on.

EMPIRE AT ITS PEAK
The final rebuild of the colossal Templo Mayor is complete, great speaker Ahuitzotl is ruling the Aztec Empire at its peak and huge volumes of tributes are collected.

COYOLXUAHQUI STONE CARVED
The imposing circular likeness of the decapitated and dismembered goddess Coyolxuahqui, sister of god Huitzilopochtli, is created and placed at the bottom of the steps at Templo Mayor.

NEW FIRE CEREMONY
This is celebrated in November every 52 years at the end of the Aztec celestial calendar. The ceremony is thought to stave off the end of the world and keep the sun in the sky.

TENOCHTITLÁN HIT BY FLOODS
Severe flooding damages the watery city, which is built on stilt-like foundations and utilises canals and causeways. The Aztecs believe that the floods are sent by an angered Tlaloc, god of rain.

MONTECZHUMA II COMES TO POWER
He is the 9th ruler of the Aztec Empire. He ruled from Tenochtitlán for 18 years. Montezuma II ruled an empire with a population of 6 million.

THE COMET
The Aztecs both worshipped and observed the heavens. Unexplained events such as the appearance of a fiery comet were interpreted as signs of impending doom.

ARRIVAL OF HERNÁN CORTÉS
Spanish conquistador Cortés lands in Mexico and hears of the Aztec civilisation and their treasure. He takes his men to Tenochtitlán and Montezuma chooses to greet him as a guest of honour.
BEGINNING OF TENOCHTITLÁN
On a marshy island in Lake Texcoco, Aztec priests see an eagle devouring a serpent, while perched on a cactus. They take it as a sign from the gods that they should settle here.

FIRST AZTEC SPEAKER
Acamapitchli becomes Tenochtitlán’s first ‘tlatoani’ or ‘Great Speaker’, the first dominant Aztec ruler. He makes important political ties to strengthen the Aztec capital.

EXPANSION OF TENOCHTITLÁN
1. Causeways were built to join Tenochtitlán to the mainland.
2. Aqueducts were constructed to supply the city with fresh water.
3. The ever-growing city is divided up into 20 districts.

AZTEC TRIPLE ALLIANCE FORMED
A united alliance of city-states (Tenochtitlán, Tlacopan and Texcoco) forms to fight against the Tepanecs of Azcapotzalo and win the war. This alliance forms the basis of the Aztec Empire, with Tenochtitlán as the dominant ruler taking 2/5 of the booty.

THE TEPANEC WAR
The Mexica people revolt against the dominant power of Tepanec city-state Azcapotzalo in dispute of paying high tributes. The war lasts for three years. Alliance leads to the flower wars, where battles were arranged specifically to allow for the capture of 1,000s of prisoners for sacrifice.

THE SIEGE OF TENOCHTITLÁN
Cortés sides with enemies of the empire and besieges Tenochtitlán, cutting off food and water supplies by land and across Lake Texcoco. The siege only lasts a few months.

FALL OF TENOCHTITLÁN TO SPANISH
When Tenochtitlán falls there are 200,000 residents. The colossal city covers an area of 12km². A 16km dyke seals off part of the lake so the city is in a man-made lagoon. Despite conquering the city, it takes the Spanish a further 60 years to establish rule over the remnants of the Aztec Empire, calling it New Spain.

THE SAD NIGHT
Montezuma is captured and killed by the Spanish. His brother tales over and drives the conquistadores from Tenochtitlán, but an outbreak of smallpox, brought with the Spanish, rages the city.
Templo Mayor is the Spanish name for Hueyi Teocalli, the almighty pyramid temple that dominated the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán, where Mexico City stands today. It was originally built as simple shrines to the fierce Aztec deities of war and of rain — Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, respectively — in 1325 on a swampland island in Lake Toxoco. But before the Aztec Empire fell in 1521, the temple was rebuilt no less than six times.

Each Aztec ruler added a new outermost layer to the temple out of respect to the gods and to ensure that his reign would be immortalised within the great stone structure. As they added layers to the temple, the Aztecs buried sacrificial deposits between the stones. So far, archaeologists have uncovered 6,000 objects hidden between the layers. The sixth and final rebuild took place in 1487, bringing the temple to a massive 60 metres (180 feet) tall, a stone behemoth on the skyline of Tenochtitlán and both the spiritual and physical heart of the Aztec Empire.

Covered in stucco and painted vibrant colours, stone reliefs depicting the stories of the Aztec pantheon adorned the temple, along with detailed carvings of animals and numerous statues. The huge staircases leading up to the shrines were purposely steep to ensure that the bodies flung from the sacrificial stone at the top would reach the bottom. These sacrifices were frequent enough that the bright white steps up to the shrine of Huitzilopochtli were stained red with blood. While the great temple also housed several shrines to individual gods, it also stood in a precinct of approximately 78 other sacred buildings.

Once Tenochtitlán fell to the siege led by Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés, some of the stones from the great temple were used to build the Christian cathedrals of Mexico City. However, thanks to the constant layering-up of the temple, some of the original ruins still remain today.
Shrine to Huitzilopochtli
The south side of the temple housed a shrine dedicated to the god of war, fire and the sun: Huitzilopochtli, the one that the Aztecs worshipped above all others. Often portrayed as a hummingbird or an eagle, the Aztecs believed that this sun god needed nourishment from the blood of human sacrifice.

Altar of the frogs
At the base of the steps on Tlaloc’s side of the temple are two frogs with upturned heads. Frogs croaking was thought to be an omen that Tlaloc was about to bring rain, and this side of the temple symbolises Tonacatepetl, the legendary mountain known as the ‘mountain of our sustenance’ from where the Aztecs believe their corn came.

Sacrificial stone
At the top of the temple, in front of Huitzilopochtli’s shrine, sits a bloody altar-like stone. Here the human sacrifices were performed by priests, as prisoners of war were held down and their still-beating hearts cut from their chests. The bleeding bodies were thrown down the steps to mimic the throwing of Coyolxauhqui down Snake Mountain, and they came to rest atop the stone carving of her likeness.

Coyolxauhqui Stone
Placed at the bottom of the steps leading to Huitzilopochtli’s shrine, this important part of the temple depicts his sister Coyolxauhqui, goddess of the Moon, naked, decapitated and dismembered. In Aztec mythology, Huitzilopochtli turned on his sister after she attempted to kill their pregnant mother.

Priests’ chambers
The high priests of the Aztec civilisation would use these chambers to prepare for rituals and sacrifices performed at the end of every Aztec month (consisting of 20 days). Treated similarly to royalty and nobility, the priests were a revered part of society.
EAGLE WARRIOR
CENTRAL MEXICO, 1428-1521

Anatomy of THE HEADDRESS
FEATHERED FRIEND OR FOE

The warriors’ headdresses resembled an eagle’s head with an open beak that they could look out of, and were decorated with the bird’s feathers. In Aztec mythology, the eagle was a symbol of the sun, and so the warriors saw themselves as soldiers of the sun.

SANDALS
FOOTWEAR PRIVILEGES AND LEATHERY LEGS

Regular Aztec citizens were not permitted to wear cotton or sandals in the royal palaces, but the eagle warriors could. In addition to their leather footwear, they would also cover their legs with extra strips of leather, called greaves, during battle for added protection.

MACUAHUITL
A DOUBLE-SIDED WEAPON

This popular Aztec weapon was a flat wooden club with blades of volcanic glass, called obsidian, fixed to the sides. It allowed warriors to either injure their enemy with the blunt sides so that they could capture them for sacrifice, or deliver a more fatal blow with the sharp edges.

JEWELLERY
A DECORATED SOLDIER WITH BENEFITS

Eagle warriors were high-ranking members of Aztec society and were awarded certain privileges as a result. For example, they were given tax-free land, permitted to keep mistresses, eat human flesh and allowed to wear fine jewellery that was not available to the general public.

JEWELLERY
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SHIELD
PAINTED PROTECTION IN BATTLE

Each eagle warrior had a small round shield called a chimalli, which was made from wood and twisted plant fibres. It was carried using leather straps and decorated with colourful painted designs and eagle feathers. Alternatively, some soldiers used shields made from thick cotton that could be rolled up while marching.

ARMOUR
TOUGH TEXTILES THAT KEEP THEIR COOL

Aztec armour, known as ichcahuipilli, was made from quilted cotton and jute blended together until it was one or two centimetres thick. It was lightweight and breathable in the warm Mexican climate, but also strong enough to protect against strikes from obsidian swords, bows and spears.

SPEAR
ENGINEERED FOR A POWERFUL THROW

Tipped with razor-sharp obsidian, spears were a popular long-range weapon used by the Aztecs. They were sometimes thrown using an atlatl, a device that hooked onto the spear and acted as a lever, putting more power behind the weapon so that it could be thrown at a higher velocity.
FLASHPOINT TRIESTE

IN THE DYING DAYS OF WORLD WAR II, OLD ALLIES BECOME NEW ENEMIES

A unique snapshot of world history as the Cold War began. Against a deadly backdrop of espionage, escape and revenge, a British SOE officer, an Austrian SS general, and a teenage female Italian partisan are among those whose destinies are thrown together in the vital Adriatic port of Trieste.

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A Tēlpochcalli Student

Life was Tough for Warriors in Training
Central Mexico, 1428-1521

For the sons of lower class Aztec citizens, military service was mandatory and their training was provided by schools called tēlpochcalli. There was at least one tēlpochcalli in each calpulli, or city ward, and they were staffed by accomplished veteran soldiers often only slightly older than the students. Boys trained at these schools from the age of 15, having previously been educated at home by their parents, and were taught discipline, bravery and respect through hard labour and brutal punishments. If they achieved success as warriors, they could elevate their status in society and even become teachers themselves, helping to secure the future of the Aztec Empire.

Start Work

Each morning began with a cold bath, followed by domestic chores such as sweeping, cleaning and farming to help teach the students discipline. They were then required to work in teams, building and repairing aqueducts, canals and other city infrastructure as a way of encouraging cooperation and strengthening their sense of civic duty.

Heavy Lifting

Every day, firewood and tree branches had to be collected from nearby forests and carried back to the school to be used for heating and decoration. As the boys got older, they would have to carry more and more weight on their backs, helping to build up their strength and preparing them for transporting heavy supplies and weapons into battle.

Combat Training

Veteran warriors were tasked with teaching the boys martial arts and showing them how to handle weapons such as spears, arrows and macuahuitls, a type of Aztec sword. If the veteran went to war, his students would serve as his apprentices in battle, at first tasked with just carrying his equipment but eventually helping him to capture enemy prisoners.
Part of a warrior’s training programme was mock fighting.

PLAY PRETEND
Before they were allowed to fully participate in a battle on their own, the students first practised their skills in mock fights. These were sometimes held as part of religious festivals, when the boys would be up against enemy prisoners who had been captured in war, or they were staged between students as competitions, with the winner receiving food and gifts as his prize.

FIND A SPONSOR
By the time a boy left school he was a warrior, but he still couldn’t go to war alone. First he had to find a sponsor, a veteran who could accompany him into his first battle. Parents would use food, drink and gifts to bribe these veterans to watch over their sons, and so it was usually the richer boys who had greater success in war.

TAKE A BEATING
The rules of the tēlpochcalli were strict and anyone who broke them or deviated from their training was severely punished. For example, a student caught with alcohol could be beaten or even hanged, and leaving school to live with a prostitute warranted being burnt with a stick. Even the teachers could be punished, with their valuables taken and hair cut if they misbehaved.

EAT AND BATHE
The students had to return home for all of their meals, as food was not provided by the tēlpochcalli. After eating, they would return to school to continue their training and then perform their evening rituals at sunset. This involved having a bath before painting their entire bodies black, putting on a mesh cape and neckbands and then lighting a fire.

SING AND DANCE
After sunset, the students gathered to sing songs about gods, warriors and cultural heroes and dance around the fire until midnight. This encouraged spiritual bonding, improved agility and enhanced coordination ready for hand-to-hand combat and troop movement in battle. This was their only form of entertainment, although they were permitted to keep a mistress if they could afford one.

Students graduated from the tēlpochcalli as warriors after five years.

Warriors progressed through the ranks from commoner to porter and then noble soldier.
How to
PLAY A GAME OF TLACHTLI

THE GREAT MESOAMERICAN PAST TIME WAS A BRUTAL BALL GAME THAT OFTEN ENDED WITH THE LOSING TEAM BEING SACRIFICED TO THE GODS
CENTRAL AMERICA, 1200 BCE - 1521

Tlachtli, as the Aztecs called it, is the world’s oldest known team sport. It was first played by the Olmec civilisation, which thrived between 1200 BCE and 400 BCE, before being passed down to the Maya and Aztec people. Tlachtli was played by teams of two to four, who hit the ball back and forth across a central line, similar to netball. But the ball could only be passed between players using their knees, elbows, or hips – never the hands or feet. A fast-paced and high-impact sport, the stakes were very high as the losing team were sometimes beheaded.

WHAT YOU’LL NEED...

01 CONSTRUCT A COURT
When your tribe moves to a new settlement, the first thing you must do (after erecting a shrine to the god Huitzilopochtli, of course), is build a Tlachtli court. Construct a large I shape, with a central area for play and sloped sides to bounce the ball off. Add two hoops on either side, then make sure there are places for spectators and betting.

02 MAKE A BALL
The ball for the game is made of hard, solid rubber. It weighs about four kilograms (nine pounds) and to get one, you’ll need to go and see your village’s expert rubber maker. These Aztec artisans mix a blend of natural latex (a milky-like substance found in some plants) with juice from morning glory plants to make the ball extra bouncy.

Religious significance
As sun worshippers, the ball game was played to mimic the battle of the sun against the moon and stars.

Slam-dunk
The aim of the game was to keep the ball moving over a line, but the Maya added the hoop for extra scoring points.

Contact sport
Playing on a stone-floored court, scrapes and bruises were common. If the rubber ball hit unprotected body parts, it could cause internal bleeding.

Protective clothing
Players wore padded belts known as ‘yokes’ as well as kneepads and arm coverings to protect themselves.

Sacred court
The court was a special place. In the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán, there was a court in the sacred precinct with the great temple.

AZTECS

BALL
HOOP
OBSIDIAN KNIFE
FOR RITUAL SACRIFICE
COURT
ANYTHING TO BET, SUCH AS LAND OR ORNATE OBJECTS
PICK TEAMS
Tlachtli is a tough game, so your players will need to be strong and agile — especially if you’re competing against a rival village to settle a score. Alternatively, if the game is being held as part of a religious festival and you’re planning on sacrificing the losers to the gods, you can use captured prisoners of war instead.

WEAR PROTECTIVE GEAR
Getting hit with a Tlachtli ball can break bones and cause internal bleeding, so to stay safe make sure to wear a padded belt called a yoke made of leather, cotton and wood. Also invest in padded armbands and kneepads. If the game has a ceremonial significance, feather headdresses may also be needed.

START PLAYING
The aim of the game is to keep the ball in play. Players must chiefly use their hips to keep the ball in the air (although anything but hands is the accepted rule) and you can bounce it off the sloped walls in your attempts to get it over the central line. If you’re skilled enough to put the ball through the hoops, you’ll win extra points for your team.

MAKE THE SACRIFICE
Many Aztec ball games are played in order to provide sacrificial victims for the gods. This is an honour for the winning team or a punishment for the losing team depending on the significance of the match. Those being sacrificed should be beheaded by priests just off the court or at a nearby temple.

4 FAMOUS…
BALLGAME COURTS

CODEX BORGIA
MESOAMERICA, C.1500
A folio from the Codex Borgia shows Aztec warriors on the I-shaped court playing the ball game using sticks.

SACRED BALL COURT
TENOCHTITLAN, MEXICO, 1402-1506
June 2017 saw the excavation of the ball court at the Aztec capital, which is now Mexico City. The ball court was situated next to the circular temple of Quetzalcoatl.

BALL COURT AT MONTE ALBAN
OAXACA, MEXICO, 500 BCE
Monte Alban was the centre of Zapotec civilisation, which ruled most of what is now Oaxaca. Like most other pre-Colombian tribes, the ball court was a central part of their culture.

PASO DE LA AMADA
CHIAPAS, MEXICO, 1400 BCE
The oldest known ball court dates back 3,400 years. Its placement suggests that it was built for elite players but not in connection with ceremonial worship.
Battles were staged to capture victims
To fulfill their quota of human sacrifices, the Aztecs struck a deal with their neighbours, the Tlaxcalans, who shared similar beliefs. Both sides agreed to engage in ritualistic battles called flower wars, in which noble warriors would face-off in close combat to secure the rights to prisoners who could then be sacrificed.

It was a bloody affair
The sacrificial victim would be taken to the top of a temple pyramid, where they would be laid down on a stone dais. A priest would then cut open their chest, pull out their still-beating heart and triumphantly hold it up to the gods, before kicking the limp, lifeless body down the temple pyramid's steps to be cut into pieces by the people.

Even children weren't safe
Tlaloc, the Aztec god of rain, demanded the tears and blood of children. As a result, a large number were sacrificed each year in order to prevent drought and the failed harvests it would bring. In addition, the birth of twins was seen as a mortal threat to the parents, and so one of the babies was usually killed and offered back to the gods.

Priests ate the remains
While the hearts were offered to the gods, the rest of the sacrificed bodies were not wasted. Their flesh was considered sacred, so was cooked and served to the emperor or priests. A corn soup called pozole was one such dish made with human thigh, but when cannibalism was banned by the Spanish, the flesh was swapped for pork.

It contributed to the fall of the empire
The widespread practice of human sacrifice by the Aztecs caused tensions with their neighbours. When the Spanish launched their conquest in 1519, the now warring city-state of Tlaxcala was motivated to join their fight, and the severely diminished Aztec population failed to defeat them.
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While the Aztecs had over 200 gods and goddesses, you could not forget this top ten who were as blood-thirsty as they were benevolent.

**QUETZALCOATL**
*Patron of: Knowledge and Wind*
With a name that roughly translates as 'feathered serpent', Quetzalcoatl was important to the Aztecs as he was said to have given them life. The Aztecs believed that there had been four previous versions of Earth and its people and that they were now living in the Fifth Sun. When the Fourth Sun ended with the drowning of humanity, Quetzalcoatl was the one to steal humanity’s bones back from the underworld and carry them to paradise. There, the bones were ground up and Quetzalcoatl and a few other gods shed their blood over them, bringing them to life.

**HUITZILOPOCHTLI**
*Patron of: Sun and War*
Of the hundreds of gods and goddesses in the Aztec pantheon, Huitzilopochtli is considered one of the most important. He is said to have guided the Aztecs from their traditional home in Aztlan to the Valley of Mexico and signalled where to build their capital city of Tenochtitlán. There they constructed the Templo Mayor, a shrine to Huitzilopochtli, which became the site of many human sacrifices. As a sun god, he required regular sustenance in order to win his daily battles against darkness, so thousands were killed to nourish him with blood in the belief that they would rise again to fight alongside him.

The worship of Tlaloc predates the Aztec Empire and can be traced back to the Teotihuacan and Olmec civilisations of Mesoamerica.

**TLALOC**
*Patron of: Rain and Farming*
Next to the shrine of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztecs constructed another for their rain god, Tlaloc. As their culture relied heavily on agriculture, Tlaloc’s ability to bring floods and drought meant that he was greatly feared by the Aztecs, who took drastic measures to honour him. This included the sacrificing of children, whose tears were thought to please Tlaloc and therefore bring rain. Other less gruesome offerings were also made, including dough statues of the god that were later dismembered and eaten, and objects linked to water like jade and sea shells.

**XIPE TOTEC**
*Patron of: Fertility, The West and Goldsmiths*
With a name meaning 'the flayed one', it’s no surprise that celebrations of Xipe Totec were quite gruesome. As a god of fertility, he is said to have flayed himself to give food to humanity, symbolising the way maize sheds its external covering to germinate. Therefore, to honour him, human sacrifices were also flayed and their skin was dyed and worn by priests for 20 days to ensure a good harvest. Xipe Totec was also honoured with gladiator sacrifices, which involved captives having to fight Aztec warriors while tied to a circular stone and armed with just a feather on a stick.
**Tezcatlipoca**
**Patron of:** Night, surgery and the north

Tezcatlipoca was the ruler of the First Sun and is said to have created the world with Quetzalcoatl. He was also a very vengeful god, and used the Aztec kings as his representatives on Earth, getting them to punish any evil behaviour on his behalf. Every May, a young man was chosen as Tezcatlipoca’s sacrifice, but before he met his fate, he got to live as the god for a whole year, feasting on fine food and being attended to by servants.

**Chalchiuhtlicue**
**Patron of:** Water and childbirth

Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of lakes, streams and oceans, was the wife or sister of another watery god, Tlaloc. She is said to have been the ruler of the Fourth Sun, the version of the world before the Aztec era, but destroyed it with a flood and turned all the humans to fish. To the Aztecs, she was both celebrated as the bringer of water for agriculture and feared as the creator of whirlpools and storms that made navigation difficult. They honoured her with a festival lasting for the entire month of February, which involved fasting, feasting and human sacrifices.

**TLAZOLTEOTL**
**Patron of:** Filth and sexual misdeeds

Although she was said to provoke lust and lustful behaviour, the goddess Tlazolteotl could also cleanse such sins during confessionals and remove corruption from the world. She was known in four different guises for the different stages of her life. She began as a young carefree temptress, then became a destructive goddess of gambling and uncertainty. Next, she turned into a goddess able to absorb human sin, before finally manifesting as a terrifying old hag who preyed upon youths.

**Tonatiuh**
**Patron of:** Sun and warriors

According to Aztec mythology, when the sun first appeared in the sky following a long period of darkness, it refused to move. To get it to follow its daily course, the Aztecs had to supply the sun god Tonatiuh with the hearts of human sacrifices captured in battle, and so they staged battles called flower wars for this very purpose. Tonatiuh was believed to watch over the Aztec Eagle and Jaguar warriors in this endeavour.

**Quetzalcoatl** is said to have provided humans with the first maize plant, after a giant ant led him to a mountain full of grain and seeds.

**Mictlantecuhltli**
**Patron of:** Underworld

The Aztecs believed that, unless you died in battle, during childbirth or you were killed by lightning, you were destined to meet Mictlantecuhltli upon your death. Mictlantecuhtli, along with his wife Mictecaciuhtli, was the ruler of the underworld, or Mictlā. Regular citizens whose deaths did not warrant access to paradise had to descend through nine layers to get there on a four-year journey full of arduous trials.

**Centeotl**
**Patron of:** Maize

Maize was such an important crop to the Aztecs that it had several deities associated with it, but Centeotl was the most important. He had in fact been born a goddess, but later became male with a feminine counterpart called Chicomecoatl, and they each watched over different stages of growth. Centeotl wasn’t just worshipped for maize, however, as he is also said to have given the Aztecs cotton, sweet potatoes and pulque, an alcoholic drink.

“The Aztec gods and goddesses are, as far as we have known anything about them, an unlovely and unlovable lot”

*—D.H. Lawrence*
How Wilhelm II’s imperial ambitions and personal anxieties led the world to war in 1914

Written by Harry Cunningham

World War I was one of the most devastating conflicts in human history. It is estimated that over 11 million soldiers were killed, wounded or went missing. On a single day in 1916, as the Battle of the Somme began in earnest, the British Army suffered 54,470 casualties. This truly was a world war, with the conflict spilling out from Europe into Asia and Africa. From the might of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which now stretched all the way from the Adriatic to the sweeping and unwieldy Russian expanse, to Britain, the undisputed queen of the seas, and finally to Germany, the newest empire on the block, keen to flex its muscles and prove to the world that it was a force to be reckoned with.

But who was responsible for this tragedy of epic proportions? Many blame the entire imperial system itself, a regime that allowed a select band of elites to govern in their own self-interest with little regard for ordinary people. But in recent years this theory has been re-evaluated so the finger could point to Kaiser Wilhelm II – the paranoid, arrogant and self-aggrandising emperor of Germany – as the man who bears overall responsibility for the start of this conflict in the summer of 1914. Is this an overly simplistic view, placing too much importance on the actions of the individual? And if we can conclude that Germany was the main aggressor, was it the kaiser alone with all of his insecurities who bears the brunt of the blame, or is it the many generals that he was surrounded by?
“MANY BLAME THE ENTIRE IMPERIAL SYSTEM ITSELF [...] BUT IN RECENT YEARS THIS THEORY HAS BEEN RE-EVALUATED SO THE FINGER COULD POINT TO KAISER WILHELM”
Wilhelm II loathed and was obsessed with Britain in equal measure. As Queen Victoria’s eldest grandson, he was a frequent visitor to Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and enjoyed sailing at Cowes as a young man. From there it was only a short trip to Portsmouth where the Royal Navy had its headquarters and the young kaiser would become infatuated with British warships. When he was made a British admiral in 1889, he said, “Fancy wearing the same uniform as St Vincent and Nelson; it is enough to make one quite giddy.”

Wilhelm took his duties as an admiral very seriously but failed to win the acceptance of the British upper class. When he turned up in full uniform, goose-stepping, his sword fully drawn as he inspected sailors for Queen Victoria, the generals muttered that it was an “unseemly comedy.” The kaiser, a reactionist whose fragile pride had been wounded, abandoned fitting in with Britain. Instead he vowed to build his own nation that, in his mind, would imitate and outdo Britain in every capacity.

The most obvious way in which he achieved this was through the building of a navy that could outperform the British fleet. Influenced by the naval theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, who argued a strong navy was instrumental to a strong state, Wilhelm got to work and Germany began building under naval chief Alfred von Tirpitz. The First Fleet Act of 1898 commissioned one flagship, 16 battleships, eight armoured costal ships, nine large cruisers and 26 small cruisers by 1904. In 1900, Tirpitz’s Second Fleet Act more than doubled the navy again, with a target date of 1917. Further amendments came in 1906, 1908 and 1912.

But Britain was nervous about the prospect of Germany’s expansion, fearing not only that Germany might attack but that they would also challenge their colonial dominance. Wilhelm dismissing his chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, who had been in power since the 1860s and considered foreign policy on a practical basis believing that a secure Europe was advantageous to Germany.

Instead Wilhelm advocated an aggressive form of foreign policy know as ‘Weltpolitik’, or world politics. Through either diplomatic means or military might, Wilhelm dreamed of raising Germany level with the global empires of Britain and France to give the new nation its ‘place in the sun,’ as he put it. In response, Britain signed the Entente Cordiale with France in 1904, strengthened in 1907 when Russia joined.

Britain’s suspicions that Germany would begin threatening its hegemony abroad were confirmed first by their capture and then lease of Kiaochow from the Chinese as a base from which to conduct commercial activity—a direct threat to Hong Kong, which Britain had also leased from the Chinese in a similar agreement. Germany also discreetly supplied the South African Boers with weapons to fight Britain during the Second Boer War. Wilhelm himself sent a telegram in which he openly congratulated the Boer President Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger on maintaining the independence of his kingdom. When this was leaked, it caused outrage across Britain and stirred anti-German feeling.

**ACCUSATION 1: HE GOADED BRITAIN**

Wilhelm II loathed and was obsessed with Britain in equal measure. As Queen Victoria’s eldest grandson, he was a frequent visitor to Osborne House on the Isle of Wight and enjoyed sailing at Cowes as a young man. From there it was only a short trip to Portsmouth where the Royal Navy had its headquarters and the young kaiser would become infatuated with British warships. When he was made a British admiral in 1889, he said, “Fancy wearing the same uniform as St Vincent and Nelson; it is enough to make one quite giddy.”

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Relations with Britain were also strained by the death of Queen Victoria, who was Wilhelm's grandmother. Wilhelm had adored Victoria and she had been able to handle his fiery temperament, but her death brought his uncle, Edward VII, to the throne, who the kaiser loathed.

Wilhelm also did Anglo-German relations no favours when he became embroiled in a scandal involving the British newspaper The Daily Telegraph. Wilhelm gave an interview to his friend Colonel Edward James Montagu-Stuart-Wortley in 1908. “You English [are] mad as March hares,” he began. “What has come over you that you are so completely given over to suspicions quite unworthy of a great nation?” He continued.

“The prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England.”

The interview increased the suspicion in Britain that he was scheming against them, while back home there was a sense that Wilhelm had embarked on personal rule, a major turning point in his abandonment of the political system in favour of the military. There can be little doubt that the kaiser’s antagonistic policies towards Britain heightened tensions in the lead up to 1914 and were motivated by his own personal grievances.

**VERDICT:** **GUilty**
Why Blame the Kaiser?

MAKING A MONARCH
Inside the troubled mind of Wilhelm II

DISABILITY
The kaiser suffered from a visibly withered arm, a condition today known as Erb's Palsy, due to a traumatic birth, as well as torticollis. As a child he was forced to undergo a series of horrific treatments in a bid to cure him, including having his arm being pushed inside a dead hare and using a neck-stretching machine every day.

A MOTHER’S (UNREQUITED) LOVE
His mother increasingly rejected him as he grew older. Desperate for attention, aged 16 he wrote a series of letters bordering on the incestuous in which he obsessed over kissing her hands. It was a desperate cry for help, but the shame of disability in the 19th century meant that his mother would never stop feeling like her son was a failure.

QUEEN VICTORIA’S GOLDEN BOY
Wilhelm always said he was Queen Victoria’s favourite grandson and, as the firstborn son of her eldest daughter, he spent a lot of time in England. Although she understood his fiery temperament and they often clashed — she banned him from her Diamond Jubilee and 80th birthday celebrations — by the end of her life they had reconciled and he was present at her deathbed.

FREDERICK’S DEMISE
When Wilhelm’s father, who suffered from throat cancer, took the German throne in 1888, it was with the expectation that his reign would be short. As it turned out, he ruled for less than 100 days and had it been for longer, things might have been different. Instead, just 29 years old, Wilhelm succeeded to the second largest empire in Europe. Power went straight to his head.
Wilhelm's father, Frederick III, had been an enthusiastic liberal with plans to revise the democratic structures of the empire while his grandfather, Wilhelm I, had been a reluctant reformer spurred on by a desire to stop Germany from descending back into the revolutions it had experienced in 1848. Wilhelm II, however, was anything but a reformer. Addressing a meeting of labourers from the Rhine, he said that "the Reich has one ruler and I am he" — a mantra he clearly stood by throughout his reign.

His very first act as kaiser was to surround the Neues Palais at Potsdam, where his father had just taken his last breath. He had all the gates locked while his soldiers ransacked every room looking for evidence of a ‘plot’, which involved his mother and father attempting to reduce the power of the monarchy. Nothing was found — any notes that may have incriminated them had already been stored safely in Buckingham Palace before Frederick had died. The Minister of Justice reminded the new kaiser that this was not the appropriate behaviour of a modern monarch. Not that Wilhelm took any notice.

Wilhelm also resented the social democratic and left wing movements that wanted reform and their increasing presence in the Reichstag simply made him more determined to ignore his parliament. When coal miners went on strike in Essen in 1889, Wilhelm — in his usual blunt and erratic way — remarked that if the strikers were in any way linked to the Social Democrats, he’d have them all shot, much to his mother’s increasing dismay.

But while it is clear that the kaiser resented democracy, it is arguable that he himself was not to blame for the lack of Germany’s democratic structures that were ultimately unable to hold him and his generals to account, thus setting the events of 1914 in motion. Suppression of the reformist Social Democrats, one of the largest blocs in parliament, through the Anti-Socialist Laws dated back to the reign of Wilhelm I. Wilhelm II let this legislation lapse, though perhaps only as a politically expedient way of seeing off Bismarck, who had been their chief architect.

Wilhelm, however, was savvier than many people think. Because the kaiser’s role was not properly defined by the 1871 constitution, it allowed him to appoint the chancellor. Strong men like Bismarck were a threat to his authority and had to be pushed out, while weaker men like Bernhard von Bülow could be manipulated by the Reichstag, and this in turn might make him look weak, gifting parliament more power. Wilhelm “preferred to rule with mediocrities”, as we can see with his appointment of the nitpicking Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg as Bülow’s replacement.

We can also see the extent to which Wilhelm manipulated the Reichstag when we consider Tirpitz’s naval expansion bills, which were amended gradually rather than all at once. Parliament was unlikely to have approved them if they had been introduced in one go, even though it was undoubtedly the kaiser’s true intention to expand the navy to 1914 levels from the start. Yet once the bills were approved, they were binding and unalterable — even if this wasn’t quite autocracy, it was wafer-thin democracy. Without effective democratic scrutiny to pull him back from the brink, and with a hatred for any watering down of his powers, Wilhelm helped plunge Germany into war.

VERDICT: GUILTY
ACCUSATION 3: HE HAD FAVOURITES

The kaiser’s desire to rule like an absolute monarch was by no means confined to just his attitude towards his parliament. He made the common historic mistake of relying too heavily on his favourites, a small group of 20 or so influential socialites known as the Liebenberg Circle. The leading light was a German prince, Philipp zu Eulenburg, who Wilhelm first met in May 1886. By the time Wilhelm had acceded to the German throne in 1888, Eulenburg held sway over the appointments of chancellors, ministers and diplomats – and he made sure that his closest friends were duly promoted.

We know that Eulenburg shared the kaiser’s fear of so-called ‘democratic extremism’ and believed in Wilhelm’s personal rule, but he also understood that this idea was unacceptable to the liberal elite. Consequently, he helped Wilhelm manipulate the democratic structures for his own ends. Eulenburg meddled even more in February 1897 when he persuaded the kaiser not to intervene in a struggle between the Greeks and the Turks over the island of Crete. While both of them would have liked nothing better than to have demonstrated the might and force of the German Navy, holding back through non-intervention, as Eulenburg successfully managed to argue, helped to reassure the Reichstag about the kaiser’s intent and made his long-term expansionism plan more successful.

Eulenburg was finally brought down when the German magazine Die Zukunft, spurred on by ministers who wanted to see the back of him, published allegations that he was gay – a serious accusation as homosexuality was actually illegal at the time. It came as a huge blow to the kaiser as the incident occurred at the height of his own crisis with The Daily Telegraph, leaving him isolated and resentful towards the majority of his ministers.
Why Blame the Kaiser?

UNHAPPY FAMILIES

Wilhelm's twisted family tree sowed the seeds of conflict

EDWARD VII OF BRITAIN
Wilhelm's uncle — 'Fat Old Wales', as the kaiser liked to called him — was his biggest rival at Cowes. Wilhelm once remarked that he and Edward were so diametrically opposed that "it was scarcely to be expected that anything like a cordial friendship would exist between us." Edward's accession to the British throne in 1901 significantly soured relations between England and Germany as Queen Victoria had always managed to mediate Wilhelm. The animosity that the kaiser felt for his uncle seems to stem from his anger and feelings of abandonment felt towards his mother, Vicky, who was Edward's elder sister and close confidante.

NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA
While ‘Nicky’ had all the power in Russia that Wilhelm so craved — 'autocrat' was not so much an aspiration but an official part of his title as 'Emperor and Autocrat of all Russians' — the two were very different people. Nicholas adored his family and, although he could be tetchy, usually resorted to reason. On the eve of war, the cousins exchanged telegrams and Nicholas pleaded with Wilhelm to acknowledge the gravitas of the situation and reconsider his decision to support Austria-Hungary, knowing the casualties it would cause and foreseeing that soon he may be "overwhelmed by the pressure forced upon me and be forced to take extreme measures."

GEORGE V OF BRITAIN
Wilhelm was glad when his cousin George succeeded 'Fat Old Wales' to the British throne — not because he had much respect for him, but because he no doubt considered him a pushover, a "homebody" as he once said, somebody who was unadventurous. Indeed, George was an avid stamp collector and found grand occasions like the state opening of Parliament a "terrible ordeal". George also did what Wilhelm considered unthinkable: he allowed the powers of the monarchy and the Lords to be gradually conceded to the House of Commons as the Liberals continued with a radical social and constitutional reform agenda under Prime Minister Asquith.

QUEEN ALEXANDRA OF DENMARK
Edward VII's Danish wife, Alexandra, had her own axe to grind with Germany. In 1864, Prussian forces captured and annexed the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, resulting in the loss of 40 per cent of Danish territory. There was a suggestion that had Kaiser Frederick III lived longer, he would have given Alsace-Lorraine, captured during the Franco-Prussian War, back to France and perhaps even Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark as well. At Frederick's funeral Edward asked Wilhelm, on his wife's behalf, about whether this was true and the kaiser took great offence. It cemented his view that Britain should be considered the enemy.

With Eulenburg's demise, Wilhelm had to find others to rely on and began to favour his military entourage, which consisted of chiefs of staff and the military cabinet chiefs. The relative power of each position depended on how much the incumbent was favoured by the kaiser, and in the 1880s it was Chief of Staff General Alfred von Waldersee who was the firm favourite. However, his successor, General Alfred von Schlieffen, was sidelined for the cabinet chief Wilhelm von Hahnke in the 1890s.

Both Eulenburg and Wilhelm's army chiefs did little to stop the besieged monarch in his tracks, encouraging his warmongering and expansionist policies that would come to have devastating and far-reaching consequences just a few years later in 1914.

VERDICT: GUILTY
Why Blame the Kaiser?

THE KAISER’S CRONIES
The generals and advisors who had Wilhelm’s ear

OTTO VON BISMARCK
(1815-98)
Prime minister of Prussia from 1862, he embarked on a series of successful nationalistic wars to provoke German unification. As the ‘Iron Chanceller’ of the empire, he was a fiscal conservative but pursued pragmatism over ideology to remain in power. Perhaps inevitably, due to the powerful position he had created for himself, Wilhelm dismissed him in 1890.

BERNHARD VON BÜLOW
(1849-1929)
Foreign minister from 1897 and then chancellor from 1900, Bülow supported the kaiser’s imperialistic ambitions and championed Austria’s invasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His role in the Daily Telegraph scandal left him at odds with the Kaiser. He resigned in July 1909 after failing to pass a fiscal reform bill.

THEOBALD VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG
(1856-1921)
According to Christopher Clark, Bülow’s successor had a “predilection for observing correct procedure” and was “pedantic”. At first this irritated Wilhelm. Bethmann-Hollweg was not the ‘yes man’ he craved, but over time it soon became apparent that he was an ineffective politician who could not control the Reichstag, a power vacuum the kaiser gladly filled.

ALFRED VON TIRPITZ
(1849-1930)
Secretary of state of the Imperial Navy from 1897, Tirpitz was in charge of the Kaiser’s most prized project. His two Fleet Acts set 1917 as the target year for the building of two flagships, 36 battleships, 11 large cruisers and 34 small cruisers, though he ultimately failed as Britain outnumbered Germany’s battleships by 20 in 1914.

HELMUTH VON MOLTKE THE YOUNGER
(1848-1916)
Moltke, from a distinguished military family, rose rapidly to become the chief of army staff in 1906. Hungry for war but incompetent, he was responsible for arguably the greatest miscalculation in military history — the belief that Great Britain would not come to the aid of Belgium when Germany enacted the Schlieffen Plan and invaded France through Belgium.

ERICH LUDENDORFF
(1865-1937)
General Ludendorff was perhaps the biggest cheerleader for war. He broke with the tradition of political neutrality for members of the army by campaigning for rearmament and military expansion. With his ally and superior, Hindenburg, he held a domineering position over Wilhelm during the war, particularly after they secured victories at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes.

ACCUSSION 3: HE WAS HUNGRY FOR WAR
There can be little doubt that the army became a political force under Wilhelm, with generals holding more sway over policy than any minister. General Helmuth von Moltke the Younger, chief of the general staff at the outbreak of World War I, said of war, “The sooner the better.” A meeting convened by Wilhelm with his generals in December 1912, of which no minutes were kept, is one of the most contested pieces of evidence in apportioning blame for 1914 as it resulted in a massive expansion of the German Army and Navy. The conference could have just been natural planning for heightening tensions in Europe — the Balkan Wars had begun in October — or a ‘smoking gun’ that proves the Kaiser was making preparations for a pre-meditated conflict.
It is also striking that after Wilhelm's abdication and the formation of the Weimar Republic in 1918, ex-soldiers launched the Kapp Putsch in 1920 with the aim of toppling the republican government and bringing back the monarchy. Their loyalty to their kaiser—even after Germany had been defeated—suggests that the army had become politicised and that it should be the military as much as Wilhelm being held to account.

Those trying to exonerate Wilhelm arguably point to their own damning evidence. After the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, Austria-Hungary sent Serbia an ultimatum if war was to be avoided, and Serbia engaged, accepting some of the proposals while compromising on others. Wilhelm said that Serbia's response was a “capitulation of the most humiliating kind” and “any reason for war has now been eliminated”. These views, however, were not passed on to Austria-Hungary. Perhaps it could be claimed that the kaiser had surrounded himself with warmongers who were now ignoring his instructions and were out of control. Although it is certainly true that German military aggression was a key factor in the start of the war, we must consider that other countries were preparing for battles to expand their own borders. In the mind of Tsar Nicholas II, war was the patriotic cause Russia needed to bring his country together after years of unrest. Austria-Hungary had been on a war footing since at least 1906 as Emperor Franz Josef expanded into the Adriatic. When Serbia did not completely commit to all the stipulations of the ultimatum, there were cheering crowds on the streets of Austria-Hungary. In total there were 20 million regular and reservist soldiers across Europe—militarisation was by no means confined to Germany.

Whether Wilhelm alone is guilty of warmongering is impossible to establish. Given the kaiser’s propensity for ranting and raving, hyperbole and empty threats, how can we take anything he said at face value?

VERDICT: SHARED GUILT
Through History

FARM AND GARDEN TOOLS

From the simple spade to the combine harvester, the use of tools for cultivating the land stretches back thousands of years

PLough  Circa 2000 BCE

The primitive plough evolved from the handheld hoe, tilling the soil so that seed could be sown. Originally made of wood, they made an open furrow by pushing the soil to either side and were pulled by oxen, bullocks or camels. The Greeks added wheels, which gave greater control, and later ploughs had a coulter, or vertical cutter, a share, a wedge-shaped cutter and a mouldboard that turned the soil. The basic design of the plough did not change until the 17th century, and it wasn’t until the 18th century that the familiar cast-iron version made its appearance.

Sickle  Circa 2300 BCE

Once humans began to use metal to make tools, they were able to make implements such as sickles. These curved blades were the earliest tools utilised for harvesting grain crops like corn and were also used for cutting hay. Specimens have been found dating back to the Bronze Age, and they were in common use until the 19th century. The reaper would hold a bundle of corn in one hand, then curve the blade towards it and slice off the top.

Seed Drill  Circa 1714

Prior to the invention of the seed drill, seeds were sow by hand — either broadcast across a field or sprinkled into furrows. The trouble with this method is that seeds are not spaced evenly so may compete with one another for space while leaving large gaps where weeds could grow. Mechanisation, by means of a seed drill, allowed greater control over the process and meant that less seed was wasted. The first seed drills appeared in Europe in the 1560s, but the design was refined in England by Jethro Tull in the early 18th century.

Scythe  Circa 500 BCE

The scythe is a long-handled tool that was used for cutting hay and later other crops. It represented an advance on the sickle as it was more efficient and easier to handle. Scythes were used by the Romans who introduced them to Britain — perhaps in order to cut fodder for their cavalry horses — but they only became widely adopted from around the 12th century. They continued to be used even after the introduction of tractors, clearing meadows in advance of the machinery, rather like you might use a strimmer today.

The Mattock  Circa 5800 BCE

The earliest agricultural implements were made of wood, bone, horn or flint. If the humble digging stick was probably the first tool used for cultivation, the mattock was quite likely to be the second. It is a versatile hand tool with a dual-purpose head — one end sharp like a pick, the other with a large horizontal blade. It can chop into the ground and then loosen the soil, so can be used for digging, clearing, planting and weeding. A rudimentary antler mattock was discovered in Yorkshire dating back to 8000 BCE and was probably used for grubbing up roots.

THE MATTOCK

This mattock head was made from an ox bone and was found at Skara Brae in Orkney. It was used between 3100 and 2400 BCE.

SCyTHE  Circa 500 BCE

The word ‘plough’ is thought to derive from the Old English ‘ploh’, referring to the area of land that could be ploughed by a yoke of oxen in one day.

SEED DRILL  Circa 1714

The British scythe-making industry developed in Sheffield in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Jethro Tull

ENGLISH 1674-1741

Jethro Tull observed different farming techniques while travelling in Europe and experimented with designs for a seed drill. Seed was placed in a hopper and travelled down a cylinder into a funnel. A plough at the front carved a furrow into which the seed fell. His first version came out in 1701 and was perfected in 1714.

Medieval stained glass window depicting a woman using a sickle to harvest grains, c.1450-75
SECATEURS circa 1819
The 16th and 17th centuries saw an increased interest in gardening, and more specialised tools began to appear, such as shears to clip fruit trees and hedges into shape. However, it was not until the 19th century that small pruning shears, or secateurs, were introduced. Until then, scissors and knives had been used to snap away at foliage and small branches. Secateurs were invented by Antoine François Bertrand de Molleville (1744-1818), a French nobleman, and were stronger and more efficient.

LAWNMOWER 1830
The first lawnmower patent was granted in 1830 to Edwin Beard Budding, an engineer from Gloucestershire. He was said to have been working in a textile mill where machines were used to trim cloth and he adapted the idea to cut grass just when public parks and gardens were proliferating. Some of his first mowers were sold to Regent’s Park Zoological Gardens in London. They were pushed by hand and had gear wheels.

TRACTOR circa 1917
The first tractors were steam-powered ploughs and appeared in Britain in the 1860s, later evolving into petrol-driven machines. However, it was Henry Ford who built the most popular early mass-produced tractor, creating the Fordson in 1917, which was exported all over the world. It was followed in 1939 by the famous Ford-Ferguson tractor, the result of a collaboration between Ford and Irishman Harry Ferguson, who had come up with a way of rigidly hitching a plough to a tractor. Their 9N tractor became the industry standard — Ford once declared their only competition “was the horse.”

CUCUMBER STRAIGHTENER circa 1845
The 19th century saw an extraordinary proliferation of specialised tools and equipment for cultivation as owners of grand country houses competed with one another to produce the finest hot-house produce and unusual fruits and vegetables. The great railway engineer George Stephenson (1781-1848), creator of the famed Rocket locomotive, was a keen gentleman gardener. He patented a cucumber straightener and had the glass cylinders made at his Newcastle steam engine factory.

COMBINE HARVESTER 1826
The earliest combine harvesters, which chopped, threshed and sorted grain crops, date back to the late 19th century and were pulled by horses, then steam engines and later tractors. Since the 1990s, combines have increasingly employed satellite navigation for precision farming. They can be controlled automatically and set such an accurate path across a field that they can be driven in darkness. GPS gives the farmer precise information on location and driving speed and helps them map the most fertile parts of a field so that chemical fertilisers can be carefully targeted.
It was in August 1415 that the small, poverty-gripped country of Portugal — only recently unshackled from the grip of its mighty neighbour Castile — shocked the European superpowers. A fleet of Portuguese ships had sailed across the Straits of Gibraltar and sacked the Muslim port of Ceuta on the Moroccan coast. This burgeoning city was the flower of Islamic North Africa and the gateway to the exotic lands beyond. And yet, just three days after its capture, the city was awash with blood, its rich hoards of gold locked up in Portuguese coffers and the invaders reveling in the material and spiritual rewards of crusade. The tiny nation, its kings so poor they were unable to mint their own coinage, had served notice. Portugal was on the rise.

King João I, more affectionately known as ‘John the Good’, had ensured that his three sons took part in the siege and sacking of the city and it was here, as his countrymen bathed their hands in the blood of the infidel, that Prince Henrique (or Henry) first clapped eyes on the enormous bounty that might be his nation’s harvest if it could venture deeper into the ‘Dark Continent’. If King John’s sacking of Ceuta acted as the foundation stone of Portuguese expansion, it was his son Henry’s expeditions that built the pillars of empire.

Henry was born in 1394 to King John and the English noblewoman Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of pivotal Plantagenet John of Gaunt. Though contemporary biographers skinned over much of Henry’s youth, it is clear that his mother taught him to admire the knightly achievements of his Plantagenet forbears, whose deeds of arms had done so much to boost English prestige in Europe. When knighted, all three of her sons selected Anglo-Norman mottos, Henry’s choice of ‘Talant de bien fer’ — translating as ‘a hunger to perform worthy deeds’ — demonstrating his interest in the chivalric code. Crusade would forever remain a topic that was close to his heart.

In February 1416, King John appointed Henry to oversee all matters pertaining to the defence and governance of Ceuta, an important move as Henry now had a vested interest in a world that most European princes never came into direct contact with. When the allied Muslim armies of Morocco and Granada joined forces in a bid to retake the city, Henry set sail with a heavily armed relief force, though the Portuguese garrison had already sent the besiegers packing by the time he arrived. Still, the enterprise reinforced Henry’s crusading zeal. He yearned to take Granada and history seems to suggest that the funds he received from the crown to maintain Ceuta were spent as he saw fit, with the monies not necessarily going toward prosaic administrative matters such as keeping the city war-ready. Instead, Henry regarded positive action against infidel as part of his remit, whether that was to fund his corsairs against Moorish shipping or to send his caravels down the African coast.

Henry received a further boost in 1420 when his father received papal permission to bring his country’s military crusading order under control of the crown. Mainland Portugal no longer had a border with Islam and the crusading orders’ wealth would be a huge boon to the royal coffers. One particular group, the elite Order of Christ, came under Henry’s direct administrative control. This order was the heir to the Portuguese Knights Templar and to be the administrative head fitted well with Henry’s self-perception as chivalrous knight errant. It also provided him with some extra funds he could divert to fuel his own ambitions.

Indeed, it was not long after he took administrative control of the order that Henry shocked the members of the royal court by announcing he had been studying charts of the ‘Ocean Sea’, the Atlantic, expressing particular interest in two archipelagos off the coast of North Africa: the Canary Islands and the group of islands around Madeira. The reasons for Henry’s interest in exploration are unclear — up until this point, his great passion had been for further incursions against Islam. But it seems probable that the growth of his wealth and personal fame were more likely motivations than scientific enquiry.

The Canary Islands had already fallen within the compass of European interest, with the indigenous population and Christian colonists living under the protection of Castile, though this brooked little...
Henry the Navigator
credence with Henry, who in 1424 despatched a substantial military invasion force. Claims that he hoped to convert the pagan inhabitants to Christianity seem rather far-fetched and similar assertions during his slave missions to Guinea later on suggest a more sinister motivation. It would not have been the first time that Europeans had sent slaving missions to the Canaries.

As it transpired, the expedition proved a failure, the primatively armed inhabitants fighting off the Portuguese to Henry's great embarrassment. The defeat did not, however, diminish the prince's desire to establish a foothold in the Canaries and he would fight a number of unsuccessful colonial wars over the islands across the next 30 years.

His activities in Madeira, on the other hand, proved more successful, not least because they were uninhbituted. According to Henry's enthusiastic chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara, it was his squires Zarco and Teixeira who discovered Madeira and the neighbouring island of Porto Santo, though really these were a re-discovery at best. It is thought that the first Portuguese colonists arrived in around 1425 and on Madeira they discovered fine soil. The early years of colonialism arrived in around 1425 and on Madeira they possessed an almost mystical reputation shrouded as it was in rumour and legend.

Here, the cliffs crumpled into the sea, currents clashed to form great whirlpools, while silver fish shimmered beneath the surface. Waves slammed against the reefs and the inland desert looked as barren as the underworld itself. For many mariners, Cape Bojador was the Cape of No Return. Henry, however, was having none of it. He was convinced that the Cape could be surpassed and he despatched no fewer than 15 expeditions. They all failed.

It took a determined squire from Henry's own household, Gil Eannes, to prove his prince correct. Henry charted yet another course for his squire. Eannes, on seeing the shoals and spray and shimmering sardines of Bojador, would turn west and sail further out into the ocean. Only when he'd travelled beyond the impassable Cape would he turn east and approach land. And so he did, disinheriting and collecting a few bedraggled plants from the Saharan shore before chartering his course back home. On his arrival back in Portugal he received a hero's welcome.

Henry's successful prediction earned the prince high praise and his reputation as a cartographer and cosmologist was established – in Portugal at least. Scholars now believe that Henry's confidence in the rounding of Bojador was prompted by his reading of the Book Of The Known World, an anonymous and entirely fictitious account of a Castilian's adventures that were guided by a world map now lost. Like many contemporaries, Henry most likely bestowed upon this book high credence and it contained more than one reference to the author's travels beyond the Cape.

Whatever the case, Henry was now in a position to send more expeditions beyond Bojador where, he hoped, they could deposit armies that could march inland under the banner of crusade and take the word of God to the infidel and pagan tribes. He even harboured hopes of finding the fabled Prester John, Christian emperor of the Indies (which in Henry's day referred to the lands of north east Africa), and forging an alliance against their Saracen enemies. Henry's dreams of finding the mythical ruler persisted throughout his life and no doubt figured in his explorations.

These aspirations were temporarily suspended, however, following a traumatic campaign in Tangier and complications of regency demanded in the aftermath of the death of his brother, King Duarte. It was not until 1441 that Henry resumed exploration down the west African coast. Some captains were sent to resume exploration around Rio de Oro, the furthest point yet reached following the passing of Bojador. Here they might collect the skin and oil of sea lions that were known to inhabit the area. Other captains were ordered to head

Henry's older brother, Pedro, travelled in Europe and acquired a translation of Marco Polo's travelogue for him.

Henry's great-nephew, King John II, revived the Navigator's voyages of exploration in the 1480s.

1. **Lateen sails**
   - Deriving the name from the French for 'Latein', these triangular sails date back to late antiquity. Their shape allowed them to sail much closer to the wind by zigzagging, or tacking, against it. This enabled lateen-rigged caravels to travel greater distances in far less time compared to ships with conventional square sails.

2. **Guns**
   - Although cannons were still relatively primitive in the 15th century, they were well-suited for battle in the choppy waters of the Atlantic Ocean. As caravels were naturally quick and agile, the added hitting power of gunpowder weapons turned them into formidable weapon platforms and made them more than a match for any hostile ships they would meet while exploring.

3. **Anchor**
   - A necessity for any ocean-going vessel, the anchor, usually made out of metal, would stop the ship drifting around from either the current or wind. When lowered, its 'teeth' would drag along the bottom of the seabed, slowing the boat.

4. **Crow's nest**
   - When traversing parts unknown, having a clear view of your surroundings was paramount. The crewman with the keenest eyes would be stationed at the top of the mast to give the best field of vision. A reward was often promised for the first man to spot a landmass, so every man would usually be scanning the horizon every chance he got.

5. **Rudder**
   - While earlier ship designs had the rudder hung over one side of the ship, the caravel had its rudder mounted on the stern. This protected it from damage and meant that the crew would never lose the ability to steer the boat, which could happen if a side rudder was removed from the water.

6. **Row Boat**
   - While caravels were nimble and shallow drafted, they were still sizable vessels that were in danger of beaching in shallow waters. If the crew wanted to go ashore with ease, a smaller rowboat was used while the caravel would anchor a small way off land.

"It became commonplace for Henry's men to try and capture native tribesmen"
further south and they soon found Cape Blanco and explored the great bay that it enclosed.

With papal and royal consent, Henry also continued his crusading ambitions and his chronicler records with gusto the deeds of arms of the Portuguese troops who were set ashore during the 1440s, though to the modern mind the notion of heavily armed and well-trained European troops laying into scantily armed fishermen and nomads appears less than chivalrous. It also became commonplace for Henry’s men to try and capture native tribesmen for interrogation as the prince sought further information about the coast and the deserts that marked its shoreline.

But these missions took a darker turn in 1444 as one was despatched with a specific and more sinister design. Six ships, organised by Henry’s henchman Lancarote da Iliia, sailed with orders to take slaves from the islands of the Arguin Bank, just south of Cape Blanco. It was Lancarote who funded the expedition, rather than the prince, but he required Henry’s consent and, therefore, his complicity. The chronicler Zurara attended the auction of these slaves in August 1444 and recorded both human misery as well as lavish spectacle.

Henry’s involvement with the slave trade has long troubled his biographers. Apologists, such as Zurara, point to Henry’s desire to convert these people to Christianity, while others suggest a validity fostered by the Africans’ status as prisoners of war, both the Venetians and Genoese practised slavery while the Moors regularly sold their prisoners into servitude. However Henry chose to justify his actions, the...
Explorers of Africa
The Portuguese were one of the most active nations during the Age of Discovery

**Diogo Dias**
*Voyage: c.1460*
Like his brother Bartolomeu Dias, Diogo would have a hand in discovering new lands for Portugal, namely, although some dispute this, the Cape Verde Islands. This discovery would get him a position on Vasco da Gama’s first expedition and he acted as envoy between da Gama and the local Indian Zamorin, or ruler.

**Henry the Navigator**
*Voyages: Late 15th century*
Although he did not explore Africa himself, Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ sponsored over 40 voyages to uncover its mysteries and push the boundaries of the known world. His vessels reached as far as modern day Sierra Leone, passing the expanse of the Sahara Desert and the rival Muslim trade caravans.

**Diogo Cão**
*Voyage: 1482*
Following the discoveries made by Henry the Navigator’s sponsored voyages, Diogo Cão secured funding for an expedition of his own. With King John II’s blessing, Cão would become the first European to set eyes on the mighty Congo River and establish trade relations with the local natives.

**Bartolomeu Dias**
*Voyage: 1487-1488*
Blazing a trail for future explorers to follow, Bartolomeu Dias was the first European we have on record to round the Cape of Good Hope and sail from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Proving the oceans were connected, his voyage sparked renewed interest in finding a trade route to India.

**Vasco da Gama**
*Voyage: 1497-1499*
Leading a small fleet of four ships, Vasco da Gama became the first European to establish an ocean route between the Orient and the West. After months of gruelling travel, he reached the Indian city of Calicut in May 1498. Da Gama’s efforts to establish an alliance were a bust, but when he landed back in Portugal his ships had travelled over 38,000km and he received a hero’s welcome.

Bounty from the African coast
The African continent was the source of many treasures coveted by European traders and citizens

**Slaves**
The Portuguese trade in slaves had become sufficiently established for Henry to order the building of a fort and warehouse on Arguin Island by 1448.

**Dragon’s blood**
This valuable resin from the dragon tree proved a useful commodity, prompting many visits to the Canaries. It was widely used in the dyeing industry.
economic benefit was palpable and helped fuel further exploration.

One such mission was that of João Fernandes who set sail in 1445 on a mission with no slaving implications. Fernandes was to be dropped on the Rio de Oro to spend an entire winter exploring inland. After many adventures, he returned to Portugal with news of fertile lands to the south, rich in people and gold dust. Dinis Dias reached Cape Verde the previous year, while Nuno Tristão arrived at the mouth of the Gambia River in 1446.

During the following decade, the likes of Alvise Cadamosto, an Italian explorer on Henry's payroll, and Diogo Gomes made further journeys down the coast of Africa. Below Cape Verde, they pierced the lands south of the Sahara Desert on the Guinea coast and Henry believed—or certainly hoped—that his ships would soon round the continent's southern tip and then head towards those silk-rich spice lands he'd read about in *The Travels of Marco Polo*.

As it transpired, Henry's crusading ambitions closer to home dominated his final years as he sought once more to wage war against the infidel in Morocco, though his interest in African voyages did not flag entirely. It was not until his death in 1460 that Portugal's African coast ambitions faltered, though they soon gathered momentum once more in the 1480s when Prince João ascended the throne. Under his auspices, Diogo Cão in 1482 discovered the Congo River and six years later, Bartolomeu Dias finally reached the southern tip of the continent at the Cape of Good Hope.

And still this adventurous nation pushed on. The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed with Spain in 1494, suggests Portugal was already aware of lands in the south Atlantic, though Brazil was not officially discovered until Pedro Álvares Cabral's landing in 1500. In 1498, meanwhile, Vasco da Gama became the first European to reach India by sea and in 1510 the Portuguese seized Goa, establishing a foothold on the subcontinent's western seaboard.

From the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese passed into the China seas, founding a permanent base in Macao in 1557. In a little over 100 years, and owing so much to Henry's initial prompting, this tiny, cash-strapped nation had opened up the world to European commerce and placed itself at the centre.
**Timeline**

**11 NOV 1951**
Juan Perón is elected for his second term. He wins by a 30 per cent margin, even though Evita is too ill to be his running mate.

**26 JULY 1952**
Eva Perón dies of cancer aged 33. She is given a full state funeral but without her in government, President Perón’s popularity worsens.

**AUTUMN 1952**
Severe drought results in the worst grain harvest for 50 years. Argentina imports wheat for the first time since 1898.

**DECEMBER 1954**
Perón passes laws legalising divorce and prostitution for the first time in Argentina, in direct conflict with the Roman Catholic church.
What was it?
After a decade of rule, Argentine President Juan Perón was deposed in a military coup, which began on 16 June 1955, when navy and air force rebels bombed the presidential palace in Buenos Aires. Their target was Perón himself, but instead they hit a large crowd of his supporters that had gathered in the nearby Plaza de Mayo during a day of demonstrations. On the ground, navy marine commandos tried to take the palace, but the army and civilians armed with sticks, knives and pistols put down the uprising. Over 300 civilians were killed in the massacre, including a trolleybus full of children that was accidentally bombed. That night, angry pro-Perón mobs burned 11 churches in retaliation.

On 16 September, following a public speech in which Perón encouraged his supporters, their opponents in both the army and air force units revolted, seizing the city of Córdoba. The navy followed suit, sending warships to blockade Buenos Aires. On 18 September, a cruiser shelled the dock and nearby oil refineries. Fearing the Revolución Libertadora – or ‘Liberating Revolution’ – would turn into an all-out civil war, Perón resigned and fled to Paraguay.

Why did it happen?
Perón was a demagogue who came to power in 1946 with support from the working class. His greatest political asset was his wife, Eva ‘Evita’ Perón, a glamorous actress turned champion of the people, who acted as his Minister for Labour and Health and was named Spiritual Leader of the Nation. Her death in 1952 could not have come at a worse time — Argentina’s economy was in crisis and Perón had to scrap many of his populist policies. Rumours swirled about orgies and a relationship with a 13-year-old schoolgirl. As his support diminished, Perón grew more authoritarian and hostile to public criticism. The final straw was his falling out with the Catholic Church. Trying to win support from liberals, he legalised divorce and removed religious instruction from schools. The Church protested, causing the Argentine Congress to expel two priests to Italy. When the Vatican threatened excommunication for those responsible, deeply conservative high-ups in the military turned on Perón.

Who was involved?

Juan Domingo Perón
8 October 1895 – 1 July 1974
Three-time President of Argentina, his complex and authoritarian politics combined social justice with economic security.

María Eva Duarte de Perón
7 May 1919 – 26 July 1952
Born poor and illegitimate, Evita rose to fame as an actress and became the most influential woman in Argentina’s history.

General Eduardo Lonardi
15 September 1896 – 22 March 1956
He led the 1955 coup but was quickly replaced by the military junta as he was too conciliatory towards Perón’s supporters.
Little Ships, Great Escape
How an armada of ferries, fishing boats and yachts captured the heart of the nation and transformed defeat into victory at Dunkirk

Written by Beth Wyatt
Little Ships, Great Escape

Britain was on the brink in spring 1940. The Nazi war machine had swept through Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg and was making gains in France fast. The British Expeditionary Force (BEF) and their French counterparts began a hasty retreat close to the coastal town of Dunkirk where thousands would fight to the death to give their comrades the best chance of escape.

It seemed all was lost and the BEF consigned to total defeat, but they didn’t count on the armada of the ‘little ships’: some 700 vessels that, along with the Royal Navy and backed up by the army and RAF, rescued more than 338,000 stranded soldiers.

The heroism of this motley crew of pleasure ships, fishing vessels, lifeboats and yachts, their brave captains repeating arduous journeys night after night, is enshrined in legend today and was a ray of hope for Britain’s civilians as they stared into the abyss of a war that would consume the continent for five more years.

Christened Operation Dynamo, the mission was the brainchild of Vice-Admiral Bertram Ramsay, the Royal Navy’s Commander-in-Chief Dover. He envisaged the rescue of 45,000 men, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s estimate a more cautious 30,000. With sturdy armour, anti-aircraft weapons and a larger capacity to ship more soldiers at once, the navy’s destroyers would seem the obvious fit for the rescue mission. But although these ships could move alongside Dunkirk’s vast jetties (or ‘moles’) that led out to sea, they couldn’t access the shallows of the beaches. This is where some civilian assistance was needed.

An urgent call was put out via the BBC and newspapers for as many vessel owners as possible to come forward, but the nature of the mission was shrouded in secrecy so many had no idea what they would face. Contrary to expectations, hundreds responded, offering private yachts, ferries, paddle steamers, hospital ships and barges, including the 15-metre Count Dracula, which had seen action with the Imperial German Navy during World War I.

Britain’s people responded in true patriotic fashion, but the commanders were under no illusions about the challenges. “Nothing but a miracle can save the BEF now,” were the grave words of General Alan Brooke.

Embarking from Ramsgate in Kent, the little ships began their mission on 26 May, unknowing of the dangers that would greet them. Journalist Robert Harling, who went along on the initial voyage, was appreciating the marriage of the River Thames and the night sky when, upon leaving the estuary, the rising sun illuminated an odd sight.

“We were moving up the coast with a stranger miscellany of craft than was ever seen in the most hybrid amateur regatta,” he wrote. “Destroyers, sloops, trawlers, motorboats, fishing boats, tugs, Dutch skoots. Under the splendid sun, they seemed like craft of peace journeying upon a gay occasion but suddenly, we knew where we were, for someone said: ‘There they are, the bastards.’”

This tranquil picture was not a lasting reality for the boats, which encountered perils like mines and the Goodwin Sands on their way to Dunkirk. Then, at the harbour, there would be the unceasing fear of the Stuka dive bombers.

The first little ship to traverse the course was the Isle of Man steamer Mona’s Isle, which set sail from Dover at 9pm. She arrived at Dunkirk shortly after midnight and picked up 1,429 men – but the risks became clear as she sailed towards England.

Having already been assailed by German artillery, Mona’s Isle was machine-gunned by fighters on its way back to Dover. Petty Officer LB Kearley-Pope was shot multiple times, but he fired back and continued the journey, arriving at the port at about noon on 27 May. Many of the crew were not so lucky, with 23 killed and 60 wounded.

Still, other little ships went forth to Dunkirk, where they witnessed thousands of exhausted soldiers lining the moles and wading in the shallows, easy pickings for the bombers.

15-year-old sea cadet Reg Vine was one of the youngest rescuers present. “We had just been told we were evacuating some troops. That was all. Just evacuation of British troops,” the veteran said in an interview with journalist and author Sinclair McKay. “I was told on the way there, ‘You look after one lifeboat when you get there and Paddy will look after the other one’.

‘Right-o, I thought, lifeboats. When we got near the coast and you could hear the banging and the crashing and the screaming and hollering and God knows what – bodies and bits floating in the sea – well, I was as sick as a bloody dog. I couldn’t help it.

“When I was a kid, I had been taken to a slaughterhouse by an uncle who showed me the killed pigs and bullocks and cut them all up. I saw
Little Ships, Great Escape

The spirit of Dunkirk

Social historian Henry Buckton says that Dunkirk has been woven into the British identity, but experts view it differently.

How have historians’ perspectives on the evacuations changed?
Dunkirk is perhaps unique because it has been written and spoken about in the same exalted company as Agincourt, Waterloo and the Normandy Landings for decades. However, it was, of course, a defeat. Yes, it was a logistical victory and did wonders for public morale, but militarily it was a disaster. I think today the perspective in the eyes of the public has changed to appreciate this point; historians have largely always understood it.

Why were Allied forces so badly beaten in France that they had to retreat?
The Germans launched a new type of warfare: it was fast-paced and direct, and took the Allies by complete surprise. They were digging in expecting a long drawn-out campaign similar to the trenches of the First World War but the Nazis had other ideas.

How would you describe the impact of the little ships fleet?
Immense! This was a remarkable and typically British response to a disaster that very few other nations would even have contemplated. It is doubtful that the Royal Navy would have been able to rescue the vast numbers achieved without the help of the little ships. Time would have been against them and many more Allied soldiers would have been left behind and taken prisoner.

How did the public react to the evacuations?
Most people in Britain knew absolutely nothing of what was occurring — in fact, they believed the army to be invincible — so when word got around Bristol that they were bringing soldiers back, people were confused. Women and children in their droves went down to Stapleton Road station to cheer them on and wave flags. The sight that met their eyes was not at all what they had expected: train after train unloading men that were viewed it differently

The German evacuations were part of a fast-paced and direct campaign that took the Allies by surprise. They were digging in expecting a long drawn-out campaign similar to the trenches of the First World War but the Nazis had other ideas.

How did the public react to the evacuations?
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Exhaustion was setting in for the crews of the little ships, but still they carried on. However, for some they would come to a tragic end. The paddle steamer Waverley had begun its return to England with 600 soldiers when it took a fatal hit. The crew of a nearby destroyer sprung into action, rescuing 200 men from the water, but the remaining 400 perished — weakened by hunger and fatigue, they were no match for the currents.

Another paddle steamer, Crested Eagle, shared a similarly bleak fate. Its engine room was struck and flames engulfed it off the coast of Zuydcoote, some miles northeast of Dunkirk. Those able to escape into the sea were picked off by German machine-gunners in low-flying aircraft. All 300 soldiers on board lost their lives. Leading seaman Vic Viner’s older brother, Albert, had been rescued from the destroyer Grenade after it was attacked, but in a cruel twist of fate, his saviour was the soon-to-be-stricken Crested Eagle.

“She [the boat] was dive-bombed by 12 bombers, as she was going out towards the open sea, she was bombed,” he told McKay. “Everyone involved was burned to death.” Vic died aged 99 in 2016, the longest surviving ‘beach master’ of Dunkirk.

The Gracie Fields, which had rescued 280 soldiers on the first day, was struck on the next while trying to save another 750. A shell blew up its engine room, but, unlike the Waverley and Crested Eagle, the ailing vessel’s soldiers were rescued by another boat.

Other paddle steamers were fortunate to get away. The Medway Queen evacuated 7,000 men with crutches, others wearing dirty, blood-stained bandages.

In reality, it probably had very little impact militarily. Even if the BEF had surrendered, Britain would have remained free and was able to build new armies and launch the reconquest of occupied Europe in 1944. However, it was, of course, a defeat. Yes, it was a logistical victory and did wonders for public morale, but militarily it was a disaster. I think today the perspective in the eyes of the public has changed to appreciate this point; historians have largely always understood it.

Probably because the very word ‘Dunkirk’ has become part of Britain’s identity and DNA. It is used to describe perceived traits of the British character like defiance, bravery, stoicism, all pulling together to overcome adversity: the so-called Dunkirk spirit.

Henry Buckton’s new book Retreat: Dunkirk And The Evacuation Of Western Europe is out now.
Little Ships, Great Escape

in seven trips, while Mersey ferry Royal Daffodil sailed 9,500 soldiers to safety across the same number of runs, surviving bomb, machine gun and torpedo attacks.

Cockle boats of the Thames Estuary also took up the call, with Vice-Admiral Ramsay describing their conduct as “exemplary”. Leigh-on-Sea’s prolific Osborne family put forward six of their cockle boats, each saving approximately 1,000 soldiers. But on the return journey, one of their number, the Renown, hit a mine and was destroyed, with the crew – Frank and Leslie Osborne, Harry Noakes and Harold Graham Porter – losing their lives. Frank and Leslie were two grandsons of Osborne Bros founder Thomas George Osborne.

Another Osborne, 19-year-old Eric, and his cousin Horace, had taken charge of Resolute. When they arrived at the blazing town, the tide was too far out for them so they sailed over to the harbour. Drawing alongside the pier, they encountered a group of soldiers who weren’t best pleased at the thought of voyaging home in the cockle boat. But Eric and Horace climbed onto solid ground and convinced some of them, just as the German bombardment flared up once more. They threw themselves on board and the journey back to England could begin.

The final push of the evacuation came on 3 June when about 26,000 men were brought across the Channel, 3,000 of which were picked up by the Tynwald, a pleasure steamer from the Isle of Man.

Notable boats

An assortment of vessels took up the call, from a German World War I barge to a Titanic survivor’s yacht

Medway Queen
One of the most popular and luxurious paddle steamers, it was called up to serve in 1939. It rescued 7,000 men at Dunkirk.

Tamzine
Tamzine was the smallest known vessel to participate, at 4.5 metres in length and is now an exhibit at the Imperial War Museum.

Count Dracula
The German barge could have gone down with the Hindenburg in 1918 but for a sailor who released it. The Royal Navy adopted the boat.

Mona’s Isle
The steamer was the first little ship to set sail for Dunkirk. Despite enemy attacks, it safely brought over 2,634 soldiers in total.

Royal Daffodil
The ferry had a very successful operation, making seven round trips and evacuating 9,500 personnel, likely the highest figure.
Guarding the skies
The RAF played an important role in protecting soldiers and vessels from further attack from the air. The navy played a similar part at sea with its destroyers.

Perils of the routes
Of the three routes, Route X was the safest in terms of avoiding surface attacks – but minefields and sandbanks meant vessels could not travel this way at night.

Tons of equipment ditched
It was not just soldiers who were left behind. Much equipment had to be shed, including just over 76,000 tons of ammunition and more than 63,000 vehicles.

A safe return
Dover was one site to welcome troops and little ships home. Civilians and soldiers were able to rest, with the latter then travelling inland to make room for those following.

Action behind the beaches
While the little ships were playing their part, others were, too. Thousands of soldiers battled to hold off the Germans to help as many of their comrades escape as possible.

Massey Shaw
The fireboat had only been to sea once before, but it served well at Dunkirk and went on to play a major role during the Blitz.

Sundowner
The yacht belonged to Charles Herbert Lightoller. He rescued 130 soldiers who are said to have been packed in like sardines.

Bluebird of Chelsea
Originally owned by record-breaking racing driver Malcolm Campbell, Bluebird got to Dunkirk after two false starts.

Marchioness
The vessel survived Dunkirk, but its story still had a sad end. In 1989, it collided with a dredger and sank. Many passengers died.

Resolute
A cockle boat, Resolute’s crew had a narrow escape when the Germans began firing as they were getting soldiers aboard.
Little Ships, Great Escape

Operation Dynamo formally wrapped up at 2.33pm on 4 June. Thousands of French and British soldiers had courageously attempted to hold off the Germans to ensure their comrades’ escapes. The biggest evacuation in military history had seen some 338,000 soldiers rescued – 200,000 from the East Mole – with the evacuees including 140,000 French, Belgian and Polish troops. More than 200 ships and boats were destroyed and 40,000 of Britain’s soldiers were left behind and became prisoners of war.

The now famous little ships proceeded through London on 9 June and were greeted by huge crowds and much cheering when they arrived at Westminster Bridge. Many of the boats resumed life as it was before Dunkirk but some, sadly, could not be preserved. The Association of Dunkirk Little Ships emerged and 39 of them were the main attraction of the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee pageant in 2012.

The same day Operation Dynamo concluded, Winston Churchill took to the House of Commons for his barnstorming ‘We Shall Fight on the Beaches’ speech. While these days it is remembered for rousing British morale, and did commend the efforts of the little ships and the armed forces alike, the Prime Minister actually warned against celebrating the evacuations too merrily: “We must be very careful not to assign to these attributes of a victory. Wars are merrily: “We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations.”

But the mythologising of the operation, both here and across the Atlantic, had already begun. “So long as the English tongue survives, the word Dunkirk will be spoken with reverence,” reported The New York Times on 1 June 1940. “In that harbour, such a hell on earth as never blazed before, at the end of a lost battle, the rags and blemishes that had hidden the soul of democracy fell away. There, unbeaten but unconquered, in shining splendour, she faced the enemy, this shining thing in the souls of free men, which Hitler cannot command. It is in the great tradition of democracy. It is a future. It is victory.”

But perhaps the most famous commentary is contained in novelist and playwright JB Priestley’s celebrated Postscripts radio broadcasts for the BBC. “Here at Dunkirk is another English epic. And to my mind what was most characteristically English about it – so typical, so absurd and yet so grand and gallant that you hardly knew whether to laugh or cry when you read about them – was the part played in the difficult and dangerous embarkation – not by the warships, magnificent though they were – but by the little pleasure steamers,” he said. “We’ve known them, and laughed at them, these fussy little steamers, all our lives. We have watched them load and unload their crowds of holiday passengers – the gents full of high spirits and bottled beer, the ladies eating pork pies, the children sticky with peppermint rock… “There was always something old-fashioned, a Dickens touch, a mid-Victorian air about them… Yes, those ‘Brighton Belles’ and ‘Brighton Queens’ left that innocent foolish world of theirs… to sail into the inferno, to defy bombs, shells, magnetic mines. I tell you, we were proud of the Gracie Fields… This little steamer, like all her brave and battered sisters, is immortal – she’ll go sailing proudly down the years in the epic of Dunkirk.”

“The now famous little ships proceeded through London on 9 June and were greeted by huge crowds and much cheering when they arrived at Westminster Bridge”

Dunkirk little ships leave for Dunkirk on the 70th anniversary

Fighting on the beaches

Journalist Hugh Sebag-Montefiore thinks the soldiers who kept the Germans at bay during the rescue mission deserve more credit

Your book centres on the soldiers who defended the retreat route. How would you describe their contribution?

Well, what I’d say is if it hadn’t been for them the evacuation would have been stopped. It would have started, but it might well have been stopped after the first night. That’s the answer in a nutshell.

Were there any stories that particularly resonated?

What I found amazing was what happened at Cassel, involving a man called Roy Creswell. The British soldiers were locked up in a blockhouse. Germans were on the roof, they were throwing things down the chimney, they set it on fire with hand grenades and still Creswell’s men held out for four or five days. They lasted out until 30 May when they surrendered, but it’s an inspiring story.

Has there been enough emphasis on these soldiers, or do you think they have been almost forgotten?

Yes, they have been forgotten, but that’s not to say that the little ships weren’t vital – it wouldn’t have succeeded without them and the Royal Navy and everything else; they all came together.

Why do you think the story of the little ships (and Dunkirk in general) has become so mythologised?

I think it may be because it’s such a remarkable story and Dunkirk was so much about morale. People like the myth – it’s uplifting to think about the wonderful Dunkirk spirit and the ships. And it was very difficult to find the stories of these soldiers. I looked into it for a long time; people who didn’t have the luxury of taking a long time to do it, they have thought there’s no story there.

What can you tell us about your relatives who were evacuated?

Two relatives were evacuated, my cousin Denzil Sebag-Montefiore and a cousin on my mother’s side, Basil Jaffé. Denzil was a larger-than-life character when I knew him, but I don’t know what he was like when he was young, though in my book I talk about when he got a Christmas hamper in 1939: rather than scoffing it himself, he shared it with all the soldiers in his platoon. At Dunkirk, he was trying to get into a little rowing boat but having difficulty, and a group of men came to his aid. There’s a moral there – to be good to people, to those less fortunate than ourselves, and they will repay you in time.

Hugh Sebag-Montefiore’s is the author of Dunkirk: Fight To The Last Man, while his new book Somme: Into The Breach is out now.
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From his birth in 1905, Howard Hughes was destined to be rich. The dual-cone rotary drill bit invented by his father enabled drilling for oil in previously inaccessible conditions, essentially creating a monopoly for the Hughes Tool Company. However, Hughes found himself master of his destiny – and his fortune – much sooner than he could have expected.

By the time he was 16 his mother had died, followed by his father just two years later. He inherited 75 per cent of his father’s company, with the other 25 per cent going to relatives. Under the legal age of 21 to own the company in his own right, Howard went to court to become an emancipated minor and won his case. He then bought out his relatives and took full control of the Hughes Tool Company.

Howard was a gifted technician and inventor even in his early years, building his own wireless radio transmitter at 11 years old, converting his push bike to motorised power and taking his first flying lesson at 14. Despite this, he was never very academic. In 1925, Howard dropped out of Rice University, and married Ella Rice, descendent of the high class family that gave the school its name. Instead. They moved to Los Angeles where his uncle, Rupert, was a screenwriter.

Though his marriage to Ella would only last four years, Howard quickly fell in love with the movies, sensing a fantastic business opportunity that his fortune could help him exploit. His wealth opened doors and before long he was producing successful money-spinning films like Two Arabian Knights (1928), winning the very first Academy Award for Best Director of a Comedy. Other successes were to follow but not without controversy. Howard could throw money at any project he chose, and did. The budgets for his movies were enormous. Hells Angels (1930) began life as a silent film, but was then re-dubbed to have sound, pushing its budget to $3.8 million. It grossed $8 million at the box office, proving Howard’s business genius and self-belief.

But, as always, Howard was prepared to push the boundaries with little respect for authority and the arrogance of a wealthy playboy not willing to be told what to do. The release of his 1932 film

“Howard was a gifted technician and inventor even in his early years”
HOWARD HUGHES

Defining moment

Deaths of mother and father
At the age of 18, the deaths of his parents affected Howard in a number of ways. His mother had doted on him to the point of being overprotective and his father’s company, Hughes Tool Company, had formed the basis of his vast fortune. Making a will at only 19, Howard bequeathed part of his wealth to creating a medical institute—the Howard Hughes Medical Institute in Florida—that still thrives today.

1921 & 1923
**Scarface** was delayed by the censors due to the levels of violence depicted and perhaps the most famous and enduring controversy was over the 1943 movie *The Outlaw*. Again, the Hays Code Committee sought to censor what it judged to be the unacceptable sexuality within the film – mainly the actions and provocative costumes of the leading lady, Jane Russell. The film was eventually released, and the controversy had given Howard the publicity he needed to make it a success, which was perhaps his intention all along.

For all the flamboyant public posturing over his films, Howard’s involvement in the movie industry also revealed a much darker side to his character, something more than just the arrogant bluster of a man for whom money was no object. After his purchase of RKO Pictures in 1948, he dismissed three-quarters of the staff and conducted background checks on the political beliefs of those left. During his movie years, anyone who didn’t have the same political views as him was either sacked or never hired. He also maintained a close eye on whether his films contained sufficient anti-communist content and it was rumoured that he held strong anti-Semitic views.

Perhaps most telling was what happened after he acquired a private screening room in 1958. He would watch movies alone there late at night, but upon hearing that the cast of the musical *Porgy and Bess* (1959) had been using the room during the day, he was outraged. Appalled that he had shared a room with black people and that some may have even sat in the same chair as him, he closed the screening room and never returned.

Though he found fame and (even greater) fortune in Hollywood, Howard never stopped flying. As he did in every other area of his life, Howard pushed himself to the limit to improve as an aviator. As both a pilot and an aircraft designer, he broke a number of world speed records before setting his sights on a new world record for a round-the-world flight in 1938. Once again, his determination, skill and money delivered success.

However, Howard’s aeronautic boundary pushing did eventually have an Icarus-like fall. In 1943, while testing a prototype spy plane he was building for the US Air Force, an oil leak caused the aircraft to yaw sharply and he crashed into a Beverley Hills neighbourhood. After destroying three houses, the plane finally came to a halt, but the fuel tank exploded. Howard managed to pull himself out of the flaming wreckage, but sustained near-fatal injuries, including a crushed collarbone, multiple cracked ribs, a displaced heart and third-degree burns. Although he did recover, his injuries left him in chronic pain for the rest of his life and he grew his trademark moustache to hide a scar on his upper lip caused by the crash.

Howard had worked closely with the US military during and after World War Two on a number of projects, but perhaps the one that gives the greatest insight into his enigmatic character was that of the Hughes H-4 Hercules, nicknamed the ‘Spruce Goose’. Designed to carry large numbers of troops and equipment, it remains the largest aircraft ever built, but it was dogged with controversial delays as a result of his obsession with detail and controlling nature. By the time it was completed, the war was over and Hughes was in a position of potential ridicule, with his critics saying the plane was so big and so under-powered that it would never fly. As a final act of defiance, Howard himself took the controls of the aircraft and flew 1.5 kilometres at a
height of 21 metres before placing it in a specially built hanger where it stayed until the day he died.

But it was Howard's decline during the 1950s into an eccentric recluse that was to turn his life and legacy into the enigma that was to become perhaps more famous than his achievements. Howard had acquired an obsessive cleanliness from a mother preoccupied with protecting her son from disease and infection. As a man, with the injuries he had acquired and the constant pain he endured, his behaviour became more and more obsessive as he shrank further from the public gaze he'd once openly courted. On one occasion, he locked himself away in a screening room for four months, watching movies naked because clothes caused him pain, not cutting his hair or nails and never bathing. Such behaviour was to become the norm. Living out of Las Vegas hotel suites, locked away from the world, he continued to orchestrate his business empire, often buying the very hotel he was staying in. Even from self-imposed isolation he sought to influence events, allegedly involved in loans and bribes to politicians and even trying to use his wealth and influence to halt testing of the atom bomb to protect his burgeoning Nevada property empire.

From his early years, Howard had believed that nothing was impossible. On the surface, he was the flamboyant billionaire playboy who could buy the whole sweet shop to get his own way. Controversial, stubborn and manipulating, he displayed a lack of respect for authority and an undying belief that money talked and everything, and everybody, had its price. His obsessive need for control in all that he did, his openly racist beliefs and his staunch political views cast a more sinister shadow over his character - but was life more than just an elaborate game for him? Although he had inherited his wealth, the way in which he used his fortune to expand his interests shows a superb business brain with undeniable drive and determination to succeed, employing thousands of people along the way. Howard was definitely hands-on, not satisfied to finance a project and observe from the sidelines. As such, his skills and ability made him a pioneer, innovator, record-breaker and visionary.

In the end, a life lived to the full took its toll. The stories of self-imposed exile as an eccentric, long-haired, unwashed hermit with germaphobia have captured the public imagination above his many other achievements. But at the centre of Howard's life was an acute awareness of the influence that his wealth had on people, good or bad, be it the murky world of political influence or the creation of a world-class medical institute. It was the balancing act of a privileged, gifted, successful, complex, obsessive and deeply troubled man, and whatever tips the scales will become his lasting legacy.
Greatest Battles

Warrior pharaoh
Ramesses II wore a long corselet of overlapping bronze scales that provided a good defence against enemy missiles. His primary weapon was a composite bow, which was made of laminated wood, horn, and sinew — it was long-ranging and deadly. The composite bow was also widely used by Egyptian foot soldiers.

Death cab for Hatti
The chariot’s wooden cab was about a metre wide and just over a metre high. It had space for a driver (not depicted) who controlled the team of horses, and a warrior, who fought from within it. Most Egyptian chariot warriors were archers, though other weapons, such as javelins, were carried for close-in fighting. The cab was given a cover of ox hide and its floor was constructed out of rawhide straps.

Mobile warfare
In a time before horseshoes and saddles, a chariot was the best way to ride a horse into battle. They were first brought to Egypt by Hyskos conquerors in the 17th century BCE, but by the time of the Battle of Kadesh were widely adopted and both Egypt and the Hittites used them.

Wide wheels
The chariot’s two wheels, each about a metre in diameter, had six spokes, making for a light but strong structure. Made of elm or ash, and plum for the spokes, the wheels were mounted on either end by a wooden axle that was slightly wider than the cab and placed at the rear to improve stability.

Fully loaded
Ramesses would have kept his arrows at the ready in a bow case attached to the side of the chariot’s cab, decorated with the image of a lion, symbolising strength and courage. The bow case was angled forward for easy access to the missiles during combat. Heavy arrows were preferred when trying to pierce heavy scale armour.
The city of Kadesh was of great strategic importance in the 13th century BCE. Located in the Orontes River valley in the Levant, it controlled the Egyptian invasion route into northern Syria. But Kadesh had long chafed against Egyptian domination, and one of its earlier monarchs had been a ringleader of a major rebellion against Egypt in the 15th century BCE. The uprising had not ended well, with warrior-pharaoh Tuthmosis III crushing the rebel Canaanite coalition handily at the Battle of Megiddo in 1457 BCE.

The importance of Kadesh survived this defeat and the city became a bone of contention between the two Bronze Age superpowers — Egypt and the rising Hittite Empire, based in Anatolia. In the early 14th century BCE, the Hittites, under King Suppiluliumas the Great, had smashed Mitanni, the erstwhile great power that had dominated northern Syria, and Mitanni's old vassals bent their knees to him instead. When Kadesh was also taken by Suppiluliumas, the Egyptians were forced to act. However, while Hittite power waxed in the Middle East, the Egyptian position in the region was seriously weakened.

Hatti, as the Hittite kingdom was known, had its heartland in what is central Turkey today, with its capital at Hattusa. The Hittites were tough and ferocious warriors and the primary strike force of their army was a massive corps of chariots. While Hatti increased in power in the latter 14th century BCE, Egypt had been unwilling to react to the northern challenge, preferring instead to rely on client states to look after its interests on the frontier in Syria. One such kingdom, Amurru, used this to grow at the expense of Egypt's other vassals in the region and was, for all intents and purposes, an independent state by the end of the 13th century BCE. Like wayward Kadesh, its rise was a symptom of the deterioration of Egyptian prestige in Asia. The power of the distant pharaoh was insufficiently respected by many of his wavering vassals.

Pharaoh Seti I tried to reverse this decline. He personally led an army into Canaan and Phoenicia and delivered a sharp check to Hittite expansion in Syria by recapturing Kadesh. But the city quickly slipped from Egypt's grasp and once more allied itself with the Hittite Empire. If Egyptian control in Syria was ever to be re-established, Kadesh would have to be brought back into the fold.

Seti died in 1279 BCE, succeeded on the throne by his son, Ramesses II. Like his father, Ramesses was determined to make Egyptian power felt in Asia once again. First, Kadesh would have to be brought to heel. In April and May 1274 BCE, he assembled his army at Pi-Ramesses in the Nile Delta. When his preparations were finished, he marched out of Egypt at the head of an army of some 20,000 soldiers and 2,000 chariots divided into four large corps. The Hittites were certain to respond to this move, as Kadesh was vital to their position in Syria, too. The power of the Hittites was such that their king, Muwatalli II, could call upon not just his own army in a time of war, but also those of myriad allied lesser kings and princes. For the upcoming campaign, in addition to his own soldiers, King Muwatalli was accompanied by the troops of 18 allies and vassals. The stage was now set for the greatest battle of the Bronze Age.
The composite bow, made of wood, horn and sinew, was a compact yet powerful weapon, able to launch arrows over long distances. **Strengths** A skilled archer could shoot his arrows quickly and accurately in battle. **Weakness** A limited supply of arrows and accuracy might suffer while shooting from a moving chariot.

Rameses II
New Kingdom Pharaoh
of the 19th Dynasty
Rameses was determined to restore Egyptian power in Syria by capturing Kadesh. He was overconfident and only too late realised that the Hittites were closer than he suspected. **Strengths** Fearless, ambitious, charismatic and bold. **Weakness** Young, inexperienced and impetuous.

Chariots
Key Unit
Chariots, light and fast, comprised the elite arm of the Egyptian army and brought mobile firepower to the ancient battlefield. **Strengths** From these swift vehicles, archers rained death upon Egypt’s foes. **Weakness** Egyptian chariots were lighter than those of the Hittites and would have a hard time standing up to them in close combat.

Composite Bow
Key Weapon
The composite bow, made of wood, horn and sinew, was a compact yet powerful weapon, able to launch arrows over long distances. **Strengths** A skilled archer could shoot his arrows quickly and accurately in battle. **Weakness** A limited supply of arrows and accuracy might suffer while shooting from a moving chariot.

The Egyptians arrive at Kadesh
After a month-long journey of about 1,500 kilometres through Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon, the leading division of the Egyptian Army, Amon, personally commanded by Ramesses II himself, emerges from the forest of Robawi and comes upon the city of Kadesh in Syria. Well-protected by the Orontes River, as well as by a moat dug by its inhabitants to connect the river to one of its tributaries, it is surrounded by water and will be difficult to take.

The two Shasu
Two Shasu nomads present themselves before the pharaoh. The Hittites, they claim, are nowhere nearby, but instead are about 190 kilometres away in the vicinity of Aleppo. The over-confident Ramesses believes the tribesmen. He continues north and makes camp to the north of Kadesh.

The route of the Ra Division
The marching chariots and infantry of the Ra Division are routed by the sudden onset of the enemy thundering over the plain of Kadesh. The survivors flee to the safety of the Amon camp, which is soon brought under assault by the surging Hittites itself.

Ramesses counterattacks
With catastrophe looming, Ramesses personally leads a desperate counterattack, riding at the head of the 500 chariots of the Amon Corps. Egyptian chariot archers shower arrows upon the lance-armed Hittite chariot warriors. Though badly outnumbered, the indomitable Ramesses attacks six times and begins to contain the Hittite chariot attack. Muwatalli, seeing his own forces wavering, sends a second wave of 1,000 chariots to their aid.
Crossing the Orontes
Ramesesses has the Amon division cross the Orontes at Shabtuna. The other three divisions, Ra, Ptah and Set, are strung out far behind, still making their way through the forest. Ramesesses expects to reunite soon with the Ne’arin, an elite unit of the Egyptian Army that he had earlier sent along a different route up the coast with orders to meet him at Kadesh.

The Hittites wait
Muwatalli, at the head of an enormous army of 37,000 infantry and 3,500 chariots, is in fact waiting for Ramesesses on the other side of the Orontes behind Kadesh, hidden from Egyptian eyes by the high mound upon which the city sits. The king is made aware of Ramesesses’ approach, probably by the same Shasu nomads who had earlier misled the pharaoh. Muwatalli then sends out scouts to locate the precise position of the Egyptians — two of them are captured by Ramesesses’ men.

Muwatalli pounces
From the captured scouts, Ramesesses learns of the Hittites’ true whereabouts. Realising how much danger his army is in, he hastily convenes a council of his senior officers. An urgent summons is also sent to the lagging Ptah and Set divisions ten kilometres to the south, where they are busy fording the Orontes, to hurry to the aid of their pharaoh. Meanwhile, Muwatalli launches a massive flanking assault, crossing the Orontes just south of Kadesh with 2,500 chariots.

The Hittites are repulsed
The Hittite reinforcements strike at the Amon camp, hoping to cause the Egyptians to break off their combat with the first group of chariots. But before they reach it, they are met by the newly arrived Ne’arin, who bring the second group of Hittite chariots to a grinding halt. In a ferocious melee most of the Hittites are killed, with only a handful of survivors escaping back over the river.

Counting the cost
Losses are extremely heavy for both sides. Though Ramesesses has won a tactical victory, strategically the battle is really a draw, and the pharaoh knows that he will never succeed in capturing Kadesh. Ramesesses commemorates the battle and his own heroism with memorials all over his kingdom, making it one of the best recorded engagements of ancient times. 16 years later, Egypt and the Hittite Empire will make a lasting peace.

Muwatalli II
KING OF HATTI
Muwatalli, son of Mursilis II, was a strong king with a tight grip on his kingdom. To better oversee operations along the Syrian frontier, he moved his capital to Tarhuntassa to be closer to the fighting.
Strengths A capable commander and very brave.
Weakness Underestimated Ramesesses II.

CHIAROTS
KEY UNIT
Each vehicle carried three men: a driver, an elite spear-armed warrior and a shieldbearer. Most often, the chariots were used to run down enemy troops in a shock attack.
Strengths Bearing three crew instead of just two, Hittite chariots were heavier and more robust than Egyptian vehicles.
Weakness They had limited firepower and were slower than their Egyptian counterparts.

THRUSTING SPEAR
KEY WEAPON
The two-metre-long thrusting spear was a powerful weapon, especially when used during a charge. At Kadesh, however, Hittite chariots were likely at a steep disadvantage when confronted by Egyptian chariot archery.
Strengths Long reach and better in close combat than bow-armed Egyptian chariot warriors.
Weakness Badly out-ranged by an enemy using a bow.
What if…

Constantine lost the Battle of Milvian Bridge?

The landscape of the world’s religions might look very different if Constantine had not won the Roman Empire under a Christian flag

Written by Edoardo Albert

On 28 October 312, the Battle of Milvian Bridge took place between Constantine and Maxentius, rival claimants for the Roman imperial throne. Before the battle, Constantine had had a vision that led him to fight under the mantle of the Christian God – he then won and became ruler of the Roman Empire. Attributing his victory to divine intervention, Constantine determined to repay his debt.

As a first step, he issued the Edict of Milan in February 313 that allowed freedom of worship within the Empire, returned legal rights to Christians and gave back to them any property that the state had previously confiscated. Although always more comfortable himself with Latin than Greek, Constantine also made the momentous decision to found a new imperial city, a new Rome, on the straits of the Bosporus Sea and called it Constantinople. The city became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Greek-speaking eastern half of the empire that managed to survive the fall of Rome and endure for 1,000 years, only falling to the Ottomans in 1453.

But what if Constantine had lost the Battle of Milvian Bridge? Maxentius has no reason to change imperial policy towards the empire’s Christian minority – indeed, since Christians refused to offer public sacrifice to the cult of the deified emperor, he perhaps has reason, with his throne not yet secure, to renew the persecutions of Diocletian. To secure his hold of the Western Empire, Maxentius also moves the imperial residence to Milan. While Rome remains the empire’s titular capital, the need for the emperor to lead his armies in the field against barbarian invaders requires Maxentius to constantly be on the move between Milan and Trier.

Meanwhile, the ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire, Licinius, sets about confiscating the property and wealth of the Christian Church in preparation for eventual war with Maxentius. The Church, well used to imperial persecutions, endures and strengthens its network among the empire’s slave, lower and middle classes, but makes little headway with the ruling elite. Maxentius and Licinius fight each other to a stalemate, leaving the empire weakened.

From beyond its borders, the barbarian tribes in modern-day Germany sense the draining of Rome’s military strength. As the Romans descend into civil chaos, Christians withdraw from civil engagement, seeking sanctuary beyond the boundaries of the empire. Wandering monks begin to make converts among the tribes along the Rhine so that when they finally cross the empire’s borders, many are already at least nominally Christian.

However, in the fragmenting empire, surviving Roman cults amalgamate with the Germanic pagan religion and provide an alternative to Christianity. With significant populations of different faiths, the Europe of the 5th and 6th centuries collapses into a series of bitter religious conflicts in which almost all trace of Classical learning is lost. It will take centuries longer than in our timeline for stable kingdoms to coalesce.

Meanwhile, in the east, the Sassanid Empire begins to gather manpower for a fresh assault on the Romans. While under Constantine and his founding of Constantinople, the empire was able to organise and bolster the defences of the east so that Rome and Persia fought off and on for over 680 years, making it the longest conflict in history. Without it, Maxentius’s eastern empire will certainly crumble much faster in the face of renewed attacks by the Sassanids and the barbarian tribes moving south across the Danube and into the Balkans.

How would it be different?

- The Battle of Milvian Bridge
  Maxentius wins the battle, as promised by oracles, and offers sacrifices to the gods. Throughout the empire sacrifices are offered to the cult of the emperor, but Maxentius notes that the Christians do not take part. **28 October 312**

- The Maxentian persecution
  To shore up his reign as the western emperor, Maxentius revives the persecution of Christians begun under Emperor Diocletian. **314-19**

- The Licinian declination
  Knowing that there will be a confrontation with Maxentius, Licinius, the Eastern Roman Emperor, also raids Christian property and sacks churches to gather funds and resources for his army. **315-20**

- The flight into the wilderness
  Faced with renewed persecution, Christians withdraw into deserts and wildernesses, strengthening the monastic strand of Christianity. Some monks even establish hermitages in Ireland, north of Hadrian’s Wall and east of the Rhine. **315-400**

- Chaos reigns in Rome
  The civil war between Maxentius and Licinius drags into a long, debilitating conflict and, even when they are deposed by their own generals, this merely heralds the start of a period of unrelied civil wars. Contesting armies tear the empire apart. **320-70**

EDOARDO ALBERT
Edoardo Albert is a writer and historian specialising in the history and psychology of religion, particularly in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval periods. He has MA’s in the psychology of religion and theology and has written for History Today, The Sunday Times and other periodicals, as well as writing books on Alfred the Great, the kingdom of Northumbria (the Northumbrian Thrones trilogy) and the religious history of London (London: A Spiritual History). For more information, visit edoardoalbert.com.
What if…
CONSTANTINE LOST THE BATTLE OF MILVIAN BRIDGE?

The First Council of Nicaea
In our timeline, Constantine called a council of bishops to settle disputed matters of doctrine, but doctrinal niceties take second place to survival in the world where he lost. The major dispute is brought to a head in 329. 325

The Synod of Arles
The Synod considers if those who acquiesced to the imperial cult could be readmitted to the Church. In this timeline, the Church requires lifelong penance and only allows communion at the approach of death. 329

The Great Martyrdom
Following the chaos, barbarians invade and Christians follow Christ’s teaching of non-resistance to evil. Many are killed, but several barbarian chiefs later convert. The Western Roman Empire fragments into new barbarian kingdoms. 350-400

The Sassanids advance
With the Roman Empire weakened by the barbarian invasions, and no stronghold at Constantinople, the Sassanid Empire conquers Anatolia and makes its new frontier on the Bosphorus. 6th-7th centuries

A new empire
The Sassanids easily stop Muslim expansion to the east and Islam instead spreads west and south. Zoroastrianism becomes the main religion in east Asia, Islam in north Africa, and Christianity spreads west, north and east. 633-720

Under Maxenitus, some form of paganism might have endured in Rome for much longer
Two hundred years after her death, one woman remains the centrepiece of British Regency literature. Jane Austen is a literary legend and a figure to whom millions still turn to for entertainment, a little romance and the occasional pithy put-down. Her polite comedies of manners, featuring militamen eloping with rich young heiresses and social-climbing gorgons prowling the lawns of eligible young bachelors, spear social conventions and can be as savage as they are romantic.

Rather than being demure drawing room dramas, Austen held up a mirror to the social reality of her class and time that did not shy away from difficult truths. This included her understanding that women’s lives in the early 19th century were limited in opportunity, even among the gentry and upper middle classes, and that marriage was often a means to financial security and social respect.

The divine Miss Austen was a remarkable woman in an era when the whole world was dominated by men. Her path to success was far from easy and she fought to make her voice heard. After all, her most famous work, *Pride And Prejudice*, was completed in 1797 but didn’t see the light of day until 1813, so Jane was no overnight sensation. The Age of Enlightenment only went so far, after all!

Yet she didn’t struggle alone, and all around the world, women just as remarkable as her were battling convention, society and expectation to be heard. They came from mansions and hovels, from Great Britain, Europe, China, America and further afield, lone voices crying out in a worldwide chorus that couldn’t be ignored. From suffragists to abolitionists, pirates, authors and even proud advocates of free love, here are eleven women who would give any feisty fictional heroine a run for her money.
Mary Shelley

30 August 1797 – 1 February 1851

Author, traveller and all-round scandalous sort, Mary Shelley gave us much more than a monster!

Mary Shelley had form from the moment of her birth. She was the daughter of pioneering feminist Mary Wollstonecraft and anarchist thinker William Godwin. At 16 she ran away with Romantic poet and married man Percy Bysshe Shelley and together began one of the world’s most celebrated and tumultuous romances.

Mary fell pregnant by her lover, but their child was born prematurely in February 1815 and didn’t survive. She rode out a storm of criticism and social isolation to remain with Percy and when his wife, Harriet, committed suicide in 1816, the couple married.

In 1816, they travelled to Geneva to summer with Lord Byron and his friend Dr John Polidori in the Villa Diodati. When Byron suggested that the guests each write a ghost story, Mary experienced a waking dream that inspired her to write *Frankenstein: Or, The Modern Prometheus*.

The book took two years to complete while Mary was also busy writing an account of her travels in Europe. Yet it was *Frankenstein*, a masterpiece of Gothic literature and trailblazer for science fiction, that caused a sensation. Sadly Mary, afflicted with depression, could never fully enjoy her success. She died more than 30 years after her husband yet lives on today as a literary legend, the creator of one of fiction’s most famous monsters.

The Ladies of Llangollen: Eleanor Charlotte Butler & Sarah Ponsonby

11 May 1739 – 2 June 1829 (Eleanor)
1755 – 9 December 1831 (Sarah)

Faced with forced marriages, two ladies eloped to live life on their own terms

Eleanor and Sarah were two young ladies from Ireland with a dream: they wanted to live together, free from meddling husbands. Their dream became a reality in 1780 when they fled Kilkenny for Llangollen in Wales and set up home in a Gothic house called Plas Newydd.

Here they indulged their love of botany and architecture, plunging headfirst into a total restructure of their home. They cultivated the gardens and rebuilt the house to their own specifications, creating a Gothic architectural fantasy. Rejected by their families, they needed only each other, and together they created the idyll that they had always dreamed of sharing.

With little interest in society or traditional feminine pursuits, these unusual ladies became unlikely celebrities thanks to their unconventional relationship. They were given a royal pension and visitors flocked to see them in their own little piece of rural heaven.

Although the nature of Eleanor and Sarah’s relationship was never confirmed, the ladies of Llangollen lived together for half a century as though they were a married couple. They died within two years of one another and the people of their adopted homeland honour them to this day.
Sojourner Truth
C. 1797 — 26 November 1883
This former slave went to court to free her child

Sojourner Truth made history when she escaped slavery and discovered that her five-year-old son remained in chains. She had been sold at the age of nine for the price of $100 and a flock of sheep, and her life had been hard as she was passed around owners throughout New York.

Following her daring escape from captivity, her life changed forever. In a groundbreaking legal case, Sojourner took the man who owned her child to court and won, becoming the first black woman to legally challenge a white man and emerge victorious.

Sojourner was celebrated among abolitionists for her remarkable achievement and became a public speaker who was in high demand. Wherever she was due to lecture, she was a hot ticket. Her speeches were on slavery and suffrage and she became famed for her passionate speech *Ain’t I A Woman*, which was widely published across America.

Sojourner wasn’t content with simply giving speeches, though, and campaigned for years to secure territory from the government for those who had once been held captive as slaves. Her fight was unsuccessful, but she never gave up her crusade and is celebrated across the world to this day.

Elizabeth Fry
21 May 1780 — 12 October 1845
The ‘Angel of the Prisons’ pioneered penal reform

When Elizabeth Fry attended a speech on the matter of the plight of the poor given by William Savery, her life changed forever. Barely 18 years old, she devoted the rest of her life to helping those who lived in poverty. However, it was a visit to Newgate Prison, London, in 1813 that set her on the crusade that shaped her legacy.

Elizabeth was horrified by the conditions she saw in Newgate — particularly the fate of children who had been incarcerated in dreadful conditions alongside their mothers. She established the British Ladies’ Society for Promoting the Reformation of Female Prisoners, aimed at teaching the women how to sew. This, she hoped, would greatly enhance their employability when they were released.

Not content with this, though, Elizabeth was instrumental in the campaign against penal transportation. She faced loud criticism for her efforts to reform the prison system and was accused of neglecting her husband and children in favour of her work. When her husband was bankrupted, her enemies even falsely claimed that Elizabeth had siphoned money from her charities to bail him out. But through her endeavours, Elizabeth won the backing of no less a woman than Queen Victoria herself, who made contributions of her own to Elizabeth’s charities.
When teenaged Anna Doyle was married off to a drunken husband, she wasn’t about to take it lying down. Instead, she bucked convention and left him to his booze, fleeing their Irish home for England. But this wasn’t far enough for the adventurous Anna, so she upped sticks with her daughters and took a trip through France.

Anna started a new life and was independent of her penniless husband. Instead, she financed herself by translating French philosophy texts into English. Desperate to see other women enjoy the freedom she had fought for, she mixed with reformers including Fanny Wright and Jeremy Bentham and argued tirelessly for women’s rights. She was both respected and feared in England and France for her outspoken views and she was a formidable public speaker and opponent.

She never stopped fighting for girls to have a right to education and women to have the vote and was even invited to join the 1848 revolution in France, though ill health prevented her from doing so. Her descendants — writers and scholars — continued the fight on her behalf, even including the famous suffragette, Lady Constance Bulwer-Lytton, who was repeatedly imprisoned for her part in the struggle for the vote.
Regency women

Anne Lister, the châtelaine of Yorkshire’s Shibden Hall, had no time for convention. When she took control of her family estate in 1826, she proved herself to be a business brain to be reckoned with and turned the Lister agricultural empire into a multi-industry portfolio including property, mining and transport interests. With a keen scientific and mathematical brain, she left male business rivals in her wake and earned herself the mocking nickname ‘Gentleman Jack’.

Yet it wasn’t only business for which Anne had a passion. She lived at Shibden with her lover, Ann Walker, a wealthy woman who Anne Lister considered her wife. The two women made no secret of their relationship and though Ann was the most serious in a long string of affairs going back to adolescence, emotional affairs between women were dismissed as a simple rite of passage in the 19th century.

When they were discovered years after her death, Anne’s diaries revealed her passionate personality and devotion to her partner. Written partially in code, they proved that the two women were far more than best friends, and today Anne Lister is lauded as a woman who lived by her own rules, regardless of convention.

Sacagawea

Sacagawea was pregnant when she undertook the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Sacagawea was born into a Lemhi Shoshone tribe and sold as a bride to a trapper called Toussaint Charbonneau when she was just 13. When Charbonneau was hired to join the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804, his young wife went along to serve as a translator. Lauded for her intelligence and bravery, Sacagawea played a vital role in smoothing relations between the explorers and the Shoshone people whose land they wished to cross. She was even reunited with her brother, who she had lost when they were abducted as children. The young woman was a valued and respected member of the party and knew the land better than any of them. She had a natural affability that often headed off conflict.

Sacagawea’s fate remains unknown. While most sources record her death as 1812, some indigenous tales claim that she lived into the 1880s. Efforts to confirm this have so far proven elusive and, though her grave at Fort Washakie is marked by a statue of the remarkable young woman who helped Lewis and Clark seal their place in American history, whether she really rests there remains a tantalising mystery.

Frances Wright

Many approved of Frances’s ideas because she had found a way for slaves to prepare to be self-supporting citizens.

Dundee-born Fanny Wright was the daughter of wealthy political radicals, and what she learned in infancy she put into practice in adulthood. When she was in her early 20s, the orphaned Fanny took her inheritance and financed a passage for herself and her sister to America, where they travelled widely across the country. Here she developed an unshakeable belief in the principles of suffrage, education, emancipation and the rights of women to govern their own bodies.

Fanny published an eye-opening political critique of American society and was sure that she could come up with a better way of life. Her dream took the form of the Nashoba Commune, which was intended to educate slaves in preparation for their emancipation. She sank her inheritance into the commune and dreamed of a community free of class or the shackles of society’s expectations. The commune proved to be an expensive white elephant, however, and its belief in free love regardless of race or creed caused a scandal. Although Fanny was forced to close it down and re-house its inhabitants at her own expense, she continued to argue passionately for the rights of all until her dying day.

Anne Lister

Anne’s diary totalled more than 4 million words and detailed her love affairs.

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Regency women

Sarah Moore Grimké

26 November 1792 — 23 December 1873

From her early teens, Sarah fearlessly fought slavery with education

When a young South Carolinian girl called Sarah watched her brother receiving a full classical education, she wondered why she couldn’t enjoy the same privilege. She shared his ambition of becoming a lawyer, but instead she was tutored in the ways of a lady, with an emphasis on more dainty pursuits.

But Sarah longed to do more and as a teenager she secretly tutored the family slaves, teaching them to read despite it being against the law to do so. Left at home when her brother went to Yale University, she immersed herself in books, training herself to be a lawyer despite what society may think.

When Sarah’s brother died, she learned that he had fathered three children by a slave and raised them as her own. She became a loud and proud abolitionist, yet found herself shunned by members of her Quaker community who didn’t think much of this noisy, opinionated woman. But Sarah wouldn’t be silenced, writing and speaking extensively in favour of abolition.

Soon she was speaking out for women, too, challenging the Quakers to practise what they preached and allow women to join the clergy. To Sarah, life wasn’t about master and slave, nor man and woman, but equality for all.

Ching Shih

1775-1844

Married into a pirate dynasty in 19th century China, Ching Shih ruled the waves

When Ching Shih inherited her late husband’s business, she took to it like a duck — or pirate — to water. She was working as a prostitute when she was captured by pirate captain Cheng I. They hit it off and were soon married, with Ching Shih becoming an enthusiastic member of the crew.

When her husband died in 1807, Ching Shih inherited command of his pirate force. The Red Flag Fleet consisted of 300 ships crewed by more than 30,000 men. It was one of the most formidable fleets ever to sail.

Ching Shih ruled with a rod of iron and everyone was expected to follow the strict rules that she put in place. She seemed unstoppable and out-sailed every force, both Chinese and international, that attempted to take her down.

For Ching Shih, crime definitely paid. In 1810, she took advantage of an amnesty to leave her nautical life behind and settle down as a rich woman. She was allowed to keep her booty and lived in luxury for three more decades as mistress of an upscale gambling establishment, a far cry from her poverty-stricken early years.
Located halfway between China and India, and with easy access to the spice islands of Indonesia, the city of Malacca in Malaysia was an epicentre for Asian trade in the 15th century. Its bustling port welcomed merchant ships from Arabia, Persia, China, Ceylon, India, Japan and more for over a century before the Portuguese arrived in 1509.

Despite an initial warm welcome, Sultan Mahmud Shah was soon convinced that Europeans were a grave threat and so he attacked their fleet and captured several of their men. This prompted an all-out assault by the Portuguese, who returned in 1511 with 14 ships and 1,200 men. They besieged the city and conquered it in 40 days. The Portuguese now control the port, but are fast learning that they don’t control the Asian trade centred there. Many merchants are moving to safer harbours as Mahmud, having re-established his kingdom in Johor, is promising to retake the city, while other states in the region are also hostile to the invaders.

Where to Stay

As soon as they arrived, the Portuguese built a fortress to defend the city. Encompassing a hill on the southeast of the river mouth on the former site of the sultan’s palace (which was destroyed during the invasion), the A Formosa (The Famous) is an imposing structure. Surrounded by long ramparts, it has four towers that serve as a four-story keep, an ammunition room and residences for the captain and officers. Offering the best protection when Mahmud and other raiders attack the city, the Portuguese have also built their administrative buildings, hospitals, churches and a cluster of townhouses within its walls. For a taste of Malaccan life, the A Formosa is also within walking distance of the city’s bazaar and oldest mosque.

Dos & don’ts

- Be prepared to run to safety. Portuguese Malacca faces severe hostility and years of seemingly endless battles by those who wish to claim it.
- Comply with the Portuguese. They show fairness to those who obey them. For example, when the city was taken they sacked the town but left the property of those who sided with them.
- Know where to find a bride. The Portuguese have sent over many órfãs d’el-rei (‘orphans of the king’) — young women whose fathers have died in battle so are cared for by the state but have been sent to marry colonial settlers.
- Get to know the city. It has four main gateways that link to the different suburbs, but only two are in common use.
- Expect abundant trade. Because of competition from other ports, Asian merchants are bypassing Malacca and trade is slowly drying up.
- Stick around too long. In 1641, the Dutch will finally wrestle Malacca out of Portuguese hands after years of bitter fighting for control.
- Stay in the central suburb. Yler is the site of the central water source and Sabba is the rural home of the Muslim Malays where they make distilled wine.
- Be fooled by appearances. Although Malacca is a wealthy city, most of the buildings are built from wood, with few exceptions.
Afonso de Albuquerque

A legendary empire builder, it was Afonso who sailed brazenly into the port declaring that Malacca belonged to the Portuguese, and it was due to his military genius that the city fell against the odds. Afonso quickly realised the unpopularity of the sultan and ensured that the citizens would support the Portuguese settlers. Once in power, he put in place representatives of all the city’s multicultural communities, including Hindu, Javanese and Malay, and also set about organising diplomacy missions to obtain allies. With powerful figures flocking to his support, such as the king of Siam, befriending this popular and canny man would be a wise choice.

Extra tip: One event you don’t want to miss is the parade celebrating the new currency of the city. Bowls filled with the new silver coins will be thrown down to the population from atop 11 elephants, while heralds will proclaim the new laws. Along with troops playing trumpets and drums, it will be a scene that Malacca has never seen the like of before.

Helpful skills

The Portuguese have grand plans for Malacca, and with these skills you can be part of them

Combat

The Portuguese will face constant threats to their hold on Malacca from Malay sultans, and the Dutch, and so they will need skilled sailors and soldiers to defend the city.

Civil engineering

The building and expansion of A Famosa is a huge undertaking for the Portuguese wishing to protect the city. Having the know-how to build it stronger and better will make you very valuable.

Diplomacy

Afonso immediately realised that keeping a hold on a city so far from Portugal would greatly depend on the support of locals and building alliances with neighbouring nations, so natural tact is a must.

WHO TO BEFRIEND

Afonso de Albuquerque

WHO TO AVOID

Sultan Mahmud Shah

Inheriting the throne at a very young age, this ruthless monarch was out of touch with his own people. Although Malacca, as a bustling port city, is a diverse area of different people, his government’s tendency to favour Muslims left many of his merchants with a feeling of dissatisfaction. He also destroyed any chance of a Portuguese alliance when he tried to assassinate the Portuguese admiral visiting the city. Since escaping Malacca, the sultan has already made several unsuccessful attempts to retake the city. Hated by his people, defeated in battle and forced to flee his own land, the sultan would be a reckless and burdensome ally.
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The TV historian exclusively reveals his masterplan to get us all excited about the past by embracing the future, including judging our new photography competition.

**DAN SNOW’S BIG PICTURE**

All About History presents Historic Photographer of the Year. Share your best picture of a historic place to win £2,500!
When you think of a historian, it’s hard not to imagine an old man in a tweed jacket locked away in his ivory tower surrounded by piles of mouldy books. However, Dan Snow is the exact opposite of this. Not content with just making television programmes on topics as diverse as ancient China and the Klondike gold rush, he’s obsessed with the latest tech and is the world’s most followed historian on social media. So far his online empire includes 3 million views on his YouTube channel, 186,000 Twitter followers and 72,000 fans on Facebook. Snow also produces a popular podcast, History Hit, which consistently ranks highly in Apple’s iTunes charts. In fact, Dan Snow is in the process of taking History Hit to the next level. He is crowdfunding HistoryHitTV, a global video-on-demand service like Netflix, but dedicated to world history.

However, his next project is to judge the Historic Photographer of the Year, which is offering a £2,500 cash prize for the most astonishing imagery of those places which dominate our past. The competition is open to everyone — all you have to do is upload one or more photos to triphistoric.com. A short list of contenders will be announced in October and the winner will be revealed in November.

All About History is an official partner for the Historic Photographer of the Year, with our editor-in-chief James Hoare also helping to pick a winner. So we spoke with Dan about what sort of photos he is hoping to see, his digital obsession and how to capture them at their best.

How did you become involved with the Historic Photographer of the Year?

I’m involved with Triphistoric, who are a great organisation. When I go to a foreign city, they tell me the five best places to visit voted for by their users, which I find a really useful resource. We decided to launch this competition together as a way for people to go outside and explore history.

As a judge, what sort of pictures are you looking for?

I love a big historic landscape — Angkor Wat, the Taj Mahal, the Terracotta Warriors, Chapsworth House, the Alamo in Texas. But I think there are subtler approaches, like photographing our museums or even smaller archeological treasures. I also think capturing the interaction of people in historical places could be really interesting as well.

So it’s more about the history of the location photographed rather than the composition of the picture?

Personally, I think so. As a judge, I’m just excited to see what comes in. [Editor’s note: Having checked the rules, entries will be on originality, composition and technical proficiency alongside the story behind the image and its historical impact.]

What’s the value of historical photos like these — are they actually of use to historians?

Well, obviously I think they will have a huge value to future historians to find out what these places look like. You’re creating a historical record every time you take a photo of one of these places, but also I think it’s about inspiring people to understand that these beautiful places are our heritage. We should preserve them and cherish them as they are good for us, our mental state, they’re good for our understanding of ourselves and they are also great for attracting tourists and business, so they work on every level.

Are you a keen photographer yourself?

I think one of the reasons they asked me to take part is that they know I’m a fanatical Instagrammer. Also, when you’re making TV shows, we spend a huge amount of time thinking about the visuals and how to capture them at their best.

Beyond your TV shows, you have a huge online presence and now you’re judging this competition. What are you trying to achieve?

I’m trying to get people to interact with history and I’m trying to do it by harnessing every single new technology that’s come along in the last 20 years. I want people to think about the world around them from a historical point of view. They can understand the politics around them, the buildings, the cities, the landscape. If you’re in Syria, you can understand why you’re in a battlefield. If you’re in Wiltshire, you get why you live in an ancient and seemingly timeless landscape. I’m just interested in popularising history as much as possible.

Why do you think history is important?

I’m a huge advocate for history. Just look at Trump in the White House at the moment, the way he and his team misuse history every single day. These people have no sense of the importance of what has happened in the past. What happens in the past defines and decides what’s going on today and what’s going to happen in the future. There’s a reason Google and Facebook were invented in California and not in Kazakhstan, and that’s because of the history of those places. That’s why the world is the shape that it is. That’s why you can’t walk into a pub in Crossmaglen in Armagh [in Northern Ireland] and sing ‘God Save The Queen’. It’s why people are seeking to kill those of other religions on the street. It’s why there is a war in Syria. Without understanding history, we can’t understand anything at all.

With Trump in the White House, do you think history is under attack?
With propaganda and ‘alternative facts’, with the rise of the far-right, we absolutely need to be incredibly vigilant. History is a vast early warning system. We’ve seen people like Trump come to power before on the back of economic distress and international uncertainty, so we know that experiments like Trump don’t work.

Your father was BBC television journalist Peter Snow and your aunt is the Oxford history professor Margaret MacMillan. Was history a big thing in your household growing up?
Of course, history was talked about all the time. I think a lot of people talk about history without realising it’s history. You discuss your memories, your family’s past, how your mum and dad got together, why they got together. My grandparents met as a result of the Battle of the Atlantic; they were both stuck in Canada at the same time because they couldn’t cross the ocean. History affects all of us. The big history made in Downing Street, the White House and the Kremlin touches the lives of all of us. So, yeah, in my family we discussed the stories that my mum and dad were covering as journalists and what was their genesis, how they came to be and the answer, of course, is always in the past.

You’re also crowdfunding a new on-demand video channel — what led you to the idea of HistoryHit.TV?
It was the next logical stage of podcasting, tweeting and Facebook-ing. Now you see the rise of these niche, on-demand channels and there isn’t really one for history, so I thought, “Let’s do this.”

As a television broadcaster, do you think you can have the same impact through a “niche, on-demand channel”?
Well, I plan on carrying on with regular TV at the same time. Regular TV has been a huge blessing for me, but it would be great to work in this new format, too.

Do you think that social media has changed the way we consume history?
Of course! People now access history through Facebook, Twitter and more. Some are still watching television and reading books, but I think that more are engaging with history on their social media platforms. We all created these accounts to hang out with our mates, but we discovered that all these politicians, sportsmen and historians are on there. My Facebook has a really remarkable reach and I’m really excited by that.

“You can no longer go into Tutankhamun’s tomb as the moisture from our breath causes too much damage, but VR could transport you there”
Do you think history can adequately be summed up in 140 characters?

I don't think it can, but then again I don't think you can really do World War I any justice in only an hour of television. What you can give people, however, is a taste and possibly pique their interest. You can also give them some context, so when Donald Trump says “No one in history has been treated as badly as I have”, you can quickly demolish that argument.

What other mediums are you keen to reach people through?

I've always been uniquely bad at picking a winner. I spend a huge amount of time on Twitter, but it's no longer the dominant force that it used to be. I'm doing a lot on Facebook at the moment, but of course the kids aren't around on Facebook anymore so I'm reluctantly having to get up to speed with Snapchat — it's a never-ending battle where social media is concerned. But I do think that virtual and augmented realities are absolutely made for history. For example, you can no longer go into Tutankhamun's tomb as the moisture from our breath causes too much damage, but VR could transport you there.

**Interview**

Rebecca Greig, reviews editor for *Digital Photographer*, offers top tips for photographing historic sites

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**Get there early — or late**

Photographers call the period shortly after sunrise or before sunset the 'golden hour'. The daylight at these times is redder and softer, producing better images. Tourists are also less likely to be at popular attractions at these times to walk through your shot.

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**Check the rules**

Many historic buildings and museums have strict guidelines about photography. For example, some don't allow you to use flash bulbs as they may damage paintings and other exhibits. Tripods are also often prohibited as they take up too much space. Check the rules before you visit.

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**Let there be light**

The insides of old buildings are often a bit dark, but as we've said, some historical sites don't allow flash photography. Instead, simply increase the ISO setting of your camera to compensate for the low light. Most cameras will be able to reach ISO 6400 without noise being too much of an issue.

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**Keep it straight**

When it comes to photographs of buildings, ensuring that the verticals and horizontals are straight is the key to a good image. If you can't use a tripod, turn on the compositional gridlines and use them to help compose your image — simply line up the vertical and horizontal lines with the grid to ensure everything is straight.

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**Look for details**

Many old buildings boast beautiful ornaments like statues or carved patterns. Rather than trying to photograph a whole monument, consider focusing on these details as a way of framing your shot. Look above doorways, windows and around rooftops for such features.
In the American West, saloons were a staple of any budding boomtown. Whether high in the primitive mining camps of the Rocky Mountains or on the low, dusty plains and deserts of the southwest, men were in need of a place to sip libations, socialise and escape their dreary lifestyles. As romantic as they sound, those with occupations like cowboys, farmers, ranchers and miners worked and lived in lonely, mostly uncomfortable conditions. The beds were hard, the nights cold and the time in between work shifts could be downright monotonous.

Visiting a saloon meant more than just quenching one’s thirst. Here, a new fellow in town could learn about his surroundings as well as the latest news. He could ask for directions or seek the whereabouts of some place or person he was looking for. He could find a job or secure a place to sleep. Most importantly, he could relax, sip a little whiskey, play some cards and perhaps dance with a pretty girl. A good tavern offered all of these opportunities and could even serve as a selling point for a town, enticing settlers to move there.

For the miners — a transient bunch that tended to travel wherever their luck held out — the local saloon was like a second home. In Cripple Creek, Colorado, saloon and gambling house owner Johnny Nolon was known to allow prospectors and others down on their luck to sleep on his pool tables and floor for the night. He even provided blankets.

In spite of their hospitality, those friendly saloons could also be the scenes of fights, robberies, shoot-outs and other mayhem that came with the territory. It was certainly not unusual to see fights break out over cheating at cards, courting another man’s girl or sometimes simply just the need to let off some steam. While some men actually relished a good fisticuff, good-natured tussles could turn deadly in an instant. But that was the way of the West, in an untamed land that found its footing via alcohol and games of chance.

As well as drinking, brawling and trying to pick up women, saloon patrons would often play a variety of games. Most historians tend to think poker was the name of the game in the 1800s. In truth, faro was much more popular, for the simple reason that it was amazingly easy to play. The game originated in France as ‘pharaoh’, but was shortened to faro in the US. It was also known as ‘bucking the tiger’ due to the picture of a tiger that often appeared on the back of American playing cards.

Faro consisted of one deck and a faro board, and the cards were dealt one at a time into two piles. Simply put, the pile on the left lost and the one on the right won. The numerical order of the cards was unimportant; players placed their chips on the painted cards on the board to bet whether that particular card would appear in the winning pile. Variations of the game as it played out allowed for more betting, and the final hand, known as ‘calling the turn’, could pay four to one — but the odds of winning were purely chance. Because the game...
moved fast, faro was very easy to cheat at and is no longer used in American casinos.

Roulette was harder to cheat at. The rules weren’t that different to the are today, this old French game used a wooden spinning wheel with numbers on it divided by small metal partitions. As the wheel spun around, a little metal ball was dropped in. Players bet on which numbered slot the ball would land in. But in the West, roulette wheels in the 1880s featured a single zero, a double zero and an American eagle. If the ball landed in any of these slots, the house automatically won and the dealer took all money on the table. Later, these elements were declared unfair and removed from the game.

Craps was an adaptation of the early English game of Hazard and was based on what numbers might be rolled with a pair of dice. Although it could be played on a sidewalk, crap tables with a ‘layout’ were present in the fancier saloons. Essentially, a player threw the dice and then attempted to roll the same number again. Bets could be made by anybody — not just the player — on whether he would roll the number or ‘crap out’. Varied ways of betting could make the game escalate, with hundreds or thousands of dollars on the line. You can still find craps in casinos across America.

Poor patrons could still play non-betting card games or billiards. Billard tables first appeared in the nicer taverns, but soon caught on as a great way to pass the time in any bar. Although players could bet on the games, billiards limited the number of people who could participate. Faro and poker offered betting for more players and more ways to bet.

**BAWDY ENTERTAINMENT**

A good saloon offered some sort of entertainment. Female singers were highly popular, usually performing with accompaniment by a small orchestra. The songs could range from bawdy numbers to opera pieces. During the 1870s in Globe, Arizona, the St Elmo Saloon featured female acrobats and singers who doubled as prostitutes between their acts.

Other places, such as the Theatre Comique in Pueblo, Colorado, offered plays — although rowdy.

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**THE WEST’S WILDEST SALOONS, BARKEEPS AND FLOOSIES**

**BOB LEE**
*Member of Butch Cassidy's Wild Bunch*
A cousin of the notorious Kid Curry, Bob could play fiddle and deal poker. He also helped rob a train and worked as a miner when he wasn't bartending in Harlem, Montana.

**BUCKET OF BLOOD SALOON**
*Holbrook, Arizona*
This rowdy tavern, also known as the Pioneer Saloon to many, was a favourite watering hole of the famed Hashknife cowboys of Arizona, who enjoyed kicking their heels up on Saturday nights.

**CHICAGO JO HENSLEY**
*Helena, Montana*
Josephine Airey “mortgaged everything, including her underwear — three dozen pairs of underclothes” to eventually build her Red Light Saloon. She became one of the wealthiest landowners in Helena.

**PEARL DEVERE**
*Cripple Creek, Colorado*
Pearl’s Old Homestead Parlour House was among the most palatial in the west. The prices ran between $50 per ‘trick’ or $250 for all night. Today the house is a most unique museum.

**THE WHITE ELEPHANT**
*Fort Worth, Texas*
This historic tavern opened in 1884 and quickly evolved into one of the classiest places in the southwest. The quality food and drink drew wealthy men but also scallywags. The bar remains quite popular today.
Last Orders at the Bar

Swinging Door
Many saloons featured swinging doors for quick entry and exit. Just inside the doors, ‘privacy’ partitions were sometimes installed to keep meddlesome wives and innocent children from seeing what was going on.

Upstairs
This was where you could often find the soiled doves both living and working.

Gas Lamps
Before electricity, hanging gas lanterns lit the saloon at night. Lighting them at sundown was often performed by beautiful waitresses or the soiled doves who worked upstairs.

Gambling
There was sometimes a roulette table in the fancier saloons. These beautiful round wheels with numbers spun in a circle, with customers betting on which number would win.

Community Towels
Towels hung from the bar so that patrons could wipe beer foam off their lips. These so-called ‘community towels’ were an easy way to share colds, the flu and even tuberculosis among drinking buddies.

Billiards
Beginning in the 1840s, billiards, also known as pool, was a favourite game in saloons. Once the game caught on, numerous saloons across the West had at least one table and readily advertised it.
**KEEPING WARM**
Saloons were often drafty, so wood-burning stoves were installed.

**SOMEWHERE TO SIT**
Tables and chairs were arranged around the saloon where men could chat at their leisure, dine or play card games. Some tables doubled as poker tables with felt tops. They also made good shields in a fight!

**SOMEWHERE TO STAND**
Early taverns did not provide chairs or stools at the bar. Standing customers could, however, rest their foot on a brass rail that ran underneath and the length of the bar.

**MIRROR BAR**
A good bar included shelves heaving with a wide drink selection and glassware. Most also had a mirror so clients facing the bar could see who came in the door. Fancy Brunswick bars signified class.

**SPITTOON**
Many men chewed tobacco. Spittoons, also known as ‘goboons’, were arranged 1.5 metres apart under the bar so that customers could spit out their gobs of chewing tobacco.

**CARD GAMES**
Card games were very popular in saloons, with faro and craps chief among them. Cheating was rife and betting was exceedingly popular.
old days could still view the real can-can being performed at Mahogany Hall.

Around the turn of the 20th century, boxing also became a huge draw for men looking for some action. Jack Dempsey fought one of his first bouts in Victor. Later, he also fought at the Ramona Athletic Club in the short-lived town of Ramona, Colorado. After Colorado City outlawed liquor in 1913, Ramona was founded exclusively to house saloons and gambling houses. The local newspaper, the Colorado City Iris, said that the "booze annex [...] opened in a blaze of glory", but it soon dried up after Prohibition was extended state-wide in 1916. The town—which had 49 permanent residents at its start—did try to struggle on, but it just couldn't draw the same crowds with only restaurants, even with periodic boxing matches.

PAINTED LADIES

Nearly every town in the West, from small mining camps to large metropolises, featured a bawdy house or two. Some bordelloes were no more than a "crib", a small shack with one or two rooms. Others functioned above saloons, while palatial "parlour houses" featured entertainment, dining, games of chance and a slew of pretty girls upstairs.

In the case of cribs and saloons, the owner was often a man who rented the girls and took a hefty percentage of their earnings. This was also true in dance halls, where the dancers were required to entice customers into buying drinks by dancing and perhaps obtaining other services in private rooms upstairs or in the back. Madams were also known to rent cribs to the girls, who lived and entertained their customers in their small apartments.

Parlour houses were also run by madams, who either owned their property or leased it from the landlord, often a prominent city businessman. In Prescott, Arizona, Mayor Morris Goldwater owned the former brothel of Madam Annie Hamilton. In larger cities like Butte, Montana, and San Francisco's Barbary Coast, parlour house girls often lived elsewhere and worked in shifts. In the mining towns, however, the girls lived on site, keeping their personal belongings and sometimes a small dog or cat in the rooms where they worked.

"Soiled doves" were generally ostracised by decent society. They were required to pay monthly fines and were often subjected to arrest and jail time. Most were instructed to use the back door when entering theatres and some other public places, and many were only permitted to shop downtown on one day of the week. On those days, 'proper' women stayed at home and did laundry to prevent making contact with any harlots. A few managed to marry well and were able to leave the profession, but if a girl died of disease, overdose or suicide, her family would usually refuse to come to claim the body.

customers might not care to sit through the entire show. In the Theatre Comique's case in 1875, one drunken customer was beaten with a board by an actress after he insulted her. "After pounding him to her heart's content, she leaped back upon the stage, and the play went on swimmingly," reported one local newspaper.

In their efforts to squelch drinking, gambling and prostitution in their midst, certain city authorities outlawed women from saloons. In 1882, in Shakespeare, New Mexico, one clever saloon owner found a way around the law prohibiting women from entering his place: he simply pushed the piano up to the window, whereby his female musician could reach through it and play while standing outside.

Similar laws prohibiting female performers were eventually challenged by the ladies themselves, and many of the ordinances were overturned. Nobody could deny Grace Bartell, who took the popular nickname 'Little Egypt', when she performed her famous belly dance at the Birdcage Theatre in Tombstone, Arizona, in 1893! Grace went on to have quite a lengthy career; in 1910 she also performed at the famed Palace Saloon in Prescott, Arizona.

During the gay 1890s, the entertainment industry had grown to include more 'variety artists'. Because women of the stage sometimes sold sex on the side, mingling with actors in general was often something that was frowned upon by decent society. The cleaner acts, however, included performers such as Lottie and Polly Oatley. They had a small dog named Tiny, who sang along with them in a soprano voice. In 1896, the girls performed at the Regina Saloon in Dawson, Alaska, as well as in Victor, Colorado.

In nearby Cripple Creek, those longing for the good old days could still view the real can-can being performed at Mahogany Hall.

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SALOON VITTLES

The customers who ate a little at the saloon were more likely to stay and drink more, so most kept a little bit of food out the back in order to entice them. Some places even went so far as to serve a free lunch with the purchase of one or more drinks, while others advertised a sandwich and a beer for as little as a nickel.

The contents of these meals — which were really just appetisers and certainly nothing filling — were inexpensive for the house and contained more than enough salt to make the customer thirsty. Boiled eggs, cheese, fried oysters, peanuts, potato chips, pretzels, rye bread, smoked meats and stewed beans usually did the trick and were often on the menu, becoming staples across the West.

By spending as little as possible on food, saloon owners could still make sure to reap a profit from their paying customers — without losing too much from the freeloaders who managed to sneak food without buying anything.

Fancier taverns might actually serve daily specials to break up the monotony of the menu. The Occidental Saloon in Tombstone, where the notorious Doc Holliday favoured visiting in the 1870s, served up a full menu with a considerable amount of choice. The buffet included such tantalising dishes as Columbia River salmon, legs of lamb, loins of beef or pork, corned beef and cabbage, cream fricasse of chicken, mutton, sucking pigs and a whole host of pastry desserts — all for 50 cents.

Erickson’s Bar was one of the best-known and most elegant drinking establishments around Portland, Oregon, in the late 1800s. The establishment spanned an entire city block and offered a free “dainty lunch” with “haunches of beef” and sourdough bread with house-made mustard, as well as Finnish flatbread with platters of sausage and Scandinavian cheese. The meal came with a 16-ounce schooner of beer, all costing just a nickel.

BRANDY
Brandy was invented when Dutch traders sought to lighten their cargo load by removing the water from distilled wine for shipping. The resulting cognac soon became a hit and was good for sipping, especially in the days before ice was readily available. The most popular brandy cocktail was known as a B&S — brandy and soda.

GIN
Gin was easy to make in America due to the prominence of juniper trees from which the strong alcohol is made. Notably, the Tom Collins was so-named by its inventor, who owned one of a chain of Palace Saloons in Cripple Creek, Colorado. Collins came up with the idea of mixing gin and lemonade for a most refreshing drink during the 1890s.

SHERRY
Sherry and schnapps were also sipping drinks but could be mixed. The Sherry Cobbler, made of sherry and popular, was quite a hit. A Hot Scotch was simply butterscotch schnapps mixed with hot chocolate. And there was the Allison Cocktail, a very strong, bitter drink of gin, peppermint schnapps and lemon juice.

WINE
Wine was a staple in finer restaurants and also brothels. ‘High wine’ contained more alcohol than most and wine coolers came in the form of a diluted spiced wine called sangaree. Sweeter was the Queen Charlotte, made with claret or burgundy mixed with raspberry syrup, lime or lemon juice, and lemon soda. The most disgusting recipe? A Syllabub: wine mixed with milk, sweetened, spiced and served warm.

BEER
If all else failed, there was beer. Steam beer was brewed in the California goldfields and said to be “highly effervescent”. Many saloons had contracts with breweries so could offer beer on tap and would advertise by calling themselves “brewery saloons”. Others sold beer by the bottle (which were often ceramic rather than glass), while ‘elephant buckets’ that served the beverage in a small pail were also popular.
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How to make...

SHIP’S BISCUITS

LONG-LASTING SAILOR FUEL GREAT BRITAIN, 1655-1847

Ingredients
- 450g stone-ground wholemeal flour
- 113g salt
- 300ml water

METHOD

01 Start your hardtack by sifting your salt and flour into a mixing bowl. You can use any flour for this, but if you’re keen to replicate the historical recipe to see what food was like for sailors, use coarse, stone-ground wholemeal flour.

02 Add the water to the flour and salt and stir until you reach a sticky dough consistency. If you want to sample hardtack but you don’t fancy the iron-hard snack in its full glory, you can use milk instead of water and include 50g of melted butter.

03 Leave the dough to sit for half an hour. You could use this time to look up some innovative ways of eating your hardtack when it’s done! Sailors often dunked their biscuits in beer or water.

04 Roll out the dough and shape it into large, rounded biscuits. You can do this with a sharp knife, or use a cutter if you want to make them all even.

05 Place your biscuits on a baking tray and prick holes all over them to let the air out when cooking. This also helps them dry out even more.

06 Put into a preheated oven at 200°C for 40 minutes. Your biscuits then need time to dry out even more so store them in a warm, dry place before enjoying with your favourite sailor recipe.

Until tinned food, there were limited means of preserving food so that it would survive a long sea voyage. Sailors needed something versatile to sustain them and the answer was hardtack, also known as ‘ship’s biscuits’. These cracker-type foodstuffs were baked to remove all moisture so that they could be stored and eaten for years. Though flavourless and very dry, sailors often ate hardtack on its own, while it also formed the basis for other meals like porridge. Blackened and added to hot water, it could even be drunk as improvised coffee.

Hardtack has taken various forms over time, from ancient Egyptian dhourra cake made with maize flour and bucellatum eaten by Roman legions on long journeys, to the “biskits of muslin” Richard I set sail for the Third Crusades with. But it was diarist Samuel Pepys who regularised the Royal Navy’s own provisions in 1655. He made the first comprehensive table of rations, including “one pound daily of good, clean, sweet, sound, well-baked and well-conditioned wheaten biscuit” for each sailor, along with a gallon of beer to wash it down.
EMIGRANTS: WHY THE ENGLISH SAILED TO THE NEW WORLD

Faith, fortune and fealty to the king were just some of their reasons

Author James Evans Publisher Weidenfeld and Nicolson Price £20 Released Out now

Facing an uncertain future — and braving a long and potentially perilous voyage — nearly 400,000 English men, women and children sailed across the Atlantic during the course of the 17th century. Leaving the Old World for the New, many of them would never return. This mass migration became known as the ‘swarming of the English’. For those who went, it was a life-changing trip, and those journeys — those lives — left an indelible mark on world history. They influenced language, law and culture. They shaped the America we know today — but why did they go?

In Emigrants, James Evans sets out to uncover the reasons and motivations that drove such a large number of people to make the crossing. Each chapter explores a particular subject including, among others, the enticing prospect of wealth, matters of religion and conscience, and sheer desperation. Over the course of the book, Evans builds up a detailed picture of the various factors that compelled so many to leave England. The scope of this work is consequently impressive, covering many aspects of 17th century history.

Yet this significant event and period of history is not only discussed but becomes in some way tangible. The depiction of events — a first glimpse of the New World with gulls circling overhead, a man sailing into Plymouth with a barrel of earth clutched under his arm — makes for absorbing reading.

Further to this, the lives and experiences of some of the individuals who went to America are incorporated into the narrative as well. Drawing upon contemporary sources like diaries, letters and court hearings, Evans gives life and voice to those people once more. Henry Norwood’s loyalty to the deposed King Charles I, John Smith’s frustrations as the colonists frantically searched for gold, and Anne Hutchinson’s defiance in the face of a society that saw her as inferior are among some of the personal stories vividly re-told.

Glimpses, however brief and bleak, are also given into the lives of indentured servants, voices that do not always make it onto the pages of history. In focusing on personal stories and the exploration of people’s reasons for making the journey across the Atlantic, Emigrants offers an engaging and thought-provoking perspective on the migration of English settlers to the New World across the ocean.

In short, Emigrants is a detailed and deftly written account of this vast shift in human population. A wide-ranging book, it is likely that it will find a wide readership. While it may appeal more to those interested in the history of migration in general, or the settlement of the New World in particular, its broad scope means that it may also prove a good read for anyone with an interest in this period.

Indeed, for those wishing to delve into the world of the 17th century, this is the sort of book that can help readers to haul in the anchor, unfurl the sails and venture back to explore the lives of those who dwelt there.

“A wide-ranging book, it is likely that it will find a wide readership”
The Spanish Flu pandemic is often appended to the history of World War I, yet the number of fatalities eclipsed that of the conflict, with some estimates putting it as high as 100 million people. In this fascinating and engaging work, Laura Spinney draws on a century of research to give a detailed examination of the pandemic, its origins and its legacy.

Spinney provides a gripping narrative of how the illness spread across the world in waves, undoubtedly aided by infected troops returning home and ironically also helped by the large peace celebrations marking the end of the war. Drawing on personal accounts, Spinney conveys the fear and desperation of the infected populations, compounded by the seeming inability of the medical profession to accurately diagnose and treat the pandemic. The book highlights how different approaches to medicine and disease prevention and control significantly impacted the impact of the virus on different communities.

The name of the flu itself is actually a misnomer as it is highly unlikely that the virus originated in Spain, and a number of theories as to its genesis are explored. The most prominent suggest that it was either brought to Europe by the men of the Chinese Labour Corps, originated in the British military camp at Étaples in France, or started in America and travelled east with the troops sent to fight in the war.

Although this is a technical point, it does seem a major shortcoming for a book that calls itself A Short History Of Britain In Infographics. It is notable that where Hamilton does include actual infographics, they are often based on 20th century statistics, so perhaps the problem is the lack of hard numbers for earlier historical events to draw on.

While pedants like us might take issue with its title, this is a smart, stylish coffee book that is packed with enough British trivia to win a pub quiz championship - and that’s a fact.

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**PALE RIDER: THE SPANISH FLU OF 1918 AND HOW IT CHANGED THE WORLD**

Why the killer virus shouldn’t be a footnote of WWI

**Author** Laura Spinney  **Publisher** Jonathan Cape  **Price** £20  **Released** Out now

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Whatever its cause, the flu had a lasting legacy, and in the final section Spinney considers how it shaped and altered the events of the 20th century as well as the approach towards pandemic identification and treatment. This is a highly readable book and one that brings the Spanish flu firmly out of the shadows as a defining event in history.
DUNKIRK
We will flee from them on the beaches in this timely release of the 2004 docu-drama

Certificate 15 Director Alex Holmes Cast Timothy Dalton, Simon Russell Beale, Richard Durden Price £8 Released Out now

Not that one, but the 2004 BBC documentary drama of the same name. Briefly starring the effortlessly charming Benedict Cumberbatch and narrated by Bond actor Timothy Dalton, this epic three-part series recreated the bloody rearguard fighting to protect the withdrawing British Expeditionary Force and the impossible ‘miracle’ of the evacuation from eyewitness accounts and archive footage.

Eshewing talking heads to keep things anchored, it can be a little difficult to fully grasp the context as the ‘plot’ (for lack of a better word) jumps from concept to concept, plunging you right into the thick of the fighting with the Coldstream Guards in the bucolic farmland of France or an equally bitter verbal confrontation between Winston Churchill and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax over whether to keep calm and capitulate or keep calm and carry on.

On its original BBC broadcast, the show came with a ‘red button’ load of background information, and it’s a shame that none of this was bundled in by way of extras. Every scene so relentlessly advances the plot that there’s no space to allow the audience to soak up the consequences or context. This would be fine were this a straight drama with a remit only to thrill, but as a docu-drama Dunkirk serves two masters. For filmic heft, it is perhaps the closest thing British TV has produced to Band Of Brothers, matching the drama and small stories with the broad sweep of military action. Unsurprisingly, it won director Alex Holmes a BAFTA, and in terms of cramming in the detail, it’s difficult to see how Christopher Nolan could do any better.

VERSAILLES: SEASON 2
The Sun King is back, and he’s ready to rococo ‘n’ roll!

Certificate 15 Creators Simon Mirren and David Wolstencroft Cast George Blagden, Alexander Vlahos, Noémie Schmidt, Elisa Lasowski, Evan Williams Released Out now

Television’s kinkiest king returns for a second bite of the cherry, and those who adored the first scandalous, saucy season, will be in for a treat. What Poldark does for 18th century Cornwall, Versailles does for 17th century France – and it does it in style.

This French-Canadian co-production attracted a fair bit of attention when it first landed on British television in a cloud of extravagant perfume and lace. Lavish, flamboyant and unashamedly decadent, series two offers fans much more of the same.

Versailles shouldn’t be taken as a faithful retelling of the historical record, but rather as a historical take on Dallas, with a liberal dash of Jackie Collins. Everyone and everything is sooty and gory, with jaw-dropping costumes and locations and a fast-moving script that is never short on drama.

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This time, Louis XIV is up to his beautifully coiffured hair in the Franco-Dutch war while battling ambitious nobles a little closer to home. But because political intrigue is never for sometimes inexplicable reasons, is played out naked. There’s naked satanic worship, naked introspection and even a surplus of natural resources like uranium can also provide friction points. This fascinating study is a must-read – even for those that live in the lowlands.
**The Curious World of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn**

A journey into the lives of two great 17th-century diarists

**Author** Margaret Willes  
**Publisher** Yale University Press  
**Price** £20  
**Released** 22 August 2017

There is perhaps no more intimate window into the soul than the diary, with its author’s true self imprinted on the pages, their innermost hopes and dreams extracted from mind to paper. The form is a powerful historical tool, brimming with the sights, sounds and smells of centuries past. And perhaps no more vivid account of life’s exuberances and tragedies can be found than that of Samuel Pepys.

Pepys’ perceptive narratives were written across the 1660s and capture the atmosphere that cloaked the turbulent period. Joining him in such musings was another diarist, John Evelyn. Contrasting in character and upbringing, the pair nonetheless struck up a lifelong bond, and this is the focus of Margaret Willes’ new book, an intimate text exploring the men’s friendship, public and private lives and diverse interests.

Upon introduction, their differences are obvious. Evelyn is genteel, somewhat aloof, hailing from a Tudor manor, while Pepys is the son of a tailor who displays a rather unique blend of raucousness and cheerfulness in his journal. But as Willes looks deeper, it’s easy to see how the pair were drawn together, with their passion for helping veterans and a shared, insatiable curiosity, encompassing interests from literature and music to gardening and the Royal Society.

Pepys and Evelyn are best known for their accounts of the triple tragedy of 1665-66 — the plague, Great Fire and Second Anglo-Dutch War — but it’s even more of a joy to explore their personal lives. There’s never a dull moment, particularly when Pepys is involved, what with his affairs and squabbles with servants.

Willes’ lively text is backed up by a solid bibliography and references, including many a touching letter between the diarists.

The end result is a satisfying meander along a riveting period, underpinned by two compelling individuals.

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**Deserter’s Masquerade**

Gender fluidity in the shadow of the Great War

**Author/Artist** Chloé Cruchaudet  
**Publisher** Knockabout  
**Price** £17  
**Released** Out now

Based on a little-known story on the periphery of World War I, Chloé Cruchaudet’s graphic novel feels especially vibrant and relevant as trans visibility and issues of gender take their places in public discourse. After being wounded in the trenches on the front, Paul Grappe deserts and returns home to his young wife, Louise. Unwillingly forced to spend his days in hiding, he soon discovers that he can rejoin society — cautiously at first, but then more enthusiastically — in the guise of Suzanne. What starts as an act of pure pragmatism forces Paul to re-examine his own sexuality and identity as he lives as a woman, working and socialising as Suzanne.

There are echoes of 2015 drama film *The Danish Girl* as Suzanne’s new life — and promiscuity in the debauchery of a Parisian park after dark — collides with Louise’s expectations from her husband. Following a 1922 amnesty for deserters, Paul re-emerges but is haunted by the realisation that Suzanne was no act. He drinks to excess, abuses Louise and is eventually murdered by her — an act that is framed as a kindness, ending her husband’s torment.

Chloé Cruchaudet’s art has a delicate watercolour that surfaces the humanity and fluidity of the story. It’s a dreamlike world, both literally as Paul is confronted by nightmarish horrors from the trenches and figuratively as Paul and Suzanne dual in his half-smiles and glances. Largely blue-black, the brilliant red splashes underscore the rawness of feeling in the red of the French soldier’s trousers, of Suzanne’s coat and nails, and of his own spilled blood as *Deserter’s Masquerade* reaches its affecting conclusion.

Provocative and urgent, Cruchaudet surfaces a side of World War I that is little explored at a time when it needs to be understood the most.
HISTORY ANSWERS
Send your questions to questions@historyanswers.co.uk

This day in history 20 July

Siege of Chartres
Rolfo the Viking lays siege to Chartres in France. He later marries a Frankish princess and becomes the first Norman Duke, eventually to be a direct ancestor of William the Conqueror.

The War Wolf used Edward I captures Stirling Castle using the 'War Wolf', the largest ever trebuchet. It took 50 men three months to build and could hurl 136kg boulders.

Patent granted Napoleon grants a patent for the first internal combustion engine. It runs on finely powdered coal and resin and is used to power a small boat.

Football legalised The FA legalises professional football for the first time. Clubs can now pay players as long as they were born within 10km of the ground or have lived there for two years.

Did the Romans crucify women as well as men?

Alex Patterson
The Romans used crucifixion as their most extreme punishment. It wasn’t just an execution, it was also a form of torture and ritual humiliation, meaning that it was generally reserved for the most serious crimes like rebellion and treason. The nature of society at the time made it less likely that women would be in a position to commit these crimes, but it did happen. When the politician Lucius Pedanius Secundus was murdered by one of his slaves in 61 CE, the Senate demanded that all 400 of his household slaves be crucified as collective punishment. There were protests, partly because most of the slaves were entirely innocent, but also specifically that a lot of them were women. This tells us that there was public distaste when it came to crucifying women, but the the punishment was nevertheless carried out as the law and tradition required.

What was the joke that killed Chrysippus of Soli?

Laverna Shaw
As related by fellow philosopher Diogenes Laertius, the story is that he saw an ass eating figs and said that the animal should be given unmixed wine to wash them down, whereupon he laughed himself to death. If that doesn’t sound like a killer joke to us, it’s perhaps because we are missing the context. Figs weren’t animal food and in those days people almost always drank wine heavily diluted with water, so it’s possible that Chrysippus was making fun of the luxury meal the ass was having by saying he should follow it up with strong drink.

A modern equivalent might be if your dog had just stolen a steak off the kitchen counter and you said, “Why don’t you just give him my twelve-year-old single malt whisky as well?” It’s also worth pointing out that Chrysippus was 73 at the time and had been drinking undiluted wine himself at the 143rd Olympiad, so a modern death certificate would probably record a heart attack brought on by excessive drinking. The laughing may have triggered the heart attack, but even the ancient Greeks probably wouldn’t have found a donkey eating fruit fatally funny - unless they were drunk.

Chrysippus of Soli
Nationality: Greek
Born-died: 279 BCE - 206 BCE

Chrysippus was born in the Greek port of Soli, in what is now Turkey. He moved to Athens as a young man when his family fortune was confiscated by a local king. There, he became a leading member of the Stoic school of philosophy and wrote more than 700 works.
What was England called in Arthurian times?

Putra Nathanson

King Arthur is a legendary figure and no one has found any hard evidence that he actually existed as a ruler. However, the Historia Brittonum, written some time in the 11th century and attributed to Nennius, places him in the late 5th or early 6th century. This is after the Angles had arrived in Britain, but the term 'Englond' – translating to 'Land of the Angles' – doesn't appear until Bede's Ecclesiastical History Of The English People in the 9th century. Before then, any monarch claiming to have unified the various smaller kingdoms would have referred to the land collectively in the same way that the Romans had before him: 'the Britains'.

Even if Arthur existed, he certainly didn't wear the armour shown in this 14th century tapestry.

Is it true that no two democracies have ever declared war on each other?

Jules Vinter

It's generally true, but that's mostly just a consequence of the fact that states are less likely to be democratic the further back you look through history. There are also some counterexamples. For example, the 1999 Kargil War was fought between India and Pakistan, both of which were democracies at the time. Ecuador also declared war on Peru in 1941 and again in 1995, when both were democratic.
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Jane Austen and Thomas Lefroy did meet at Christmas in 1795. Taking a break from his legal studies, the young Irishman and the budding author danced together at three balls. Jane wrote to her sister to let her know how much she enjoyed their encounters.

Although the image of Jane and Tom bound for Gretna Green is a romantic one, and her rejection of him borne out of principle, it's also entirely fictional. The couple never planned to elope together, and they certainly didn't flee to the border.

Jane never met her namesake, Tom's eldest daughter, and she certainly didn't read aloud to her amid a crowd of adoring fans. Not only that, but Jane Lefroy wasn't named after Jane Austen, but in honour of her maternal grandmother, Jane Paul.

Tom and Jane didn't meet in middle age and, unlike the film, no poignant looks were exchanged during a reading of *Pride And Prejudice*. In fact, once Tom left Hampshire in 1796, no evidence exists to suggest that the couple ever saw one another again.
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