ALL ABOUT HISTORY

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Inside Agrippina’s ruthless rise to power

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D-DAY AND THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE
★ UNSUNG HEROES ★ SPIES AND SABOTAGE ★ WOMEN BEHIND THE LINES

THE FIRST SAMURAI
The rebel warrior who became a mythic hero

HONG KONG VICE
Was Britain the world's biggest drug smuggler?

PLUS... CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK, THE REAL LIFE OF A TEMPLAR, WHAT IF ELIZABETH I HAD BEEN MURDERED?
Welcome

It's important not to forget the human cost of the freedom the Allies began securing with the Normandy landings and the liberation of France in 1944. We've tried in this issue's lead feature to honour that sacrifice by not just looking at what was happening on those famous beaches, but to cast our eye to include the men and women who put themselves in harm's way beyond those landings. D-Day is rightly recognised as a gigantic moment in World War II, but the days that followed were no less pivotal. Any false step, any wavering of determination, any subtle shift in the Nazis' approach could have meant disaster.

And since we wanted to take a wider lens to Operation Overlord we've invited several experts along. With their help we shed some light on the events following D-Day, the role of espionage, the French Resistance, women in the armed forces and the experience of segregated African-American soldiers who landed with everyone else on 6 June 1944. Hopefully this will all give you a bigger picture of what D-Day and Operation Overlord was like for those living through it.

Of course, this isn't the whole story. But you can find much more if you're interested, with new specials available on newsstands and at myfavourite-magazines.co.uk as well as in our sister magazine History Of War: We hope you check those out.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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DEFINING MOMENTS

JET POWERED

In a major step forward for the advancement of air travel, the de Havilland DH 106 Comet made its first flight on 27 July 1949, lasting just over 30 minutes, marking the first time a jet-powered commercial airliner had taken off and landed. The de Havilland Comet would mark the beginning of a new age of aeronautics, although it would be another two years before the first production jet aircraft became operational.

1949
DEFINING MOMENTS

HISTORIC SPACE WALK

Having been the second woman in space it was time for cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya to make history of her own when she launched aboard the Soyuz T-12 with Commander Vladimir Dzhanibekov. On 25 July 1984 she became the first woman to spacewalk, conducting welding exercises outside the Salyut 7 space station. It was a feat repeated by many more women in the years to follow, but not by another Russian woman.

1984
DEFINING MOMENTS

STONES IN THE PARK
Taking place just two days after former band-member Brian Jones had died (and less than a month after he had left the band), the Rolling Stones attracted a crowd estimated to be between 250,000 and 500,000 in Hyde Park. It was their first public concert in over two years, but the band made the decision to make entrance free since they hadn’t made very much money from their previous tours anyway.

1969
“I thought I was wed to a king – now I find I am wed to a monk”

Eleanor of Aquitaine, Writings Of Eleanor Of Aquitaine
ALL ABOUT

THE CRUSADES

We look at the people behind this decades long religious conflict and the lands they fought over

Inside the Dome of the Rock
Anatomy of the Tawashi Cavalry
The real life of Templars
Explore the Crusader castles

Written by David Crookes, Mohammed Barber, Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon
Course of the Crusades

Did you know?
Crusades were also launched in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula, and even France.

POPE RECEIVES DELEGATION FROM ALEXIOS I 1089
Alexios I sends a delegation to Pope Urban II asking for mercenaries to help with the protection of Constantinople, a standard request.

BATTLE OF MANZIKERT 1071
Romanus IV Diogenes is routed by the Turkish forces united under Sultan Alp Arslan (left). The Byzantines are routed and the emperor captured.

URBAN II LAUNCHES FIRST CRUSADE 1095
Urban II wants to extend his influence over Europe's secular rulers. Upon receiving Alexios' mun dane request for mercenaries he interprets the message, whether wilfully or not, as an existential plea for survival and combined with political motivations, launches the First Crusade.

FALL OF EDESSA 1144
Edessa is one of the four established Latin crusader states after 1099, and is conquered by Zengi, the Atabeg of Mosul.

CRUSADERS CONQUER ANTIOCH 1098
After a nine-month long siege the crusaders gain their first major victory. As Antioch is a strategic stronghold on the road to Jerusalem.

CRUSADERS CONQUER JERUSALEM 1099
After another gruelling siege, four years after the First Crusade was called, the crusaders capture Jerusalem, in the process unleashing unholy slaughter upon the holy land, killing, raping and desecrating as they went.

SECOND CRUSADE LAUNCHED 1145
With the fall of Edessa, Pope Eugene III launches the Second Crusade. St Bernard of Clairvaux is preaching the Crusade in Burgundy.

SALADIN UNITES SYRIA AND EGYPT 1174
 Already in control of Egypt, upon the death of his theoretical overlord, Nur ad-Din, in 1174, Salonin moves to capture Damascus.

Saladin triumphs at Battle of Hattin 1187
Richard the Lionheart surrenders to Saladin after being defeated in the Battle of Hattin in 1187. When Richard fell ill Saladin sent his personal physician to treat him. The two leaders had great admiration for one another.
**Did you know?**
It was not unknown for women to fight in the crusades, dressing in men's clothing to do so.

**Crusaders sack Constantinople 1204**
The young Alexios, now Alexios IV, made massive financial promises he could not keep. His unpopularity at court led him to be deposed. The crusaders, believing they won't be getting paid, sack and plunder Constantinople to get their due.

**Fall of Acre 1291**
Guillaume de Clermont defending the walls at the Siege of Acre, 1291. The city eventually falls to the Mamluk sultan Al-Ashraf Khalil, ending the two-century long Latin presence in the Levant.

**Saladin reconquers Jerusalem 1187**
After a ten-day siege the city surrenders. Saladin allows the crusaders to leave unharmed, in stark contrast to the butchery unleashed in 1099.

**Alexios Angelos arrives in Europe 1201**
Freeing imprisonment from his uncle, the emperor Alexios III, the young Alexios sails to Europe to rally support for his cause.

**Third Crusade launched 1187**
In response to the fall of Jerusalem, Pope Gregory VIII launches the Third Crusade.

**Fourth Crusade launched 1202**
With the Holy Land still under Muslim rule, the Third Crusade was considered unfinished so Pope Innocent III launched the infamous Fourth Crusade.

**Seventh Crusade defeated at Mansourah 1250**
Damietta on the Nile is taken by Louis IX of France in 1249, but the crusaders are defeated at Mansourah.

**Sultan al-Kamil defeats Fifth Crusade 1221**
The notion of crusading had not been discredited. After initial success capturing Damietta on the Nile in 1219, the crusader forces are defeated by Sultan al-Kamil at Mansourah.

**Sixth Crusade launched 1222**
A largely bloodless crusade. Emperor Frederick II negotiates with Sultan al-Malik the return of Jerusalem into Christian hands with the condition Muslim pilgrims be allowed entry.

**King Louis IX of France dies 1270**
After the failure at Mansourah, Louis was still not finished with crusading. This time he went to Tunis, where he caught dysentery and died.

**Did you know?**
The Children's Crusade took place in 1212, but most were never seen again or sold into slavery.

INTERESTINGLY, THE FOUNDATION STONE IS ALSO CONSIDERED TO BE THE PLACE WHERE ABRAHAM WAS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE HIS SON, ISAAC, AND THEREFORE IT IS A SACRED SITE IN BOTH JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY. WHILE THERE IS A LOT OF DEBATE SURROUNDING ABD AL-MALIK'S REASONS FOR COMMISSIONING THE DOME OF THE ROCK, IT IS COMMONLY ARGUED THAT THE SHRINE SERVED AS A SYMBOLIC STATEMENT TO BOTH CHRISTIANS AND JEWS THAT ISLAM WAS THE SUPERIOR FAITH, WITH ITS DESIGN RIVALLING THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, ALSO LOCATED IN JERUSALEM.

AFTER THE CITY WAS CAPTURED BY THE CRUSADERS DURING 1099, THE BUILDING WAS HANDED TO AUGUSTINIAN PRIESTS, WHO TRANSFORMED IT INTO A CHRISTIAN CHURCH. IT WAS EVENTUALLY GIVEN TO THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, WHO USED IT AS THEIR HEADQUARTERS AND RENAMED IT THE TEMPLE DOMINI. IT WAS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT THE DOME OF THE ROCK INFLUENCED THE DESIGN OFTEMPLAR CHURCHES THROUGHOUT EUROPE.


**The Dome**
The wooden dome of the building is 25m high and 20m wide, sitting on a drum that is 30m high itself. The outside of the dome was originally made of gold, but now comprises of aluminium covered in gold leaf, while the interior is elaborately decorated with marble, mosaics and verses taken from the Quran. The royal motif depicted by the mosaics likely symbolises Islamic triumph over the Byzantine and Persian Empires.

**Inside Decoration**
Unlike the outside, the mosaics inside the Dome of the Rock are original and reflect the techniques used by the Byzantine, evoking similarities with the mosaics found inside the Haga Sophia in Constantinople. However, unlike the Byzantine designs, these mosaics do not depict animals or other living beings in accordance with Muslim law, instead featuring vegetal patterns, jewels, crowns and Arabic inscriptions.

**Outside Decoration**
The original mosaics on the outside of the shrine were inspired by Byzantine techniques, however they were mostly replaced with brightly coloured Persian faience tiles when the building was restored by Suleiman the Magnificent during the 16th century. A large number of these tiles were eventually replaced with copies during the 1960s, following another restoration project by the Jordanian government.

**The Ambulatories**
The Foundation Stone is encircled by an inner ambulatory, which is then surrounded by a second, outer ambulatory. These concentric ambulatories serve as walkways, allowing pilgrims to walk around the sacred stone during the Islamic ritual of Tawaf while reading the verses from the Quran that are inscribed on the octagonal arcade.

**Inscriptions**
Some of the earliest examples in architecture of Arabic inscriptions, taken from the Quran, can be found both outside and inside of the octagonal arcade. While the design of the building is influenced by Byzantine style, the inscriptions promote the core values of Islam and emphasise its virtues over both Judaism and Christianity. It also provides a direct date for the building, 72 AH (691 CE), and to this day the inscriptions are studied by scholars from all over the world.
Symbolism
At the very top of the dome there is a full moon decoration, representing the crescent moon, which is the symbol of Islam. It is deliberately aligned so when that you look through it, you will be looking straight in the direction of Mecca.

Byzantine Inspiration
The Dome of the Rock is considered one of the first great buildings of Islamic architecture, with the domed, octagonal design drawing inspiration from the Byzantine Empire as well as the Middle East. The architectural style was also influenced by Judaism and Christianity, resembling domed the design of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as well as the domed, octagonal style of the Basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna, Italy.

Foundation Stone
The Foundation Stone is located in the centre of the floor inside the shrine and it is considered sacred to Muslims, Jews and Christians. Aside from the story of Abraham and Isaac, it is also considered by Jewish tradition to be the point where Heaven and Earth meet. On the surface of the stone there are various artificial, man-made cuts, damage which was caused by the Crusaders, and a large hole that reaches the Well of Souls below.

The Well of Souls
Also known as the Holy of Holies in Christianity and Judaism, this part natural, part man-made cave is located under the Foundation Stone and can be accessed by a staircase. The name 'Well of Souls' stems from the belief that the spirits of the dead mingle and wait inside the cave for Judgement Day. It is also believed that there is a chamber located under the floor, but because of the political sensitivities there has never been an archaeological investigation of the site.

Stained Glass Windows
There are 16 coloured, stained glass windows in the octagonal walls, which also include verses from the Quran and decorative mosaics. Installed during the restoration of the Dome of the Rock by Suleiman during the 16th century, they may have been offerings in return for divine aid, with the Sultan preparing to fight the crusade led by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who wanted to liberate Jerusalem.
**THE CRUSADES**

**THE Anatomy of**

**TAWASHI CAVALRY**

**AYUBID DYNASTY, 12TH CENTURY**

**SPEAR**

The spear had been a dominant weapon for many centuries by the time of the Tawashi Cavalry. Integral to the Muslim conquest of Arabia. On horseback, a lighter spear rather than a lance would help with mobility, but still be deadly when charging the enemy.

**AVENTAIL**

Unlike the heavier and therefore hotter chainmail hood, the use of a curtain of mail attached to a helmet like this, called an Aventail or Camail, was much more common in the era of Saladin's rule for both his heavy forces and those of the Crusader armies. It protected the neck, but importantly still allowed for maximum head movement.

**SHIELD**

The classic round shield design with a heavy boss in the centre continued to be popular for armoured fighters in Saladin's army. For the cavalry, such a shield would mostly be of use for dismounted combat rather than while still on horseback. Materials would vary between being made from wood, metal, or a more traditional hide shield known as a Daraka.

**HAUBERK**

While Saladin's heavy cavalry force is thought to have been directly inspired by the use of heavily armoured mounted forces the Crusaders, the short-sleeved design of the Tawashi's chainmail vests was their own innovation. This obviously made them slightly lighter, but also easier and cheaper to make, which was also an important consideration.

**SWORD**

During the era of Saladin, the older, straighter Saf sword and the curved blade of the Scimitar coexisted in the ranks of the Ayyubid army. It's believed that having the sword attached to a baldric, slung over the shoulder, was a deliberate choice that called back to the era of the prophet Muhammad.

**HORSE ARMOUR**

Known as either Tijafa or Bargustuwan in Arabic or Persian respectively. medium and heavy horse armour seems widespread at this point, varying in its material makeup from metal or leather or even laminated felt, often in numerous layers. The key evolution, though, was that it was much longer and covered more of the horse than earlier protections.

**BOW**

The mounted archers of Saladin's forces were some of the most feared fighters among the western invading forces, since their fast attacks and retreats at close range made them hard to counter or take out. The bows were also quite advanced, using layers of wood and horn to create a composite bow, much stronger than one made from a single piece of wood.
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Hall of Fame

CRUSADE LEADERS
The Christian and Muslim kings, queens and commanders who shaped the conflicts

GODFREY OF BOUILLON
FRENCH 1060-1100
While Godfrey was the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem established by the Crusaders, he refused the title king as he saw Jesus as the true king of Jerusalem. His journey to the Holy Lands saw him largely in a supporting role to other lords until his army was the first to scale the walls of Jerusalem and after Raymond of Toulouse refused the crown, he accepted it. Like Peter the Hermit, his forces were accused of attacking Jews on their journey towards the Holy Lands.

ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE
FRENCH 1122-1204
The famed Crusader Queen joined her husband King Louis VII for the Second Crusade, leading her own army and heading off in support of her uncle, Prince Raymond of Antioch, who had been requesting aid. An ambush on Mount Cadmus decimated their forces and Louis VII’s insistence on heading to Jerusalem and taking Damascus, forcing Eleanor to join him, proved disastrous. Her journey had its benefits as she returned to Paris with new trade routes to Constantinople and the beginnings of admiralty law.

RICHARD THE LIONHEART
ENGLISH 1157-1199
Having rebelled against his own father to claim the throne of England, Richard I likely had as many reasons as most to seek forgiveness for his sins by taking up the Crusade, but perhaps a more likely reason is his alliance with Philip II of France who had supported his rebellion and helped win his crown. The two led the Third Crusade, sparked by Saladin capturing Jerusalem. When they were defeated by Saladin’s forces, and alliances began to crumble, Richard negotiated a three-year truce with Saladin and for Christian pilgrims to travel to Jerusalem freely.

Baldwin’s illness was recognised when he felt no pain as fingernails were dug into his arm

Baldwin IV of Jerusalem
FRANKISH 1161-1185
The military achievements of Baldwin IV in defending the Kingdom of Jerusalem from Saladin would have been impressive enough if he hadn’t also been suffering from leprosy and gradually failing health through his short life. Crowned king at 13, he achieved his first successful attack on Saladin not long after, drawing him out of Damascus. His most famous victory came aged 16 at the Battle of Montgisard where he led a force of an estimated 7,000 and defeated around three times as many from the Ayyubid forces. Further victories defending Belvoir Castle, Beirut and Kerak Castle held Saladin at bay, but Baldwin’s death in 1185 provided Saladin with the opening he needed.
BAIBARS
CUMAN 1223-1277
Having been sold into slavery and joining the Mamluk class of Ayyubid warriors, Baibars established himself as a leader in defending Louis IX of France and the Seventh Crusade in 1250. He further proved himself in battle in defending the newly formed Bahri Dynasty (which succeeded the Ayyubid dynasty) against Crusader and Mongol invasion. It's believed he helped to instigate the assassination of sultan Qutuz, taking his place in 1260 and continuing to hold the Mongol invasion to the east at bay.

SALADIN
MESOPOTAMIAN 1137-1193
Easily the most famous of the Muslim leaders during the Crusades era, Saladin earned his reputation with his unifying leadership and significant military achievements. Not only did he unite the Muslims of Egypt and Syria under one banner, he kept the peace with a mixture of diplomacy and military skill. His decisive victory at Hattin in 1187 lead directly to the surrender of Jerusalem a few months later, reclaiming the city for Muslims after 88 years under Christian control. He subsequently saw off the challenge of the Third Crusade and returned to Damascus after agreeing terms with Richard I.

PETER THE HERMIT
FRENCH 1050-1116
While Pope Urban II's call to arms was largely aimed at the high lords and kings of Europe, Peter the Hermit, a travelling preacher from France, gathered forces of lesser lords and fighters in a movement that mobilised much faster. The so-called People's Crusade was crushed at Civetot, Anatolia having seemingly been caught up in religious fervour rather than wait for support. His movement is also thought to have been responsible for anti-Semitic attacks through France and Germany.

Peter the Hermit is estimated to have led around 40,000 to the Holy Land as part of the People's Crusade.

MELISENDE, QUEEN OF JERUSALEM
FRANKISH 1105-1191
The first queen of the Kingdom of Jerusalem may have been groomed by her father Baldwin II to fulfil the role, but taking the throne was not without its battles. Her own husband attempted to sideline her with accusations of an affair, but her good favour with the lords of Jerusalem meant that he ultimately had to fall in line. They may have been well served to listen to her more, however, as she along with Eleanor of Aquitaine advised against attacking Damascus in 1148, breaking a treaty Jerusalem had with the Muslim state. Defeat there led to the end of the Second Crusade and a serious breach of trust between the communities.

NUR AD-DIN
SYRIAN 1118-1174
A ruthless and highly respected military leader, Nur ad-Din made it his life's work to unite Syria and more broadly the Muslim world. Having inherited control of Aleppo from his father in 1146 he went on to take the County of Edessa from Joscelin II (killing the Christians within and enslaving women and children) and reclaimed Damascus in 1154. He saw the rising power of Saladin in Egypt and very nearly raised an army to challenge him, but died before a conflict emerged. Saladin married his widow to finally unite Syria and Egypt.

URBAN II
FRENCH 1035-1099
The 200 years of war that constituted the Crusades from 1095 to 1291 started with a single call to arms from Pope Urban II. Promising the cleansing of all sins for anyone who took up the cross to reclaim the Holy Lands (and take back Spain from the Moors), Urban II's purpose was both religious and political. He faced opposition from the Holy Roman Emperor who had selected his own antipope in Clement III and having an international religious cause to rally support around would strengthen Urban II's claim. Just a couple of years after kicking the Crusades off, a French army ousted Clement III from Rome and restored Urban II to his traditional seat of power.
Q&A With...

PROFESSOR HELEN J NICHOLSON

WHAT WAS THE LIFE OF A TEMPLAR REALLY LIKE DURING THE CRUSADES?

The Everyday Life Of The Templars is out now from Fonthill Media

The Everyday Life Of The Templars

The Knights Templar At Home

HELEN J. NICHOLSON

Prof Nicholson is a world-leading scholar of the history of military religious orders and the Crusades, who currently works in the school of History, Archaeology and Religion at Cardiff University. She is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a Fellow of the Learned Society of Wales.
**Q&A With...**

**What do you think is the biggest misconception about the Templars?**

There are so many misconceptions about the Templars that I could simply say, ‘Almost everything you think you know about the Templars is wrong’, but that would be unfair to those who do know something about the historic Templars. To choose just one misconception, there is a misconception that Templars were burned at the stake and their organisation was dissolved because they were found guilty of heresy. The Templars who were burned at the stake (in France) were burned because they confessed to heretical beliefs under torture, and then later went back on those confessions and declared themselves innocent. An accused heretic who confessed and then recanted his confession was regarded as having returned to their crime, so these Templars were burned at the stake. The pope did not find the Order of the Temple guilty as charged. He said he was dissolving it because its reputation had been so damaged by the accusations (even if unproven) that it could not continue to operate.

**How similar were living conditions from one Templar estate to another?**

Some Templar estates were on much better land and so were much wealthier than others. The wealthier houses had well-equipped chapels with fine altar-cloths, silk banners, silver candlesticks, lovely reliquaries containing holy relics, and beautiful service books. The poorer houses had very little equipment in their chapels and perhaps just one service book. Some houses had many farm workers, a maid in the kitchen, clerks assisting to keep records and many associate members with the right to eat in the Templars’ dining hall.

**Would daily life have been very close to that of a monk of this time or was there more freedom?**

Monks and Templars followed a daily routine of work and prayers set out in their regulations, their official ‘Rule’ approved by the Church. But monks’ work was focused in the monastery, and they did not normally do physical work: typically they studied, copied books, and composed books. Their social function was to pray: they were contemplatives. They might have to go out of the monastery on the monastery’s business, but their regulations expected them to live an enclosed life in the monastery. Templars (and Hospitallers, and friars) did not live enclosed lives, and their social function was to be active in the community. The Templars fought against the enemies of Christendom (on the frontiers of Christendom) or raised money for their work (everywhere else); the Hospitallers did that, and also operated hospitals; the friars preached.

**What happened to these communities when the Order of the Temple was dissolved?**

Initially the royal officials who took over the Templars’ estates and managed them kept on the employees, but they didn’t pay out the cornodies. The cornodies had to appeal to the king to get their rights and anyone who had been a member of the confraternity lost their rights and was even in danger of being called into court to give evidence against the Templars. The royal estate managers set about making as much money out of the Templars’ estates as they could, as quickly as they could, so they quickly laid off most of the workers and sold the livestock.

**How important were they as money-raisers for the Crusades?**

Outside the Holy Land, the Templars’ main focus was raising money and other resources for their military activities in the East. In Ireland in 1308 the Templar Brother Ralph de Bradley stated that the Order’s Visitor to Ireland, who should have been checking that the Templars were following their regulations correctly, had only been interested in collecting money from the sale of grain and timber to take overseas with him.

When a king was planning a Crusade, the Templars and Hospitallers would usually be involved in collecting any taxation to finance the Crusade. Popes also used the Templars and Hospitallers to transport cash. In July 1220 Pope Honorius III explained to his representative on the Fifth Crusade, Cardinal Pelagius, that he had entrusted the transportation of a large volume of cash to the Templars and Hospitallers because he had no other messengers he could trust better.
Places to Explore

CRUSADER CASTLES

Visit these sites across the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean

1 BODRUM CASTLE

Fearing invasion by the Seljuk Turks, the Knights of St John stationed in Rhodes felt it necessary to construct a mainland stronghold to supplement their island base. As such, they began work on the Castle of St Petrus (as it was originally known) in the early 15th century, with German architect Heinrich Schlegelholt designing the exterior walls - the first of which were completed after 33 years.

For material, workers plundered the nearby ornate yet earthquake-ravished Greek Mausoleum of Mausolus and the castle’s facade was adorned with beautiful reliefs that can still be seen today. More material from the Mausoleum was used when the castle was first fortified in 1494 when the constructors sought to thicken the walls as protection against cannonballs.

The multinational flavour of the castle continued when members of the Knights of St John from other countries became involved. French, German, Italian, English and Snake (or Spanish) towers created in different styles were built, decorated with carvings and coats of arms, including that of King Henry IV of England. These towers are now part of the Museum of Underwater Archaeology, which focuses on ancient shipwrecks.

It costs 25 Turkish Lira to enter the museum and castle which is open from 9am to 4.30pm daily except Mondays. Find out more at www.bodrum-museum.com

2 SIDON SEA CASTLE

Ruined by numerous conflicts and battered by nature’s elements, the remnants of this remarkable castle near the Port of Sidon can today only hint at its undoubted past splendour. In its heyday, it was a picturesque island fortress developed by the Crusaders from 1228 on the former site of a Phoenician Temple to defend the city’s harbour.

But even with the loss of exterior decoration along its fortifications and a good number of other original features long gone, the Sidon Sea Castle continues to impress, thanks to its recycled Roman columns used as reinforcements, its fortified stone causeway and its towers East and West, the latter far better preserved and a great glimpse into the past.

Although a good chunk of the castle was destroyed by the Mamluks in 1291 for fear the Crusaders would retake it and resume their military grip on the Mediterranean coast, leader of the Mount Lebanon Emirate Fakhr-al-Din II renovated the castle in the 17th century. It was again damaged - this time by British marine bombs in 1840 - but it still remains a symbolic icon of this striking location.

Entry to Sidon Sea Castle is 4,000 Lebanon pounds (or free if you’re under 10) and it opens daily from 9am until sunset.
Kerak Castle is 1,000 metres above the Dead Sea Valley.

3 KERAK CASTLE

Built high on a ridge during the mid-12th century, this imposing Crusader stronghold was perfectly located to control the trade routes between Damascus, Egypt and Mecca. Positioned to the east of the Dead Sea and an early example of Frankish architecture, it was constructed on the orders of Pagan the Butler, who was lord of Oultrejordain in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and who made Kerak Castle his seat in 1142.

Renovation and excavation of the huge complex means some parts are closed to visitors but, aside from the magnificent views over what became known as the Levant, there is much to see as you make your way through the castle’s dimly lit maze of tiny passageways below the surface and visit the interior chambers (perhaps accompanied by a guide since there are few information panels).

The original Crusader sections can be seen mainly to the north and east of the castle, notably constructed using dark rock, and they include the northern wall with its huge arches, a church, dungeons and corner towers, the latter added by Pagan’s nephew Maurice and Baron Philip of Milly.

Other parts were built after the castle fell into the hands of the first sultan of Egypt and Syria in 1187 when invaders finally breached its ditches and thick stone walls. Kerak Castle also has an archeological museum in the lower court containing lots of historical artefacts.

Access is 2 Jordanian diners but free with a Jordan Pass. The site is open between 8am and 7pm between April and September, closing at 4pm between October and March.

4 KOLOSSI CASTLE

Cyprus is something of a hotbed of Crusader castles with no fewer than nine of them, including one in the village of Kolossi. The Frankish military is understood to have initially built it in 1210 and, while only the bailey and three-storey keep remains today, it is in the vicinity of vineyards – notable since the Knights Templar nurtured these lands for a short spell in the early 14th century to produce and export a sweet wine known as Commandaria.

The castle certainly has a rich history. A former military stronghold for the Knights Hospitallers, it became their Grand Commandery following the fall of Acre in 1291. It was bestowed to the Templars between 1306 and 1313, given back, and used as a residence before being rebuilt in 1454 by the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem. Today, you can check out the large hall and the coats-of-arms carved into the walls. You can then climb to the castle top where you’ll be afforded some very rewarding views.

Entrance to the castle is €2.50. It is open daily between April and September from 8.30am to 7.30pm, and until 5pm the rest of the year.

5 BELVOIR FORTRESS

Belvoir National Park

Israel has more Crusader castles than any other country but Belvoir Fortress is the best preserved of them all. Located in a strategic spot to the north of Israel some 500 metres above the Jordan Valley, it began to be constructed in 1168 on the orders of Gilbert of Assailly, the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller. It was also built to a concentric design – effectively a castle within a castle.

As such, its outer wall was lower than its inner wall so that archers in the main section could peer over and fire. It was an effective defence made all the better by corner towers for added reinforcement and, as you walk around the extensive outer and inner fortress (having made the steep drive up there), you can get a great feel for this.

Even so, the castle was destroyed. Its strength had been tested in 1180 when it was unsuccessfully attacked by Muslim forces but it was eventually surrendered in 1189 following an 18-month siege after which it was pulled apart for fear of reconquest. When it was ceded back to the Crusaders in 1240, they lacked the funds for restoration and the structure continued to decay.

What we have today, then, is the result of painstaking excavation starting in the 1960s and there’s lots to see from a great arch and a bridge overlooking the well-preserved moat to the clear fortifications. It also lacks huge numbers of tourists so you may even get the place to yourself.

It will cost you 22 Israeli New Shekel (or 10 NIS for children) to visit Belvoir Fortress and it is open between 8am and 5pm from April to September and between 8am and 4am the rest of the year.
Historical Treasures

THE HORSES OF SAINT MARK
STATUES THAT HAVE SEEN MANY TIMES AND PLACES, CONSTANTINOPLE, POSSIBLY 2CE

The Horses of Saint Mark are a set of inanimate statues and yet they have still managed to gallop across great swaths of Europe over many centuries. Best known for having gracefully adorned the loggia of St Mark’s Basilica in Venice, their true origin remains unknown but their fascinating journey more than makes up for it.

Historians once thought they were made by the Greek sculptor Lysippus in the 4th century BCE but this has since been revised. There is now a suggestion that Greek craftsmen sculpted them in Constantinople in the second century CE and that they could have been commissioned by the Roman emperor Septimius Severus.

More certain is that they were put on display in what could become the Byzantine capital, perhaps at the northern end of the Hippodrome of Constantinople. For it was during the Fourth Crusade in 1204, which devastated the city, that the Horses were looted by the Venetians and taken to Venice where they would be stored for several decades.

Eventually added to the Basilica’s facade, they remained in place for six centuries, only to be removed and taken to Paris in 1798 following the fall of the Republic of Venice at the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte. They were then placed atop the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel but ceded to the Austrian Empire after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Promptly returned to Venice, they once again assumed their theatrical, graceful and iconic position.

Quite why these beautiful, realistic-looking statues are so revered is obvious to all who see them. Their craftsmanship has survived trying circumstance; their majestic position has bore witness to key historical events. Romans considered the horse to be a symbol of the continuity of life and to represent power: these statues certainly strike a sense of awe.

They were removed and temporarily sent to the Palazzo Venezia in Rome during World War I and they were hidden in the Benedictine monastery Praglia Abbey in 1942, such has been the desire to protect them. Attention turned to conservation in the 1970s and they were taken down in 1981. Today, they reside inside St Mark’s Basilica with exact replicas braving the elements outside.

All Ears
Look closely and you will see that the horses - each of which weigh almost 900kg - have an ear tuned to one another. There is a sense that they are communicating and listening to each other, which is rather apt given the stories they would surely be able to tell.

Lost Chariot
The Horses of St Mark originally formed a team that would have pulled a racing chariot, which is why they appear to be in action. They were actually later positioned with a chariot when they were placed upon the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel in Paris.

Copper Origins
The horses are 96.67% percent copper and not bronze as many suggested. While this meant the casting temperature was as high as 1300 degrees Celsius, making it a difficult metal to work with, it allowed the horses to be mercury gilded.

Use Of Collars
When the horses were transported to Paris, one of the heads became separated from the body. As a consequence, it was discovered that the statues were actually made in two parts and that the collars were created to cover the join.
Never underestimate the humble Biro pen.

“One small step for A man, one giant leap for mankind”, words spoken by Neil Armstrong, the first human to walk on the moon. Those moments of the 21st July 1969 will resonate, entertain and inspire generations to come.

2019 celebrates the 50th anniversary of the Apollo 11 landing, which is responsible for the first foot prints on the moon, which still remain there to this day. Corgi are proud to reintroduce two Apollo 11 products to the range in celebration of this scientific feat.
AND THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE

We mark the 75th anniversary of Operation Overlord, from the storming of Normandy’s beaches to the liberation of Paris

Written by Jonathan Gordon, Linda Herrvieux, with contributions from Jan. s Holland and Sarah Rose
Author and historian James Holland talks us through how the Allied invasion cemented its advantage despite unexpected setbacks

The liberation of France was not a foregone conclusion. Everyone knew D-Day was coming. Americans, British, French, and importantly the Nazis. For months the Allies had been working to disorient and feed false reports of where the landing would happen, but it was inevitable. What was less clear was how successful they would be. As James Holland, author of Normandy '44 and Big Week (among many other titles) tells us, it was a one step at a time process.

"The one priority of D-Day is to make sure that it doesn't fail and that it's not a total disaster," he insists. "And everyone's got the idea of what D-Day targets are and the fact that no one actually achieved what they were supposed to do on the invasion front."

What Holland is referring to is certain territorial targets that didn't get met, like US forces taking Carentan or British and Canadian troops taking Caen. Those things would come in the days and weeks that followed, but they didn't happen on day one. The German response to invasion was slow and uneven, but the terrain was challenging. And whatever griping there may have been back in London or Washington, objective one of D-Day was achieved. "Everyone got inland, everyone got a toe hold, flanks were secured," explains Holland. "By anyone's reckoning, D-Day was an incredible success and they achieved tactical surprise."

Foothold established, the Allied 'Big War' approach could be applied, having led a vanguard of 150,000 troops and now following them up with every bit of medical, mechanical, logistic, aerial and naval support that they could muster. "What you've got is a race because the Allies have overwhelming material advantage," Holland tells us. "Of that there is absolutely no question. They've got millions of men back in the UK, hundreds of thousands of vehicles, thousands of tanks and guns and the airforce. But the limit to how much you can bring over in one go or even in two goes does matter because of the constraints of shipping." Could the Allies get these resources to mainland France from across the Channel before Germany could reinforce and mount a counterattack?

Thankfully, bombing raids all across France had already been decimating transportation links and communications, albeit in a rather spread out fashion so as not to give away that Normandy would be the point of entry. That slowed down a German response and then from D-Day onwards the Allies could be even more precise. "Once D-Day arrives, the cat is out of the bag and then you no longer have to roam across a wide area to cover all bases and keep the enemy guessing. You now know it's going to be Normandy, so therefore you can focus on the approach roads to Normandy and any German troops heading to Normandy whether they be from Le Mans or Brittany or other parts of France, the moment they start moving in daylight they're going to be hammered by fighter bombers and bombers."

As an example of Allied success in this approach, 12 airfields were built from scratch in Normandy by Allied forces in the first two weeks of the invasion, massively cutting down on flight times for fighter bombers. All this means that the Allies are in charge of what happens next in Normandy, but the German reaction was uncharacteristically lacking in pragmatism and made the situation increasingly fraught and attritional.

"The German response ranged from bizarre to genuinely pretty bad. If you're looking at how the Germans did, they couldn't have done..."
much worse, to be perfectly honest," is Holland’s assessment. "There are some assumptions that are made before the campaign, before D-Day, which are based on previous experience of coming up against the Germans, which suggest that they will retreat in stages once you’ve established an initial foothold.” But Hitler had other ideas. "The difference is that Hitler decided that the Germans have to fight close to the coast, they’ve got to fight for every yard. On one level that makes sense at all, because for most of the Normandy campaign they remained in range of offshore naval guns, so there’s a whole range of firepower that they wouldn’t have facing them if they went further inland.” So instead of retreating in stages and giving up ground to the Allies quickly, the battle becomes much slower and dogged. "Why everyone is generally a bit down on the Allied effort in Normandy is that it looks like they’re not making much headway for the best part of June and July," says Holland. “In actual fact, they’re doing really well because what they’re doing is they’re grinding down those all-important Panzer divisions as they’re reaching the front and they’re never giving them a chance to operate in a coordinated counterattack, which is where they’re going to be at their most dangerous.”

Despite mounting criticism at home, Eisenhower and Montgomery held things together and most importantly the soldiers on the ground showed their bravery. “The bottom line is that fighting in 1944 against an array of spectacularly violent and powerful weapons, whether German, American or British, is fraught with danger. The fact of the matter is you can have all of the fire support in the world, but your leading troops still have to take ground. They still have to get out of their fox holes, out of their places of camouflage and cover and advance across a field or across open ground and face the guns of the enemy. That is incredibly dangerous. Lots of people get wounded and killed and it is incredibly hard to make serious progress.”

**EXPERT BIO**

**JAMES HOLLAND**
Historian, author and broadcaster

Holland is a World War II specialist whose recent books include Normandy ‘44, D-Day And The Battle For France and Big Week: The Biggest Air Battle Of War Two.
Some of the key moments that took the Allies from the beaches to the French capital

1. **7 June 1944**
   **Liberation of Bayeux**
   The small city of Bayeux becomes the first French city of its size to be liberated after D-Day when the 50th Northumbrian Division move in with minimal German resistance. Scouts had sat on the outskirts of Bayeux the night before having successfully landed on Gold Beach with the city representing an important strategic point on the road joining Caen and Cherbourg. General Kraiss had decided to pull back his men rather than face British forces, which also saved Bayeux from a planned bombing run. A week later Charles de Gaulle stands in Bayeux and declares France is with the Allies and re-establishes the laws of the French Republic.

2. **29 June 1944**
   **Capture of Cherbourg**
   The Cotentin Peninsula and most particularly the deep water port at Cherbourg were of massive strategic importance to Allied forces once the initial landing in Normandy was accomplished. Securing that port and the peninsula as a whole would allow the rest of the invasion force of the Allies to land and for more resources to be brought into France. Fighting for the peninsula starts almost immediately with the US 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions landing at its base on 6 June. Having cut off lines for reinforcement, all-out attack on Cherbourg by the US began 22 June supported by heavy bombardment from nearby battleships. They are joined by British Commandos on 26 June, while the 79th Division captures Fort du Roule. The last of the harbour defences surrender on 29 June.

3. **9 July 1944**
   **Caen Airfield Captured**
   It was originally hoped that Caen would be captured before the end of the first day of fighting (some infantrymen even had folding bicycles to speed their progress), but slow going meant that armoured support was held back and when the assault was restarted, the German defence was in place. Montgomery made the call to hold for significant reinforcements, to have an overwhelming force take the town and secure the important airfield needed by the RAF. Operation Epsom starts on 25 June and ends on 1 July without success, but once the town is surrounded and hit hard from the air from 7 July, German defences finally began to give way. The town is liberated by 9 July and the last of the German resistance cleared by 19 July, securing an all-important location for the Allies moving forward.

4. **25 August 1944**
   **Liberation of Paris**
   With the German forces decimated in Normandy, the path to Paris is not exactly easy, but much clearer. The move on the French capital had already started on 19 August with French Resistance forces leading uprisings and taking control of key locations around the city. The original plan for liberating France was focused around forcing German troops out rather than liberating Paris, since Hitler had threatened to raze the city if the Allies moved on it. Charles de Gaulle argues for the French citizens to be supported (perhaps also concerned about who would end up in control of the French liberation if his Free French Army weren’t seen to be involved) and so his forces are supported by the Allies, including the Spanish Civil War veterans of the 9th Armoured Company in taking back the city, forcing the surrender of the German garrison by 25 August.
   A combination of the people of France and its exiled military come together to free the capital with the Allies, strengthening the narrative that ‘One France’ has risen to liberate itself.
4 18 July 1944
Saint-Lô
There's a reason why Saint-Lô became known as the 'The Capital of Ruins' after it was identified as an important crossroads for potential German reinforcements to arrive from Brittany. As a result, in the hopes of capturing the city swiftly it is bombarded on the evening of 6 June through to 7 June, which adds to further bombing as the US look to take the city, leaving around 95 per cent of Saint-Lô in rubble. Thanks to the attritional nature of the fighting through Normandy's hedgerows, the XIX Corps of the First United States Army don't begin their approach until 15 July, coming in from the north and west. Further bombing from the Allies and Germans destroys even more of the city, but ultimately the Germans choose to retreat as they can no longer hold the area.

5 21 August 1944
The Falaise Pocket
The decisive battle of the liberation of Normandy is this gathering of Allied forces that traps German troops with only one, narrow route of escape out of the region if they hoped to survive. With the Army Group B ordered not to retreat, they become trapped by British and Canadian troops coming south from Caen and American troops heading north east - having cleared Saint-Lô and then moved south - starting on 12 August. The Canadians take Falaise on 17 August, by which time a German retreat is finally ordered, but the route of escape between Chambois and Saint Lambert is now only two miles wide. Polish battle groups finally close the gap on 19 August, limiting further escape.

### BATTLE OF NORMANDY IN NUMBERS

- 156,000 Troops landed on D-Day
- 14,674 Aircraft
- 13,000 Paratroopers
- 13,878 Ships
- 425,000 Killed, wounded or missing from Allies and Axis
- 100,000 Tons of Supplies
- 6,603 US Casualties
- 200,000 Prisoners captured by Allies
- 3,300 British Casualties
- 850,000 Men by end of June
- 961 Canadian Casualties
- 150,000 Vehicles by end of June
- 4,000-9,000 German Casualties
- 326,000 Allied troops within 5 days of D-Day
SABOTAGE

Sonia Purnell talks to us about the important role that Allied-organised guerrilla actions had in aiding the invasion of Normandy

While the liberation of France was ultimately going to be achieved through overwhelming land, sea and air forces on the part of the Allies, the role of more clandestine operatives should never be ignored. The RAF and USAF led bombing raids up and down France to disrupt German movement, but the Special Operations Executive (SOE) for Britain and Office of Strategic Services (OSS) for the US also provided help. Coded messages via radio broadcasts from the BBC French Service were supported by operatives on the ground, recruited from all sorts of backgrounds and nationalities, who would bridge the gap between the French Resistance and Allied planning.

"There was always a struggle between those Resistance units who were prepared to go along with Allied orders and almost be an auxiliary force and other Resistance leaders who thought ‘absolutely not’, they’re not going to do what the Anglo-Saxons are telling them," Sonia Purnell tells us. "Those agents who succeeded in bringing the Resistance units behind the allied campaign, it tended to be through almost sheer force of character. They had to not only be military leaders, but incredible diplomats - ambassadors for the allied cause. Too very different skill sets I think."

One such agent is the subject of Purnell’s most recent book, A Woman Of No Importance, that chronicles the daring exploits of Virginia Hall, who the Gestapo called ‘the most dangerous of all Allied spies’. Her experiences behind the lines offer some interesting insights into how sabotage operations were handled across France in the lead-up to D-Day.

"Following Allied orders from London she bombed the railway lines connecting [the German garrison at] Le Puy to the Germans’ supplies. She cut the telephone wires, meaning that they had to radio each other and of course radio signals they could intercept so they could find out what they were talking about,” explains Purnell. "Bit by bit she was able to cut off that garrison and make them feel like they were surrounded by huge forces. Because they intercepted the signals the Resistance always seemed to be wherever they were. If they tried to make a break for it the Resistance was always there because they knew that they were coming."

Operations like this, even with relatively untrained fighters such as Hall would have been working with, helped to confuse the Nazi occupation, giving them the impression of a much bigger organisation than really existed. But direct action was only one part of what the SOE and OSS were doing behind the lines. They also wanted a steady stream of information.

"Hall was sending back a lot of intelligence to allied command," Purnell tells us. "I found out that in the American army magazine in the 1980s they ran an article that they had discovered evidence of some of the intelligence that she had sent back when she was disguised..."
Training for the Jedburgh teams was extensive, covering both physical and technological ability, such as wireless training.

As a milkmaid, listening in to German conversations and observing German troop movements enabled them to send over aerial reconnaissance to ultimately corner the German army in the west if Paris, which helped the liberation of Paris.

This story of disguising herself as a milkmaid may seem peculiar but is broadly in keeping with SOE and OSS recruitment at the time, which looked for outcasts and those more capable of blending into the background. Hall herself had worked at the American Embassy in Warsaw, Poland before the war and lost her left leg in a hunting accident.

“SOE agents come from a huge variety of backgrounds,” Purnell adds. “Denis Rake, one of my favourites, was a musical artist and had been a child tumbler in a circus. Edward Zeff had been a haberdasher in Paris. These were unlikely people.”

But while their backgrounds were disparate, they had a common attitude and approach that was needed in the chaos of war. “You had these very daring people that were prepared to break the rules. I don’t think Virginia would have survived if she obeyed all of the rules. I think she knew how to survive and that didn’t always mean doing exactly what you were told.”

Once 6 June came around and Operation Overlord was in full force in Normandy, the mission for spies became even more intense as uniformed officers from Operation Jedburgh joined the fight in teams of three to help coordinate even more French Resistance operations. Hall was among those given a team to command, right up to and beyond the Liberation of Paris. “She stayed in the Haute-Loire region until it was liberated in August and she stayed around until September when things were cleared up a bit. She then set off with her band to find more Germans. Because it was September the allies were moving forward quickly and the Resistance was being replaced by conventional armies. Her role in France was coming to an end but at that point focus was turning to other parts of Europe and she was trained up ready to go into Austria.”

**EXPERT BIO**

**SONIA PURNELL**
Journalist and biographer

A Woman Of No Importance by Sonia Purnell, telling the story of SOE and OSS agent Virginia Hall during World War II is available now and is being made into a movie.
We answer some of the key questions about the makeup and role of French nationals in WWII

Who were the French Resistance?
As the name would suggest they were mostly French citizens, although some members and leadership were from abroad, which we'll explain a little in a moment. In terms of the background of the French Resistance members, they were from a broad range of professions. Many were already very politically active in trade unions or political parties (like the Communist party), while others were students, academics and even some Roman Catholic priests. Both men and women were actively involved in the movement.

Where was the Resistance located?
All over France in small pockets or groups, often with no clear communication with other Resistance cells. The idea of a French Resistance is a broad term for a relatively unorganised movement, but one that gained greater organisation the longer Northern France was occupied and the Vichy regime was in charge in the south.

What did they do?
Different cells would have different approaches depending on their disposition and composition. In the rural areas, armed groups known as Maquis would wage guerrilla warfare against German and Vichy forces. Other groups would publish and distribute newspapers in opposition to those in power to maintain a sense of Free French identity and stoke the flames of liberation. Other groups would work to hinder the Vichy regime and German forces in the north with sabotage of communications, rail lines and more. These efforts were sometimes made in coordination with Allied objectives as D-Day approached.

They were also able to successfully feed intelligence back to the Allies.

How important were they to D-Day?
Pretty important in terms of helping to disrupt German communications and transportation links along with the British SOE and American OSS. Once D-Day was underway, the Allies needed to not only advance quickly, but also hope the Nazis didn't reinforce to match them. With Enigma cracked and safer communications disrupted, the Allies were able to translate German plans and adapt while reinforcements were delayed from arriving through sabotage.

What was Charles de Gaulle's role?
He didn't have direct control of Resistance groups prior to 1944, but his speeches and attempts to unite them were effective and once France was liberated he was able to absorb many of the fighting fit Resistance members into his French Forces of the Interior (FFI), which was a more formally organised group recognised by Allied military and commanded by General Marie-Pierre Kœnig.

So, who were these foreign Resistance fighters?
They were numerous and from many nations. Some would have been veterans of the Spanish Civil War living in exile in France, standing up to another far right regime. Others were from Britain, Denmark, Armenia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Georgia, Germany, Austria and many more nations. Standing up to the Nazi occupation was a calling many answered.

How dangerous was it to be part of the Resistance?
Immensely dangerous for multiple reasons. First, it was dangerous work involving taking on a far superior and better-equipped force head on. The Resistance didn't have the means to take on German armoured divisions and had nothing to withstand their firepower. Additionally, in occupied and Vichy France, there were no guarantees of safety and knowing who you could trust was always hard. Gestapo agents infiltrated some movements and others might be sold out by locals for rewards. Lastly, since the Germans didn't recognise the Resistance as a legitimate military force they were not protected as prisoners of war under the Hague conventions and could be subject to torture and execution.
CHARLES DE GAULLE

James Holland explains why the French leader was a divisive figure among the Allies

When troops flooded into Paris to support the civilian uprisings that looked to overthrow the German occupation, they were not led by British, American or Canadian commanders. They were French. Although the Free French Army had been a smaller quotient of the invading forces, their commander, Philippe Leclerc de Hauteclocque, was the one leading forces into Paris, an important gesture on the part of the Allies to have France free its own capital. Credit for securing this concession from the Allies belongs to Charles de Gaulle, head of the Free French forces, but he was not a figure without some controversy.

“He’s definitely right-wing and he’s spectacularly arrogant, incredibly touchy, but he does have this terrific charisma and he does have this galvanising effect,” James Holland explains. “I think what’s clear once he does come over to France is the Allies suddenly go, “Okay, so there is big support for de Gaulle.”

It wasn’t his political leanings that seemed to have concerned the Allies though, so much as what his post-war intentions might be and their unintended role in supporting them.

“The person who is really putting the kibosh on de Gaulle having a greater role is primarily President Roosevelt,” says Holland. “He just doesn’t like the cut of his jib and he thinks that if they’re not careful France will be replacing one dictator with another. Pétain will be out and de Gaulle will be in.”

And while they may have misgivings about de Gaulle, this is why the rest of the Allies take a back seat heading into Paris. “The Americans are very keen that any new leader of France should be democratically elected and not just thrust upon them. They didn’t want to be liberators and be seen to be pushing someone who hasn’t been the choice of Frenchmen. And justifiably so.”

That all being said, de Gaulle was still kept largely out of the loop of events leading up to D-Day and that wasn’t just to do with his political leanings or leadership style. “French intelligence was notoriously lax, so that was the secondary and incredibly important reason for keeping de Gaulle and his leadership out of the loop until the last minute,” Holland tells us.

Ultimately though, after the French contribution to D-Day, Holland thinks the whole staging of the Liberation of France was handled well. “It’s conciliatory and it’s flexible. It’s recognising that they need to slightly change their pre-D-Day stance with him.”

“Let us be firm, pure and faithful: at the end of our sorrow, there is the greatest glory of the world, that of the men who did not give in.”
We take a look at the role women played in Operation Overlord, with author Sarah Rose

Since women were not permitted to take on combat roles in any of the western Allied forces, it might be easy to overlook their contribution to the war effort as a whole. And by that we don’t just mean the work done on the home fronts where women needed to step into factories and workshops to take the place of men drafted into service. Women aged 17 to 43, in Britain, could also opt to join one of the auxiliary branches of the military or serve in special operations as part of the SOE or OSS. While such work wouldn’t put them on the front line, it wouldn’t mean they were out of harm’s way either.

In terms of espionage work, women were ideal candidates off the bat for occupied France according to author Sarah Rose. “The demographic of war is overwhelmingly female. We think of war as a very macho space, it’s a very GI Joe type environment. But in an occupied country the men in France were in POW camps or had been shipped off as slave labour to Germany. There were very few men left. If there was a man who was fighting fit and of a draftable age then what was he doing in France on a bicycle? Whereas a woman blended in.” Rose has chronicled the experiences of three such women in her book D-Day Girls.

Still, in this era, there was a taboo around having women serve in the military and those behind enemy lines would have been in the minority. That being said, there is still a tendency to downplay the contribution made elsewhere, according to Rose. “There are many factors in why women’s contributions haven’t been recognised. One is that their work tends to get dismissed as clerical or secretarial, when in fact when you are receiving arms and you are using them you’re a soldier as much as anybody else. When you are hiding Resistance forces, you are working in the Resistance. So some of it was just a reclassification.”

And this applies just as aptly to the more official military posts available such as the Women’s Army Corps in the US where 150,000 women served or the Auxiliary Territorial Service in Britain where 190,000 women joined the war effort. Such services were not just secretaries back home either, with nurses on the ships heading across the Channel, pilots getting planes where they needed to be for the RAF and getting the injured back home for medical attention, radar operators, code breakers, weapon analysts, electricians, mechanics, cooks, clerks and so much more. Women were not always a visible part of Operation Overlord, but their contribution needs to be acknowledged.

It’s just a shame that in some cases it is only recently that these efforts were being recognised, but Rose understands where some of that resistance was coming from. “We want to respect those who fell on the beaches, we want to acknowledge the heroes and there is a bit of defensiveness, that if we start saying the women were heroes too we’re somehow taking the heroism away from the men on the beaches,” she concludes. “It’s as if there isn’t enough to go around, but the truth is there is. They were all heroes and it does not diminish the role of anyone to acknowledge someone else’s role.”
**Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF)**
Splitting out from the ATS where pilots had previously operated, this organisation brought those women under the wing of the RAF proper, but were still only civilian pilots transporting planes. Women in this unit, however, also worked on radar, communications and in plotting courses in the operation room.

**Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS)**
While formed in 1938, the ATS was really a return of the voluntary Women's Auxiliary Army Corps that had been formed in 1917 and disbanded after World War One in 1921. Members of the ATS would operate anti-aircraft guns, work as military police, as mechanics, drivers and much more.

**Women's Royal Naval Service (WRNS)**
Another WWII service that was revived for WWII, the WRNS (as they were known) had their roles increased to now include flying transport planes. Its recruitment poster that encouraged women to join to "free a man for the fleet" indicates the broadly support staff positions that were available to women.

**Nursing Service**
Each service had their own nursing corps with Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service, Queen Alexandra's Royal Army Nursing Corps and Princess Mary's Royal Air Force Nursing Service. During D-Day they would have been expected to help the injured get away from the landings to hospital ships.

**Women's Army Corps (WAC)**
Starting out as an auxiliary unit and changed to active duty in 1943, the US's WAC were assigned to various duties such as switchboards, mechanics, drivers and so on. That said, it was explicit in their training that they needed to be ready to replace and take over from men, just as women in Europe were doing.

**Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP)**
The WASP were a civilian unit despite numerous efforts in Congress to change that. Their role was mainly transporting military aircraft and cargo, even so 38 WASP members are believed to have been killed during the war. In 1977 WASP members were finally given veteran status in the US.
Linda Hervieux brings us the story of the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion and the experience of African-American soldiers in Normandy.

It was the water that surprised Henry Parham - so much water. Soldiers weighted down with too much gear were drowning before their eyes as Parham, a 22-year-old soldier in the United States Army, dropped into the sea off Omaha Beach. He struggled to keep his head above water as he slogged his way to the sand. It wasn't a much better option there, as enemy fire cut down men all around him.

Parham, a bus porter back home in Virginia, was a member of the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion, the only black combat unit to land on D-Day in the segregated United States Army. In the early hours of 6 June 1944, the men of the 320th boarded more than 150 landing craft, taking with them balloons that Royal Air Force crews had inflated at ports along the coast in southern England. Their mission was to raise a curtain of the silvery spheres high over the beaches to protect the men and material from German dive-bombers. The balloons packed a secret punch: a plane strike would trigger a small bomb attached to the cable that anchored the balloon to the ground. A good hit could blow a wing or the gas tank. While the infantrymen they landed with hustled to get off the beach, the 320th men were staying put. In the days and weeks following, some balloons companies would move up the coast to help liberate key ports such as Cherbourg.

In the weeks after the invasion, the 320th men raised more than 140 balloons over Omaha and Utah beaches. Pilots were terrified of the gas bags, lurking in the clouds as high as 2,000 feet. "If a Nazi bird nests in my nest," a private from Mississippi told a newspaperman, "he won't nestle nowhere else." Although the balloons were deemed a success and the 320th men achieved a level of fame as their handlers, the battalion was all but written out of the story of D-Day. It was a common story for black soldiers. The famed squadron of black pilots known as the Tuskegee Airmen were all but forgotten until the mid-1990s after a movie was made about them for American television.

One of the 320th men, a medics wounded in the landing named Waverly Woodson, saved so many lives on 6 June that he would be nominated for the Medal of Honor. He would not receive it. No black soldiers did during World War II. There is a campaign underway to change that, led by the Woodson family and Senator Chris Van Hollen of Maryland.

But the 320th were not the only black soldiers who landed on the beach on 6 June. By nightfall, more than 1,000 African-Americans would join them, the majority assigned to labour battalions. Under relentless fire, they unloaded ships and moved supplies. The 4042nd Quartermaster Truck Company won a commendation from Gen Dwight D Eisenhower for displaying 'ingenuity' for salvaging vehicles sunk during the landing. The balloon flyers were the only other black unit cited for carrying out their mission with 'courage and determination'.

**SHADOW OF JIM CROW**

The men of the 320th trained to fly their balloons in Tennessee at Camp Tyson, which like much of the US in the 1940s, was segregated by race. Black troops were considered inferior, not as intelligent or brave. Forays off base weren't much better. On a weekend trip to Memphis, Wilson Monk and his friends were stunned to see a line of German prisoners of war file into a restaurant where black soldiers were not allowed. Residents in the southern towns where most army bases were situated shunned.
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THE BEGINNINGS OF A MOVEMENT
The respectful treatment African-Americans received outside their own country, from Britain to Asia, even in occupied Germany, was a revelation. No longer willing to live as second-class citizens, their experiences abroad would help fuel the budding civil rights movement.

But it took a tragedy for the Army to finally equalise the treatment of the races. In February 1946, Isaac Woodard, a black soldier on his way home to Georgia, was blinded during a severe beating by cops in the South Carolina. Photos of Woodard in uniform, his head swathed in bandages, shocked the nation. "This (expletive) has got to stop," President Harry Truman told his staff. Two years later, Truman finally signed Executive Order 9981, ending racial segregation in the US Armed Forces.

EXPERT BIO
LINDA HERVIEUX
Author, journalist and photographer

Hervieux is the author of Forgotten: The Untold Story of D-Day's Black Heroes, At Home And At War, telling the comprehensive story of the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion.
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50 years after the US put a man on the moon, we revisit the Cold War origins behind the space race and how the USSR initially set the pace

Written by Felix Rowe

For millennia, mankind has gazed up at the stars in the hope that they might provide a greater understanding of our place in the world. Entire societies were built upon the natural clockwork of the Sun, Moon and stars. We literally worshipped them as gods. Key to the allure of the celestial bodies was the very fact that they were untouchable; twinkling back at us from afar, yet tantalisingly out of our grasp. But what if mankind could indeed reach out and touch them? Moreover, what if one superpower could conquer a celestial body, stick a flag in it, assert its superiority, and use the feat to pursue its own ends?

Speaking in September 1962, President John F. Kennedy laid down a challenge to the American people to do just that. “We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard; because that goal will serve to organise and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that goal manifests the best in our nature; its reached will serve to launch us beyond the dawn towards the stars.” And while the space race was well under way, with this statement Kennedy had rung the bell of its most important final lap.
At 2.56am EDT on 21 July 1969, 600 million people eagerly watched their TVs worldwide as Neil Armstrong stepped down onto the Moon's surface and uttered those immortal lines: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." It was a monumental technological achievement.

Meanwhile back on Earth, mankind was locked into an ideological battle for supremacy, fronted by two world superpowers. At the very moment that the Eagle landed, hundreds of thousands of Armstrong's fellow countrymen were stationed in Vietnam, immersed in a bloody, fiercely contested and controversial international conflict. Despite the distance, the two events were connected.

**A BATTLE OF IDEOLOGY**

As World War II drew to a close, a new battle of ideology arose in its wake between the capitalist West and the communist Soviet bloc. Nazi aggression had forced an awkward but necessary coalition between the two emerging superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. With this common enemy eliminated, the former allies began to look at one another with increasing suspicion.

The years that followed were marked by a series of moves, each side sussing out its opponent, spreading its influence, and shoring up its position on the world stage. There was the formation of NATO (a military alliance between the US and Western Europe) and the descending of the Iron Curtain - each step represented a heightening of tensions and deepening of the divide.

Though never officially at war, the US and Soviet regimes fought each other by proxy, lending their might to those that supported their broader cause. Vietnam was one of many conflicts fought during the Cold War. Indeed, the label itself obscures the fact that a good deal of fighting actually took place, with huge death tolls worldwide.

Fighting vicariously was one thing, but there were other means of asserting superiority. Guns and physical force might help to overthrow a specific regime, but winning people's minds would require another tact. Proving technological and scientific prowess was a key piece to the puzzle, both at home and on the international stage. Dominance of the land, seas and skies was no longer enough. Space was the logical next frontier.

It's against this backdrop that the Apollo lunar programme developed. The story of the space race and that of the Cold War are inseparable.

**WORLD WAR II ORIGINS**

World War II saw huge aeronautical breakthroughs. While rocketry was still a relatively nascent technology, its potential was clearly huge. Germany was the first to effectively demonstrate its potency, the Allies all too aware of the havoc that the Nazi liquid-propelled V-2 rockets could wreak.

In fact, Germany's rocket development pre-dated the Nazis. The Weimar Republic's original programme had its roots in the Treaty of Versailles. The infamous First World War peace treaty had banned the development of
long-range cannons. So the republic focused on ballistic missile technology instead, to sidestep the restrictions. The Nazis built on this further under the 'Aragrat' programme, breaching the Earth's atmosphere by June 1944 with a V-2.

When the Nazi regime toppled, the US and Soviets raced to get hold of its technology first. Under 'Operation Paperclip', over 1,600 top Nazi scientists were quietly spirited away to the US to aid its burgeoning space programme. Included among them were Wernher von Braun and Kurt H Debus, integral figures in NASA's rocket development in the 1950s and 1960s. It remains controversial today that several alleged Nazi war criminals evaded justice at the Nuremberg Trials, becoming respected pillars of American society, even rubbing noses with Presidents.

The US also transported several unlaunched V-2 rockets back home for research and development purposes. The V-2 design would become the main template for both early American and Soviet rocket design.

Meanwhile, the Soviet regime had to settle for claiming Peenemünde, the former Nazi Army Research Centre in East Germany, which now fell into its sphere of influence. The race had begun.

**SPUTNIK: THE RACE IS ON**

If the space race was an exercise in flaunting technological prowess, then the US was embarrassingly slow out of the blocks. On 4 October 1957, coinciding with a global scientific event known as the International Geophysical Year, the Soviet Union successfully launched the beach ball-sized satellite 'Sputnik' into orbit.

With American anti-communist sentiment at its highest, the news couldn't have been much worse. Democratic Governor G Mennen Williams summed up the mood:

"Oh little Sputnik
With made-in-Moscow beep,
You tell the world it's a Commie sky
And Uncle Sam's asleep."

This was followed a month later by the notably larger Sputnik II, carrying a canine passenger, 'Laika' (another first). The US response did little to allay fears. On 6 December, millions watched live as the US launched its own Vanguard TV3 rocket, which made it just a few feet into the air before exploding. The debacle was labelled 'Flopnik' and 'Stay-putnik' in the national press.

The Soviet Union relished its success: the UN delegate mocked his US counterpart, sarcastically offering help "under the Soviet programme of technical assistance to backwards nations." The US would succeed shortly after with Explorer 1, but the damage had been done.

On the face of it, the message was clear: the Soviets were setting the pace technologically. At this rate, who knew what the USSR might accomplish? Symbolism aside, there was the very real danger of these technological feats being militarised. Once the stuff of science fiction, extra-terrestrial weapons no longer seemed quite so far fetched. Certainly, there was domestic perception in US of a dangerous 'missile gap'.

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**THE MEN OF THE MOON LANDING**

A quick look at the men who would make history by piloting the Apollo 11 mission to the moon

1. **Michael Collins** (command module pilot)
   Replaced Jim Lovell on the team having had to drop out of the Apollo 8 crew for surgery, returning for this mission. Lovell would later command Apollo 13.

2. **Buzz Aldrin** (lunar module pilot)
   Armstrong was given option to drop Aldrin, but backed him for the crew.

3. **Neil Armstrong** (commander)
   As with his colleagues, this would be his second and final spaceflight.
WE COME IN PEACE?

The idea of civilian space exploration masking more sinister military intentions has been a key theme from the beginning. The Outer Space Treaty, signed in 1967 by both the US and Soviet Union, essentially set out the international rules of space. It didn’t outright ban the militarisation of space, but placed limits, including the restriction of activities on the Moon for peaceful purposes only.

NASA was understandably keen to promote the Apollo programme as a benevolent endeavour. The Apollo 11 mission badge pointedly depicted an eagle with an olive branch in its talons, echoing the engraving on the plaque left behind on the landing module: "We came in peace for all mankind." That said, it was the national emblem of Stars and Stripes that was driven into the Moon rock.

A decade earlier, lack of cooperation during the height of tensions lost the USSR a major scientific first. Had it shared data during the Sputnik II mission, it could have claimed the discovery of the 'Van Allen' radiation belt, a feat later claimed by the Americans.

Recent years have seen greater cooperation, but distrust lingers on. Cyber warfare is one of today’s big concerns, which Kendrick Oliver notes is "deeply connected to the development of defence-related space-based technologies in the 1960s and 1970s."

What’s more, the current president has expressed his desire to put astronauts back on the Moon within the next five years. The Russian response was to question the point of "repeating a 50-year-old achievement", suggesting such ventures are often "just a cover-up" for military activities.

Propelled by several reports critical of insufficient defence spending, the Democrats seized upon the supposed missile gap as evidence of the sitting Republican President Eisenhower’s apparent incompetence. How could the military hero have let this happen on his watch?

But what Eisenhower knew - yet couldn’t reveal publicly for security and diplomatic reasons - was that the Soviet rocket programme was in fact far less superior than supposed. American U-2 spy planes had confirmed that the Soviets didn’t yet have the capabilities (the combined technology of mounting a warhead onto a rocket) to seriously threaten American soil.

Conscious to remain levelheaded and avoid unnecessary spending, Eisenhower was in a tricky position that left him open to accusations of incompetence, complacency, or even a lack of imagination.

Certainly, Eisenhower had relatively little enthusiasm for space exploration in general. In November 1958, he bluntly told his Cabinet: "Look, I’d like to know what’s on the other side of the Moon, but I won’t pay to find out this year." In Eisenhower’s view, it was better to have "one good Redstone nuclear-armed missile than a rocket that could hit the Moon. We have no enemies on the Moon."

Eisenhower might have been showing his experience as a pragmatic, cool-headed commander, refusing to bow to political pressures. Yet equally, he was perhaps failing to grasp the wider emotional attachment of space exploration; the value to national morale that such endeavours might bring.

The Sputnik debacle did, however, hasten a pivotal development in the US’s space race. In late July 1958, an act was signed to establish a dedicated national civilian space agency. Much existing infrastructure, technology and R&D that had been scattered among the various arms of the military would be absorbed into this new organisation. And so the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was born.

KENNEDY SETS SIGHTS ON THE MOON

January 1961 heralded the arrival of a new US President, John F Kennedy, swiftly followed by another humiliating Soviet milestone. On 12 April, the US was once again pipped to the post as Russian Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin successfully completed an orbit of Earth, becoming the first man in space and an instant national hero.

There’s a small irony that the US Air Force programme originally tasked with achieving this particular feat (before the formation of NASA) was titled ‘Man in Space Soonest’ - rather unfortunately abbreviated to ‘MISS’. Among the personnel selected for the military-led programme was a promising young test pilot named Neil Armstrong.

If Eisenhower saw space exploration as a mere frivolity, then its value was better...
understood by his successor. JFK's ascension was key to kick-starting the US's flagging effort.
Public perception mattered to JFK; something he seized upon for political advantage. With the USSR racking up several major 'firsts', America set its sights on the ultimate goal. It could not face the embarrassment of its arch-rival claiming the Moon too.

It wasn't just national pride at stake. It ran much deeper than that. This was about defending the very foundations the country was built upon - affirming the 'American Dream'. Could it really be that the Land of the Free was technologically, and hence ideologically, inferior to Communism after all?

And so, on 25 May 1961, JFK stood before Congress and famously laid out his intentions: "Now it is the time to take longer strides - time for a great new American enterprise - time for this nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement, which in many ways may hold the key to our future on Earth ... I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to the Earth. No single space project in this period will be more impressive to mankind, or more important in the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish."

In laying down the gauntlet so publicly, Kennedy had to be pretty confident the US could pull it off. Propaganda value aside, there was a very pragmatic consideration in selecting this particular challenge. The technology required was then out of the existing capacity of both powers, putting NASA on an equal technological footing with the Soviets.

As Professor of American History at the University of Southampton, Kendrick Oliver explains, "At the point the decision was made, there were some more obvious next steps: longer solo flights, spacewalks, two-men crews, three-men crews, an orbital space-station, and then the Moon. But the USSR had the lead and so the need was to set a goal that was sufficiently distant in time and impressive in its own terms to give the US a chance of catching up, getting there first and claiming some worthwhile laurels. The US believed that the Soviets hadn't really committed themselves to the Moon, so there was scope for leapfrogging them with a highly directed programme."

**THE COLD WAR HEATS UP**

Outside the confines of the space race, the timing of JFK's announcement was particularly apposite. The Vietnam War, steadily simmering away since the mid-1950s, was still yet to reach its height. US involvement would escalate under his leadership, reaching its apex on the eve of Apollo 11. But Vietnam was a relatively minor consideration when the plans were first announced. A more immediately pressing concern lay much closer to home. Cuba, traditionally a key US satellite, was undergoing a revolution, led by the communist revolutionary Fidel Castro, supported by the legendary counter-culture figure, Che Guevara.

One of Kennedy's first international actions in April 1961 (just five days after Yuri Gagarin's triumphant orbit) was the botched US invasion to overthrow the Cuban revolutionaries. The ensuing fallout would lead to the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, when the US discovered that Soviet missiles had been installed just 90 miles off the coast of Florida - the closest that the US and Soviet Union would get to all-out war.

The race for the Moon assumed greater potency. As Oliver notes, "Kennedy was primarily motivated by the fear that the United States would be perceived to be falling behind the Soviet Union in technical, scientific and economic terms, leading all those new countries in the decolonizing Third World [and] Global South to identify the USSR as
the wave of the future and align themselves with it politically... The announcement of the lunar goal was an attempt to take back control of the Cold War narrative."

THE APOLLO PROGRAMME

JFK’s assassination in 1963 meant he would never see his goal realised. But he set a train in motion and by the end of the decade, as promised, his country would rise to the challenge. With the former-Nazi scientist Wernher von Braun at the helm, the Apollo programme fulfilled its task, propelled by the now iconic Saturn rockets.

But, again, things didn’t get off to a great start. The Soviet cosmonaut Alexei Leonov completed the first space walk in March 1965 during the Voskhod 2 mission. Then Apollo I, an early development stage, ended in tragedy when all three crew died in a pre-launch cabin fire in January 1967.

The programme ploughed on, with the US finally achieving a few of its own firsts - essential steps towards the ultimate goal. Apollo 8 in 1968 marked a notable milestone, with the crew leaving Earth’s orbit, to orbit the Moon for the first time. The breathtaking ‘Earthrise’ images provided an entirely new perspective of our own planet, as viewed from afar. Apollo 9 and 10 set the stage further, respectively demonstrating the capabilities of the lunar module and acting as the ‘dress rehearsal’ for Apollo 11.

Finally, the US was clawing back control of the space race narrative. The development of the N-1 launcher - the Soviet answer to the Saturn rockets - was thwarted by a slow start, the death of key engineer Sergei Korolev, and underfunding, effectively superceding the USSR’s chances of claiming the Moon. But the Soviet space effort hadn’t quite given up hope just yet. In January 1969, a considerable feat was achieved when Soyuz 5 docked with Soyuz 4 in orbit, with crew transferred between the two satellites.

THE EAGLE HAS WINGS

With the stage now set, America homed in on its target. Four days after its launch on 16 July, astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin landed the Apollo 11 lunar module on the Moon and prepared to make history, as fellow crew Michael Collins orbited above.

With the US about to claim this laurel, the USSR made one last ditch attempt to dampen the success. As the moonwalk was in motion, the USSR’s unmanned probe Luna 15 descended on the Moon, tasked with bringing material samples back to Earth. Unfortunately for the Soviets, it crashed on impact, while the US astronauts returned home triumphant.

Apollo 11 was the first of six Apollo missions that would put 12 astronauts on the Moon. Effectively, the space race was over.

INTO THE FUTURE

The American space programme may have set out to galvanise the country. But in reality, many Americans were questioning the very notion of the so-called ‘American dream’ anyway. If anything, rather than a positive distraction, the costly Apollo programme had the opposite effect, heightening resentment among those who thought the money would be better spent elsewhere. Most Americans will more readily identify the 1960s with the Civil Rights movement than the Apollo programme was exclusive to a select group of privileged white Americans.

For some commentators, the Moon landings were little more than a vanity project, but the wider context is important in appreciating their ultimate significance. The space race signalled several historic milestones in humanity - not just technologically, but in heralding an entirely novel theatre of warfare, beyond our own planet.

“A lot of the key figures in the development of the new digital economy have taken inspiration from the Apollo programme,” says Kendrick Oliver. “But the Moon landings - and the broader civilian space programme - also served as a shroud obscuring the extent to which defence and intelligence agencies were making use of space-based technologies. Those technologies and the concomitant view that space is the ‘high ground’ essential to military dominance rather than a zone of peaceful co-operation like Antarctica are still with us, in the way that the Saturn V is not.”

AFTER YOU...

The Space Race may have symbolised the ideological battle for firsts between the world’s two great superpowers, where coming second-best simply wouldn’t do. But there has been the suggestion of another fiercely contested battle of politics on a more localised level - indeed, inside the lunar landing module itself. Several commentators have detected a decidedly cool atmosphere between the Apollo 11 crew members, something played down by the men themselves.

Rumours persist of fierce debates between Armstrong and Aldrin over who would get to step onto the Moon first and go down in history. Should it be the commander of the mission, Armstrong, or the pilot of the landing craft, Aldrin? Supposedly, the battle extended beyond the two men themselves, with factions forming over the decision and what the two individuals represented. Aldrin’s personality and outward displays of religion were a concern for some.

Aldrin later dismissed the decision as a simple practicality based on their physical positions in the cramped landing module, making it more practical for Armstrong to get out first, to avoid snagging their space suits. However, another argument holds that the decision-makers felt it would be favourable politically for the civilian and supposedly more level-headed Armstrong to be the torchbearer for this American achievement.
Launched on July 16, 1969, the spacecraft carried Commander Neil A. Armstrong, Command Pilot Michael Collins and Lunar Module Pilot Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin. On July 20, at 4:18 pm EDT, while the entire world held its breath, the lunar landing craft named Eagle 1 safely touched down. Several hours later, Armstrong and Aldrin became the first humans to stand on the moon while Collins orbited above.

To commemorate this great event, Fisher Space Pen Co. has issued 500 Limited Edition AG-7 Space Pens, each one featuring actual, authenticated material from the Apollo 11 Spacecraft. The space flown material is “Kapton” foil, and it served as a protective thermal insulation for the Command module Columbia. This rare artifact floats in a water-clear acrylic dome sealed into the pen’s cap. This exquisite collectible is further distinguished with a black titanium nitride finish complemented with fine engravings plated with 24 karat gold. The diamond cut engraving includes an American Eagle landing on the moon, historic dates, Apollo 11 50th Anniversary text, and the serial number for each of the 500 issues.

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EXPERT BIO

Emma Southon

Dr. Southon has a PhD in Ancient History and is the co-host of the podcast History is Sexy with Janina Matthewson. Her first book, Agrippina: Empress, Exile, Hustler, Whore, is available now from Unbound.
In 51 CE, Rome saw a sight it had never seen before. The sight came at the end of a grand parade through the streets of Rome designed to humiliate a captured enemy of the empire. The British rebel Caratacus had finally been caught and had been displayed with great pomp and circumstance to the Roman people and then, finally, he was to be presented at the feet of the emperor himself. But this time, for the first time in Rome’s 800-year history as a kingdom, then a republic, then an imperial centre, a woman sat beside the emperor. Agrippina Augusta sat on a dais beside her husband, Claudius, with the standards of the Roman army swaying in the breeze behind her. She was the first and only woman to sit as the empress of Rome, as her husband’s equal.

Julia Agrippina Augusta, more commonly remembered as Agrippina the Younger, was 36 years old on that day. She was twice widowed. She had been orphaned before she turned 16 and all five of her siblings had been murdered. Her third and final husband was the emperor Claudius and he was her father’s older brother. Just a decade previously, Agrippina had been living in exile. Her life was a rollercoaster of highs and lows but, in 51 CE, it was at its height. Agrippina was ruling the empire, as she knew she deserved to.

“The early years of Agrippina’s life were full of violence and pain and fear, but they forged her into a woman of incredible strength and ambition”

Agrippina was the daughter of Vipsania Agrippina and Germanicus, and claimed both the emperor Augustus as a great-grandparent through her mother and the ancient aristocratic lineage of the Claudian family through her father. Her parents were Rome’s darlings, adored by everyone, and they fulfilled their promise by having six children. Agrippina seemed to be born into a charmed life, but her childhood turned out to be hard. Germanicus died, under mysterious circumstances, when Agrippina was a toddler. A decade later, after a long-running feud with the emperor Tiberius, her mother and two oldest brothers were exiled and then executed. At 13, Agrippina was married off to her cousin, the notoriously violent Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, 20 years her senior. The early years of Agrippina’s life were full of violence and pain and fear, but they forged her into a woman of incredible strength and ambition.

In 37 CE, when Agrippina was 22, her fortunes changed. Her great-uncle Tiberius died and her remaining brother Gaius – better known as Caligula – became emperor. Agrippina knew safety for the first time in her life, and she celebrated by immediately becoming pregnant. She gave birth to her only child, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, ten months after Gaius ascended to the throne. During those ten months, she and
her two sisters enjoyed unprecedented privilege and luxury. They were included in oaths of loyalty alongside their brother and were the first named women to ever appear on a Roman coin. Again, it seemed that Agrippina was settling in for a life of privilege and luxury as an imperial woman. Again, it wasn’t to be. First, their middle sister Drusilla died, sending Gaius into deep grieving. And then, Agrippina and her youngest sister Livilla were caught plotting against him.

The details of this plot are deeply obscure. Agrippina, Livilla and Drusilla’s widower Lepidus (also Gaius’s best friend) were tried, and humiliating love letters between Agrippina and Lepidus were read out in court. Whatever the details, it’s apparent that a life of passive luxury did not satisfy Agrippina. She wanted more, and it could have killed her. Gaius was generous, though, and rather than execute them, he sent his sisters to exile on separate islands. Agrippina’s punishment was to be condemned to a life of solitary boredom. As she arrived on the island of Ponza, Agrippina was facing decades of life in exile with her brother as emperor.

Fortune had other ideas. Just a year later Gaius was assassinated and replaced by his dodging academic uncle Claudius. As all new emperors did, Claudius immediately reversed all his predecessors’ policies and that included pardoning political prisoners. Agrippina was allowed to return to Rome. She returned to a strange situation. Claudius was in his fifties and had been deliberately kept out of politics by Augustus and Tiberius. Gaius had brought him into political life but his experience was poor and the senate had no respect for him. They had even less respect for his wife, Messalina, who was in her early twenties. Rome was in constant turmoil, with regular treason trials and occasional rebellions. Claudius responded with frequent executions.

Agrippina’s response was to keep herself safe. Her son was the only living male descendant of the Divine Augustus and she was the sole remaining child of the adored Germanicus. They were a powerful threat to the emperor and his own son, who were from the lesser side of the Julio-Claudian family. So, Agrippina stayed away from Rome for five years. She re-appeared only when Messalina signed her own death warrant by bizarrely getting married to someone else while Claudius was on a day-trip. Messalina was executed within hours.

Weeks after Messalina’s execution, Agrippina burst back into the spotlight when it was announced that the laws concerning incest were being changed so that Claudius could marry her. He was also going to adopt her son, changing his name to Nero, and betroth his new son to his daughter Octavia. Agrippina had travelled from princess, to exile, to minor royal, to the incestuous wife of the emperor, all by the age of 30.

For most women in the Roman world, a world in which women were considered to be
perpetual minors and were not legally allowed to even sign contacts, this would be the height of their ambition. To be the wife of a powerful and aristocratic man and to have a clear pathway to power for their children was the very best that a woman could hope for. Agrippina was different to other Roman women. She was not content with the impotent influence that was a perk of being the emperor's wife. She wanted real power. She wanted to rule.

Agrippina got lucky with her husband. Claudius was bad at politics and bad at ruling, and he was happy to accept help, even from his wife. Agrippina stabilised his reign and the executions and rebellions almost immediately ceased. Within a year, she had taken the honorific Augusta, making her Claudius's equal in name. She celebrated by founding a city in the place of her birth. We now know it as Cologne.

Agrippina became intimately involved in the running and administering of the empire. She was her husband's partner in rule in every way. She broke every rule of appropriate female behaviour by refusing to be a quiet, passive wife. In 52 CE, she caused an immense stir by appearing at a spectacular event, the draining of the Fucine lake, in a man's military cloak made of gold thread. She glittered and dazzled the crowds of spectators and appalled them. In the same year, she sat in state to receive the captured British rebel Caractacus alongside Claudius. She was a clear, public presence and a part of the Roman state. She even appeared on her husband's coinage, her face overlaid by his. She was everything a Roman woman was not supposed to be.

This is one reason why she appears in the Roman sources as a monster. She was a woman who dared to speak and act in public and she did it well. A good Roman woman was silent, modest, fertile, and domestic. Agrippina was none of these things. She did not act like a good woman should act, and so she was a villain.
This was the pinnacle of Agrippina's status; she seemed to have transcended the limits placed upon her as a result of her gender and attained true power. It was an illusion, and it did not last.

It took only a few months for Nero to realise that his imperial power had no limits and that he did not have to be beholden to his mother. She had granted him the empire, but now the empire was his. She thought she had given him a gift he would freely share with her. What she had really given him was a weapon he could wield against everyone, including her. He was supported in this conclusion by his tutor, the Stoic philosopher and playwright Seneca, who actively opposed the participation of women in politics. Despite owing Agrippina his life and career, Seneca worked with Nero to remove Agrippina from all public and political spaces and, in doing so, he exposed how unprotected she was as a woman.

The first crisis for Agrippina's power occurred when a delegation from the troubled province of Armenia came to Rome. Nero received them formally, and Agrippina arrived at the reception expecting the same treatment her husband had given her. She stepped onto the imperial dais to take her seat as the emperor's equal. Seneca and Nero acted swiftly. Nero kissed his mother and then firmly guided her off the dais and out of the room. He humiliated her and destroyed her fragile appearance of power in just a few seconds.

For five years, their relationship continued to deteriorate. There were frequent arguments and threats, and Agrippina's role became less and less public. Although she was still a presence in Nero's reign, she vanished from the sources, but the empire continued to run smoothly, despite Nero's lack of interest or ability. These years are the most difficult for biographers of Agrippina, but it appears that during this time she wrote her autobiography; the only woman in Roman history to have done so. Our main evidence that she was still an active participant in running the empire is that, in 59CE, Nero decided to kill his mother. It was not easy. Attempts to poison her were thwarted by her habit of taking antidotes and the loyalty of her household. Attempts to stab her were undermined by her popularity with the army and people of Rome and the fear that an overt assassination would end in a revolt.

Eventually, Nero resorted to the bizarre theatrics of a collapsing boat to disguise her death as an accident. He was, apparently, unaware that she was a strong swimmer and she survived this too. In terror and despair, and concerned Agrippina would turn against him, Nero persuaded a loyal ally to butcher her in her own house. At the age of just 43, Agrippina died in her bedroom, rebellious and furious to the last moment, directing her murderers where to stab her, demanding to be stabbed in her womb. She was buried in an unmarked grave outside of Rome and for years Nero refused to mention her. She was denied the public funeral and honours she deserved. This matricide was seen as one of the greatest crimes of Nero's reign.

Agrippina's life was one of extraordinary lows and exceptional highs. More than any other woman in Roman history, she tried to transcend the legal and social limits that were placed on her in Rome because of her gender. She refused to be put into the easy boxes of wife and mother and instead created the role of Augusta, a partner in the empire. She created her own path, which took her to ruling Rome peacefully for almost a decade and which placed Nero, the destruction of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, on the throne. She was a diplomat and a murderer. She was the sister, niece, wife and mother of emperors. She was an exile and an empress. She was the most extraordinary woman that Rome ever saw.

There is, however, a second reason that Agrippina is remembered as a monster. Agrippina’s greatest ambition was to have her son, now called Nero, succeed her husband as emperor. After five years of ruling alongside Claudius, his biological son Britannicus was about to come of age and enter public life, threatening Nero's succession. Although Nero was just 19, Agrippina took a risk. She murdered her husband. Although there are multiple versions of how Claudius died, and the wife wielding poison is a classic trope of Roman literature, sources are unanimous that Agrippina killed her husband to save her son’s career.

This murder was monstrous in itself, and it ushered in a monstrous age. Nero’s reign lasted for almost 14 years and they were remembered by those who survived them and those who heard about them from their parents as a time of unparalleled horrors. Nero was capricious, cruel and tyrannical. He ran the Roman empire as his personal theatre troupe, and murdered everyone who upset him, starting with his own family. Nero became emperor because Agrippina made it so. For many, she was as much to blame for the crimes of his reign as the emperor himself.

Agrippina, however, could not have predicted how Nero’s reign would turn out. It certainly was not how she planned. When the teenage emperor took the throne, Agrippina assumed that she would be regent, and, for the first few months, that’s how it seemed to go. In Aphrodisias in Turkey, there survives an extraordinary sculpture depicting Agrippina dressed as the goddess Roma placing a crown upon Nero's head. She holds the power of the empire, and she grants it to her son.

“She tried to transcend the legal and social limits that were placed on her in Rome because of her gender”

The mother of Cologne

The city founded by Agrippina

Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium was founded in 50 CE on the banks of the Rhine, upgrading a town named Oppidum Ubiorum where Agrippina was born to the status of Roman colony. It was known colloquially as Colonia Agrippinensis - The Agrippinian Colony and, over time, this was shortened to simply The Colony. The city still holds a version of this name today, called Köln in German and Cologne in English. The city was a beacon of Roman culture in the area, populated by retired Roman soldiers and Germanic Roman allies. The upgrade to colony status meant that new temples to the Capitoline Trio and to the Imperial cult were built, as well as bath houses, protective walls and a theatre: the foundations of Roman culture. Cologne became an international centre for artisanal glass production and developed its own intricate, signature style of glass decoration called snake-thread. Today, Agrippina is still remembered as the Mother of the City and The Maiden in the annual carnival parade where she is played each year by a man in ‘Roman’ dress.
Nero's legendary cruelty is depicted here as he tests poisons on a slave.

Agrippina, dressed as the goddess Roma, crowns her son Nero.

Nero attempted many times to have his mother killed, finally having her stabbed to death.
Taira Masakado
The First Samurai

Among the samurai, there were none like the first, Taira Masakado, whose premature rebellion brought the imperial court to its knees.

Written by Hareth Al Bustani

A shadow emerges from the flames atop a horse. Digging his feet into the stirrups, he burns like a crazed dragon, over the corpses of his enemies and their houses. Before long, all of Japan will know the name of Taira Masakado, the greatest warrior in the realm, a New Emperor for a new era. And all of this could have avoided.

Masakado was born in 903 CE, a great-grandson of Emperor Kammu, and a member of the powerful Taira clan. To ease the royal coffers, his grandfather, Prince Takamochi, renounced his royal lineage and settled in the eastern Kantō plain - the fertile lowland surrounding modern Tokyo - where his sons rapidly became powerful landowners. While the state had once held a monopoly on land, now most was privately owned - by temples, shrines, individuals and local clans.

Due to high imperial taxes, most peasants preferred to work for private landowners - who, with property disputes on the rise, armed them with spears and taught them archery, hunting and horse riding. Among the new class of private landowners were absent noblemen, living the high life in the capital of Heian, or modern Kyoto, retired governors who had settled in their former postings, and local clans with historic roots to their land. To make up for a lack of soft power, clans trained their peasants with exceptional bravado, promising to protect them at all costs, in return for absolute loyalty.

Before the samurai code of bushido - the way of the warrior - Japan referred to warfare as kyūba no michi, 'the way of the horse and bow' or kyusen no michi, 'the way of the bow and arrow'. Armies were centred around a core of mounted archers, drawn from prominent families, who maintained their own horses and equipment. They wore scaled armour, and though they carried swords, hand-to-hand combat was reserved for the peasants, armed with spears and shields. Local clan leaders could boast up to 500 peasants, giving special privileges to blood relatives and those whose families had served for generations. Before long, the country's mass of soldiers was concentrated in the hands of distant landowners, rather than the emperor.

Despite this changing order, Masakado was raised to appreciate the prestige of imperial life. Boasting an honourable lineage, he spent his youth in the capital, a guard at the emperor's private residence, and even serving the future imperial regent, Fujiwara Tadahira - a man of great standing. However, in spite of his immense
In the 12th century, the Taira and Minamoto clans went to war, with the Minamoto emerging the country’s pre-eminent power.

Masakado’s uprising marked the rise of the samurai warrior class

After Taira Masakado’s death, members of the Minamoto and Taira clans - both stemming from the imperial family - continued to amass power. In 1026, another powerful Taira chieftain, Tadatsune, resigned as vice-governor of Kazusa and broke out in revolt, causing even more damage to the country than Masakado had - before surrendering to the powerful Minamoto Yorinobu, to whom the imperial court had appealed twice.

The Minamoto clan went on to play a crucial role in quashing the Early Nine Years War, defeating the rebellious Abe clan to the north, and again in the Three Years War against the Kiyowara family in the province of Mutsu. By the 12th century, the Taira and Minamoto clans had emerged as Japan’s two greatest sources of military might, earning special privileges for their efforts. When tensions came to a head during the epic Genpei War of 1180-1185, the Minamoto emerged supreme, usurping power from the emperor and handing it to the clan leader, a military dictator, called the shogun.

Though the emperor remained a figurehead, this feudal society was ruled by the warrior class - the samurai - who served local lords in return for a food stipend, while their lords collected taxes and governed fiefs on behalf of the shogun.

promise, the young man failed to secure a post of esteem. Eager to take destiny into his own hands, in 931 he decided to return to his homeland of Kantō - which had become a snake pit in his absence. With his father recently deceased, his uncles were keen to secure his land for themselves. Things came to a head when Masakado married his cousin against her father, Yoshikane’s, wishes.

Sensing an opportunity, the powerful local landlord, Minamoto Mamoru, who had marriage ties to all of Masakado’s uncles, sent his three sons to ambush him in the province of Hitachi in 935. Despite the element of surprise, they not only lost the battle, but their lives. Enraged by this unprovoked attack, Masakado rampaged across their lands, burning down their residences and the houses of hundreds of their supporters. Among the battle-dead was another of Masakado’s powerful Taira uncles, Kunika. Though his death prompted his son, Sadamori, to return home from the capital, he lamented “Masakado is not my original foe”. Sadamori had always been fond of his cousin - as fellow courtiers, they shared similar ambitions, and he had hoped to avoid conflict with him at all costs; perhaps even to ally with him.

In June 936, still bearing a grudge against his nephew, Yoshikane marched an army “as numerous as the clouds” to a fort in the southeastern district of Kazusa, linking up with his brother Yoshimasa. Senior clan leaders, they coerced Sadamori into joining their cause, leading a fresh-faced army of thousands, all clad in brand new armour and equipment atop well-fed horses to Hitachi. There, Masakado lay in wait with a few hundred, poorly-equipped mounted soldiers and the 1,000-odd peasants he was able to muster. Against all odds, Masakado routed the attackers, chasing Yoshikane to the provincial government headquarters in Shimotsuke. However, keen to avoid the scandal of killing a family member, he let his uncle go unscathed - instead reporting the unprovoked attack to the imperial government and his neighbours.

Months later, Masakado was summoned to the court, where he was handed a light punishment for arson - before being pardoned as a part of a general amnesty on New Year’s Day in 937, when Emperor Suzaku came of age. Although he disavowed the life of war, no sooner had he returned home, the bitter Yoshikane launched another attack at the River Kogai. During the battle, he had his army raise images of Masakado’s father and grandfather, supposedly to seek their protection, but most likely to deter his enemy from firing arrows at his men. Having beaten Masakado, who was rendered immobile by sudden illness, he defeated him again at Toyota. Shell-shocked,
Masakado and his family sought shelter among sympathetic clan members - but a traitor helped Yoshikane capture his wife and children.

Licking his wounds, after years of unprovoked assaults, Masakado had finally run out of patience. Raising an army, he marched on Hitachi, burning his uncle's residence to the ground, along with hundreds of his supporters' houses. He chased Yoshikane into the mountains, destroying his crops along the way. Desperate, Yoshikane again bribed one of Masakado's men into betraying where his nephew slept and led a group of 80 warriors 'each worth a thousand', to his camp. However, his nemesis was waiting for him, 'with flaming eyes and clenched teeth'. After a brief, explosive charge, half of Yoshikane's men lay dead. Broken, the Taira kingpin faded into obscurity, dying a few years later.

Although his troubles were far from over, Masakado had begun to develop something of a Robin Hood persona. When the controversial Prince Okiyo found himself at odds with the governor of Musahi, Masakado offered him shelter. Simultaneously, a local landowner, Fujiwara Haruaki, had developed a reputation for dodging his taxes - a man who official records said 'behaved worse than barbarians or beasts'. When the vice-governor put out a warrant for his arrest, Haruaki romped across Hitachi and Shimosa, robbing official granaries. As the region's constable, Masakado was ordered to arrest him, but instead offered him protection - claiming it his duty to protect the weak against the strong.

By June 939, Masakado's anti-authoritarian exploits had earned him an army of 1,000 mounted warriors, disenchanted with the established hierarchy. After defeating a large government army three times the size of his, Masakado seized the government's headquarters in Hitachi, before taking the provincial capital of Shimotsuke, along with its provincial seals and keys. Finally, after years of provocation, Masakado had broken out into full-blown rebellion. When Prince Okiyo pointed out that the punishment was equal whether he revolted in eight provinces or one, Masakado marched across Kantō - securing the entire region and appointing his own governors.

After supposedly consulting an oracle from Hachiman - the patron deity of war - Masakado did the unthinkable, declaring himself the 'New Emperor'. While his own brother admonished him for "acting without discretion" against the Mandate of Heaven, Masakado proclaimed, "Our age dictates that those who are victorious become rulers," before spitting, "your counsels are absolutely meaningless."

In January 940, he wrote to his former mentor, the regent Tadahira, justifying his actions, and claiming that his ambition lay only in Kantō. However, the court was understandably wary. During Masakado's uprising, further north, the previously 'pacified' Emishi people had broken out in revolt - destroying settlers' property. Simultaneously, an even greater rebellion had broken out west, under the leadership of the 'Pirate King' Fujinaga Sumitomo. Formerly the governor of Iyo, on the southern island of Shikoku, Sumitomo had amassed a fleet of fishermen and petty seamen, and begun raiding the Inland Sea. Though the government offered him a senior post, he was not so easily appeased - instead capturing the vice-governor of Settsu, cutting off his ears, slitting his nose, murdering his son and taking his wife captive.

Terrified that the two had formed a secret, unholy alliance, the Heian court issued an edict demanding the eastern governors capture Masakado, with rewards of land and positions up for grabs, adding: "Since creation, this court has seen many rebellions, but none that compare to this." Highlighting its desperation, it held elaborate services and prayers, and ordered rituals be committed across the country by the mystic cults - to destroy Masakado through black magic.

At this juncture, as the country's greatest tsuwamono, or warrior, Masakado had amassed an army of 5,000 - joined by family members, landowners and those drawn to his martial prowess. In doing so, he had essentially created the first of many bushidō, or warrior bands.

Though the country had known insurrection, Masakado was no distant barbarian - he was of the finest stock, fighting among his own blood. In this dawn of civil war, his followers, and those of his rivals, began to create a new culture, away from the elegance of the Heian court. While warriors like Sadamori still used powdered poeius to treat battle wounds, they also developed new customs; announcing their names with gusto.
Before the samurai, Taira Masakado was the country’s most renowned tsuwamono - a warrior, fighting with bow and arrow on horseback.
before rushing into battle. Similarly, they introduced the curved swords, lacquered yoroi armour worn by commanders, and elaborate anlered helmets that would later become hallmarks of samurai warfare.

Having abandoned conscription, the imperial army had been made irrelevant by the new face of warfare. Instead, the court dealt out promotions, hoping to inspire private soldiers - like Minamoto Tsunemoto, the vice-governor of Musashi, Sadamori and Fujiwara Hidesato, the chief constable of Shimosuke - to take matters into their own hands. While Sadamori had joined the war reluctantly, after Masakado's men captured and raped his wife, their hatred was now mutual.

Unfortunately for Masakado, despite his heritage, ability and prestige, he lacked the structural organisation that his spiritual samurai successors would later herald to great success. While he led an army of 5,000 across Hitachi to search for Sadamori, he was dependent on allies, rather than direct retainers. Even among family members, many fought out of self-interest, rather than personal loyalty. So, when Masakado returned home, with winter approaching, so too did his allies - leaving him with an army of just 1,000. After the chief constable Hidesato announced his allegiance with Sadamori, Masakado's men thoughtlessly launched a pre-emptive attack - only to be driven back in February 940.

The vengeful Sadamori burned down Masakado's mansion, as well as the homes of his supporters, unleashing chaos in the ranks. The two sides picked the battleground of Kitayama, in Shimosa for their last showdown. Though both erected walls of wooden shields, to protect them from cavalry charges, a violent gust of wind blew from behind Masakado, throwing his defences forwards, and hurtling Sadamori's back into his soldiers. With the defences down, the coalition's Fujiwara and Taira leaders launched a cavalry charge. Undeterred, Masakado hurled himself onto his horse and, with just 400 men, stormed into the enemy with such great ferocity, all but 300 fled. However, at this critical point, the wind turned against the New Emperor - and, as the enemy regrouped, he was hit by a stray arrow - killing him. Sadamori sent a lowly soldier to wrench his head from his body and took it to the capital, along with a certificate. Prince Okiyu was captured and killed just days later.

Meanwhile, the Pirate King Sumitomo, who had lost two chieftains and 2,500 men to tribes, was dealt a crushing blow after a turncoat surrendered to the government and led them to his base. Retreating to Kyushu, he sacked and raided all the way to Hakata, until he was surrounded and killed.

With both rebels dead, the emperor visited the Kamo shrine and prayed for the dead - ally and enemy alike - at Enryakuji monastery on Mount Hiei, overlooking the capital. Although peace had come, it had come at a high price. The nature of warfare, loyalty and rulership had been dealt a shocking blow - and though the emperor had won, it was not by the power of his state, but that of his provincial allies, and their private armies.

In the centuries to come, the Heian court blossomed into a centre of sophistication. Meanwhile, in the provinces, having cemented a stronger identity and honour code, the samurai would become the masters of Japan's emerging feudal system. Though his rebellion was short-lived, Masakado was the harbinger of things to come, the personification of the new order. It was only a matter of time before the emperor lost his power; Masakado was simply 200 years too early.

**Masakado's Legacy**

More than 1,000 years after his death, Japan still fears the wrath of Masakado

According to legend, after Masakado's head was cut off and put on show in the capital, it flew off by itself, in search of its body, before landing at Kubizuka or 'Head Hill' - in a fishing village at the heart of modern Tokyo, right next to the Imperial Palace. Superstition has since surrounded it.

After the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, when the Ministry of Finance attempted to replace the hill with an office building, 14 employees died, including the minister himself, and many others suffered ominous injuries. Then, in 1940, a lightning bolt sparked a fire adjacent to the hill, burning down nine government buildings - again, including the Ministry of Finance.

It was one of the few sites in the area to survive allied bombing in WWII and when the occupying forces tried to build over it, a bulldozer hit the foundation stone - killing its driver. Though he was declared an enemy of the emperor in 1874, Masakado was re-defined, by popular demand, in 1984 at Tokyo's Kanda shrine. To this day, companies in the area pay donations to Kubizuka, making employees go on pilgrimages to it, and laying out their offices, so that no one sits with their back to Masakado's grave.
HONG KONG VICE
The First Opium War (1839-1842) was the beginning of the end for Asia's most powerful state - the Qing Dynasty. How did China's bitter defeat lead to the rise of a magnificent coastal city?

Written by Miguel Miranda

Even at its height in the 18th century, China's government could not resist the sheer force of free trade. To be specific, free trade as practised by enterprises such as the British East India Company and various Western merchants who roved the world dealing in commodities. Chinese attitudes to foreign intrusion, which shaped their own laws, managed to restrict business activities with expatriates to the Canton enclave where licensed traders could operate from walled compounds. Since Canton was located at the mouth of the Pearl River, foreign-owned vessels bearing goods could anchor offshore and declare their cargo. No outsiders were allowed to set foot anywhere beyond Canton unless they were official diplomatic missions.

By 1830, just a decade and a half since the Battle of Waterloo, a tantalising commerce in byproducts from the flowering plant papaver somniferum flourished between the foothills of the Himalayas and China's southern coasts. A new lifestyle had swept China's guarded port cities by then. Men of all classes enjoyed their narcotic vice in parlours and backrooms to smoke gummy balls extracted from the poppy bulb, which produced a soothing effect and had some medicinal properties.

Packaged in wooden chests and delivered by steemers across the Bay of Bengal, through the Singapore Strait, and unloaded at Canton, a multitude of dens and venues purchased the opium and fed it to their clients. The Qing outlawed opium use in 1820, to little avail, as its customs officials and mandarins were susceptible to corruption. Profits from opium sales kept rising as volumes imported doubled each year.

By 1838 the imperial court in Peking was so outraged by the narcotics epidemic it decided to take action. Another impetus was the effect on the government's finances. Indian opium was being purchased in bulk with silver, the preferred medium of exchange between China and Great Britain. As the amount of silver being paid to British merchants grew, a worrisome trade deficit strained the government's balance sheet. China, long an economic powerhouse, was losing its revenues to an illicit import compared to when it enjoyed surpluses from exporting ceramics and silk in bygone generations.

Commissioner Lin Zexu was appointed to rectify Canton's out of control port situation.
A canny bureaucrat with a talent for spectacle, Lin had chests of confiscated opium spoilt and then thrown from the Canton warf. Bringing troops with him, he so intimidated the British Superintendent of Trade, Captain Charles Elliot, that the Canton expatriates gave up more than 20,000 chests of opium. The demonstration sent shock waves. Having gotten used to pliable Chinese officials and almost no meddling in their affairs, these same merchants soon wrote home and demanded an official response.

But Lin refused to be swayed by the outrage of foreign ‘barbarians’ and the sting of lost revenues left the British merchant community aghast and vengeful.

**Road to War**

It was the aristocratic Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston who concocted an adventure for the British Navy on the premise of upholding free trade. Of course, with the benefit of hindsight, Palmerston’s rhetoric and writing on the matter seems laced with irony. China had been willing to trade with Europe but only as an exporter. Its culture and society had little use for foreign-made goods. But what Palmerston truly advocated was free trade that enhanced the British Empire’s access to the Chinese market, whose size was measured by the awesome population size of nearly half a billion subjects ruled by the Qing Dynasty.

The onset of war exposed the Qing Dynasty’s creeping weaknesses. On paper, Peking had the resources to field a million reservists at once. After all, the Qing Dynasty was built on a martial foundation by the Manchus, fierce horsemen whose conquering spirit expanded their empire into Central Asia, with the whole Tibetan plateau reduced to a protectorate. In fact, the extent of the Qing Dynasty in 1839 was greater than China’s present borders.

By the 19th century, however, administrative problems and an insular worldview reduced the mighty Qing armed forces to a paper tiger. A class of patriotic generals and officers commanded a rabble who had neither enough weapons nor uniforms. Firearms had arrived in Asia by the 16th century and saw widespread use. For a brief period, Japan mass-produced copies of Portuguese muskets that became known as *Tanegashimas* after the place where they were discovered. In China, government-owned foundries and mills manufactured cannons and rifles in serious quantities, albeit obsolete since the Qing rejected foreign technology.

Facing the token presence of the Royal Navy in late 1839 were feeble coastal defences, small armies waiting in their forts, and cannon-armed riverine junkes. The first major naval engagement, on 29 October 1839, set the pace of the war. With Canton blockaded by just two British warships, a frigate and a sloop with 18 cannons, a fleet of 29 war junks sailed down the Pearl River to meet them. The Chinese didn’t hesitate to engage the British vessels, only to be crippled en masse. Later on, the disparity in firepower made Chinese commanders commit suicide rather than accept defeat and relay such to their superiors. In some cases, the Chinese fought a losing battle on land. This was...
significant. In historical terms, China was never under threat from naval fleets. Yet in 1840 it bore the full brunt of a hostile British expedition combining Royal Navy and East India Company steamers. Commanding the fleet was Rear Admiral George Elliot who had at his disposal three battleships, eight frigates, eight sloops and 36 transports. The fleet carried a ground force of 3,600 British soldiers and Indian sepoys mustered in Singapore. Here was a strange yet menacing hybrid of a European military operating alongside the paramilitaries maintained by the East India Company, a rare example of public-private cooperation in 19th century world politics.

Since the war never involved immense set-piece battles or savage massacres, the rest of it can be summed up as exercises in blackmail. With the metropolis of Guangzhou located north of Canton being threatened by Admiral Elliot’s expedition, an agreement was reached in Chuenpi where the island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British. This was negotiated by the same Superintendent Elliot who earlier allowed Commissioner Lin to seize chests of opium. But his personal views upheld the vested interests of the merchants in Canton. However, upon Lord Palmerston’s urging, greater demands needed to be made on the Chinese and this prolonged the war for another year and a half.

The Qing court never settled matters with diplomacy, because the actions of certain British officials and the Royal Navy were deemed piratical and undeserving of recognition. From late 1841 onwards, the British held on to Canton and launched attacks on Shanghai. A great distance separates the two cities and the fact that the Royal Navy’s ships were unmolested in their transit shows the Qing’s weakness.

A last feeble attempt at resistance was met outside Nanking in the summer of 1842. Like before, stout citadels sought to halt the invading warships’ progress and serve a decisive blow. Of course, this did not happen. British gunnery and Chinese incompetence were insurmountable; never wanting for arms and men, the Qing still failed to protect their homeland. Fearing the prospect of foreign troops marching toward the capital, Emperor Daoguang allowed his ministers to negotiate peace in Nanking. Representing the British was the explorer and ex-East India Company man Henry Pottinger whom Lord Palmerston trusted to execute England’s will. Since Pottinger was in a position to impose terms, the Nanking conference proved a brief one and was concluded aboard the HMS Cornwallis. As Palmerston intended the year before, Chinese indemnities were broadened to opening cantonments in the port cities of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai. It helped that the Canton business community, including those responsible for opium trafficking, were familiar with these locations. Yet the final blow took the greatest toll on the Qing Dynasty. A grand sum of 22 million silver dollars was to be paid Great Britain, with the first tranche worth six million paid before the year was out. Failure to deliver the sums meant the resulting debt produced interest. The Qing paid in full to the detriment of the state’s foreign exchange, thereby accelerating economic decline.

But the true prize of the First Opium War was Hong Kong. Within a handful of years, well-appointed British residences were erected on its waterfront facing Kowloon, which was added along with the ‘New Territories’ in 1898 when a 99-year lease for the entire area was wrangled from the ailing Qing Dynasty.

With Hong Kong open for business, junks began crowding its harbour as far as the eye could see. Demand for warehouses and other vital infrastructure attracted thousands of Chinese labourers, who were all too happy leaving impoverished villages and farm work for...
dependable living wages. A sorry aspect of Hong Kong’s expatriate society was to assign spacious residences for Europeans while the Chinese — including the island’s original inhabitants — had no choice but to fend for themselves in slums.

**Island Treasure**

The decades of rapid urbanisation took its toll on public health, when bubonic plague struck Hong Kong in 1894 a more concerted effort at addressing social ills and better living conditions was undertaken. Despite it, the city kept growing and by 1900 it was estimated the population reached 300,000 people. But an unsavoury aspect of Hong Kong’s origin story is the unrestricted opium trade. It’s beyond doubt the Treaty of Nanking was a boon for opium smugglers, who now had multiple ports to receive their merchandise. Despite having a police force among its first vital institutions and British laws upheld throughout the island, Hong Kong’s underworld was born the moment the island passed to foreign rule. The personal governance of Pottinger, who negotiated with Qing officials at Nanking, did little to save Hong Kong from becoming a prime destination in the maritime opium route to China. Even when illicit poppy cultivation flourished in certain provinces of the Republic of China (1911-1946), narcotics kept arriving in Hong Kong until the mid-20th century.

The legacy of the First Opium War is a terrible one. The Qing Dynasty’s decline had begun in earnest and its effect on generations of Chinese cannot be understated. Once Asia’s greatest empire unsullied by colonialism, China was now ripe for exploitation. If the First Opium War was so onerous, the humiliations of the Second Opium War left deep scars in a nation reeling from the Taiping civil war that lasted from 1850 until 1865. While the fanatical Taipings carved a path of destruction in central and southern China, a joint Anglo-French army marched on Peking and burned down the Imperial Palace. Of course, the expectations were the same; China must capitulate to Europe’s strongest countries, or else. To put China’s decline in perspective, we should recall it fought a losing war against Japan in 1895, where it lost the Korean Peninsula and Formosa (now called Taiwan), and the Qing Dynasty collapsed by 1912 after the revolt led by Sun Yat-sen. The civil war that followed reduced the fledgling Chinese republic to a patchwork of territories and the country’s troubles worsened as Japan tried annexing ever greater swathes of its territory.

This long decline or ‘century of humiliation’ so haunts China’s current leadership that it now promotes a brand of nationalism where China’s needs are inviolate, its territory sacrosanct, and its ascension to becoming a world power unstoppable. The ideas that formed this worldview stem from the bitter lessons of the First Opium War, a petty exercise in imperialism that ruined a whole Asian civilisation.

Meanwhile, in Hong Kong, the cultural and legal antipathy for the drugs trade endures until the present. There is no greater boomer from the era of laissez faire drug trafficking unleashed by British merchants than the modern Hong Kong police’s own listed penalties for plying the trade. The harshest among them reads:

‘Any person who cultivates any plant of the genus cannabis or the opium poppy, shall be liable upon conviction to a fine of HK$100,000 and imprisonment for 15 years.’

**Lord Palmerston**

Rather than spend his life managing the Temple family’s estates in Northern Ireland, Henry John Temple assumed the title of 3rd Viscount Palmerston and committed himself to politics. Once appointed Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston was involved in whatever global events impacted the British Empire’s maritime trade.

A contentious matter in the historiography surrounding the Opium Wars was Lord Palmerston’s susceptibility to lobbyists. Evidence of moneyed influences using their connections in vital government offices to press for war against China exists. It was Lord Palmerston who kept urging the British Navy to not reach a settlement with the Chinese, thereby prolonging the First Opium War.

Lord Palmerston never set foot in China, nor did he bother arranging conferences with the Qing Emperor to normalise diplomatic ties. But the backwater port of Hong Kong prospered and Lord Palmerston went on to become a formidable Prime Minister in the Victorian era.
The public loathed the spoiled and capricious prince and raised behind his wronged and philanthropic wife. They cheered her on as she battled against his efforts to divorce her.
The Queen of Hearts

When the Prince of Wales married Caroline of Brunswick, things started badly and went swiftly downhill!

Written by Catherine Curzon

Some marriages are made in heaven. Others, such as that of George, Prince of Wales, and his cousin, Caroline of Brunswick, are straight from hell. Far from being a romantic fairytale, when Caroline married the heir to the throne, it was the start of one of the most vitriolic royal tales that history has ever known.

Today we’re used to our media-savvy royals gazing into one another’s eyes, filled with hope for the future and dreams of a happy family, but in the Georgian era, love often didn’t come into it. In the case of George and Caroline, the marriage was one of necessity. A compulsive spender with a love of women, George was drowning in debt. When he went cap in hand to his father, King George III, and begged for a handout, the monarch offered him a deal. If the prince would agree to marry Caroline, the daughter of the king’s sister, then his debts would be settled. Caroline’s family, meanwhile, accepted the suit readily. The princess had proven difficult to match with a prospective husband so to be offered the hand of the heir to one of the most powerful thrones in the world was an offer they couldn’t and wouldn’t turn down.

What the Prince of Wales didn’t think to mention was the little fact that he was already married, having secretly wed Maria Fitzherbert, a Catholic widow, a decade earlier. Though that marriage was invalid under the terms of the Royal Marriages Act, Maria Fitzherbert considered it binding. Yet George knew that he had been checkmated and grudgingly said yes, he would marry Caroline of Brunswick. She was duly summoned to England and plans were laid for a glittering royal wedding. Upon arrival she found that her appointed lady-in-waiting was to be none other than Frances Villiers, the Countess of Jersey. Lady Jersey was a scheming and manipulative social climber. She was also the mistress of the Prince of Wales and, keen to stay in her lover’s favour, was determined to report back on everything that Caroline said or did. There were, as was once said, three people in the marriage from the start.

The omens for the couple were terrible from the beginning. Upon arriving in London and meeting the prince, Caroline declared that he was far fatter than his portraits and not half so handsome. For his part, George carped that Caroline’s stench turned his stomach. At their very first meeting
George demanded brandy to calm his horrified nerves then ran to the company of his mother. The public thought differently though, and as the family settled to a tense supper on the eve of the wedding, vast crowds gathered at the palace walls and called for the princess to give them a wave. This she did, much to the chagrin of her unpopular fiancé, who slammed the window to keep out the noise. It was an inauspicious start to a marriage of convenience that lurched from one scandalous disaster to another, and all of it in the full glare of the public spotlight.

It wasn't a blushing bridegroom who made his way to the altar of the Chapel Royal in St James's Palace on 8 April 1795. Instead, George was insensible with drink. The Prince of Wales was so paralytic throughout his wedding ceremony that his groomsmen had to physically drag him to the altar then hold onto him to keep him upright. He wept openly during the vows and tried to crawl from the chapel on his hands and knees as the Archbishop of Canterbury led the party in prayers. When the wedding night rolled around, it went as well as might be expected. Far from carrying his blushing bride over the threshold, George passed out in the thankfully empty fire grate. Caroline left him there and climbed into bed alone.

Though the Prince and Princess of Wales spent precious few nights together, the unfortunate couple somehow managed to have a child. Princess Charlotte of Wales, their only offspring, was born almost nine months to the day of their wedding. George, however, claimed that his bride was not only unhygienic, but far from virginal. Though he had dozens of lovers and she very likely had none before her husband, George declared that he could never be intimate with her again or he would be left physically ill. For this royal couple, the concept of the heir and the spare was one that would remain unfulfilled.

The writing was on the wall for the newlyweds and within two years of that fateful ceremony in St James's Palace, the Prince and Princess of Wales were irretrievably estranged. For George, however, matters were typically complicated. Though he might hate Caroline, his father, George II, adored her. His own marriage to Charlotte, the prince's mother, was devoted and he had hoped that wedding bells might be all that were needed to set his eldest son on the straight and narrow. Seeing how George was treating Caroline, the king was incensed. His sympathies were all with the humiliated, dumped bride. George III knew too well of the prince's dissolute and immoral ways. He knew too of Maria Fitzherbert, having heard rumours regarding the entanglement even if he was never made aware of the wedding that had taken place all those years ago.

For George though, Mrs Fitzherbert was yesterday's news and whilst the Prince of Wales went back to his womanising ways, Caroline set up residence across town. At her home in Blackheath she became a celebrated hostess, often entertaining the prince's most influential political foes. This drove George to distraction and he became convinced that she must be sleeping with the illustrious men who beat a path to her door, seeing this as the final humiliation. He did all he could to discredit Caroline, including accusing her of having an illegitimate child and subjecting her to a lengthy enquiry into her conduct, but Caroline continued to prevail. The so-called Delicate Investigation found that William Austin, the child George claimed was proof of his wife's infidelity, was in fact the son of a destitute couple. William's mother had come to Blackheath in search of work and Caroline had offered to take her son into her home and raise him with the best of everything. When William's parents appeared at the enquiry, the verdict became inevitable.

Far from providing proof that the wife of the heir to the throne had conceived a child with another man, all that the Delicate Investigation managed to prove was that Caroline was even more charitable and caring than had already been known. By the time the investigation found her not guilty of adultery, the public had fallen for the queen of hearts. They loved Caroline and her celebrated philanthropy as much as they hated George, who was loathed for his largesse and shamelessly immoral ways, all of it funded by the hard-pressed taxpayer. William Austin, meanwhile, the little boy saved from poverty at Blackheath, became Caroline's faithful retainer until the day of her death.

Tired of her husband's spies and with her access to her only child restricted following the Delicate Investigation, Caroline came to believe that she would never be able to live the life she wanted if she remained in England. Though it meant leaving her daughter, Charlotte, behind, Caroline left Britain and travelled to Europe, stopping first in

“The Prince of Wales was so paralytic during his wedding that his groomsmen had to drag him to the altar”
her homeland of Brunswick before she continued on her way. Once she was embarked on her continental travels Caroline really began to kick up her heels and there was nothing her furious husband could do about it. She travelled the continent and settled in Italy, where she took up with a former soldier named Bartolomeo Pergami. The Princess of Wales installed the dashing gentleman as her chamberlain and, if the rumours were to be believed, her lover too. The couple lived openly together with Pergami's young daughter and in the United Kingdom the people rejoiced at the knowledge that she was making a right royal fool of her husband.

Through all of this, George seethed and fretted. Though he had no shortage of lovers of his own, the knowledge that Caroline had managed to win over the love of people but also find personal happiness drove the capricious prince into a fury. He sent spies to Europe, intending to gather evidence of her adultery and secure a divorce once and for all. George's agents interviewed witnesses and servants and began to assemble a pile of circumstantial evidence, including rumours of shared beds, of the couple bathing together or trysting in sheltered carriages. They even reported back on whether the amount of urine in a bedroom chamberpot suggested that it had been used by one or two people overnight! The prince was certain that it was dynamite and when he had all the evidence he could muster, he delivered it to Parliament along with a request for a divorce.

What George hadn't reckoned with was the ill health of his ailing father. With his son reigning as Prince Regent since 1811, George III had been confined at Windsor for almost a decade. Blind, immobile and totally in the grip of his infamous madness, the old king died on 29 January 1820. Suddenly the Regent was catapulted onto the throne and for the newly-enshrined King George IV, nothing could be more embarrassing than his fun-loving wife, who was reported to dance without her stays and cavort in gowns that left nothing to the imagination. With time pressing and his coronation approaching, George was determined that she wouldn't be crowned as queen alongside him. More than anything, he needed to finalise that divorce.

Although Parliament offered Caroline a generous payment to stay in Europe and keep her head down, she had other ideas. Determined to face the House of Lords and the divorce proceedings that her husband had initiated, she headed for Britain and arrived to a hero's welcome. She was greeted by the Pains and Penalties Bill, an audacious scheme to put Caroline on trial for adultery. If she was found guilty, she would lose her title, her reputation would be in tatters and her marriage would be over. With his carefully gathered evidence, George was sure he couldn't lose. Of course, just as he was in so many things, George was proved wrong. Ably defended by her skilful counsel, Henry Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux, Caroline cut a confident figure before the Lords. Brougham savaged the witnesses for the prosecution and outside the walls of
Non Mi Recordo

Being the star witness in a case of royal divorce isn’t all fun and games

Of all the witnesses called for the prosecution, the star was undoubtedly Italian Theodore Majocchi. A servant in the household of Caroline of Brunswick and her rumoured lover, Bartolomeo Pergami, Majocchi’s scandalous revelations of their affair were supposed to seal her fate. So shocked was Caroline to see her faithful servant take the stand that she gave an exclamation of fright and fled the House of Lords before he gave evidence against her.

Able to remember the smallest detail of the supposed affair when questioned by the prosecution, when defence counsel Brougham challenged him, Pergami’s memory seemed to fail him. He answered every question with “non mi ricordo”, or “I don’t remember.” So often did he use the phrase that eventually it became the subject of jokes, songs, poetry and caricature. Majocchi was nicknamed Signor Non Mi Ricordo by the media and everywhere he went, people called the phrase out after him.

Bruised and humiliated, Majocchi was one of many who learned that it wasn’t wise to pit one’s wits against those of Baron Brougham and Vaux.
"There were rumours of shared beds and baths. George’s spies even reported back on the contents of the couple’s chamberpots!"

Westminster, the public couldn’t get enough of the scandal. Newspapers reported daily on proceedings and printshops, balladeers and diarists fuelled the appetite for gossip. Far from being outraged to hear of Caroline’s supposed fling with her chamberlain, the public loved it, and the princess became a rallying point for radicals and romantics alike. She was finally showing the dissolute George what it was like to be humiliated and as the trial limped along, he began to realise that he had made a terrible mistake.

In the event, however, the Lords found in favour of George by the narrowest majority imaginable and the bill was passed with a majority of just nine votes. Across the country the mood turned bitter and Lord Liverpool, the prime minister and no friend to Caroline, declared that the bill would not proceed to the Lords. There was to be no divorce for George IV and Caroline of Brunswick.

The delighted Caroline basked in her triumph. She was not only still married, she was now on the road to becoming queen and when the day of the Coronation came around. Caroline was at Westminster Abbey by dawn. She toured from door to door demanding admission but found them all barred to her on the express orders of the new king. Some of the doorkeepers jeered at Caroline’s efforts and to add to the humiliation, so did the public who had for so long adored her. Never before had Caroline misjudged the mood of the country so badly as she did on that day in July 1821. The people who had gathered to watch the magnificent Coronation procession did so because they were ready to party. They no longer had any time for Caroline’s drama and, just as they had built her up, now they tore her down.

Humiliated, Caroline retreated into seclusion in Brandenburg House and died within a few short weeks. King George IV was finally free of the woman he hated. Yet it was a pyrrhic victory, for the monarch’s health was failing too. Decades of feasting and carousing had left him obese and sickly and he died less than a decade after his wife, as isolated at Windsor as his beloved father had been before him. For Caroline and George, the ill-fated cousins who became husband and wife, the price of marriage had been high indeed.
According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for the year 991 CE, that summer, Olaf Tryggvason (later king of Norway) sailed with a fleet of 93 ships and raided the English coast. He began in Kent, raiding Folkestone and then Sandwich, and then moved on to Ipswich in Suffolk. After overrunning Ipswich, the fleet moved onwards to Maldon in Essex, sailing up the River Blackwater and establishing a base at the island of Northey in early August.

Northey was only accessible to the mainland via a tidal causeway and so was a safe harbour for the Vikings. Not that they needed to be overly wary; no one had opposed their raids so far. At Maldon, however, they faced opposition in the form of the Ealdorman of Essex, Byrhtnoth, gathered there with his retinue of huscarls (his hearthwæod or hearth-warriors) and the fyrd, the muster of the able-bodied men of Essex required to serve in the army when called. With this force, Byrhtnoth gathered on the shore opposite the tidal causeway to Northey.

The battle of Maldon is remarkable in the history of Anglo-Saxon and Viking warfare, indeed in the
history of the Dark Ages, because we are so well-informed about it. We have several sources that have come down to us, especially an anonymous poem that survives almost complete and that must have been written close to the events of the battle. This fragmentary poem, known unsurprisingly as The Battle Of Maldon, is the best source we have on shieldwall warfare in the entire period. By using the poem judiciously, we can tell a great deal about what happened on the shores of the River Blackwater that August afternoon in 991 CE. Of course, there are those who consider the poem a poetic exaggeration of the battle (some even maintain it is a fictional account complete with speeches, heroes and villains). The details of the poem, where we can corroborate them, are remarkably accurate and if we have no reason to reject the other details, we should not be quick to reject them as 'mere poetry'.

The speeches may well reflect some of what was actually said on the day and add to the evocation of the battle, the mindset of the participants and contemporary feelings in the kingdom. The poem includes several names of the warriors who fell to protect Essex, as well as criticism of the policy that was enacted soon after the battle by King Aethelred II. of paying the Vikings not to ravage the lands of the Anglo-Saxons (the payment became known as the danegeld). In the poem, a Viking demand of payment is met with scorn by Byrhtnoth before the battle is joined.

In the past, there has been much debate on the location of the battle and its other details, but the island of Northey, with its tidal causeway that perfectly fits the details of the poem, is secure. There has also been debate about Byrhtnoth's policy and decision to fight. He could, of course, have allowed the Vikings to ravage Maldon (it was the site of a Royal Mint) and depart. Byrhtnoth is also criticised for actually fighting (the poem claims he was 'tricked' by the Vikings into fighting). It is entirely possible that Byrhtnoth was outnumbered and so, the critics contend, what did he hope to achieve. Putting all that aside, the army had been mustered (a process which must have begun some time before the Vikings reached Northey) and the decision to fight taken and, whatever its merits, Byrhtnoth followed that decision through to its terrible end. Byrhtnoth, as Ealdorman of Essex was one of the most senior and important men in Aethelred's kingdom. He was approaching 60 and so could be counted as one of the king's senior advisers. Responsible for all of Essex, if he did not face the Viking threat at Maldon, he would need to shadow them and face them elsewhere.

The army Byrhtnoth brought consisted of his own huscarl retinue of perhaps a few hundred warriors, all of whom would have been experienced and battle-hardened. Added to these were the fyrd of Essex (we have evidence of men from as far afield as Northumbria in the army). These men will have been of varying quality and experience. The select fyrd required that a certain number of men were required to fight per area of land (the hide, between 60 and 120 acres (55-105 modern acres) depending on the quality of the land). If one man was provided by each hide this will have given Byrhtnoth 2,750 men (550 if only one man per five hides). We should not assume that Byrhtnoth had a general fyrd where every able-bodied man served. Facing them
at Northey were the crews of the 93 Viking ships. If we assume an average crew of 40 men per ship, the Vikings had in excess of 3,500 men, all of them experienced, well-equipped and battle-hardened.

Byrhtnoth dismounted (he had ridden to battle) and placed himself in the centre with his retinue. His horse was to be held close behind the Anglo-Saxon line. Most battles of this era were infantry-only affairs; cavalry were used to pursue fleeing enemies or to ride to battle, but men dismounted to fight.

Byrhtnoth marched his army to the landward bank of the causeway to Northey. The causeway in 991 was approximately 110 metres across (the distance is double that today). Its course still follows the path it did a millennium ago and it remains wide enough to allow only three men abreast to cross it. The deep muddy banks on either side are extremely treacherous and do not allow anyone to cross them. What is more, the path is completely covered (and obscured) at high tide. Reconstructions of tidal patterns allow us to estimate that the battle was fought from approximately 4.30 in the afternoon of 10 August. When the two armies first faced one another, the tide was high. A Viking messenger came forward and demanded payment to make the Vikings go away. Byrhtnoth rejected this idea utterly and replied that the two sides would meet in battle. “We must decide between point and edge, grim war” (in his speech from the poem). This position is taken as criticism of the policy of paying the danegeld, which was undertaken soon after the battle. Byrhtnoth brought his army to the water’s edge and there was an exchange of archery (something not often emphasised in accounts of Viking-age warfare).

As the tide began to ebb, the Vikings started to cross the causeway. Byrhtnoth sent three men forward (named as Alhere, Maccus and Wulfstan) to defend the causeway. Some have been suspicious of this detail (it has echoes of Horatius and the bridge from Roman history). But seeing the causeway even today, it is easy to see how three determined men could prevent a much larger force from crossing.

At this point, the Vikings broke off and called out asking for safe passage across the water so that they could cross over and face the men of Essex in a fair fight. The poet says that this was a trick (lytegian in Old English) by the Vikings. Byrhtnoth decided to grant their request and allowed them to cross. This was the critical decision of the battle and the result (and fate of England) hung on it.
Byrhtnoth’s decision is criticised by the poet (and has been by many historians since). The word the poet uses for Byrhtnoth’s decision is his ofermod, usually translated as ‘overweening pride’. This is a striking rebuke - the only other figure in Old English literature guilty of ofermod is the devil. As we have seen, however, the decision to fight the Vikings at Maldon had already been taken, the army was mustered, and allowing the Vikings to cross and fight would decide the issue. If that decision was not taken they would sail away and the fight would be delayed until another day. Byrhtnoth must have thought he had a reasonable chance of success in a battle with the Vikings and this implies that the numbers on each side must have been close; perhaps the fleet had lost some ships, which had returned to Scandinavia.

The Anglo-Saxon army will have withdrawn from the water’s edge to allow the Vikings to march across and form up. The Anglo-Saxons did not attack the Vikings before they were fully assembled. When the two armies were ready, the battle was begun. Both sides made their war-cries and advanced towards each other, each man’s shield touching his neighbour’s to make a wall of shields. Javelins were thrown and archers were busy behind the front lines, launching their missiles into the enemy’s ranks. In this initial encounter both sides were evenly matched. There followed a full in the contact between the shieldwalls, and challenges for single combat were issued and accepted on each side. Byrhtnoth himself accepted a challenge and

**SWORD**

The sword was the high status weapon of the Anglo-Saxon warrior. It was expensive and warriors could be targeted to get possession of such weapons.

- Strong and sharp, which enabled them to cut through most linen armours
- Needed room to be wielded properly and did not have the reach of spears and long-handled axes

**HUSCARL**

The Huscarls were the Anglo-Saxon leaders’ most loyal troops. They were heavily armed and armoured and formed the core of the army.

- All were trained and experienced in warfare
- Their sense of loyalty meant that all remained to their deaths once their leader had fallen

**BYRHTNOOTH**

Ealdorman of Essex, Byrhtnoth was one of the three most important men in King Aethelred’s Kingdom. It was his decision to summon the fyrd and face the Vikings at Maldon.

- Determined and brave - some say not three men to kill him at the Battle of Maldon. The Anglo-Saxons stood firm while he lived
- Proud, perhaps over-confident. His death led to the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon army

**OLAF TRYGGVASON**

The most likely candidate for the leader of the Viking expedition of 991, Olaf would later convert to Christianity and become the King of Norway.

- Cunning and tactical, he was able to forge alliances. He often raided settlements with success
- Cruel and heartless, he often forcibly converted people to Christianity - those who refused to be converted were often tortured or executed

**BERSERKER**

Legendary warriors who fought in a trance-like state and dedicated their lives to the god Odin, who they believed protected them from harm.

- Ferocity and reputation meant they were a feared part of Viking armies
- Fought without armour and they proved unable to withstand sharpened iron

**‘DANISH’ AXE**

This long-handled axe, also sometimes known as the hafted axe, was a great weapon for breaching opposition shield walls.

- Its length - around a metre long - and weight made it a fearsome weapon
- Had to be wielded two-handed and so the bearer was vulnerable and could not use a shield when using it
advanced towards a Viking. What happened next
decided the battle and England’s fate.

In a short exchange between Byrhtnoth and a
companion and their Viking opponents, Byrhtnoth
himself was killed. In the aftermath, three warriors
(Godric and his two brothers, Godwine and Godhem)
saw Byrhtnoth fall and fled the battlefield. Godric
mounted Byrhtnoth’s horse stationed behind the
Anglo-Saxon line and rode off on it. This was
witnessed by the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon
army who assumed that it was Byrhtnoth himself
who was fleeing the battlefield. A general rout
followed, the majority of the Anglo-Saxon army
fleeing the field. The only men who remained were
those of Byrhtnoth’s retinue and those who had seen
their lord fall. According to the poem, the remaining
men determined that they would avenge Byrhtnoth’s
death or die trying. The battle, however, was decided.
We do not know how long it took for the remainder
of the Anglo-Saxon warriors to be cut down (they
maintained formation and continued to fight on and
so they could not be ignored despite being vastly
outnumbered). The poem’s legacy can be seen in
the scenes of the battle’s closing stages. In it, each
warrior makes a statement of intent before selling
his life dearly. One of the speeches (lines 312-319) has
echoed down the ages:
Minds must be the harder, hearts the bolder,
courage must be the greater as our numbers
diminish. Here lies our leader, cut down, the great
man in the dirt. Whoever now decides to turn away
from this war-work will be forever sorry. I am
experienced in life and I will not turn away but by
the side of my lord I intend to lay.

At this point the poem breaks off and we rely on
other sources to tell us what happened. One story
is that the Vikings hacked off Byrhtnoth’s head (his
decapitated body was later carried to Ely Abbey and
buried there - a headless skeleton was discovered
corporating the story and his tomb can still be
seen in Ely Cathedral). The Anglo-Saxons must have
fought effectively since there is no record of Maldon
being attacked or sacked in the battle’s aftermath. It
is possible that the Vikings had sustained enough
casualties to make them reconsider continuing their
raid (taking the head of Byrhtnoth may have been a
sign of their frustration). Soon after they demanded
that King Aethelred pay them a damageld to ensure
that they left England’s shores unmolested. The fight
gone out of the kingdom and Aethelred agreed.
The initial payment was £10,000 but demands
continued to be made (three years later the amount
had jumped to £22,000). Aethelred’s epither has
long been ‘the Unready’, reflecting his payment of
the damageld. In Old English, however, *unræd*
can also mean inexperienced or ‘ill-advised’ and the
latter meaning may also be relevant in regards to
Aethelred’s dealing with the Vikings. Byrhtnoth had
been one of Aethelred’s senior statesmen and his
loss was keenly felt. His opposition to paying off
the Vikings was also no longer voiced and Aethelred
took what he saw as the only option to keep his
kingdom at peace.
The Battle of Maldon

10 A victory of sorts
The battle lasted several hours and it may have been close to dark by the end. The Vikings did not pursue the Anglo-Saxons who had fled back to Maldon. It is possible that the Vikings had sustained too many casualties to pursue and so returned to their ships. First, perhaps out of spite, they decapitated the body of Byrhtnoth. Soon after, the Vikings again demanded payment to leave England's shores. They were given £10,000 to depart.

9 Hearts must be harder
The remainder of the Anglo-Saxon army were now vastly outnumbered by the Vikings. Nonetheless, they maintained their formation and withstood the Viking attacks. We are told of the resolve of the Anglo-Saxons who remained to stand and fight to avenge the death of their lord or to lay down their lives for him. Despite their bravery, the Anglo-Saxons are whittled down until none remain alive.

8 Fight or flight
The majority of the Anglo-Saxon army witness someone fleeing on Byrhtnoth's horse and assume that it is Byrhtnoth. A rout of the Anglo-Saxon army follows as most men flee the battlefield. All those who are left are either Byrhtnoth's huscarl bodyguard or those who saw him fall and know he did not flee.

7 Battle is joined
The two sides clashed and in the initial part of the fighting, the combat seems to have been even. After a time, the shieldwalls separated and a series of challenges for single combat were issued and accepted. Byrhtnoth himself engaged in a single-combat and was slain. As soon as he fell, some men jumped on to his horse (kept just behind the Anglo-Saxon lines) and fled.
QUEEN ELIZABETH ASSASSINATED
Nation on the brink of civil war as Catholic plotters kill monarch and Mary, Queen of Scots takes the throne

What were the events leading up to the Babington Plot in 1586?
Mary, Queen of Scots had been under house arrest, effectively a prison, since her arrival in England in May 1568 and she spent time at various country houses. She was heavily guarded, particularly in the 1570s after the Northern Rebellion. Just before the Babington Plot, there had been the discovery of another plot which we call the Throckmorton Plot, which had involved France and Spain and it had been almost certainly designed not just to free Mary, but also to invade England and overturn the government. The Babington Plot, as far as we can tell, is a plot [by Sir Anthony Babington] to release Mary from her prison and to assassinate Elizabeth I.

How did the Babington Plot play out?
There was this secret correspondence that was going between Mary and the Catholics through intermediaries. In

EXCLUSIVE Interview With
PROFESSOR SUSAN DORAN

Professor Doran is a senior research fellow and lecturer at Jesus College at the University of Oxford. She specialises in the religious and political history of the Tudors.

WALSINGHAM BARREL-AGED ALE
After a long week of eavesdropping and gathering evidence of regicide plots among your enemies, all you're going to want to do is kick back with a nice room-temperature pint of Walsingham Ale. Aged in a barrel whose cork happens to be rather handy for hiding messages in, it's famous for its fruity notes of religious persecution and dry aftertaste of subterfuge and double-crossing. It's an English ale through and through.
Mary was in captivity at the time the Babington Plot was devised.

Elizabeth reigned from 1558 until her death in 1603.
July 1586, the government struck and they arrested the men involved, which included Babington. Had it succeeded, had the government not known about it and it had been successful, there would have been the release of Mary and the assassination of Elizabeth, and possibly there might have been an invasion of England (by Spain). Relations between England and Spain had broken down at this point.

What was the outcome of the plot ultimately?
First of all, Babington and his accomplices were hung, drawn and quartered, which was the standard punishment for treason and it was in a particularly cruel way in that they normally waited until somebody was unconscious from being hanged and then they would draw and quarter them, but in this case of Babington, according to the stories, Elizabeth had basically said don't wait until they're unconscious, and so it was excruciating for the conspirators on the first day. I think they realised the crowd did not like this. The crowd was clearly distressed by the sight of the pain that these conspirators were going through and the second day when the hangings were taking place, it was done in the normal fashion. Perhaps more importantly, the other consequence was that Mary was put on trial and executed in February 1587.

How would things have been different if the Babington Plot had succeeded?
If Mary had escaped and had been able to raise troops, possibly from the Catholic north, then I think there would have been a civil war, because the Protestants in England would certainly not have accepted Mary, a Catholic queen who had assassinated their Protestant queen. How long the civil war would've gone on for, whether there would've been a decisive battle, whether the French or the Spanish would intervene, who knows? But, that's the scenario that I think is most likely. Of course, if it had happened the other way around, and Elizabeth had been assassinated and Mary had not been able to escape, then the jailers of Mary would have killed her without trial, as she had supposedly been behind the murder of Elizabeth. It would have been a mess.

What was the risk of invasion from the Spanish?
The Spanish invasion was not directly part of the Babington Plot, it'd been part of the plot of Francis Throckmorton. He was part of the Throckmorton family that was Catholic, and he had been in negotiations with the Spanish ambassador and the French ambassador. It was quite a web of intrigue, which in many ways was much more dangerous than the Babington Plot. The Babington Plot was a bit hair-brained to be honest. It didn't have that weighty international support behind it.

Do you think the Spanish would have invaded as part of the Babington Plot?
I think it's very possible that they would have. They would have seized their opportunity, or they may have just waited and seen whether England was so engaged in its own civil strife that the troops that were sent to the Netherlands would be withdrawn and that England's intervention in the Netherlands would have ceased, so that they didn't need to invade and they could just get on with the job of trying to defeat their rebels in the Netherlands. The difference is the Throckmorton Plot took place around 1583, before Elizabeth had committed herself to sending troops to the Netherlands. So it's slightly different. My guess is [Philip II of Spain] would've just waited on the sidelines to see what was happening in England.

Who would have taken the throne if Elizabeth had been assassinated and Mary had been caught?
I think the Protestants would've obviously had to scour around and see who they could have. I think there were two possibilities. One was the son of Catherine Gray [Lord Beecham] who was Elizabeth's cousin and had died in the late 1560s. It might have been possible that Lord Beecham, who had royal blood that went back to Henry II, could've been put on the throne. The other possibility, who's further in terms of royal blood, was Henry Earl of Huntingdon whose lineage could be traced back to Edward III and who was a very committed Protestant. So, both of those men were Protestants and at a pinch I think, they could have been made king. It wouldn't have been satisfactory, but it seems they were the best on offer. James VI, who becomes James I at this time, would've been too closely associated with Mary, had she been the one behind Elizabeth's assassination.
Would this early end to Elizabeth's reign have changed anything?

Well, we wouldn't have had the Spanish Armada, and that kind of glorification of Elizabeth in hindsight because of the victory over the Spaniards would not have happened. The persecution of the Catholics during the 1580s, particularly around the time of the Spanish Armada, would not have happened. So, there would have been fewer Catholic martyrs. What would've happened to the Protestants? Who knows. There may have been Protestant martyrs instead. So, there would've been that kind of shift of course. I think our memory of Elizabeth's reign, her historical reputation, would've been very different. In some ways, it would've been better because things had been going well until the war with Spain, but in some respects, it would have been worse because one of the ways that Elizabeth has been remembered is through the defeat of the Spanish Armada and another is through the stability of such a long reign, and that she was able to die in her bed, despite all the dangers that she faced. So, in those respects, there would've been obviously a difference both at the time and afterwards.

You mentioned the risk of civil war earlier. Are we better off that the plot didn't succeed?

Absolutely. I think there's no doubt about that. It would've been chaos. Whoever had won that war, and I honestly think it would have been pretty uncertain, it would've been ghastly. If the Protestants had won, there would be a further crackdown on the Catholics. And if the Catholics had won, I wouldn't like to think about what would've happened to the Protestants. It would've been awful. I think it probably would have been as bad or worse than the War of the Roses. It would've been closer to the French religious wars that went on from 1562 right the way through to 1598. They brought in a period of instability in France. So, yeah, I think it would've been pretty bad.

Would anything else have been different?

Well in terms of England's history, in the early 17th century, England had a period of stability up to the 1630s, obviously the civil war, and during that time of stability, you do start seeing the beginnings of empire. But you've got the East India Company being formed. Virginia under James being settled. We can't see those things happening if England had been rocked by civil war during Elizabeth's later years. Whether those are good things or not is not for me to decide, but I do think it would've changed things quite significantly.
THE EVOLUTION OF WRITING

A closer look at a new British Library exhibit on the written word

From Mesopotamia in 3300 BCE to the present day, how we communicate with other people through the written word has constantly been changing and advancing. A new exhibit curated by the British Library is looking to show us not only the stark differences in how we communicate now versus then, but also the connectivity and consistencies that exist in writing too and how technology has played a role.

As this exhibit explores, the written word seems to have emerged independently in several civilisations as they each found ways of communicating without face-to-face contact and spread ideas further. The era of mass communication has broken down even more barriers to communication, so seeing this all laid out in such detail is quite something. Here we take a look at just a few of the artefacts and manuscripts that feature in the exhibit and are also detailed in an accompanying book that can be purchased now from all good book retailers or direct from the British Library site.
TABLET TEXT
This sandstone sphinx was found in an old turquoise mine at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai and has inscribed upon it a form of alphabet that some originally believed could be a form of early-Semitic language based on ancient Egyptian similar to that which Moses might have received with the Ten Commandments. This remains unclear, but the text is believed to read “beloved of Hathor, mistress of turquoise”, presumably as a blessing or offering for the work of the mine.

FROM PICTURES TO LETTERS
This Egyptian tablet from around 1600 BCE is a great example of how written language started out as pictograms in many instances before moving to alphabet. In both instances, however, the symbols would be tied to the sound they were supposed to make, linking the written word to speech. What we lack for Egypt is a sense of what their vowels sounded like, so recreating the sound of the language is practically impossible.

TRANSLATION TROUBLE
Some ancient writing remains challenging to decipher to this day. Mayan glyphs such as these are one such example where scholars suggest only about 85 per cent of writings can be accurately interpreted, even though it's felt that we broadly understand how it works now. We can be confident of that much in so far as independent analysis of the writings keep returning similar translation.
BIRTH OF ITALICS

The first appearance of italics in a font is believed to be this 1501 printing by Aldus Manutius of writing by Virgil. Now such a thing doesn’t seem so remarkable, but since the letters needed to be cut into metal pieces for the printing press, such a slanting design showed remarkable craftsmanship. More remarkable is that this was a small, pocket-book size printing and the letters were less than 4 millimetres tall.

AN EMPEROR’S HAND

Here we have rare examples of the writing of Emperor Shomu and Empress Kokenb of Japan dating back to around 750 CE, printed in a Japanese collection of famous calligraphers compiled in the 19th century. The histories of calligraphic styles from different regions are very different, but we can still find insights into common backstories or cognitive processes from one civilization to another.
THE EVOLUTION OF WRITING

PRINTING PRESS
The Gutenberg Bible is rightly a famous work since it represents one of the earliest mass-produced examples of movable metal type printing, but before it was made in 1455 Johannes Gutenberg had worked on other works to test his new production techniques. This manuscript is one such example, a papal indulgence printed up to a year before the famous bible printing. Similar printing techniques had independently already come into use in East Asia.

DYING ARTS
The art of calligraphy and letter writing was actually dying out in England before it was revived in the early 20th century by Edward Johnston who was inspired by this 10th century manuscript, the Ramsey Psalter. The reason for the decline was the move away from edged pens to points, that made such skilled use of the pen less necessary. But the consistency of calligraphy and traditional letter writing found new appeal as an art form as Johnston began teaching it at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in 1899.

ISLAMIC VARIETY
There were a number of different calligraphic styles from the various regions of the Islamic world dating back to the 10th century, but they ultimately focused around a style called naskh that is used today. Here the black text in Arabic is in naskh while the red text is the Persian translation in a form called nasta’liq invented by Mr Ali of Tabriz in the 15th century, its look inspired by geese in flight.
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On the Menu
BULLY BEEF RISSOLES

Did you know?
The term 'bully beef' is derived from the French boeuf bouilli, which means boiled beef.

The Staple of a Wartime Diet, Europe, 20th Century

Bully beef, tinned corned beef mixed with gelatin, was one of the main rations given to British troops on the front lines during both world wars. Standard issue since the Second Boer War (1899-1902), bully beef was lightweight, compact, easy to transport and therefore ideal for soldiers to carry while on the move.

High in protein, bully beef was cheap but nutritious and edible, enough to keep the troops going at a time when food was limited. In preparation for major assaults, soldiers were equipped with emergency rations designed to last for up to two days, which included, biscuits, tea, sugar, powdered milk and, of course, a tin of bully beef.

Although bully beef could be eaten cold, it was considered better when hot and often cooked in stews or turned into rissoles, just like the ones in this recipe. However, the diet of bully beef and hardtack biscuits quickly became monotonous for soldiers, who tried to supplement their rations by writing home to their family and friends to request food items. For a bit of variety, cooks would sometimes add curry powder, given to them by the Indian officers, to try and disguise the bully beef.

Ingredients
- 1 tin of corned beef
- 220g mashed Potatoes
- 1 small onion
- 220g mixed vegetables (optional)
- 100g breadcrumbs
- 1 tsp mixed herbs or parsley
- Salt and pepper to taste
- 1 tbsp dripping, fat or vegetable oil

Method
01. Firstly, flake the corned beef with a fork to break it up and then place it into a mixing bowl.
02. Finely chop the onion and add it to the mixing bowl, along with the mixed vegetables if you want to include them.
03. Add the mixed herbs, salt, pepper and mashed potatoes to the bowl and mix together until all the ingredients are combined. It is your choice whether to add in the breadcrumbs to the meat now, or use them to coat the rissoles later.
04. Using your hands, roll the bully beef mixture into medium sized balls, then flatten to form a patty. Coat the patties in breadcrumbs if you have not used them in the mixture.
05. Place a frying pan on the hob on a high heat and add your dripping, fat or vegetable oil.
06. Add the patties to the pan and shallow fry on each side for 3-4 minutes until the patties are cooked through, brown and crispy. Serve the rissoles alongside a salad or by themselves.

Did you make it? Let us know!
There's an easy, comforting rhythm to Cornelius Ryan's writing that feels both wonderfully illustrative and informative. He writes with the confidence of someone who saw the events of World War II take place before his own eyes, which of course he did. Ryan was working as a journalist imbedded with Patton's Third Army for most of the war and afterwards conducted thousands of interviews with US, British and German soldiers as well as French civilians, to paint a more complete picture of D-Day for this book.

_The Longest Day_ plays in the grey area between true historical retelling and fiction. Ryan had first-hand experience of the war, so returning to it just over a decade after it ended when compiling this book, it was still fresh in the memory. As a journalist who researched and investigated the stories around D-Day, he has a 360 degree view of what happened for all of those that the day impacted. As a narrative storyteller, he moves us from one set of eyes to another, giving us a very personal insight. Fact and fiction combine to give us a retelling of 6 June 1944 (and importantly the few days before it) that humanises the experience of all those involved.

The picture that Ryan paints is of a series of days that were meticulously planned down to the finest details, built upon carefully regimented discipline, but still walking a tightrope of variables that could not be predicted. He gradually works his way through the different levels of the conflict, starting from the relatively peaceful and mundane morning routine of Rommel and his staff as they wait for the invasion force to come, all the way to French villagers reacting to nothing less than hell landing on their doorstep as Operation Overlord ignites around them.

Despite the events of D-Day being well known and the outcome recorded fact, Ryan builds the tension wonderfully; lowering and raising his magnifying glass to offer the bigger picture details and then zooming into their impact on people's lives. He takes real-life accounts and recorded quotes, cutting them together with his tightly considered prose to add real emotional weight to every twist of events. As the book builds through its chapters, built in three acts of preparation, the night before and the day of the invasion, the pace appears to quicken. Ryan does a great job of giving urgency to every moment and yet reflecting how each second dragged out like an eternity for those on the ground.

This Folio Society reprint of the 1959 original brings the usual high level of printing quality with heavy paper stock and heavy hardback binding. It also brings 42 photographs, mixed in with the text to bring an even starker sense of context to the story. Many of the images are from the famed photographer Robert Capa, who was imbedded with US troops on D-Day and took some incredible images of the landings as they were happening.

It's a nice touch that brings even more immediacy to an already classic piece of narrative history that reads as well today as it did when it was originally published.
I WAS MONTY'S DOUBLE
A light-hearted tale of wartime deception

Certificate U Director John Guillermin Cast John Mills, M E Clifton
James, Cecil Parker Released Out now

As stranger than fiction tales go, the role that Clifton James played in the build up to D-Day is among the more peculiar stories from World War II. Posing as General Bernard Montgomery, he toured bases around North Africa in the hopes of convincing Germany that the Allied D-Day invasion would emanate from there rather than across the English Channel. It's the kind of classic intelligence misdirection caper that seems perfect for film adaptation, and it's handled in good-natured fashion here in this 1958 retelling where Clifton James actually stars as himself.

He is ably supported by the always-engaging John Mills as Major Harvey who acts as James' handler. While based on James' own account of his story, Mills really leads the film as the intelligence agent who needs to coax him into taking on the mission (James was an actor, but he was posted with the Royal Army Pay Corps), build up his confidence and generally keep the illusion alive when it threatens to spin out of control. It takes some liberties with the truth in the final act, but this is really a classic piece of post-war film making, steeped in patriotism and no small amount of relief that plays up comedy and camaraderie rather than carnage.

NORMANDY '44
A new perspective on the campaign to liberate France

Author James Holland Publisher Bantam Press Price £25 Released Out now

Anyone familiar with the work of James Holland will know what to expect from his latest book. Having carved out his reputation with superb titles including Italy's Sorrow, he has turned his attention to D-Day and the ensuing campaign to liberate France. With an emphasis on the often-neglected element of operational warfare (sitting in between the tactical and the strategic), Holland aims to rewrite the Normandy story and explode a few myths along the way.

The book is able to move smoothly from a wide-angle view, taking in army groups and entire theatres of war, to an intimate close-up of a single serviceman or civilian. The big picture of the campaign is therefore illuminated in tandem with a selection of the many personal stories. It is an effective approach and allows Holland to give us insight into how the war felt for those 'at the coal face', as well as for the generals looking at their maps.

This is an immense book, and the thoroughness of its approach is hinted at by the nearly 40 pages of maps with which it opens. Detailing the seemingly endless series of operations that comprised D-Day and its aftermath (D-Day air dispositions, US airborne drop patterns, Operation Epsom, Operation Charnwood and the Falaise Pocket; to name just a few), the maps are on hand for those who want to follow the narrative in detail. However, as is the case with all of Holland's work, the book is equally absorbing if you just allow it to carry you along.
APOLLO 11: THE INSIDE STORY

The incredible story of our journey to the Moon

Author David Whitehouse
Publisher Icon Books
Price £12.99
Released Out now

A white-knuckle prologue describes Neil Armstrong at the controls of the Eagle, searching for a suitable landing spot on the Moon. All has not gone smoothly and there are just seconds before the mission will need to be aborted. Immediately, then, the reader is aware that the familiar narrative of the Moon landing is made up of mere fragments of a much deeper and more hair-raising story. David Whitehouse takes us into that story, detailing how the Russians grabbed an early lead in the space race, only to be gradually overhauled by the more organised, more focused Americans.

There were inevitably disasters in both space programmes, but perhaps the most remarkable element of the story is that there weren't many more. Even the worst disaster in the build-up to the first Moon landing, the deaths of three Americans during a test in 1967, actually helped in the push towards the final goal. Astronaut Walter Cunningham commented: 'Most of us believe that if there had not been that Apollo 1 fire, we would've lost some people in orbit and maybe - who knows what would've happened?'

The final picture to emerge is that of a US programme making steady and incremental progress, while the Russians became bogged down in reacting to American achievements, to the detriment of their own plans. Only one programme could get to the Moon first and even though we know who won the race, Whitehouse's description of it is engrossing.

24 HOURS IN ANCIENT ATHENS

Days in the lives of bygone Greek citizens

Author Philip Matyszak
Publisher Michael O'Mara Books
Price £12.99
Released Out now

Following on from one of his previous books, 24 Hours In Ancient Rome, Matyszak brings us a similar work based in ancient Athens. Split into 24 chapters for each hour of the day, the book explores the city-state through the eyes of everyday people at a time when Athens was at the height of its power, approaching the Peloponnesian War.

The characters hail from all areas of society including a fish-seller, a slave miner, a bride, a doctor and a city councillor, and while the majority of them are fictional, their stories are based on real historical sources. Though we come into contact with famous historical characters, such as the writer Aristophanes and the physician Hippocrates, we see a different side to them with little, amusing stories. For example, it is funny to see Plato through the eyes of his wrestling instructor, with the philosopher flexing his shoulders in preparation for his upcoming match.

These well-known figures are not the main focus of the book and it is both refreshing and unique to be immersed in history in this way - it is always great to learn about the lives of normal citizens, who are often a minor thought in history books.

24 Hours In Ancient Athens is interesting, clear and easy to read, and should appeal to those who typically avoid history books because they can be dry. There are various boxes with quotes and information on topics such as buildings, people and plays that helpfully provide context if you have little to no knowledge about ancient Athens.
TOTAL WAR: THREE KINGDOMS

Turns ancient China into a puzzle book and a battlefield

Certificate 16 Developer Creative Assembly Publisher Sega Released Out now

The child-emperor is a hostage of the tyrant Dong Zhuo. Corrupt eunuchs take power while banditry runs rampant. Warlords make their names putting down the Yellow Turban rebellion, look at the armies and reputations they’ve built, then decide they would make better candidates for emperor. The Han dynasty collapses, and China becomes divided.

Late second-century China provided a dramatic backdrop for Romance Of The Three Kingdoms, a novel as culturally influential as Shakespeare’s historical plays. As well as movies and shows it’s inspired over-the-top action games like Dynasty Warriors, but Total War: Three Kingdoms is a much thinker version of the story. You choose a leader like devious mastermind Cao Cao or heroic general Liu Bei, and then attempt to unite China by having the best strategies.

There are two halves to Total War: Three Kingdoms. In one, which plays out on a map of the country and various attached menus, you manage a kingdom - raising armies, constructing buildings, assigning court positions, forming coalitions, sending out spies, and trying to balance the happiness of the people with your generals’ hunger for promotions and your own need for cash. Every season you do the accounting for all these factors, then cross your fingers and press the end turn button.

The other half takes place on sumptuous battlefields, covered in snow or paddy fields or illuminated by paper lanterns lit by the citizens of besieged cities. Here, in real-time, you command troops, ordering blocks of infantry to defend archers while racing your cavalry out to the edges to flank the enemy.

Meanwhile your generals perform exactly as the larger-than-life characters in Romance Of The Three Kingdoms, taking on entire units single-handed or engaging in protracted wuxia duels. There’s strategy here too, whether you order them to charge ahead or hang back and provide leadership bonuses for units. When you make the right choice, victory - especially against the odds - is thrilling.

The battles are palate-cleansers that prevent the hours spent upgrading farms and deciding who to appoint as administrator from feeling tedious. Those choices become ways of ensuring the armies will be well-supplied, positioned and armed. Then each new settlement they conquer becomes part of the management level, adding new resources and income. The two layers of play feed into each other to the benefit of both, until hours have passed, and you still want to play just one more turn.

For anyone interested in the period, Three Kingdoms is an easy recommendation. There are Total War games across history and while everyone has their favourite (personally, Shogun 2) most are variations on a theme. It’s best to find one that appeals to you. Whether you’d rather sit down at your computer for a weekend pretending to be Attila or Napoleon, Total War has you covered.
HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD
Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

CATCH ME IF YOU CAN

Director Steven Spielberg Starring Leonardo DiCaprio, Tom Hanks, Christopher Walken Country USA Released 2002

This light-hearted Spielberg film explores the fascinating true story of con artist Frank Abagnale Jr.

01 Frank, played by Leonardo DiCaprio, is a teenage con artist who uses fake identities and confidence tricks to keep up his charades. Just like in the film, the real Frank posed as a pilot, a physician and as an attorney for months at a time.

02 On screen, Frank learns all about cheques by flirting with a bank teller. This scene is pure fiction, although the real Frank did learn about cheques by talking to bank employees, using his knowledge to cash fake cheques worth millions of dollars.

03 Tom Hanks’s character, Carl Hanratty, is a composite of the various real-life FBI agents who spent years tracking Frank down. In particular, the main inspiration for Hanratty was agent Joseph Shea, who did not want his name used in the film.

04 In the film, Frank reunites with his father for the first time since he ran away at the age of 16, wearing his Pan-Am pilot uniform. In reality, Frank never saw his father again after leaving his home (after being asked to choose which parent he wanted to be with).

05 At the end of the film, we see Frank and Carl form an unlikely friendship after the former’s arrest and imprisonment. Frank really did become friends with Shea and he even started working with the FBI to catch others committing bank fraud.
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- Bernard L. Montgomery

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