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WORLD WAR I

Was it worth it?



ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Michael Wood
on the **Anglo-Saxons**

Diarmaid MacCulloch
on **Thomas Cromwell**

Lucy Worsley on **Lincoln**

Andrew Roberts
on **Churchill**



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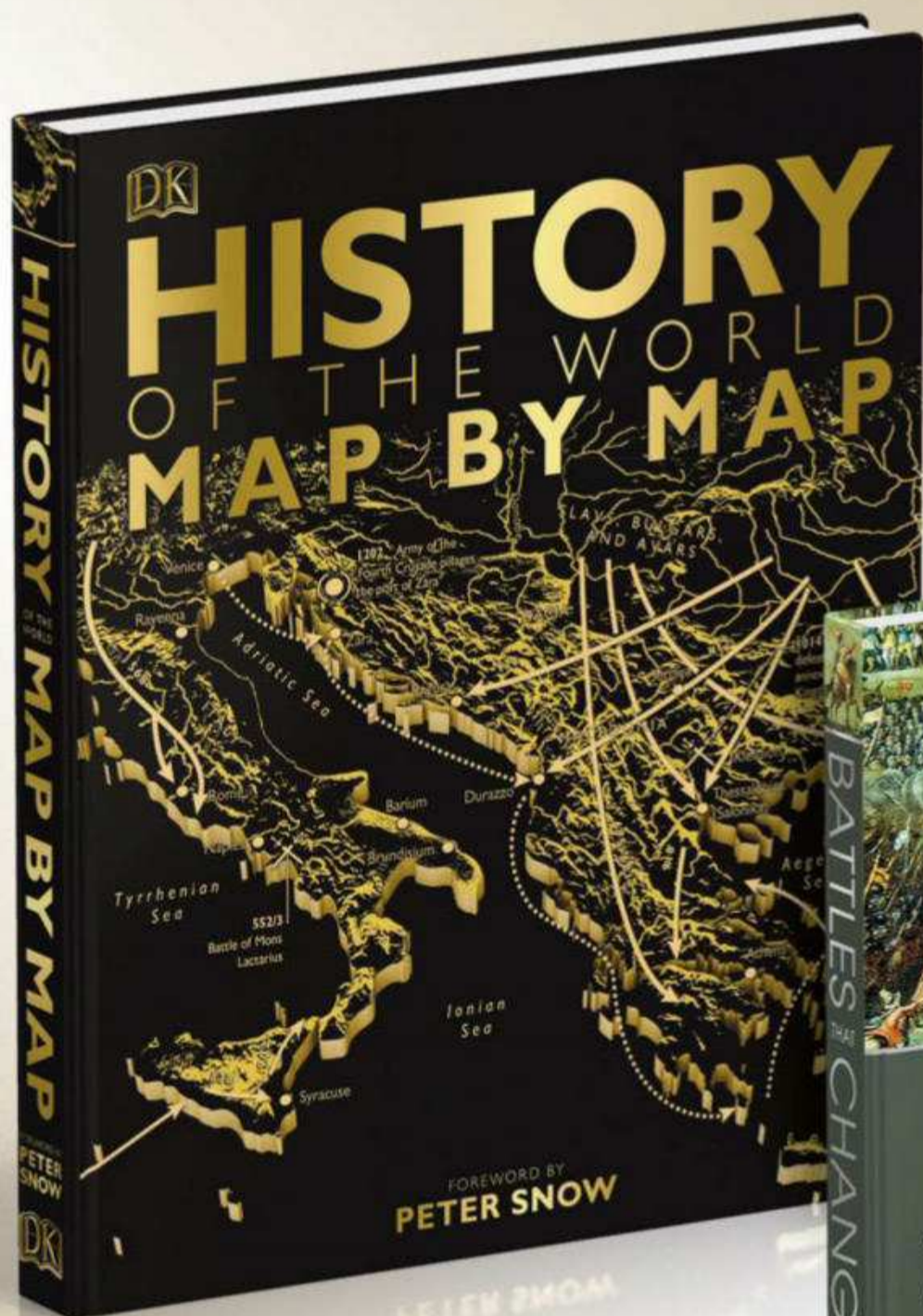


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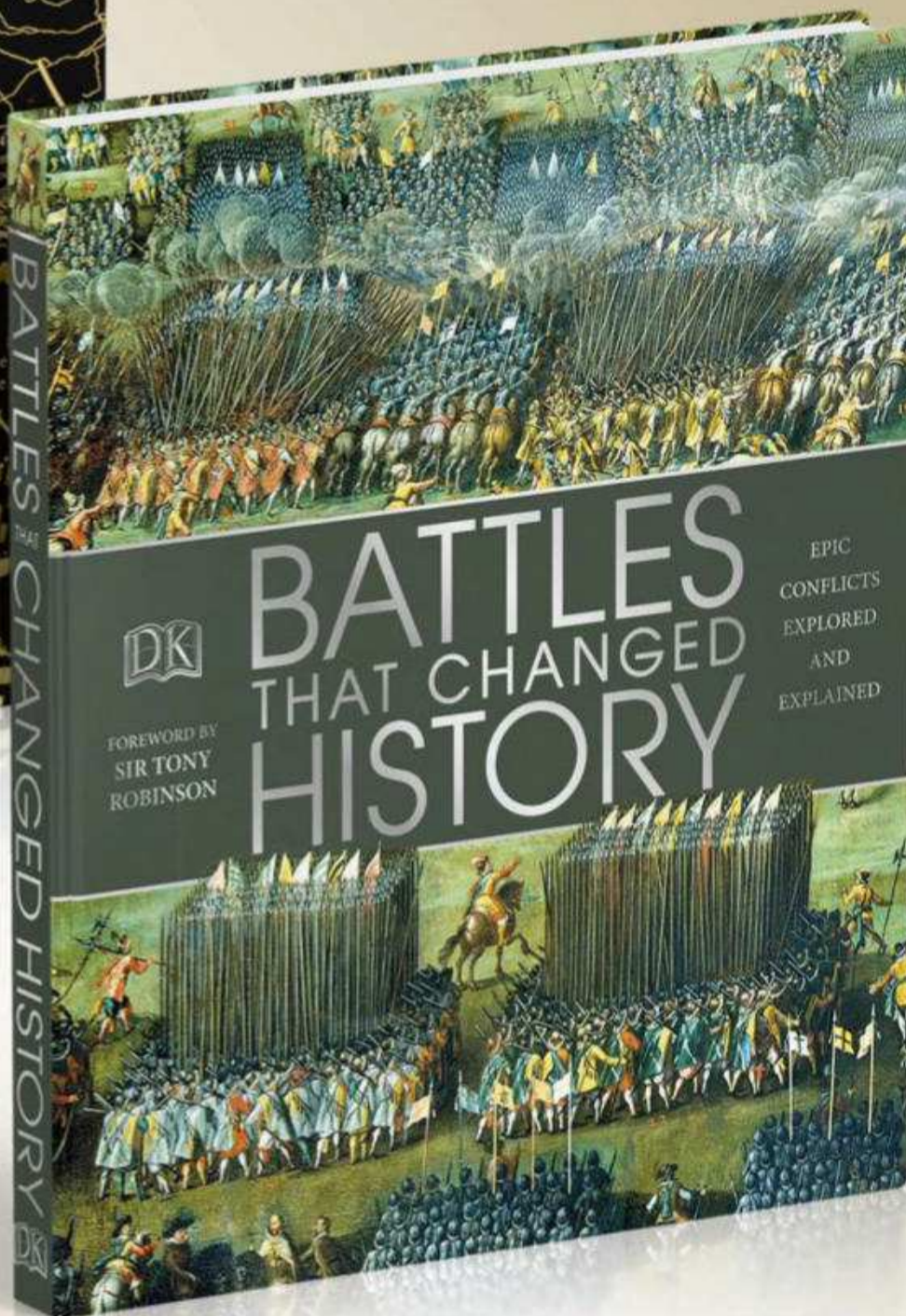
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NOVEMBER 2018

WELCOME



“ In the early hours of the morning on 11 November 1918, an agreement was signed that would bring to an end four and a half years of bloodshed across the globe. The First World War was over, but the battle for its legacy was only just beginning. We have now reached the **centenary of the armistice**, and in this month's issue we are marking the occasion with a supplement exploring many facets of the conflict.

Our cover feature is a **debate between Professors Gary Sheffield and Richard J Evans** over whether the outcome of the war justified the tremendous cost in lives. Elsewhere, a panel of experts assess the **longer-term impact of the conflict**, from the psychological scars to the environmental devastation. But the end of the war brought joy as well as trauma, and, as Guy Cuthbertson reveals in his article, news of the armistice prompted **celebrations across Britain**. Finally, Maggie Andrews considers whether, over the past four years, the goals of the First World War **commemorative activities** have been met.

It's not all about the First World War this month, though. In the regular magazine you'll get to read Lucy Worsley on **Abraham Lincoln**, Michael Wood on the **Anglo-Saxons**, Andrew Roberts on **Churchill**, Diarmaid MacCulloch on **Thomas Cromwell**, and a whole lot more besides.

All four of these historians will also be appearing at our **History Weekends** this month, and there is still time to book tickets at historyweekend.com. I look forward to seeing many of you there.



Rob Attar
Editor

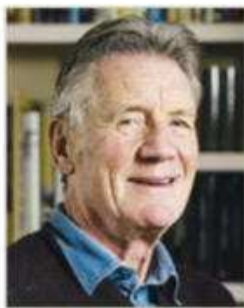
THIS ISSUE'S CONTRIBUTORS



Kwasi Kwarteng
As an MP, I see a number of fine Victorian buildings in my Spelthorne constituency. Local architecture and the story of the British empire appeal to my interest in history and politics.
● *Kwasi reveals how Britain's empire shaped its great cities on page 58*



Lucy Worsley
I travelled all over America in the hot summer just past, investigating how the country's history gets used and abused by politicians and people alike in the process of building a nation.
● *Lucy considers the American Civil War's contested legacy on page 22*



Michael Palin
The mid 19th century was a great time for polar exploration. These weren't military or commercial expeditions, they were simply intended to gather as much information as possible about parts of the world as yet unknown.
● *Michael discusses his new book on the sensational voyages of HMS Erebus on page 65*

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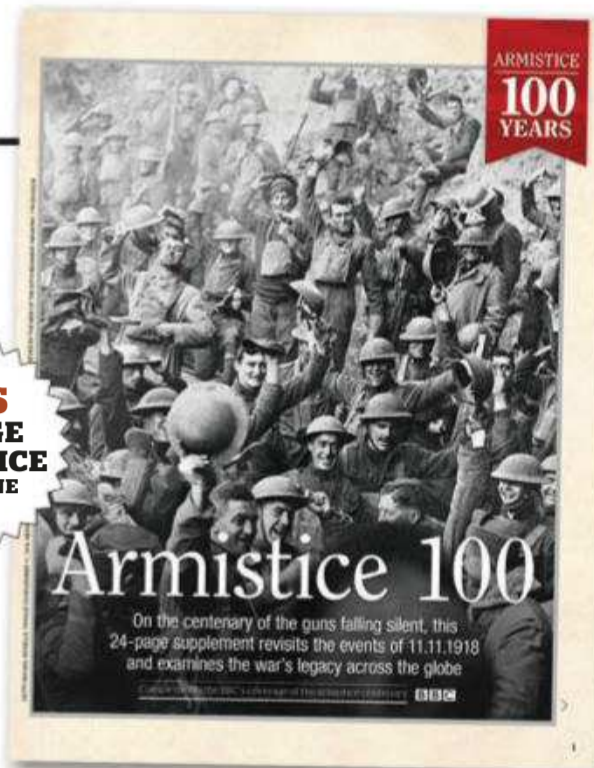
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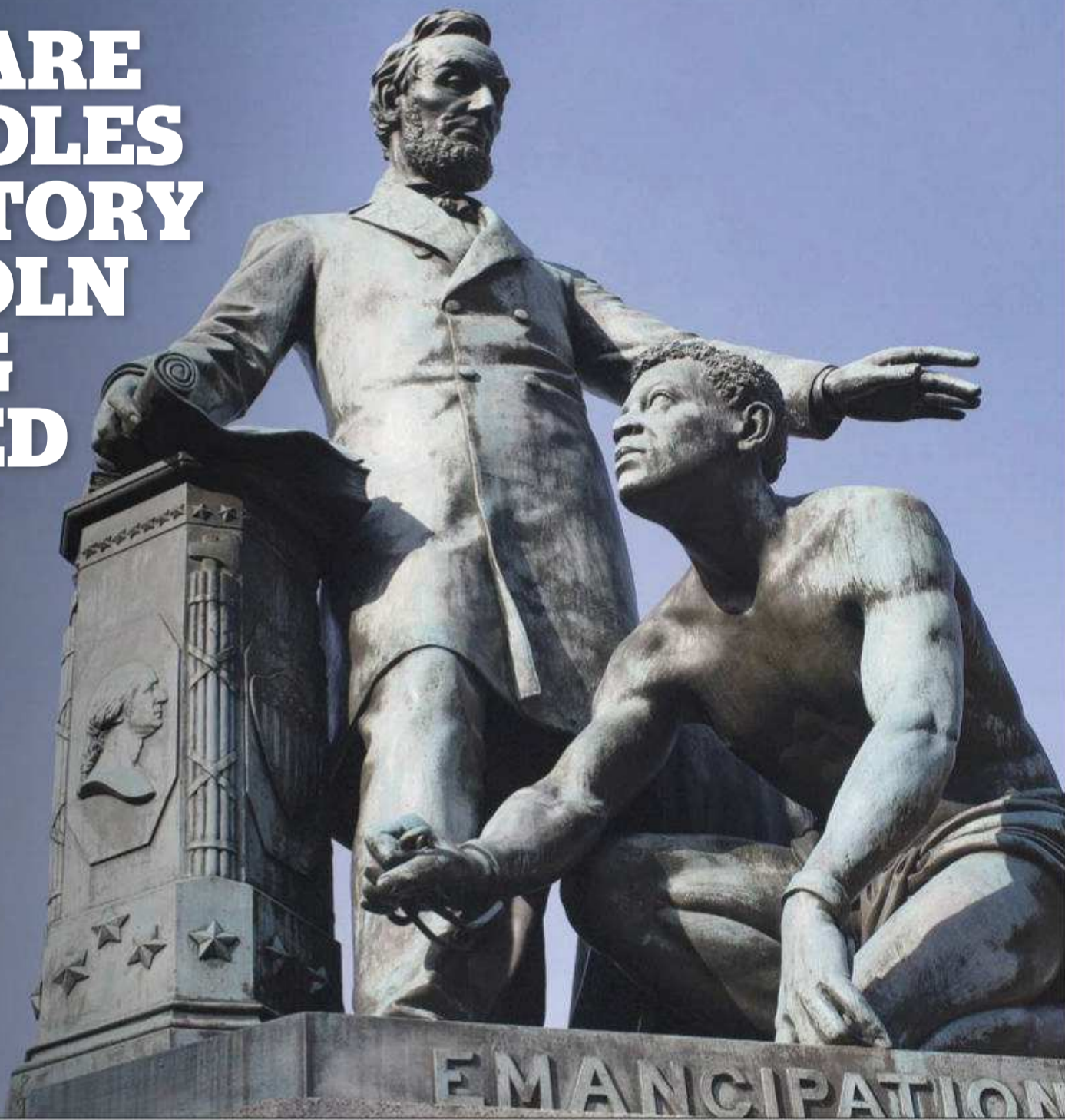
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“THERE ARE MANY HOLES IN THE STORY OF LINCOLN HEALING A DIVIDED NATION”



JILLIAN EDELSTEIN/SARAH YOUNG/ALAMY/TOPFOTO/GETTY IMAGES

Dominic Sandbrook highlights events that took place in **November** in history

ANNIVERSARIES

3 November 1793

A French feminist loses her head

The outspoken opinions of playwright and social reformer Olympe de Gouges see her end up on the guillotine

The French playwright Olympe de Gouges was, by any standards, one of the most extraordinary women of her day. Born in 1748, she established her own theatre company, campaigned against slavery and even published a pamphlet, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*, which begins with the words: “Women are born free and remain equal to men in rights.”

But as the French Revolution slid into sectarian bloodshed, Gouges’ outspokenness made her dangerous. By 1793, horrified by the extremism of Robespierre and the Jacobins, she had produced a subversive poster demanding a national referendum that would let people choose between a republic, a loose federation or a restored monarchy. That was too much for the regime.

Shortly after her friends in the moderate Girondin faction had been arrested, the Jacobins came for her, too.

On 4 November a Parisian chronicler recorded her fate. “Yesterday, at seven o’clock in the evening, a most extraordinary person called Olympe de Gouges who held the imposing title of woman of letters, was taken to the scaffold,” he wrote. “She approached the scaffold with a calm and serene expression on her face, and forced the guillotine’s furies, which had driven her to this place of torture, to admit that such courage and beauty had never been seen before.”

It was a tragic end for such a brave woman. One Jacobin declared that her fate was a lesson for every woman who “abandoned the cares of her home, to meddle in the affairs of the Republic”.



A late 18th-century portrait of Olympe de Gouges. The playwright and social reformer was executed after she “meddled in the affairs of the Republic”

5 November 1688

William of Orange invades England

The Protestant prince’s fleet lands in Devon, ready for revolution

At the beginning of November 1688, one of the greatest invasion fleets in English history was sailing towards the Devon coast. With 40,000 men aboard 463 ships, William of Orange was in deadly earnest. To his admirers, the Dutch prince’s slogan, “For Liberty and the Protestant Religion”, captured the tone. Here was a Protestant prince who would topple the hated James II and VII, secure the Anglican faith and save England from Catholic absolutism.

Although William himself was suffering from acute seasickness, his fleet made a splendid sight; his men lined up with bands playing as they sailed past Dover. The next day, the 4th, was William’s birthday. But the 5th, celebrated by Protestants as the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, started badly. The sky was hazy and visibility poor, and William’s pilot steered too far to the west. Before they knew it, they were heading past Torbay, where they had planned to land. Now they were in a mess. The wind was too strong for them to turn back, but the next port was Plymouth, where James had already posted a garrison – and all the time the king’s fleet was on their heels.

Then, suddenly, the breeze changed. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada a century earlier, men had talked of the ‘Protestant wind’, and God was clearly on the Protestant side once again. With the sun shining and the wind blowing from the south, William was able to turn back to Torbay after all. By the time he stepped ashore at what is now Brixham, the quay was crowded with well-wishers. There was no resistance. The Glorious Revolution was under way.

ALAMY

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian and presenter. His Radio 4 show on *The Real Summer of Love* is available at Archive on 4



BRIDGEMAN

A 17th-century oil painting shows William of Orange landing at Brixham in 1688. The invading Dutch prince went on to topple King James II

20 November 284

In what is now north western Turkey, Roman troops acclaim the Dalmatian born officer **Diocletian** (right) as their **new emperor**.



14 November 1851

In New York, the publishers Harper and Brothers bring out **Herman Melville's book *Moby Dick***, often seen as the greatest of all American novels.



21 November 1894

After capturing the coastal city of Port Arthur, **Japanese troops slaughter tens of thousands of Chinese** soldiers and civilians.



Flanked by family members, Jackie Kennedy leaves the Capitol after her husband's funeral service, held a few days after his assassination. "Most eyes were on the veiled widow and her two young children," says Dominic Sandbrook

25 November 1963

America mourns its president

Three days after the world is rocked by his assassination, family and foreign dignitaries pay their respects to JFK

The American people were still in shock, three days after John F Kennedy's murder in Dallas. Brought back to Washington almost immediately after his death, the late president's body was taken to the Capitol on Sunday 24th, a quarter of a million people queuing for hours to pay their respects. In the meantime, foreign dignitaries, among them Britain's prime minister,

Sir Alec Douglas-Home, were flying to Washington for the next day's funeral.

The funeral itself was the largest gathering of world leaders since that of Edward VII in 1910. Amid massive security, the procession wound its way from the Capitol to the National Cathedral, with satellite coverage beamed across the globe. Most eyes were on the veiled widow Jackie, a study in

grief, as well as her two young children, Caroline and John Jr. It was John Jr's third birthday. Images of the little boy saluting his father's coffin appeared on front pages around the world.

Both in the US and abroad, Kennedy's funeral was widely seen as a uniquely moving occasion. CBS called it "the most majestic and stately ceremony the American people can perform". The front page of the *Daily Mirror*, then the bestselling paper in the English-speaking world, read simply: "Farewell", though inside pages salivated over pictures of "Tragic Jackie, So Courageous in Her Silent Grief". What really worried the *Mirror*, though, was America's future. "Can we place total reliance," it asked, "on a nation where political passions run so high, a nation with a town like Dallas?"

ALAMY /GETTY

5 November 1605

The gunpowder plot goes up in smoke

The scheme is foiled and the conspirators arrested

The gunpowder plot was a long time in the making. The first meeting of the conspirators, who planned to blow up the House of Lords, kill James VI and I and replace him with his nine-year-old daughter Elizabeth under Catholic guidance, took place as early as May 1604.

By the following summer, the plotters had rented an undercroft beneath the Houses of Parliament and had filled it with several dozen barrels of gunpowder. But then there was a hitch. Because of the plague, the opening of parliament was delayed until 5 November. That would be the moment of decision.

On the day before parliament opened, the most infamous of the plotters, the Yorkshireman Guy Fawkes, was in place in the undercroft when there was the first sign of trouble. Alarmed by a warning one plotter had sent to his brother-in-law, a group of James I's men had decided to



People celebrate “deliverance” from the gunpowder plot in a 1641 depiction. A poem underneath reads: “They bounteous bonfires make... Tryumphing in their streets with fireworks rare”

search the building. Showing impressive sang-froid, Fawkes insisted that he was a servant guarding his master's firewood, and they seemed to believe him.

But then, in the small hours of the following morning, the king's men unexpectedly returned. This time they discovered Fawkes, calling himself John Johnson, in a large cloak and hat, carrying a pocket watch, lantern and matches. Beneath his so-called firewood

were at least 30 barrels of gunpowder.

When Fawkes' captors asked what he was doing, he said defiantly that he wanted to “blow you Scotch beggars back to your native mountains”. For the next two days, even under torture, he refused to name his co-conspirators. But the king's interrogators broke him eventually. Hanged almost three months later, Fawkes was reincarnated every bonfire night for centuries to come. **H**

COMMENT / DR JOHN COOPER

“Many took it as proof that God was watching over James's regime”

“ The discovery of the gunpowder plot was a sensational public relations victory for James I. The Scottish king had been struggling to escape from his predecessor Elizabeth I's shadow and win the hearts of his English subjects. Now, a Catholic conspiracy to obliterate the entire apparatus of government had been exposed, just hours before Guy Fawkes planned to light the fuse from his waiting lantern.

Many took it as proof that the God who had kept Queen Elizabeth safe from plots also watched over the new regime. Londoners were encouraged to celebrate:

a letter of John Chamberlain describes “great ringing and as great store of bonfires as ever I think was seen”. Sermons and prayers in parish churches carried the story all over the land. The trial of the gunpowder plotters in Westminster Hall was standing room only, with tickets selling for 10 shillings. Huge crowds watched Fawkes and fellow plotter Thomas Winter executed outside the Palace of Westminster.

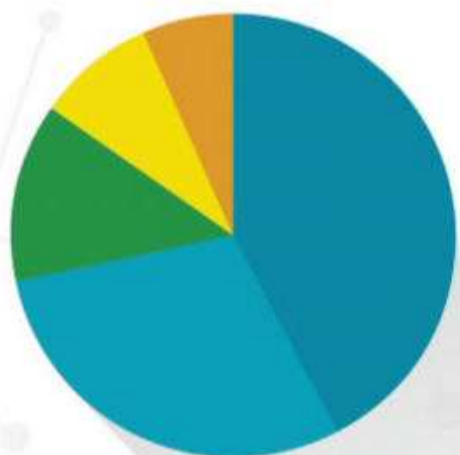
At one level this had been a major failure of the security services, an attack on king and parliament which had come within an ace of succeeding; no plot against

Elizabeth I had penetrated so near to the heart of government. But the chance discovery of the gunpowder plot created its own myth, and heaped fuel on the fires of anti-Catholicism for generations to come. ”



Dr John Cooper is senior lecturer in early modern history at the University of York, and author of *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (Faber, 2011)

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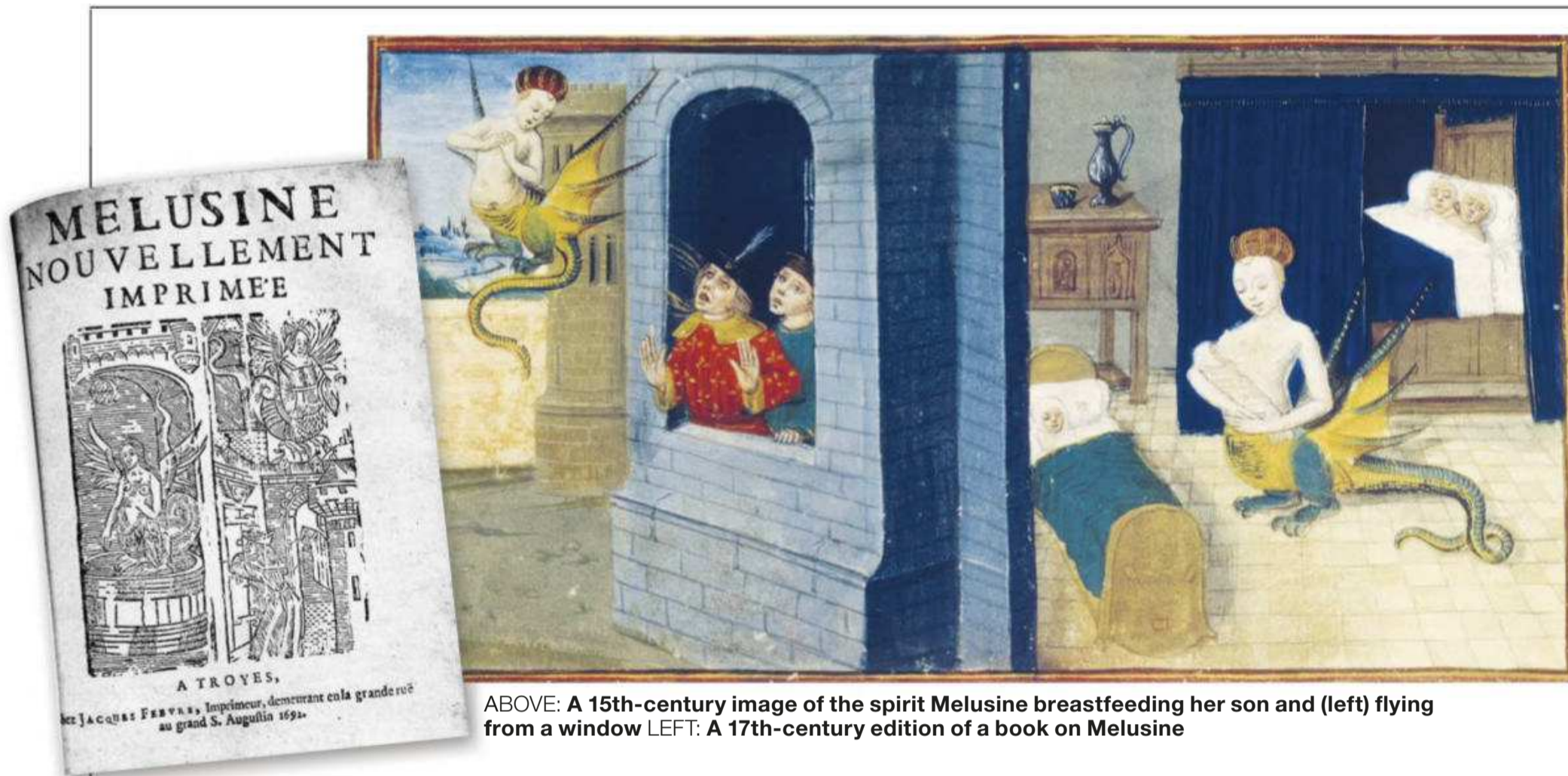
Have a story? Please email Charlotte Hodgman at charlotte.hodgman@immediate.co.uk



EYE OPENER

Roman relationships

An early first-century AD gilded horse head, which was once part of a statue of Emperor Augustus, has gone on public display in Germany for the first time. Discovered in 2009, close to modern-day Frankfurt, the remains of the sculpture and other associated finds have thrown new light on the relationship between the Romans and German 'barbarians'. The artefacts indicate the presence of a Roman settlement in the region at a time when historians previously believed Rome intended to subdue the Germanic tribes with military force. The evidence implies that the Romans lived next to and traded with these tribes for a number of years.



ABOVE: A 15th-century image of the spirit Melusine breastfeeding her son and (left) flying from a window LEFT: A 17th-century edition of a book on Melusine

MEDIEVAL FAIRIES

“Fairies’ capacity to imperil eternal souls by seducing them into carnal sin made them dangerous to humans”



A new project that explores fairy summoning rituals in the 15th-17th centuries – offering insights into their influences on contemporary life – is now under way at the University of Exeter. **Samuel P Gillis Hogan** (left), who is leading the study, explains more

How were fairies defined during this period?

While many people imagine Tinkerbell-like pixies, this sweet and sanitised image of the fairy is a Victorian construction. Late medieval and early modern ideas of fairies were pretty nebulous and varied, but there were some common themes.

Fairies in this period tended to be discussed with a blend of wonder and trepidation. They were generally, though not always, as tall as a human. They were also supernaturally attractive and could seduce young women and men, imperilling their eternal souls.

What role did fairies play in daily life?

Fairies were a feature of medieval culture and served various functions. Noble families sometimes claimed descent from fairies,

in which cases the fairy often served as guardian of the family, as was the case in the stories of the legendary Melusine. Fairies also served a literary function, in courtly romances and ballads.

Yet they were not always so benign. Fairies’ capacity to imperil men and women’s eternal souls by seducing them into carnal sin made them dangerous to humans, as did their role as spirits of illness and madness. There are also folkloric accounts, since the 12th century at least, of children being spirited away.

Why and how were fairies summoned?

Some people attempted to conjure fairies to acquire medical knowledge, such as the properties of herbs. Then there are several texts where the summoner aims to conjure fairy women in order to sleep with

them. Fairies were also summoned to find buried treasure, supply rings of invisibility, reveal the future and much more.

Many texts specify what the spirit will do or say once it appears, and how the magician should respond. Since God is often invoked, a number of rituals include periods of purification through sexual abstinence, fasting and prayer in preparation, so that God will deem the magician worthy of his aid in summoning and binding the spirit. Most rituals order the fairy to appear in a form that is neither frightening nor seductive, since both could entice the magician out of his protective circle, leaving him vulnerable to the dangers of the fairy or demon. Several rituals to conjure Oberon, king of the fairies, direct him to appear in the shape of a young child.

In this new project I’ll be studying manuscripts containing instructions on how to conjure and exorcise fairies, in addition to Inquisition and court records that deal with people who ostensibly used magic to conjure fairies.

Understanding the sources from which summoning texts drew their ideas about fairies and their capacities allows us to contextualise these rituals. It also helps us understand the interactions between literary, folkloric and learned sources during this period. **H**

Samuel P Gillis Hogan is a PhD researcher at the University of Exeter. Read more about his project, ‘Familiar with Fairies: A Study of Late Medieval and Early Modern Fairy Conjuring Texts’, at historicalmagicblog.com



A good month for...

THE MARY ROSE

New nanotechnology is being used on the *Mary Rose* as a way of preserving the Tudor warship. Tiny magnetic particles, a thousandth of the width of a human hair, will capture iron ions in the wood to stop production of an acid that could destroy the ship's timber.

SOCIAL DRINKERS

Scientists examining evidence of brewing at the Neolithic site of Göbekli Tepe in Turkey have claimed that our ancient ancestors enjoyed alcohol more than 10,000 years ago, and believe social drinking played a role in our evolution into larger-brained primates.

A bad month for...



CONSERVATION

Venues such as the Science Museum in London are having to remove plastic historical items from display as many have begun to disintegrate. The chemistry of some early plastic items, from prosthetics to puppets, is so bad they are visibly deteriorating.

SCIENCE MUSEUM LONDON/ALAMY/SWNS/PA/STEPHEN BUCKLEY-UNIVERSITY OF YORK/GETTY

HISTORY IN THE NEWS

A selection of stories hitting the history headlines



Stained glass discovery

Researchers analysing stained glass panels from the Miracle windows of Canterbury Cathedral's Trinity Chapel have found them to be 700 years older than thought. Previously believed to be the work of Victorian restorers, the two panels have now been dated to the 1180s.

WWII board game discovered in Jersey

A Monopoly-style board game played during the Second World War has been found in a Jersey loft. Printed exclusively on the island, the game – called Occupation – refers to challenges faced by islanders during the Nazi occupation of 1940–45, such as food rationing.

Ancient Egyptian embalming recipe revealed

Tests carried out on a mummy dating from 3,700–3,500 BC have revealed the ingredients used to embalm it. The list features plant oil, conifer tree resin, a plant-based gum and a balsam-type plant or root extract, possibly from bulrushes.

Fire ravages the Brazil National Museum

As much as 90 per cent of the collection of Brazil's National Museum has been destroyed by fire. Most of its 20 million items are believed to have perished, including its entire Egyptology collection.



FROM TOP TO BOTTOM:
The Monopoly-style Second World War board game Occupation; Canterbury Cathedral's Miracle windows; the Egyptian mummy dating from 3,700–3,500 BC; the blaze at the National Museum of Brazil

The historians' view...

What has been ailing Britain's prisons?

The recent crisis at HM Prison Birmingham – taken over by the government following a damning inspection – highlighted serious issues in the operation of the country's jails. Two experts offer their opinions on the factors that have affected prisons policy down the years

Compiled by **Chris Bowlby**, a BBC journalist specialising in history

“Since the early 1990s, the prison population has increased to more than 83,000 and not in the context of an increase in recorded crime

PROFESSOR ALYSON BROWN

How many people are imprisoned, and how they are treated, has always been affected by much more than just recorded crime rates. Economics, political, legal and philosophical ideas, and public opinion, have all played their roles.

To take one example, the prison population fell significantly between 1914 and 1918. Full employment and military service were, of course, major factors here, but so were a series of criminal justice acts. The Probation of Offenders Act 1907 introduced an additional alternative sentence to imprisonment, the 1908 Children Act excluded children under 16 from prison, and the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914 allowed offenders time to pay fines handed down by the court rather than them being

imprisoned when unable to pay.

These acts were passed in a context of political engagement, most prominently from Churchill as home secretary (1910–11), and public awareness of the damage that short terms of imprisonment were doing to many imprisoned repeatedly for relatively minor offences. In 1914, the daily average prison population was 14,000. By 1919 that had fallen to 7,000 and remained below about 11,000 until the Second World War.

For a more recent example of the impact of political will, resulting legislation and judicial discretion on the prison population, we need only reflect on the rise of the ‘prison works’ perspective, which depicted the prison as an effective means of reducing offending. Since the early 1990s, the prison population has increased to more than 83,000 and not in the context of a parallel increase in recorded crime.

Just as prisoner numbers have fluctuated, so has awareness of what has been happening inside prisons. The work of prison reform groups; vocal, educated and influential offenders, such as Irish nationalists, suffragettes and conscientious objectors; and other interested figures have all intermittently but powerfully placed prison before the eyes of the public. Importantly, what could be termed ordinary offenders have also exposed the prison to public gaze, through occurrences such as riots, escapes and suicides – all events that challenge the

image of the prison as a disciplined, secure and controlled space.

Media coverage has increased the loudness of controversies, something perhaps most evident in the case of large-scale riots, for example, at Dartmoor (1932), Hull (1976) and Manchester's Strangeways (1990). The media have always given extensive coverage to prison riots, often in an alarmist manner. That has influenced the degree of political response, but where official investigations have been carried out they have succeeded in closing down, rather than opening out, debates on the prison.

The Woolf Report into the Strangeways riot was heralded as an exception in stating that a balance had to be maintained between “security, control and justice”. Nevertheless, improvements driven by the report were soon affected by expanding prison numbers, the control imperative and a lack of resources. In addition, the escape of IRA prisoners from Whitemoor in 1994 shifted opinion towards a less sympathetic approach.

Ultimately, where resources are limited, as they always are, the public rarely sees prisons as a priority over education or public health – or indeed as a priority at all.



Professor Alyson Brown lectures at Edge Hill University, and has written extensively about the prison system





Convicts at Dartmoor Prison in 1907. "I am struck by how the problems prisons present don't change over time," says Dr John Moore

“Concern about prisoner welfare has always had to compete with claims that prison regimes are too lax

DR JOHN MOORE

As a historian of prisons, I am struck by how the problems prisons present and the solutions offered don't change over time. Prisons mostly operate away from public view, apart from in the aftermath of extreme events. With the current attention on Birmingham prison, it is worth recalling one of those rare occasions when an inquiry – the 1853 Royal Commission that investigated the prison – focused on establishing the truth. The commission was established in response to concerns over the self-inflicted death of a 15-year-old prisoner, Edward Andrews. It found that prisoners had been repeatedly subjected to corporal punishment and children had been whipped illegally. Other punishments included the straitjacket, adapted to allow prisoners to be attached to a hook on the wall. Female prisoners were strapped to railings in the central hall. In the

case of Edward Andrews, the commission concluded that, "By the order... of the governor, he was punished illegally and cruelly, and was driven thereby to the commission of suicide." The governor was subsequently imprisoned for three months.

Yet concern about prisoner welfare has always had to compete with claims that prison regimes are too lax. When Winson Green was opened in Birmingham in the 1840s, local judge Matthew Davenport Hill said it should be a "moral hospital". The famous reformer Alexander Maconochie was appointed as governor. However, within two years Maconochie was dismissed after complaints about a lack of "sufficient discipline". It was under his successor's regime that Edward Andrews was to die.

Ultimate responsibility for prisons has changed much over time. Until 1878, prisons were the responsibility of local government, and conditions varied. Then all prisons came under the control of the Prison Commission, which operated a deterrent system of discipline. From the late 19th century, there was an emphasis on character reformation. The interwar years saw several reformatory initiatives, including borstal and open prisons. However, prisoners' accounts show that much brutality remained.

Following the Second World War, prison populations increased and investment in prison buildings was not a priority. Under Home Office control from 1963, reformation



The 1990 riot at HMP Manchester, known as Strangeways, resulted in a prisoner's death and caused enormous damage



Inside Cardiff prison. Conditions in jails have often been hotly debated

remained the dominant official discourse, although prisoners themselves stressed the experience was mainly one of 'doing time'.

Since the 1990s prison policy has largely articulated wishful thinking – from Michael Howard's "prison works", through Tony Blair's "tough on crime", to David Cameron's "rehabilitation revolution". Prison populations have increased, as has drug use. Austerity has seen reductions of staffing, education and work opportunities. As the situation worsened, ministers have sought to distance themselves organisationally.

If we really want to find out what is happening today, the 1853 Royal Commission provides a blueprint: a public inquiry, with opportunity for those at the frontline, both guards and prisoners, to share the lived reality of prison life, and a commitment to finding the truth rather than excuses. **H**



Dr John Moore is a senior lecturer in criminology at Newman University, Birmingham

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Michael Wood on... **rebuilding lost monuments**

“The question with restoration is not so much why, but how far?”

“ I’m having problems with restoration just now. Not home improvements, I hasten to add, though our old garage certainly needs it! No, it’s about restoring historic buildings. And not so much *why*, but *how far*?

Here in the UK, restoration is a simple issue. We preserve the building as it is and we hand it on. We don’t speculate. In China meanwhile, they just go for it. What counts is not the actual fabric of a building, but the sense of place, the memories and stories it conjures up. A lost Song dynasty tower? Remake it. The hanging gardens of Babylon don’t exist any more? Just rebuild them.

I’m just back from Athens, where they’ve taken a very different path. There, restorers are still working on a painstaking conservation project which began way back in 1975: the partial restoration of the spectacular group of temples on the Acropolis, centring on the Parthenon. Generally regarded as the greatest of all Greek temples, the Parthenon survived until the 17th century. At that point, under Turkish rule, it was home to a mosque in a small town on the rock, with narrow lanes, typical Greek houses, and a Frankish tower from the Middle Ages. But in 1687, a Turkish powder magazine inside the temple was blown up by Venetian artillery fire, smashing the building and throwing thousands of pieces of marble across the rock. That began the slow plunder that culminated with Lord Elgin: looted pieces were scattered across eight European cities, including London.

With Greek independence in the 1830s came the most radical changes in the monument’s 2,300-year history. Now seen as the symbol of Greek – and western – civilisation, the Acropolis was swept clean of all structures save those of the classical age. Thousands of fragments were retrieved, and medieval bastions were dismantled to find broken sculpture. And so the restoration of the Acropolis and the Parthenon began.

But its restoration to what, exactly? The classical temple? The Byzantine basilica with its bell tower? The Frankish church from the time of the crusades? Or the

last incarnation: the mosque with its minaret? And even if we only focus on the classical past – which one? The Parthenon was a temple to the goddess Athena for more than 800 years. Do you go for the temple built by Pericles in the 440s BC? Or Hadrian’s additions? Or Julian the Apostate’s rebuild in the AD 360s? Given all the changes over time, is it even possible any longer to strip everything away to get back to the Periclean building?

Faced with this conundrum, the Athenian restorers opted for Pericles, but they wisely took a very limited aim: repair the damage with marble from the original quarry on Mount Pentelicus; put back the blown-off bits (that’s 2,675 tonnes of marble). Meticulous and scholarly, it is nothing less than a modern act of piety.

But incomparable though it is, the Parthenon will still be a shell, literally and metaphorically. The feelings it once evoked can only be imagined when you enter the new Acropolis Museum and contemplate the archaic world of Athenian religion – the strange sacrificial cults, the sensational painted votive statues of young women, and the great goddess herself, whose festivals are represented on the wonderful frieze that once adorned her temple, most of which is now in the British Museum.

This is something the Parthenon’s restorers did not feel was within their remit even to suggest. To save the building and pass it down as a ruin was enough, and for that they deserve our grateful thanks. But to get a real sense of the feelings it must once have inspired, you have to visit Nashville, of all places. There you’ll find a full-size replica of the Parthenon, built between 1920 and 1931, with a 42ft high statue of Athena shimmering in gilded robes. The effect is little short of sensational.

Every generation restores the past as an obligation to future generations, driven in part by their own present needs, and in part by their changing conceptions of their history. But one day, in flickering lamplight, to see again the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron? Or the temples to Nemesis at Rhamnous? Now that would be a restoration! I know what the Chinese would do... **H**

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. He has presented numerous BBC series and his books include *The Story of England* (Viking, 2010)



ILLUSTRATION BY FEMKE DE JONG

GETTY IMAGES

Your views on the magazine and the world of history

LETTERS

Dinner table debate

LETTER OF THE MONTH

Your feature *Veggie Victorians* (September) held some resonance for me. My maternal grandfather, born in 1871, although not a vegetarian, was a Victorian who may have been influenced by the movement, for he showed empathy to the plight of farm animals.

He died before I was born so I never knew him, but I was brought up on anecdotes furnished by my mother, in which he made comments like: "If the lady who likes her lamb chop had to kill the lamb, she would soon give up eating meat!" and: "Not a happy Christmas for the turkeys!" Lamb was never eaten in our house, and I believe his posthumous influence on the lives of my family contributed to us, along

with his daughter and grandchildren, eventually eschewing meat in the late 1980s, just after the campaign to end live exports came to public attention. The Victorian era certainly was an age in which seeds were sown that paved the way for the popularity of the vegetarian and vegan diets we see today.

Moira Walshe, Newmarket

● We reward the Letter of the Month writer with a new history book. This issue, it's *D-Day: The Soldiers' Story* by Giles Milton. Read the review on page 69.

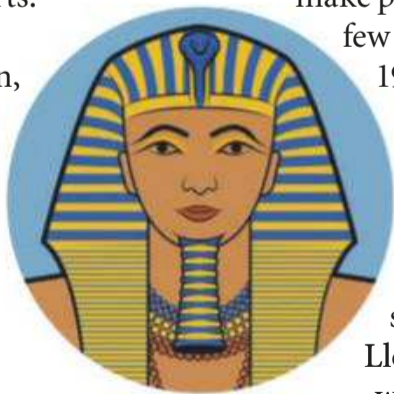


Queens and pharaohs

I read with interest the results of your poll *100 Women Who Changed the World* (September), and would like to throw a few other inspirational names into the hat.

Hatshepsut was the most successful female pharaoh, even more successful than some of her male counterparts. Gorgo, wife of Leonidas I, is the best-known of the Spartan women, who were ahead of their time. They had more freedom than other Greek women of their era – and women everywhere, until arguably the last 50–60 years!

Then there is Æthelflæd. The daughter of Alfred the Great fought the Danes, won battles, fortified Mercia and raised her nephew, Æthelstan, who became the first king of a united England.
Rose Norton, Bedfordshire



A modern illustration of Hatshepsut, a female pharaoh who Rose Norton believes is deserving of acclaim

Elevating a fanatic

How disappointing it was to see Emmeline Pankhurst voted one of the *100 Women Who Changed the World*. The idea that she gained women the vote is one of the biggest myths in British history.

What Pankhurst did was more than make passionate speeches and break a few windows. Between 1912 and 1914, she permitted arson attacks on churches, trains, theatres and museums; the sending of bombs and hazardous chemicals through the post; and violent targeted assaults, such as the firebombing of Lloyd George's house (Lloyd George was a supporter of female suffrage!), arson attacks on Kew Gardens and the bombing of Westminster Abbey.
The movement for female

suffrage can be traced back at least 36 years before Pankhurst formed the suffragettes, when the (sadly forgotten) suffragist movement was created in 1867. After a long and peaceful campaigning process, they had made strides towards gaining female suffrage before Pankhurst and her militant methods turned society against their cause.

The only helpful thing Pankhurst ever did was stop her violent "deeds not words" tactics after the outbreak of the First World War. It would be women's contribution to the war effort that later gained them the vote, not the suffragettes. Pankhurst was a fanatic who seemed to do her utmost to degrade and hinder women's rights in general.

Emilie Lamplough, Wiltshire

Revolutionary women

I have recently been given an American book with the same title as your item on women who changed the world, and only 25 names appear on both. It would appear that country of origin influences choices.

One name I believe you should have included is Dr James Barry [the 19th-century woman who disguised herself as a man in order to study medicine], who single-handedly brought the medical care of soldiers into the modern age.

Another name I would have liked to see, but realise the problems it would have raised, is Henrietta Lacks [whose cells, removed without her knowledge, have been used for extensive medical research], without whom the study of cancer would not have been able to progress as quickly as it has done.

Barry Hooper, Scarborough

An inconvenient truth

I would like to add to the essay *How War Sparked the Industrial Revolution* (September) the fact that an estimated 100,000 guns a year were sold to slave traders! In my book *After Abolition*, I noted that "the numbers of guns exported reached 35,167 in 1825. From 1827 until 1850 the combined value of guns and gunpowder exported [to Africa] never dropped below £74,000 a year, and reached £136,383 in 1849."

As the book also explained: "In 1860 it was estimated that over 100,000 guns

FEMKE DE JONG/ANDY TUOHY