

actually possessed greater dominions in France than the French king did himself.¹

This preponderance of power on the part of the English monarch naturally excited Philip's jealousy, and he did everything he could to encourage Henry's French vassals to revolt against their foreign master. Philip not only coveted Henry's provinces for himself, but he was determined to have them to strengthen his throne, which he hoped to make the most powerful in Europe. War broke out between the two sovereigns, but Philip accomplished nothing decisive and resolved to wait for a more favorable opportunity for carrying out his designs.

59. Philip's War with John; he takes Normandy. — He did not have to wait many years to get it. When John, Henry's fourth son, ascended the English throne, Philip felt that his opportunity had come. John's young nephew, Arthur, was Duke of Brittany. Encouraged by Philip and by some of John's vassals, he now claimed Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. War again broke out between England and France. John was at first successful.

He captured Arthur and shut him up in his castle at Rouen, where he doubtless murdered him, as the lad mysteriously disappeared and was never heard of again. But instead of pursuing the war vigorously, John remained in the castle, wasting his time in feasting, drunkenness, and debauchery, and paying no heed to his vassals, who urged him to come to their assistance in the contest with the king of France.

Philip determined to attack his enemy in his stronghold of Rouen; but the road to that city was guarded by the Château Gaillard,² a strong fortress on the Seine, not many leagues

¹ See Map No. VII, page 79. On Henry II and his French possessions, see Paragraph 209, The Leading Facts of English History in this series.

² Château Gaillard (shā-tō' gā-yār'): Saucy Castle. It was built by John's predecessor, Richard Cœur de Lion of England; Turner, in his *Rivers of France*, has two striking pictures of the ruins of this famous stronghold. See, too, for

above the town. It was considered by the English sovereign impregnable, and he laughed at all efforts for its conquest. Philip attacked this famous castle, stormed it, and then marched to Rouen. When the cowardly English king heard that he was coming, he fled across the Channel, leaving Normandy to its fate.

Philip, as king of France, was in feudal law John's overlord, since the latter as Duke of Normandy held his French possessions of him. Under this law Philip now summoned John to Paris, to answer for the murder of Prince Arthur. John refused to go unless the king of France would grant him a safe return. The latter replied that his return would depend on the verdict of the court. As John wisely decided not to trust his neck to their verdict, the court met and proceeded with the trial without him. He was found guilty of both murder and treason, and his provinces in France were declared forfeited to the French crown.

Thus at one stroke Philip seized and annexed Normandy with the other English provinces north of the Loire.¹ This act gave him the absolute possession and control of a vastly increased territory, and so made his authority much greater.

60. Events in the South; Abélard; the Albigenses. — While the crafty Philip was busy consolidating and strengthening his kingdom in the north, events occurred in the south of France which, in the end, powerfully helped forward his design of uniting the whole country into a compact monarchy.

For upwards of a century the inhabitants of Albi, a city and district of Toulouse,² belonging to Count Raymond, had been especially obnoxious to the pope. They were rich, self-indulgent, and often licentious; but worse than all, in the

copies of Turner's pictures, the illustrated edition of Green's *Short History of the English People*, I, 216, 220.

¹ This forfeiture did not affect Aquitaine (a district south of the Loire), since that district was the inheritance of John's mother (Queen Eleanor).

² Albi or Alby: see Map No. XI, page 236.

eyes of the Church, they were heretical; for they had imbibed certain peculiar Eastern ideas, which made them unwilling to accept the theology or the authority of Rome. This condition of things was an illustration of the fact that, as Duruy says, the south of France had long been separated from the north. It had a different language and different customs. In Toulouse and other rich and splendid cities, life was far more brilliant than in the north; and in the gay court of Count Raymond, enlivened by the songs of the troubadours,¹ religious doctrines were as lightly treated as manners and morals.

Now whatever may be the case to-day, there can be little doubt that the chief need of society then was greater order and unity. Just as the king was bent on enforcing his authority, so the pope was determined to enforce his; and as independence in thought is apt to lead to independence in action, both king and pope were opposed to any deviation from the standards they had respectively set up.

Already Abélard,² a noted teacher of philosophy, had attracted thousands of young men to Paris to hear his discussions, and his defense of the principle that "we should not believe what we do not understand."

His teachings had been condemned by the Church as dangerous; he had been compelled to burn his writings in the public square, and he himself, separated from his devoted wife Héloïse,³ died, after a life of sorrow, in the enforced restraint of a monastery.

If the free thinking of one man could not be tolerated in that age, still less would that of a whole people like those of Albi be permitted to go unrebuked and unpunished. After several ineffectual remonstrances, in the course of which the pope's legate or representative was murdered by the Albigenses,⁴ the

¹ See Paragraph 43.

³ Héloïse (äl-ô-eez').

⁴ Albigenses: the name given to the inhabitants of Albi and vicinity.

² Abélard (ä-bä-lar'): English, Abelard.

Church resolved to order a crusade against them. They were accordingly declared to be infidels, and as fit subjects for attack as the Mohammedans of the East. As there were excellent prospects of pillage and confiscation, it was not difficult to find men ready to undertake an expedition against the rich and insolent heretics of Albi.

61. Simon de Montfort leads the Crusade against the Albigenses; Political Results. — Simon de Montfort, a Norman noble, became the leader of this terrible crusade, which began in 1207, and continued for upwards of thirty-five years.

Albi was under the government of Count Raymond of Toulouse. He was friendly to the people, but was compelled to enter the war against them. As the contest went on, it increased in ferocity, until at last the whole Albigensian country was given up to massacre and destruction. Even old men, aged women, and innocent children were remorselessly slaughtered, lest in some way the seed of unbelief might by chance be preserved and take root again.

Not even those who promised to confess their guilt and go back to the communion of the Church could obtain mercy. Two heretics had been taken captive at Castres: ¹ one remained obstinate; the other begged for life, and offered to publicly recant. "Burn them both," said the inflexible Simon; "if this fellow who asserts his repentance means what he says, the fire will expiate his past sin; if he lies, and is still a heretic, he will suffer the penalty of his deception."

Eventually this smiling, thickly populated, and prosperous province was reduced to a desert. Where there had been rich towns, nothing was left but mounds of ashes; where there had been lofty castles, there were only ruins. The fields and the vineyards were desolate; the mill wheel turned idly in the stream; the very wells were choked up with human bodies and heaps of stone. Nothing could withstand Montfort's

¹ Castres (käst'r).

warriors. Even Carcassonne, the most perfectly fortified city of southern France, was taken by storm. To-day it stands not only a monument of that terrible crusade, but the most picturesque stronghold of mediæval times, well worth a journey of many hundred miles to see.

The war had begun as a crusade against heresy, but it ended in conquest and almost in extermination. The feudal lords had been decimated, and the troubadours¹ with their songs now vanished forever. Simon got a goodly share of the country as the reward of his zeal. Philip had refused to take part in the crusade; yet on the death of Count Raymond and his heirs, not many years later, in the reign of Philip's grandson, the whole country reverted to the crown.

Thus all of southern France west of Provence, except Aquitaine, which still belonged to England, was absorbed into the growing monarchy. A little more than two centuries before, Hugh Capet, the first of the French line of kings, had to content himself with a realm which embraced simply a moderate-sized district about Paris; now, the whole north and the greater part of the west, east, and south acknowledged allegiance to what was to be eventually the greatest sovereignty in Europe.

62. Philip's Good Government; Battle of Bouvines and its Results. — Philip's refusal to take part in the destruction of the Albigenses was the result of policy. He saw that his best course was to devote himself to the north and make that sure first. While Simon was pillaging and massacring at the south, the king was not idle. He had already placed the University of Paris on a secure basis (1200), and had organized a supreme court of justice.

Furthermore, in order to check the private wars of the barons, which kept the whole land in a turmoil, he decreed that the attacking party must wait forty days before commencing

¹ See Paragraph 43.

hostilities against the offender or his relatives.¹ These measures, with revisions in the feudal laws, and with the improvements he made in Paris, were of great advantage to every one.

Later in his reign, Philip was drawn into a new war with England. In the hope of recovering Normandy and the other provinces which he had so ignominiously lost, John now resolved to attack France. He formed an alliance with his kinsman, the German emperor, who was hostile to Philip, and also one with Ferrand, Count of Flanders,² Philip's vassal. When Ferrand was summoned by the French king to aid him in his preparations for war against England, he flatly refused to take part. Philip, enraged at his conduct, cried out, "Either France shall become Flanders, or Flanders France." He gathered an immense force, made up not only of fully armed barons, bishops, and knights clad in steel and well mounted, but also of a large body of foot soldiers sent by sixteen free cities and towns. With this army he set out to conquer or perish.

At Bouvines³ (1214), on the river Mark, near Lille,⁴ in the north of France, he met the enemy. A desperate battle was fought at the bridge over the river, and Philip gained the day. It was one of the most memorable contests of the Middle Ages, for on that hard-fought field three great branches of the Teutonic race — Germans, Flemings, and English — went down before the furious onset of a race of "hostile blood and speech."⁵

¹ Before this it had been the custom of a noble who considered himself injured or insulted by another, not only to make war against him without notice, but to stealthily and unexpectedly attack and murder the offender's relations, who perhaps knew nothing of the quarrel. This decree of "quarantine," or forty days' delay, had a most salutary effect.

² Flanders: a province north of France, now part of Belgium.

³ Bouvines (bōō-vēn').

⁴ Lille (līl).

⁵ Freeman's Norman Conquest.

It was the first great French victory on the continent of Europe, and it had far-reaching results. John's claim to Normandy was now hopelessly lost, and he never again renewed it; thus the unity of the French kingdom in the north was permanently established, and the royal power so strengthened that the king was immensely superior to his greatest vassals. Next, the defeat and imprisonment of Ferrand — for he was carried captive to Paris — was a great blow to feudal insolence and insubordination. It settled the fact that the barons could no longer hope to rebel with impunity against a sovereign whose army was strengthened by the citizens of the free towns. Lastly, it was a triumph which seemed to rouse a new feeling, that of loyalty and patriotism. At Bouvines lords, clergy, and common people had fought side by side, not in a petty local quarrel, not in civil war, but against a foreign foe.

Henceforth there was a bond of pride uniting these classes. The humble citizen was no longer spoken of with contempt. He now had a kind of military rank. He, as well as the noble, was a supporter of the king, and the king was endeavoring to become the head of a nation, though it was yet too early for the great body of the people to comprehend that idea of nationality which was to be developed later at the terrible cost of a hundred years of war with England.¹

63. Renewal of the Crusades under St. Louis; his Reforms; the Parliament of Paris; End of the Crusades. — While these changes were going on in France, the crusades still remained undecided. Though they had begun in France, yet gradually all Europe had been drawn into them. With France, which had been not only first but chief in these wars for the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher, the crusades were destined to end. Philip Augustus, in the early part of his reign, had joined

¹ It is a noteworthy fact that John's defeat at Bouvines compelled him to grant Magna Charta to the barons in England. See Green's Short History of the English People.

Richard the Lion-Hearted of England in one of these expeditions to the East, but had accomplished nothing. During the short reign of his son and successor, Louis VIII, no new attempt was made in that quarter.

But in the next reign an effort was once more made to conquer Palestine; and of all the great leaders who had taken part in these wars, whether barons, bishops, kings, or emperors, certainly no purer or truer champion can be found than Louis IX. With a single exception,¹ he is the only sovereign known in the long line of French kings that ever received the title of Saint; and, stranger than all, he really deserved it, since of such a man any age, faith, or people might well be proud.

He was by nature a reformer and a lover of justice. Seated under the great oak of Vincennes² he judged his people righteously. He did more; he forbade private war and trial by battle.³ But his greatest work was the establishment of a high court of justice for the effectual trial and settlement of all disputes between baron and baron. Certainly, when a French nobleman did not hesitate to hang three other nobles for killing rabbits in his woods, it was time that some tribunal should be organized powerful enough to call the high-born murderer to account. Such was the purpose of the judicial tribunal called the Parliament of Paris,⁴ which St. Louis founded in

¹ Charlemagne was canonized in 1165, but he never received the title of Saint.

² Vincennes (vin-sénz): a suburb of Paris.

³ See Paragraph 30.

⁴ Particular care should be taken not to be misled by this word "Parliament." The French institution here mentioned was not, like the English Parliament, a legislative, and it never became a representative, body. Originally it consisted of the great vassals of the king, who met to deliberate with him on important matters; but from the time of St. Louis it became chiefly a high court of justice, which gradually came to be made up of lawyers and ecclesiastics, with a few nobles. Besides acting as a judicial tribunal, it registered wills and royal edicts. Theoretically, this registration of the king's decrees was necessary to give them the full force of law; but as a matter of fact, the king, in cases where the Parliament objected, generally compelled registration in spite of their protest. Eventually, twelve provincial parliaments or courts were established; but the Parliament of Paris continued to rank first.

1258, and which did such good service that it earned the gratitude of all except those who were condemned to suffer the penalties it imposed.

More than twenty years after his accession St. Louis entered upon his first crusade. He failed in it, was taken prisoner with his entire army, and obtained their release only by paying a heavy ransom.

The last crusade, the ninth, he began in 1270. He sailed from that port on the Mediterranean which is now overlooked by the battlements of the deserted city of Aigues Mortes.¹ It proved fatal to him and to two of his children: all died of fever. At his own request, he breathed his last lying on a sack covered with ashes, as a sign of his humility and contrition—a proof that the tenderest and most blameless consciences often reproach themselves most. Voltaire, who seldom had a good word for any one, said of St. Louis, "It is not given to man to carry virtue to a higher point." He left as his monument his character, his deeds of justice and mercy, and lastly, that little church of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, which still stands in flawless beauty and perfect symmetry to worthily commemorate the soul of him who built it.²

His son, Philip III, a weak-minded, rash, and ignorant man, made a poor ruler. He returned to France from his father's deathbed, bringing five coffins with him,—that of his father, those of his father's brother and the brother's wife, and lastly, those of his own wife and child.

That funeral procession of victims of the ill-fated expedition was emblematic of the close of the crusades. At last the forlorn struggle which Christendom had waged for centuries ceased. It had cost several millions of lives, and had ended

¹ Aigues Mortes (äg mört'): that singular and most interesting ruin on the French coast just east of the eastern mouth of the Rhone.

² See an interesting article on St. Louis in the *North American Review*, April, 1846.

by leaving the Mohammedans in triumphant possession of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

64. Results of the Crusades.—Yet the crusades were, perhaps, worth all the blood they cost.

1. They were "the first European event." They united all Christendom in a war for an idea. Before, men had battled with each other out of ambition, avarice, or revenge; but the crusades sprang mainly from a religious motive. They elevated those who engaged in them, for a time at least, above the old discords which had bred constant civil war and so made every people self-destroying.

2. They checked the westward Mohammedan movement and saved Europe from invasion for nearly two centuries.

3. They hastened the freedom of the cities and the emancipation of the serfs, since it often happened that the great barons were obliged to grant the privileges of municipal or personal liberty in order to raise money to equip themselves and their troops.

4. They increased the power of the king, since while his great vassals were absent he met with less opposition at home; and this increase of royal power gave greater unity to the kingdom.

5. They created friendly relations between the nobles and their humble dependents, and so tended to unite society more closely.

6. They taught the people of Europe the geography of their own continent, together with that of a part of Asia; they stimulated commerce, built new cities, and imparted wonderful impetus to many already built on the Mediterranean and in its vicinity; they brought new arts, new products, and new methods of agriculture from the East, and they encouraged men to write histories and poems relating to the wars, which had no small influence on literature.

7. Finally, they kindled new intellectual life in France and throughout the West. The Christians found to their

astonishment that the Saracens were neither idolaters nor barbarians; that, in fact, they were men who worshiped the same God with themselves, and were, on the whole, far more civilized.

From the Saracens or Arabs, directly or indirectly, the University of Paris got its first real knowledge of the classics, the higher mathematics, and the principles of natural science, which in time it imparted to England and the north. Thus did the crusades teach the Christians the truth of the old Latin saying that "it is allowable to learn even from an enemy."

8. The evils of the crusades were experienced chiefly by the generations who took part in them. But there was one result that made its baneful influence felt long afterwards. The idea that religious wars were particularly pleasing to God was fostered by these campaigns against the Mohammedans. This dreadful delusion was one of the incentives to the destruction of the Albigenses;¹ and it was also the cause of bloodshed and persecution centuries after the crusades had ended.

65. Summary. — The period of the crusades includes the conquest of Normandy, which greatly extended the royal domain and power. This event is followed by the rise of the free cities, the destruction of the Albigenses, and the battle of Bouvines, all of which tended to strengthen the king and to give greater unity to his realm. The period ends with the establishment of the Parliament of Paris and the close of the crusades.

¹ See Paragraphs 60 and 61.

SECTION VIII

In France, before the Hundred Years' War, "each one was a citizen of his particular city and nothing more; but brought face to face with the English, the sentiment of nationality was aroused, and henceforth each felt himself a Frenchman, or citizen of France." — DURUY.

PHILIP THE FAIR — BATTLE OF COURTRAI —
THE PAPAL QUARREL — ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE STATES-GENERAL — SUPPRESSION OF THE
TEMPLARS — THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR — JOAN
OF ARC. 1270-1461

PHILIP III, 1270-1285.

PHILIP THE FAIR, 1285-1314.

LOUIS X, 1314-1316.

PHILIP V, 1316-1322.

CHARLES IV, 1322-1328.

PHILIP VI, 1328-1350.

JOHN THE GOOD, 1350-1364.

CHARLES V, 1364-1380.

CHARLES VI, 1380-1422.

CHARLES VII, 1422-1461.

66. Philip III; Increase of Royal Power; Questions of the Day. — The fifteen years' reign of Philip III, the son and successor of St. Louis, need not detain us long, since it was a period of comparative quiet. The king's uncle Alfonso, whose body Philip brought home from the East,¹ left no children, and the great county of Toulouse, in the south of France, which he had held, now fell to the crown.

The effect of this addition to the royal domain was, of course, to decidedly increase the king's power, and furthermore to give him an extensive seaboard on the Mediterranean, then the most important sea in the world. Out of this new territory

¹ See Paragraph 63.