

P A R T I

Chapter 1

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Modern English historical writings on the crusades date from 1639, when Thomas Fuller, an Anglican cleric, published *The Historie of the Holy Warre*. It is fitting to begin with this study as its expression of anti-Catholic views reflecting a major preoccupation of Protestant England in the seventeenth century¹ has much in common with succeeding studies in their attitudes to Rome and to the Medieval Church.

When Fuller was preparing his account,² England was fast approaching a domestic crisis that was to be precipitated ultimately by the religious policy of Charles I and William Laud in Scotland. During the year 1637, Puritans had been punished by mutilation³

1. The number of editions in a short period of time, 1639, 1640, 1647 and 1651, attests the popularity of Fuller's work. See *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1965, 263 vols, Vol. LXXX, p. 524.

For an interesting contrast with Fuller's study which was written during the same period, see L. Maimbourg, *The History of the Crusade; or, the Expeditions of the Christian Princes for the Conquest of the Holy Land*, J. Nalson (trans.), Thomas Dring, London, 1685. Maimbourg glorifies the movement as a French enterprise which emerged when "it pleased God to inflame the hearts of the Christian Princes with a Noble Zeal to undertake the Conquest and Deliverance of the Holy Land". *ibid.*, p. 11.

2. Fuller's dedication is dated 6 March 1638. T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, Thomas Buck, Cambridge, 1639, no pagination.

3. E. Hyde, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England to which is added an Historical View of the Affairs of Ireland*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1819, [1702-4], 6 vols, Vol. 1; p. 155.

and the Scottish presbyterian revolt which Charles was determined to crush,⁴ had come to a head.⁵ Within England itself force was being employed in the cause of High Church uniformity. It seems that for Fuller, believing that "old actions return again, furbished with some new and different circumstances", and seeking "to make a rationally conjecture of things to come",⁶ a "holy warre" had been embarked upon. Nevertheless, he remains ambiguous in his attitude to the employment of force in a religious cause and these ambiguities are reflected in his work except that he can condemn the papacy as the medieval analogue to Arminianism in seventeenth-century England.

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4. The official view is elaborated in *A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland From Their first originalls; Together with a Particular Deduction of the Seditious Practices of the prime Leaders of the Covenanters: Collected out of Their owne foule Acts and Writings: By which it doth plainly appeare, that Religion was onely pretended by those Leaders, but nothing lesse intended by them*, By the King, Robert Young, London, 1639, Number 149, *The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books*, Published in Facsimile, Da Capo Press Inc., Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, Amsterdam, 1969. See especially p. 26.
 5. Hyde *op.cit.*, pp. 174-180. In July 1637, the use of the Prayer Book in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, resulted in a violent riot and the Scottish Council suspended the Book. The Scottish National Covenant of February 1638 reveals the bitterness aroused by this attempt to impose a new liturgy on the Church of Scotland. See *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, S.R. Gardiner (ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906, pp. 124-134.
 6. Fuller *op.cit.*, "Dedicatorie", no pagination.

During Elizabeth's reign, Protestantism had become closely identified with English patriotism: the enactment of penal laws against recusants⁷ made Catholicism "high treason"⁸ and "the harbouring of priests ... a capital offence".⁹ The Gunpowder Plot in 1605 increased fears of Catholicism¹⁰ which were widespread during the reigns of James I and Charles I as a result of James' pro-Spanish policy¹¹ and of the presence of successive Catholic Queens in the English court.¹² It was a time of religious conflict in which Catholics, especially Jesuits, were seen as desiring

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7. The term, "recusant", applied to all religious dissenters, Protestant and Catholic. For a discussion of these penal laws and an examination of their enforcement, see M.J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1962, pp. 1-17.
 8. J. Gerard, *John Gerard, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, P. Caraman (trans.), Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1951, and W. Weston, *William Weston, The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, P. Caraman (trans.), Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1955, are contemporary accounts by two Jesuits who deal with the laws against Catholics and indicate the strong anti-Catholic feelings of the time. See Gerard *op.cit.*, p. 80.
 9. *ibid.*, p. 55. Weston *op.cit.*, p. 10, provides details about "the most severe and fearful laws against Catholics".
 10. M. Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1958, pp. 88-90, considers the use of the popular pulpit in making the Plot part of English folklore and in rousing anti-Catholic sentiments.
 11. Hyde *op.cit.*, p. 59, observes that "the people ... had always detested the match with Spain, or in truth any alliance with that nation".
 12. Henrietta Maria was especially unpopular as a result of the presence of French Capuchins and because of the building of her chapel in the grounds of Somerset House.

to raise Rebellion, to move invasion, to stab and poyson Queenes, to murder Kings, to blow up whole States with Gun-powder, and to betray King and Kingdomes to the King of Spaine, and the Romane Antichrist.¹³

In addition to these religious issues within England itself, Fuller and his contemporaries faced the possibility of further Turkish expansion,¹⁴ a threat which presented a dilemma for a Protestant historian dealing with the crusades. Fuller, however, distinguishes carefully between the notion of crusade *per se* and its implementation and direction by the papacy; he defines crusade as "Holy warre ... for the winning of the citie of Jerusalem and recovering of Palestine"¹⁵ and he considers the "Christians right

13. L. Owen, *The Running Register: Recording a True Relation of the State of the English Colledges, Seminaries and Cloysters in all forraine parts. Together with a briefe and compendious discourse of the Lives, Practices, Coozenage, Impostures and Deceits of all English Monks, Friers, Jesuites and Seminarie Priests in generall*, Printed for Robert Milbourne, London, 1626, Number 19, *The English Experience, Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*, Da Capo Press Inc., Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 117-118.
14. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 282, comments, for example:
 The Turkish Empire is the greatest and best-compacted (not excepting the Romane it self in the height thereof) that the sunne ever saw.
 Later, he adds that "we have just cause to hope that the fall of this unweldie Empire doth approach". *ibid.*, p. 285. During the reign of Sulayman I, 1520 to 1566, most of Hungary was occupied, Rhodes was taken and Vienna was besieged. It was not until an abortive attack on Venice in 1683 that Ottoman expansion was finally stopped. See P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs From the Earliest Times to the Present*, Macmillan and Co. Ltd, London, 1970, pp. 712-717.
15. Fuller *op.cit.*; p. 277.

to the Turks land to be lawfull".¹⁶ As far as the war itself is concerned, however,

in the prosecuting and managing thereof, many not onely veniall errorrs but unexcusable faults were committed; no doubt, the cause of ill successe.¹⁷

By establishing this dichotomy, Fuller seeks to demonstrate that "superstition not onely tainted the rind, but rotted the core of this whole action"¹⁸ and is enabled to accommodate his own attitude to the Turks.

The papacy is the main focus of Fuller's attack. In considering the origins of crusade, he asserts that

though the pretenses were pious and plausible, yet no doubt the thoughts of his Holinesse began where other mens ended, and he had a privie project beyond the publick design.¹⁹

In keeping with this view of papal intentions, Fuller presents Peter the Hermit as "little better than a counterfeit" whom Urban II "first secretly employed ... to be his factour, and to go to Jerusalem to set on foot so beneficiall a trade for the Romish

16. *ibid.*, p. 243.

17. *ibid.*

18. *ibid.*

19. *ibid.*, p. 16.

Church".²⁰ The description of Peter whose "silly looks carried in them a despair of any worth"²¹ implies that he looked more like a scoundrel than a saint and suggests that he was well-suited to Urban's purpose.

Fuller is equally critical of any belief in religious rewards consequent upon taking the Cross.²² As far as pilgrimage is concerned, "to visit those places in Jerusalem ... was as useless as difficult" because

at this day a gracious heart maketh every place
a Jerusalem, where God may as well and as
acceptably be worshipped.²³

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20. *ibid.*, p. 11. Fuller cites William of Tyre as his source for Peter's alleged pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but his assessment of Peter is very different from that of William. See William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (trans), Columbia University Press, New York, 1943, 2 vols, Vol. 1, Book 1, Chapter xi, pp. 82-85. William of Tyre who was born in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, wrote towards the end of the eleventh century, and relied upon Albert of Aix's chronicle for the earlier part of his history and derived from Albert the story of Peter's supposed pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the First Crusade. Compare for example, Albert of Aix, *In Nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis. Incipit Liber Primus Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emundatione, Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1875, 5 vols, Vol. IV, Historiens Occidentaux*, Chapter iii, pp. 272-273, with William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, Book 1, Chapter xi, p. 83. For a later critical assessment of Albert of Aix, see H. von Sybel, *The History and Literature of the Crusades, From the German of Heinrich von Sybel*, L. Duff Gordon (trans. and ed.), George Routledge and Sons Ltd, London, 1861, pp. 206-254.
21. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 11.
22. See above, Introduction, pp. 6-7.
23. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 15. The Medieval Church did not reject such a notion, but the imposition of pilgrimage as penance meant that this devotional act came to have added significance.

In relation to those who died on crusade, Fuller remarks that "he that bringeth himself into needlesse dangers, dieth the devils death"²⁴ and later comments ironically that they

no doubt, went hence to a happie place; though it was before Pope Clement the sixth commanded the angels (who durst not but obey him) presently to convey all their souls into Paradise who should die in their Pilgrimage.²⁵

In pouring scorn upon these beliefs, Fuller reveals his own Protestant assumptions²⁶ and attacks crusade as well as the Church which sponsored it.

24. *ibid.*, p. 82. According to the logic of the times, it was believed that those who died on crusade were martyrs; there are countless assertions of this fact throughout the crusading period and it is expressed quite emphatically in those sources to which Fuller had access. For example, William of Tyre *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, Book III, Chapter ix, p. 163:

All were agreed in the opinion that those who fell thus in battle merited eternal life and would occupy the places in glory promised to them among the saints.

Matthew Paris, *English History from the year 1235 to 1273*, J.A. Giles (trans.), George Bell and Sons, London, 1889, 3 vols, Vol. II, p. 377, refers to those slain in the 1249 Crusade as "these holy martyrs", and *ibid.*, p. 479, claims that William Longuespee received "the crown of martyrdom".

25. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 122. In this statement, Fuller is intending to be ironical about the practice of indulgences preceding the formulation of doctrine and theoretical justification. He is referring specifically to Clement VI's Bull, *Unigenitus* of 1343 in which he elaborated the theory of indulgences based upon the doctrine of the "Treasury of the Church". See *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, B.J. Kidd (ed.), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911, pp. 1-3.

26. Fuller *op.cit.*, p.174, defines these in part as the Sufficiency of the Scriptures to salvation, in denying the Infallibility of the Church (much more of the Pope) the overplus of Merits, Service ununderstood, Indulgences, Liberaties out of Purgatorie, and the like.

On the other hand, when Fuller refers to crusading vows, he states correctly that release from them could be purchased,²⁷ but achieves his desired effect by his presentation. Thus he writes that the pope, whom he fails to identify,

scraped he a masse of coin from such silly people as thought themselves cleansed of their sinnes when they were wiped of their money, and who having made themselves slaves to the Pope by their rash vow, were glad to buy their libertie at his price.²⁸

27. *ibid.*, p. 17. Papal policy on crusading vows varied tremendously. While the purchasing of redemptions could be and was abused, this was not the only means by which those who had taken the Cross could provide for the fulfilment of their vow. In 1200, Innocent III, in assessing the practical realities of the situation, ruled:

Those, who ... cannot advantageously fulfill the vow of the journey on account of infirmity or poverty or other just cause ... redemption is to be enjoined, and, the extent of the things which they can do, or which they ought to do, having been weighed, they should send in aid of the Holy Land the expenses of persons besides the compensation of labour, executing by others what they cannot fulfill by themselves.

Innocent III to the Archbishop of Canterbury, W.E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, Octagon Books, Inc., New York, 1965, 2 vols, Vol. II, *Documents*, No. 556, pp. 512-513.

Commutation of vows was becoming more common by the end of the twelfth century. For example, during the Third Crusade, John Bishop of Norwich ... had no means left with which to proceed ... the pope released him from his vow by the clemency of the holy see and sent him back to his own affairs,

and

Rannulf ... because he was old and not able to bear the toil, he easily got himself released from his pilgrimage.

Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, J.T. Appleby (trans.), Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1963, pp. 11 and 7.

28. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 17.

Although Fuller cites Matthew Paris, he ignores the fact that Matthew was dealing with a specific instance in England during 1236.²⁹ Moreover, Fuller implies that releases were obtained only by money and that this was a practice throughout the crusading period, implications which strengthen his case that the papacy promoted crusade for material gain.

English participation in the crusading movement is presented very differently. There is no criticism of the financial benefits the English kings gained through their manipulation of crusading fervour. Indeed, Henry II who was "too wise to bite at such a bait", raised considerable money by pretending to prepare for crusade.³⁰ By a similar stratagem, Henry III obtained "a masse of money"³¹ and Fuller implies that these English kings utilised shrewdly their opportunities to their distinction. Alternately,

29. Matthew Paris *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 37-38. This account indicates the resentment aroused by such abuses; it expresses, too, Matthew's own prejudices against the Dominicans and the Franciscans as well as the Roman curia. It is interesting that Fuller uses Matthew extensively. Although Matthew Paris reveals clear biases of his own and is forthright in his denunciations, Fuller claims that he was "a moderate man, whom we follow most". Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 160.

30. *ibid.*, p. 96.

31. *ibid.*, p. 198.

Richard I's peace treaty with Saladin was "little-honourable" because he acquired "some farre-fetched dear-bought honour".³² Nevertheless, even Englishmen foolish enough to go on crusade were still Englishmen, and Fuller notes that "there was scarce any remarkable battel or memorable siege" in which the English failed to distinguish themselves.³³

Support for the movement by other countries is, however, a different matter. According to Fuller, the Italian contribution was small because the

Pope was loth to adventure his darlings into danger: those white-boys were to stay at home with his Holinesse their tender father.³⁴

and "though the Pope would spend none of his own jewel, he burnt the best stakes of the Emperours hedge".³⁵ At the same time, while Fuller is well aware of the fact that Urban's power in Rome had been insecure before the First Crusade³⁶ and that the papacy and

32. *ibid.*, p. 128. 33. *ibid.*, p. 266. 34. *ibid.*, p. 20.

35. *ibid.* Fuller indicates that German involvement in the First Crusade was negligible. See *ibid.*, p. 19. "Germanie is slandered to have sent none to this warre at this first voyage". In indicating that the crusaders were mocked as they passed through German territory, Fuller cites Ekkehard, Abbot of Aura, who took part in the Crusade of 1101. See Ekkehard, *In Christi Nomine Incipit Libellus qui Dicitur Hierosolymita, de Oppressione, Liberatione ac Restauratione Jerosolymitanæ Ecclesiae, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades op.cit.*, Vol. V, *Historiens Occidentaux*, Chapter ix, pp. 17-18.

36. During the first five years of Urban II's pontificate, he was rarely in Rome which was held by the anti-pope, Clement III, with his supporters. Urban only gained control of the Lateran in 1094 after Henry IV's influence had waned in Italy. Fuller says:

At the beginning of this warre, the Popes temporall power in Italy was very slender, because the Emperours dominions did gird him close and hard on all sides. *ibid.*, p.17.

the Empire had been engaged in a long and bitter conflict,³⁷ his account of German involvement fails to sustain his earlier assertion.³⁸ It seems that Fuller is more intent upon making a point at the expense of the papacy than in assessing European involvement.

While Fuller's religious assumptions influence his interpretation of crusade and its origins, they do not explain his attitude to Eastern aspects of the movement, especially to the Byzantines and to the Turks. Certainly, Fuller is not presenting

37. See *ibid.*, p. 19.

Henry the Emperour (a Prince whom the Pope long hacked at, and hewed him off at last) being desirous to go this voyage, was tied up at home with civill discords.

These comments of Fuller indicate clearly his sympathies in the conflict between the Empire and the papacy.

38. In relation to the Second Crusade, Fuller claims: "The losse of Edessa ... moved Conrade Emperour of the West ... to undertake a voyage to the Holy Land". *ibid.*, p. 78. Otto of Freising, a source used by Fuller, indicates that Conrad took the Cross only after persuasion from St Bernard, partly because he still faced opposition within Germany. Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, C.C. Mierow (trans.), R. Emery (ed.), Norton and Co., New York, 1966, Book I, Chapters xxxix-xlvi, pp. 74-79. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 113, notes about the Third Crusade that "the Christians sighs there were alarms to stirre up their brethren in Europe ... and chiefly Frederick Barbarossa". As Fuller points out, Frederick II "departed without his Fathers blessing, being not absolved and reconciled to his Mother the Church". *ibid.*, p. 163.

any new claims³⁹ in attributing the failure of the Crusade of 1101 to Alexius' treachery,⁴⁰ and in maintaining that during the Second Crusade, the Byzantines not only mixed lime with flour, but also purposely led the crusaders into danger and murdered the stragglers.⁴¹ On the other hand, he condemns the sack of Constantinople in 1204 only in so far as "the Pope commanded, and other Princes consented".⁴² It seems that the Empire receives Fuller's disdain because it suffered from "the trade of tyrannie", the Emperors' "hereditary sinne",⁴³ while they "with their own hands lifted up the Turks into their throne, and caused them thus speedily to conquer".⁴⁴ In this instance, Fuller's rhetoric aims more at discrediting the Byzantine Emperors than in explaining Turkish success, but it suggests a further reason for his hostility.

The Turks fare no better. Mohammedanism was, for Fuller, the "scumme of Judaisme and Paganisme" and he attributes the

39. For example, William of Tyre, to whom Fuller had access, claims that Alexius "informed the Turks of the pilgrims' approach". William of Tyre *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, Book XIII, Chapter xiii, p. 432. When considering the Second Crusade, William maintains that "the guides ... acted treacherously" in misdirecting and in leading the army "into places which offered the enemy favourable opportunities". *ibid.*, Vol. II, Book XVI, Chapter xx, p. 168.

40. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 56.

41. *ibid.*, p. 79.

42. *ibid.*, p. 136.

43. *ibid.*, p. 114.

44. *ibid.*, p. 23.

expansion of Islam to the "sinnes of the Eastern countreys" which "hastened Gods judgements upon them".⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Fuller considers that Islam would not continue to prevail because it "is a pure and absolute tyrannie",⁴⁶ but he does not see its decline in his own generation as

neither are our own sinnes yet truly repented of ... nor the Turks wickednesse yet come to the full ripenesse.⁴⁷

In the final analysis, Fuller believes that God determines the course of history according to a nation's sins.

Although Fuller's strong, and at times bitter anti-Catholicism dominates his study of the crusades, it should be remembered that he lived in an age of virulent political and religious polemics. His study attacks the papacy by presenting the crusades as a papal plot for material profit and for political gain, while his own patriotic insularity supplements his religious bias so that he denigrates any group that was not English. This study expresses, therefore, the prevailing English Protestant sentiments of the seventeenth century. It is a polemical work rather than a sober historical investigation and however isolated in time it may be from the works that followed, it has much in common with them.

45. *ibid.*, p. 7.

46. *ibid.*, p. 284.

47. *ibid.*, p. 286.

After the English Civil War, English historians were concerned with contemporary politics or with the Reformation,⁴⁸ but the eighteenth century saw a renewed interest in the more remote human past which was considered in general historical surveys.⁴⁹ It was not until 1821, however, that another full-length study of the crusades appeared in English.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, such has been the impact of the Enlightenment historians in general, and of Edward

48. These include such works as J. Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva, England's Recovery: Being the History of the motions, actions and Successes of the army under the Immediate Conduct of His Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax*, 1647; T. Fairfax, *A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions in which I was engaged during the War there, from the year 1642 to the year 1644, 1659, and Short Memorials of some things to be cleared during my Command in the Army*, 1699; E. Ludlow, *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England 1625-1672*, 1698; G. Burnett, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, 1679-1715*; J. Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1694, and *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, 1708-1709*.
49. The most significant of these are D. Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Death of George III*, 1750-1762; W. Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, 1759; E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776-88, and H. Hallam, *A View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages*, 1818.
50. C. Mills, *The History of the Crusades, for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1821, 2 vols. See below, Chapter II, pp. 36-44.

Gibbon in particular,⁵¹ that their interpretation of the crusades cannot be ignored and it is a link between Fuller and the earlier nineteenth-century historians.

The eighteenth century has been characterised as "the age of reason"⁵² and "enlightenment" is a useful term to describe a movement, the members of which saw themselves as being identifiable by their emphasis upon the supremacy of reason and by their assertion of the virtues of moderation.⁵³ Living in an age which followed the great discoveries of Isaac Newton and the development of the scientific method,⁵⁴ they regarded their own times as superior

51. Praise of Gibbon is extensive. Among the most extravagant is that of J.W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1942, 2 vols, Vol. II, p. 74:
The greatest *scriptor rerum gestarum* not merely of the eighteenth century, but of the English-speaking world, was Edward Gibbon (1737-94).
52. See, for example, C. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophes*, Yale University Press, Yale, 1959, p. 19, and also Thompson *op.cit.*, p. 58. This discussion of the principles of the "enlightenment" is not intended to be exhaustive or even profound. While some general assertions are necessary, these do not imply that the movement was completely homogeneous.
53. Gibbon is self-congratulatory about living "in an age of science and philosophy". E. Gibbon, *Autobiography of Edward Gibbon as originally edited by Lord Sheffield*, Oxford University Press, London, 1950, [1796] p. 19. David Hume's essay, "On the Middle Station of Life", is largely concerned with the benefits of avoiding extremes and of being in a position "to hearken to the calm voice of reason". D. Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1963, pp. 579-584, especially p. 579.
54. For a discussion of these aspects, see P. Hazard, *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp. 145-160.

to preceding generations and expressed a lively optimism in the progress of mankind.⁵⁵ Enlightenment historical accounts, therefore, were based avowedly on fundamentally different assumptions from those of Thomas Fuller.

Undoubtedly, Edward Gibbon has been read more consistently and his account of the crusades is longer and more detailed than any other contemporary English historian.⁵⁶ Gibbon, unlike his near contemporaries, William Robertson and Henry Hallam, was a deist⁵⁷ and his autobiography states his position clearly; it records that

55. W. Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, George Routledge and Sons, London, 1887, [1759] p. x, exemplifies this attitude when he asserts:

I have attempted to point out and to explain the great causes and events to whose operation all the improvements in the political state of Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century, must be ascribed.

56. Compare, for example, Gibbon's account of the crusades with those of David Hume, William Robertson and Henry Hallam.

57. Robertson was a Presbyterian clergyman, Entry, "William Robertson", *Dictionary of National Biography From the Earliest Times to 1900*, L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds), Oxford University Press, London, 1938, 22 vols, Vol. XVI, pp. 130-131. His religious position is clear when he claims in relation to the Middle Ages:

Even the Christian religion, though its precepts are delivered, and its institutions are fixed in Scripture, with a precision which should have exempted them from being misinterpreted or corrupted, degenerated, during those ages of darkness, into an illiberal superstition.

Robertson *op. cit.*, p. 11. In fact, there is great similarity on this point between Robertson and Fuller. Henry Hallam, the son of an Anglican clergyman, was a practising Protestant throughout his life. Entry, "Henry Hallam", Stephen and Lee *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 980.

"at the age of sixteen, I bewildered myself in the errors of the Church of Rome"⁵⁸ and recounts his later return to the Protestant faith.⁵⁹ Gibbon's ultimate disillusionment with Christianity and his admiration for ancient Rome influenced his desire to prove that

the propagation of the Gospel, and the triumphs of the Church, are inseparably connected with the decline of the Roman monarchy.⁶⁰

The crusades are considered within this broader theme as one of "the memorable series of revolutions, which ... gradually undermined, and at length destroyed, the solid fabric of human greatness".⁶¹

Gibbon regards the crusades as "fanaticism"⁶² and those who went on crusade as "ignorant fanatics".⁶³ As far as he can discern any rationale, it was "the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb-stone two thousand miles from their country".⁶⁴

58. Gibbon *op.cit.*, p. 46. That is in 1753 when Gibbon was a student at Oxford. When his conversion became known, he was forced to leave University and his father sent him to Switzerland where he was tutored by a Calvinist minister.

59. *ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

60. *ibid.*, p. 172.

61. E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, J.B. Bury (ed.), Methuen and Co., London, 1912, [1776-1788], 7 vols, Vol. I, p. v.

62. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 267.

63. *ibid.*, p. 293.

64. *ibid.*, p. 332. It is perhaps an ironic over-simplification on Gibbon's part to suggest that the sole object of crusade was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

This aim is so incomprehensible to Gibbon, especially in the way in which he presents it, that "fanaticism alone could pretend to justify the conquest of that distant and narrow province".⁶⁵

Consequently, Gibbon's "calmer reason" does not concede any possible justification for crusade.⁶⁶

Gibbon's underlying thesis is that the crusading movement exemplifies the "use and abuse of religion",⁶⁷ Peter the Hermit "inspired the passions which he felt"⁶⁸ but Urban II "laboured to appease some domestic quarrels that he might spread the flames of war".⁶⁹ In response to Urban's call at Clermont,

the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their brethren.⁷⁰

Peter is the tool; the pope is the manipulator⁷¹ appealing successfully to the irrationality and fanaticism of the times.⁷²

65. *ibid.*, p. 267.

66. *ibid.*

67. *ibid.*, p. 271.

68. *ibid.*, p. 260. There are close similarities between Fuller and Gibbon in their accounts of Peter the Hermit. We know that Fuller derived his information from William of Tyre who may have been the common source for both writers. Gibbon's inclusion of similar details and his presentation of similar conclusions about Peter's significance serve to continue the legends about him in English historical writings.

69. Gibbon *op.cit.*, p. 264.

70. *ibid.*, p. 270.

71. *ibid.*, p. 260. Gibbon makes this even more explicit when he declares that

as he [Peter] excelled in the popular madness of the times, Pope Urban II received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land.

72. "fanatic" and "fanaticism" are terms that Gibbon employs quite frequently and applies to Moslems as well as to Christians. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 293, 294, 304, 305, 333, 346, 357 and 444.

Although Gibbon and Fuller have similarities in their conclusions about crusade, there are some significant differences in their approach. In relation to the Byzantines, Gibbon is concerned to assess the actions of Alexius I within the context of the problems confronting him⁷³ and to account for Byzantine clashes with the crusaders in terms of cultural, racial and religious differences⁷⁴ without denying that the Byzantines acted against the crusaders.⁷⁵ When Gibbon considers the Empire in more general terms his attitude seems more critical and he writes fairly dispassionately about the sack of Constantinople in 1204.⁷⁶ It appears that Gibbon believes that apart from "precious objects"⁷⁷ there was little to preserve and that "a domestic revolution invited and almost compelled the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest".⁷⁸

In relation to the Moslems, Gibbon admits that they were

73. *ibid.*, p. 287. Gibbon states quite categorically that "I cannot discern, that he maliciously conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes".

74. *ibid.*, p. 371.

75. See Gibbon's discussion of the Second Crusade, *ibid.*, pp. 327-329. The charges which he makes are similar to those of Fuller. See Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 79.

76. Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 405-412.

77. *ibid.*, p. 408.

78. *ibid.*, p. 373.

"equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the barbarians of the West"⁷⁹ and asserts:

If we compare, at the aera of the Crusades, the Latins of Europe with the Greeks and Arabians, their respective degrees of knowledge, industry and art, our rude ancestors must be content with the third rank.⁸⁰

Undoubtedly, Gibbon is revealing as much about his own attitude to Medieval Europe as to the Byzantines and Moslems. By comparison with Fuller, however, his greater tolerance may well spring from a more cosmopolitan outlook,⁸¹ from his rejection of any religious belief,⁸² from his greater familiarity with some non-European sources,⁸³ and from the fact that the Ottoman Empire was no longer

79. *ibid.*, p. 306.

80. *ibid.*, p. 443.

81. Gibbon lived in Switzerland for almost five years and after his return to England, he visited the Continent regularly. Gibbon *Autobiography*, pp. 87 and 130. Concerning his time in Switzerland, he believed that without the experience,

I should have grown to manhood ignorant of the life and language of Europe, and my knowledge of the world would have been confined to an English cloister.

ibid., p. 85.

82. See above, p. 25.

83. For example, Gibbon, referring to the account of Anna Comnena, the daughter of Alexius I, comments that "his [Alexius'] conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anna and by the Latin writers". *ibid.*, p. 287. Anna Comnena's account was published in 1590, 1610, 1618 and 1729. For publication details, see A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des Europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, W. Weber, Berlin, 1896, 2 vols, Vol. I, p. 331.

such a threat.⁸⁴

Both Fuller and Gibbon end their studies with the Moslem capture of Acre in 1291, the last significant Christian possession.⁸⁵ Their adoption of this terminal date implies that they saw crusade as closely identified with the Holy Land. It is impossible to determine their influence in this regard on later writers who have in the main accepted the same time span for the movement,⁸⁶ but Gibbon's elaboration of a framework, more especially his chronological framework, became the accepted narrative form for studies in English.⁸⁷

84. Ottoman weakness was revealed in the terms Turkey accepted in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1775. That Mozart could devise the Turk, Osmin, in his comic opera, *Il Seraglio*, suggests that Turkey was regarded with ridicule rather than with fear.

85. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 228, concludes:

Thus after an hundred ninety and foure yeares ended the Holy warre; for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloudshed the cruellest, for pretenses the most pious, for the true intent the most politick the world ever saw.

Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 364-365, is somewhat more subdued.

86. The date of 1291 as marking the end of the crusades was not seriously questioned until this century with the work of A.S. Atiya. See below, Chapter XI, pp. 248-250.

87. Gibbon speaks of seven crusades. Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 361. He regards the First as beginning in 1095, the Second in 1147, the Third in 1189; the Fourth was diverted to Constantinople in 1204; the Fifth went to Egypt and the last two were undertaken by Louis IX. See *ibid.*, pp. 324, 355 and 358.

The framework of Gibbon follows that of Thomas Fuller but Gibbon adds to Fuller's by designating the expeditions as specific crusades. Undoubtedly, Gibbon was mainly responsible for the general acceptance of this structure because his work was read so widely and was more readily available than that of Fuller.

Gibbon's interpretation of the crusades reveals the basic anomaly of a serious discrepancy between theory and practice. On the one hand, he exalts reason, moderation and the avoidance of excesses. On the other, his attack on the Middle Ages and on the Medieval Church reveals an abandonment of those very virtues to which, as a disciple of the enlightenment, he subscribed. Despite a difference in basic assumptions, his general conclusions about the crusading movement are very similar to those of Thomas Fuller. The Romantic historians are the first to consider crusade with some enthusiasm for the venture and for the period in which it occurred.

Chapter II

The Romantic Historians

The Romantic Movement profoundly influenced early nineteenth-century attitudes to the Middle Ages. European interest in that period was partly a reaction to the rationalist general depreciation of medieval times and partly an expression of national pride that had been stimulated by the Napoleonic Wars. In Britain, the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott who wrote with a genuine feeling for the Middle Ages, reflect these changes and influenced attitudes to the study and writing of history. One consequence of this enthusiasm for the medieval period was the production of the first, full-length English studies of the crusades since that of Thomas Fuller.

A simple definition of romanticism is difficult as the movement expressed itself in different ways in different countries and varied in its impact. Its roots lie in the eighteenth century with the Gothic revival in England,¹ and with the publication of Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* in 1765 and of James MacPherson's *Ossian* from 1760, which were a literary reaction against rigid formalism and an expression of interest in early folk literature.² This trend in England had its counterpart in the

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1. H.A. Beers, *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, Gordian Press, Inc., New York, 1966, pp. 221-264.
 2. W.K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought, Five Centuries of Interpretation*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1948, p. 114.

Sturm und Drang movement in Germany which consciously rejected reason, seeking its replacement by qualities based essentially upon emotion and intuition.³

Reaction against the excesses of the French Revolution hastened this rejection of the principles enunciated by the Enlightenment which had been proclaimed by supporters of the Revolution.⁴ The identification of the Enlightenment with the Revolution saw a widespread debate on its assumptions which contributed to the formulation of romantic philosophy.⁵ In denouncing the Revolution, Edmund Burke, for example, maintained that

the nature of man is intricate; the objects of society are of the greatest possible complexity; and therefore no simple disposition or direction of power can be suitable either to man's nature or to the quality of his affairs.⁶

According to Burke, reason was insufficient as a principle for action. By extension, it was, therefore, an inadequate means by which to explain the past.

3. *ibid.*, p. 115.

4. For a discussion of this aspect, see N. Hampson, *The Enlightenment*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp. 251-259.

5. Ferguson *op.cit.*, p. 115.

6. E. Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings of Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event: In a Letter intended to have been sent to a Gentleman in Paris, 1790", *The Works of Edmund Burke*, George Bell and Sons, London, 1892, 3 vols, Vol. II, p. 334. By comparison with the results of the Revolution, Burke looks to the order of the past and laments:

But the age of chivalry is gone ... This mixed system of opinion and sentiment had its origin in the ancient

The implications of this view can be seen in the historical novels of Sir Walter Scott who sought a balance between rationalism and romanticism.⁷ In *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, he vividly evokes the Age of Reason itself, and advocates the abandonment of dry rationalism⁸ without completely rejecting Enlightenment principles.⁹ He explains in the introduction to *The Talisman*, published in 1825, that

6. (cont'd)

chivalry; and the principle, though varied in its appearance by the varying state of human affairs, subsisted and influenced through a long succession of generations, even to the time we live in.
ibid., pp. 348-349.

7. A recent assessment of Scott's contribution to Medieval Studies argues that his novels reveal a "concept of history that is both rational and romantic". See F. Read-Smith, "Sir Walter Scott, the Medieval Historian: Rationalist and Romantic", B.A. (Hons) thesis, University of New England, Armidale, 1972, p. ix.
8. See Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, Robert Cadell, Edinburgh, 1830, 2 vols, Vol. I, pp. 30-34, his consideration of the scholarly interests of the hero, Edward Waverley.
9. *ibid.*, pp. 129-130. Scott contrasts the attitudes of Edward and Baron Bradwardine to history, indicating that both the romanticist and the rationalist have virtues:
The baron, indeed only cumbered his memory with matters of fact; the cold, dry, hard outlines which history delineates. Edward on the contrary, loved to fill up and round the sketch with a colouring of a warm and vivid imagination, which gives light and life to the actors and speakers in the drama of past ages. Yet with tastes so opposite, they contributed greatly to each other's amusement.

the warlike character of Richard I, wild and generous, a pattern of chivalry, with all its extravagant virtues, and its no less absurd errors was opposed to that of Saladin ... [who] displayed the deep policy and prudence of a European monarch.¹⁰

This dichotomy between romanticism and rationalism appears irreconcilable, but Scott's account of the Third Crusade demonstrates that each should supplement the other.¹¹ As a novelist, Scott was more concerned with creating a period than with a rational explanation of it, but he contributed to the revival of interest in the Middle Ages as historians wrote with a conscious awareness of his work.¹²

In turning to the Middle Ages, the romantic historians partly reacted against the rationalist view of them as a period when "Europe was sunk into profound ignorance and superstition".¹³

10. Sir Walter Scott, *The Talisman*, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, London, 1935, p. 2.
11. E. Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott, The Great Unknown*, Hamish Hamilton Ltd, London, 1970, 2 vols, Vol. II, p. 38, expresses this idea when he observes that "without the counterbalancing force of reason ... the aspirations nurtured by romance can be destructive".
12. There seems to have been some difference of opinion between Charles Mills, see below, pp. 36-44, and Scott as the latter notes in the introduction to *The Talisman*,
a violation of the truth of history, which gave offence to Mr Mills ... who was not, it may be presumed, aware that romantic fiction naturally includes the power of such invention. Scott *op.cit.*, p. 2.
Thomas Keightley, see below, pp. 52-56, in considering feudalism comments, "The existence of a peculiar institution, - such as that described by Ste. Pallaye, Sir W. Scott, Mills, and others ... - we deny". T. Keightley, *The Crusaders; or, Scenes, Events and Characters from the Times of the Crusades*, J.W. Parker and Son, London, 1852, p. 463.
13. D. Hume, *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Death of George III*, Thomas Liddell, Glasgow, no date, [1759], p. 79.

As the Renaissance and Reformation had preceded the Enlightenment, and as classical antiquity was closely identified with it, the romantic historians were further drawn to the Middle Ages.¹⁴ In searching for solutions and authority in times of disorder and chaos following the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, they looked to the Middle Ages, idealising them as a period when order prevailed, when faith predominated and when society was ordered in a fixed hierarchical system.¹⁵ In Sharon Turner's *History of England from the Norman Conquest*, for example, he expresses the view of them as

that period which has been the least studied and the most negligently written; but within which our political relations, our religion, literature, language, manners, laws, and constitution have been chiefly formed.¹⁶

Although the study of the Middle Ages by the romantic historians was partly a response to the rationalists' denigration of them, they did not necessarily break completely with all their

14. For a discussion of this aspect, see A. Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century, A Study of the Political and Social Thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1929, p. 264.

15. *ibid.*, p. 265.

16. S. Turner, *History of England from the Norman Conquest*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1814-1823, 3 vols, Vol. II, *To the Death of Henry the Fifth*, p. iii.

attitudes. As Scott's historical novels reveal the continuing influence of the Enlightenment, so Charles Mills' *The History of the Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land*, published in 1821, shows a similar trend in historical writing.¹⁷

It is significant that Mills, in considering earlier English accounts of the subject, questions details in relation to Gibbon without rejecting his interpretation.¹⁸ In common with the rationalist view, Mills regards crusaders as "fanatics",¹⁹ and aware, perhaps, of the temper of his own times, he claims that "the western world precipitated itself into Asia from fanatical, not romantic motives".²⁰

17. Charles Mills was born in 1788 and, like Scott, he forsook law for writing. Entry, "Charles Mills", *Dictionary of National Biography, From the Earliest Times to 1900*, L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds), Oxford University Press, London, 1938, 22 vols, Vol. XIII, p. 444.

18. C. Mills, *The History of the Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1821, 2 vols, Vol. I, p. viii. Mills mainly criticises Gibbon's failure to analyse all the crusades in detail. In defence of Gibbon, however, he is presenting a general survey and not an exhaustive history and he believes that consideration of all the expeditions

would exhibit a perpetual return of the same causes and effects; and the frequent attempts for the defence and recovery of the Holy Land would appear so many faint and unsuccessful copies of the original.

E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, J.B. Bury (ed.), Methuen and Co., London, 1912, 7 vols, Vol. VI, p. 325. The views expressed by both reflect a fundamental difference in approach to the writing of history.

19. Mills frequently employs the terms, "fanatic" and "fanaticism". See, for example, Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 175, 236 and Vol. II, p. 71.

20. *ibid.*, p. 354.

Both Mills and Gibbon regard the movement as fundamentally irrational,²¹ but for Mills, "the mixture of the apostle and the soldier was an union which reason abhors".²²

As Mills' title suggests, he closely identifies crusade with the Holy Land. This relationship is explicit in his definition of crusade as

the state of every Christian who assumed the badge of the cross, travelled to the Holy Land and fought with the infidels.²³

According to Mills, however, "Palestine did not, of right, belong to the Christians in consequence of any gift of God".²⁴ Thus, for him, crusade exemplified "the intolerant spirit of the day"²⁵ expressing itself in a "passion of indignation and the desire of revenge".²⁶ Reacting against the notion of a war undertaken in a religious cause, which he sees as misguided, he concludes that "the holy wars cannot be justified".²⁷

21. For a discussion of this aspect in relation to Gibbon, see above, Chapter I, pp. 25-26.

22. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 34.

23. *ibid.*, p. 264. Consonant with this definition, Mills concludes with the fall of Acre in 1291, by which time, "the flame of fanaticism had slowly burnt out". *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 279.

24. *ibid.*, p. 336.

25. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 34.

26. *ibid.*, p. 29.

27. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 340.

The attitude of a writer to religious belief may profoundly influence his approach to crusade as the accounts of Fuller and Gibbon demonstrate.²⁸ In the case of Mills, his definition of crusade includes a religious aspect which, in considering, he reveals his own Protestant assumptions. Thus, he regards pilgrimage as resulting from "religious curiosity"²⁹ and as nurtured by "superstition",³⁰ and describes indulgences as a "scandalous traffic"³¹ and as a means by which "a repetition of crime would atone for former sins".³² In particular, he believes that

28. See above, Chapter I, pp. 13-16, and pp. 25-26.

29. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 3.

30. *ibid.*, p. 4. Mills accepts Christianity, so "superstition" in this instance did not consist in the fact of religious belief but in the nature of the belief, "that there was some peculiar sanctity in the very ground of Jerusalem".

31. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 287. On the question of indulgences, Mills' method is similar to that of Fuller, seizing upon abuses of the practice in order to discredit it. For example, Mills claims:

The rapacious clergy thought that that which was granted could be sold, and that money as well as travelling might be taken in exchange for remission of canonical penances.

For a discussion of this point in relation to Fuller, see above, Chapter I, pp. 14-15. It should be noted, however, that only the pope or those whom he authorized were able to redeem crusading vows.

32. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 465. Mills explains:
The barons of the eleventh century lived in the daily commission of crime ... When, therefore, the crusade was preached, it was joyfully received by the nobles. They might pursue their usual course of life.

it was the policy of the church of Rome to encourage the spirit of crusading, because they who skilfully administer to public prejudices, become in time masters of the people. In unenlightened days, ecclesiastical influence ended in spiritual tyranny.³³

By contrast with Gibbon,³⁴ Mills is not attacking religious belief *per se*, but, in criticising medieval beliefs and practices and in rejecting ecclesiastical supremacy, he is asserting a superiority for his own beliefs and for his own times.

When Mills moves from the general to the particular, romanticism pervades his work as he succumbs to the romantic attraction of chivalry and is susceptible to the glamour of noble birth. It is consistent with an élitist view of society that he dismisses the common people, claiming:

We cannot turn from the folly and crimes of the people to any grandeur of heroism, or any splendour of success.³⁵

In concentrating upon the upper ranks, he believes:

Courage in various forms, wisdom, prudence and skill in endless combinations, appear in the character and conduct of the renowned leaders.³⁶

33. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 286.

34. See above, Chapter I, p. 25.

35. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

36. *ibid.*, p. 82. See also, *ibid.*, p. 76. Mills compares the lower classes unfavourably with the nobility in remarking: Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendour of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world.

Indeed, Mills is so sympathetic to these "champions of the cross",³⁷ that he even sees their "fanaticism" as "more methodized".³⁸

Before we examine Mills' portrayal of those leaders, it is necessary to consider earlier attitudes to Godfrey of Bouillon,³⁹ who is the most celebrated. As the first Latin ruler of Jerusalem, Godfrey became the focus of legends idealising him as a crusader which begin in accounts written shortly after his death; Fulcher of Chartres,⁴⁰ a member of the First Crusade, says that Godfrey was elected

because of the nobility of his character,
military skill, patient conduct, no less
than for his elegance of manners.⁴¹

37. *ibid.*, p. 91.

38. *ibid.*, p. 82.

39. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, led one of the main contingents during the First Crusade. Elected as ruler in 1099 after the Christian capture of Jerusalem, he died in 1100.

40. Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, F.R. Ryan (trans.), H.S. Fink (ed.), The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1969, Prologue, pp. 57-59.

Fulcher explains that

moved by the repeated requests of some of my comrades, I have related in a careful and orderly fashion the illustrious deeds of the Franks ... I have recounted in a style homely but truthful what I deemed worthy of remembrance as far as I was able or just as I saw things with my own eyes on the journey itself.

In the Introduction, Fink suggests that Fulcher began writing in about 1100 and added to and revised his account until about 1127. *ibid.*, pp. 20-24.

41. *ibid.*, Book I, Chapter xxx, p. 124.

By about 1180, William of Tyre, in attributing considerable importance to Godfrey's election, extolls him as

a man of deep religious character, devout and God-fearing, merciful and just ... [who] scorned the vanity of the world ... was constant in prayer, assiduous in good works and noted for his liberality.⁴²

Within a short period, Godfrey's metamorphosis from a relatively minor duke who had spoliated the Church,⁴³ merely shared in the military leadership of the Crusade and had faced little real competition in the election for ruler,⁴⁴ was almost complete.

The English historians of the crusades already considered do not challenge this idealised view of Godfrey. Even Thomas Fuller whose interpretation would have been better served by

42. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, E.A. Babcock and A.C. Krey (trans), Columbia University Press, New York, 1943, 2 vols, Vol. I, Book VIII, Chapter v; p. 387.

43. The stress placed upon Godfrey's piety is of later origin and does not appear justified by his activities before he went on crusade. When he interfered in an internal dispute in the monastery of St Trond, he demanded a huge payment, which despite the wealth of the monastery, caused financial difficulties. Moreover, Godfrey dissolved the priory of St Peter to obtain its wealth and lands. See J.C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Indiana University Publications, Bloomington, 1947, p. 48.

44. At the time of the election, Bohemond was not in Jerusalem. Of the other leaders of the first rank, Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy were intent upon returning to Europe and Raymond of Toulouse may have refused the position first before it was offered to Godfrey. The evidence for this refusal, however, is only provided by Raymond D'Aguilers who explains that Raymond declined because "he shuddered at the name of king in Jerusalem". See Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, J.H. and L.L. Hill (trans), The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1968, Book xv, p. 129.

discrediting Godfrey, describes him as a "Prince valiant, pious, bountifull to the Church".⁴⁵ Gibbon praises him as the "first and most worthy of the champions of Christendom"⁴⁶ and extends his achievements by adding that he "composed the *Assise of Jerusalem*, a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence".⁴⁷

In relation to Godfrey, Mills does not add any new perspective, but simply accepts:

He was apparently destined to act a great part on the theatre of the world, for nature had bounteously bestowed upon him her choicest gifts.⁴⁸

45. T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, Thomas Buck, Cambridge, 1639, p. 51.

46. Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 312.

47. *ibid.*, p. 317. This collection of laws, attributed to Godfrey, was deposited reputedly in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and destroyed when Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187. Contemporary chronicles do not mention its existence, but an argument from silence is not necessarily conclusive. William of Tyre, writing before the fall of Jerusalem, refers to Baldwin III's knowledge of "the customary law by which the kingdom of the East was governed" and adds that "in difficult questions, even the older nobles were wont to consult his knowledge". William of Tyre *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Book XVI, Chapter ii, p. 138. These comments imply that a collected code of laws did not exist. References to it date from the thirteenth century when jurists, defending the cause of the Frankish barons against Frederick II, produced treatises on feudal law in which they sought to establish precedents from the past.

48. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

When considering Godfrey's election, however, Mills rejects the claim that Raymond of Toulouse refused the position first.⁴⁹

Although the evidence does not provide a definite answer,⁵⁰ Mills' view implies that Godfrey was the obvious choice and suggests the importance he attaches to the position.

It is possible that Mills accepts uncritically an established tradition in relation to Godfrey, but his acceptance is consistent with his idealised response to other crusaders. According to Mills, later crusaders possessed "all the bravery and resignation which characterised the early champions of the cross";⁵¹ he describes the members of the Third Crusade as "holy warriors ...

49. *ibid.*, pp. 263-265. Mills refers to the election of a "monarch" which he seems to regard as the only acceptable form of government. He considers the election at some length. See *ibid.*, pp. 474-475.

50. Neither Fulcher of Chartres nor the Anonymous mentions Raymond of Toulouse in relation to the choice of Godfrey. See Fulcher of Chartres *op.cit.*, Book I, Chapter xxx, p. 124. Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, R. Hill (trans.), Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1962, Book X, Chapter xxxix, p. 92, appearing to attribute little importance to the event, simply records that "they chose Duke Godfrey as its ruler".

51. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 395.

under the glorious ensign of the cross"⁵² who fought "like true heroes of chivalry".⁵³ These are not "fanatics" as Mills portrays them with strong emotional overtones but the personification of valour and piety, and he accepts that for them "to fall in the ensanguined field was the height of glory and virtue".⁵⁴

By contrast with Mills' account, Henry Stebbing's assessment of the crusades, published in 1830, breaks completely with the rationalist position. In some respects, Stebbing, an Anglican clergyman,⁵⁵ typifies one type of English historian. During the nineteenth century, history was pre-eminently a literary pursuit undertaken by an amateur, often a clergyman, rather than a rigorous academic discipline. As a product of this tradition, the later historian, Charles Firth,⁵⁶ in surveying English historical writing, sees "the art of telling a story" as an

52. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 52.

53. *ibid.*, p. 68.

54. *ibid.*, p. 272.

55. Henry Stebbing who was born in 1799, became involved with Coleridge's literary group at Highgate and had some contact with Scott. A graduate of Cambridge, he was ordained in 1822. Entry, "Henry Stebbing", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1011-1012.

56. Sir Charles Firth who was born in 1857, graduated in modern history from Oxford in 1878 and was regius professor of history from 1904 to 1925. Entry, "Sir Charles Firth", *Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940*, L.G. Wickham Legg (ed.), Oxford University Press, London, 1949, pp. 272-273.

essential attribute for the historian.⁵⁷ A narrative approach does not lend itself to a detailed analysis of institutions and tends to emphasize the roles of individuals. Such attitudes partly reflect the slowness with which the study of history received recognition within British universities and partly explain the reasons for it.

Stebbing, in the preface to his study, *The History of Chivalry and the Crusades*, indicates his intention

to give a general idea of the nature of Chivalry, and of the events which attended the chivalrous armies of Europe in their invasion of Palestine.⁵⁸

This close identification of crusade with chivalry that "splendid institution",⁵⁹ militates against Stebbing's aim to avoid the earlier "highly coloured pictures" of the period⁶⁰ and highlights the military aspects of the movement with the Holy Land as its goal.⁶¹

57. Sir Charles Firth, *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England*, Macmillan and Co., Ltd, London, 1938, p. 1. The full context of this comment is interesting:

Other recent historians, whatever learning and whatever literary merits they possessed, did not possess the art of telling a story: they were able at most to describe a scene or relate an episode, but the long, sustained, harmonious narrative, was above their powers or below their aims.

58. H. Stebbing, *The History of Chivalry and the Crusades*, Constable and Co., and Hurst, Chance and Co., London, 1830, 2 vols, Vol. I, p. ix.

59. *ibid.*, p. 16.

60. *ibid.*, p. ix.

61. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 343. Stebbing's work concludes with the fall of Acre in 1291, which suggests that he regards crusade as concerned with the conquest or defence of the Holy Land.

This approach results in a very different perspective.

Firstly, Stebbing justifies crusade for the geo-political reason of maintaining the Byzantine Empire as a "barrier against the encroachments of the enemy".⁶² This belief does not spring from any sympathy for the Byzantines⁶³ but from his assessment of the military needs of the situation. In addition, crusade was worthwhile as it meant that the feudal nobility

had thus a career opened for it, which gave it a dignity that had never before been allowed it, except in a few rare instances.⁶⁴

62. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 193. He is the first English historian to take this position. When Fuller considers the Byzantine situation, he uses it to argue that the papacy intended "to reduce the Grecians into subjection". Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 16; Gibbon mentions that Alexius I's "ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour", but does not believe that help for the Empire was a consideration. Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 287; Mills indicates that Alexius sought aid in 1092, but claims that with the death of the prominent Moslem leaders, Malik-Shah and Soliman, that is Kilij Arslan, there was no real threat. Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28. Malik-Shah died in 1095, but Kilij-Arslan lived until 1106 so Mills does not altogether prove his point and he neglects the ultimately disastrous consequences of the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert in 1071 with the loss of Armenia, their most significant area for the recruitment of mercenaries.

63. For example, Stebbing *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 53, comments:
 The throne of Alexius was occupied by Manuel his grandson, who now exercised the same arts as that monarch employed against the leaders of the first crusade.
 He compares the situation within the Empire by implication with that of his own times. Thus, he claims:
 It is only in proportion, however, as a people enjoy peace and freedom under the legitimate monarchs, that they hate a usurper for his injustice. *ibid.*, p. 198.

64. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 196.

Stebbing implies, therefore, that crusade was both necessary and desirable, a view to which he is committed as the result of his attitude to chivalry.

As a moderate Anglican, Stebbing views the Medieval Church as "corrupt"⁶⁵ and as propagating "a faith not supported by the clearest evidence of reason"⁶⁶ when

Christianity ... had become too closely mixed up with all the errors and superstitious conceits of the times.⁶⁷

There is nothing new in these general criticisms or in his attack upon "the tyranny of the popes",⁶⁸ but he is prepared to concede that if the pope

had ... been content to exhort men as a Christian bishop, instead of sitting on a throne to pass laws like a monarch - he might have reformed a world.⁶⁹

In this respect, Stebbing pursues a more moderate line which suggests that Catholicism was not a significant issue for him despite contemporary agitation about Catholic emancipation⁷⁰ and

65. *ibid.*, p. 29.

66. *ibid.*, p. 263.

67. *ibid.*, p. 20.

68. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 33.

69. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 202.

70. For a discussion of this question, see G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics, 1820-1850*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964. Although Machin is concerned primarily with examining the political aspects of this subject, he refers to more popular attitudes to Catholicism but concludes that anti-Catholicism was less bitter and less decisive than it had been during the Gordon Riots in the 1780's and the general election in 1806. See *ibid.*, pp. 87 and 133.

he is able to reconcile his religious position with his favourable interpretation of crusade.

While Stebbing's portrayal of crusading leaders is consistent with his attitude to chivalry and to crusade, it demonstrates how an historian can use earlier work to different effect. He accepts, for example, that Godfrey's devotion, piety and merit assured him of election,⁷¹ but by describing Godfrey as a man whose

countenance was elegant, his person tall and graceful, and his speech and address so sweet and gentle,⁷²

he implies a relationship between achievements and appearance in which he assumes a correlation between physical attractiveness and great deeds.

It is significant that Stebbing is less critical of and more enthusiastic about Richard I than earlier English writers.⁷³

71. Stebbing *op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299.

72. *ibid.*, p. 223. This is not a new description of Godfrey's physical appearance and attributes, though it appears for the first time in English. It seems to derive from the chronicle of Robert the Monk who claims to have been present at Clermont in 1095 when Urban II made his appeal for the First Crusade, but his account only appeared in about 1122. Robert describes Godfrey in these words: "Hic vultu elegans, statura procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius". Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolymitana, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Imprimerie Royale, Paris, 1845, 5 vols, Vol. III, *Historiens Occidentaux*, p. 731. As far as I can ascertain, this is the earliest description of Godfrey's physical appearance.

73. Fuller *op.cit.*, p.129, criticises Richard's peace with Saladin and ironically remarks:

King Richard did one thing in Palestine which was worth all the cost and pains of his journey, namely, He redeemed from the Turks a chest full of holy reliques.

Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 350-351, comments that

Although Stebbing concedes that "as soon as we see Richard out of the battle-field ... we lose our respect for him",⁷⁴ he has scope for admiring his military exploits, which correspondingly increase in importance. Thus, Stebbing claims that the

heroic deeds of Richard of England ... rendered the plains of Ptolemais famous in the records of chivalric daring,⁷⁵

and that he "distinguished himself by many a bold deed of arms".⁷⁶

Richard failed, however, to recapture Jerusalem;⁷⁷ contemporary sources refer to his seeing the city from afar which seems to them some compensation for such a crusader failing to reach his

73. (cont'd).

if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age ... His cruelty to the Mahometans was the effect of temper and zeal.

Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 17, refers to the "bold, ardent, and valiant Richard", who possessed "more of the warlike spirit than of the religious feelings of the age".

74. Stebbing *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.

75. *ibid.*, p. 118.

76. *ibid.*, p. 133.

77. There were sound strategic and logistical reasons for Richard's deciding against advancing to Jerusalem and with the news of troubles in England, he agreed to a truce with Saladin. Although the Third Crusade did not recover Jerusalem, it did enable the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to continue by slowing down the victorious advance of Saladin after the Christian defeat at Hattin in 1187.

goal.⁷⁸ In Stebbing's account, however, not only does Richard "catch a view of its towers" but "the sight melted him to tears".⁷⁹

As the result of such additions or variations and of Stebbing's frequent references to the courage and heroism of crusaders who invariably performed "prodigies of valour",⁸⁰ the tone of his work differs significantly from earlier writers. Part of the effect is achieved through emotive descriptions of places and the physical setting⁸¹ which suggest a greater interest in atmosphere and in the recreation of the period, idealised as

78. Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, M.J. Hubert (trans.), J.L. La Monte (ed.), Columbia University Press, New York, 1941, p. 368, and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Chronicles of the Crusades, being Contemporary Narratives of the Crusade of Richard Coeur de Lion, by Richard of Devizes and Geoffrey de Vinsauf; and of the Crusade of Saint Louis, by Lord Joinville with illustrative notes and index*, Henry G. Bohn, London, 1848, p. 296.

79. Stebbing *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 135.

80. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228, and Vol. II, pp. 61, 115 and 312.

81. See, for example, Stebbing's description of the scene before the Christian assault began upon the city of Antioch:

The crusaders were now only waiting for the signal to commence the assault. The night had set in with gloom and tempest; the hills echoed with furious blasts of wind; and the impetuous Orontes, lashed into foam by the storm, rushed beneath the walls of the city with a wild and constant roat. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 250;

or his description of Damascus where

the rivers of Abana and Pharphar poured their delicious waters along its plains; and its groves of fig-trees and of the most fragrant shrubs resounded continually with the melody of birds and the murmur of cooling fountains. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 60.

it may be, with

the helmets of the warriors, adorned with a more than usual profusion of plumes; the splendid banners that floated in the air to songs of minstrels, or the animating notes of the clarions; and the forest of spears, each of which, catching the dazzling light, might have been taken for a sun-beam.⁸²

In this instance, his own words convey more than is possible in any description of his work.

Admiration for chivalry and for heroic deeds limits Stebbing's attempts at historical explanation. After his account of the First Crusade, he simply attributes Christian success to their courage and heroism.⁸³ Similarly, in his consideration of an attack upon Ascalon, he explains:

The Christians continued to advance with undaunted courage, and, by their stern and resolute composure, threw terror in the ranks of the Moslems.⁸⁴

In presenting victory as the result of heroism, Stebbing fails to investigate the implication of this assumption in relation to the loss of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291.

Thomas Keightley's⁸⁵ account of the first three Crusades,

82. *ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

83. *ibid.*, p. 40.

84. *ibid.*, p. 303.

85. Keightley was born in County Kildare in 1789. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, but failed to graduate. After deciding against a career in law, he settled in London in 1824 and engaged in literary and journalistic work. Entry, "Thomas Keightley", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 1195-1196.

The Crusaders; or, Scenes, Events and Characters, from the Times of the Crusades, first published in 1834, has much in common with that of Stebbing in his presentation and in his interpretation of the crusades as

those romantic and, in the eyes of heartless and sceptical philosophy, wild and foolish expeditions of the warlike nations of the West, to conquer and retain the land in which the Son of God had run his earthly career.⁸⁶

It is, for Keightley, a "period full with the names and deeds of mighty men".⁸⁷ By concluding with the Third Crusade, however, he breaks with tradition, but he is able to consider the time of greatest Christian success and to cater for the "popular view of the crusades".⁸⁸

There is considerable difference between the position Keightley asserts: that is, to avoid

the erroneous ideas given by those writers who have made the Crusades the theme of their romances,⁸⁹

86. T. Keightley, *The Crusaders; or, Scenes, Events and Characters, from the Times of the Crusades*, John W. Parker and Son, London, 1852, [1834], p. 1.

87. *ibid.*

88. *ibid.*, p. 525.

89. *ibid.*, p. v. By mentioning Charles Mills within the broader context of this statement, Keightley undoubtedly intends this criticism to apply to him.

and the practice he employs. In his Preface, he acknowledges his debt to Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* and to Wilken's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*;⁹⁰ both were historians of the German romantic school.⁹¹ When referring to Tasso's romantic epic, *Jerusalem Delivered*, published in 1575,⁹² Stebbing realises that Tasso

has cast such a blaze of romantic splendour, that the eyes of even the soberest inquirers after historic truth are occasionally dazzled.⁹³

Nevertheless, his frequent allusions to Tasso's poem in his account of the First Crusade suggest that he is more in sympathy with Tasso than with any other writer.⁹⁴

Indeed, Keightley's portrayal of crusading leaders reveals a naiveté which probably derives from the very romanticism he

90. *ibid.*

91. See G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1954, pp. 69-70, and p. 67.

92. Torquato Tasso was a sixteenth-century Italian poet whose poem deals with the events leading to the Christian capture of Jerusalem in 1099. T. Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered*, R. Weiss (ed.), E. Fairfax (trans.), Centaur Press Ltd, London, 1902, Introduction, pp. v-xvi.

93. Keightley *op.cit.*, p. 2.

94. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 23, 24, 32, 43, 52, 67, 80, 83, 84, 88, 95, 96 and 97.

explicitly rejects. Take, for example, his description of Godfrey of Bouillon:

To valour Godfrey joined piety, chastity, moderation, mildness and generosity. His exterior also was agreeable; his features were handsome, his hair a light brown, his person tall, and he was equally strong and active in his limbs.⁹⁵

Godfrey has become the epitome of knightly virtue and the glory of his achievements is reflected in his appearance. By associating moral virtue and physical prowess with a handsome appearance,⁹⁶ Keightley assumes a relationship between actions and physical characteristics.

Assessment of character is allied closely to Keightley's concept of morality which foreshadows the developments of later Victorian times. Baldwin I is condemned for his infidelities,⁹⁷ but Raymond of Toulouse is described in glowing terms as "chaste, and strictly faithful to his consort".⁹⁸ In Keightley's eyes,

95. *ibid.*, p. 24.

96. Further instances of this approach recur throughout Keightley's account. Young Bohemond was "handsome, generous, brave and affable"; Count Hugh of Puiset was "the handsomest man and the gallantest knight in the whole land", and Baldwin III who possessed "every royal virtue", was "large of stature" and his "long yellow hair augmented the dignity of his mien". *ibid.*, pp. 229, 243 and 332.

97. *ibid.*, p. 171. Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, became Count of Edessa and succeeded Godfrey as ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He died in 1118 after successfully defending and extending the territorial possessions of the Latin Kingdom.

98. Keightley *op.cit.*, p. 245.

immorality reaches its climax in the Patriarch, Heraclius, "a man of notorious ill-life".⁹⁹ It is not simply the fact that he notes immorality but that he judges the actions of individuals in terms of their moral failings instead of considering the importance and influence of the actions in themselves. Such an emphasis is consistent, however, with his belief that "moral corruption, precursive of the fall of states" ensured the destruction of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰

This account of Keightley presents again the dilemma for a Protestant historian considering the Middle Ages in reconciling a favourable interpretation with his religious assumptions. According to Keightley, Christianity in that period was "nearly lost beneath the weight of false philosophy and abject idolatry";¹⁰¹ pilgrimage embodied the erroneous notion "that the Deity may be more easily propitiated in one place than in another".¹⁰² In a "grossly superstitious age",¹⁰³ the Church made a virtue of necessity by "imposing pilgrimage by way of penance".¹⁰⁴ Such criticisms of the Medieval Church seem a Protestant response rather than an

99. *ibid.*, p. 386. Heraclius was created patriarch of Jerusalem in 1180 in preference to William of Tyre.

100. *ibid.*, p. 336.

101. *ibid.*, p. 3.

102. *ibid.*, p. 11.

103. *ibid.*, p. 27.

104. *ibid.*, p. 15.

analysis of their effect and implications for crusade. In any case, Keightley minimises the importance of religious belief in the movement by concluding that "if any one cause could be assigned, it would be feudalism".¹⁰⁵

A moral and didactic intent that begins to appear in Keightley's study becomes more pronounced in J.G. Edgar's,¹⁰⁶ *The Crusades and the Crusaders; or, Stories of the Struggle for the Holy Sepulchre*, published in 1859. At the outset, he states that his

object in this book for boys, is to give an idea of the heroes who, animated by religion and heroism, took part in the battles, the sieges, the marvellous enterprises of valour and despair, which made up the history of those great adventures known as the Crusades.¹⁰⁷

In maintaining that these "examples ... are calculated to exercise a wholesome influence on the minds of youthful readers",¹⁰⁸ Edgar restricts himself to those aspects which he sees as consistent with these aims.

As Edgar glorifies crusade, his account of the origins of the movement indicates that it was honourable and necessary because

105. *ibid.*, p. 22.

106. John Edgar was born in 1834, the son of an Anglican clergyman. After a period in business, he turned to writing, and in ten years produced at least fifteen volumes for the edification of boys. Entry, "John Edgar", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 374.

107. J.G. Edgar, *The Crusades and the Crusaders; or, Stories of the Struggle for the Holy Sepulchre*, Danton and Hodge, London, 1863, [1859], Preface, no pagination.

108. *ibid.*, p. 9.

Christianity was threatened by a false religion founded by a "pretended prophet".¹⁰⁹ To add weight to his case, he argues that when the Holy Land was under Moslem rule, the "Christians in the East found their plight deplorable" and the "Greeks no longer possessed the courage to fight their own battles".¹¹⁰ Crusade was, therefore, necessary for the defence of Christianity and the fact that it was Latin Christianity does not seem to worry Edgar unduly.

It is consistent with this view that the leaders, especially the English, appear as suitable heroes. Richard I is altogether admirable and is fittingly described as possessing

109. *ibid.*, p. 18. This view of the situation of the Christians in the East is certainly not new. Robert the Monk *op.cit.*, Book I, Chapter 1, p. 727, reports Urban as stating:

Gens regni Persarum, gens extranea, gens prorsus a Deo aliena, ... terras illorum Christianorum invaserit, ferro, rapinis, incendio depopulaverit, ipsosque captivos partim in terram suam abduxerit, partimque nece miserabili prostraverit, ecclesiasque Dei aut funditus everterit aut suorum ritui sacrorum mancipaverit.

This presents a very gloomy picture of the Turkish invasion which reveals Robert's own attitude to those people and suggests the sort of prejudices Urban may have expressed and to which he may have appealed. Once unbelievers were subdued, the Turks did not persecute them for their religious beliefs. The one notable example of Christian persecution under Islam was that of the insane, Hakim, who became the Fatimid caliph of Egypt in 1000, and under his rule, Moslems as well as Jews and Christians suffered.

110. Edgar *op.cit.*, p. 52. Alexius I sought aid from the West precisely because he was preparing to undertake an offensive against the Moslems in Asia Minor for which he needed mercenaries but not the sort of help that resulted from Urban's appeal at Clermont.

limbs long, but finely proportioned ... a fair face, set off with bright blue eyes and auburn hair which he wore in curls.¹¹¹

By contrast with earlier attitudes to the 1271 to 1272 expedition of Edward, later Edward I of England,¹¹² Edgar enthuses that "with three hundred valiant men from England, he had changed the aspect of affairs".¹¹³ According to Edgar, Edward "determined ... not to return to England without signalling his prowess against the foes of his religion"¹¹⁴ and "by showing a high example, [he] inspired his friends with enthusiasm worthy of the occasion".¹¹⁵ Edgar's presentation appeals to patriotism and supports his *a priori* assumption that "we can, in a national point of view, look back with pride upon the Crusades".¹¹⁶

The explanation for the Christian loss of the Holy Land is instructive as well. Basically, Edgar preaches that poor conduct, as seen in the People's Crusade, can "hardly produce other than disastrous results".¹¹⁷ After the establishment of the Latin

111. *ibid.*, p. 186.

112. Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 221, describes Edward's expedition as like a "cordiall given to a dying man"; Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 863, deals with the events in a few sentences; Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 263-268, is ambivalent; he reacts favourably to Edward because he was after all English, but he sees his actions as a rather empty gesture and Stebbing *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 331, comments that "he left Syria without having effected any thing which deserves recording".

113. Edgar *op.cit.*, p. 375.

114. *ibid.*, p. 358.

115. *ibid.*, p. 360.

116. *ibid.*, Preface, no pagination.

117. *ibid.*, p. 3

Kingdom, its Western inhabitants "exposed to an eastern climate and yielding to oriental effeminacy ... rapidly degenerated".¹¹⁸

Generally, the Christians "not only indulged in gross vice" which, predictably enough, he fails to specify, but "broke faith without scruple".¹¹⁹ Thus, Edgar concludes that their behaviour "could hardly fail ultimately to render the remains of their kingdom an easy conquest".¹²⁰ Implicit in the moral to the story is the notion of European superiority which was destroyed only as the result of the debilitating influence of their strange environment.

These accounts of Mills, Stebbing, Keightley and Edgar present a similar interpretation of crusade: that is, a military expedition to the Holy Land with a lessening of the importance of religious beliefs and practices. In the main, their more favourable view of the subject which is tempered by their Protestant assumptions, derives from an emotional response resulting in an idealisation of its participants and in an emphasis upon colour and heroism in presentation. Despite basic differences from earlier accounts, they continue to see crusade from a Western viewpoint, to assume European superiority and to write for a general reader within a literary tradition of historical narrative.

118. *ibid.*, p. 154.

119. *ibid.*

120. *ibid.*, p. 395.

Chapter III

British Historians of the Later Nineteenth Century

During the nineteenth century, the study of history underwent remarkable changes without significantly influencing British historians of the crusades. William Stubbs, concentrating upon the study of British constitutional and institutional history, conducted a more rigorous and critical examination of primary sources but full-length studies of the crusades were, in the main, the province of amateur enthusiasts writing popular histories. Most of these writers in their accounts of the movement express the optimism and complacency of triumphant Victorianism in celebrating progress or in upholding imperialism.

As romantic historians looked to the Middle Ages so primary sources of that period were collected and edited. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, conceived in a spirit of nationalism for the systematic study of German history, provided an invaluable collection of chronicles.¹ These were supplemented by the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, published from 1841, which includes Oriental as well as Latin and French sources.² In Britain, the

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1. D. Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1963, pp. 65-71.
 2. J.J. Saunders, *Aspects of the Crusades*, Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1962, p. 12. This collection was designed to replace Jacques Bongars' *Gesta Dei per Francos*, published in 1611 which had been one of the main collections of sources for historians of the crusades for over two hundred years. For a discussion of early French editions of primary sources, see "Rapport sur la publication du *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*", *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1845, 5 vols, Vol. I, *Historiens Occidentaux*, pp. i-iii.

Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages began to appear from 1858 but it was William Stubbs³ as editor who brought to the project a high standard of scholarship and provided the necessary impetus.⁴

These collections, partly the products of emerging nationalism, were also the consequence of significant developments in historical study and methodology within German universities. In seminars at the University of Berlin, Leopold von Ranke trained his students in the use and internal criticism of original sources⁵ propounding the view that the historian "will blos zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen".⁶ One of Ranke's most outstanding students, Heinrich von Sybel, critically examined the eleventh and twelfth-century chronicles of the crusades in *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*,⁷

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3. William Stubbs, Regius Professor of History at Oxford from 1867 to 1882, was the first trained historian to hold that position. He began learning Anglo-Saxon while still at school spending his spare time studying the rolls in his local courthouse. By the time he went to university, he was proficient in languages and in paleography and appreciated the overwhelmingly rich sources of British domestic history. G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1954, pp. 317-323.
 4. Knowles *op.cit.*, p. 134. Interestingly enough, Stubbs' first contribution was *The Itinerary of Richard I*, which was published in 1864.
 5. J.W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1942, 2 vols, Vol. II, p. 178.
 6. L. von Ranke, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*, Duncker und Humblot, Leipzig, 1874, p. vii.
 7. This study was translated into English by Lady Duff Gordon as *The History and Literature of the Crusades, From the German of Heinrich von Sybel*, George Routledge and Sons Ltd, London, 1861.

published in 1841, which challenged accepted interpretations.⁸

In Britain, the study of the crusades does not, in the main, reflect these changes. Ironically, part of the explanation lies with William Stubbs. In his inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1867, he expressed the hope that he would promote

the founding of an historical school ... which shall build, not upon Hallam and Palgrave and Kemble and Froude and Macaulay, but on the abundant collected and arranged materials on which these writers tried to build whilst they were scanty and scattered.⁹

Stubbs was not disappointed. Nevertheless, the sources of English constitutional, legal and administrative history are in themselves so vast that in the nineteenth century, historians influenced by

8. For example, Sybel argues that Peter the Hermit's role was that of merely preaching crusade and that Godfrey's fame is explained largely by the reaction to his election. Sybel concludes: twenty years after his [Godfrey's] death, a priest of Aix-la-Chapelle collected all the songs and verbal communications in praise of Godfrey ... Partly from this source, and partly from later poetical versions ... subsequent writers have drawn all their knowledge of Peter the Hermit as originator and of Godfrey of Bouillon as commander of the Crusade. See *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 47.

Sybel maintains:

a critical examination of the original sources shows us that certain events never really took place, and existed only in the creative fancy of contemporaries. *ibid.*, p. 48.

9. W. Stubbs, "Inaugural (February 7, 1867)", *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects Delivered at Oxford under Statutory Obligation in the years 1867-1884*, Howard Fertig, New York, 1967, p. 12.

Stubbs, and attracted to such subjects, found more than enough to occupy their attention.¹⁰

The influence of Stubbs does not altogether explain the comparative British neglect of the crusades, but there is no doubt that British scholars and writers were, in the words of F.M. Powicke,¹¹ overwhelmingly preoccupied with "studies of our national life".¹² In 1885, when Mandell Creighton¹³ was organizing

10. T.F. Tout was probably the most outstanding and influential of Stubbs' students. After lecturing at Lampeter in Wales, Tout moved to Manchester in 1890, where he concentrated mainly upon post-graduate teaching and continued his own research into medieval institutions. F.M. Powicke says of him:

His master, Stubbs, was the outstanding constructive force in the historical scholarship of his time, and Tout, perhaps even more than the more brilliant and versatile Maitland, carried on this positive and energetic tradition.

See F.M. Powicke, "The Manchester History School", *Modern Historians and the Study of History, Essays and Papers*, Odhams Press Ltd, London, 1955, p. 41 and pp. 19-44.

11. F.M. Powicke who was born in 1879, was a graduate of Manchester and Oxford. After teaching at Belfast and Manchester, he was Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford from 1928 to 1947. A medievalist, his publications include, *The Loss of Normandy, Ailred of Rievaulx, Stephen Langton and Medieval England*. Entry, "Sir F.M. Powicke", *Who's Who 1960, An Annual Biographical Dictionary with which is Incorporated Men and Women of the Time*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1961, p. 24.

12. Powicke, "Historical Study in Oxford", *op.cit.*, p. 167. This article is a revision of Powicke's inaugural lecture at Oxford in 1928.

13. Creighton who was born in 1843, graduated from Oxford in 1867 where he taught until 1875. After leaving Oxford, he combined his clerical duties with the study of and writing on history becoming the first editor of *The English Historical Review* in 1886, a position which he held until 1891. Entry, "Mandell Creighton", *Dictionary of National Biography, From the Earliest Times to 1900*, L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds), Oxford University Press, London, 1937-1938, 22 vols, Vol. XXII, pp. 507 and 509.

The English Historical Review, he noted in a letter to Lord

Acton:

Of course we are very insular; that is a fact which strikes me in every English book.¹⁴

The demands of patriotism seem to have been readily met by general histories such as T.B. Macaulay's *History of England*, published from 1848 to 1861, and J.R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, published in 1874, both of which were best-sellers in their day.¹⁵

It is apparent, too, that professionalisation of the study of history was very limited in Britain. Indeed, there seems to have been pride in the notion of history as a gentlemanly rather than a scholarly pursuit. Mandell Creighton, for example, admits:

I have lived long in the country away from books ...
I have no thorough knowledge of history as a whole.
I have always been busied with many things, and have had no opportunities of becoming a thorough student.¹⁶

F.M. Powicke, in reminiscing about Oxford at the turn of the century, speaks of his teachers as "undisturbed by any resounding movements

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14. M. Creighton to Lord Acton, 6 August 1885, L. Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton, D.D. Oxon. and Cam., Sometime Bishop of London*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1913, p. 336.
 15. Macaulay's work had sold 267,000 copies by 1863 and Green's study reached 35,000 in its first year. See R.D. Altich, *A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1963, Appendix B, "Best Sellers", p. 388.
 16. M. Creighton to Lord Acton, 6 August 1885, Creighton *op.cit.*, pp. 335-336.

in the historical world"¹⁷ praising them for

the School of History as the home of humane study
and the training ground of administrators,
politicians, men of letters and journalists.¹⁸

The study of history was seen as the basis for a broad education and Powicke even argues against "professionalism in research".¹⁹

Such an attitude from within the universities helps to account for the British predilection for writing general, narrative histories, which are a feature of British historical writing. Their publication, especially in the later nineteenth century, is related to a continuing demand from a society that was becoming more literate²⁰ as a result of the needs of an increasingly industrial and urban civilization and of the leisure it produced.²¹ An increase in reading material which was more readily available from lending libraries²² from religious societies²³ and in cheap editions,²⁴

17. Powicke *op.cit.*, p. 165. 18. *ibid.*, p. 167. 19. *ibid.*, p.173.

20. For a discussion of the literacy of Victorian society and of the impact of Forster's Education Act in 1870, see Altich *op.cit.*, pp. 166-172.

21. *ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

22. The most famous of these was Charles Edward Mudie who began to expand after 1852 and whose stock included numerous historical and biographical works. See *ibid.*, pp. 295-296.

23. For example, the Religious Tract Society produced twenty million tracts and thirteen million copies of periodicals by 1861 and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge published over eight million tracts by 1867. Both societies sought to spread Christianity through their publications which were secular as well as religious. See *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

24. *ibid.*, pp. 299-304.

accompanied this growth in literacy. The "Unknown Public", a phrase coined by Wilkie Collins in 1858,²⁵ considerably influenced publications and popular, general historical narratives were intended mainly for them.

Although study of the crusades in England was largely neglected by professional or trained historians,²⁶ it continued to attract attention from amateur enthusiasts or antiquarians who were drawn to the subject for various reasons. As we have already seen with Thomas Fuller, anti-Catholicism may be a powerful motivation which can appear in any age. *The Crusades*, published in 1849,

25. W. Collins, "The Unknown Public", *Household Words*, Vol. XVIII, 1858, p. 217.

26. The exception is Stanley Lane-Pool's *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, published in 1897. As this is a study based upon Eastern sources, it has been considered in Chapter XI, pp. 238-242. The state of history at Oxford and Cambridge is commented on by Charles Firth in a paper presented in 1913, in which he indicates that

what are called the History Schools of Oxford and Cambridge are essentially attempts to give a general education through the medium of history, not attempts to train men for the study of history. They supply the general knowledge of historical facts which a student requires as a foundation for historical research, but they give no real training in historical method, and no training in the auxiliary sciences.

C.H. Firth, *The Study of Modern History in Great Britain considered in connexion with education, the organization of the archives, and the documentary publications of the government; Read at the International Historical Congress, April 3, 1913*, Oxford University Press, London, no date, p. 4.

under the auspices of the Religious Tract Society, an evangelical group,²⁷ reveals the extent to which religious assumptions can determine an assessment.

The religious position of the writer is stated explicitly throughout this account. Basically, the author maintains that "a man is justified by faith without works",²⁸ a belief which is reiterated constantly.²⁹ In line with fundamentalist teaching, "the papacy is antichrist"³⁰ and any war is contrary to the teachings of Christ.³¹ Any other religious position, Christian or non-Christian, than the one propounded by the author is "superstitious" and "erroneous"³² and the writer concludes in reference to Saladin that

he was, after all, a compound of dignity and baseness,... his character was an infinite remove from true Christian excellence.³³

27. The Religious Tract Society, founded in 1799, believed that each publication should include "some account of the way of a sinner's salvation", and propounded "the Evangelical principles of the Reformation". quoted F.W.B. Bullock, *Voluntary Religious Societies 1520-1799*, Budd and Gillatt, St Leonards on Sea, 1963, p. 249.

28. Anonymous, *The Crusades*, The Religious Tract Society, London, 1849, p. 10.

29. For example, *ibid.*, p. 18:

Happy are we who have been taught from the living oracles of God, to seek salvation, not by the merit of our own performances, but by the merit of the one great sacrifice presented to God;

ibid., p. 108:

It is only under the transforming power of the gospel, by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, that a character can be formed on which God will look with approval;

and *ibid.*, p. 190:

Human merit was substituted for the apostolic doctrine of justification by faith.

30. *ibid.*, p. 79. 31. *ibid.*, p. 13. 32. *ibid.*, p. 6.

33. *ibid.*, p. 108.

The definition of crusade itself is concerned with it as a war with a specific objective; that is, it was

arming Christendom against the Mohammedans of the East, and ... arousing it to the rescue of Palestine.³⁴

This account concludes with 1291³⁵ but the expeditions after the Third Crusade are covered only briefly to avoid the "monotonous character of their detail".³⁶ It seems that the writer is more concerned with producing a religious tract than with providing a narrative account.

The movement is described as "one of the most extraordinary and fanatical delusions which ever enslaved the popular mind",³⁷ sponsored by the papacy for achieving the "sovereignty of the world",³⁸ initiated by Peter the Hermit, "a bold fanatic",³⁹ and undertaken by "madmen", even the best of whom, Godfrey of Bouillon, was a "slave to the authority of the church and popedom".⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the writer considers that it was "permitted by the great Head of the church, for wise and gracious purposes".⁴¹

34. *ibid.*, p. 14.

35. *ibid.*, p. 132.

36. *ibid.*, p. 107.

37. *ibid.*, p. 14.

38. *ibid.*, p. 154.

39. *ibid.*, p. 32. According to the writer, Peter "became at once the easy dupe and the powerful agent" of Urban II. This interpretation is similar to that of Thomas Fuller. See above, Chapter I, p. 13.

40. *The Crusades*, p. 76.

41. *ibid.*, p. 191.

These include the "partial emancipation of the mind",⁴² and thus, the crusades

constitute an important link, which connects the present advanced position of society with the ignorance, the disorderly and disorganized existences of the Middle Ages.⁴³

This account is, therefore, a religious polemic attacking Catholicism and expressing a belief in the superiority of the author's own times.

Religious considerations are not as significant in Henry Hart Milman's⁴⁴ discussion of the movement in *The History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V*, published in 1855. The inclusion of Milman's account requires some justification as it is only part of a longer study; it is included, however, because it contrasts with the preceding work written at a similar time, has some influence on later accounts, and embodies a whig view of the movement.

The whig interpretation of history⁴⁵ was particularly congenial

42. *ibid.*, p. 177.

43. *ibid.*, p. 185.

44. Henry Hart Milman who became dean of St Paul's, was born in London in 1791. After graduating from Oxford and taking holy orders, he became well-known as a poet and as a historian while continuing to carry out his clerical duties. Entry, "Henry Hart Milman", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 448-451.

45. H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, G. Bell and Sons Ltd, London, 1963, p. V, defines it as the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present.

to Victorian historians, the products of an age in which the idea of progress had become almost an article of faith. In European terms, Britain had enjoyed a long term of internal peace and of freedom from invasion. It had met and defeated tyrannies that had overwhelmed country after country and British ascendancy in commerce and manufacturing was unchallenged.⁴⁶ As a result, the feeling intensified that being British made one superior and the whig interpretation of history and Victorian complacency were based on this simple and arrogant assumption.⁴⁷

The Victorian notion of material progress was closely related to concepts of moral development and of the growth of liberty.

46. See G. Best, *Mid Victorian Britain, 1851-1875*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1971, pp. 1-5, and A. Briggs, *Victorian People, A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-1867*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, pp. 9-14.

47. See, for example, G.R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation in its Various Social and Economic Relations from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, C. Knight and Co., London, 1851. This work, as its title suggests, was a contemporary study of Britain's material development, prosperity and greatness. Originally published from 1836 to 1838, it was revised and reissued, appropriately enough, in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition. In the Preface to this edition, the editors proclaim:

It must at all times be a matter of great interest and utility to ascertain the means by which any community has attained to eminence among nations. To inquire into the progress of circumstances which has given pre-eminence to one's own nation would almost seem to be a duty. *ibid.*, p. i.

It is with this last aspect that Milman is most concerned. In considering the crusades, he regards them as a temporary hindrance to the extension of liberty claiming that the papacy by its support and direction established an "autocracy",⁴⁸ achieved an unprecedented level of power and prestige,⁴⁹ and "made the Western world tributary to popedom".⁵⁰ Such an assumption of authority which Milman argues was made under the "specious claim of liberty", he sees as reactionary and as an obstacle to progress.⁵¹

In condemning papal autocracy, Milman applauds those whom he sees as actively opposing it. Having considered Frederick II's career, he concludes that he "seemed earnestly determined to fulfil

48. H.H. Milman, *The History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V*, John Murray, London, 1883, [1854-1855], 9 vols, Vol. V, p. 168.

49. *ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

50. *ibid.*, p. 173.

51. *ibid.*, p. 170. For Milman, "progress" seems to have resided in the adaptation of Christianity to meet changing needs. As he puts it:

I pretend not to foretell the future of Christianity; but whosoever believes in its perpetuity ... must suppose that by some providential law, it must adapt itself, as it has adapted itself with such wonderful versatility, but with a faithful conservation of its inner, vital spirit, to all vicissitudes and phases of man's social, moral, intellectual being.
ibid., Vol. IV, p. 627.

his vow" to go on crusade,⁵² but that he clashed with the papacy because he "was vainly struggling to burst the fetters thus wound around him".⁵³ Similarly, Milman is favourably disposed towards Louis IX, who was in most respects the antithesis of Frederick.⁵⁴

52. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 102. Frederick first took the Cross in 1215, publicly confirmed his vow in 1220 upon the crowning of his son, Henry, as king of the Romans and upon his own coronation as emperor, renewed it in 1222 before his marriage to Isabella, heiress to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and promised again in 1225 to go on crusade. He set out for the East in 1228 after his excommunication for turning back in 1227 as the result of illness. His repeated procrastinations are partly explained by the political situation within the Empire, but his negotiations with the papacy during this period indicate that he was intent upon increasing his power and influence in fulfilling his crusading vow.
53. *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 173. The conflict between Frederick and the papacy was not the clash between an enlightened monarch and a repressive autocrat but a struggle for power between the Empire and the papacy. When Sicily became part of the Hohenstaufen patrimony, the papacy, fearing encirclement, bent its efforts to dividing Sicily from the Empire, and used crusade and crusading methods in the attempt. For a discussion of the issues between the Empire and the papacy, see G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1966, pp. 224-233. Frederick's activities in the Holy Land were not favourably regarded by the native barons and even allowing for the bias of the contemporary account, Frederick emerges unfavourably as attempting to assert imperial and autocratic power. See Philip of Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, M.J. Hubert (trans.), J.L. La Monte (ed.), Columbia University Press, New York, 1936, pp. 73-93.
54. Louis IX of France who was canonized in 1297, took the Cross in 1244 and departed enthusiastically for the East in 1248. Against considerable opposition, he undertook another crusade in 1270. Louis did not embark upon these expeditions to increase his power or prestige but they were an expression of his piety and of his desire to help the Latin cause in the East after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244 and Antioch in 1268. Joinville, Louis' biographer, notes in relation to the second venture:
I consider that all those who had advised the king to go on this expedition committed mortal sin ... ever since King Louis went away the state of the kingdom has

Milman comments that Louis was "no slave to the hierarchy"⁵⁵ in asserting the liberties of the Gallican Church, by extending royal power and in limiting papal influence in France.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Milman supports any attempt to extend the sway of Christendom. In a general attack upon rationalist historians, he rejects their "cold and indifferent philosophy" with their condemnation of crusade.⁵⁷ By contrast with them,⁵⁸ he believes that the pontificate of Urban II was "one of the great epochs

54 (cont'd).

done nothing but go from bad to worse.

Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, M.R.B. Shaw (trans.), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963, Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, p. 346.

55. Milman *op.cit.*, Vol. V, p. 301.

56. *ibid.* Louis' concept of monarchy was absolutist. By developing monarchical power and authority, Louis aimed to achieve obedience to the crown and to lead his people to God and to salvation. As monarch, Louis believed himself responsible for the sins of his people and so insisted upon a separation of the rights and prerogatives of the temporal and spiritual swords to provide the necessary basis for his kingly vocation, the salvation of men through the example of his own justice and piety. Louis emphasised absolutism to ensure that right was done and this partly determined his attitude to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and to the Church. His actions certainly did not spring from liberal sentiments as Milman implies. See Joinville *op.cit.*, pp. 176-179.

57. Milman *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 184.

58. For example, Gibbon considers that "the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise, since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates." E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, J. Bury (ed.), Methuen and Co. Ltd, London, 1912, 7 vols, Vol. VI, p. 264.

in the history of the papacy and of Latin Christianity" because he organized "martial missionaries" to defend Christian territory and to extend its borders.⁵⁹ Although Milman concedes that the crusades "may seem the height of human folly", he argues that they protected Europe and "sought to mould barbarous nations into one Great European society".⁶⁰

Such a view reflects the liberal theological position Milman revealed in his association with Liberal Anglicans, the Noetics;⁶¹ they rejected the Evangelical stance,⁶² remained distinct from High Church Anglicans⁶³ and did not share the anti-Catholicism of either.⁶⁴ Within the Anglican Church, the great theological debates and disputes emerged in the late 1830's when John Henry Newman became the most controversial cleric of the period.

59. Milman *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

60. *ibid.*, p. 184.

61. From about 1850, the Noetics became known as "broad churchmen". This group, centering upon Richard Whately and Thomas Arnold, was mainly concerned with the reorganization and revitalizing of the Church of England. See L. Woodward, *The Age of Reform, 1815-1870*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, pp. 506-508, and R.W. Church, *The Oxford Movement, 1833-1845*, Macmillan and Co., London, 1891, p. 1.

62. Y. Brilioth, *The Anglican Revival, Studies in the Oxford Movement*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1925, p. 77.

63. *ibid.*, p. 79.

64. Woodward *op.cit.*, p. 508.

Although Newman left Oxford in 1842, Tractarianism continued to be a significant issue there until at least 1845.⁶⁵ Milman's time at Oxford preceded such controversies,⁶⁶ and according to his friend, the historian, William Lecky, he viewed them with equanimity.⁶⁷

Another clergyman, G.W. Cox, who published *The Crusades* in 1874, claims an interpretation "much the same as that of the illustrious author of the *History of Latin Christianity*", Milman,⁶⁸ but there are significant differences which reflect Cox's own experiences. During his time at Oxford, he was influenced by the Tractarian Movement,⁶⁹ but his review of Milman's work in 1858 indicates that he had modified not only his religious position but that he had reacted strongly against Pius IX's promotion of

65. O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part I*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1970, pp. 202-211.

66. Milman graduated in 1814 and was professor of poetry at Oxford from 1821 to 1831. Entry, "Henry Hart Milman", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 448-449.

67. W.E.H. Lecky, *Historical and Political Essays*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1908, p. 270.

68. G.W. Cox, *The Crusades*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1877, [1874], p. vi.

69. George Cox who was born in 1827, attended Oxford from 1845 to 1848 and was ordained in 1850. Entry, "George Cox", *Dictionary of National Biography, Twentieth Century Supplement, January 1901-December 1911*, S. Lee (ed.), Oxford University Press, London, 1939, p. 433.

ultramontanism⁷⁰ which culminated in the dogma of papal infallibility in 1870.

In the main Cox rejects "papal authority" and regards the religious motivation of crusade as

wholly unconnected with the teaching of Christ and of his disciples, as it is set before us in the New Testament.⁷¹

Consequently, he describes the motives of those who responded as the ready acceptance

of a method by which they might wipe away their guilt without changing their character and disposition.⁷²

While he acknowledges the ultimate benefits of the movement as an "awakening of the human intellect to which we owe all that distinguishes our modern civilisation",⁷³ he opposes the papacy which he considers sponsored it mainly for its own profit.⁷⁴

70. G.W. Cox, "Review of *The History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V*, by Henry Hart Milman", *The Edinburgh Review*, No. CCXVII, January 1858, pp. 51-87. See, especially, pp. 59-60:

With this array of popes varying from each other in all possible degrees of integrity and iniquity, there was, in truth, no need to enter into the formal examination of more recent pretensions and developments. There was no need to assert in so many words that the Pope was not infallible.

71. Cox, *The Crusades*, p. 3.

72. *ibid.*, p. 32.

73. *ibid.*, p. 216.

74. *ibid.*, p. 26. Cox does not go as far as Fuller in seeing the movement as a papal plot. See above, Chapter I, p. 13, but he is critical of the papacy. For example, he asserts:

The zeal of the pope was probably as sincere as that of any others who engaged in the enterprise; but it could not fail to derive strength from the consciousness that, whatever might be the result to the warriors of the cross, his own power would rest henceforth on more solid foundations.

It is not surprising that Cox presents a favourable assessment of Frederick II. As he believes that

the struggle between Frederick II. and Gregory IX. anticipated in more than one of its features the struggle between Leo X. and Luther,⁷⁵

religious considerations appear decisive. Frederick epitomises, for Cox, "light-hearted enjoyment and ... liberal government", Gregory IX, "monastic gloom and ingrained despotism".⁷⁶ Although Cox reacts to immorality or excesses in others,⁷⁷ he palliates Frederick's "license" by explaining that to it, "all grossness and coarse rioting, all unrefined and boorish vices, were altogether abhorrent".⁷⁸ It seems that Cox by idealising Frederick because of his conflict with the Church is making a point at the expense of the papacy.

75. *ibid.*, p. 176.

76. *ibid.*, p. 186.

77. See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 157, Cox's description of the sack of Constantinople in which he claims that all restraint was flung aside, and the warriors of the cross abandoned themselves with ferocious greed to their insatiable and filthy lewdness. With disgusting gestures and in shameless attire an abandoned woman screamed out a drunken song from the patriarchal chair.

78. *ibid.*, p. 185. Frederick's treatment of his second wife, Isabella, does not support such a conclusion. Shortly after their marriage, Frederick seduced his wife's cousin, flaunting his conquest before her. Isabella was sent to Frederick's harem at Palermo where she was kept in seclusion until her death in 1228.

Although Cox views crusade as "a wild and fanatical superstition",⁷⁹ he concludes:

We must not forget that by rolling back the tide of Mahomedan conquest from Constantinople for upwards of four centuries they probably saved Europe from horrors the recital of which might even now make our ears tingle.⁸⁰

With this attitude to Moslems, it is not surprising that Cox was involved in the public outcry in England that followed the Turkish suppression of the Bulgarians in 1876⁸¹ during which some discerned the need for another "crusade".⁸² Thus, Cox sees crusade as essential to the defence of Europe as well as contributing to the progress of civilization.

79. *ibid.*, p. 211.

80. *ibid.*, p. 216.

81. R.T. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1963, p. 221.

82. For example, Ellis Bartlett wished:

Would that but for two months I could have the name of Gladstone or the unleashing enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit. quoted *ibid.*, p. 63.

W.T. Stead declared that the crusades were no longer an "enigma". In relation to his own activities, he claimed: "I realised the feelings of Peter the Hermit". quoted *ibid.*, p. 81.

In some respects, W.H.D. Adams,⁸³ *The Story of the Crusades, The Wars of the Cross; or The History of the Crusades*, first published in 1883, presents a similar view. He defines crusade as "an expedition for the deliverance of the Holy Land from the pollution of the Moslem",⁸⁴ sponsored by the papacy for "rendering supreme the influence of the church"⁸⁵ and initiated by Peter the Hermit, "a fanatical monk", who was "one of the principal agents employed by the Popes in working out their great design".⁸⁶ Thus, Adams views crusade as a military undertaking with a specific objective⁸⁷ which was justified by the "barbarity of the Turks",⁸⁸

83. The entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* aptly describes Adams as a "miscellaneous writer". Born in 1828, he was educated privately and became a journalist. Entry "W.H.D. Adams", Stephen and Lee *op.cit.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 17-18. Adams' publications were extensive, covering travel, exploration, history and morals, and concentrating upon famous men and women of British history as exemplifying desirable and heroic qualities. See *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1965, 263 vols, Vol. I, pp. 1096-1103.

84. W.H.D. Adams, *The Story of the Crusades, The Wars of the Cross; or, The History of the Crusades*, T. Nelson and Sons, London, 1895, [1883], p. 32.

85. *ibid.*, p. 10.

86. *ibid.*, p. 13.

87. Adams' account concludes with the 1272 expedition of Edward of England, later Edward I, whom he describes as "the last of the Crusaders". He notes that the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem "was finally overthrown in 1291 ... after a desperate and most gallant resistance ... no army of the Cross again invaded Palestine". *ibid.*, p. 157.

88. *ibid.*, p. 13.

but he reacts initially against its connection with the Medieval Church.

The title of Adams' work and the form which it takes "with Numerous Illustrations",⁸⁹ suggest that it was intended for the popular reader. In keeping with this approach, Adams glorifies the participants as the "champions of the Cross"⁹⁰ and as "the flower of Teutonic chivalry".⁹¹ In particular, he takes pride in the English contribution dwelling upon

the heroism and military capacity of Coeur de Lion whose personal prowess infused a brilliant valour and indomitable resolution into the soul of every Christian warrior,⁹²

and describing the supporters of Richard, "the gallant Earl of Cornwall", as "the flower of English chivalry" embodying "a heroic spirit, like that which animated the followers of Godfrey of

89. Advertisement on the cover of the work.

90. *ibid.*, p. 71.

91. *ibid.*, p. 76.

92. *ibid.*, p. 95.

Bouillon".⁹³ According to Adams, Edward, later Edward I, was "another hero of the lion-hearted race"⁹⁴ who gained "the admiration of his contemporaries, and the applause of future ages".⁹⁵ The contribution of Richard and Edward to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was slight, but it is sufficient for Adams that they were English and that they went on crusade.

93. *ibid.*, p. 132. Richard of Cornwall went on crusade from 1239 to 1241. During his time in the Holy Land, he was involved only in two minor skirmishes with the Moslems, but concluded a truce with Egypt, the negotiations for which had been begun by Theobald of Champagne. His achievements were slight and the significance of his expedition was negligible. The main details are to be found in Richard's letter to England in Matthew Paris. See Matthew Paris, *English History, From the Year 1235 to 1273*, J.A. Giles (trans.), George Bell and Sons, London, 1889, 3 vols, Vol. I, pp. 363-368. There is no mention, however, of Theobald of Champagne's contribution and Matthew Paris' account suggests that the success achieved was due to Richard alone. The insignificance of his achievements is suggested quite unintentionally by Matthew's pointing out that Richard gained "immortal praise and thanks" from the French for obtaining the release of prisoners and for causing "the bones of the dead to be honourably buried". *ibid.*, p. 368.

94. Adams *op.cit.*, p. 152.

95. *ibid.*, p. 151. When Edward arrived in the Levant in 1271, he realised that his armed support was too small for any effective fighting against the Moslems so that his expedition became more of a gesture and an exercise in political relations than a successful military venture. Matthew Paris is the main source for Edward's expedition, the most significant event of which from Matthew's account was the attempted assassination of Edward. See Matthew Paris *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 376-379. Matthew, patriot that he is, notes that "not only did the Christians praise Edward's prudence, but the infidels as well". *ibid.*, p. 379.

Apart from Adams' early cavill at the Medieval Church he is little concerned with the subject even admitting that Latin Christianity

tended to raise the standard of humanity, to smooth the ruggedness of an imperfect civilization, to inculcate the sublime principles of generosity, courage, courtesy and honour.⁹⁶

Although his Protestantism reacts against "the pretensions and ... power of Rome",⁹⁷ his romanticism sees the crusades as

based upon the principles of honour and self-sacrifice and they served to keep alive the pure flame of chivalry.⁹⁸

In this respect, his account has more in common with those earlier in the century than with those embodying the Victorian cult of progress, but his glorification of the English is another way of expressing a similar optimism.

This notion of progress "in government, in popular morals, in education, in industrial methods and in reasonable piety"⁹⁹ is

96. Adams *op.cit.*, p. 158.

97. *ibid.*, p. 9.

98. *ibid.*, p. 158.

99. J.M. Ludlow, *The Age of the Crusades*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 368. I have not been able to discover any details about Ludlow's life and career, but his publications such as *Avanti! A Tale of the Resurrection of Sicily, 1860*, *Deborah, A Tale of the Times of Judas Macabeus* and *Jesse ben David. A Shepherd of Bethlehem*, suggest an interest in the Near East and that he was concerned mainly with producing popular accounts of historical subjects. See *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books op.cit.*, Vol. CXLVI, p. 88.

central to James Ludlow's *The Age of the Crusades* published in 1897. The Middle Ages were, for Ludlow, "the Dark Ages",¹⁰⁰ in which men were ignorant,¹⁰¹ superstitious¹⁰² and cruel¹⁰³ so that

such a condition of the mental faculties could have only a deleterious influence on the moral sense.¹⁰⁴

As far as Ludlow is concerned, the period had little to commend it and suffers by comparison with the achievements of his own times.

This view of the Middle Ages seems mainly to derive from Ludlow's attitude to the papacy and to the Medieval Church which

had as yet been able to affect the masses with only its dogma and ritual, not with its deeper and more truly religious influence for the restraint of passion and the tuition of the sentiment of love.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, Ludlow sees the "authority of the papacy" as directly opposed to "liberal thought"¹⁰⁶ so that only "with the diminished prestige of the papacy came the renaissance of freer thought throughout the world".¹⁰⁷

The papacy is condemned but Ludlow's reaction to the leaders of crusade is more favourable and indicates the extent to which British writers remained isolated from German influences.¹⁰⁸

100. *ibid.*, p. 6.

101. *ibid.*, p. 10.

102. *ibid.*, p. 15.

103. *ibid.*, p. 19.

104. *ibid.*, p. 16.

105. *ibid.*, p. 132.

106. *ibid.*, p. 162.

107. *ibid.*, p. 375.

108. See above, Chapter III, pp. 61-62.

Although he censures the Middle Ages, he claims that these leaders were "an order of men of far loftier type" than the common man.¹⁰⁹

According to Ludlow,

the popularity of Godfrey, merited by his genius, bravery and devotion, readily suggested his name to the ten electors,¹¹⁰

but Godfrey refused the title of king,

saying that he would not wear a crown of gold in the city where Christ had worn only a crown of thorns.¹¹¹

In seeking to explain these qualities, Ludlow believes that "in him we see the budding of a better type of humanity"¹¹² so Godfrey receives his approval.¹¹³

109. Ludlow *op.cit.*, p. 82.

110. *ibid.*, p. 134.

111. *ibid.*, p. 135. This account of Godfrey's election and refusal of the title of king seems to confuse the details as given by Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, J.H. and L.L. Hill (trans), The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia 1968, Book XV, p. 129. Raymond claims the position was first offered to Raymond of Toulouse who refused in words similar to those which Ludlow ascribes to Godfrey in explaining his decision not to be known as king. For a discussion of this election, see above, Chapter II, pp. 42-43.

112. Ludlow *op.cit.*, p. 143.

113. Frederick II is also regarded favourably. Ludlow concludes that

Frederick II after crushing his enemies in the field ... engaged in the work of giving to his people better laws, and stimulating the new civilization which was everywhere appearing as the Dark Ages were wearing away. *ibid.*, p. 321.

As Butterfield argues in *The Whig Interpretation of History*, the whig historian, in viewing the past from his present, seeks to trace the development of liberty.¹¹⁴ These judgments claim the "verdict of history" with the historian distinguishing between those who opposed and those who aided the growth of liberty.¹¹⁵ The Protestant interpretation of the past, another aspect which Butterfield distinguishes, is closely related to the British notion of progress.¹¹⁶ These attitudes are basic to the accounts of crusade by the Religious Tract Society, by Milman, Cox and Ludlow who assess the movement largely in terms of its contribution to progress and criticise the papacy in varying degrees according to the particular nature of their Protestant beliefs.

Another facet of triumphant Victorianism, related to the idea of progress and to an assumption of superiority, was a belief in Britain's "civilizing mission".¹¹⁷ This was one

114. Butterfield *op.cit.*, pp. 10-11.

115. *ibid.*, p. 11.

116. *ibid.*, p. 12.

117. V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind, European Attitudes Towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 24, points out that "the idea of Europe's 'mission' dawned early, but was taken up seriously only in the nineteenth century". A clear expression of this attitude appears in the Report of the House of Commons Committee on Aborigines in British Settlements which states:
The British empire has been signally blessed by providence, and her eminence, her strength, her wealth, her prosperity, her intellectual, her moral and religious advantages are so many reasons for peculiar obedience to the laws of Him who guides the destinies of nations. These were given for some higher purpose than commercial prosperity and military renown ... He who has made Great Britain what she is, will enquire at our hands how we have employed the influence he has lent to us in our dealings with the untutored and defenceless savage ... whether we have, as far as we have

rationale for her imperialism and was implicit in her contact with non-Europeans, an approach which is evident in some later nineteenth-century studies of the crusades, the products of increasing British interest in the Near and Middle East. Popular curiosity in that area was stimulated by the journeys and publications of Sir Richard Burton¹¹⁸ and of William Gifford Palgrave.¹¹⁹ Scholarly interest is reflected in the foundation of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865 as

the result of a conviction ... that the state of, ... [and] knowledge of Palestine was very far from what it ought to be.¹²⁰

117 (cont'd.)

been able, informed their ignorance, and invited and afforded them the opportunity of becoming partakers of that civilization.

Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements), with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, Irish University Press, Reprint, Shannon, 1968, [1837], p. 76.

118. R.H. Kiernan, *The Unveiling of Arabia, The Story of Arabian Travel and Discovery*, George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd, London, 1937, pp. 185-192. According to Kiernan, *Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca*, published in 1855, "created a sensation". *ibid.*, p. 185.

119. *ibid.*, pp. 242-259. Kiernan describes Palgrave's book, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, published in 1865, as "the most sensational book to come out of Arabia until Lawrence's own Seven Pillars of Wisdom". *ibid.*, p. 242.

120. W. Besant, *Autobiography of Sir Walter Besant, with a Preparatory Note by S. Squire Sprigge*, Hutchinson and Co., London, 1902, p. 108. Besant was secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund for over twenty five years.

Initially, this society engaged in survey work¹²¹ but its range of publications included related studies.¹²²

The Palestine Exploration Fund sponsored *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin* written by Walter Besant¹²³ and by a noted Arabic and Persian scholar, E.H. Palmer,¹²⁴ published in 1871. This work includes a detailed narrative of the crusades to 1187, Palmer contributing

the history from Moslem sources which have never before been searched and read for the purpose,¹²⁵

and Besant, "the history as narrated in the Chronicles".¹²⁶

121. *ibid.*, p. 109.

122. Besant helped to establish the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society "for the translation and publication of the ancient pilgrimages". *ibid.*, p. 165. Between 1887 and 1897, fourteen volumes, including a life of Saladin, were published.

123. Walter Besant who was born in 1836, after graduating from Cambridge in 1859, settled in London engaging in journalistic and literary work. Entry, "Sir Walter Besant", Lee *op.cit.*, pp. 152-157.

124. W. Besant, *The Life and Achievements of Edward Henry Palmer, late Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge and Fellow of St. John's College*, John Murray, London, 1883, pp. 27-47. Palmer who was born in 1840, taught himself a wide range of languages and graduated from Cambridge in 1867. It was not until 1873, however, that triposes in oriental languages were established at Cambridge.

125. Besant, *Autobiography*, p. 175.

126. *ibid.*

Although their study of the movement is part only of a longer work, its focus is the history of the crusades.

Besant, in providing the main narrative, relies mainly upon William of Tyre¹²⁷ and to a lesser extent upon Albert of Aix.¹²⁸ Although his account of the origins of crusade presents Peter the Hermit as "the preacher and main cause",¹²⁹ he points out:

The story of Godfrey, who is the real hero of the First Crusade, is made up of facts, visions and legends.¹³⁰

Nevertheless, Besant claims that Godfrey was

the only one of all the Crusaders whose life was pure, whose motives were disinterested, whose end and aim was the glory of God.¹³¹

127. William of Tyre was contemporaneous with events from the Second Crusade and began to write his history in about 1167 at the request of Amalric, king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. For an outline of William's life and career and for an assessment of the value of his chronicle, see A.C. Krey, "William of Tyre, The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages", *Speculum, A Journal of Medieval Studies*, Vol. XVI, 1941, pp. 149-166.

128. As a result of the analysis of Sybel, the value of Albert's chronicle was seriously questioned. Sybel concludes that it was a collection of portions of one great tradition, current throughout the whole of the West, the credibility of which we must test at every step. Sybel *op.cit.*, p. 237.

129. W. Besant and E.H. Palmer, *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1899, [1871], p. 149.

130. *ibid.*, p. 213.

131. *ibid.*, p. 215.

Besant indicates that during his undergraduate days, English "scholars were looking across to Germany with envy",¹³² but his uncritical acceptance of William of Tyre, his reliance upon Albert of Aix and his failure to identify all his sources, indicate that German practices were certainly not emulated even if they were admired.

Palmer's contribution on Saladin's career indicates that linguistic scholarship is not necessarily sufficient. Certainly, Saladin's career which Palmer claims "to relate ... as told by the historians of his own nation",¹³³ appears in more detail than previously. Palmer's account, however, follows earlier lines tracing the consolidation of Saladin's power in reference to the Franks¹³⁴ and Palmer concludes that from 1182, he "devoted

132. Besant, *Autobiography*, p. 95.

133. Besant and Palmer *op.cit.*, p.416.

134. For example, Fuller presents Saladin's career solely in relation to his activities against the crusaders and regards his aim as "to set on the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and seeketh to furnish himself with souldiers for that service". T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, Thomas Buck, Cambridge, 1639, p. 97; Gibbon remarks that

the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia were now united by an hero, whom nature and fortune had armed against the Christians.

Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 343; for Charles Mills, Saladin: hated the Christian cause, for he was a zealous Muselman; and his principles authorised him to make war upon the enemies of the prophet.

C. Mills, *The History of the Crusades, for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1821, 2 vols; Vol. II, p. 84; Cox concludes that when

himself to the task of reconquering the Holy Land for the Mussulmans".¹³⁵ In assessing Saladin, Palmer uses western chivalric terms describing him

as fair a model of a true knight *sans peur et sans reproche* as any which the annals of Christian chivalry can boast.¹³⁶

The interpretation of the internal history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem mirrors contemporary imperial attitudes. The Latin settlement in Syria was, for Besant, "a kingdom of the West transplanted to the East".¹³⁷ It became "utterly rotten and corrupt"¹³⁸ because "new blood" was essential to maintain "the

134 (cont'd).

he was master of Syria and Egypt: he was resolved that the Crescent should once more displace the Cross on the mosque of Omar.

G.W. Cox, *The Crusades*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1877, p. 101. Each tends to assess Saladin's career similarly in terms of holy war against the crusaders. For Fuller, however, Saladin "wanted nothing to his eternall happinesse, but the knowledge of Christ". Fuller *op.cit.*, p. 133; for Gibbon, he was a "fanatic" who lived "in a fanatic age". Gibbon *op.cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 342; for Mills, he was "the Moslem hero of the third holy war". Mills *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 84, and for Cox, he was "the chivalrous antagonist of the lion-hearted Richard". Cox *op.cit.*, p. 136.

135. Besant and Palmer *op.cit.*, p. 419. In general, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was secondary to Saladin's aims. Between 1169 when Saladin succeeded his uncle, Shirkuh, as vizier of Egypt and 1193 when he died, his major difficulty and concern were the lack of Moslem unity. His wars against the Crusader States were useful, unifying propaganda, regardless of whether he believed in holy war or not. For a more detailed consideration of Saladin's career, see below, Chapter XI, pp. 240-242.

136. Besant and Palmer *op.cit.*, p. 465.

137. *ibid.*, p. 328.

138. *ibid.*, p. 324.

stamina, physical as well as moral, of the Syrian Christians",¹³⁹ and intermarriage produced the "*pullani* ... the creoles of the country" who were "weedy, false and cowardly",¹⁴⁰ and

were subjected to the enervating influence of climate, and imbibing the oriental ideas of their mothers.¹⁴¹

Implicit in Besant's comments is the assumption of European superiority involving racist overtones with opposition to miscegenation.¹⁴² This view of the crusades as a Western colonial venture, however, reaches its fullest expression in British studies of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, published before the end of the century.¹⁴³

These later nineteenth-century accounts of the crusades are general narratives for the popular reader rather than for the specialist. It is apparent, however, that the writing of history

139. *ibid.*, p. 325.

140. *ibid.*

141. *ibid.*, p. 328.

142. For a consideration of the influence of ethnocentric assumptions of superiority and of the impact of Darwin's evolutionary theory upon later nineteenth-century ideas on imperialism, see B. Porter, *Critics of Empire, British Radical Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa, 1895-1914*, Macmillan, London, 1968, pp. 25-26.

143. As these works, *The Crusades, The Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* by T.A. Archer and C.L. Kingsford, published in 1894, and *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099 to 1291 A.D.*, by C.R. Conder, published in 1897, are specialised studies of a particular aspect of the crusades, they are considered in Part II of this thesis, Chapter VI, pp. 132-139.

was beginning to move from the hands of the amateur antiquarian, often a clergyman. The continued reaction against the papacy emphasizes the dominance of Protestants in this field of historical enquiry and their unquestioned acceptance of basic attitudes from the works of their compatriots in preceding generations. Nevertheless, these nineteenth-century historians regard the movement favourably or as ultimately beneficial attempting to justify it in terms that were meaningful to Britons who lived in an age of material prosperity and of frantic territorial expansion. It is surely of some significance that the works in question, with their self-assured, complacent tone were completed when the British Empire was in the ascendant or at its height.