

*Chapter IV*

*British Narrative Historians of the Twentieth Century*

In this century, narrative accounts continue to dominate British historiography of the crusades. The trend towards a more scholarly approach and a more critical use of sources in some British works on the movement at the turn of the century has not,<sup>1</sup> in the main, influenced these accounts which are popular history for the common reader. These assessments of crusade present a variety of attitudes which reflect a great divergence in background and experience of writers in an increasingly pluralistic society. The use of the narrative method in a broad survey is, however, common to all.

An eminent medievalist, David Knowles, in assessing developments in the teaching of history in this century, believes that

the studies and curricula of the Historical Schools ... continued the rhythm set up at Oxford, and later at Cambridge, between 1890 and 1900,<sup>2</sup>

and that in medieval studies "English constitutional history still held pride of place".<sup>3</sup> As a result, the study of the crusades

1. See below, Chapter XI, pp. 237-247, the assessment of S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, published in 1897, and W.B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East, A Brief History of the Wars of Islam with the Latins in Syria during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, published in 1907.
2. M.D. Knowles, "Some Trends in Scholarship, 1868-1968, in the Field of Medieval History", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. XIX, 1969, p. 147.
3. *ibid.*

did not become a major interest within the universities and those accounts which were produced, were mainly popular narratives for a general reader. That so few studies of the movement came from within the universities seems to contribute to an individualistic interpretation in which personal concerns and interests tend to predominate.

Among the works under discussion in this chapter only two were written by academics<sup>4</sup> who seem to have undertaken the task in response to requests from publishers rather than as a result of their own interest in the field. In 1923, Ernest Barker<sup>5</sup> published *The Crusades*, a revision of his article in the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.<sup>6</sup> As Barker's main interests were political thought and constitutional history,<sup>7</sup> his undertaking

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4. The most notable British narrative account in this century, *A History of the Crusades*, by Sir Steven Runciman, falls into this category and could have been included in this chapter. Runciman's work, however, has been assessed with those of other Byzantinists. See below, Chapter XII, pp. 263-274.
  5. Barker who was born in 1874, graduated in Classics from Oxford and taught history at that University from 1899 to 1920. After a period at London, he became Professor of Political Science at Cambridge. Entry, "Sir Ernest Barker", *Who was Who, a Companion to Who's Who, Containing the Biographies of those who Died during the Decade 1950-1960*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1964, p. 63.
  6. E. Barker, *The Crusades*, Oxford University Press, London, 1923, Preface, no pagination. Barker indicates that "the book, except for these few notes and many small verbal changes, is essentially and exactly a reprint".
  7. Barker's publications, for example, include *The Republic of Plato*, *Britain and British People*, *British Constitutional Monarchy* and *Essays on Government*. See *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1965, 263 vols, Vol. XI, pp. 512-516.

this task suggests either a lack of scholars in this field or their unwillingness to accept such a commission. The brevity and conciseness of Barker's work reflect its origins and aims.

At the outset, Barker defines the First Crusade as

a penitentiary pilgrimage under arms - with the one additional object of conquering the goal of pilgrimage.<sup>8</sup>

In considering pilgrimage, he explains its significance without intruding his own religious assumptions<sup>9</sup> by pointing out that it was

twice blessed; not only was it an act of atonement ... it also gained for the pilgrim the merit of having stood on holy ground.<sup>10</sup>

In recognising the spiritual basis of crusade, however, Barker regards motivation as encompassing "the search for new and more direct connexions with routes of Oriental trade".<sup>11</sup>

Given Barker's definition of crusade, it is strange that he extends the crusading period beyond that of earlier writers.<sup>12</sup> In

8. Barker *op.cit.*, p. 4.

9. At the conclusion of Barker's study, he indicates that "for us religion is of the spirit, and Jerusalem in the heart of every man who believes in Christ". *ibid.*, p. 104.

10. *ibid.*, p. 4.

11. *ibid.*, p. 7.

12. It has been pointed out already that earlier British writers see crusade as beginning with Urban II's appeal at Clermont and as concluding with the fall of Acre in 1291.

considering the origins of the movement, he sees the Norman conquest of Sicily as "a crusade before the Crusades" and as significant in its "impulse to that later attempt".<sup>13</sup> Moreover, his account continues beyond the fall of Acre in 1291 to the "Ghost of the Crusades"<sup>14</sup> with the expedition of Cardinal Caesarini in 1443 as "the last Crusade".<sup>15</sup> Barker's inclusion of these undertakings is not altogether consistent but it suggests that his notion of crusade broadens to a conflict between Christian and Moslem.

A feature of Barker's account is his independence by comparison with some earlier British writers. Aware of the difficulties Alexius faced with the arrival of the Western armies, he is more sympathetic to the Byzantine Empire,<sup>16</sup> and he understands

13. *ibid.*, p. 8. The Normans, led by Roger of Hauteville and encouraged by the papacy, completed the conquest of Moslem Sicily in 1091 after a struggle of some thirty years. As Roger entered the conflict initially as an ally of one of the rival emirs of Sicily, and as he exploited Christian and Moslem indiscriminately, religious motivation appears secondary to his desire for territorial aggrandisement. Roger's activities attest to the expansionist policies of the Normans in the Mediterranean which were relevant to their involvement in the First Crusade.

14. Barker *op.cit.*, pp. 90-96.

15. *ibid.*, p. 95. This was an expedition against the Turks in Albania in which a Christian army under John Hunyadi of Hungary was defeated decisively at Varna. For details of this undertaking, see A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire, 324-1453*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1970, 2 vols, Vol. II, p. 643.

16. Barker *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19. Barker points out, for example: One must remember in justice to Alexius the gravity of the problem by which he was confronted; nor was the conduct of the crusaders themselves such that he could readily make them his brethren in arms.

the Moslem desire to recapture Jerusalem which "was to them too a holy place".<sup>17</sup> In recognising the "legendary features" of the First Crusade,<sup>18</sup> he assesses Peter the Hermit as a "figure of secondary importance",<sup>19</sup> regards Godfrey as becoming the first ruler largely by default<sup>20</sup> and considers that the thirteenth-century account of the Assizes of Jerusalem was "used to give an air of respectability to law-books which really record an unwritten custom".<sup>21</sup> These aspects of Barker's narrative are consistent with the purpose of his work to provide a simple account without idealising or romanticising the subject.

Another academic, G.G. Coulton, a contemporary of Barker, presents a different interpretation and a less factual approach. His narrative account, *Crusades, Commerce and Adventure*, was published in 1930 in a series that was designed to demonstrate:

The history of Britain can only be understood when it is studied in relation to the history of Europe and of the world.<sup>22</sup>

At that time, Coulton,<sup>23</sup> the most controversial medievalist in

17. *ibid.*, p. 59.

18. *ibid.*, p. 105.

19. *ibid.*, p. 14.

20. *ibid.*, p. 24.

21. *ibid.*, p. 42, footnote 1.

22. G.G. Coulton, *Crusades, Commerce and Adventure*, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1930, J. Buchan, "The Teaching of History Series, General Editor's Preface", p. 263.

23. George Gordon Coulton who was born in 1858, graduated from Cambridge in 1881. Ordained as a deacon in the Church of England in 1883, Coulton resigned his curacy in 1885, became a teacher and returned to Cambridge in 1911 where he remained until his death in 1947. H.S. Bennett, "George Gordon Coulton, 1858-1947", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXXIII, 1947, pp. 267-271.

Britain,<sup>24</sup> was an obvious choice to participate in such an undertaking but the selection of him for an assessment of the crusades, a subject in which he had not specialised, suggests the lack of any outstanding British scholar in that field.

By contrast with Barker's interpretation, Coulton's does not avoid controversy but attacks the undertaking and the Church which sponsored it. In considering the origins of crusade, he stresses an irrational and emotional response to Urban II's appeal at Clermont. Likening Europe to a barrel filled with fermenting wine which "will seethe over" when it is "at its height",<sup>25</sup> he presents the movement as fundamentally irrational and attacks it by pointing out:

That it was damnable to kill one's fellow-Christian, but laudable and religious to kill an infidel.<sup>26</sup>

Although he indicates that "the fundamental motive was religious", it was only "in a sense in which the Christian religion was generally interpreted at that time",<sup>27</sup> implying progression beyond such an unenlightened position and so criticising the undertaking and the Medieval Church.

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24. For an examination of Coulton's attacks upon Cardinal Gasquet and his disputes with leading Catholic laymen such as Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton, see P.W. O'Brien, "George Gordon Coulton: Historian and Controversialist", B.A. (Hons) thesis, University of New England, Armidale, 1972, pp. 61-89.

25. Coulton *op.cit.*, p. 12.

26. *ibid.*, p. 17.

27. *ibid.*, p. 38.

As Coulton acknowledges in his autobiography, "each man's 'experience' of past events is personal".<sup>28</sup> Reason, for Coulton, should have pre-eminence<sup>29</sup> and in espousing rationalism, he decided that

so long as I retain my human reason and human feelings, it will be unthinkable to accept official responsibility for any religious organization committed to doctrines of heaven and hell which have contaminated 'orthodox' thought in the Middle Ages and beyond.<sup>30</sup>

Such a position makes it impossible for Coulton to regard the crusades favourably and his account demonstrates the extent to which personal philosophy can be decisive.

Both Barker and Coulton are individualistic in their approach with their works owing little to contemporary concerns. Some of the other studies in this period reveal the impact of the First World War upon British historiography of the crusades producing a different response depending mainly upon the time of composition. Before the War, for example, anti-German sentiment

28. G.G. Coulton, *Fourscore Years, An Autobiography*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1945, p. 317.

29. *ibid.*, p. 342.

30. *ibid.*, p. 340.

was widespread,<sup>31</sup> and the expansion of German influence into Syria which was strongly opposed by Britain, is reflected in the study of crusade.<sup>32</sup>

In 1913, Muriel Calthrop produced an account of the movement dominated by anti-German feelings which she reveals especially in her discussion of the later crusades. Calthrop attributes the "decay" of the crusading ideal to increasing German involvement which resulted in "the capture of the movement by secular motives".<sup>33</sup> Dating this decline from the Fourth Crusade, she argues that Boniface of Montferrat, in implementing Hohenstaufen policy,

31. H.G. Wells, for example, who became the great phrase-coiner for Liberal pro-war idealism, writing before the outbreak of the war expressed the opinion:

For a decade and more all Western Europe has been threatened by German truculence; the German, inflamed by the victories of 1870 and 1871, has poured out his energy in preparation for war.

... The German has been the provocator.

H.G. Wells, "The Common Sense of Warfare", *An Englishman Looks at the World, Being a Series of Unrestrained Remarks upon Contemporary Matters*, Cassell and Company, Ltd, London, 1916, [1914], p. 143.

32. T.S.R. Boase, "Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography", *History, The Journal of the Historical Society*, Vol. CXLIX, 1937, pp. 110-111. Boase is concerned mainly with the effect upon German and French writings on crusade. Britain's main worry about German expansion into Syria was the protection of routes to India and access to the oil of the Persian Gulf.

33. M.M.C. Calthrop, *The Crusades*, T.C. and E.C. Jack, London, 1913, p. 60.

engineered the diversion to Constantinople in 1204.<sup>34</sup> As Calthrop points out, the establishment of the Latin Empire weakened the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by intensifying Venetian and Genoese rivalry and by diverting military aid from Syria.<sup>35</sup> Her case for German responsibility rests, however, upon her argument that they engineered the diversion of the Fourth Crusade.

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34. *ibid.*, pp. 63-65. Boniface of Montferrat accepted the command of this Crusade on the death of Theobald of Champagne in 1201 after negotiations had been completed with Venice for transporting the crusaders. When the crusaders were unable to meet the agreed terms after assembling in Venice, they unwillingly cooperated in a Venetian attack upon a rival city, Zara, and then became involved in an attempt by Alexius to regain the Byzantine throne. Alexius, son of the deposed Emperor, Isaac II, was a brother-in-law of the German Emperor, Philip of Swabia, Boniface's suzerain. There has been a considerable scholarly controversy on the question of responsibility for the diversion to Constantinople. Although it suited the Venetians as well as the Germans, contemporary sources do not provide conclusive proof that there was a plot. The two extreme views are the so-called "theory of accidents" which accepts at face value the presentation of events by Geoffrey of Villehardouin, one of the leaders of the expedition, and the "treason theories" which often follow the national sentiments of the writer. For a discussion of these issues, see D.E. Queller and S.J. Stratton, "A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Vol. VI, 1969, pp. 235-277, and below, Chapter XII, p. 254.

35. Calthrop *op.cit.*, pp. 64-65.

The Fourth and Fifth Crusades are, for Calthrop, "the outward expression of the world aspirations of the Hohenstaufen dynasty".<sup>36</sup> In considering the course of these expeditions, she attributes the failure of the Fifth to Frederick II's "defection" leaving its leadership in "unskilled hands with consequent dissension";<sup>37</sup> she criticises Frederick's treaty with al-Kamil during the Sixth Crusade as compromising with the enemy to achieve German aims.<sup>38</sup> When it is considered, however, that Frederick was more Sicilian than German in background, in education and in policy,<sup>39</sup> Calthrop's conclusions about German schemes and participation

36. *ibid.*, p. 60.

37. *ibid.*, p. 67. A sizable German contingent still participated in this Crusade; Frederick's failure to take part as promised undoubtedly weakened the Christian cause but his absence was scarcely responsible for divisions within the ranks of the crusaders. National rivalry which appeared during the First, Second and Third Crusades, was not restricted only to the Fifth Crusade.

38. *ibid.*, pp. 70-71. By this treaty in 1229, Jerusalem and other areas were returned to the Latin Kingdom and there was a ten year truce, a result Frederick achieved without fighting a battle. The complete text has not survived, but Roger of Wendover records a letter of Frederick discussing the details. Roger of Wendover, *The Flowers of History, comprising the History of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, J.A. Giles (trans.), Henry G. Bohn, London, 1849, 2 vols, Vol. I, pp. 522-524.

39. Frederick II was born in Ancona in Italy in 1197. Through his mother, Constance, he was the heir of Roger II to Norman Sicily where he grew up and was educated. After his election as King of the Romans in 1211, he developed Sicily as the basis of his power, neglecting Germany in the process. G. Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1966, pp. 219-224.

reflect contemporary anti-German feeling than an assessment of the situation.

Another account of crusade by E. Wilmot-Buxton<sup>40</sup> published in 1914 adopts the view that the movement was a glorious undertaking

crammed with an interest that never grows dim.  
Gallant figures, noble knights, generous foes  
... form a pageant the colour and romance of  
which can never fade.<sup>41</sup>

Crusade represents for Wilmot-Buxton

the welding together of the various nations of  
Europe in a common knighthood ... fighting for  
the same cause,<sup>42</sup>

an assertion which glorifies war when Europe itself was confronting the prospect of involvement in its own war.

Although Wilmot-Buxton avoids some of the excesses of earlier romantic historians, she presents crusaders as performing "gallant

40. Etheldreda Wilmot-Buxton produced numerous popular histories on subjects ranging from ancient times to the nineteenth century. For her publications, see *British Museum General Catalogue op.cit.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 92-95.

41. E. Wilmot-Buxton, *The Story of the Crusades*, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1914, p. 9.

42. *ibid.*, p. 49. She provides evidence, however, which considerably modifies her own generalisation. In commenting upon the quarrels between Baldwin and Tancred about Tarsus and Mamistra in Cicilia, she notes that "unfortunate dissensions ... were a lamentable feature both in this and later Crusades". *ibid.*, p. 55.

deeds"<sup>43</sup> and as fighting "with desperate valour".<sup>44</sup> For her, Godfrey of Bouillon is the "gentlest of all the Crusaders ... the noblest of all the knights of the chivalry of his age",<sup>45</sup> and in referring to his election, she comments that "he with characteristic modesty, refused to wear a crown of gold".<sup>46</sup> When dealing with later crusaders, however, such as Richard I, she is more restrained. She admits, for example, that the execution of the Saracen prisoners after the siege of Acre, "blackens the name of Richard and Philip for all time",<sup>47</sup> but she still speaks of Richard's "almost incredible deeds of valour".<sup>48</sup> Apparently, war was acceptable as long as the participants abided by the rules and exhibited heroism.

As many in Britain did not doubt the justice of their cause, so Wilmot-Buxton exhibits a similar belief in relation to the crusades. She claims that the movement "succeeded in deferring the rule of the Turk in Europe" and that

the advantage of this ... will be seen at once if we compare the condition of the subjects of the Sultan with that of the more progressive of the Christian races of Europe.<sup>49</sup>

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43. *ibid.*, p. 53.

44. *ibid.*, p. 82.

45. *ibid.*, p. 102.

46. *ibid.*, p. 101.

47. *ibid.*, p. 152.

48. *ibid.*, p. 155.

49. *ibid.*, p. 277.

Consequently, she concludes that "the Western world was decidedly better for that gigantic failure which we know as the Crusades".<sup>50</sup> In this way, in the context of the prevailing assumptions of her own day about the war, she rationalises that even a military defeat produced benefits which were sufficient justification.

Reactions to the course of the First World War varied considerably. By 1916 when the military situation in the Western Front had reached a deadlock, there was disillusionment and a questioning of its morality and aims.<sup>51</sup> An expression of this contemporary attitude appears in A. Jamieson's *The Holy Wars in the Light of Today*, published in 1916, in which he propounds the view

50. *ibid.*, p. 280.

51. Certainly, doubts were expressed about such a conflict before the outbreak of war. The most notable example was Norman Angell's study of international relations which enjoyed enormous success and went through nine editions by 1911. Angell's work in which he tries to prove that war was not profitable in a modern society was strongly anti-war. He concludes with the question:

Are we to continue to struggle as so many good men struggled in the first dozen centuries of Christendom, spilling oceans of blood, wasting mountains of treasure, to achieve what is at bottom a logical absurdity ... ?

N. Angell, *The Great Illusion, A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to their Economic and Social Advantage*, William Heinemann, London, 1911, p. 331.

Changing attitudes to the war can be traced in contemporary literature such as Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* in which he provides graphic details of his own revulsion against the war and of his association with and the activities of like-minded people. See, for example, S. Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*, Faber and Faber, London, 1930, p. 218, his letter to his commanding officer in which he indicates:

I believe that this war, upon which I entered as a war of defence and liberation, has now become a war of aggression and conquest.

that disaster is inevitable to all who prefer superstition to reason, blindness to faith, and trust in princes and in chariots to trust in the living God.<sup>52</sup>

As the title of this work implies, Jamieson discerns parallels between the medieval situation and that of his own times.

At the outset, Jamieson claims that "Syria might be called the Belgium of the East",<sup>53</sup> but believes that "the original aims were lost sight of through the greed of ... leaders".<sup>54</sup> In considering the later crusades, Jamieson refers to the "new conditions ... introduced to stimulate recruiting";<sup>55</sup> he criticises Pelagius for standing out for a "large indemnity" during the Fifth Crusade<sup>56</sup> and notes that when Acre fell in 1291 "Europe gave up all hope of the Holy Sepulchre. Everyone was war-weary".<sup>57</sup> Thus, Jamieson views the crusades in topical terms in an attempt to show that "militarism in all lands must be discredited".<sup>58</sup>

52. A. Jamieson, *The Holy Wars in the Light of Today*, Headley Bros, Publishers, Ltd, London, 1916, p. 4.

53. *ibid.*

54. *ibid.*, p. 10.

55. *ibid.*, p. 191.

56. *ibid.*, p. 20. Pelagius, papal legate on the Fifth Crusade in Egypt, used his position to refuse the generous terms of peace offered by the Sultan, al-Kamil in 1219 and 1221. Oliver of Paderborn, a contemporary, states that the terms were rejected because the "Supreme Pontiff forbade any agreement". Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, J.J. Gavigan (trans.), University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1948, Chapter lxxi, p. 83. Whatever may have been the reasons, Pelagius refused to negotiate at that stage so there was no question of a "large indemnity".

57. *ibid.*, p. 21.

58. *ibid.*, p. 24.

As one who wrote in a time of disillusionment with war, Jamieson reacts by attacking the crusades as another example of a senseless conflict, but Harold Lamb<sup>59</sup> who was also disillusioned with the First World War and with the prevailing attitudes of the late 1920's, responds by romanticising the crusades as a justified and worthwhile conflict. In concluding his account, he makes his position clear:

To-day the cynic is quite the vogue, and his voice outcries the idealist. But there is, after all, something ignoble in belittling a mighty and unselfish undertaking and in defacing the memory of men who sacrificed themselves. Nor does it become us of to-day, who have seen our world plunged into war for no apparent cause, to cast stones at those who fought for what they believed to be the greatest of earthly causes.<sup>60</sup>

In keeping with the notion of a glorious adventure, Lamb presents individuals in a way which emphasizes admirable qualities and attitudes. Urban II, he sees, as "a tall and strong man with hair and beard the hue of gold".<sup>61</sup> Godfrey of Bouillon appears as a "splendid duke ... without fear or reproach".<sup>62</sup> Lamb asserts that "we will remember him as a man who kept faith with a dream".<sup>63</sup>

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59. Like so many other British writers on crusade, Harold Lamb produced popular accounts on many historical subjects. See *British Museum General Catalogue op.cit.*, Vol. CXXIX, pp. 253-254.

60. H. Lamb, *The Crusades, The Whole Story of the Crusades Originally Published in Two Volumes as Iron Men and Saints and the Flame of Islam*, Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., New York, 1945, [1930-1931], pp. 465-466.

61. *ibid.*, Book I, p. 33.

62. *ibid.*, p. 197.

63. *ibid.*, p. 234.

The importance which Lamb attaches to physical appearance is clear in his description of the Anonymous as a

tall fellow, most like, still young in years,  
clear eyed ... [with] yellow hair ... a  
powerful body,<sup>64</sup>

even though Lamb admits that he "says nothing of himself".<sup>65</sup> Such is Lamb's admiration for the crusaders, that he claims that Stephen of Blois was "the one cowardly spirit among the men of the cross".<sup>66</sup>

Given Lamb's general view of crusade and its participants, he explains success in simple terms. It was undertaken by "iron men"<sup>67</sup> whose "youth and mighty sinews made light of obstacles".<sup>68</sup> In order to highlight their achievements, he discounts the argument

64. *ibid.*, p. 121. Lamb is referring to the writer of *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, a member of Bobemond's forces during the First Crusade. The information that he provides about himself is very scanty; he fails even to mention his name. See Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, R. Hill (trans.), Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1962, Introduction, pp. xi-xiii.

65. Lamb *op.cit.*, p. 122.

66. *ibid.*, p. 127. Stephen of Blois who married Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, unwillingly participated in the First Crusade. During the siege of Antioch when the Moslem relief force under Kerbogha was approaching, Stephen was one of many who fled. See 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, Book I, Chapter xvi, p. 97. He can scarcely be described as the "one cowardly spirit".

67. Lamb *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 18, 48, 166 and 202.

68. *ibid.*, p. 13.

that their "initial military successes were the result of disunity among the Moslems".<sup>69</sup> On the contrary, he claims that "their indomitable spirit brought them to their goal".<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, Lamb considers that the Christian success continued only "while the spirit of Crusade lived", thus attributing great importance to fighting for an ideal rather than for aggrandisement or material advantage.<sup>71</sup>

By the mid 1930's when G.A. Campbell published his study, *The Crusades*, there was a growing awareness of the rising power of Japan which had invaded Manchuria in 1931, had withdrawn from the League of Nations in 1933 and by 1935 was firmly entrenched in China.<sup>72</sup> Writing against this background, Campbell draws an analogy between the contemporary reaction to the "Yellow Peril" and that of Christendom to the Moslems in the eleventh century.<sup>73</sup>

69. *ibid.*

70. *ibid.*, p. 311.

71. *ibid.*

72. A very strong reaction appears in C.R. Shepherd's *The Case Against Japan, A Concise Survey of the Historical Antecedents of the Present Far Eastern Imbroglia*, Jarrolds Publishers, London Ltd, London, 1939, p. lx. He refers to "the armies of Japan running roughshod over China's sovereign territory, laying waste her countryside ... bringing desolation, agony and death to countless Chinese millions", and concludes with the prophecy that "the end is not yet". *ibid.*, p. 185.

73. G.A. Campbell, *The Crusades*, Duckworth, London, 1935, p. 24.



Prince Edward's Crusade is a "romantic expedition"<sup>81</sup> for Campbell who does not explain this assessment though one suspects that patriotism is involved.

The reasons for Campbell's emphasis upon the colourful and exciting seem to derive from a desire to cater for popular appeal. The type of anecdote he includes, while admitting that it is doubtless apocryphal, is undoubtedly a result of this approach. Campbell's account of Bohemond sailing from the Holy Land hidden in a coffin with a dead cockerel adds humour and colour, although he knows that it "has probably no foundation in fact".<sup>82</sup> That Richard wept and covered "his eyes so that he should not see the prize", Jerusalem, is another "legend" which Campbell includes.<sup>83</sup> In presenting Richard's attack on Jaffa, he refers to "a much fabled story" of Saphadin, Saladin's brother, sending Richard a horse to replace the one he had lost.<sup>84</sup> Campbell's inclusion of this type of incident to add colour, humour or pathos suggests that he lacks a serious scholarly intent.

81. Campbell *op.cit.*, p. 449.

82. *ibid.*, p. 169. The story originates in the chronicle by Anna Comnena, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius I. In presenting this episode, she ridicules Bohemond to a certain extent and thus increases the stature of her father by comparison. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, E.R. Sewter (trans.), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969, Book XI, pp. 326-327.

83. Campbell *op.cit.*, p. 324.

84. *ibid.*, pp. 326-327.

A very different view of crusade appears in Hilaire Belloc's *The Crusades, The World's Debate*, published in 1937, which reflects Belloc's Catholicism and his French background.<sup>85</sup> By contrast with earlier historians, Belloc concludes his account with the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. According to Belloc, when the city fell to the Moslems, "the meaning of the fight had changed";<sup>86</sup> the Third Crusade is not "part of the true story, for it failed to regain Jerusalem",<sup>87</sup> and later expeditions were "Oriental Wars".<sup>88</sup> This approach emphasises Belloc's view of crusade as a spiritual movement undertaken by those who "were essentially a host of pilgrims" whose only goal was Jerusalem.<sup>89</sup> It removes the difficulty for Belloc, too, of dealing with the thirteenth century in which the papacy's use of crusading methods brought criticism upon itself and contributed to the decline of the crusading ideal.

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85. Hilaire Belloc, a leading and outspoken layman of the Catholic Church, was born in France in 1870. As a French citizen he performed his compulsory military service before going up to Oxford in 1893. In 1902 he became a British citizen.

R. Speaight, *The Life of Hilaire Belloc*, Hollis and Carter, London, 1957, pp. 2, 16, 77 and 165.

86. H. Belloc, *The Crusades, The World's Debate*, Cassell and Co., Ltd, London, 1937, p. 300.

87. *ibid.*

88. *ibid.*, p. 301.

89. *ibid.*, p. 45.

On occasions, Belloc reveals a certain naivety on questions of religious faith and belief. At the conclusion of his account of the finding of the lance at Antioch, he comments that "it may well have been the true relic".<sup>90</sup> When he deals with Baldwin's divorce from Adelaide of Sicily, he states that "it is true that the marriage being denounced as bigamous by the Church, he later undid it",<sup>91</sup> a claim which ignores that this was a convenient excuse for Baldwin's removal of an unwanted wife.<sup>92</sup> After Belloc's account of the Battle of Hattin in 1187, when Saladin defeated the Christian forces, he laments that "the True Cross was gone".<sup>93</sup>

Another feature of Belloc's interpretation of crusade is his emphasis upon its French origins, nature and support. As might be expected from Belloc's background, his feelings about the "Gallic temperament" are ambivalent. On the one hand, French "energy" and "enthusiasm" secured success.<sup>94</sup> On the other, "violent

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90. *ibid.*, p. 123. This lance discovered at Antioch in somewhat suspicious circumstances was allegedly the one which had pierced the side of the crucified Christ. For an account of this episode by a contemporary who believed in the authenticity of the lance, see Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Therusalem*, J.H. and L.L. Hill (trans), The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1968, Book VII, pp. 51-58.

91. Belloc *op.cit.*, p. 183.

92. Adelaide's dowry and Frankish friendship with Sicily were important inducements when Baldwin I married her in 1113. By 1116, other political considerations led to an annulment of the marriage but Baldwin retained the dowry. 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 XI, Chapter xxix, pp. 513-514.

93. Belloc *op.cit.*, p. 294.

94. *ibid.*, p. 4.

personal conflicts, factions, civil wars, private ambitions and greed" among the French contributed to the Christian failure.<sup>95</sup> When Belloc compares Frankish Outremer to modern French colonies, he concludes that both reveal that "unique Gallic power of assimilation".<sup>96</sup> He predicts, however, that defects in the French temperament will result ultimately in the loss of these colonies as well.<sup>97</sup>

The presentation of French achievements during the crusades is closely related to Belloc's belief in European racial superiority. The First Crusade proves, for Belloc, Western "superiority over the East"<sup>98</sup> while in battle

weight for weight, stroke for stroke, energy  
for energy, the Oriental could not stand up  
to the Western man.<sup>99</sup>

According to Belloc, breeding and training determined European ascendancy. Fulk of Anjou, for example, "brought the whole moral strength of a Western European principate",<sup>100</sup> and by coming "fresh from Europe", he was not tainted in blood or weakened by the climate.<sup>101</sup>

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95. *ibid.*, p. 5.

96. *ibid.*, p. 229.

97. *ibid.*, p. 153.

98. *ibid.*, p. 81.

99. *ibid.*, p. 113.

100. *ibid.*, p. 201.

101. *ibid.* It is undoubtedly significant that Fulk of Anjou was also French.

This belief in Western, especially French superiority, was no doubt derived from Belloc's knowledge of contemporary and earlier French historians, who saw even medieval history as part of the French civilising mission not only to what were called the natives, but also to other Europeans.<sup>102</sup>

In keeping with Belloc's notion of Western superiority, he believes that the weakening of crusader stock through intermarriage with the indigenes contributed to their decline.<sup>103</sup> By the time of Fulk of Anjou's death in 1143, there was, according to Belloc, a "dangerous, new population of mixed blood" whose "loss of fertility ... led to the extinction of the great crusading families".<sup>104</sup> Perhaps this preoccupation with racial purity is not surprising in a writer who could never decide whether he was a Sussex son of the soil or a retired French gunner.

French military thinking appears to have influenced Belloc's assessment of the military situation in Outremer.<sup>105</sup> Before the First World War, the French emphasized aggression with the infantry

102. The most extravagant expression of this attitude in relation to the crusades is L. Madelin, "La Syrie Franque", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 38, 1917, pp. 314-358.

103. Belloc *op.cit.*, p. 113.

104. *ibid.*, p. 230.

105. Belloc underwent French military service in the early 1890's after schooling both in England and France. Speaight *op.cit.*, pp. 62-75. Although he could have avoided national service, he chose to do it, but it was during his time in the army that his close association with his compatriots led him to observe that one night "I remembered Sussex and the woods above Arun, and I felt myself to be in exile". quoted *ibid.*, p. 73.

playing a significant role.<sup>106</sup> The lessons of this war led, however, to a comprehensively static strategy that produced the disaster of 1940.<sup>107</sup> When Belloc discusses Christian successes or failures in the Latin Kingdom, he refers to the vital role of infantry support for the knights.<sup>108</sup> In Belloc's view, it was the growing deficiency of a solid Western infantry in Syria ... that ruined the Crusades.<sup>109</sup>

Apart from the importance which he attaches to the infantry, his interpretation of the function of the crusader castles as defensive and as preventing the free movement of Moslem forces<sup>110</sup> is a reflection of French strategy between the wars.

106. See B.L. Hart, "French Military Ideas before the First World War", *A Century of Conflict, 1850-1950, Essays for A.J.P. Taylor*; M. Gilbert (ed.), Hamish Hamilton, London, 1966, pp. 139-141.

107. The defensive mentality of the French who lacked manpower and chose not to develop an air force, is exemplified in the construction of the Maginot Line as a protection against Germany. J.F.C. Fuller, *The Second World War 1939-1945, A Strategical and Tactical History*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1948, pp. 40 and 63-64.

108. Belloc *op.cit.*, p. 113.

109. *ibid.*, p. 54.

110. *ibid.*, p. 234. For a contrary view of the rôle of crusader castles, R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)*, University Press, Cambridge, 1967, [1956], pp. 204-215. If the purpose of the Frankish castles were frontier defence, it is strange that so many were concentrated on the coastal plains between Haifa and Jaffa and that so many sections of the frontier remained unprotected. It is clear too, that Moslem armies moved quite freely through Christian territory and that their movements were not hindered or prevented by the crusader castles.

The British accounts of crusade during this century continue the literary tradition of writing popular narratives. Apart from Runciman's account of crusade published in the early 1950's, all these works appeared before the Second World War which indicates that attitudes to the writing of history and to the study of crusade have undergone a radical change in Britain in more recent times. The works in question are individualistic in their interpretations suggesting that personal beliefs and attitudes have predominated and that contemporary concerns in an increasingly diverse society vary from group to group from class to class and from religion to religion.

*Chapter V*

*American Narrative Historians*

The study and writing of history in the United States developed along different lines from those in Britain. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century, amateurs held sway in the United States but by the end of that century with the growth of American universities and graduate schools and with the influence of German attitudes and methods, the study and writing of history underwent rapid and significant changes.<sup>1</sup> The differences between developments in Britain and the United States are reflected in the comparative lack of American narrative accounts of crusade which are the exception rather than the rule in American historiography of the subject.<sup>2</sup>

Until the later nineteenth century, the writing of history in the United States was mainly in the hands of amateur enthusiasts, usually men of some wealth, whose independent means enabled them to pursue their particular interests. As the products of a relatively new society that was aggressively patriotic, they tended to concentrate upon aspects of their own history. George Bancroft<sup>3</sup>

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1. See below, Chapter VI, pp. 139-140,, for a discussion of this aspect in relation to the study of the crusades.
  2. I have been able to identify only five narrative accounts of crusade by American historians. Unfortunately, for purposes of comparison, I have not been able to have access to two of these, namely, M.G. Proctor, *History of the Crusades*, published in 1854, and J.G. Mombert, *A Short History of the Crusades*, published in 1894.
  3. George Adams who was born in 1800 in Worcester, Massachusetts, came from an old New England family. After graduating from Harvard in 1817, he studied at the University of Göttingen. On his return to the United States, he taught for a short time at Harvard before he entered politics. Entry, "George Bancroft", *Dictionary of American Biography*, A. Johnson (ed.), Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1943, 20 vols, Vol. I, pp. 564-567.

spent over forty years on his *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent*, publishing the first volume in 1834 and aiming "to follow the steps by which favoring Providence ... has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory".<sup>4</sup> Francis Parkman<sup>5</sup> explored the English and French conflict in North America presenting it as a struggle between the Anglo-Saxon striving for individual freedom and Catholic authoritarianism.<sup>6</sup> Those, such as William Prescott,<sup>7</sup> who turned to European subjects, were interested in the European background of the American experience and its contribution to American history and development.<sup>8</sup> Bancroft,

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4. G. Bancroft, *History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent*, D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1898, [1834-1874], 6 vols, Vol. I, p. 3.
  5. Francis Parkman who was born in 1823 of a wealthy Boston family, studied at Harvard. Possessed of independent means, he was able to devote his time to the study and writing of history producing a series of books on the history of North America. Entry, "F. Parkman", *Dictionary of American Biography op.cit.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 247-250.
  6. For example, F. Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1901, [1851], 2 vols, Vol. I, p. 50, claims that  
adverse principles contended for the mastery. Feudalism stood arrayed against Democracy; Popery against Protestantism; the sword against the ploughshare.
  7. William Prescott was born in 1796 in Salem. After a period at Harvard where an accident permanently injured his sight, he toured Europe and began the study of history and literature. Entry, "W.A. Prescott", *Dictionary of American Biography op.cit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 196-197.
  8. Prescott points out in reference to his decision to study the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that  
surely no subject could be found more suitable for the pen of an American than a history of that reign under the auspices of which the existence of his own favored quarter of the globe was first revealed.  
W. Prescott, *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, The Catholic*, George Routledge and Sons Ltd, London, no date, [1838], 2 vols, Vol. I, p. viii.

Parkman and Prescott dominated American historical writing for over fifty years and their broad, narrative accounts and colourful presentation indicate their deference to Clio, the Muse.

The decline of the gentleman-scholar was rapid with the corresponding rise of the professional historian who pursued the ideal of objectivity and propounded a view of history as a science.<sup>9</sup> In part, the propagation of these concepts may reflect an attack upon the earlier patrician domination of history in the United States,<sup>10</sup> but more assuredly, it indicates the influence of German attitudes and methods which were accepted enthusiastically by American historians, many of whom studied in Germany in the later nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> This acceptance contrasts with the attitudes of their British counterparts who were perhaps more conscious of German territorial ambitions than their scholarly achievements.<sup>12</sup>

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9. George Burton Adams, for example, in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1908, defined history as "a science of investigation", and saw the historian's role as the discovery of new "facts" and the reinvestigation of the old. See G.B. Adams, "History and the Philosophy of History", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XIV, 1909, p. 223 and pp. 235-236.
  10. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was some conflict within the American Historical Association between the "academic" and "non-academic" interests who were divided about aims and policies. See J. Higham, L. Krieger and F. Gilbert, *History*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1965, pp. 15-17.
  11. F. Schevill, "Ranke: Rise, Decline, and Persistence of a Reputation", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. XXIV, 1952, p. 219.
  12. C.E. McClelland, *The German Historians, A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*, University Press, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 191-200, considers the development of German and English estrangement in the two decades before the end of the century.

It is significant that when the American Historical Association was founded in 1884, Leopold von Ranke became its first and only honorary member.<sup>13</sup>

The professional historians in the United States, by preaching objectivity and by asserting the scientific basis of history as a separate discipline, denied that history was a literary art and turned away from the narrative method. In looking back upon American historiography, one writer asserts:

The false assumption that history is a branch of literature, that an historical narrative must be a work of art, has seriously hampered the progress of scientific historical work.<sup>14</sup>

Such attitudes with a clear distinction between the amateur and the professional are reflected in the study of crusade in the United States which flourished under the guidance and inspiration of Dana C. Munro. As these works deal with more specialised aspects of the movement, they are considered in the second part of this thesis.<sup>15</sup>

The rise of scientific history in the United States with its scorn for narrative seems to have stimulated an American interest in the study of institutions. When George Adams introduced

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13. Schevill *op.cit.*, p. 219.

14. F.M. Fling, *The Writing of History: An Introduction to Historical Method*, Yale University Press, 1920, New Haven, p. 157.

15. See below, especially Chapters VI and VI, pp. 139-150 and pp. 158-178.

historical seminars to Harvard, they were devoted to English constitutional law;<sup>16</sup> H.C. Lea used institutional history in his analysis of the inquisition as a means of studying a general period. Lea was not only concerned with accumulating "facts" but he believed that their presentation was sufficient "to teach their appropriate lessons".<sup>17</sup> Largely as a result of the influence of Burton and Lea and as a reflection of the cult of objectivity seeking an "impersonal" framework for the study of historical events, medieval studies in the United States developed along lines which were not conducive to narrative accounts.

This trend is reflected in American historiography of the crusades in the lack of narrative accounts which makes it difficult to draw any valid, general conclusions. The first, *The Children's Crusade, An Episode of the Thirteenth Century*, published in 1870 by G.Z. Gray,<sup>18</sup> is a romanticised account derived mainly from the works of Wilken and Michaud.<sup>19</sup> In the preface, Gray indicates that

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16. Entry, "Henry Brooks Adams", *Dictionary of American Biography op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 16.
17. H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1906, [1888], 3 vols, Vol. I, p. iv.
18. George Gray who was born in 1838, grew to maturity when the notion of history as a literary art was current. A clergyman, he was not a trained historian and this account of the Children's Crusade is his only published work on an historical subject. See D.C. Munro, "The Children's Crusade", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XIX, 1914, p. 517, footnote 17, and *The National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints*, Mansell Information/Publishing Ltd, London, 1972, Vol. ccxi, p. 253.
19. G.Z. Gray, *The Children's Crusade, An Episode of the Thirteenth Century*, Houghton, Mifflin and Co., Boston, 1898, [1870], p. ix. Both Wilken and Michaud published histories of the crusades in the early nineteenth century and both were associated with the Romantic school of historical writing. See G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, Longmans, Green and Co.

he was drawn to this subject because of its "interest" and because "historians have been too much occupied with events of greater importance"<sup>20</sup> and claims that he has "sought to write in sympathy with the little ones".<sup>21</sup> It seems that Gray is more interested in the picturesque and in the unusual than in providing a broad narrative survey.

Although Gray's concentration upon one "crusading" expedition distinguishes his work from that of his British counterparts, he has much in common with them. The crusades were, for Gray, "wars for its [Palestine's] liberation from the Moslems"<sup>22</sup> which were stimulated by the ill-treatment of pilgrims in the East and were initiated by the preaching of Peter the Hermit.<sup>23</sup> According to Gray,

the noblest and the best of Europe's life, for more than two hundred years, rushed against the exhaustless rank of Asiatic power.<sup>24</sup>

As Gray has no sympathy for the "followers of the false prophet"<sup>25</sup> and as he reacts against the "desecration of the spots connected with the life and the passion of Immanuel",<sup>26</sup> he sees crusade as a

20. Gray *op.cit.*, p. viii.

21. *ibid.*, p. 10. The Children's Crusade is the name given to a series of popular movements that arose in France and Germany in 1212 which gathered together a significant number of children. One group seems to have reached Marseilles and another crossed the Alps into Italy. It was not, however, a "crusade" in the sense of being blessed by the Church or encouraged by the granting of indulgences.

22. *ibid.*, p. 4.

23. *ibid.*

24. *ibid.*, p. 5.

25. *ibid.*, p. 4.

26. *ibid.*

worthwhile and justified undertaking.

When Gray considers medieval religious belief and the Medieval Church, his attitude changes. Although he applauds the "devotion and persistency" of the crusaders,<sup>27</sup> he believes that the Medieval Church embodied a "system of absurd superstitions" at a time when "religion was at a low ebb".<sup>28</sup> In considering the origins of the Children's Crusade, he argues that the shepherd boy, Stephen, whom he regards as its leader, was "duped by some priest"<sup>29</sup> and that the Church actively encouraged the movement and stifled opposition with the threat of a charge of heresy.<sup>30</sup> Gray sympathises with "the deluded children"<sup>31</sup> whose innocence he sees as "a gleam of light in the darkness of the age".<sup>32</sup> According to Gray, the priests who manipulated them, and Innocent III who refused to assist them or to release them from their vows,<sup>33</sup> are the villains of the episode. This juxtaposition of innocent youth against the cunning clerics highlights Gray's portrayal of the abuse of sacerdotal power and suggests a strong anti-clerical bias than a simple reaction against medieval religious belief.

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27. *ibid.*

28. *ibid.*, p. 17.

29. *ibid.*, p. 78. Stephen claimed to have seen a vision of Christ who appeared to him as a pilgrim and who gave him a letter to be delivered to the French king.

30. *ibid.*, p. 53.

31. *ibid.*, p. 143.

32. *ibid.*, p. 78.

33. *ibid.*, p. 107.

It is the children's "little effort for the holy cause" which catches Gray's imagination<sup>34</sup> and provides scope for it. In narrating the supposed course of their marches, he sees hardships as purifying "trials"<sup>35</sup> and claims:

Episodes of romance must have been frequent, for we cannot imagine otherwise, when we think of hosts of children marching from place to place in an age so strange.<sup>36</sup>

The alleged fate of many of the children, "slavery among the Saracens",<sup>37</sup> allows Gray full rein to his imagination as he dwells upon their "suffering in body and in mind"<sup>38</sup> and takes pride in their martyrdom.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the Children's Crusade represents, for Gray,

the most touching and romantic episode of that struggle which excited and convulsed the world during more than two hundred years.<sup>40</sup>

In his general attitude to crusade and in his appeal to sentiment, there is little to distinguish Gray's account from that of the British romantic historians.

Another American narrative account, *The Crusades*, by Konrad Bercovici,<sup>41</sup> published in 1929, is a popular work in which the author

34. *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

35. *ibid.*, p. 96.

36. *ibid.*, p. 124.

37. *ibid.*, p. 193.

38. *ibid.*, p. 199.

39. *ibid.*, p. 207.

40. *ibid.*, p. 232.

41. Konrad Bercovici who was born in Rumania in 1882, went to the United States in 1916, where he became a journalist and as a writer of popular narratives on historical subjects, he became involved in film scripts for the rapidly developing film industry. Entry, "Konrad Bercovici", *Who was Who in America with World Notables, 1961-1968*, A.N. Marquis Co., Chicago, 1968, p. 79.

emphasizes the unusual and relies upon the sensational. In considering the European background to the crusading movement, for example, he argues that "the clergy and nobility had no other outlet for their surplus energy than sex or war"<sup>42</sup> and presents a picture of "want, grossness, sordidness and filth".<sup>43</sup> According to Bercovici, by comparison with the West, the East "offered wonderful opportunities"<sup>44</sup> and Latin Christendom "was fighting Constantinople because it was nearer to the sources of the enormous wealth of the East".<sup>45</sup> Within the Church, "the high dignitaries ... prided themselves on their illiteracy"<sup>46</sup> and the Mass "had the same perverted features as the voodoo rites of the savages of the Congo".<sup>47</sup>

When Bercovici deals with the course of the crusades, he includes not only the popularly accepted myths and legends but adds some of his own. Peter the Hermit is presented as "a crippled dwarf"<sup>48</sup> whose "great love for his wife ... straightened out his body".<sup>49</sup> When the crusaders arrived in Constantinople, "by order

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42. K. Bercovici, *The Crusades*, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York, 1929, p. 34.

43. *ibid.*

44. *ibid.*, p. 36.

45. *ibid.*, p. 26.

46. *ibid.*, p. 41.

47. *ibid.*

48. *ibid.*, p. 48.

49. *ibid.*, p. 50.

of Emperor Alexius the town had become a brothel"<sup>50</sup> while Bercovici has Alexius agreeing to assist Bohemond "in the acquisition of an independent kingdom in Syria".<sup>51</sup> The culmination of Bercovici's sensationalism is his description of an impassioned love affair between Eleanor of Aquitaine and Saladin during the Christian siege of Damascus in 1148.<sup>52</sup> At the time, Saladin was about ten when he was reputedly enjoying those "forbidden and godless pleasures",<sup>53</sup> but Bercovici's account of Saladin's actions during the Third Crusade is dependent upon Saladin's awareness that Richard I was Eleanor's son.<sup>54</sup> It is not an altogether arbitrary description to consider that Bercovici's narrative reads more like a Hollywood film script than an historical narrative.

Bercovici's work is a travesty of crusading history which, by comparison, indicates that popular accounts of British writers of the same period possess some merit and some finesse. Consideration of Bercovici's assessment suggests that there was a far greater difference in the United States between the methods and approach of the popular writer of historical narratives and the professional historian. The former, if Bercovici is representative, seeks to appeal through sensationalism while the latter is concerned with the

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50. *ibid.*, p. 73.

51. *ibid.*, p. 77.

52. *ibid.*, pp. 142-153.

53. *ibid.*, p. 142.

54. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 286-289.

analysis and assessment of primary sources, with the accumulation of "facts" and with the avoidance of the emotional and the subjective.

These differences are apparent in R.A. Newhall's *The Crusades*, published in 1963, which he regards as comparable to Sir Ernest Barker's work of the same title;<sup>55</sup> that is, a short but scholarly survey of the subject in which the main events are presented briefly with some guidance for further reading. As the work was originally published in 1927, it seems that its publication in a revised form may have been intended to provide a simple, general survey of the subject as opposed to the increasingly specialised and detailed works which have dominated writings on crusade since the Second World War.

The broad scope of Newhall's work is in keeping with his aim to provide a general survey and reflects a tendency to extend the crusading period.<sup>56</sup> It begins with "Christianity and Islam before the Crusades"<sup>57</sup> and concludes with the Turkish conquest of Cyprus in 1571 which "wiped out the last vestiges of the crusades in the Levant".<sup>58</sup> In covering this time span, Newhall is able to

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55. R.A. Newhall, *The Crusades*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1963, [1927], p. 127. For Barker's work, see above, Chapter IV, pp. 94-97. At the time of writing, Newhall was associated with the Williams College and his other published works, *The English Conquest of Normandy, 1416-1424*, *A Study of Fifteenth-Century Warfare*, and *Muster and Review: A Problem of English Military Administration, 1420-1440*, indicate a scholarly interest in the later medieval period. See *A Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards*, Pageant Books Inc., New York, 1959, 163 vols, Vol. CVIII, pp. 371-372.

56. See below, Chapter XI, pp. 247-250.

57. Newhall *op.cit.*, pp. 1-36.

58. *ibid.*, p. 89.

place the expeditions to the East within their medieval context and to develop his basic thesis that they were "a phase in that age-long contest between Europe and Asia" which was distinguished by the intensity of religious rivalry.<sup>59</sup> Although Newhall does not see crusade as closely related to the Holy Land, in defining it as a Christian and Moslem conflict, he is consistent in his refusal to recognize expeditions against "enemies of the Church or of the papacy" as crusade,<sup>60</sup> but activities in Spain create problems which he fails to resolve by discerning a lack of "implacable hatred supposed to characterize a holy war".<sup>61</sup>

As Newhall devotes little attention to the course of crusading expeditions and to the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, this approach suggests that his main interest is not the crusades *per se* but general aspects of the period. In his survey, he gives some prominence to the results of the "cultural contact of Christian and Muslim"<sup>62</sup> but he points out that Syria was considerably less important than Spain or Sicily.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, Newhall considers the impact of Arabic learning upon Western Christendom which he regards as marking "the end of the age of faith".<sup>64</sup>

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59. *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

61. *ibid.*, p. 13.

63. *ibid.*, p. 100.

60. *ibid.*, p. 82.

62. *ibid.*, p. 99.

64. *ibid.*, p. 126.

This emphasis in his work suggests a decline of interest in political history and a corresponding rise in social and cultural history.

It is difficult to draw any valid conclusions about American narrative historians of the crusades as the number is so small and as the works were published over a considerable period of time. They indicate, however, the preponderance of the scholarly monograph in American historiography of the subject and they demonstrate the vast differences between the amateur and professional historian in the United States. By contrast with their British counterparts, they are not intent upon providing a detailed narrative of the period from about 1095 to 1291; Gray considers only the Children's Crusade; Bercovici concludes with the Third Crusade and Newhall is concerned with a general survey of the Christian clash with the Moslems and with its effects upon Latin Christendom. Each represents a different approach to popular history with Gray relying upon sentiment, with Bercovici presenting the sensational and with Newhall providing a short scholarly survey of the period.