

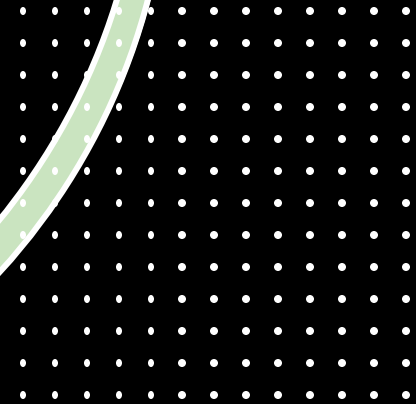


Hundred Years' War (Contd.)

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The Continuation

- We began our last unit by discussing feudalism. We focused on the English nobility and understood the Hundred Years' War as intricately linked to European feudalism.
- We have a little more time to reflect on it. Today, however, we will rely more on the French perspective. Monsieur Theodore Bachelet wrote a history of [*La Guerre de Cent Ans*](#) in 1859. We have full access to it via Google Books.
- All page numbers refer to Bachelet's book until we see citations from Michael Prestwich's *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages* in the second half of the discussion.

Why?

- The Hundred Years' War began in 1337 during the reign of Edward III of England and Philip VI of France. Edward reigned until 1377. His successors continued the war intermittently until 1453.
- The twin objectives of the Hundred Years' War were to maintain the remaining English foothold in the Duchy of Aquitaine and to support the English kings' claims to the French throne through inheritance.
- The Royal House of France kept expanding its control and regained total control over its territory, except Calais, by 1453.

The Hundred Years War, 1377-1453

- The campaign of 1360 was the last Edwardian foray into French territory. By his death in 1377, the French had confiscated the Duchy of Aquitaine again and emerged as a stronger force to face the British.
- So, let us see how Monsieur Bachelet tells the story.
- We will begin by distinguishing the French nobility from their English counterparts.

Unlike the English Nobility

- We will begin by looking at the French nobility. We had precisely dated the English nobility back to 1066 when William the Conqueror shared fifty percent of the conquered land of England with 170 of his nobles, including seven Earls with hereditary rights.
- The French nobility had a longer history and a more diverse origin of its fiefs. For example, William the Conqueror was the Duke of Normandy because of a 911 treaty between King Charles III of France and Rollo, a leader of Viking raiders. Rollo and his followers thus won land grants in the northern part of France. This territory, the County of Rouen, eventually expanded into the Duchy of Normandy.

Unlike the English Nobility

- In 987, Hugh Capet of the House of France became the first French King of the Capetian (from his last name, Capet) dynasty. The Capetians, in smooth succession based on primogeniture, from father to the eldest son, ruled from 987 to 1792, and again from 1814 to 1848. This period includes their sub-branches, the House of Valois (1328-1589) and the House of Bourbon, which ruled until the French Revolution.
- The sub-branches of the family also ruled other countries of Europe.

Unlike the English Nobility

- The Capetians expanded the Royal demesne beyond their stronghold of the Ile de France, through marriages, conquest, punishment or reward, or because of the extinction of the male line of an inheritor.
- We just saw the territorial impact of Louis VII's marital choice on the expansion and shrinking of the French territory.
- Members of the Royal family held fiefs and paid homage to the crown and rendered required services, including contributions to the war efforts.

The Norman/Angevin Dynasty (1066-1216): The Angevin Empire

- In our previous discussion, we learned that the Norman/English nobility's French possessions generated rivalry between the ruling dynasties of France and England. The French finally had the upper hand, but not before 1453.
- Ironically, in the possessions of the Norman/English Monarchy in France, the Angevin Empire, we can see the impact of feudalism on France as well as an example of expansion and contraction of the French Royal demesne.

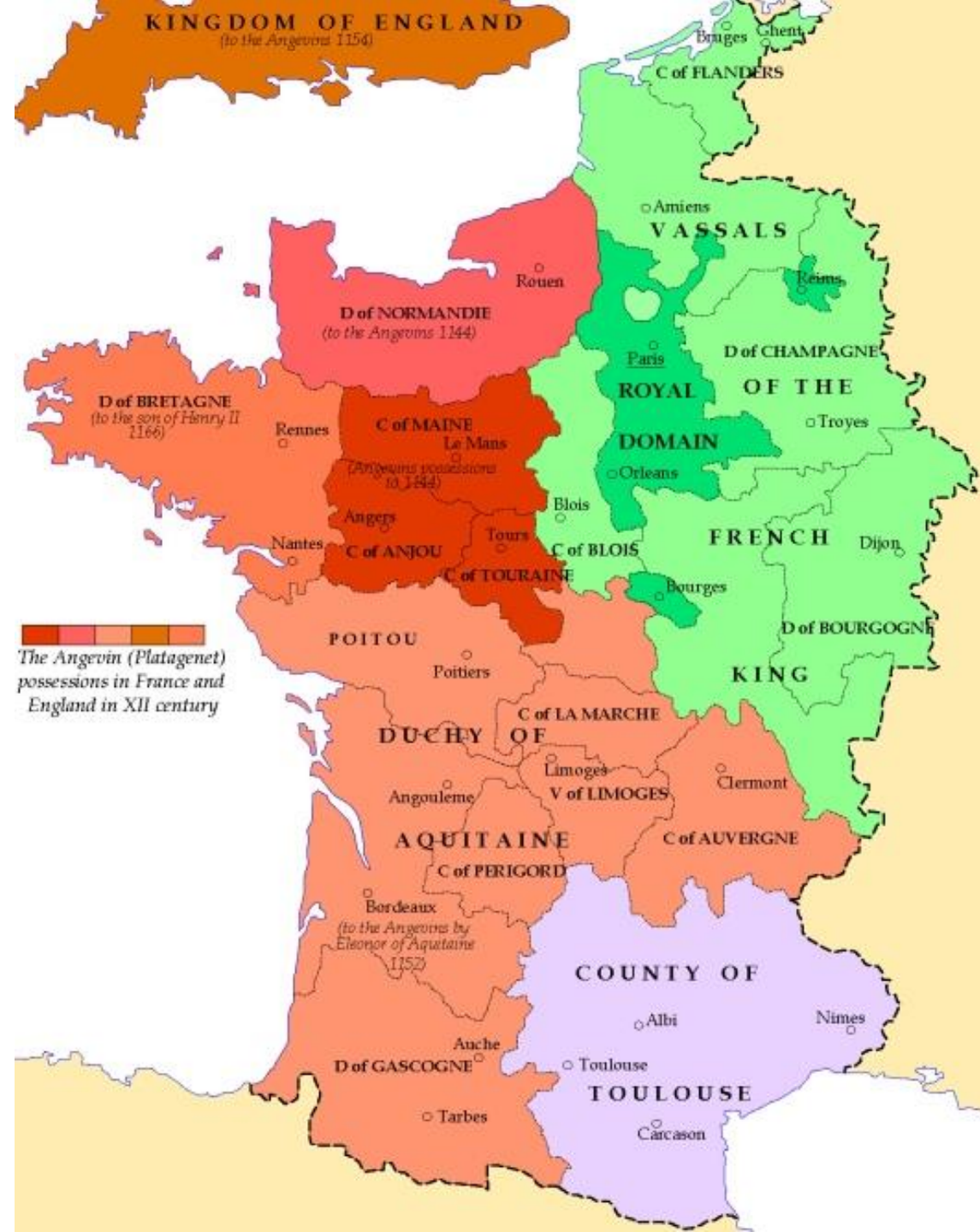
How Did We Get There?


- While discussing the Crusades, we learned that Louis VII of France was the co-leader of the Second Crusade, 1147-1149. His wife, the Queen, Eleonore d'Aquitaine, accompanied him. As the Queen's name would indicate, the Capetians added Aquitaine to the Royal demesne because of this marriage.
- In 1152, Louis VII divorced the Queen, according to Monsieur Bachelet, because of her "unconventional manners," or "moeurs libres," as he calls them.
- Well, Louis VII had to reconstitute the dowry of the "Dutchess of Aquitaine," back to her.



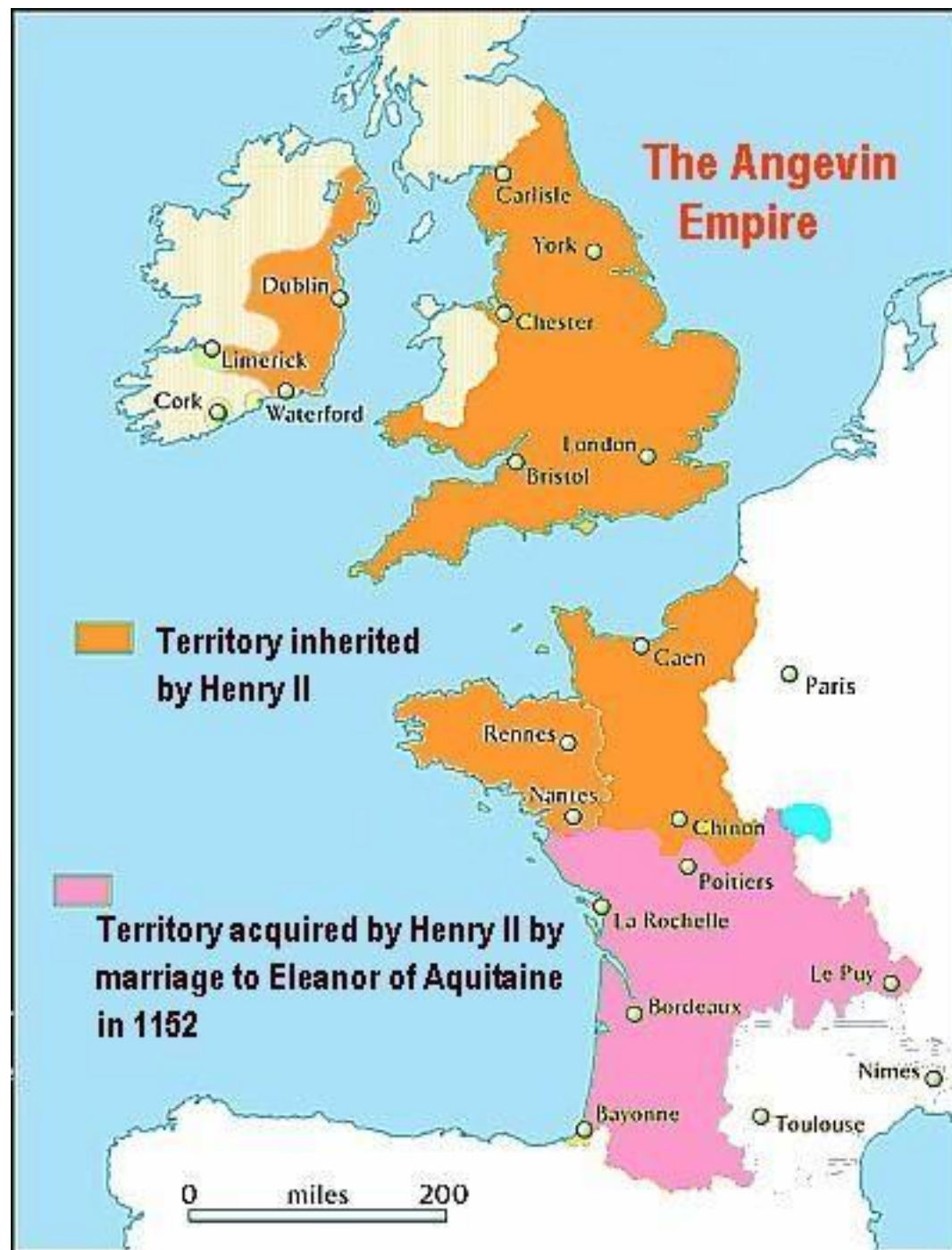
How Did we Get There

- In the same year of her divorce, 1152, Eleanor married Henry, the Duke of Normandy, later King Henry II, the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet.
- The dowry Louis VII had restituted to her now went to the British Royal House.
- Henry II thus inherited from his father and wife, Normandy, Maine, L'Anjou, and La Touraine. While he possessed 47 French Departments, the Capetian Kings only 20.
- We can see its impact in the two maps below.





 The Angevin (Plantagenet) possessions in France and England in XII century



End of the Angevin Empire

The Beginning of the Hundred Years' War

- Philip II of France defeated Henry II's son, John, in the Anglo-French War (1213–1214).
- By the Treaty of Paris of 1259, the King of England, however, continued to be the Duke of Aquitaine.

I am the King as well.

- Besides the protection of English lands in France, King Edward III of England claimed the French throne as well.
- When Edward's maternal uncle Charles IV died in 1328, he left no direct heir as king of France. Edward III believed that he had the best claim to succeed him.
- Philip VI, the count of Valois, Edward III surmised, had usurped his throne.
- After Edward's death in 1377, this claim will resurface again as another cause of the conflict.

The Strategy

- Bachelet regrets that the French monarchy, with a few aborted exceptions, remained defensive during the war. He suggests that the French should have followed the example of William the Conqueror's victory of 1066 against England. He laments that the Monarchy failed to leverage multiple positive factors for its cause, such as "The energy that an attack triggers, the French numeric demographic superiority, and as such, easier recruitment of troops, the alliance with the Scots and the Irish, the sympathies of the vanquished Anglo-Saxons..." (P. 56).

Richard II, 1377-1399

- Unifying the French nobility was an uphill task. The British could always exploit the split in different branches of the French nobility and seek allies during their campaigns.
- Richard II, the successor of Edward III faced a similar situation as the incumbent Earls disapproved of his new nominations. Bachelet considers that he did not want a war with France and cites him saying, “I would rather talk to Charles VI (1380-1442) than my own nobility.”
- We learned some of these details in our discussion on Feudalism in Europe.

Richard II, 1377-1399

- Charles VI and Richard II agreed to have peace for three years in 1389, prolonged it later, and in 1396 agreed to have twenty years of long-term peace.
- As part of the peace treaty, Richard II was to marry Charles VI's daughter Isabelle, 8 years old then. The dowry was fixed at 80,000 ecus (the French currency of that time).

Charles VI (1380-1442)

Henry IV (1399-1413)

- Henry IV deposed Richard II in 1399 and became the King of England.
- The peace of 1396 endured initially, based on the promised restitution of Isabelle's dowry (80,000 ecus).
- In 1407, fissures in the French nobility burst open and provoked a civil war that began with the assassination of Louis d'Orleans. The war ended by 1414, but a failed effort to collaborate with Henry IV showed the depth of divisions in the French nobility.
- Bachelet claims that under an aborted attempt, the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, Brittany, the lord of Albert, the Counts of Clermont, Alencon, and Armagnac could have supported England in case of a conflict.

Henry V, 1413-1422

Charles VI (1380-1442)

- Henry V, like Edward III, revived claim on the French throne and also sought restoration and unprecedented expansion of English possessions in France.
- In pursuit of his ambitions, he annulled the 1396 peace treaty and docked at the mouth of the Seine with 6,000 lances and 24,000 archers.
- Burgundy sided with England at the Battle of Agincourt, October 1415, in the region that we now call Pas-de-Calais.

The Battle of Agincourt, October 1415

- The archers ensured a devastating French defeat at Agincourt.
- Bachelet considers the French loss as “the biggest blow to the French nobility.” According to his count, out of ten thousand French casualties, 8,000 belonged to the nobility or their families (P. 219). The dead included the military commander Albert, the lord of Dampierre.
- Jean sans terre (John Lackland) and Jean sans peur (John the Fearless, the Duke of Burgundy) recognized Henry’s right to the French throne.

The Treaty of Troyes, May 1420

- By June 1419, the besieged city of Rouen surrendered against a ransom of 300,000 ecus.
- Henry V and Charles VI signed the Treaty of Troyes in May 1420, which created a Franco-English Kingdom. They maintained the jurisdiction of the French Parliament, rights and privileges of the nobles, cities, and communes on the premise that for each Kingdom, its law and customs.
- France recognized Henry V as heir-apparent of Charles VI.
- Henry V was to marry Catherine de France, a daughter of Charles VI.

The Treaty of Troyes, May 1420

- The Dauphin, the son of Charles VI, was dispossessed of the Crown.
- Henry V entered Paris in December. He appointed his Burgundian allies as governors and established English garrisons at the Bastille, Louvre, Hotel de Nesle, and Vincennes.
- How to hold on to the possessions? The question will arise again and again during the Hundred Years' War.

The Strategy

- Holding on to a territory after conquest is a victor's dilemma. [This is a chronology of the Hundred Years' War.](#) The almost uninterrupted succession of battles manifests a recurring challenge, specifically for the victor, as each battle can affect a new series of events, including loss of the victor's prize.
- In recent history, even far more resourceful victors can face similar dilemmas. Recent examples will be the United States in Vietnam and Iraq. USSR and the United States in Afghanistan, Russia in Syria, and currently in Ukraine.

The Dauphin Strikes Back

- Frustrated by the Treaty of Troyes, the dispossessed Dauphin of France revolted as Henry V returned to France to crown her Queen and reinforce his funding and manpower.
- The embittered French rallied around the Dauphin while a 1,200-strong British deployment in France struggled with the changing ground reality.
- Henry V returned to restore central authority, but a fatal disease struck him by the time he traversed the province and reached Paris.

The Dauphin Strikes Back

- Henry V died at Vincennes, a forest on the outskirts of the Paris municipality, in August 1422.
- Charles VI died in October 1422.
- The French looked toward the Dauphin, Charles VII, while the succession of Henry V divided the English nobility.

Charles VII, 1422-1461

Henry VI, 1422 to 1461, 1470 to 1471, and disputed King of France from 1422 to 1453

- Charles VII had assumed the title of King right after his father's death.
- We spoke about Jean d'Arc in our last lecture. She played a decisive role in the anointment of Charles VII at Reims in 1430. The church at Reims had been the site for the French coronations since 496, when the Bishop of Reims anointed Clovis there.
- Charles VII had a difficult journey, dealing with the English-Burgundian alliance as well as the hostilities from his nobility. He succeeded only gradually.

Charles VII, 1422-1461

Henry VI, 1422 to 1461, 1470 to 1471, and disputed King of France from 1422 to 1453

- Charles VII faced a divided English nobility under infant monarch Henry VI. In 1431, at the age of 9, he became the only English monarch to be crowned in Notre Dame de Paris Cathedral, but his French possessions remained under serious threat. By 1438, Charles VII re-entered Paris.
- In 1441, Charles VII took Pontoise using artillery to breach the castle.
- Charles VII also led France to victory in what turned out to be the last battle of the Hundred Years' War at Castillon, 1453.
- Castillon inflicted a heavy and expensive, and in retrospect, irreparable defeat on the English. They lost Bordeaux, paid a ransom of 100,000 ecus d'or, and lost all privileges. Charles VII also banned all English traders from the area, forbidding them to live or trade there.

Charles VII, 1422-1461

Henry VI, the disputed King of France, 1422 to 1453

- The French seized control of Calais, the last British toehold, in 1558.
- Until 1803, however, the English Kings continued to introduce themselves as Kings of France as well without ever crossing the Channel or La Manche to resume their misadventures.

Strategy and Logistics

- Prestwich studied the strategy and logistics of the war, focusing on England. The page numbers that you see in the next few slides refer to Michael Prestwich's *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages*.
- The war wreaked havoc on rural life, Vineyards were a preferred target of the swiftly moving raids. Along the campaign route, the destruction could affect five to six miles of crops on either side of what they termed a chevauchee, a plundering and destructive campaign through the countryside.

Strategy and Logistics

- Prestwich emphasizes that, not unsurprisingly, warhorses had a crucial role in the battles. The warriors calculated their needs for horses by different formulas.
- Each warrior had to provide his horses (s). The crown did not offer its horses even to the Royal household knights.
- By the time of Henry V, the King assumed that a Duke would have fifty horses, an earl 24, a baron 16, a man-at-arms four, and a mounted archer one. The earls could opt for a higher number depending on the availability. One of them, in 1417, deployed 624 horses for 120 men of different ranks.

Strategy and Logistics

- England had to import warhorses from various sources, near and far. Southern Europe was a preferred source because the buyers preferred horses with Arab blood in them. The Castilian monarchy stopped this trade in 1334.
- Prestwich cites deals in such places as Malines, Hungary, Rothenburg, Regensburg, and Nuremburg. Purchases on the spot, even in France, were possible if the shipping capacity impeded transportation from England (32).

Strategy and Logistics

- The warhorses were a major expense. Here are the prices for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The standard price was pounds 2 each, but the prices varied, such as Pounds 6 13s 4d., 10 marks for two, fifty Li Angevin to 14 Li Angevin (the rate of exchange being four Angevin pounds to each pound sterling). Punds 38 13s 4 d for two Lombard horses. Five Spanish horses for five Spanish horses. Exceptionally Pounds 50 for each horse.
- By the end of the thirteenth century, the warhorses cost even more. Edward I paid pounds 66 13s 4d. Edward III pounds 168 15s and pounds 162 9s.

Strategy and Logistics

- Horses also figured eminently in the war losses.
- Initially, the King compensated for these losses. We have two examples for 1338-39 when an earl lost 65 animals at an average price of under pounds 20 each, and another 13 for over pounds 30 each.
- In 1300, the King compensated a royal clerk for the 80 marks worth of loss of his animals.
- By the middle of the fourteenth century, the royal officials and the claimants weighed the demands against the cumbersome procedures of accounting.

Strategy and Logistics

- Until the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, Edward III compensated for the loss of horses, *restor*, in the war with France. After this war, he began to negotiate its non-inclusion in the contracts or understandings for the pay and compensation.
- Horses were also armored, at least beginning with the twelfth century. By 1340, the warriors used metal plate armor for their horses.

Strategy and Logistics

- The Kings devoted substantial resources to breeding horses within England as well. The royal studs existed in both the North (Macclesfield and Peak) and the South (Odiham, Chertsey, Woodstock, Hertford, St Albans, and Breaumore). During the peacetime, these farms attracted less attention.
- Records from a farm for 1352-54 show the care the horses enjoyed. During the winter, the farm served each horse half a bushel of oats, every twenty-four hours, “along with three loaves of horsebread, baked from beans and peas mixed with oatmeal” (33).

Strategy and Logistics

- Shoeing was a regular expense.
- The farms had substantial quantities of cloth to make halters and head-stalls.
- For sick horses, the veterinary medical cabinet included ample supplies of “Wine, vinegar, and olive oil....white ointment, pitch, mastic, fenugreek, frankincense, ginger and dragon’s blood,” (33).
- In December, maintenance of a horse cost on average 2d, “the same daily rate as was received by an infantry soldier,” (33).

You Will be Paid

- War was part of feudal obligation. While the King had a major share in mobilizing the troops in all ranks such as the banneretes, knights, squires, archers, lances, men-at-arms, and horses, the feudal lords contributed their shares.
- The King paid the mobilized troops and, for some time, compensated for the loss of horses at various rates and at different lengths of time because raising revenue for war purposes was not as easy as it seems to us today, with approximately 800 billion dollars placed at the disposal of the Pentagon.

You Will be Paid

- In addition to the agreed pay, the Crown also rewarded the participants with allowances such as a “regard” beginning in the 1340s. This was a kind of bonus paid quarterly, at a rate of 100 marks for the services of thirty men-at-arms.
- The King was not bound by a strict formula. While he could pay at differentiated rates, the lord could share “regard” iniquitously with subordinates to save at their cost.

You Will Be Paid

- The King could lag or miss certain payments for at least some time.
- For the campaign in Brittany in 1343, the King owed about pounds 20,000. In one case, a widow filed claims for the debt contracted by her late husband for pounds 2790. Another claim amounted to pound 2343.
- Between 1374-1380, various claimants asked for a total of pounds 20,000.
- The King paid, sometime after ten years, and at times only if the claimant acquired substantial political influence.

You Will be Paid

- Cash was not the only form of payment. In 1415, Henry V handed over to the nobility jewels and plate as security for future payments (88). The Crown redeemed the pledged items by 1430.
- In 1341, the Royal officials designed a barter plan. The magnates were to receive assignments of wool to cover the cost for forty days. In the end, the expedition did not take place (p. 920).
- Distribution of conquered land in France, as well as Scotland and Wales, was another major incentive for the nobility and the knights besides the plunder and forfeited assets.

You Will be Paid

- Beginning in 1370, the distribution of land was included in the understanding, contract, or indenture for the military service.
- In 1372, the King made promises that castles, towns, lordships, and lands taken from the French could be held in accordance with statute (101).
- Between 1418 and 1419, Henry V awarded 358 grants in Normandy, and after the fall of Rouen.
- The participants had to reserve half of the plunder for the King. Once the *restor*, declined or ended, the participants could reserve one-third of the plunder for the King. In 1373, plunder was adjusted for the pay and compensation after the first six months of service (102-103).

You Will be Paid

- Ransoms were the most promising source of rewards. Depending on the identity of a captured person, the participants could expect quick compensation.
- Notable military achievements (like capturing the King of Scotland in 1346) deserved long-term rewards, such as an annual pension of up to pounds 500 or a lesser promise of pounds 20 per annum.
- The King or the nobility would trade the captives, pay an immediate prize, and seek a higher sum for the prisoner from the enemy camp. The enemy could pay in installments against a secured guarantee. The Kings also helped with the ransom of their lieutenants.
- Some of the ransoms required are pounds 500,000, 12,000, 8000, ecus 700,000.

You Will be Fed

- Foraging, living off the land, was a reliable source of troops' food and drink needs in France. Henry V decreed that men must not take more than was needed for their own use.
- The foraging was, however, not the only source. The royal officials organized military victualling. The French showed greater skills in this area. Edward III responded to the complaints in the Parliament about the excesses of royal agents by preferring merchants to procure the essential food items (257).
- The Crown, however, did not provide free food for all the participants. Troops had to purchase victuals, foraging failing, from the royal stores. An earl's bill for 1304 included such items as oats, 95 quarters at 3s each, Herrings, 3000, cost 16s 6d.

Military Revolution

- Prestwich explores the question of a military revolution to conclude that the changes and innovations that gradually strengthened the military capacity might not fit into an overnight revolutionary paradigm.
- The change, Prestwich argues, occurred gradually and at each step enormously affected the military capability. Here are some of those initial steps.
 - Early fourteenth century, the English began to use dismounted men-at-arms with archers in support at the flanks.
 - State capacity to raise, keep, and supply large armies remained on the rise.
 - Although foraging remained a major source of food supply, calculating overall needs substantially improved.
 - Artillery enormously enhanced the siege techniques, although defense against artillery took time to develop.

Military Revolution

- Initial steps (continued):
 - Financing of the war became more methodical and easier along the way. Edward III, for his wars between 1369-1375, raised pounds 670,000. The war effort benefited from the rising revenue of the Kingdom and the state's ability to borrow and collect taxes. The clergy also collaborated. Between 1294 and 1297, they paid pounds 130,000 in taxes. By 1350, the royal income from the taxation of overseas trade averaged pounds 90,000 a year.
 - Italian Bankers showed a willingness to take risks with royal finances. The English Crown had transaction with Riccardi of Lucca, Frescobaldi of Florence, Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence, among others. The sums borrowed were in high numbers such as pounds 392,000, 103,000, 82,000, 70,000.

Military Revolution

- Initial steps (continued):
 - Recruitment and payment to the troops through contractors proved more efficient.
 - Integration of archers and men-at-arms enhanced the attack effectiveness.
 - Emphasis shifted to the strategic deployment of troops rather than the size of the army. Henry V made a difference with 10,500 men in 1415.

The End

- We will return to Bachelet to end the story.
- In the beginning, he recalls, the people loved their communes more than France. He recalls a patriotic Duke Duguesclin saying that he was more of a Briton than a Frenchman. “France needed to traverse the terrible calamities of the era of Charles VII to raise the national spirit above the local loyalties. Only then did the French begin to understand in a larger sense the idea of a motherland, a nation,” he adds.

The End

- Citing an anonymous writer, Bachelet posits that if a war does not exterminate people, it multiplies them.
- In the case of France, he believes, the idea of the motherland emerged in contrast to the stranger. In this process, the participants were not only the cities, but also the rural areas. Where the nobility and the elite, urban centers, and the mercenaries had failed, the peasants succeeded. The people in the rural areas transformed themselves. In Bachelet's view, they "idealized themselves in Jean d'Arc." He quotes her saying at the beginning of a campaign, "My heart bleeds when I see the blood of a French person flow." For Bachelet, "These sentiments were the most complete expressions of a patriotic feeling... From now onwards, we had France, a motherland, a national character" (P. 287).