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THE TECHNE

LIFE WITHOUT LABOR IS A CRIME. LABOR WITHOUT ART AND THE AMENITIES OF LIFE IS BRUTALITY.—RUSKIN.

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ARE WE LICKED?

"The public has been licked unmercifully and the sad part of it is that they have helped to administer the trimming to themselves. Such a condition cannot and will not continue indefinitely. School men may, by informing the public in regard to the values of education, hasten the day when the public will demand and willingly pay for such schools as will best serve their interests. School men who accept the conditions of today as final are already licked and no longer worthy of the trust placed in them by society. For the childhood and youth of America we must carry on the fight for Education. It is a time when research, service and leadership are most significant."—*The Phi Delta Kappan*, April, 1933.

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THE TECHNE publishes, for the most part, papers on educational subjects, though articles on closely related fields are also used. Part of these papers set forth the results of research; others aim at interpretation of current developments. Though some of the discussions will interest the specialist, it is hoped that in every number there will be something useful for the average teacher.

THE TECHNE is sent free to the alumni, school officials, libraries, and, on request to any person interested in the progress of education.

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FOUR MEDIEVAL FRENCH HISTORIANS: AN APPRECIATION

MARY ELIZABETH COCHRAN, Professor of History

In seeking to determine the history of an age, the documents and laws tell part of the story, but any student welcomes an opportunity to consult letters, speeches, papers and contemporary accounts. The four historians who are the subject of this study are contemporary witnesses or participants of the events which are described. One of them depended on a predecessor for a part of his account and one wrote about fifty years after the events took place. There is also some dependence on others for events of which they were not eye or "ear" witnesses. But in general the evidence is first hand. The accounts differ as do the authors, as is to be expected. While it cannot be claimed that these is steady progression in method and worth of the works, it is interesting to notice the difference between the first and the last of the authors,—it means the acceptance of the feudal institutions at the first and the emergence from the feudal world at the last.

VILLEHARDOUIN

Geoffrey Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, was one of the Crusaders of the so-called Fourth Crusade which started for Jerusalem and conquered Constantinople. Perhaps he wrote his Chronicle of the Crusade while he was at the Castle of Messopolis on the enemy's marches, which castle he acquired during the crusade. It was probably written about 1210. It was rather objective in its treatment. He always refers to himself in the third person and gives his activities no undue prominence. He was sent on various missions which is some indication of the sort of man he was.[1]

When the Crusade was decided upon, envoys were sent to Venice to secure aid in transportation to Jerusalem. Treaties were made and agreed upon. Before the Crusade got under way, Count Thibaut of Champagne, who had been chosen leader, died, and the Marquis of Montferrat was secured to take his place. Almost from the first there seemed to have been divided councils, some of the host refusing to sail with the others.[2] The host was weakened thereby. Villehardouin makes much of this,—often pointing out the evils which befell those who did not accompany and support the main body. When they arrived at Venice, the Venetians fulfilled their part of the treaty in furnishing supplies and boats, but the crusaders were able to raise less than half the amount promised. This was the fault of those who had journeyed from other ports.[3] When this condition was revealed some vowed that

[1] *Memoirs of the Crusades*, p. 4, he was one of six envoys sent to Venice. p. 78, he was sent to the Marquis of Montferrat to reconcile him and Baldwin. These are two examples of the missions and there are others.

[2] *Ibid.*, 13.

[3] *Ibid.*, 15.

they would pay no more than they had, because they hoped that the host would fall to pieces, but, "God who advises those who have been ill-advised, would not suffer it."[4]

The Venetians proposed that the crusaders should help them to take Zara to square the debt. The French agreed and the Doge and many Venetians took the cross. Then the son of the deposed Emperor Isaac of Constantinople fleeing into Germany for help in restoration to power stopped and interviewed the host and complicated things. Zara, a Christian city was taken and the Pope later absolved them for the deed. The next halt was to be at Constantinople to aid in restoring the young Alexius. But the host divided,—a part refused to be diverted to Constantinople and went on to Syria. Villehardouin bitterly blames them for so doing for he said that they knew that they would achieve nothing.[5] Simon de Montfort was one of these.

The French and Venetian host attacked Constantinople and after considerable difficulty succeeded in taking it. Villehardouin thought they were saved from the great dangers only by Divine Protection. Alexius, the son of the blinded, deposed emperor, was placed on the throne and begged them to stay and help him pacify the country. After some debate this was agreed to and the work of restoring order began. When the position of young Alexius was strengthened, he failed to fulfill his promises and trouble began between the Franks and the Greeks. Then there was a revolution and an usurper arose but the Franks finally drove him out and occupied and despoiled the city. Fire broke out and more houses were burned than stood in any three French cities.[6] There is a vivid account of the gathering of the booty and there is evidence that there was trickery in keeping back part of the booty.

Count Baldwin was elected emperor although the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat was also a popular candidate. The coronation was an opportunity for an extravagant display of splendor that was not overlooked. The marquis married the widow of the recent emperor who was a sister of the King of Hungary. There was some trouble in overcoming the earlier Greek faction and their adherents and Boniface co-operated with Emperor Baldwin in the task. But a quarrel arose between Boniface and Baldwin and Villehardouin blamed the advisers for this.[7] There was danger that all the conquests that had been made would be lost if "God had not taken pity on them." Certain of the crusaders, the author among them, worked for reconciliation which was finally effected.

Misfortunes befell the crusaders. The knightly unwillingness to submit to discipline was perhaps responsible. This was shown at one time when they failed to keep their agreement not to leave the battle

[4] *Ibid.*, 16.
[5] *Ibid.*, 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, 64.
[7] *Ibid.*, 73.

array to follow after the Commans, and disaster ensued. There were frequent desertions for one cause or another. At one time, seven thousand left.[8] Villehardouin seems to get satisfaction in relating the misfortunes which later overtook these deserters.

The last incident related in the Chronicle is the death of Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, which is dated 1207. Villehardouin puts cause and effect together when he tells of the misfortunes of those not of his party or deserters from it, but it never seems to occur to him to adopt the same philosophy in relation to his own group. He relates many set backs but he does not suggest that *they* are punishment for sins. He frequently tells of the death or capture of some of the leaders and calls it a woeful loss and lets it go at that.

Villehardouin writes with an air of sincerity and seems to believe that the crusaders were doing the will of God when they attacked Zara and Constantinople. It is said that he wrote it for his friends and for the critics in France who objected to the miscarriage of the crusade against the infidel. He defends that course only indirectly by heaping censure on all who acted otherwise. He seems utterly oblivious of all intrigues or un-Christian schemes. The leaders are always brave and honorable men and missteps are due to the wickedness of advisers, not to selfiishness and greed on the part of leaders. Can it be that Villehardouin was really that credulous? If he was not he was a finished artist in his concealment of any critical view that he may have had. His Chronicle is written so soon after the events related that it should be fairly accurate as to details and main form.

Villehardouin's style is good and his account is "sober, virile, energetic, and well worthy, by its clarity and firmness to inauguate French prose,"[9] His transitions from one part of the story to the other are not confusing for he usually says "Now let us leave speaking of" etc., and takes up the new thread. His story is straight-forward in its relation of events but he shows no understanding of underlying issues. He seems to be lacking in a sense of humor and a broad sense of justice. He sees nothing wrong in the Franks conquering a city by attacking it during the truce for negotiations and therefore getting the enemy off their guard,[10] but he is unsparing in his condemnation of a breach of faith in the enemy.

JOINVILLE

When John, Lord of Joinville, Seneschal of France, was more than four score, he wrote his Memoirs, with special emphasis on the first crusade of Louis IX. He tells us that he wrote it at the request of Jean of Navarre, queen of Philip le Bel. Before the work was completed she died, and it was dedicated to her son, Louis. A space of about six years is covered in the Memoirs. There is a delightful essay on the

[8]Gaston Paris, *Medieval French Literature*, 83.
[9]*Ibid.*,
[10]*Chronicle*, 103.

sayings and customs of the King and after the return from the crusade the conditions of the country are described. He bitterly condems those who advised Louis to go on the last crusade. His picture of St. Louis is of very great value. He presents a picture of a ruler who sincerely loved his people, who was temperate in all things, who was truly pious, whose word was at all times honored, and who was accessible to his people as evidenced by his court under the tree, where the people's suits were heard.[11]

Little pre-crusade history is given. There is a short account of the king's youth and the troubles which arose at that time. The description of the king's determination to take the cross is very vivid. Joinville reveals something of himself when he says that he dared not look back at his castle for fear that his heart would fail him.

His attention to detail is not boring but is rather pictorial. One can see the caulking of the door of the ship after the horses have been taken aboard and hear the chants of the clergy. The description of the Nile is vivid and he even tells how to clarify the water for drinking. The description of the symptoms of the fever which attacked the French is most realistic. We learn exactly how the Sultan of Homs poisoned the Sultan of Egypt.

Joinville knows how to tell a story. He does introduce material that is not necessary to the narrative but it is always interesting material and we feel thankful that it is there. From Cyprus, where they waited for additions, the crusaders proceeded to Egypt hoping to strike for the Holy Land from there. The Saracens were unable to hear from their Sultan and abandoned Damietta. It seemed that God was blessing his soldiers. The party set out for Grand Cairo. In this the king followed the advice of his brother contrary to the judgment of all his other barons. When Greek fire was thrown at them, Louis draped a sheet about him and weeping besought the Lord to protect his people and Joinville adds that he has no doubt that this did them good service The Battle of Monsora where the Count of Artois met his death is an example of a feudal army striving for individual glory.

With an army succumbing to the terrible fever, the king saw that he would be defeated by disease if he did not get out of the district and he started back for Damietta. Deceived by a ruse some of the party surrendered to the Saracens. The account of the capture of various groups is thrilling, particularly that about Joinville, who gave it out that he was the king's cousin, thus warding off imminent death. A Saracen gave him a potion which cured him of the fever in a few days after he had given himself up. Those fainting from illness were slain. The king was captured and after considerable negotiation the Christians were set free for a huge ransom. When the ransom money was short, Joinville robbed a bank of the Templars in quite a comic-opera style.[12] Then the crusaders went to Syria. A part of the host wished to return

[11]Joinville, *Memoirs*, 22.
[12]*Memoirs*, 192-194.

to France and the king held a council. The queen mother urged a return.[13] The lords advised it emphasizing the paucity of knights compared to the number when they set out.[14] Joinville advised him to stay another year at least so that the prisoners yet in infidel hands might be delivered. After a week the king decided to accept this advice. Joinville gives a delightful sidelight here. The "pro-return" people jeered him for the advice given, calling him a "colt" which was the nickname for the natives of the country. He replied that he preferred to be a colt rather than turn-tail hacks, such as they were. The king's brothers returned to France and from Joinville's account of their gaming and extravagance their going must have been little loss to the cause.

After considerable activity in Syria, the death of Blanche of Castile, who had been regent during her son's absence, made it imperative that the king return to his kingdom. After ten weeks of various mishaps,—a terrible storm, dangers from the Saracens, and even a fire scare on the king's ship,—a port in Provence was reached. The rest of the journey was made by land.

Joinville gives an interesting account of the king's policy after the return. He was wise in his peace program, in his arrangements with the church and in his reform of justice. The Crown lands were improved and there was general progress throughout the realm. Hospitality and charity were not neglected. Under these circumstances Joinville thought the last crusade of Louis was most ill-advised, especially in consideration of the poor health of the king. After the king's death, his old friend, following the prompting of a dream, built an altar in the king's honor in his chapel at Joinville.

Joinville proves hamself a man of age in his belief in omens and signs. On the journey east, a mountain was sighted, from which they seemed to be unable to sail away. A priest suggested that they make three processions on each Saturday for three weeks. They did and on the third Saturday they arrived at Cyprus.[15] In Egypt, six knights behaved boisterously at the funeral of Lord Hugh of Landricourt. But God took vengeance on them, for on the morrow all six were killed or grievously wounded in battle.[16] Many other anecdotes and incidents are given which show Joinville's deep belief in the supernatural. His account of leaping from his sick bed and supporting the fever-ridden, tottering priest as he sang the last mass of his life is indicative both of his religious belief and the energy of his will.

Joinville's account is highly subjective. He doubtless had no intention of emphasizing his own personality. In no part of the story does he appear to be glorifying himself, but his part in the events falls in simply and naturally and no better picture is given in all the work than that of the author himself. When the king refused to talk to the

[13]The queen mother was in France.
[14]*Memoirs*, 218.
[15]*Memoirs*, 56 f.
[16]*Ibid.*, 148.

renegade Christian, turned-Saracen, Joinville drew him aside and talked with him, but he confesses that his good words to him had little effect.[17] When the Empress of Constantinople arrived, with her baggage lost, it was the Seneschal of Champagne who thought to send her materials for clothes.[18] At one time he fell into violent weeping when he was criticised for asking the king to take into his service forty released captives of the court of Champagne. The king took them.[19] His hasty oath against a quarrelsome knight and his later repentance of it shows his impulsiveness.[20] Again and again the account shows the boldness, independence and trustworthiness of the author. He boldly asked the king whether the palfreys given by the Abbot of Cluny had predisposed him in the abbot's favor.[21] The fairness of the king is shown in his recognition of the sincerity and justice of the criticism. When the queen arrived it was Joinville who went to meet her and the children and he did not approve the king's apparent indifference to his family. Neither did he approve of his excessive grief at the death of his mother. One might suspect that Joinville was not overly fond of the queen mother from his rebuke to Queen Margaret for her grief. But the queen replied that she was weeping out of sympathy for the king.[22] He gives some incidents to illustrate Blanche's tyranny over her son and daughter-in-law.

It is quite likely that the king loved this man who was never his vassal. One evidence of this is his interview with him after the council in regard to staying in Syria.[23] Before they left France he showed his regard for him when he apologized for having taken the part of Joinville's antagonist in debate.[24] And indeed Joinville, unconsciously,—as I think,—does reveal himself as a most attractive, lovable character, whose faults and defects are so human that one may easily forgive him for them. He was a practical man of the world and he knew how to get his plans executed, but tells of it all with the utmost naiveté. He admires the king extravagantly, but there is nothing of the cringing, fawning attitude, nor is he blind to the king's faults, which he does not hesitate to reveal. He also has a very lively admiration for the queen and Margaret of Provence seems to have been a woman of character, deserving of praise.

At times, Joinville stops for a digression as when he tells of the Bedouins and their habits. After such diversion he says "Let us now proceed with our tale" and the narrative is resumed. His little side trip in description, though, is well worth while.

Joinville, one feels, loved life and color but was possessed of balance and sound sense. The fidelty of his memory and the veracity

[17] *Memoirs*, 200.
[18] *Ibid.*, 60.
[19] *Ibid.*, 242.
[20] *Ibid.*, 292.
[21] *Ibid.*, 337.
[22] *Ibid.*, 311.
[23] *Ibid.*, 222.
[24] *Ibid.*, 17.

of his character inspire confidence and the ingeniousness of the soul of this brave knight gives his narrative unparalleled value and charm.[25] As Marzials says,[26] "He lingers here, lingers there, picks up an anecdote as he goes along, tells how people looked and what they wore, describes the manners and customs of the outlandish folk with whom he is brought in contact; . . . illusrates, discusses, moralizes; . . . and with such charm in it all! The man is so simple, so honest, so lovable. Fine fellow as he undoubtedly is, he makes claim to no heroic sentiments— . . . And his judgments upon his fellows are so essentially the judgments of a gentleman. Then he has the graphic gift: we see what he sees; and we know the people that he brings before us. All that world of the Crusades lives in his pages. Not even in Chaucer's immortal 'Prologue' do we get so near to the life of the Middle Ages." High tribute, certainly, but one in which the writer of these pages heartily joins.

Froissart

Jean Froissart was a native of Valenciennes, of Burgundian birth. He became attached to the nobility and was an enthusiastic supporter of their code and ideals. He was a prolific writer, using both poetry and prose. His Chronicles were in prose although he wrote the first part in poetry and later converted it into prose. He wrote to inspire all with the admiration of noble deeds and ideals as well as to entertain.[27] He was the successor of Jean le Bel, a Flemish chronicler, on whom he depends for the early part of his chronicle.[28] The starting point is the coronation of Edward III, in 1326, which was perhaps twelve years before his birth. He gave a short sketch of the immediately preceding events. Especially interesting is his account of Isabella's flight to France. His sympathies appear to be with the queen.

War occupies much of Froissart's Chronicle since it was an age of war. His description of customs and action is vivid. He gives a continuous narrative of sections of the war, less characterized by breaks and the introduction of irrelevant material which tends to annoy and distract the reader. Dialog is freely introduced. This gives an air of reality to the reader. In his account of the war between France and England he represents Edward III as quite loath to claim the throne of France.[29] There is a clear bargain between him and the Flemings. Deeds of arms are always of special interest to him.

The various events of the Hundred Years' War, the wars in Brittany, Flanders and Scotland and in Castile are told with the spirit of one who loves war and who glories in brave deeds. A great host is

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[25]Introduction to *Memoirs of the Crusades,* xxvii, f.

[26]Gaston Paris, *op. cit.* 104 f.

[27]*The Chronicles of Froissart,* (Globe Ed.) 1. He encourages the hardy in their well doing. He asks the Saviour to give him grace and understanding so that he who reads or hears may take pleasure in it.

[28]*Ibid.,* 2. He says he speaks after true reports and relation of Jean le Bel.

[29]*Ibid.,* 5.

usually given as present in the battles,—a much greater than we have reason to believe was there.

The description of the Battle of Poitiers may be taken as typical. Account is given of the war councils on both sides and decisions are announced. The Cardinal of Perigord vainly attempted to make peace between the two armies. The order of battle and the names of the chief lords and knights participating are given. A typically feudal incident is the meeting of Lord John Chandos and the Lord Clermont, with their respective banners bearing identical devices, a "blue lady embroidered in a sunbeam above." Each accused the other of having stolen the device and they agreed that on the morrow the right to bear it would be decided on he field of battle. Another feudal note is the account of two Frnechmen—at different times—who fled from the field of battle and each time an Englishman followed.[30] The pursued captured the pursurers and held them to ransom. There is also the great quarreling that arose over the honor of the capture of King John, and his remark that he was a great enough lord to make them all rich. A fitting climax of the description of feudal customs is found in the Black Prince's treatment of the captured king, both in his entertainment at supper after the battle,—with the prince serving the king,—and in their entry ino London,—where the king rode on a splendid white courser and the prince on a little black hobby.

Froissart states that Robert of Sicily tried to pacify the kings of France and England. He was reputed to be a great astronomer and warned the king of France that the English king was destined to good fortune in his deeds. Robert loved the crown of France and shuddered at the desolation he saw in store. Froissart implies that it was due to his insistence that the Pope attempted to make peace.[31]

Froissart shows little sympathy for the lower classes and their needs. He emphasizes the confusion and the lawlessness of the Jacquerie. His description of the death of Marcel is realistic.[32] Again there is the touch of the belief in the supernatural where God inspired certain burgesses of the opposite party to know that Marcel was planning to betray Paris. He shows similar contempt and disdain for the English peasants in the risings under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.[33] He reveals no conception of the causes underlying the insurrection and no concern at the sufferings of the people. Details, incidents and dialogue abound. This same hostility to the commonality is shown in his description of the Battle of Rosebeque and the death of Philip Van Artevelde. Here it was the feudal army against the burghers and Froissart rejoiced that the nobles won.[34] He seemed to exult when the dead body of Artevelde was found and hung on a tree.

Froissart has been accused of inaccuracy and one can hardly doubt

[30] *Ibid.*, 123.
[31] *Ibid.*, 63.
[32] *Ibid.*, 139.
[33] *Ibid.*, 252-260.
[34] *Ibid.*, 286-292.

the justice of the accusation when reading his details of battles, especially the numbers and disposition of forces. He aspired to be a historian rather than a mere chronicler, but the aspiration was not attained. For although he paints a marvelous picture, vivid and intensive, he fails to give reasons, motives, etc., which lie back of the events related. He has a flair for notable occurences, and a marked sense of the dramatic. It is safe to say that few things lose when told by Froissart.

He is a master of picturesque style and tells his story so naturally that one almost hears him telling it.[35] He gives a wonderful picture of the 14th century and that age is re-created before our very eyes in his pages.[36] The chronicles are of vast extent and are naturally somewhat rambling and disconnected. He tries to bridge this by saying that he is returning to a certain story that he left off in order to tell something else. There are some peculiariies in his use of words and in his style as there are in the others. For instance he frequently uses the word "incontinent" in the sense of straightway or immediately.

Froissart appreciated warlike qualities and chivalrous practices and lost no opportunity to glorify them. Sometimes he unwittingly tells a different story to any one who cares to read between the lines. His description of the great display and expense for ceremonies and trivial matters would necessarily impress the reader with the almost criminal extravagance of the men he is praising and their callous indifference to the people who must produce the means for this expenditure. Gaston Paris says that he had no scruple in collecting or inventing episodes to make his narrative more picturesque and dramatic.[37] His work is exceedingly valuable for a description of the customs of the age. His chronicles mirror "his epoch so that it would recognize itself."[38] The pleasure of the reader would likely be much greater if a mutilated edition were not used. The extracts are delightful but it is a matter of annoyance that so many interesting things are left out.

Philip de Commines

Commines is on the River Lys on the border of Belgium and France. Here the fourth writer of this study was born in 1447. He was left an orphan at an early age, was taken to the Burgundian court and while a youth became an attache of Charles the Rash. He met the king of France and admired him greatly. He was aware of the serious defects of Charles and foresaw that his future with him would be uncertain. After some little time and consideration he transferred his allegiance to the king of France whom he served faithfully thereafter.

Commines has been called the "Father of Modern History"

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[35]Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*

[36]Preface, of Globe edition of Froissart *Chronicles* vi.

[37]*op. cit.*, 132 f.

[38]*Ibid.*,

because of his efforts at critical judgment and his seeking causes for movements and events. He is interested in motives and thinks that political lessons may be learned from rightfully evaluating events. Whereas "Froissart merely described notable occurences; Commines delineates great men."[39] His history covers the period of Louis XI of France and his son Charles VIII; of Charles the Rash the last Burgundian Duke and his daughter Mary. He also gives an account of happenings in other countries which affected Burgundy and France in the same period. For example he gives an interesting account of the civil wars in England.[40] His account of the Earl of Warwick's plans, King Edward's exile and return and the death of Warwick is very illuminating. An idea of the instability of alliances is projected when we find that Charles of Burgundy would have preferred to hear of the death of Edward rather than of his landing on the continent, in spite of the fact that he fitted out an expedition which enabled Edward to recover England.

The description of the conflict between Charles the Rash and Louis XI is especially good. There is a clear and straightforward account of the king's falling into the hands of Charles at the castle of Peronne and his craft in extricating himself from a dangerous situation. The Liegois this time paid the price of the king's blunder with the destruction of the town even to the churches. Complications are evident in the great lords' anxiety to renew the war. The Duke of Guinne was taking advantage of the situation to secure a marriage alliance with the heiress of Burgundy, but he took care not to acquaint Louis with his purpose.

The subtlety and craft of the king are clearly illustrated in his success in getting his brother to accept the Duchy of Guinne in place of Champagne and Brie to the disadvantage of the Duke of Burgundy. His brother did not altogether trust the king but was finally persuaded to his will.[41] Incidentally there is a hint as to the character of the brother. There are many other lights on the king's craftiness and sagacity. An amusing one is his invitation to the king of England and his embarrassment when he thought he would accept.[42] Altogether the picture which Commines gives of the king is that of a shrewd, clever, cunning, sagacious ruler. But he is not a charming personality nor does he present the handsome appearance of Edward IV whose beauty seems to attract Commines as he mentions it repeatedly. The king's peculiarities and faults are also given, as shown in the account of his whispering to his councillors at dinner.[43]

Commines has frequent "digression" chapters. These are sometimes descriptive and sometimes moralizing. Among the subjects of these digressions are—an account of the virtues and vices of Louis XI,

[39]*Memoirs of Commines,* Introduction v.
[40]*Ibid.,* 181-203.
[41]*Memoirs,* 165.
[42]*Ibid.,* 276-279. The king was Edward IV.
[43]*Ibid.,* 259.

the advantage which a knowledge of letters and especially of history gives to rulers, and a proof that interviews between two opposing rulers is usually unprofitable. He puts these chapters in separately in order not to cumber the narrative with it.

He exercises a praiseworthy care in giving terms of treaties and details of negotiations. His book is intended to be a political manual for rulers and he therefore tries to set forth causes and policies as clearly as possible. The personal element in history is particularly emphasized and a remarkably clear picture of the highly placed men of the time is given. His religious attitude is often indicated in his narrative and in his analysis. He says that confidence should be placed only in God,[44] and he speaks of God's interposition to save a town miraculously.[46] He had a theory that wars and disturbances were permitted by God to punish wicked princes and people. He had a hard time explaining why Providence should permit the existence of Ghent which was of no benefit to the public, country or prince.[46] He decided that Ghent's purpose must be that of disciplinary opposiion to other useful places. All countries seemed to have a check, so Ghent served as a thorn in the side of Burgundy. However, although he admits divine intervention, he views things practically and gives general approval to successful policies.[47]

Commines, unlike Froissart, does not despise the common people. He realizes that their welfare should be a matter of concern to princes. He shows no disdain for the commonality. Perhaps the practice of the king in employing non-nobles had something to do with this, but it is more likely to be the result of the age, for the 15th century showed much improvement in the condition of the common man.

Commines wrote shortly before the Great Reformation but he does not sense that a great change is in the air.[48] He pays little attention to the church as such. He records that Louis XI jested with Edward IV promising him a confessor who would readily absolve him if he fell into sins of gallantry while in Paris.

His praise of Louis XI is unstinted although he records his sins and deceits. In his dedication of the *Memoirs* to the Archbishop of Vienne,—who, he says, requested him to write them,—he expresses solicitude that the events related be not judged to lessen the king's character. He says, "I never knew any prince less faulty in the main, though I have been as conversant among great princes as any man of my time in France."[49]

His account bears the stamp of truthfulness and accuracy. We may say with Tilley, that "his work is that of a highly intelligent man who

[44] *Ibid.*, 87.
[45] *Ibid.*, 218.
[46] *Ibid.*, 378 ff.
[47] Gaston Paris, *op cit.*, 142.
[48] *Memoirs*, Int. vii.
[49] *Ibid.*, Int. xlvi.

sees clearly, reasons accurately, and penetrates beneath appearances."[50]

Critics accuse Commines of writing badly, with a heavy and diffuse style.[51] While the writer of this study has not read all of his work, disagreement with that estimate must be recorded. To me, he tells a good story, in a clear way and there is no lack of interest. To this one reader, at least, he compares favorably with Froissart. The very evident sincerity of his narrative, and his insight inclines one to interest and to appreciation of his value. He thought that the archbishop would use his facts in a history of his own so he probably made little effort to do artistic writing. He can hardly be blamed for being a product of his time and for not being a prophet. His interest seems to center more on political events than on social life. His book is well worth reading and constitutes a valuable part of medieval literature and of medieval history.

Conclusion

These four historians of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries have contributed much to our knowledge of those years, important in their significance, teeming with activity, and human in their appeal. Of the four perhaps we may especially suspect Villehardouin of writing with a motive. In reading his account one is almost convinced that the crusaders were right in going to Constantinople. Seemingly he is utterly oblivious to any scheming, intrigue or greed of gain at the base of the policy. Of the four, it is likely that Commines is the most accurate and dependable. The reader is delighted in reading his pages to feel that he is getting a trustworthy account and, the critics to the conrary notwithstanding, he is extremely readable. Of the four, he is the only one out of the feudal frame, but he is definitely so. He sees politics from the modern view,—with the state as the center of his attention. All four give accounts which are sometimes adverse to their heroes but there is a great difference in the impression made. Froissart can tell of the most astounding brutalities, with utter nonchalance and evident indifference to human suffering, because it is a part of the system to which he is devoted,—feudalism. His lack of sympathy for humanity tends to antagonize the reader. He seems to be the least moved by a broad human sympathy and perhaps Joinville shows this more than the others. Froissart gives a kaleidoscopic view of the times apparently without the slightest realization of their meaning or a recognition of underlying factors. One has the feeling that he is quite willing to exaggerate for the sake of dramatic effect,—a thing which, I think, could not be said about the other three. But his picture of the time and his breathing the spirit of the age is valuable. Villehardouin gives a straightforward account and shows a knowledge of military affairs and of strategy. One feels that his details are more trustworthy than

[50] *Medieval France*, 328. Foulet is the author.

[51] *Ibid.*, cf. Paris, *op cit.*, 142, who says "his book has no artistic value, but an incomparable documentary one." He speaks of his awkward sentences.

Froissart's. All but Joinville wrote contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the events related; Villehardouin wrote a very few years later than the crusade, for he died about ten years later. From this standpoint then the accounts ought to be dependable. All of them seem to strive for accuracy, saying at times that they were not present when a certain event took place but it was told to them as they relate it. Froissart travelled widely and interviewed many in his effort to learn about happenings. He must have been rather a lover of gossip from the things that he tells. Commines has much more insight into philosophy, motives and statesmanship than the other three.

Four historians, Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart and Commines, writing from the early thirteenth to the late fifteenth centuries: one might say "and the greatest of these is Commines!" but there would be a strong inclination to add "but the most charming is Joinville!"

THE GEOGRAPHICAL UTILIZATION OF HISTORICAL FACTS

ETELKA HOLT, Assistant Professor of Geography

Conceptions of the nature of geography are changing. We sometimes hear it referred to as human ecology, a term which would involve relationships between human activity and the environmental complex. This conception includes *all* the adjustments which man makes to his natural environment.

History has been defined as a study of the relationships between one human event and another human event. Geography, or human ecology, might then be considered as the study of the relationships between a human event or events and the environmental complex. Geography involves a knowledge of all the elements included in the environmental complex, and this knowledge is not gained through the study of history.

Many colleges in the United States offer a course in historical geography, sometimes called "Geography of American History" or "Historical Geography of the United States." Such a course is designed to present to the student the relationships which existed between man and his environment at various stages in the development of this country. In colonial days, adjustments to the environment were simple and direct. As the frontier moved westward, the adjustments increased in number and variety, though the majority remained on a primitive level. With the growth of cities and the rise of manufacturing, however, adjustments became more and more complex, until the relationships between man and his environment are frequently not apparent to the casual observer. "Historical geography" is then the study of human ecology in the past. Not only are adjustments of the individual, or the group, at any given time, studied from the geographical viewpoint, but the student becomes acquainted with facts and principles which enable him to trace the history of any given adjustment through its successive steps of development. The evolution of transportation facilities from the viewpoint of geography would include a study of human adjustments to the natural environment: when the Indian hunter followed the buffalo trace, when the pioneer trod the Indian trail, when the immigrant widened the path to a wagon road, when the railway formed a pattern which conformed to all these earlier adaptations to topography and water supply. And, in many cases the airway would complete the study. For instance, between San Francisco and Chicago the pilot crosses the "hump" of the Rockies just above the pass through which all earlier traffic flowed, and on the prairies he finds that the "earth" route is the shortest one.

A study of the natural environment will include (a) some knowledge of climate—temperature, percipitation, winds; (b) a clear conception of the characteristic variations in the earth's surface (or relief as it is sometimes called)—mountains, plateaus, plains, and minor land forms; and (c) of water bodies, such as oceans and rivers. The student

must also be familiar with common terms, ancient and modern, used in connection with the discussion of (d) soils; (e) minerals; (f) native plant life; and (g) native animal life.

The following geographical relationships serve to show the type of thinking that may properly be considered in a course in historical geography.

Human Activity	Natural Environment
In the fourteenth century navigators from Portugal bound for the Mediterranean in the winter months were sometimes carried south to the Cape Verde Islands.	Due to the wind belt shift, the northeast trade winds blowing off the coast of Europe in winter often carried vessels past the Strait of Gibralter.
Portugal laid claim to part of the new world on the basis of exploration and discoveries of Portuguese seamen.	When the northeast trade winds were farthest south, vessels were sometimes carried out of their course.
The Portuguese in searching for a water route around Africa, found it difficult to get south of the mouth of the Congo River.	Adverse southeast trade winds and Benguelan current along the coast of Africa south of the Congo River.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, small boats with crude sails served for ocean travel and it was necessary for seamen to take advantage of winds and ocean currents. Portuguese navigators bound for the Mediterrean Sea occasionally drifted south of the Strait of Gibraltar, some reaching the Cape Verde Islands. In 1500 Cabral was blown southwest far enough to touch the shoulder of South America which lay east of the Line of Demarcation. Portugal therefore claimed Brazil and imprinted on a large portion of the Western Hemisphere, her language, customs and traditions. For many years, due to adverse winds and currents, Portuguese navigators were unsuccessful in attempts to round Africa. Fianlly they surmounted these obstacles through gaining a knowledge of natural phenomena in this region.

Human Activity	Natural Environment
Hudson Bay Company posts located on the shores of Hudson Bay.	Large rivers which drain a lake-dotted forested country abounding in fur-bearing animals empty into Hudson Bay.
Canadian Indians hunted in the winter and assembled their wares in time to make the trip to the posts in the early spring.	Winter weather most favorable for hunting and for high grade furs; spring floods and freshets facilitated water travel.
British fur-trading season confined to the months of August and September when the fur fleet visited Hudson Bay.	Ice in Hudson Strait prevented navigation except during a few months in summer.

The Indians were the earliest expert geographers in Canada. They hunted in the cold weather when the furs were at their best and land travel most favorable. They took advantage of the network of rivers flowing through lake-dotted, forested country abounding in fur-bearing animals. They assembled their furs and carried them to the trading

posts when the rivers and lakes were high with spring floods and freshets. This economy was well adapted to the British fur trading system, for the fleet could reach Hudson Bay in July, feast and entertain the Indians, trade all through August and September, and reach the open water of the Alantic before the freeze-up in October.

Human Activity	Natural Environment
The early commercial importance of Ft. Orange, on the present site of Albany, New York.	Near the Adirondack Mountains where there were many fur-bearing animals; at the head of navigation on the Hudson River where travel-ways from the Mohawk - Hudson Lowland and the Champlain Lowland converge.

The Dutch founded Ft. Orange in the sixteenth century because the site was strategic. From the viewpoint of transportation, at every stage in the development of the United States this site has been important for the same reason.

Human Activity	Natural Environment
In the steamboat period, Wheeling, West Virginia, became the terminus of the National Road from Washington, D. C., although Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the forks of the Ohio, was the natural gateway to the west.	Dry weather in late summer and fall facilitated land travel from the east to the headwaters of the Ohio. At this season low water frequently made navigation impossible between Pittsburgh and Wheeling although Pittsburgh was the head of navigation in other seasons.

The National Road from Washington, D. C. led into the Ohio Valley. It has been recognized for sometime that the bulk-breaking point of the western journey would become a city of importance, and competition ran high between Pittsburgh and Wheeling for the terminal. The fact that the Ohio was navigable as far as Wheeling at all times of the year, thus enabling immigrants who changed their mode of travel at this point to continue their journey westward as soon as boats could be purchased or built, gave Wheeling the advantage. When the railroad displaced water transportation, Pittsburgh had already outstripped Wheeling through development of natural resources in her hinterland.

Some facts belong to more than one field of study. Selection, the method of presentation, and the point of view developed rather than the facts themselves are important in determining their identity. The Mississippi River in itself belongs no more to the field of geography than to that of literature and poetry. As a matter of fact probably more American citizens are familiar with "Ole Man Ribber" and "The Show Boat" than with the particular information about the Mississippi which would enable them to think geographically and to understand its significance in the life of the American people.

Consider the following statement: Western North Carolina was originally settled by immigrants who came south through the longitudinal valleys of the Appalachian mountains, and developed a backwoods economic and social life. If used to explain the bitter sectionalism between the tide-water and the frontier in the late eighteenth cen-

ury, this fact takes on an historical aspect. If considered in the light of the natural environment and the lack of land routes to the sea, it is geographic in nature. It cannot be interpreted from both points of view at one and the same time, for the development of any point of view requires orderly selection of individual facts that are used to build up and organize a definite method of approach. Is it not logical to assume that, unless the teacher has the geographic viewpoint and the ability to think along geographical lines, geographical concepts will not be adequately presented?

The world today is a little place. Explorers are leaving the earth's surface and pushing the frontier into the stratosphere and the hydrosphere. The elements of the natural environment remain essentially the same but they are constantly being utilized and modified to meet human needs. Therefore, in order intelligently to read the daily newspaper, listen to the radio program, or follow events in the news reel, the citizen of today should have certain clear-cut geographical concepts. Even a slight consideration of the geographical relationships referred to above indicates that no adjustment of man to his environmental complex is permanent. Thus the need for the study of geographic relationships will continue until man disappears from the earth.

WHY SPEAK SPANISH?

LEETA SOUTHWICK GUERNSEY, Associate Professor of Foreign Languages

The question "Why study Spanish?" arouses only an indifferent response in the mind of the middle-westerner who lives so far from the highways of trade and from the seat of government that he cannot realize the importance of it. But what young person expects to pass all his life in one place? What commercial student does not expect to go into the larger industrial centers where he will surely need Spanish? Who could better represent our country in foreign trade and diplomacy than the vigorous sons of the prairie states?

South America is calling for engineers to map her wilderness and bridge her torrents; for geologists and business men to market her oil, gold, copper, nitrate and precious stones; for biologists to study her teeming plant and animal life; for archaeologists to explore her extensive Indian ruins; for teachers in all lines to improve her schools, especially in vocational work and physical education, the need of which they are just beginning to feel. These opinions were also expressed recently by Mr. Muller, a Nicaraguan student on our campus. There is also a demand for farmers to till her millions of acres of unclaimed soil. It would require pages to enumerate the professions in which one can build a good business there because the South Americans are wealthy and appreciate good service. Some of these opportunities can be found posted at Columbia University or in the New York newspapers.

Some of you will want to travel and South America is the future tourist land according to William Powell in a recent article in Travel Magazine. He mentions the rare and appetizing foods, the colorful Indian costumes, and the hospitable clubs and cafes. Noel Coward and Rosita Forbes are other journalists who have discovered this new tourist country.

And what of those who stay at home? Who will play host to the thousands of South Americans who visit our country to provide themselves with what we produce? You find many of them at the Mayo Hospital and other health centers; they attend the livestock shows at Kansas City and Chicago, and the most remote farmer may receive letters in Spanish on this subject. They visit our industrial exhibits to buy farming, mining, and electrical machinery, rails, automobiles, typewriters, household equipment, motion pictures, petroleum products, chemicals, paints, books, shoes, cloths, carpets, lard, dairy products, and potatoes. The men bring their families and, as in their native land, they expect social contacts together with business relations. To those who know Spanish falls, therefore, the task of creating an American hospitality which will help us in the bitter struggle for South American trade.

Many South Americans are educated in our universities and agricultural colleges and even in the smaller denominational schools are

found some Spanish-speaking students sent by missionaries of the same denomination.

Surely you will go to see our Southwest, formerly Mexican territory in which there are still whole towns of the descendants of original Spanish settlers. Even in the cosmopolitan health resort, Tucson, one visitor remarked that he heard so much Spanish that he could not tell whether he was in the United States or Mexico. It would not be exaggeration to say that Spanish is spoken from Cape Horn to Canada. So generally is it required in our western schools, people are familiar with it and give streets, public bulidings, ranches, etc., Spanish names. The cities, rivers and other geographical features already had them when the Americans came. It must be a very dull trip for those who do not understand Spanish.

A survey made recently in Cleveland as to the actual use-value of Spanish for the average high school student showed that it was used by some in their musical education, by others in talking with opponents in sports; about twelve had used it in their own or father's business, and many more as employes in work ranging from law and engineering to retail selling. A number used it in living or travelling abroad. My own students tell of using it in stores in various Kansas towns. One had done Spanish correspondence for the Hofstra Insect Powder Company of Tulsa. As factories are moved to smaller towns to lower cost of living for the employes this use will increase and spread. Another survey by Mr. Hymen Alpern in regard to the use of Spanish by business firms brought 92 replies. Five had correspondence in German, five in French, and 82 in Spanish. Below are some quotations from their letters:

Spanish is important, not only commercially, but socially and educationally."

"Because our destiny is so bound to that of Latin America a general knowledge of the tongue is much to be desired."

"Because it leads to friendly relations and better understanding it should be a required course."

"It seems impossible that it should be necessary to advance arguments for the dollar-and-cents value of Spanish."

"It is desirable from the standpoint of culture."

"It is an exceptionally important and essential subject."

"It is necessary for those who wish to do business in South America because foreign help, although easy to obtain, does not understand American business methods and routine."

A general knowledge of the language is necessary to maintain the political and commercial relations with South America so important to our industry. No race is more difficult to approach without a knowledge of the language. The South American usually speaks two or three languages and expects the same degree of culture in those who do business with him. The successful salesman is not the one who uses high-powered salesmanship but the one who is able to meet the South American on the basis of understanding and social equality.

South America is a natural producer of raw material. The men are not inclined to business but rather to the arts and professions. The United States is a natural manufacturing country because the men turn to invention and commercial pursuits. All the world acknowledges North American industrial supremacy, so the South American will buy our products if rightly approached. We hear of the decline of about $5,000,000 in our exports and our imports from tropical America amount to more than twice our exports. American industry regards South America as its legitimate field of expansion but it will take men trained in Spanish to win it.

South American trade is valuable because most of our imports cannot be produced at home, such as coffee, rubber, cacao, tanning extracts, straw hats, vegetable ivory, bananas, coconuts, diamonds, platinum, gold, and other minerals. Their large export trade in these materials enables them to purchase American coal and manufactured goods. Lippincott's "Economic Development of the United States" says that England, Germany, and France have been the largest participants in South American trade by reason of a better understanding of the people. These countries have given especial attention to the teaching of the language and have required that those who represent them have a thorough knowledge of the language and the civilization.

"The Course of Study for Secondary Commercial Schools" by Kahn and Klein of the College of the City of New York says that Spanish is more important than French because of our extensive markets in South America. The importance of South America as a land of opportunities is emphasized by some twenty books in our library. They are written by business men, travelers and diplomats who felt the need of acquainting their fellow-countrymen with the facts. Theodore Roosevelt and Elihu Root made reference to the importance of Pan American conciliation. Calvin Coolidge speaks of "the unfortunate lack of information on the part of the general public in the United States in regard to South America." Herbert Hoover said on returning from a trip to South America that Spanish should be taught in every high school in our land. William R. Shepherd, professor of history at Columbia University, strongly advocates the teaching of Spanish in our schools.

Aside from commercial reasons, Spanish culture is well worth knowing. Morel-Fatio, the French critic, said, "The nation that barred the way to the Arabs, saved Christianity at Lepanto, discovered a new world and brought to it European civilization, created in art a painting of the most powerful realism, in theology a mysticism that lifted souls to wonderful heights, and in letters a novel such as the Quijote, deserves to be held in unfailing esteem." Many other attainments of Spaniards of past ages might be mentioned, but all their accomplishments are not of the past. The playwright Benavente received the Nobel prize in 1922 and Spanish plays are produced every year on our stage. The novels of Hugo Wast are translated into nearly every language. No country has produced an art equal to that of Zuloaga and Sorolla. A Spanish

physician invented the operation for a cataract of the eye and the biologist Ramon y Cajal ranks with any of this age.

Ralph Adams Cramm of Boston says that he found in Spain some of the real values of life long since lost by the highly civilized and progressive communities. Spain is the only country where there is a true vital democracy in the best sense. It is not backward just because it is not given over to industry, covetous commerce, and predatory finances, but truly is in the vanguard of real civilization because it estimates these things at their real worth.

Every cultured person should know at least one foreign language. I believe no one will take issue with me on this universally held opinion, especially since this pioneering nation of ours is reaching out at last for cultural standards in music and the other arts. The growing interest in world peace and brotherhood wakens interest in foreign language because anyone who has tried knows that it is impossible to understand foreigners thoroughly without knowing their language.

Spanish is the easiest language to learn because the words are pronounced as spelled and hundreds of them can be recognized from the same word in English. The grammar is also very simple. Psychological principles have been applied to language study and the new reading method has simplified it so that it is no longer the bug-bear it used to be. A fair knowedgle can be obtained in one or two semesters. Of no less importance than the language is the knowledge gained concerning the geography, history, and culture of the foreign country which makes for international understanding.

Spanish is spoken by nineteen nations comprising most of this hemisphere, Spain, Morocco, the Philippines, Canary Islands, and in Jugoslavia by the exiled Spanish Jews. South America constitutes the most accessible market for our products and the source of many imports unobtainable elsewhere. We are bound to South America by the Monroe Doctrine and the Pan American Union. The latter organization has frequent conferences in Washington on politics, law, agriculture, foreign trade, finance, industry, migration, labor, public health, social welfare, science, education, art and architecture. Other bonds are the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, the Guggenheim fellowships, and the common interest in Indian art and archaeology. In spite of the propaganda of our rivals to destroy our trade with South America, calling the United States the Colossus of the North and warning against the Anglo-Saxon, the Pan American meetings are attended by large and enthusiastic crowds. And how are we to receive these neighbors of ours? With misunderstanding and shots as in the recent incident in Oklahoma, or with a friendship and courtesy that will strengthen our position among the nations of the world?

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