

THE HUNDRED YEARS WARS: NOT ONE BUT MANY

Kelly DeVries
Loyola College

When the English King Edward III (1327-1377) launched his major invasions of France in 1339 and again in 1340, it was ostensibly to recover his crown as king of France, a crown which had been legalistically "stolen" from him in 1328 when, despite being the closest heir to the dead king, Charles IV (1322-1328), he was declared ineligible to receive it because this royal descent was gained through a woman. The throne instead was given to a cousin, Philip of Valois, who was then crowned as King Philip VI of France (1328-1350). This action is recognized by most historians as the first blow struck in what would become known as "The Hundred Years War." The initial military action taken by Edward would lead in 1339 to a geographically-extensive, but ultimately-impotent campaign fought across the northern French counties of Cambrai, Vermandois, and Thiérache. There followed in 1340 a major English naval victory at Sluys, counterbalanced by the unsuccessful siege of Tournai.

The idea that two nations could fight a war lasting more than a century, as France and England did in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, seems to most modern military historians to be the very definition of the words "medieval warfare." And yet, in defining the Hundred Years War in this manner, these same historians have misconstrued the conflict by narrow-mindedly focusing upon the fighting between those two kingdoms. They have all too often ignored or at least downplayed as an integral part of the conflict the fact that each of these major combatants was also conducting military activity against third parties and that these parties engaged in conflict between themselves without direct French or English involvement.

In fact, the Hundred Years War was not fought only during the period 1337-1453, the most commonly given dates, nor was it fought only by England and France. Its origins can be traced at least to the late-thirteenth century with the establishment of the "Auld Alliance" between Scotland and France (1295-1296) followed by William

Wallace's rebellion of 1297-1298. Its roots also extend back to the early-fourteenth century revolt of the townspeople of the county of Flanders (1302) against their French overlords. Nor is the date usually given for its conclusion—1453—all that precise. Some of the issues involved in the Hundred Years War were not solved until 1477, when Charles the Bold (1467-1477), last Valois duke of Burgundy, died on the field of Nancy, thus ending the Swiss-Burgundian-German-Lorraine Wars; or even 1485, when the defeat and death of King Richard III of England (1483-1485) at the battle of Bosworth Field, terminated the Wars of Roses (1455-1485). Most importantly, other conflicts were fought along the way which directly involved not only France and England but also the Low Countries, Burgundy, Switzerland, the Holy Roman Empire, the various Spanish Kingdoms, Portugal, and Scotland.¹

As with most historical periodizations, the concept of a Hundred Years War is a relatively modern one, constructed by relatively modern historians. The earliest reference to the term as used to define warfare in Western Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries does not enter the literature until 1823. It appeared first in France and was later accepted in England.² The actual dating of the conflict to 1337-1453—a period that obviously exceeds a hundred years—would not appear until even later. At any rate, it is an odd selection of dates, since the French and English had long been at war and had already fought one another several times during the fourteenth century.³ Nor would 1453 put an end to Anglo-French fighting. Edward IV

¹ Some might even suggest that the conflict lasted into the Italian Wars begun in 1494. While the confidence given to the French by their victories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries certainly encouraged the Italian campaign of Charles VIII (1483-1498), I can find *no* direct link historically between what I call the Hundred Years Wars and his punitive march against Naples. If someone can make that link, however, I would welcome it as it would further validate my thesis.

² Anne Curry, *The Hundred Years War* (Houndmills, 2003), 5-27, contains perhaps the most complete historiography on the struggle.

³ Curry, *Hundred Years War*, 1. The rationale for using 1337 as the beginning of the war, despite having no actual fighting between the two sides, lies in the fact that in that year the French king, Philip VI, "officially" confiscated Edward III's lands in France. These lands were primarily Gascony and Ponthieu, as Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poitou had been surrendered to the French king, Louis IX (1226-1270), by the English king, Henry III (1216-1272), in the treaty of Paris in 1259. The lands lost in 1259 would become an issue for the English during the Hundred Years War, but the confiscation of Gascony and Ponthieu was never completed by Philip VI due to Edward's willingness to fight over the issue.

(1461-1483) launched a campaign into France in 1475⁴ and Henry VIII (1509-1547) did the same in 1512-1513.⁵ Calais, a city captured in 1347 as one of the earliest English victories, in fact did not return to French possession until 1553.⁶

But then, as we have noted, the "Hundred Years War" is a modern construct. No contemporary writer saw anything special in the dates modern historians use to bracket this conflict. The first combat recorded by Jean Froissart, regarded by many as "the historian of the Hundred Years War," is not between England and France but between England and Scotland.⁷ This is followed by an account of the fighting between France and Flanders, when the Flemish revolted against French rule, fighting that was ended by the battle of Gassel in 1328. Then Froissart's chronicle swings back to warfare between England and Scotland. Although the chronicler discusses Philip VI's inheritance of the French throne—an inheritance he believed should have gone to Edward III as nephew of the deceased Charles IV—he clearly interprets the other

⁴ See J. R. Lander, "The Hundred Years War and Edward IV's 1475 Campaign in France," in *Tudor Men and Institutions: Studies in English Law and Government*, ed. A. J. Slavin (Baton Rouge, La., 1972), 70-100.

⁵ See C. G. Cruickshank's two studies: *Army Royal Henry VIII's Invasion of France, 1513* (Oxford, 1969) and *The English Occupation of Tournai, 1513-1519* (Oxford, 1971).

⁶ Two older studies may still be the best on the English occupation of Calais: Georges Daumet, *Calais sous la domination Anglaise* (Arras, 1902) and E Lennel, *Calais sous la domination Anglaise*, vol. 2 of *Histoire de Calais*, 2 vols (Calais, 1908-1910).

⁷ There were two Froissart editing projects undertaken in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first, by Baron Joseph-Marie-Bruno-Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove was published in its entirety and with many significant added texts to provide context for the chronicle of Froissart. *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 29 vols. (Brussels, 1867-1877). The second was begun by Siméon Luce under the patronage of the Société de l'Histoire de France, but was incomplete at his death. Volumes continued to be appear over the next century—fifteen in total—but to date the edition has not been completed. *Chroniques*, ed. Siméon Luce et al., 15 vols., Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1869-1975). Recent editions have been made by George T. Diller, drawn from single manuscripts. *Chroniques: Dernière rédaction du premier livre. Edition du manuscrit de Rome Reg. lat. 869*, ed. George T Diller (Geneva, 1972) and *Chroniques: Livre I. Le manuscrit d'Amiens. Bibliothèque municipale n-A 486*, ed. George T. Diller, 5 vols. (Geneva, 1991-1998). There are also compilations of several manuscripts by Diller, Peter E Ainsworth, and Alberto Varvara: *Chroniques: Livres I et II*, ed. Peter E Ainsworth and George T. Diller (Paris, 2001) and *Chroniques: Livres III et IV*, ed. Peter E Ainsworth and Alberto Varvara (Paris, 2004). Almost all the English translations of Froissart are abridged to highlight English warfare, and in particular the Anglo-French conflict. Consequently, they do not provide an accurate view of Froissart's historical scope. Take, for example, the most accessible of these translations, made by Geoffrey Brereton, *Chronicles* (Harmondsworth, 1968).

conflicts he has mentioned as a significant and inter-related part of the history of warfare in Western Europe during the fourteenth century.

Jean Froissart was born in Valenciennes, in the southern Low Countries, so perhaps it was natural for him to take an interest in military affairs of regions other than England and France, especially after his return to the European continent following the deaths of his patron, the queen of England, Philippa of Hainaut, in 1369 and her husband, Edward III, in 1377. Froissart ends his chronicle in 1400 at a time of peace between France and England. At this point in his narrative, as well as in his life, he is far more concerned with other events of the period than any future Anglo-French warfare: the deposition of Richard II (1377-1399) by Henry IV (1399-1413) in 1399 and the Flemish rebellion of Flanders against France in 1379-1385. The chronicle could not have predicted the turn events would take when Henry V of England (1413-1422) would renew the conflict by launching a new and successful invasion of France. After all, the last English campaign against the French reported by Froissart had been that of the bishop of Norwich, who, in 1383, under the guise of a "Crusade" against the followers of the Avignon pope, Clement VII (1378-1394), had led his army on a filibustering expedition through Flanders, where he fought mainly against Flemings, who supported the same pope that he did, the Roman pontiff, Urban VI (1378-1389). This unfortunate military adventure ended with the bishop's ignoble defeat at the siege of Ypres.⁸ (Interestingly, Froissart's derisive tone in reporting this action is echoed by modern historians describing the same event).⁹ For all intents and purposes, it appeared that England's effort on the continent had collapsed and probably ended ignominiously. An angry English government, stung by humiliation, put Norwich and most of the military leaders of the campaign on trial for their failure.

The fact that chronicles of the period saw no special significance in the dates modern historians use to bracket the conflict is also illustrated by another major example: Jehan (or Jean) de Waurin. Like Froissart,

⁸ Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce, IX:95-137, contains the account of the bishop of Norwich's Crusade.

⁹ The most complete modern account of Henry Despenser's campaign in 1383 is George M. Wrong, *The Crusade of 1383 Known as That of the Bishop of Norwich* (London, 1892). But, see also Norman Housley, "The Bishop of Norwich's Crusade, May 1383," *History Today* 33 (1983): 15-20, and Kelly DeVries, "The Reasons for the Bishop of Norwich's Attack on Flanders in 1383," in *Fourteenth Century England III*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), 155-65.

Waurin, is always associated with the Hundred Years War, as indeed he should be. After all, he was born in Artois near the end of the fourteenth century, fought in the battles of Agincourt (1415) and Verneuil (1424), and was an official of the court of Philip the Good (1419-1467) in Burgundy, serving as ambassador to various places, including Rome. His chronicle, assigned the title *Récueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne* by its nineteenth-century editors, William and Edward Hardy, is one of the most widely used sources for Anglo-French warfare from 1399 to 1453.¹⁰ But a large part of Waurin's narrative discusses the history, especially of military events, that took place from 1453 to 1471, when the work ends. (Its author is thought to have died sometime around 1474). In chronicling this later period, he writes extensively on the War of the Public Weal, fought primarily between the French king, Louis XI (1461-1483) and Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy; the Liégeois Revolt against Burgundy; the Wars of the Roses; and, even farther afield, the Ottoman advances in the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, in his accounts of the year 1453, Waurin shows as much if not more interest in the siege and fall of Constantinople as he does in the battle of Castillon and the fall of Bordeaux.¹¹

The treatment of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by these two major chroniclers should suggest to modern historians a new paradigm for considering the Hundred Years War. Instead of simply viewing it in its traditional Anglo-French context, the conflict should be seen as a larger (and longer) series of interrelated wars throughout Western Europe during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. This larger struggle helped set the stage—politically, economically, and, of course, militarily—for much that would follow: the rise of the centralized early modern state, the growth of Spanish and Holy Roman Imperial power, the Italian wars, the exploration and exploitation of the Americas, and the emergence of the "Swiss way of war." Viewing events in this manner also helps explain the homogeneity of late medieval/early

¹⁰ Jehan de Waurin, *Récueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne*, ed. W. and E. L. C. P. Hardy, 5 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1864-1991). Despite its age, this edition has not been updated. The Hardys also attempted a translation of the chronicle from medieval French to English—also for the Rolls Series—but only completed the first three volumes (London, 1864-1891). This, like the translations of Froissart, often leads to a focus on the fighting between England and France, again skewing the author's own interests and biases.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, V:244-51 (battle of Castillon and fall of Bordeaux); V:251-61 (fall of Constantinople).

modern military strategy, tactics, and technology—a broad based phenomenon that some historians have erroneously named the "Military Revolution." But that goes beyond the scope of this article. Here, we shall simply outline how other European lands—Scotland, the Holy Roman Empire, the Iberian kingdoms, the various Low Countries, and Burgundy—affected and were affected by the so-called Hundred Years War, before, during, and after the traditional chronology. To accomplish this, the article will first list the events occurring in these many lands that influenced the French and English struggle and then discuss briefly how this influence was felt.

*Scotland*¹²

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1295-1296 | The Auld Alliance between France and Scotland is established, first in Paris in 1295 and then the following year in Dumfermline. ¹³ |
| 1297-98 | William Wallace leads the Scottish armies against England in the First War of Independence, winning at the battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, but losing at the battle of Falkirk in 1298. ¹⁴ |
| 1300 | Edward I (1272-1307) captures Caverlock Castle in southwest Scotland. |
| 1301 | The English king launches his campaigns in Scotland, his sixth campaign against the Scots. |
| 1303 | He conducts his seventh campaign into that kingdom. |
| 1304 | The Scots submit to Edward I at St. Andrews. |

¹² Ranald Nicholson's *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1974) is an excellent study of this period of Scottish history, and because of Nicholson's own interests—as seen in *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965)—his treatment of the Scottish War of Independence, as it is now known, is detailed and complete. However, even Nicholson does not follow Scottish soldiers fighting in France. See also James Campbell's very general essay, "England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century," in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield and B. Smalley (Evanston, Ill., 1965), 184-216.

¹³ For an introduction to the Auld Alliance see Elizabeth Bonner, "Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560," *History* 84 (1999): 5-30.

¹⁴ The number of books on William Wallace seem to multiply yearly. My favorite is Chris Brown, *William Wallace: The True Story of Braveheart* (Stroud, 2005). The best study of the two battles of Wallace is Pete Armstrong, *Stirling Bridge and Falkirk, 1297-98: William Wallace's Rebellion* (London, 2003). For a more general history of the period see Fiona Watson, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland, 1286-1307* (East Linton, 1998), which should be consulted not only for Edward's conflict with Wallace but for all of the Anglo-Scottish wars to 1307. See also Michael Prestwich's outstanding biography of Edward I: *Edward I* (London and New Haven, 1988) for all of Edward's wars.

- 1305 William Wallace is executed at Smithfield, near London.
- 1306 Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick and lord of Annandale, assassinates (or arranges the assassination of) John III Comyn, guardian of Scotland, at Greyfriars Church in Dumfries, then crowns himself king of Scotland (1306-1329), but loses to the English later in the year at the battles of Methven and Dalry.¹⁵
- 1307 To prove his resolve to the Scots, Edward I holds a parliament at Carlisle which begins yet another campaign into Scotland, but Robert Bruce defeats the English armies at the battle of Loudon Hill.¹⁶ The English king dies and, his heir, Edward II (1307-1327) cannot sustain the Scottish campaign.¹⁷
- 1308 Under Robert Bruce's direction, Scottish forces raid northern England. Such raids will continue throughout Bruce's life. (He will die in 1329).
- 1311 Edward II fails miserably in his campaign against Scotland.
- 1313 The Scottish army drives English forces out of Perth and begins the siege of Carlisle.
- 1314 Edward Bruce, Robert's brother, besieges Stirling Castle, provoking Edward II to fight and lose the battle of Bannockburn.¹⁸ As a result of this loss, the English are driven from Scotland.
- 1315 Edward Bruce campaigns in Ireland, defeating an Anglo-Norman army at the battle of Connor.¹⁹
- 1317 Edward Bruce is defeated in several engagements in Ireland, forcing his brother, the king, to travel there.

¹⁵ The standard biography of Robert Bruce is G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London, 1965) which has recently been released in a fourth edition (Edinburgh, 2006). Quite good also, and better on Bruce's military career in my opinion, is Chris Brown, *Robert Bruce: A Life Chronicled* (Stroud, 2004). Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England, and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997) specifically focuses on the military history between Scotland and England during the Bruce's generalship, as does the slightly older A. A. M. Duncan, "The War of the Scots, 1306-23," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 2 (1992): 125-51.

¹⁶ On the battle of Loudon Hill see Kelly DeVries, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), 49-57.

¹⁷ A good general history of Edward II's military problems remains Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1981).

¹⁸ More may be written about Bannockburn than perhaps any battle in history. W. M. Mackenzie's *The Battle of Bannockburn: A Study in Mediaeval Warfare* (Glasgow, 1913) and John E. Morris' *Bannockburn* (Cambridge, 1914) are the places to start any study of the battle—especially as they disagree quite a bit. Of the numerous more recent works my favorite is Pete Armstrong, *Bannockburn 1314: Robert Bruce's Great Victory* (London, 2002), although much may change if the battlefield is ever correctly identified by archaeology. For a concise account of the battle, see DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 66-85.

¹⁹ Séan Duffy's *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars: The Invasions of Ireland, 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2002) covers the subject nicely.

- 1319 Edward II besieges Berwick-upon-Tweed, but raises the siege after the Scottish general, Sir James Douglas, defeats an English army raised by Archbishop Melton of York at the battle of Myton.
- 1320 In a letter (later known as the declaration of Arbroath) written to Pope John XXII (1316-1334) at Avignon, Robert Bruce and fifty-one other nobles and magnates declare Scotland to be an independent and sovereign state. The pope does not ratify the declaration, but neither does he condemn it.²⁰
- 1322 Another of Edward II's campaigns into Scotland fails. Robert Bruce's raids into Yorkshire are much more successful, including his defeat of an English army led by the earl of Richmond.
- 1323 Edward II executes Andrew of Harclay, earl of Carlisle, for negotiating a treaty with Robert Bruce, but later that year arrives at a truce with the Scottish king.²¹
- 1327 Edward II is deposed by his wife, Isabelle, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, who become regents for his son, the newly-crowned king, Edward III. Mortimer's army is crushed by Robert Bruce in the Weardale campaign.²²
- 1328 Following the deposition of his father, Edward III signs the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton which recognizes Robert Bruce as king of a sovereign Scotland. This is done so that Edward might pursue his inheritance claims as king of France.²³
- 1329 Robert Bruce dies and is succeeded as king by his son, David II Bruce (1329-1371).²⁴
- 1332 At the battle of Dupplin Moor,²⁵ Edward Balliol, leading an army of "disinherited" Scottish nobles, defeats a Scottish army led by the earl of Mar, guardian of Scotland and regent for David II. Balliol declares himself king but is soon defeated by the earl of Moray, John Randolph, at the battle of Annan. He is then forced to flee to England.

²⁰ See Edward J. Cowan, *"For Freedom Alone": The Declaration of Arbroath, 1320* (East Linton, 2002).

²¹ M. H. Keen, "Treason Trials Under the Law of Arms," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 12 (1962): 85-103.

²² The significance of Mortimer's disastrous Weardale campaign has been pointed out by many historians. See especially A. E. Prince, "The Importance of the Campaign of 1327," *English Historical Review* [EHR] 50 (1935): 299-302 and Ranald Nicholson, "The Last Campaign of Robert Bruce," *EHR* 77 (1962): 233-46.

²³ Edward III's wars with Scotland are covered nicely in Nicholson's *Edward III and the Scots* cited above.

²⁴ For a biography on David II, see Michael Penman, *David II, 1329-71* (East Linton, 2004).

²⁵ For the Anglo-Scottish wars that follow (until 1363), see Chris Brown, *The Second Scottish Wars of Independence, 1332-1363* (Stroud, 2002). On the battle of Dupplin Moor, see Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 57-92 and DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 112-20.

- 1333 Having laid siege to Berwick Castle, Edward III then defeats a Scottish army at the battle of Halidon Hill. Berwick falls the next day.²⁶
- 1334 For his own safety, David II travels to France. Edward Balliol is re-crowned king, recognizing Edward III as his overlord and ceding to him Berwick and eight shires of southern Scotland. A Scottish rebellion ultimately forces him to again flee to England.
- 1335 Edward III campaigns in Scotland, placing Edward Balliol back on the throne. Once again Balliol's kingship fails.
- 1336 Edward III returns yet again to Scotland and campaigns in the Highlands. Edward Balliol is put back on the throne. Edward III uses the Scottish-French alliance as a means of raising taxes for war against France.
- 1339 While Edward III is campaigning in northern France, the Scots again force Edward Balliol to flee to England.
- 1341 David II returns to Scotland from France; his supporters force all remaining English from Edinburgh.
- 1342 Edward III campaigns unsuccessfully in southern Scotland. The Scots recapture Roxburgh Castle and drive the English out of the kingdom.
- 1346 While Edward III besieges Calais, David II invades England where he is defeated, wounded, and captured at the battle of Neville's Cross by the forces of Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, and William la Zouche, Archbishop of York.²⁷ For the next eleven years David is imprisoned in England.²⁸
- 1355 The Scots recapture Berwick.
- 1356 Edward III again takes Berwick, and Edward Balliol, still titularly the king of Scotland, abdicates his throne to the English sovereign.
- 1371 David II dies without a direct heir. As a result, his nephew, Robert II, "the Steward," (1371-1390) is made king.
- 1384 A Scottish army besieges and destroys Lochmaben Castle, then begins raiding Cumberland.²⁹
- 1385 The Scots, supported financially by France, raid Northumberland. Richard II sacks Edinburgh in retaliation.

²⁶ Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 123-62 and DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 120-28. On the siege of Berwick itself, see Ranald Nicholson, "The Siege of Berwick, 1333," *Scottish Historical Review* 40 (1961): 19-42.

²⁷ The articles collected in *The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346*, ed. David Rollason and Michael Prestwich (Stamford, 1998) are for the most part excellent. See also DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 176-87 and C.J. Rogers, "The Scottish Invasion of 1346," *Northern History* 34 (1998): 51-69.

²⁸ E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, *Edward III and David II* (London, 1954) has been updated in parts by A. A. M. Duncan, "Honi soit qui mal y pense: David II and Edward III, 1346-52," *Scottish Historical Review* 67 (1988): 113-41.

²⁹ On the Anglo-Scottish Wars from 1369 to 1403, see Alastair J. Macdonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland, England and France at War, 1369-1403* (East Linton, 2000).

- 1388 James, the earl of Douglas, defeats Henry Percy, "Hotspur," at the battle of Otterburn but is killed in the process. The defeat is demoralizing for the English, but little else results from it.³⁰
- 1390 Robert III Stuart (1390-1424) succeeds his father as king of Scotland.
- 1400 Henry IV invades Scotland but is forced to return to England by the Welsh rebellion led by Owain Glyn Dŵr.³¹
- 1402 Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and his son, Hotspur, defeat Archibald Douglas' Scottish army at the battle of Homildon Hill. Included among the Scottish troops is a unit of French cavalry.³²
- 1406 James I Stuart (1424-1437) succeeds his father, Robert III, as king of Scotland, while still a prisoner of the English who had captured him earlier in the year as he was traveling to France. During his captivity, many Scottish nobles and soldiers were lured to France to fight the English there.³³
- 1421 Scottish soldiers assist the French in gaining victory over the English at the battle of Baugé.
- 1424 James I returns from England after signing the treaty of Durham which establishes peace with the English. Archibald, earl of Douglas, and John Stuart, earl of Buchan, are killed at the battle of Verneuil.³⁴

³⁰ On the battle of Otterburn, see the many articles in *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Goodman and Anthony Tuck (London, 1992).

³¹ A. L. Brown, "The English Campaign in Scotland, 1400," in *British Government and Administration: Studies Presented to S. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), 40-54 and Ian Arthurson, "The King's Voyage into Scotland: The War that Never Was," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings from the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), 1-22.

³² Despite their victory here, the Percies were in rebellion against Henry IV, which culminated in the defeat of Hotspur and Owain Glyn Dwr at the battle of Shrewsbury the next year. See J. M. W. Bean, "Henry IV and the Percies," *History* 44 (1959): 212-27.

³³ Surprisingly, there has been little work done on the Scottish armies and soldiers that fought in France during the Hundred Years War. That much more can be done is hinted at in Annie I. Dunlop, *Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1942). See also Amicie de Villaret, *Campagnes des Anglais dans l'Orléanais, la Beauce Chartrain et le Gatinais (1421-1428): L'armée sous Warwick et Suffolk au siège de Montargis. Campagnes de Jeanne d'Arc sur la Loire postérieures au siège d'Orléans* (Orléans, 1893); and Bernard Chevalier, "Les écossais dans les armées de Charles VII jusqu'à la bataille de Verneuil," in *Jeanne d'Arc: Une époque, un rayonnement* (Paris, 1982), 85-94.

³⁴ Michael K. Jones, "The Battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424): Towards a History of Courage," *War in History* 9 (2002): 375-411, is now the authority on this battle, but see also J. Augis, "La bataille de Verneuil (jeudi 17 août 1424) vue de Châteaudun," *Bulletin de la société Dunoise* 16 (1932-35): 116-21; M. Harbinson, "Verneuil—The Events of 17 August 1424: an Examination of the Sources and the Account of Thomas Basin," *The Hobilar* 30 (1998): 18-22; and M. A. Simpson, "The Campaign of Verneuil," *EHR* 49 (1934): 93-100.

- 1428 Sir John Stewart of Darnley, constable of Scotland, is killed at the battle of the Herrings.³⁵
- 1436 James I besieges Roxburgh Castle, but fails to capture it.³⁶
- 1437 James I is assassinated by Sir Robert Graham at the Friars Preachers Monastery in Perth and is succeeded by his son, James II (1437—1460).
- 1440 A feud between James II and the Douglas family begins with the execution of William, earl of Douglas. The feud, which essentially creates a Scottish civil war, continues through James II's reign and into that of James III (1460-1488).
- 1448 Scotland attempts to wage war against England.
- 1452 James II murders William, earl of Douglas, at Stirling Castle.
- 1460 James II captures Roxburgh Castle, but is killed during his inspection of his artillery when a cannon accidentally explodes. He is succeeded by his son, James III, who is still a child.
- 1461 Henry VI (1422-1461) is forced to flee to Scotland after his defeat at the battle of Towton by his cousin, Edward IV. Out of gratitude for Scottish support, Henry cedes Berwick to Scotland.
- 1468 After being tried as a traitor, Robert, lord Boyd, who had been one of the regents of James III, flees to England. His brother, Alexander, is executed for treason.

The Anglo-Scottish chronology makes clear several ways in which Scotland both influenced and entered into the Hundred Years War. The first has been observed by some historians: that by their military activity on the northern borders of England, the Scots kept Edward III from embarking on the conflict before 1337. As early as 1328, the citizens of Bruges tried to offer the English king their allegiance if he would assist them in their rebellion against the French. Initially, he promised to do so, but was then forced to renege, much to the rebels' detriment as they could not militarily sustain their revolt without England's aid after suffering defeat at the battle of Cassel (1328). Clifford J. Rogers makes a good point about Edward's growing confidence in his own tactical abilities after the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333.³⁷ On the other hand, the fact that it took the English king another half-dozen years to actually make it to the continent suggests that he was still not

³⁵ Kelly DeVries, *Joan of Arc: A Military Leader* (Stroud, 1999), 65-68.

³⁶ The Anglo-Scottish Warfare of the fifteenth century is very poorly researched. About the only good secondary source is Nicholson's *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*.

³⁷ This point is made by Rogers in both "Edward III and the Dialectics of Strategy, 1327-1360," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 4 (1994): 83-102 and *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, 2000).

confident enough strategically to leave his border open to yet another potential Scottish attack.

The Anglo-Scottish chronology raises another issue here that has been somewhat ignored by Hundred Years War historians who are so tightly stuck on a 1337-1453 chronology. The financial resources that were needed for Edward to fight a war in France were significant; in fact, his failure to receive sufficient funds from Parliament is given by Rogers and Jonathan Sumption as the reason for the English failure to capture Tournai in 1340.³⁸ Yet the fact that these funds had been drained off consistently since the very beginning of the Scottish War of Independence in 1297 has been largely forgotten. What were the further financial repercussions of continued threats to England by the Scots throughout the fourteenth century? And how did the need to respond to these threats militarily impinge on the English war effort in France? In fact, at various times during the period, the Scots received French funding. On the other hand, England relied only on what its own economy could provide. Although both the wool trade with Flanders remained fairly constant throughout Edward's reign, the Flemish rebellions of 1337-1345 and 1379-1385 and the Brabantese War of Succession of 1355-1357 did disrupt that trade to some extent, no doubt affecting English financing of the war. (The extent of such disruption has yet to be explored by historians.)

Another obvious connection between Scotland and the Hundred Years War has received even less commentary by military historians. The Scottish threat to northern England had virtually disappeared by Henry V's reign, which may have had something to do with that king's interest in renewing an English military effort in France. Instead, Scottish warriors appear to have shifted their fight against the English to France. Chroniclers note the Scottish presence at such battles as Baugé (1421), Verneuil (1424), and the Herrings (1429), as well as in the army that served with Joan of Arc at Orléans and along the Loire River. This interesting shift in military theaters may have had something to do with

³⁸ Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp*, 199—216 and Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia, 1991), 338-70. Neither details what forms of financing there were, why such financing was solely in the hands of Parliament, why Edward had not arranged his financing more completely before he left England, why England was paying for the siege alone when Flemish, Brabantese, Hainauter, and German allied forces were also involved, probably in greater numbers than the English, and, finally, why if his war financing was such a hardship in 1340, it was well in hand by 1341 when Edward was prepared to make yet another assault on the continent.

the instability of the Scottish throne. On the other hand, the presence in France of so many Scottish leaders whose families had fought against England over the decades may simply signify a desire on their part to take their fight to the English, wherever possible.

*Holy Roman Empire*³⁹

- 1337 Holy Roman Emperor Ludwig IV of Bavaria (1314-1347) (of the House of Wittelsbach) makes an alliance with Edward III.⁴⁰
- 1338 Ludwig names Edward III as imperial vicar west of the Rhine River.
- 1340 The Holy Roman Emperor sends troops to participate on Edward's side at the siege of Tournai.
- 1341 Ludwig abandons his English alliance and allies himself with Philip VI.
- 1346 Charles IV (of the House of Luxemburg) (1347-1378) is elected king of Germany by barons opposed to Ludwig IV's rule.⁴¹ Nine years later, he will be declared Holy Roman Emperor.
- 1378 Charles IV signs a peace treaty with Charles V of France (1364-1380) in Paris. To seal the friendship, he names the dauphin, later Charles VI (1380-1422), imperial vicar over the kingdom of Aries.
- 1416 Emperor Sigismund (1410-1437) travels to Paris in a vain attempt to make peace between England and France.⁴²
- 1473 Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, meets with Emperor Frederick III (of the House of Habsburg) (1440-1493) at Trier in an effort to be crowned "king of Burgundy."⁴³ Frederick refuses to accommodate the Burgundian duke.
- 1474 With the support of King Louis XI of France, the Swiss Confederation achieves its independence from Austria. The confederation forms the Union of Constance with Strasbourg, Schlestadt, Colmar, Basel, and

³⁹ This is an area of historical neglect that is badly in need of a scholarly study.

⁴⁰ There is only one study of any significance here—and it is very dated—despite its importance to the early stages of the Hundred Years War: H. S. Offler, "England and Germany at the Beginning of the Hundred Years' War," *EHR* 54 (1939): 608-31.

⁴¹ John the Blind's bravery at Crécy is still memorialized on the battlefield by a monument, parts of which are centuries old. For a brief and very nationalistic biography of John, see Walther Rose, "König Johann der Blinde von Böhmen und die Schlacht bei Crécy (1346)," *Zeitschrift für historisches Waffenkunde* 7 (1915-17): 37-60. Sadly none of the biographies of Charles IV detail his interactions with the French or the English during the Hundred Years War.

⁴² Unfortunately Sigismund's biographies also do not discuss his activity with France or England during the Hundred Years War.

⁴³ The sources for Charles the Bold's life will be indicated below.

Austria as a defensive pact against Charles the Bold, who initiates the siege of Neuss.⁴⁴

- 1475 The armies of Frederick III, the Union of Constance, and other German entities raise the siege.
- 1476 The Swiss defeat the Burgundians at the battles of Grandson and Murten.⁴⁵
- 1477 The Swiss defeat the Burgundians at Nancy and there Charles the Bold is killed.

While the connection of the Holy Roman Empire to the Hundred Years War is less noteworthy than that of Scotland, there are several things that do stand out. Most notably, there is the active participation of Holy Roman Emperor, Ludwig IV, at the outset of the conflict, although little scholarly emphasis has been placed on this outside of H.S. Offler's article.⁴⁶ Nor has the failure of Ludwig's alliance with Edward III received much attention, despite the loss by the English king of what could have been an invaluable and wealthy ally, and despite the fact that this failure seems to have been one of the principal justifications used by German barons for overthrowing Ludwig. The fact that the Germans replaced Ludwig with Charles IV (1347—1378), whose father, John the Blind, duke of Luxemburg and king of Bohemia (1310-1346), had lost his life so famously fighting on the French side against Edward at the battle of Crécy (1346) suggests German interest in what was happening in the Hundred Years War. The fact that the imperial chronology produced in this article has only a few entries primarily reflects the limited research that has to date been devoted to this aspect of the conflict, a clear call for more work in the future.

⁴⁴ The most complete discussion of the siege of Neuss are found in the articles in *Neuss, Burgund und das Reich* (Neuss, 1975), especially Joseph Lange's "Pulchra Nussia: Die Belagerung der Stadt Neuss, 1474/75," 9-190. But see also Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Artillery of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1363-1477* (Woodbridge, 2005), 174—84; Charles Brusten, "Charles le Téméraire et la campagne de Neuss, 1474-75," *Publications du centre européen d'études burgundo-médianes* 13 (1971): 67-73; and Jean-Marie Cauchies, "Charles le Hardi à Neuss (1474/75): Folie militaire ou contrainte politique," *Publication du centre européen d'études bourguignonnes (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles)* 36 (1996): 105-15.

⁴⁵ On the battle of Grandson, see especially the articles in *Grandson 1476: Essai d'approche d'une action militaire du XV^e siècle*, ed. Daniel Reichel (Lausanne, 1976) and Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 188-92. For the battle of Murten, see the articles in *Die Murtenschlacht: Ein Schweizer Ereignis in Europas Geschichte zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, 1476-1976* (Fribourg, 1976); P. E. de Vallière, P. E., *Moral: Le siège et la bataille, 1476* (Lausanne, 1926); and Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 191-97.

⁴⁶ Cited above.

*Iberia*⁴⁷

- 1312-1350 Reign of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-1350), Europe's highest ranking victim of the Black Death. During the latter part of the reign, both France and England vie for a Castilian alliance. While not joining either side outright, Alfonso generally leans toward France.
- 1329 Joanna (Joan) II, the daughter of King Louis X (1314-1316) is crowned queen of Navarre (1328-1349) by her cousin, King Philip VI. Her relationship to Louis makes her the closest possible heir to the French throne after the death of Charles IV in 1328; however, according to Salic Law, she is ineligible to inherit the crown and is passed over for a second time.
- 1336 Pere III (also called Pedro IV) "the Ceremonious" (1336-1387) becomes king of Aragon and rules until 1387.⁴⁸
- 1349 The son of Joanna II, Charles II "the Bad," (1349-1387) is crowned King of Navarre.⁴⁹
- 1350 Pedro I "the Cruel" (1350-1366/69) begins his reign as king of Castile.⁵⁰ An English fleet, led by the constable of France, Charles de la Cerda, serving Edward III and his son, Edward, the Black Prince (d. 1376), defeats a Castilian fleet at the battle of Winchelsea (also known as the battle of Les Espagnols sur Mer).
- 1354 Charles II of Navarre kills Charles de la Cerda, and then allies himself with the Black Prince through the treaty of Mantes.

⁴⁷ P. E. Russell's *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955) is one of the seminal works of history, although it is becoming dated in parts. However, because it is so good there has been little further work done on the subject. A very dated look at the Castilian-French relationship is Georges Daumet, *Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV^e et XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1898), but it is all we have except perhaps for Emilio Mitre Fernández, "Castilla ante la Guerra de los Cien Años: actividad militar y diplomática de los orígenes de conflicto al fin de las grandes treguas (c. 1340-c. 1415)," in *XXXI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 18 a 22 de julio de 2004* (Pamplona, 2005), 199-236.

⁴⁸ On some of Pedro's interactions with France, see Joaquín Miret y Sans, "Négociations de Pierre IV d'Aragon avec la cour de France (1366-1367)," *Revue hispanique* 13 (1905): 76-135 and Antonio Gutiérrez de Velasco, "Pierre IV et Bertrand Duguesclin," *Les cahiers de l'Iroise*, n.s. 17.2 (Apr-Jun 1970): 57-66.

⁴⁹ For a biography of Charles of Navarre, see André Plaisse, *Charles dit le Mauvais, comte d'Evreux, roi de Navarre, capitaine de Paris* (Evreux, 1972).

⁵⁰ A nice introduction to the military history of Pedro I of Castile is L. J. Andrew Villalon, "Pedro the Cruel: Portrait of a Royal Failure," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and Joseph T. Snow (New York, 1997), 201-16. For a biography of the Castilian king, see Clara Elstow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350-1369* (Leiden, 1995).

- 1356-1366 War of the Two Pedros is fought between Aragon and Castile.⁵¹
- 1358 Charles of Navarre leads a French army in the suppression of the *Jacquerie* revolt.⁵²
- 1364 Bertrand du Guesclin leads a French army to victory over the Navarrese led by an English general, Jean de Grailly, captal de Buch, at the battle of Cocherel.⁵³
- 1365 Charles V of France and Charles II of Navarre make peace. Bertrand du Guesclin is asked by the French king to hire Free Companies to fight with Enrique II Trastámara (1366/69-1379) in an attempt to seize the Castilian throne from his half-brother, Pedro I.
- 1366 Enrique de Trastámara gains the kingship of Castile.
- 1367 At the battle of Nájera (April 3), an army supporting Pedro I, led by the Black Prince defeats the forces serving Enrique II led by Bertrand du Guesclin.⁵⁴ As a result, Pedro is restored to the throne.
- 1369 Enrique defeats Pedro at the battle of Montiel, executes him, and rules as king of Castile, despite continuing opposition from Pedro's die-hard supporters and Castile's neighbors.
- 1372 John of Gaunt, son of Edward III and son-in-law of Pedro the Cruel, claims Castile. Enrique II forces Fernando I of Portugal (1367-1383) to break his alliance with John of Gaunt. Castilian naval forces lent by Enrique to France join the French fleet in

⁵¹ On the War of the Two Pedros, see the recent article by Donald J. Kagay, "The Defense of the Crown of Aragon during the War of the Two Pedros (1356-1366)," *Journal of Military History* 71 (2007): 11-34.

⁵² The best study for military historians on the *Jacquerie* is David M. Bessen, "The *Jacquerie*: Class War or Co-opted Rebellion?" *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 43-59, but see also Raymond Cazelles, "The *Jacquerie*," in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge, 1984), 74-83 and the old standard, Simeon Luce, *Histoire de Jacquerie* (Paris, 1894).

⁵³ See Kenneth A. Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries*, vol. 1: *The Great Companies* (Oxford, 2001), 86-117, 155-223; Fowler, "L'emploi des mercenaires par les pouvoirs Ibériques et l'intervention militaire Anglaise en Espagne (vers 1361-vers 1379)," in *Realidad e imágenes del poder: España a fines de la edad media*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi (Valladolid, 1988), 23-55; L. J. Andrew Villalon, "'Seeking Castles in Spain': Sir Hugh Calveley and the Free Companies' Intervention in Iberian Warfare (1366-1369)," in *Crusaders, Condottieri, and Cannon: Medieval Warfare in Societies around the Mediterranean*, ed. L. J. Andrew Villalon, and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden, 2003), 305-28; and Edouard Perroy, "France, England, and Navarre from 1359 to 1364," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 13 (1935/36): 151-60 for this and some of the following events.

⁵⁴ This is one of the most under-researched of any major battle that took place during the Hundred Years War despite the presence of the Black Prince and Bertrand du Guesclin. The best study is L. J. Andrew Villalon, "Spanish Involvement in the Hundred Years War and the Battle of Nájera," in *Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus*, ed. L. J. Andrew Villalon and Donald J. Kagay (Leiden, 2005), 3-74, but see also Fernando Castillo Cárceres, "Analysis de una batalla: Nájera 1367," *Cuadernos de historia de Espana* 73 (1991): 107-46.

defeating the English off the port of La Rochelle. This results in the re-establishment of a significant French naval presence in the Bay of Biscay.⁵⁵

- 1373 Fernando of Portugal and John of Gaunt again form an alliance against Enrique II, but the short, unsuccessful war that follows ends in the establishment of peace between Portugal and Castile.
- 1377 Castilian corsairs raid the southern coast of England.⁵⁶
- 1378 England makes peace with Charles of Navarre in order to attack Castile.
- 1379 Enrique II dies and is succeeded by his son, Juan I (1379-1390), as king of Castile. John of Gaunt once again claims the Castilian throne.
- 1380 The English defeat a Franco-Castilian fleet off the coast of Kinsale, Ireland.
- 1382 By marrying Beatrice of Portugal, Juan I forges an alliance with her father, King Fernando, causing the English to evacuate the kingdom.
- 1383 Fernando dies and the Castilian king claims the throne of Portugal through his wife. However, this is not accepted by the Portuguese and Juan is forced to march his army into Portugal.⁵⁷
- 1384 The Portuguese defeat Juan at the battle of Atoleiros. The Castilian king begins a siege of Lisbon but has to raise it within a few weeks after plague decimates his besieging troops.
- 1385 João I (1385-1433), the illegitimate son of Pedro I of Portugal (1357-1367) and Grand-Master of the Order of Aviz, is crowned the king by the Portuguese *cortes*. He is supported by John of Gaunt who sends English longbowmen to fight with the Portuguese in their stunning defeat of the Castilians at the battle of Aljubarrota.⁵⁸
- 1386 The treaty of Windsor is signed between England and Portugal, culminating in the wedding of Philippa of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's daughter, to João the following year. John of Gaunt uses the occasion to launch an attack on Castile.

⁵⁵ James Sherborne, "The Battle of La Rochelle and the War at Sea, 1372-5," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 42 (1969): 17-29; José María Blanco Nuñez, "Las armadas de Castilla y Aragón durante la Guerra de los Cien Años," in *XXII Kongreß der Internationalen Kommission für Militärgeschichte Acta 22: Von Crécy bis Mohács Kriegswesen im späten Mittelalter (1346-1526)* (Vienna, 1997), 269-80.

⁵⁶ C. F. Richmond, "The War at Sea," in *The Hundred Years War*, ed. Kenneth Fowler (London, 1971), 102-7; Michael Hughes, "The Fourteenth-Century French Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight," in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), 121-44.

⁵⁷ Carlos Bessa, "Le Portugal 1383-1385: crise, art militaire et consolidation de l'indépendance," in *XXII. Kongreß*, 28-50, only just introduces the subject.

⁵⁸ While a good military study of the battle of Aljubarrota in English has yet to be written, the battlefield has been excavated and a short summary of the findings is in Afonso Do Paço, "The Battle of Aljubarrota," *Antiquity* 37 (1963): 264-69. A Portuguese treatment of the battle is João Gouveia Montiero, *A Batalha Real. Aljubarrota—1385*, 2nd ed. (Lisbon, 2003). On the aftermath, see Thomas M. Izbicki, "The Punishment of Pride: Castilian Reactions to the Battle of Aljubarrota," in *Medieval Iberia*, 217-28.

- 1387 Charles III (1387-1425) succeeds Charles II as king of Navarre, and Joan (Juan) I (1387-1395) succeeds Pere III as king of Aragon.
- 1390 Enrique III (1390-1406), who in 1388 had married Katherine of Lancaster, John of Gaunt's daughter, succeeds his father, Juan, as king of Castile.
- 1410 The death of Marti (Martin) I, king of Aragon (1395-1410), without direct heirs initiates a two-year interregnum. Ferran (Fernando) I "the Just" (1412-1416), a member of the Castilian ruling house of Trastámara, is crowned king of Aragon in 1412.
- 1458 Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, defeats a Castilian fleet in the English Channel.
- 1472 Although Joan II, king of Aragon and Navarre, (1458-1479) and Louis XI of France cooperate in suppressing a Catalan revolt in Perpignan, once it is settled they fight against each other over possession of the region.⁵⁹
- 1475 The Aragonese-French war ends when Louis captures Perpignan, Roussillon, and Cerdagne.

While German and Scottish troops actually served in the Low Countries and France during the Hundred Years War, it was primarily the other way round in the case of Iberia. Here, French, English, and Bretons brought the Hundred Years War into the Peninsula through their massive intervention. On opposite sides of the intervention stood two of the conflict's dominant figures: Bertrand DuGuesclin led the Franco-Bretons supporting the usurper, Enrique II, while Edward, the Black Prince, commanded the army that restored Pedro I to the throne. Apparently, it was during his 1367 campaign in northern Spain fought on behalf of Pedro, that the prince contracted the illness that eventually killed him. This would put his young son, Richard II, on the throne of England in his stead, leading to what many historians regard as the principal reason for the English military setbacks at the end of the fourteenth century. Of equal interest to French historians has been the participation on the other side—that supporting Enrique de Trastámara—of the future constable of France, Du Guesclin, the man whom many historians see as the architect of French victory at the next stage of the Hundred Years War (1369-1380). Although the Black Prince achieved a crushing victory at the battle of Nájera (1367), as in many other English battlefield successes this did not lead to victory in the larger conflict. In reality, the victory at Nájera decided

⁵⁹ The standard work remains Joseph Calmette, *Louis XI, Jean II et la révolution catalane* (Toulouse, 1903).

nothing. Within months, the Black Prince, estranged from his ally, Pedro I, evacuated the peninsula. At the same time, Enrique returned from France at the head of a rebuilt army and eighteen months later won at Montiel (1369) what would turn out to be the decisive battle of the civil war. Here, he captured and executed Pedro I, thereby securing his place on the Castilian throne.

No historian suggests that John of Gaunt was anywhere near as great a military leader as his elder brother, the Black Prince. However, his assistance to the Portuguese against the Castilians during the 1380s is almost always viewed as a military victory. For their part, Portuguese historians have suggested that their English counterparts overstate the role of the longbow at the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385. Whatever the case, there can be no doubt that this period of Iberian conflict and its influence on the Hundred Years War requires much more investigation than has been undertaken to date. English historians sidestep, if not completely ignore, the fact that John of Gaunt's success in Iberia may have less to do with his military skills than his ability to produce marriageable daughters, two of whom—Philippa and Katherine—became spouses of peninsular monarchs.

Outside of Nájera and Aljubarrota, the role of the Navarrese in that conflict remains largely unexplored. Neither Joanna II nor her son, Charles "the Bad," has received an adequate biography—Plaisse's treatment of Charles notwithstanding.⁶⁰ Hence, the fascinating figures have not received the historical attention they deserve, despite their connections to almost everything that happened in France during the lead-up to and the first few decades of the Hundred Years War. Finally, what were all those Castilian ships doing fighting against the English fleet during these centuries? Can we call this naval warfare on a state level or was it simply piracy on a more private level?

⁶⁰ I find Plaisse's biography, *Charles dit le Mauvais* (cited above) to be fraught with more popular than scholarly writing, although it is certainly the place where a good scholarly biographer needs to start his study.

*The Low Countries*⁶¹

- 1302 The county of Flanders, led by the town of Bruges, rebels against France. The Flemish victory at the battle of Courtrai prompts Pope Boniface VIII (1296-1303) to issue the bull *Unam sanctam*.⁶²
- 1304 The French victory at the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle essentially ends the Flemish rebellion.⁶³
- 1312 Robert of Béthune, count of Flanders, reluctantly concedes the castellanies of Lille, Douai, and Béthune to King Philip IV "the Fair" of France (1285-1314) as part of the treaty of Athis-sur-Orge.
- 1314 Philip IV campaigns briefly in Flanders; although initially quite successful, he suspends his campaign when threatened by a tax revolt from towns in France.
- 1315 Louis X, who had succeeded to the throne of France in 1314, fails to conquer anything during his Flemish campaign.
- 1320 Robert of Béthune failed in his attempt to win back Lille in 1319 and this forces his submission to Philip V (1316-1322) in Paris.

⁶¹ An excellent work on the Low Countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, ed. Edward Peters, trans. Elizabeth Fackelman (Philadelphia, 1999). Before this period about the only solid book is F. Quicke, *Les Pays-Bas à la veille de la période Bourguignonne, 1356-1384: Contribution à l'histoire politique et diplomatique de l'Europe occidentale dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle* (Brussels, 1947). As with many other subjects in this article, there is a need for a history of the Low Countries' urban revolts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For an introduction, see Kelly DeVries, "The Rebellions of the Southern Low Countries' Towns during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *Power and the City in the Netherlandic World*, ed. Wayne Te Brake and Wim Kibler (Leiden, 2006), 27-44 and Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, "Patterns of Urban Rebellion in Medieval Flanders," *Journal of Medieval History* 31 (2005): 369-93.

⁶² There are numerous studies on the battle of Courtrai, especially with the recent seven-hundredth anniversary of the battle. The best is still J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs: Courtrai, 11 July 1302*, ed. Kelly DeVries, trans. David Richard Ferguson (Woodbridge, 2002). However, scholars should also consult Philippe Despriet, *Kortrijk 1302: Keerpunt in de Frans-Vlaamse oorlog, 1297-1305* (Courtrai, 2002); J. F. Verbruggen and Rolf Falt, *1302 opstand in Vlaanderen* (Tielt, 2002); and the articles in *Omtrent 1302*, ed. Paul Trio, Dirk Heirbaut, and Dirk van den Auweele (Leuven, 2002). A concise account is in DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 9-22. Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Philippe le Bel et Flandre: Les origines de la guerre de cent ans* (Paris, 1896) certainly saw the connection between these events and the Hundred Years War, but few have followed his lead.

⁶³ J. F. Verbruggen, *Vlaanderen na de Guldensporenslag* (Bruges, 1991) is one of the very few works on the Flemish rebellion after the battle of Courtrai. It is badly in need of translation. On the battles of Arques (1303) and Mons-en-Pévèle (1304) see DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 23-48. And on the Treaty of Athis-sur-Orge see Randall Lesaffer, "*Cédant arma togae*. De vrede van Athis-sur-Orge (1305)," in *Omtrent 1302*, ed. Paul Trio, Dirk Heirbaut, and Dirk van den Auweele (Leuven, 2002): 161-81.

- 1323 A rebellion of burghers and peasants breaks out in Flanders.⁶⁴
- 1327 Edward III begins putting together a coalition with Flanders but does not fulfill his end of the agreement.⁶⁵
- 1328 The battle of Cassel is won by newly-crowned French king, Philip VI, ending the Flemish revolt.⁶⁶
- 1337 Edward III sends an embassy to meet with Low Countries' princes, using England's control of the wool trade to gain the adherence of most of them to his leadership. When the count of Flanders, Louis I of Nevers (1322—1346), refuses to join the others, an action that results in a wool embargo, Jacob van Artevelde leads an uprising of Ghentenaars which causes the count to flee to France.⁶⁷
- 1338 Edward III travels to Antwerp and meets with Low Countries' leaders.
- 1340 In Ghent, Edward III proclaims himself king of France. He later returns to Flanders, winning the naval battle of Sluys, but fails in his efforts to besiege Tournai and returns to England.⁶⁸
- 1345 Jacob van Artevelde is killed in Ghent by a dissatisfied faction of townspeople.
- 1346 Liégeois burghers defeat their newly-appointed prince-bishop, Englebert de la Marck, at the battle of Vottem.⁶⁹ He is restored to rule after granting concessions to the rebels.
- 1349 Named count three years earlier, Louis II of Male (1346-1384), now retakes the county of Flanders.
- 1355 At the death of Jan III (1313-1355), his eldest daughter, Joanna, and the count of Flanders, Louis of Male, Jan's son-in-law by his second

⁶⁴ On the Flemish rebellion of 1323-1328 the best works are William H. TeBrake, *A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in Flanders, 1323-1328* (Philadelphia, 1993) and J. Sabbe, *Vlaanderen in opstand, 1323-1328: Nikolaas Zannekin, Zeger Janszoon en Willem de Deken* (Bruges, 1992), although both are rather slight on military history.

⁶⁵ A historical work on par with Russell's, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward III and Richard II* is Henry Stephen Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347* (Ann Arbor, 1929), although some updating work on the period has been done by Low Countries' scholars.

⁶⁶ See DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 100-11 and the articles in *Mkolaas Zannekin en de slag bij Kassel, 1328-1978: Bijdrage tot de studie van de 14de eeuw en de landelijke geschiedenis van de Westhoek* (Diksmuide, 1978).

⁶⁷ David Nicholas', *The Van Arteveldes of Ghent: The Varieties of Vendetta and the Hero in History* (Ithaca, 1988) has become the standard history of Jacob van Artevelde, but I still like Hans Van Werveke, *Jacques van Artevelde* (Brussels, 1943) and Patricia Carson, *James van Artevelde: The Man from Ghent* (Ghent, 1980).

⁶⁸ On the battle of Sluys see Kelly DeVries, "God, Leadership, Flemings, and Archery: Contemporary Perceptions of Victory and Defeat at the Battle of Sluys, 1340," *American Neptune* 55 (1995): 223-42. And on the siege of Tournai, see Kelly DeVries, "Contemporary Views of Edward III's Failure at the Siege of Tournai, 1340," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 70-105 and Clifford S. Rogers, "An Unknown News Bulletin from the Siege of Tournai in 1340," *War in History* 5 (1998): 358-66.

⁶⁹ On the battle of Vottem, see DeVries, *Infantry Warfare*, 150-54.

- daughter, Margaret, fight over succession to the duchy of Brabant. The war will end in Joanna's favor in 1357.⁷⁰
- 1379 Flemish burghers, led by Ghentenaar, Philip van Artevelde (son of Jacob), revolt against their count, Louis of Male.⁷¹
- 1382 The town of Ghent gains victory over Bruges at the battle of Bever-shoutsveld,⁷² but later in the year at the battle of Rosebeke the Flemish rebels are defeated—and Philip van Artevelde is killed—by a French army led by King Charles VI and Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy (1364-1404).
- 1383 Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, launches a disastrous "Crusade" into Flanders; he is ultimately defeated at the siege of Ypres.⁷³
- 1384 Philip the Bold succeeds as count of Flanders at the death of his father-in-law, Louis of Male.⁷⁴
- 1385 Ghent surrenders to Philip the Bold, ending the Flemish rebellion.⁷⁵
- 1390 Jean of Bavaria, brother-in-law of Duke Jean the Fearless of Burgundy (1404—1419), is made prince-bishop of Liège.
- 1402 The Liégeois rebel against Jean of Bavaria.

⁷⁰ On this war and others participated in by the Brabantese during the last half of the fourteenth century, see Serge Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant, 1356-1406* (Woodbridge, 2004) and idem, "The Duchy of Brabant Caught Between France and England: Geopolitics and Diplomacy during the First Half of the Hundred Years War," in *Hundred Years War*, 211-40. For the inheritance conflict, see F. Blockmans, "De erfstrijd tussen Vlaanderen en Brabant in 1356," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis van Nederland* 69 (1953): 11-16.

⁷¹ On the 1379-1385 Flemish rebellion, see R. Demuyne, "De gentsch oorlog (1379-1385): Oorzaken en karakter," *Handelingen van de maatschappij voor geschiedenis en oudheid te Gent*, n.s. 5 (1951): 305-18; M. Vandermaesen and M. Ryckaert, "De Genste opstand (1379-1385)," in *De witte Kaproenen: De Gentse opstand en de geschiedenis van de Brugse Leie*, ed. Maurice Vandermaesen, Marc Ryckaert, and Maurits Coornaert. (Ghent, 1979), 7-31; David Nicholas, "The Scheldt Trade and the 'Ghent War' of 1379-85," *Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire de Belgique* 144 (1978): 189-359; and Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 60-70. For Philip van Artevelde's role in the 1379-1385 Flemish rebellion, see Nicholas, *The Van Arteveldes of Ghent*.

⁷² Kelly DeVries, "The Forgotten Battle of Bevershoutsveld, 3 May 1382: Technological Innovation and Military Significance," in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Matthew Strickland (Stamford, 1998), 289-302. The battle of Rosebeke must also be revisited, with Friedrich Mohr's German dissertation, *Die Schlacht bei Rosebeke am 27. November 1382: Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Kriegsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1906) being the only lengthy study.

⁷³ The bishop of Norwich's Crusade is badly in need of a new study. Until then, see George M. Wrong, *The Crusade of 1383 Known as That of the Bishop of Norwich* (London, 1892) and Kelly DeVries, "The Reasons for the Bishop of Norwich's Attack on Flanders in 1383," in *Fourteenth Century England* 3, 155-65.

⁷⁴ The best biography of Philip the Bold remains Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, 1962).

⁷⁵ Recounting numerous Ghentenaar rebellions against the Burgundians, see Marc Boone, *Gent en de Bourgondische hertogen, 1385-1453: Een sociaal-politieke studie van een staatsvormingsproces* (Brussels, 1990).

- 1406 Antoine, son of Philip the Bold, inherits the duchy of Brabant (1406-1415) from his aunt, Joanna.
- 1408 Jean the Fearless raises the siege of Maastricht by Liégeois rebels and then defeats their remaining forces at the battle of Othée.⁷⁶
- 1425 Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and uncle to King Henry VI of England, through his wife, Jacqueline of Bavaria, claims the counties of Hainaut and Holland. When she refuses to recognize his claims, Humphrey tries for three years to take them by force.⁷⁷
- 1436 At Countess Jacqueline's death, Hainaut and Holland become the possessions of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. The Brugeois begin a two-year rebellion against Burgundy.⁷⁸
- 1449 Ghent rebels against Philip.⁷⁹
- 1453 Philip defeats the Ghentenaars and other Flemings at the battle of Gavere.⁸⁰
- 1455 The revolt of Utrecht, Guelders, and Deventer leads to an invasion by Philip the Good.
- 1465 The Liégeois revolt against Philip's son, the future duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold.⁸¹
- 1466 Charles besieges Dinant, severely punishing the citizens after the town falls.⁸²
- 1467 Liège surrenders for the first time to the Burgundians.
- 1468 The Liégeois are defeated by the Burgundians at the battle of Brusthem.⁸³

⁷⁶ See Kelly DeVries, "John the Fearless' Way of War," in *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth Century Europe*, ed. Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves (Leiden, 2004), 39-55. On the battle of Othée, in particular, see Hubert Carrier, "Si vera est fama: Le retentissement de la bataille d'Othée dans la culture historique au XV^e siècle," *Revue historique* 305 (2001): 639-70; Yves Charlier, "La bataille d'Othée et sa place dans l'histoire de la principauté de Liège," *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois* 97 (1985): 138-278; and the dated Erich Wille, *Die Schlacht von Othée, 23 septembre 1408* (Berlin, 1908). On the sieges of Maastricht, see G. D. Franquinet, "Les sièges de Maastricht en 1407 et 1408, avec annexes," *Annales de la société historique et archéologique à Maastricht* 1 (1854-55): 205-37.

⁷⁷ Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 94-98.

⁷⁸ J. Dumolyn's *De Brugse opstand van 1436-1438* (Courtrai-Heule, 1997) is the only history of this revolt, but this work is far more interested in its social than its military history.

⁷⁹ On this rebellion, see Jelle Haemers, *De Gentse opstand (1449-1453). De strijd tussen rivaliserende netwerken om het stedelijke kapitaal* (Kortrijk-Heule, 2004).

⁸⁰ Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 132-34. On the battle of Gavere see V Fris, "La bataille de Gavere," *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand* 18 (1910): 185-233 and Luc de Vos, "La bataille de Gavere le 23 juillet 1453. La victoire de l'organisation," in *Kongreß*, 145-57.

⁸¹ For the revolt of Liège against Burgundy in 1465-1470 see the articles in *Liège et Bourgogne: Actes du colloque tenu à Liège les 28, 29 et 30 octobre 1968* (Liège, 1972) and Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 146-65.

⁸² Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 152-56.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 158-61.

1470 Charles defeats and sacks Liège, thus ending the Liégeois revolt.

1473 Charles captures the duchy of Guelders.⁸⁴

The work of Belgian historians is simply not read by English and French scholars, even that part of it written in English or French—which in fact is the majority. Some of this may be the fault of Belgian historians who delight in pointing out that the southern Low Countries was not only the wealthiest, but also the most rebellious region in late medieval Europe. But most of this neglect derives from a simple ignorance of English and French historians concerning the true influence of the Low Countries in the Hundred Years War. The interaction of Edward III with various Low Countries princes has been largely neglected. Nor has there been much interest shown in the Burgundian acquisition of these principalities, until virtually the whole of the Low Countries had fallen to that duchy.⁸⁵ This neglect has given rise to some odd conclusions: that the failure at Tournai was solely one of non-funding by the English Parliament; that Edward III lingered in Crécy because he had visited Ponthieu when he was a young boy; that the bishop of Norwich simply decided to fight his Crusade against the supporters of the pope; and so forth. And what is one supposed to make of Humphrey of Gloucester's relationship to and war against his wife, Jacqueline of Bavaria, countess of Hainaut and Holland, with so little work done on it from the English side?

Then there is the role of the numerous urban rebellions that were waged in the southern Low Countries during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The fact that there were many rebellions is well understood, but the problems they led to in the Hundred Years War have been inadequately examined. All too often, the political, military, and economic problems that faced those fighting the Hundred Years War, including not only France and England but also Burgundy, are not linked with these rebellions in the Low Countries. Nor has the rivalry of the various Low Countries principalities, or even of the towns within those principalities, been given due consideration by military historians. Yet, as one reads about the competition between the Brugeois and

⁸⁴ Ibid., 170-73.

⁸⁵ Despite the importance placed on these acquisitions by English historian Richard Vaughan in his important studies.

Ghentenaars at the siege of Calais in 1436,⁸⁶ it is hard to over-estimate the importance of these regional rivalries.

*Burgundy*⁸⁷

- 1318 With the marriage of his daughter, Jeanne III, to duke Eudes IV of Burgundy (1295-1349), King Philip V of France makes peace with the Burgundians.
- 1330 The duke of Burgundy gains the counties of Burgundy and Artois when Jeanne III inherits them from her mother.
- 1349 Philip of Rouvres succeeds his grandfather, Eudes IV, as duke of Burgundy (1349-1361).
- 1361 At the death of the childless Philip of Rouvres, King Jean II of France (1350-1364) gains the duchy of Burgundy.
- 1362 At the battle of Brignais in Burgundy, the Free Companies defeat the French army.
- 1363 Philip the Bold is made the first Valois duke of Burgundy by his father, Jean II.⁸⁸
- 1369 Philip marries Margaret, the daughter of Louis of Male, count of Flanders.
- 1380 With his brothers, Louis I of Anjou and Jean, duke of Berry, Philip serves as co-regent for Charles VI (until 1388).
- 1392 When Charles VI exhibits signs of mental instability, Philip is again named regent with his brother, Jean of Berry, (until 1402 when the regency is transferred to Louis of Orléans).
- 1396 Jean the Fearless leads a crusader army to destruction at the battle of Nicopolis.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ I have investigated this more fully in "Calculating Profits and Losses during the Hundred Years War," in *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H. A. Munro*, ed. Lawrin Armstrong, Ivana Elbl, and Martin M. Elbl (Leiden, 2007), 187-209.

⁸⁷ Valois Burgundy is the subject of a number of good recent books. The best books to start with are: Richard Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975) and Bertrand Schnerb, *L'état Bourguignon, 1363-1477* (Paris, 1999). (The Vaughan biographies will be cited separately below.) On the military history of the Burgundian dukes see Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*.

⁸⁸ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, 1962).

⁸⁹ Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934) is the standard history of this conflict, but a better military history is David Nicolle, *Nicopolis, 1396: The Last Crusade* (London, 1999).

- 1404 Jean the Fearless succeeds his father, Philip, as duke of Burgundy (1404-1419).⁹⁰ As he begins to dispute the regency of Louis of Orléans, the Burgundian-Armagnac civil war breaks out.
- 1405 Jean gains Paris and takes control of the throne.
- 1407 Louis of Orléans is assassinated in Paris by Jean who confesses to the murder but rationalizes it as a "tyrannicide."⁹¹
- 1409 Jean is absolved of Louis of Orléans' assassination by the treaty of Chartres; however, fighting between the Burgundian and Armagnac factions does not cease.
- 1411 The Burgundians defeat the Armagnacs at the battle of Saint-Cloud.
- 1412 King Henry IV of England forms an alliance with the Armagnacs by the treaty of Bourges, but this is nullified later in the year by the treaty of Auxerre temporarily making peace between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs.
- 1413 Jean is exiled from Paris during the Cabochien riots.⁹² The Armagnacs resume control over the French kingdom.
- 1414 Henry V forms an alliance with the Burgundian duke.⁹³ As a result, the Armagnacs drag Charles VI along on their campaign into Burgundian lands.
- 1415 With the treaty of Arras, Jean makes peace with the Armagnacs, but does not fight alongside them at the battle of Agincourt, even though his brothers, Duke Antoine of Brabant and Count Philip II of Nevers join the French army.
- 1416 Duke Jean meets with Henry V at Calais before the king's return to England to raise money for further campaigning in France.
- 1418 Paris falls to Jean.

⁹⁰ See Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London, 1966) and Bertrand Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur: Le prince meurtrier* (Paris, 2005). Many believe that Vaughan's biography of John the Fearless is his weakest work on the four Valois dukes of Burgundy. Schnerb's biography is a superb study and should be consulted first for military history.

⁹¹ On the French civil war between Burgundians and Armagnacs, see J. d'Avout, *La querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons* (Paris, 1943). This is still of value, but has largely been supplanted by Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: La maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988).

⁹² There is no modern study of this important event, although A. Coville's *Les cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413* (Paris, 1888) must still be considered.

⁹³ Leonard V D. Owen, *The Connection Between England and Burgundy During the First Half of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1909) is one of the few studies that goes into the relationship of Burgundy and England between the Burgundian-Armagnac civil war and the Congress of Arras.

- 1419 Jean is assassinated on Montereau Bridge by associates of the dauphin, later Charles VII (1422-1461).⁹⁴ Jean's son, Philip the Good, inherits the duchy of Burgundy and immediately allies with Henry V.⁹⁵
- 1420 Burgundian troops participate in the capture of Montereau, Allibaudières, Sens, and Melun.
- 1421 Philip captures Saint-Riquier and Abbeville, and wins the battle of Mons-en-Vimeu.
- 1423 English and Burgundian forces defeat the French at the sieges of Le Crotoy and Landrecies and the battle of Cravant.
- 1430 The Burgundians besiege Compiègne, capturing Joan of Arc but failing to take the town.⁹⁶ Joan is sold to the English and subsequently tried and burned at Rouen.
- 1432 Philip the Good fails in the siege of Lagny-sur-Marne.
- 1433 The Burgundians capture Coursent, Mussy l'Eveque, Fortepice, Aval-Ion, Saint-Valery-sur-Somme, and Haplincourt.
- 1434 Philip captures Belleville.
- 1435 At the congress of Arras, the Burgundians renounce the English alliance, but do not actually side with the French.⁹⁷
- 1436 Philip besieges English-held Calais but must raise the siege after only a few days.⁹⁸
- 1437 Philip purchases the duchy of Luxembourg after the death of Emperor Sigismund threatened to lead to war.
- 1456 The dauphin, later Louis XI, flees to Burgundy for safety during a conflict with his father, Charles VII.⁹⁹
- 1465 The War of the Public Weal is fought primarily between Charles the Bold, son of Philip the Good, and Louis XI.¹⁰⁰ The battle of Montlhéry

⁹⁴ John's assassination is studied in P. Cockshaw, "L'assassinat du duc Jean de Bourgogne à Montereau: Études des sources," in *Les Pays-Bas bourguignons: Histoire et institutions. Mélanges André Uytendaele*, ed. J.-M. Duvosquel, J. Nazet, and A. Vanrie (Brussels, 1996), 145-62 and the excellent Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société: L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 Novembre 1407* (Paris, 1992).

⁹⁵ Philip the Good is the subject of a number of recent biographies, including Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apotheosis of Burgundy* (London, 1970); Emmanuel Bourassin, *Philippe le Bon* (Paris, 1999); and Paul Bonenfant, *Philippe le Bon, sa politique, son action* (Paris and Brussels, 1996).

⁹⁶ Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 101-4.

⁹⁷ The seminal work on this Congress is Joyceline Gledhill Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras, 1435: A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1955). Anglo-Burgundian relations after the Congress of Arras is well presented in Marie-Rose Thielmans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignonnes et l'Angleterre, 1435-1467* (Brussels, 1966).

⁹⁸ See Monique Sommé, "L'armée Bourguignonne au siège de Calais de 1436," in *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne XIV^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. P. Contamine et al. (Lille, 1991), 197-219 and Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 101-10.

⁹⁹ For the War of Public Weal and other military interactions of Louis XI and Charles the Bold, see Paul Murray Kendall, *Louis XI: "... the Universal Spider..."* (London, 1974) and Jacques Heers, *Louis XI* (Paris, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ A good recent study is Jean-Marie Cauthies, *Louis XI et Charles le Hardi: De Péronne à Nancy (1468-1477): le conflit* (Brussels, 1996).

is nominally won by Charles who follows it up with a short bombardment of Paris.¹⁰¹

- 1467 Charles becomes duke of Burgundy.¹⁰²
- 1468 The new duke marries Margaret of York, sister of the English king, Edward IV (1461-1483). Louis XI appears at the side of Charles during the siege of Liège, although he had previously allied himself with the Liégeois rebels.¹⁰³
- 1470 Edward IV undergoes an exile in Burgundy for more than a year before returning to England to regain his throne from Henry VI.
- 1471 Louis XI invades Burgundian-held Picardy, capturing Saint-Quentin, Amiens, Corbie, Roye, and Montdidier.
- 1472 Charles of Burgundy fails in his attempt to recapture Amiens and Corbie, but succeeds at Nesle, Roye, and Montdidier. He then besieges Beauvais, but an impassioned defense of their town by the Beauvaisis keep it from falling to the Burgundians.¹⁰⁴
- 1474 Charles formalizes his alliance with Edward IV with the treaty of Picquigny. The Burgundians begin the siege of Neuss.
- 1475 Louis XI takes advantage of Charles's absence at Neuss to capture Montdidier, Roye, Corbie, Jonvelle, and Jussey, while also causing damage to Saint-Riquier, Hesdin, Doullens, Arras, Bavay, Avesnes, and Valenciennes. Charles ends these attacks by signing the treaty of Soleuvre with the French king. The Burgundians invade and conquer Lorraine.¹⁰⁵
- 1476 Charles loses the battles of Grandson and Murten.

¹⁰¹ On the Burgundian army during the War of the Public Weal, see Charles Brusten, *L'armée Bourguignonne de 1465 à 1468* (Brussels, 1954). On the battle of Monthléry and the subsequent bombardment of Paris see Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 142-49.

¹⁰² Recent biographies of Charles the Bold include Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973); Klaus Schelle, *Charles le Téméraire: La Bourgogne entre les lys de France et l'aigle de l'Empire* (Fayard, 1979); Werner Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne: Das Ende des Hauses Burgund* (Göttingen, 1976); and Jean-Pierre Soisson, *Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1999); Henri Dubois, *Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 2004).

¹⁰³ On the relationship between Charles and Edward see Mark Ballard, "Du sang de Lancestre, je suis extrait...": Did Charles the Bold Remain a Loyal Lancastrian?" in *L'Angleterre et les pays Bourguignons: Relations et comparaisons (XV^e-XVI^e siècles* (Neuchâtel, 1995), 83-90, and on the marriage between Charles and Margaret of York see Patricia Robins, "Le mariage de Marguerite d'York et de Charles le Téméraire en 1468," *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen* 95 (1991): 75-96.

¹⁰⁴ A popular account of this siege is Sylvie Binet, *Jeanne Hachette: l'héroïne de Beauvais* (Paris, 1995). See also Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 168-71.

¹⁰⁵ See Smith and DeVries, *Artillery*, 185-88.

1477 The Burgundian duke loses the battle of Nancy where he also loses his life.¹⁰⁶ Louis XI immediately marches into Picardy, Artois, and Burgundy.¹⁰⁷

Of all non-Anglo-French entities influencing the Hundred Years War, it is the duchy of Burgundy that has received the most interest. The role of the dukes in fighting on various sides during the conflict can be easily traced through the seminal work of Richard Vaughan. Nevertheless, errors persist. For example, upon occasion, historians still roll out the old "wives' tale" of a deal being done between Guillaume de Flavy and the English at Compiègne, an arrangement that led to the capture of Joan of Arc,¹⁰⁸ despite the fact that it was the Burgundians, and not the English, besieging the city.¹⁰⁹ Historians have also routinely failed to emphasize that Philip the Good's renunciation of his English alliance at the Congress of Arras (1435) did not lead to any meaningful alliance with France. When the Burgundians attempted to gain Calais failed in 1436, the duke in effect took his country out of the war, never again to fight on either side. The absence of any joint effort of France and Burgundy played a significant role in prolonging the war for several decades.

Finally, there has been a curious absence in any history of the Hundred Years War of a discussion about why France seemed content to simply end the war with England in 1453. Why did the French military leadership, who had so soundly defeated the English in Normandy in 1450 and in Gascony in 1453 not try to capitalize on this by undertaking their own attack on Calais or perhaps even on England itself? Their failure to do so seems especially odd considering that the English almost immediately fell into the Wars of the Roses, further draining

¹⁰⁶ See Pierre Frédérix, *La mort de Charles le Téméraire (5 janvier 1477)* (Paris, 1966); Pierre Gérard, *La bataille de Nancy, son importance européen* (Paris, 1976); and the articles in *Cinq-centième anniversaire de la bataille de Nancy (1477): Actes du Colloque organisé par l'institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy II* (Nancy, 22-24 septembre 1977) (Nancy, 1979).

¹⁰⁷ On Louis' military reaction to Charles the Bold's death see André Léquai, "La conquête de la Bourgogne par Louis XI," *Annales de Bourgogne* 49 (1977): 7-12.

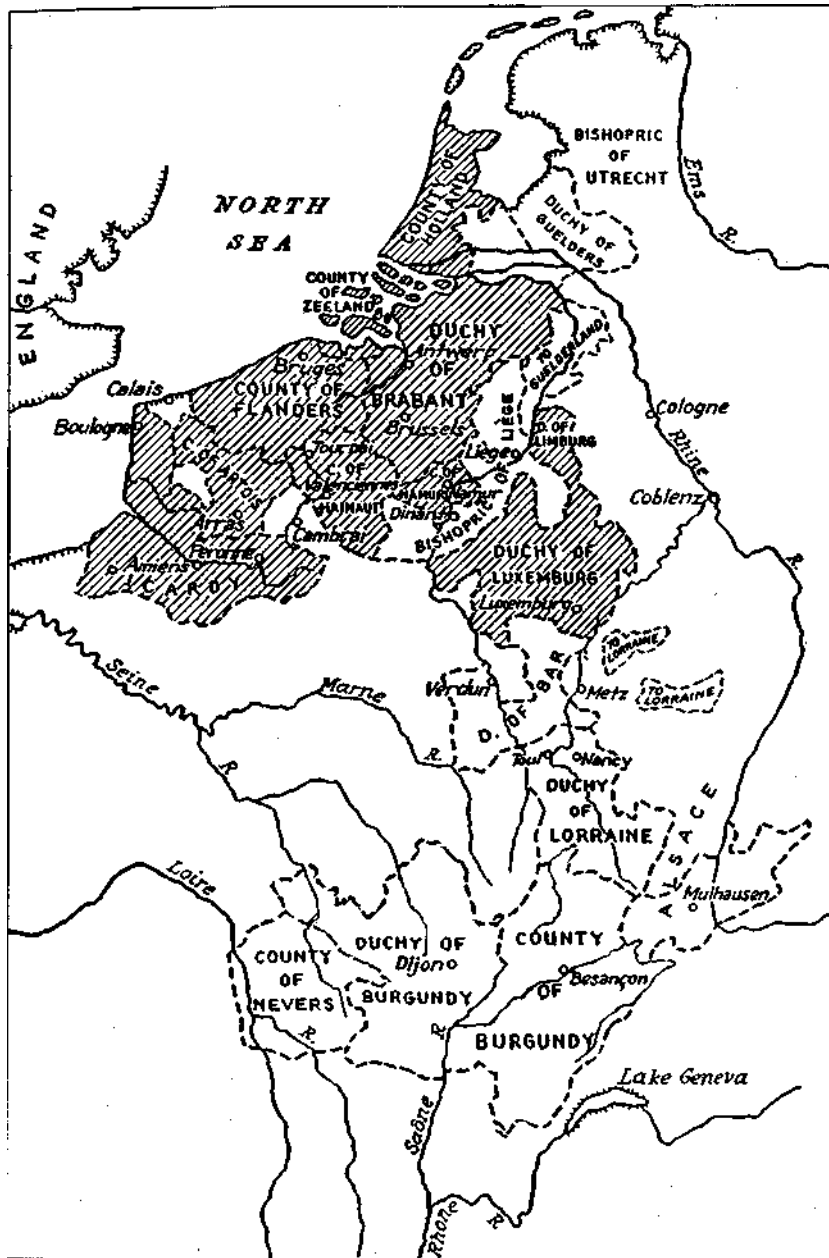
¹⁰⁸ Most recently by Stephen W. Richey, *Joan of Arc: The Warrior Saint* (Westport, Conn., 2003).

¹⁰⁹ See DeVries, *Joan of Arc*, 167-81 and DeVries, "Calculating Profits and Losses." In repeating this story Richey and others completely ignore Pierre Champion's definitive study on the siege and Flavy's defense of the town: *Guillaume de Flavy: Capitaine de Compiègne: Contribution à l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc et à l'étude de la vie militaire et privée au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1906).

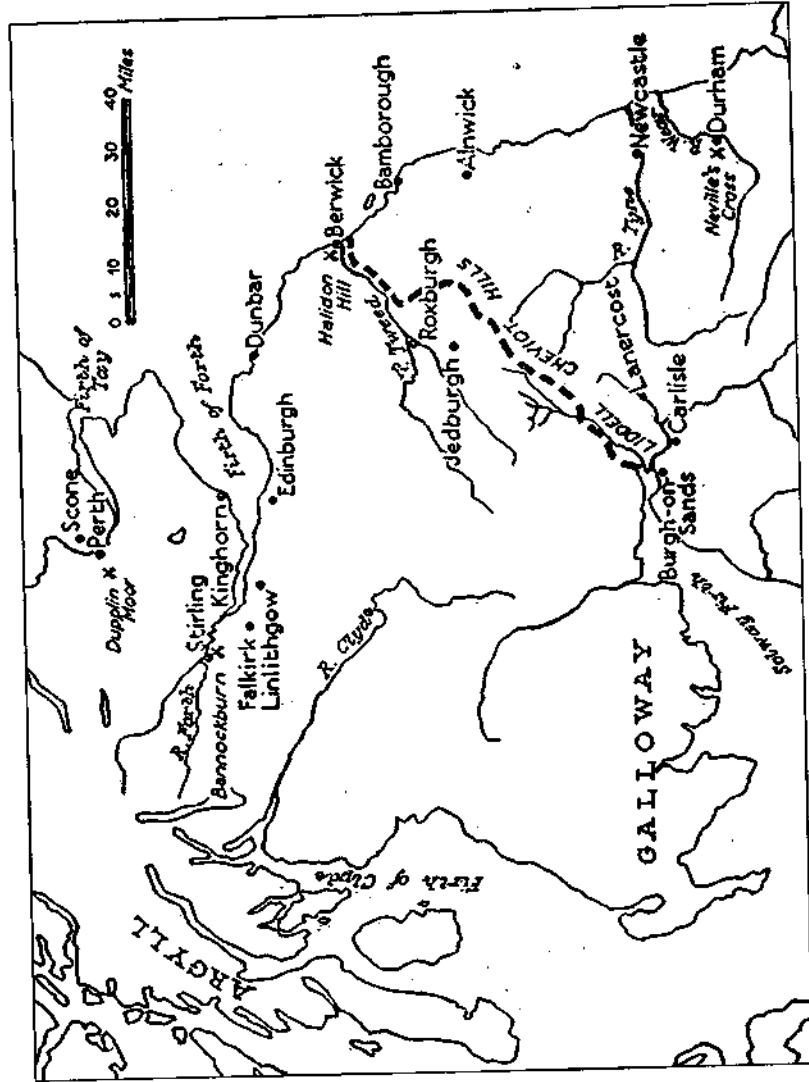
their strength. After all, thirty year later, Henry Tudor would conquer the kingdom with relatively few troops, certainly a much smaller number than the French could have put into the field in the 1450s. But, on the other hand, this apparent oddity can be completely understood when one notes the fact that the Burgundian threat posed by Philip the Good and, later, Charles the Bold, was so evident in the two decades following the "traditional" end of the Hundred Years War that it would have been folly to leave that danger unmet while undertaking an invasion of England. This, no doubt, is why Edward IV sought an alliance between the Yorkists and the Burgundians with the marriage of his sister, Margaret, to Charles the Bold in 1468. One might wonder what Charles thought he was getting from the match, especially as Edward ended up staying with him for a year of exile only two years later. Even after Louis XI had won the War of the Public Weal, any treaty signed between France and Burgundy could not be trusted to maintain the peace. In short, after 1453 it was the Burgundian presence that let the English off the French hook. Later, in the 1470s, it would be the Swiss, Germans, and Lorrainers who would let the French off the Burgundian hook.

Conclusion

As this article has tried to suggest, a number of questions concerning the Hundred Years War remain unanswered. Many of these center around the involvement of "other" powers in the conflict and the influence that their involvement had on the course of the war. While it may be more exciting to time and again revisit great battle such as Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, the major breakthroughs of future scholarship will probably come when scholars delve into less well-known aspects of the many phases and theaters of the conflict, including those that involved participants other than France and England. The geographical and chronological framework imposed by modern historians has tended to limit our understanding of this crucial late-medieval conflict. It is time for a change!



Map 4: Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages.



Map 5: Northern England and Scotland.