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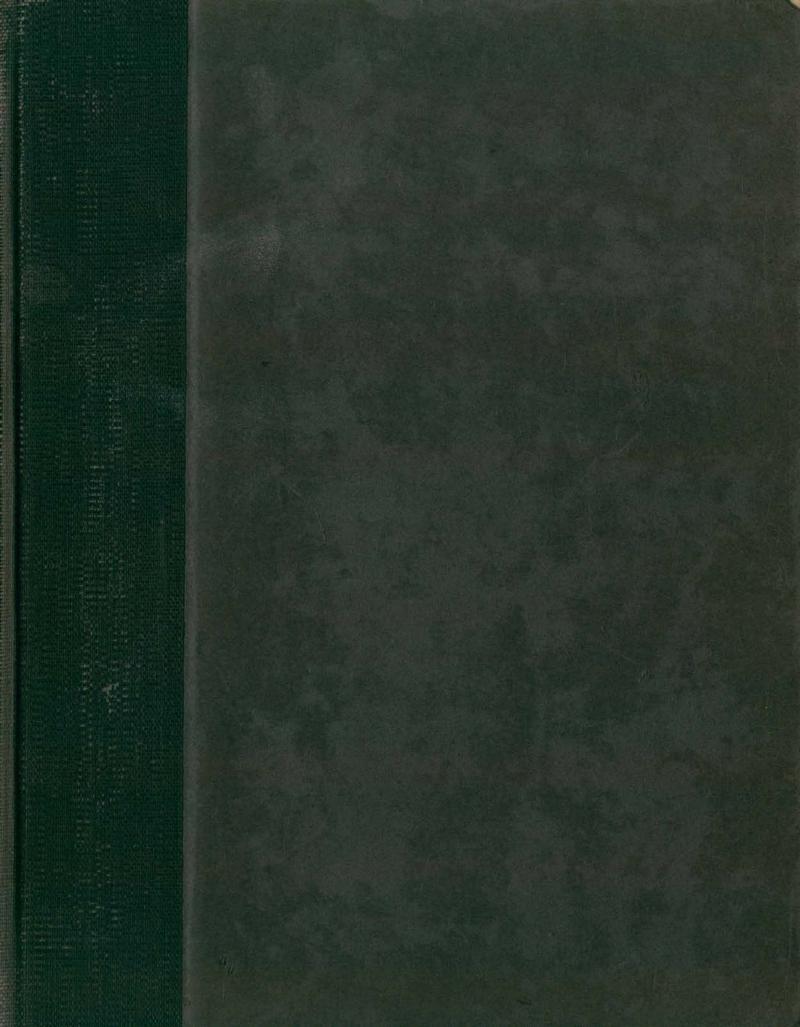
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A Comparative Study of the Treatment of Joan of Arc in Selected Literary Works

Harriet Johns

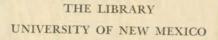
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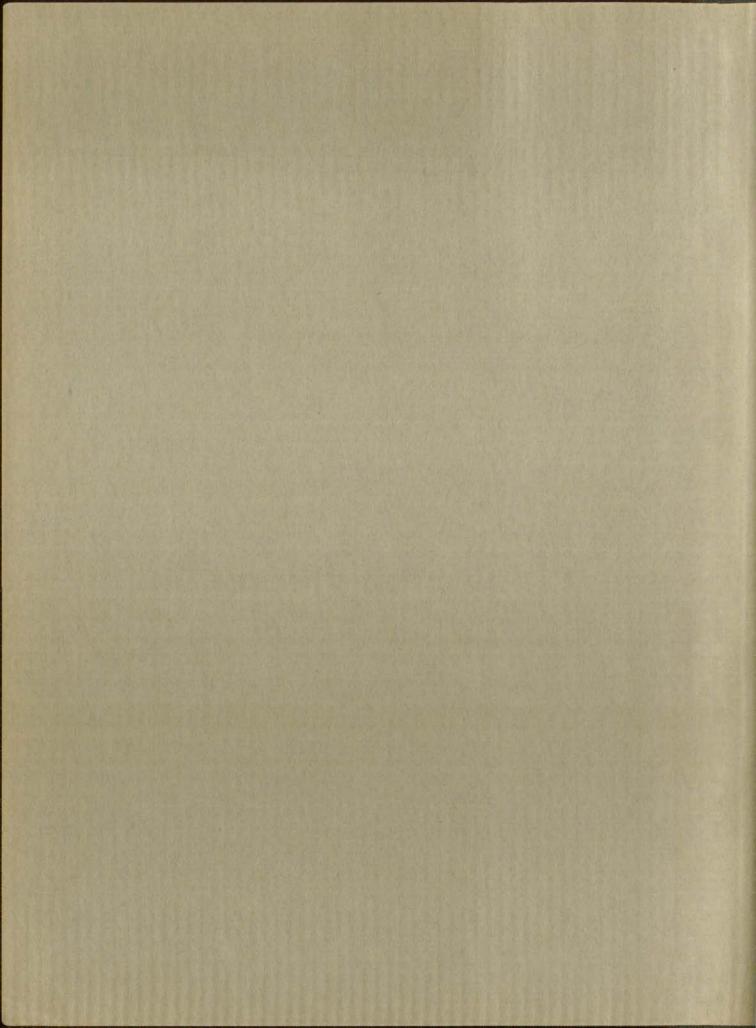


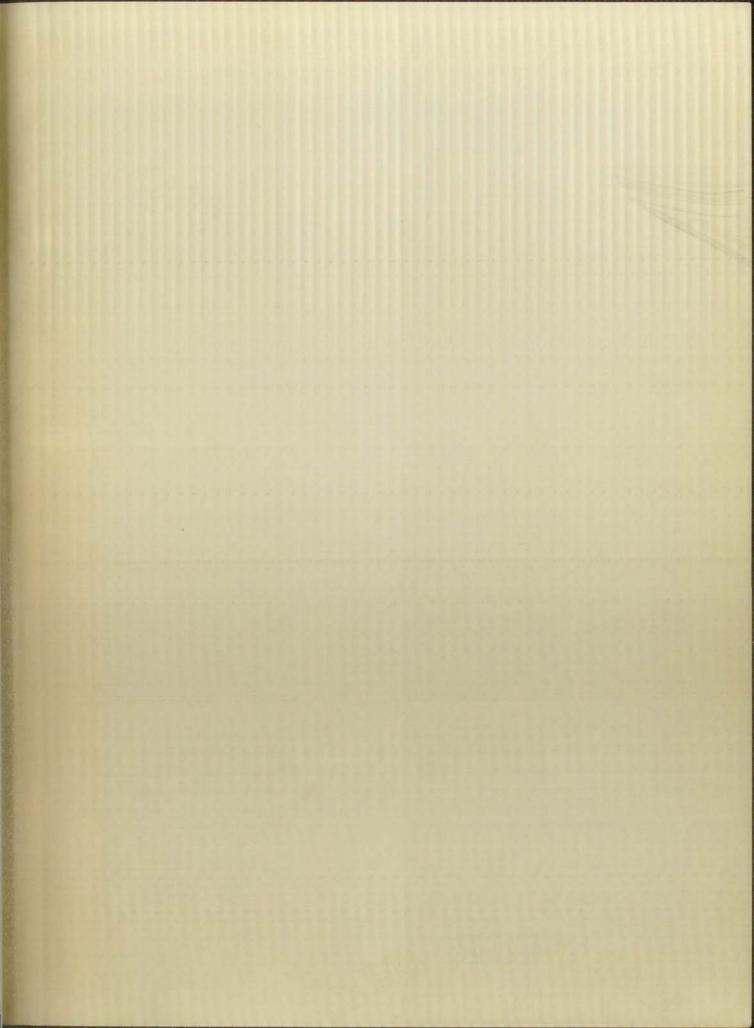
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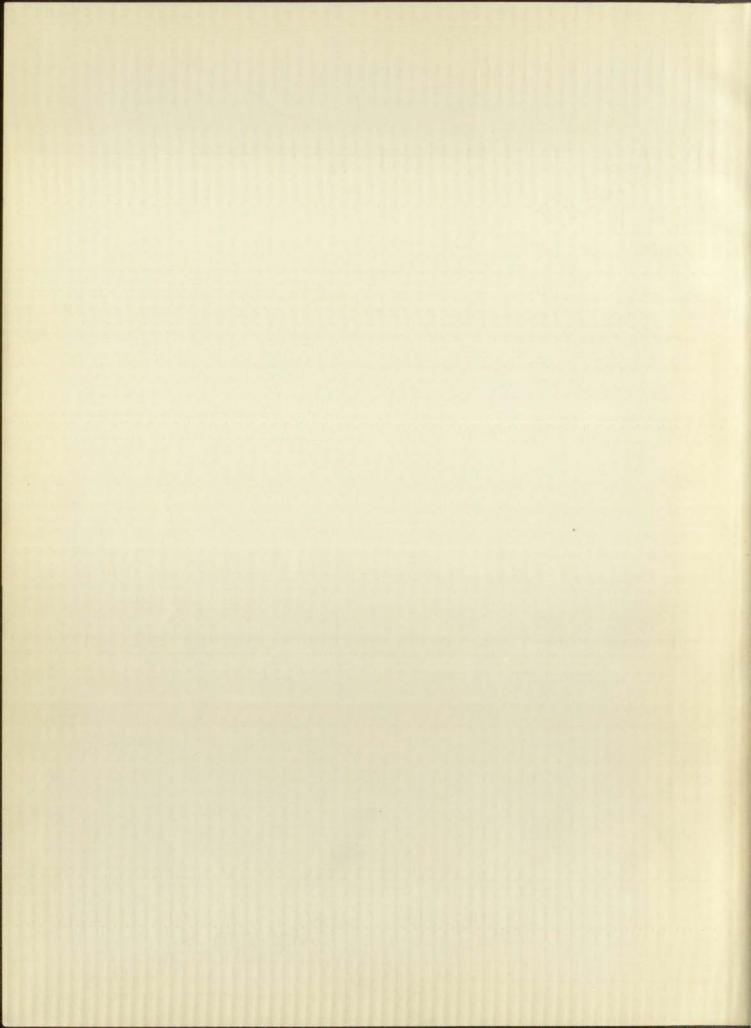
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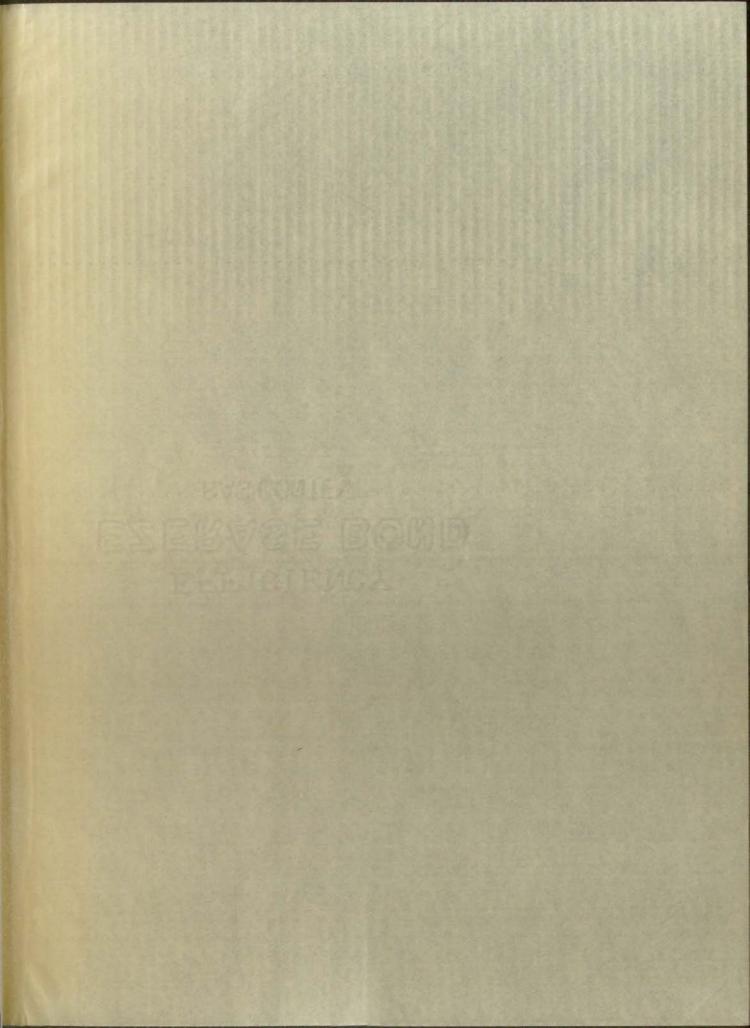
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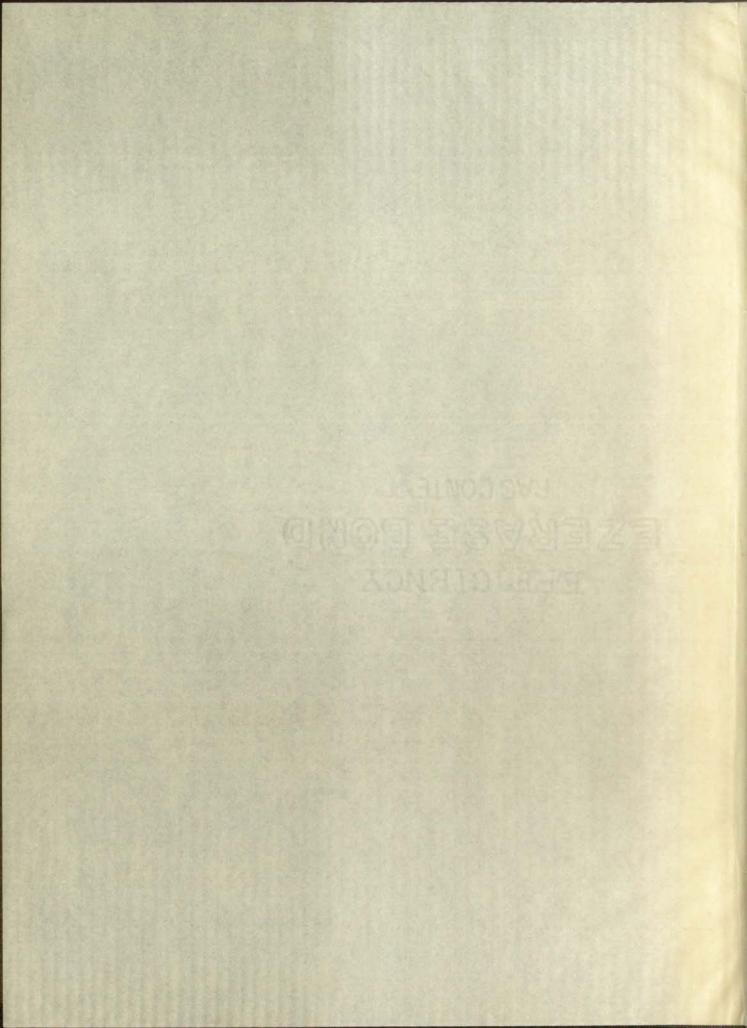
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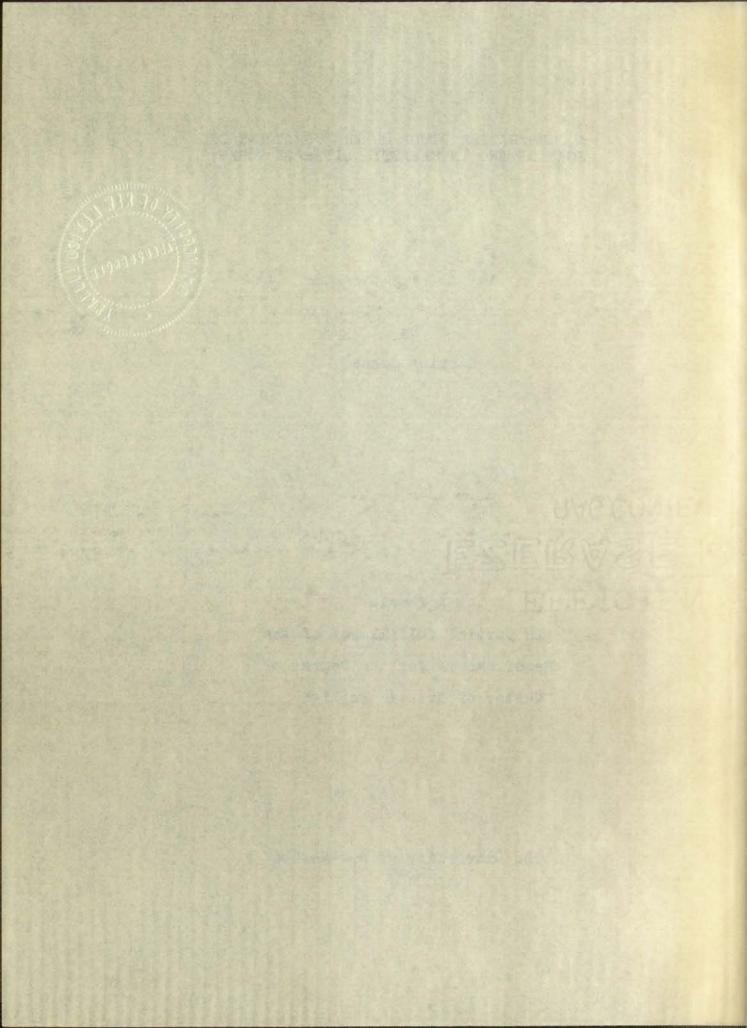
By

Harriet Johns

A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English

The University of New Mexico



This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Eflastetter

Sep. 3, 1949

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TREATMENT OF JOAN OF ARC IN SELECTED LITERARY WORKS

By

Barriet Johns

Thesis committee

Norton B. Crowell

Benjamin Sacks

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> A mien to move a queen--Half child, half heroine-An Orleans in the eye That puts its manner by For humbler company When none are near --Even a tear Its frequent visitor. A bonnet like a duke --And yet a wren's peruke Were not so shy Of goer-by--And hands so slight They would elate a sprite With merriment. A voice that alters -- low --And on the ear can go Like set of snow, Or shift supreme As tone of realm On subject's diadem --Too small to fear, Too distant to endear, --And so men compromise And just revere.

> > Emily Dickinson

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to make a comparative study of the treatment of Joan of Arc in selected literary works to determine how far and in what ways interpretations vary according to the spirit of the age and the author's own particular interests and biases. It will be shown that the author's dominant purpose in writing and the reasons for his interest in Joan do affect his presentation of her to a large extent. It will also be shown that as a rule the author reflects the zeitgeist of his age or a reaction against it. The importance of this subject is that it will make the reader aware of the subjective nature of literary characterizations of an historical figure and that it will also make the reader more conscious of authors' motives and themes.

Six significant literary works have been chosen for intensive study: Friedrich Schiller's The Maid of Orleans (1801), Mark Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc (1896), Voltaire's The Maid of Orleans (pub. 1762), Anatole France's The Life of Joan of Arc (1908), George Bernard Shaw's Saint Joan (1923), and

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Six significant Minerary onthe base pend of the for intensive study; straight description of the Shart and Oriental Countries of State of

Maxwell Anderson's Joan of Lorraine (1946). These six works were selected not only because they are significant but also because they are of special interest to me. They were not chosen simply to uphold the thesis, for, as may be seen by the brief general survey of Joan of Arc literature in the latter part of this chapter, almost any one of those works would demonstrate the thesis.

Friedrich Schiller, the first notable writer to treat Joan of Arc as a literary problem produced a dramatic tragedy concerning the Maid. Mark Twain considered his historical romance about Joan of Arc his best book, and he loved it above all his other books. Of all Voltaire's writings, the mock-heroic epic "The Maid of Orleans" was most admired by his contemporaries and has been most damaging to his reputation since his period. Anatole France's biography of Joan is significant as a work of art rather than as a history; the controversies which it has inspired have resulted in many additional studies concerning Joan of Arc. George Bernard Shaw's Saint Joan is often regarded as his greatest play and is one of the best literary treatments of Joan. One of the most recent writers to use Joan's story is Maxwell Anderson, whose play is

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representative of contemporary American dramatic interests.

These works fall distinctly into three groups, which are made the basis of chapter division. It will be seen that Schiller's and Twain's interpretations are idealizations, that those of Voltaire and Anatole France are treatments degrading Joan to varying extents for the purpose of ridicule, and that Shaw and Anderson present interpretations of Joan from the modern standpoint. Each of these characterizations of Joan of Arc is discussed separately. Sufficient quotations are included to give the dominant quality of the treatment itself, and a summary of each work is supplied. The reasons for the author's interest in Joan are considered as are the historical deviations and the justifications thereof in the light of the author's literary and thematic motives. Since the spelling of proper names varies, the names will be spelled in accord with the particular work under discussion.

A short history of Joan of Arc and a general survey of the literature concerning her are necessary in order to appreciate and understand thoroughly a

study of the nature of this thesis. Undoubtedly, the records of the Trial of 1431 ending in Joan's death sentence and the Rehabilitation of 1456 are the most important historical materials available. Although the facts concerning Joan were known earlier. the first complete editions of these records was made by J. E. J. Quicherat between 1840 and 1850.2 The recent biographies of Joan of Arc are based upon those accounts of the trials as well as upon diplomatic documents, letters, histories written during the early fifteenth century, and histories written by reputable scholars such as Dufresne de Beaucourt (Histoire des Charles VII - 1882), Vallet de Viriville (Histoire de Charles VII - 1863), and Jules Michelet (Jeanne d'Arc 1412-1432 - 1888). Of the modern biographies two of the most interesting are Andrew Lang's The Maid of France (1929) and Francis C. Lowell's Joan of Arc (1896), the former being extremely romantic in its presentation; both are, however, based upon scholarly work and are

l Edmund Richer, head of the Faculty of Theology of Paris in the seventeenth century, first put together the authentic story of Joan of Arc. Pierre Champion, "Joan of Arc." Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th edition, XIII, p. 75.

² H. H. Salls, "Joan of Arc in English and American Literature," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXV (April, 1936), 168.

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annotated. The following essential facts concerning

Joan of Arc's history are summarized mainly from Lang's

The Maid of France.

That Joan of Arc did live and that she did inspire the French army to victory and lead the Dauphin to his coronation are indisputable facts. Wearing the black and grey suit of a page, a seventeen-year-old peasant girl arrived at the court of the Dauphin during the Lenten season of 1429.3 This was Joan of Arc. had a mission to accomplish, this mission being to rescue the city of Orleans, to unite France, and to crown Charles the King of France. According to an ancient popular rumor and a prophecy of Merlin recorded by Geoffrey of Monmouth (1140), a marvellous Maid was to come from the Nemus Canutum to heal nations; visible from Joan's home in Domremy was a forest named Oakwood, le Bois Chesnu nemus quercosum. In addition, just a generation before Joan's birth, Marie d'Avigon told Charles VI of a dream in which she had seen arms and armor designated for a Maid who would restore France. This dream became common knowledge and was, of course. directly associated with the Merlin prophecy; the re-

³ Ruth Kedzie Wood, "The Literary Annals of Jeanne d'Arc," Bookman, XXXIX (May, 1914), 287.

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sulting popular fable had a great effect upon the reception of Joan's mission.4

By 1428 France was in the ninety-first year of the struggle with the English known as the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453).5 There had been three serious French defeats: at Crecy in 1347, at Poitiers in 1356. and at Agincourt in 1415. Then in 1420 the depraved Queen of France, Isabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI, signed the Treaty of Troyes with Henry V, the King of England, and with Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, for the Burgundians were French anti-royalists. To Henry she gave her daughter in marriage and a promise of the succession to the crown of France, which should have gone to her son Charles. This decision was accepted by the people of Paris. A conflict naturally resulted from this decision when both Henry V of England and the insane Charles VI of France died in 1422; when the French King was buried, the herald oried, "God bless Charles, King of France, the sixth of that name, our natural and sovereign Lord," and added, "God grant long life to England, our sovereign Lord, "6 The Duke of

⁴ Andrew Lang, The Maid of France (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), pp. 29-30.

⁵ Arthur Tilley, Medieval France (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p. 117 and p. 131.

⁶ Philippe D'Estailleur-Chanteraine, Joan d'Aro (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Nationale, 1918), pp. 8-10.

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Gloucester and the Duke of Bedford governed a considerable part of France held by the English.

It was in this period of the struggle that Joan of Arc was born of respected Catholic parents on January 6, 1412 (?), in the village of Domremy in the district of Lorraine in north-eastern France. From the d'Arc's neighbors we learn, during the Trial of Rehabilitation, 1450-1456, that Joan often went to church instead of working in the fields or dancing with the other girls. The children laughed at her when she stopped playing games in order to pray. An old peasant named Gerardin, who had known Joan in his youth, said: "She was modest, simple, devout; went gladly to church and to sacred places; worked, sewed, heed in the fields, and did what was needful about the house."

When Josh was about thirteen years old, she began to have visions and hear voices. Archangel Michael, Saint Catherine, and Saint Margaret spoke to

⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁸ Francis G. Lowell, Joan of Arc (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), p. 20.

⁹ Lang, The Maid of France, p. 33.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

her. 11 The records of the trial give us Joan's own account of her voices:

she had a voice from God to help her and guide her. And the first time she was much afraid. And this voice came towards noon, in summer, in her father's garden: and the said Jeanne had /not/ fasted on the preceding day. She heard the voice on her right, in the direction of the durch; and she seldom heard it without a light. This light came from the same side as the voice, and generally there was a great light. When she came to France she often heard the voice.

Asked how she could see the light of which she spoke, since it was at the side, she made no reply, and went on to other things. She said that if she was in a wood she easily heard the voices come to her. It seemed to her a worthy voice, and she believed it was sent from God; when she heard the voice of a third time she knew that it was the voice of an angel. She said also that this voice always protected her well and that she understood it well.

Asked what instruction this voice gave her for the salvation of her scul: she said it taught her to be good and to go to church often; and it told her that she must come to France. And Jeanne added, Heaupers would not learn from her, this time, in what form that voice appeared to her. She further said that this voice told her once or twice a week that she should leave and come to France, and that her father knew nothing of her leaving. She said that the voice told her to come, and she could no longer stay where she was; and the voice told her again that she should raise the siege of the city of Orleans. She said moreover that the voice told her that she, Jeanne, should go to Robert de Baudricourt, in the town

d'Arc (Lendon: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1931), p. 78.

THE CITY OF SHAPE OF THE CONTENT OF THE CONTENT OF THE PARTY OF T of Vaucouleurs of which he was captain, and he would provide an escort for her. And the said Jeanne answered that she was a poor maid, knowing nothing of riding or fighting.

Once Joan yielded to her voices she had the problem of getting to the Dauphin, who was at his Loire chateaux, four hundred and fifty miles away with the intervening Anglo-Burgundian country infested by robber bands. Twelve miles from Domremy, Robert de Baudricourt held Vaucouleurs for the Dauphin so that he was logical person to whom Joan might go for help. Bauricourt, a plain-spoken practical esptain with no nonsense about him, would not be expected to aid Joan eagerly and quickly. During May, 1428, Joan went to Vaucouleurs with her uncle, and there informed Baudricourt of her divine command to save France. Her next appeal to him was made in January-February, 1429, during which time she made the acquaintance of Jean de Metz, a young man-at-arms who believed in Joan and vowed he would go with her to the King. 13 One day during February a cure went with Baudricourt to the home where Joan

¹² Ibid., pp. 54-55.

¹³ Lang, The Maid of France, pp. 52-54.

was staying, and the Maid was exorcised to see if she was a witch; Joan felt that the priest should not have done this since he had heard her in confession and knew her to be neither a witch nor a prophetess. 14

After being given supplies and men, Joan went to see the Dauphin at Chinon. Upon arriving there, she ate at a reputable inn and then evidently went to the castle: she was not admitted at that time, but people were sent by the Dauphin to learn more about her. When she was eventually allowed to go into the Dauphin's presence, a brilliantly lighted hall met her gaze. De Gaucourt, the clerk of La Rochelle who was present, said that Joan went forward with humility and simplicity; she talked to the king apart for a while, and he seemed to rejoice. De Gaucourt says nothing about a miracle of recognition, but a few months later a clerk of La Rochelle wrote that the Dauphin was not in the hall when Joan arrived so that others were pointed out to her as being the King. She was not deceived, but recognized the Dauphin when he entered the hall. 15

Joan was sent to Poitiers, the chief university

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 76-77.

town, where she was examined by men of jurisprudence, steeped in canon and civil law. After the Dauphin decided to allow Joan to go into battle, a complete suit of white armor was made for her. Over the steel armor a hucque, a cloth of gold or velvet. was usually worn. 16 Of her famous mystical sword we know only what she told her judges in 1431: she said that when she was at Tours or Chinon she sent for a sword located behind the altar in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, where her voices had told her that it would be. 17 It was about this time that Pasquerel, an Austin friar, first heard Joan's confession; he remained with her until her capture in May, 1430. From him we learn that Joan had a banner on which was painted a crucifix, and under this banner all the priests in the army were assembled twice a day; hymns were sung, and no soldier might join in the singing unless he was just confessed. 18

It took Joan and the newly inspired French army only five days to break the siege on Orleans,

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁷ Barrett, The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc, p. 71.

¹⁸ Lang, The Maid of France, p. 97.

and St. Loup and the other English camps nearby were easily taken. 19 It was at Orleans that Joan was wounded by a bolt or arrow, which completely pierced her armor and body. 20 She had foretold her wound two weeks previous to this time, and this prediction was recorded in a letter by Rotselaer, a French diplomat at Lyons. 21 Dunois, one of the leaders of the French forces, maintained that very soon after the dressing of the wound, Joan was again carrying her standard in the battle. 22 Of her conduct in battle a comrade-in-arms, De Termes, said:

"At the assaults before Orleans, Jeanne showed valour and conduct which no man could excel in war. All the captains were amazed by her courage and energy and her endurance. . . In leading and arraying, and in encouraging men, she bore herself like the most skilled captain in the world, who all his life had been trained to war. "23"

As a result of the French army's inspirational victories under Joan's leadership, the Dauphin was crowned on July 17, 1429. 24 In less than three months

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 108.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 120.

²¹ Ibid., p. 96.

^{22 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 121.

^{23 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 136-137.

²⁴ Lowell, Josn of Arc, p. 158.

Joan of Arc had accomplished the main part of what she felt to be her sacred mission.

It had been planned that a march upon Paris be made the day after the coronation, but instead Charles VII made an unsatisfactory truce with the Duke of Burgundy. The truce agreements were not kept.

After many delays an ill-managed and unenthusiastic attempt was made to gain Paris; it failed and Charles demanded a retreat. The broken-hearted Joan left her armor suspended before an image of Mary in St. Denys Cathedral, which the enemy later pillaged. But, although the Maid's own victories were ended, she had provided an impetus to the French, who eventually drove the English out of their country.

Joan was captured near Complegne, a short distance north of Paris, on May 23, 1430. No attempt is known to have been made to gain her release. 27 The English finally purchased Joan from the Burgundians, who first held her prisoner. On January 3, 1431, she

²⁵ Lang, The Maid of France, p. 167.

^{26 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 184.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 216.

was consigned to Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, who was to be her judge.

Assisting Cauchon in the trial was Jean Le Maistre, who would consent to take part only after a special commission came to him from the Grand Inquisitor of France instructing him to do so. The University of Paris also supported Cauchon, and from there came Beaupere, Midi, and Courcelles to be assessors in the trial. The weakness of the case against her is indicated by the fact that the trial was protracted from January 9 until nearly the end of May despite the fact that the Church, the English, and the University were eager for her conviction. Joan was in prison for about nine months; her sufferings there were similar to those of other prisoners. The one kind thing done for her was the decision not to use torture upon her, although she was once confronted with the instruments and was kept in constant fear of the possibility of their use. Joan was denied Mass and also the presence of olergy from her own party.

Many of the questions to which she was subjected

²⁸ Barrett, The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc, pp. 2-3.

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during the gruelling cross-examinations were trick questions. For example, she was asked if she knew that she was in God's grace; her reply astounded her judges: "If I am not, may God put me there; and if I am, may God so keep me." When she was asked if St. Michael was naked, she answered: "Do you think God has not wherewithal to clothe him?" Among the other ridiculous questions with which Joan was confronted was one asking if the saints were the same age, to which she replied that she did not have permission to say. 31

Her trial was in accord with procedures of the ecclesiastical courts of that century as well as of the preceding and following centuries; Joan was not allowed to know the evidence submitted against her nor was she given the names of those testifying against her. She was allowed to call no witnesses—if witnesses had appeared, they would have later been charged with abetting a heretic since conviction was the goal of the inquisitorial system. 32 During

²⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

³¹ Ibid., p. 68.

³² Ibid., p. 4.

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the Preparatory Process (January 9 to March 25) the court's business was to prepare a case against her. 33

Then during the Ordinary Process the Prosecutor's report was presented and the crimes were to be connected definitely with the victim. At this time Joan could have chosen one of the assessors as counsellor, but she refused the offer, saying, "I have no intention of departing from the counsel of Our Lord. 34

A digest of twelve articles was submitted to the assessors on April 5, 1431: 1) Joan said that she had seen and embraced saints who very frequently appeared and spoke to her; 2) she contradicted herself in her allegory concerning the sign she gave the Dauphin to prove that her mission was from God; 3) she believed her saints to be good; 4) she believed that her voices sometimes gave her prophetic insight; 5) she refused to relinquish her man's dress unless it was the command of the Lord; 6) she believed that she did the will of God and used the motto Jhesus Maria; 7) she left home to follow her mission against her parents wishes; 8) she said that she sinned by throwing herself from a

³³ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

tower in an attempt to escape prison, but that after confession her saints forgave her; 9) she stated that her saints told her that she would go to paradise immediately upon death if she preserved her virginity; 10) her saints spoke to her in French; 11) she adored her visionary saints; and finally, her gravest sin, 12) she said "that if the Church were to desire her to do anything contrary to the command she claims to have from God, she would not do it, for any reason whatever." After consideration of these articles, the doctors of Rouen decided that there was definite reason to believe that the apparitions and revelations were "the fictions of the human imagination" or else spirits of evil. The accusing her the assessors said:

She has not had sufficient evidence to believe and recognize them /saints/; in the aforesaid articles they are fabricated lies, certain improbabilities, and beliefs lightly accepted on her part: superstitions and divinations: scandalous and irreligious acts; temeritous, presumptuous, and boasting speech: blasphemies of God and His saints (St. Michael and St. Gabriel); disrespect towards parents; disregard of the commandment to love our neighbor

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 226-234.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 236.

idolatry, or at least misleading fiction; schism directed against the unity, authority and power of the Church; things of evil sound and to be vehemently suspected of heresy.

They voted that she should be urged to submit to the Church and that the judgment of the University of Paris (under English domination) should be sought. The remonstrations of Cauchon and others were unsuccessful, however.

Toward the end of May she was driven in a cart to the St. Ouen cemetery, where she could see a stake and a pile ready to be lit. Erard, the preacher chose as his text, "The branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine." She was denounced as a heretic, and Charles was declared heretical for assisting her; at that Joan cried out, "He is the noblest of all Christians." After her continual refusal to recent, Cauchon began reading the long sentence of death—at which Joan suddenly said that she would submit. A short paper was then read to her, and she was told that she must sign at once or be burned; she signed with her mark, a cross. The mitigated sentence was read by Cauchon; she was condemned to work out her penitence "in perpetual im-

³⁷ Ibid., p. 236.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

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prisonment, there to eat the bread of sorrow and drink the water of affliction, to weep over past things, and hereafter to do nothing that need be wept for. "39 Upon hearing this sentence, she cried out: "Here you Churchmen, take me back to your prison, and out of the hands of the English," but she was taken back to the same cell. 40 Four days later she retracted her confession, saying that she had not understood what she had confessed and that she would rather die than to live in that prison. When she was told on May 30, 1431, she would be burned that day, she wept, wondering why she was so cruelly treated and saying that she would seven times rather have her head out off than be burned. She was allowed to confess and receive the sacrament.

When Joan asked for a cross at the stake in the market-place of Rouen, an Englishman made her one from two pieces of wood; later a cross from the Church of St. Lauveur was held before her. As she was burned, Joan of Arc repeatedly

³⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁰ Loc. oit.

uttered the name Jesus. 41

After the Rehabilitation trial (1450-1456) the Pope annulled the decision against her and declared her blameless. Four hundred and sixty-four years later Pope Benedict XV pronounced Joan of Aroa saint. 42

Of this Joan of Arc much has been written.

In an incomplete bibliography, covering the literature through 1894, a total of two thousand and eighty-six words dealing entirely with Joan is listed —and some of the most important works appear after that date. The tragedy of Joan of Arc with its romance, its pathos, and its courage is deathless, inspiring not only literary works and studies but also murals, statues, 44 operas, 45 and cinemas. 46

^{41 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 10-11.

Pierre Champion, "Joan of Arc," Encyclopedia Britannica, XIII, 14th Edition, p. 75.

⁴³ Allen Wilson Porterfield, "New Tellers of a Tale Outworn," The Dial, L(April 16, 1911), 306.

There are two statues of Joan, one of gilt bronze, in Paris; in the Pantheon are the Lenepveu murals depicting her life and martyrdom. At Louvre there is a painting by Ingres of Joan in armor at the coronation. An equestrian figure by Anna Hyatt is to be found facing the Hudson on Riverside Drive in New York City. In Washington there is a statue in Meredian Park, and six panels, in which Mauris

The character of Joan of Arc has been variously interpreted from historical, scientific, and literary standpoints since she was burned in Rouen more than five hundred years ago. Here is a singular character, one capable of being viewed from many aspects and with varying emotional reactions. Seldom has Joan's sincerity of belief in her voices and in her mission

Boutet de Monvel depicts scenes from her life, are in the Corcoran Gallery of Art. / Agnes Kendrick Gray, "Jeanne d'Arc after Five Hundred Years," The American Magazine of Art, XXII (May, 1931), 369.7

Gounod. There are also operas by Von Weber, Balfe, Verdi, Max Bruch among the twenty-one or more operas about Joan of Arc. [Wood, "The Literary Annals of Jeanne d'Arc," p. 297.]

⁴⁶ Two movies concerning Joan have been produced. The scenario of the first, a French silentpicture "The Passion of Joan of Arc" (1929), was wrought by the producer Carl Thomas Dreyer and by Joseph Delteil in a very interesting manner; the story of the courageous and childlike Joan is told in a series of individual studies of the faces of Joan's judges and of Joan. Acclaimed as one of the significant achievements of modern art, it is among the most outstanding silent motion-pictures. /John Hutchens, "The Passion of Joan of Arg," Theatre Arts Monthly, XIII (May, 1929), 373-374. The more recent movie "Joan of Arc," produced by Walter Wanger, is not deserving of such acclamation; this Hollywood pageant portrays Joan in an unbelievable manner. She is a tinsel heroine who lacks the substance of the heroine of Anderson's "Joan of Lorraine," upon which the movie is based.

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been denied, however. 47 Nevertheless, many attempts have been made to explain these visions. In <u>The History of England</u> (1754-62) the English historian-philosopher David Hume wrote his explanation:

Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her unexperienced mind, working day and night on this favorite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspiration; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices, exhorting her to reestablish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlock all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and thinking herself destined by Heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity so natural to her sex, her years, and her low station.

Even Thomas Carlyle has this to say:

It seems the force of her own spirit, expressing its feelings in forms which react upon itself. The strength of her impulses persuades her that she is called from on high to deliver her native France; the intensity of her own faith persuades others; she goes forth on her mission; all bends

Historice Anglicanae (1679) that whatever Joan of Arc was or wanted to be, she nevertheless took Orleans from the English. /John M. Robertson, Mr. Shaw and "The Maid" (London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 1926), p. 8./

⁴⁸ David Hume, The History of England, II (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, /n.d./), 389.

to the fiery vehemence of her will; she is inspired because she thinks herself so. 49

In a paper entitled "A Medico -psychological Revision of the Story of Jeanne La Pucelle," Dr. H. P. Bayon said that her visions may have been hallucinations, abnormal but certainly not morbid, brought about by intense religious fervor combined with the endocrine activity of puberty. 50 An Australian surgeon, C. MacLaurin, presents the thesis that Joan failed to become mature, her visions being a result of the repression of a sex-complex. 51 All literary interpretations are likewise influenced to some degree by the author's own views upon the subject of Joan's voices and visions.

Several articles and monographs are to be found giving a general survey of the literature concerning Joan of Arc. Articles worthy of mention are

⁴⁹ Thomas Carlyle, The Life of Friedrich Schiller (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), p. 157.

^{50 &}quot;Psychology of Joan of Aro," Nature, CXLVII (January 4, 1941), 23.

Post Mortem (New York: George H. Doran Company, 19237, pp. 50-52.

H. H. Salls' "Joan of Arc in English and American Literature," Ruth Kedzie Wood's "The Literary Annals of Jeanne d'Arc," Gilbert Armitage's "Joan of Arc in Literature," and Eduard von Jan's "Das Literarische Bild der Jeanne D'Arc 1429-1926." For our purposes a brief comment upon the more notable of the literary works about Joan will suffice.

Josh of Arc was first praised in writing when the cloistered Christine de Pisan wrote a song in her honor in 1429, a very short time after Charles VII's coronation at Rheims.

Hee! quel honneur au feminin sexe!

Elle est principale chevetaine, Tel force n'at Hector, ne Achilles, Mais tout ce fait Dieu qui la menne. . . . 52

A mystery play, Mystere du Siege d'Orleans, was presented as early as 1435, and every year thereafter for hundreds of years. 53 In this play, comprising more than twenty thousand lines, Joan makes her entrance after the seven thousandth line. In it Joan is idealized as may be seen in the following quotations:

⁵² Wood, "The Literary Annals of Jeanne d'Arc," p. 289, quoting Christine de Pisan.

⁵³ Paul Studer, ed., Saint Joan of Orleans, trans. by Joan Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. viii.

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Ca, messagier, diligemment Vous yrez devers la Pucelle, Et la saluerez doulcement, Que elle est gente, bonne et belle; Et luy rapportez la nouvelle 54 Qu'elle viengne devers le Roy.

C'est une notable pucelle Fort homeste, prudente et saige, Ne n'avons riens trouve en elle Fors tout bien et plaisant langaige; Et a bon vouloir et couraige De voloir ce fait acomplir.

It is interesting to note that Shakespeare's contemporary Lope de Vega wrote a dramatic poem entitled Juana de Francia, which is no longer in existence; this poem was, however, presumably used by Antonio de Zamora (d. 1725) as the basis of his "La Poncella de Orleans." Zamora's play is the first known work before Schiller's The Maid of Orleans to change the manner of Joan's death, for in it the gentle and feminine Joan is snatched from the fire by her lover, only to die in his arms. 57

Much of the information used in characterizing

Joan of Arc in Henry VI, Part I is found in Holinshed's

Chronicles. Of Joan, Holinshed writes:

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 91.

⁵⁶ Eduard von Jan, "Das Literarische Bild der Jeanne D'Arc 1429-1926," Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, Heft 76 (Max Niemeyer Verlaz-Halle [Sasle], 1928), p. 85.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 88.

was carried a young wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Ione Arc, by name of hir father (a sorie sheepheard) Iames of Arc, and Isabell hir mother; brought vp poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell . . . Of fauour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall: an vnderstander of counsels though she were not at them; great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behauiour; the name of Iesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses; humble, obsdient; and fasting diverse daies in the weeke.

But later Joan changed and is viewed in a different light:

But herein (God helpe vs!) she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold her in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into her abominations (and yet seeking to eetch out life as long as she might,) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmaried as she was) to be with child.

The authorship of the strongly patriotic Henry VI,

Part I, is very doubtful. The original play has been

attributed to Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, Peele's

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claims perhaps being strongest; that play was rewritten

by Shakespeare. The chronology within the play itself

is very confused, for Charles VII first meets Joan

after he has been crowned and as he is beseiging Crleans.

⁵⁸ Holinshed's Chronicle, ed. by Josephine Nicoll and Allardyce Nicoll (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1927), p. 93.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 105.

⁶⁰ Hardin Craig, Shakespeare (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1931), p. 102.

Joan is at first regarded as a holy prophetess.

She shows great physical courage and boasts in the following manner to Charles:

My courage try by combat, if thou dar'st And thou shalt find that I exceed my sex. Resolve on this, -- thou shalt be fortunate If thou receive me for thy warlike mate. 61

The English regard her as a witch; when she is captured by them, she curses both Charles and the Duke of York. When her sorrowing father is brought into her presence, she denies being his daughter and says that she is of noble birth. In order to delay her death, Joan claims to be with child; her jailers say that she is too free and does not know its father so that the "brat" ought to be burned. Furnivall comments: "Traditional as the witch-view of Joan of Arc was in Shakespeare's time, one is glad that Shakespeare did not set it forth to us." 62

The Joan of the romantic revival is a very different person from the Joan of the Elizabethan period; yet she is perhaps just as far removed from the real Joan. In Robert Southey's epic, "Joan of Arc," Joan becomes a sophisticated nature mystic. She muses:

⁶¹ William Shakespeare, Henry the Sixth, Part I, ed. by William J. Rolfe. (New York: American Book Company, 1905), p. 44.

^{62 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 15, citing Furnivall's <u>Introduction</u> to <u>Leopold Shakspere</u>, p. xxxviii.

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My soul was nurst, amid the loveliest scenes Of unpolluted nature.

To the Doctors of Theology, sent by Charles to question Joan, she says:

True it is That for long time I have not heard the sound Of mass high-chanted, nor with trembling lips Partook the mystic wafer: yet the bird That to the matin ray prelusive pour'd His joyous song, methought did warble forth Sweeter thanksgiving to religion's ear In his wild melody of happiness, Than ever rung along the high-arched roofs Of man. Yet never from the bending vine Pluck'd I its ripen'd clusters thanklessly, Of that good God unmindful, who bestow'd The bloodless banquet. Ye have told me, sirs, That Nature only teaches man to sin! If it be sin to seek the wounded lamb, To bind its wounds, and bathe them with my tears, This is what Nature taught! No, fathers! no, It is not Nature that can teach to sin: Nature is all benevolence, all love, All beauty. 64

Southey rejects the supernatural and stresses her moral character. The saintly pale Maid with dark, flowing looks becomes a symbol of Southey's freethinking, socialistic Republicanism. It is interesting that Coloridge also began a poem concerning Joan, "The Destiny of Nations." Lines from this unfinished

⁶³ Robert Southey, Joan of Arc, Ballads, Lyrics, and Minor Poems (London: George Routledge and Company, 1857), p. 7.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 34-35.

Dicta side care moder upaga and coops a CONTRACTOR STATE OF THE STATE O Senting to a Electrical Edition of the Senting poem are incorporated in the second of the ten books of Southey's epic. Of the "warrior-maid of France" Coleridge writes:

From her infant days,
With Wisdom, mother of retired thoughts,
Her soul had dwelt; and she was quick to mark
The good and evil thing, in human lore
Undisciplined. For lowly was her birth,
And Heaven had doomed her early years to toil
That pure from Tyranny's least deed, herself
Unfeared by Fellow-nature, she might wait
On the poor labouring man with kindly looks. . .65

and Agnes Sorel 66 composed by Walter Savage Landor begins with Agnes' comment to Joan: "If a boy could ever be found so beautiful and so bashful, I should have taken you for a boy about fifteen years old.

Really and without flattery, I think you very lovely."67 Jeanne replies: "I hope I shall be greatly moreso."68

Jeanne is depicted as healthy and strong but very timorous, so timorous that only a few years before, the lowings of a young steer were frightening to her.

A comparison of the Biblical David's mission

⁶⁵ Sanuel Taylor Coleridge, "The Destiny of Nations," The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, I, edited by Ernest Hartley Coleridge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 137.

⁶⁶ Actually Joan died approximately nineteen years before Agnes Sorel became Charles VII's mistress. Francis C. Lowell, Joan of Arc., p. 357.7

⁶⁷ Walter Savage Landor, Imaginary Conversations, Series 4 (Boston: Robert Brothers, 1877), p. 328.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 328.

and faith of Joan begins Thomas De Quincey's notable essay, a refutation of M. Michelet's Jeanne d'Arc. Of her he writes:

Pure, innocent, noble-hearted girl: whom from earliest youth ever I believed in as full of truth and self-sacrifice, this was amongst the strongest pledges for thy truth, that never once--no, not for a moment of weakness--didst thou revel in vision of cornets and honor from man. 69

Joan's own sense of the completeness of her sacrifice and of her death as her destiny is especially noted in De Quincey's "Joan of Arc."

Joan is also found in Robert Browning's

"Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in
Their Day" in the dramatic monologue directed to
Francis Furini, a seventeenth century artist and
priest, in the Victoria poet's onslaught upon
the disparagers of the supreme art of painting
men and women as God made them. Browning tells
Furini to

. . . paint the peasant girl all peasant-like, Spirit and flesh--the hour about to strike When this sould be transfigured, that inflamed,

⁶⁹ Thomas De Quincey, "Joan of Arc," Biographical and Historical Essays, VI, The Works of Thomas De Quincey, 12 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1877), 179.

By heart's admonishing "Thy country shamed Thy king shut out of all his realm except One sorry corner." and to life forth leapt The indubitable lightning "Can there be Country and king's salvation--all through me?" Memorize that burst's moment, Francis!

Tush--None of the nonsense writing! Fitlier brush Shall clear off fancy's film-work and let show Not what the foolish feign but the wise know --Ask Saint-Bouve else! -- or better, Quicherat, The downright-digger into truth that's -- Bah, Bettered by fiction? Well, of fact thus much Concerns you, that "of prudishness no touch From first to last defaced the maid; anon, Camp-use compelling --what says D'Alencon Her fast friend? -- though I saw while she undressed How fair she was -- especially her breast --Never had I a wild thought!" as indeed I nowise doubt. Much less would she take heed--Were all one solitude and silence . -- found Barried impenetrably safe about, --Take heed of interloping eyes shut out, But quietly permit the air imbibe Her naked beauty. . . . Turn

Her face away--that face about to burn
Into an angel's when the time is ripe!
That task's beyond you. Finished, Francis? Wipe
Pencil, scrape palette, and retire content!
"Omnia non omnibus"--no harm is meant. 10

In 1883 an American George H. Calvert

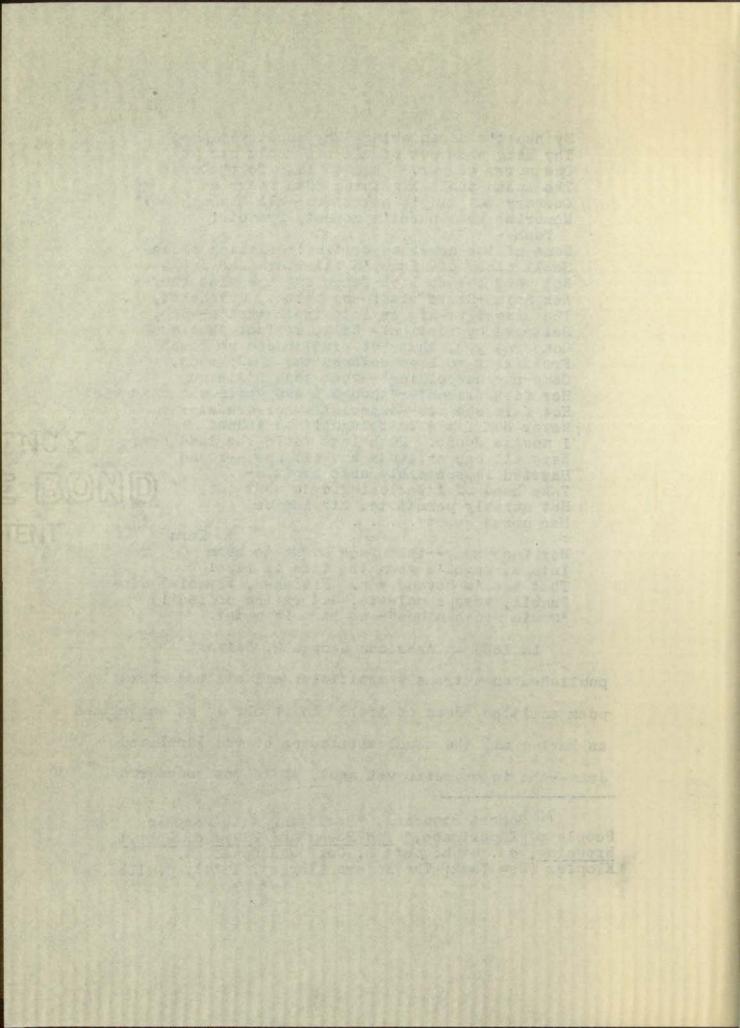
published an extremely artificial and stilted narrative

poem entitled "Joan of Arc." In it she is characterized

as having all the usual attributes of the idealized

Joan-she is majestic yet meek, timid yet courageous,

⁷⁰ Robert Browning, "Parleying with Certain People of Importance," The Poems and Plays of Robert Browning, ed. by Bennett A. Cerf and Donald S. Klopfer (New York: The Modern Library, 1934), p. 1166.



humble yet determined. Percy MacKaye, also an American, wrote a play, Jeanne d'Arc (1914), idealizing Joan; it is of a great deal more literary value than Calvert's poem, although it cannot be considered great. He, too, adds nothing to the characterization of Joan. MacKaye is a Protestant who reveres Joan from a spiritual standpoint.

In an essay by Charles Peguy we have the spiritual idealization of Joan of Arc from the Catholic standpoint:

She was of the people, and Christian, and saintly. She was most certainly in a sense a woman at arms. One might almost say a warrior. She was unquestionably a very great military leader.—She was a flower of the Christian race and of the Franch race, a flower of Christendom, a flower of all heroic virtues.

At the time of Joan of Arc's canonization in 1920 the number of works concerning her increased greatly. It was soon after the pronouncement of her sainthood that Shaw's Saint Joan appeared. Much of the literature written at that time however, is poor. Henry Van Dyke's sentimental short story "The Broken Soldier and the Maid of France" (1918)

⁷¹ Charles Peguy, "Joan of Arc," Men and Saints, trans. by Anne and Julian Green (New York: Pantheon Books, Incorporated, 1944), p. 169.

World War, who has deserted the French army.

Joan appears to him, telling him that he is one of her sheep because he is a soldier of France and in trouble; Joan encourages him by saying that she had no fear of death or the stake but that she never saw the blood of Frenchmen flow without having her heart stand still. She inspired the broken soldier so that he is able to go out and die for his country.

Hilaire Belloc's Joan of Arc (1931) is a biography of Joan of Arc by a Catholic man. It is an enjoyable idealization, which presents without question the miracles often attributed to Joan.

A novel by Joseph Delteil, Joan of Arc (1924) begins with a statement that the author's chief reason for writing a life of Joan was his love for her. His Joan, who has green eyes and red hair, will invoke the enthusiam of the liberal modern readers and the shocked protests of the conservative ones. His Joan is a modern young girl of eighteen, who loves and is loved by the

half-witted but stimulating Dauphin.

Among the more recent plays about Joan is

Edward Garnett's "The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc," into

which the fictional love motive also enters; in

it Joan is loved by one of the men participating

in her trial, but she does not return this affection.

The modern analytical approach to Joan is illustrated by several modern biographies, one of them being Milton Waldman's Joan of Arc. She is characterized as a pious, patriotic, straightforward virgin, filled with a great deal of common sense; as such she is able to cut through the conventions of theology and feudal warfare.

Most writers who are interested in Joan of Aro will agree with G. K. Chesterton when he says:

She put her idealism in the right place, and her realism in the right place. . . She put her dreams and her sentiment into her aims, where they ought to be; she put her practicality into her practice.

⁷² G. K. Chesterton, "The Maid of Orleans,"
All Things Considered (London: Methuen and Company
Limited, 1928), p. 203.

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CHAPTER II

TREATMENTS IDEALIZING JOAN OF ARC

Two of the numerous idealizations of Joan of Arc, Friedrich von Schiller's The Maid of Orleans (Die Jungfrau von Orleans), a dramatic tragedy of a prologue and five acts, and Mark Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, an historical romance in two volumes, will be presented in this chapter. Unlike most of the idealizations, neither of these well-known treatments is written in accord with the religious attitude to picture Joan of Arc as a saint. It will be seen that Schiller presents Joan with a special emphasis upon her patriotism, the kind of patriotism which was a much -needed force in the disintegrated Germany of the later eighteenth century. In addition, Schiller is interested in promulgating his moral idealism to his romance-loving audiences. Although Schiller seems to have considered writing a drama showing how the superstition, brutality, and wretchedness of Joan's

The genuineness of the letter stating these plans is in doubt so that it is usually not included in the later editions of Schiller's letters.

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period were beautified by her patriotic and religious enthusiasm, this task was left to later writers. It will be shown that Mark Twain characterizes Joan as his ideal, embodying all desirable human qualities; she is a direct contrast to her age and to the human race of all ages. Twain's Joan is without blemish, while Schiller's Johanna must endure suffering through fraility in leve in order to achieve perfection. Both of these authors treat Joan with great personal reverence.

honoring Joan have often pictured her in an unconsciously ironic fashion. Joan insisted upon wearing
the clothes of a man from the time she went to Chinon;
yet for a woman to dress like a man was considered
wrong so that the constructors of Joan's statue at
Compiegne in 1850 were picusly careful to give her
a skirt over her armor. Schiller, too, describes
Joan's fighting attire: "Johanna, with her banner,
in a helmet and breast-plate, otherwise attired as

² John M. Robertson, Mr. Shaw and "The Maid" (London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 1926), p. 23.

a woman."3 Schiller's treatment of Joan is, however, far from ironic.

The Maid of Orleans begins with a prologue set in a rural district—to the right is a chapel with an image of the Virgin and to the left is an ancient oak. Thibaut D'Arc, his three daughters (Margot, Louison, and Johanna), and their three young shepherd suitors are discussing and rejoicing in the engagements of two of the daughters. Thibaut is unhappy with his third daughter Johanna:

Thibaut: Thy sisters, Joan, will soon be happy brides;

I see them gladly, they rejoice my age;
But thou, my youngest, giv'st me grief and pain. . .
I see thee blooming in thy youthful prime;
Thy spring it is, the joyous time of hope;
Thy person, like a tender flower, hath now
Disclos'd its beauty, but I vainly wait
For love's sweet blossom genially to blow
And ripen joyously to golden fruit!

Raimond /Johanna's suitor7: Forbear, good father! Cease to urge her thus!
A noble tender fruit of heavenly growth Is my Johanna's love, and time alone Bringeth the costly to maturity.

But Johanna's father continues to ponder the problem of his young daughter, for in addition to his daily disturbing observations he has had three dreams of

Friederich Schiller, "The Maid of Orleans,"
Historical Dramas, Etc., III, trans. by Anna Swanwick
The Works of Frederick Schiller, 4 vols., Bohn's
Standard Library, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 372.
Except for a few passages this play has been translated into blank verse.

⁴ Ibid., p. 331.

of Hara a manual of the fast of the state of A ASTRONOMY A LANCE OF BRIDE her upon the throne at Rheims.

For hours together I have seen her sit
In dreamy musing 'neath the Druid tree,
Which every happy creature shuns with awe.
For 'tis not hely there; an evil spirit
Hath since the fearful pagen days of old
Beneath its branches fix'd his dread abode.
Mysterious voices of unearthly sound
From its unhallow'd shade oft meet the ear.

And Thibaut continues:

She looks with shame upon her lowly birth.
Because with richer beauty God hath grac'd
Her form and dower'd her with wondrous gifts
Above the other maidens of this vale,
She in her heart indulges sinful pride,
And pride it is, through which the angels fell,
By which the fiend of Hell seduces man.

The loyal and much more understanding, though disregarded, suitor of Johanna replies:

Who cherishes a purer, humbler mind
Than doth thy pious daughter? Does she not
With cheerful spirit work her sisters' will?
She is more highly gifted far than they,
Yet, like a servant maiden, it is she
Who silently performs the humblest tasks.

During all this time Johanna has been standing indifferently (and thus awkwardly, it seems to me) upon the stage, but she suddenly becomes attentive when a

⁵ Ibid., p. 332.

⁶ Ibid., p. 333.

⁷ Ibid.

man brings a helmet which was strangely forced upon him in the market-place. It is claimed by Johanna, who seizes it and puts it on her head eagerly. Raimond urges them to let her have it, saying that "the warlike ornament becomes her well,/for in her bosom beats a manly heart."

Again Johanna seems a bit ridiculous in her silent attentiveness as Bertrand, the bearer of the shield, tells of the Anglo-Burgundian battles, seemingly hopeless struggles. Abruptly Johanna speaks, as if inspired:

Speak not of treaty! Speak not of surrender!
The Savior comes, he arms him for the fight.
The fortunes of the foe before the walls
Of Orleans shall be wreck'd! His hour is come,
He now is ready for the reaper's hand,
And with her sickle will the maid appear,
And now to earth the harvest of his pride.
She from the heavens will tear his glory down,
Which he had hung aloft, among the stars. . .

Bertrand despairs: "Alas! no miracle will happen now!" but Johanna in a sort of reverie-trance continues talking:

Yes, there shall yet be one -- a snow-white dove Shall fly, and with the esgle's boldness, tear

⁸ Ibid., p. 335.

⁹ Ibia., p. 338.

The birds of prey, which rend her Fatherland. 10 She shall o'erthrow this haughty Burgundy. . . . 10 The last scene of the prologue presents Johanna in a sentimental soliloquy:

Ye scenes where all my tranquil joys I knew,
For ever now I leave you far behind:
Poor foldless lambs, no shepherd now have you!
O'er the wide heath stray henceforth unconfin'd!
For I to danger's field, of crimson hue,
Am summen'd hence, another flock to find.
Such is to me the Spirit's high behest;
No earthly vain ambition fires my breast.
Ne'er with the bride-wreath shall thy locks
be dress'd,
Nor on thy bosom bloom an infant fair;
But war's triumphant glory shall be thine;
Thy martial fame all women's shall outshine.

The first act begins at the Chinon royal residence, where we see Dunois desiring to "renounce this recreant Monarch who forsakes himself." 12 Charles, who terms himself the "prince of Love," 13 is very much in love with Agnes Sorel, who optimistically offers him all her jewels for appearing the troops desiring pay; Agnes always regards Charles as noble. Of her Dunois says:

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 338.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 340-41.

¹² Ibid., p. 341.

^{13 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 344.

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Ay, she is mad indeed, my King, as thou; She throws her all into a burning house, And draweth water in the leaky vessel Of the Danaides.

Nevertheless, Charles speaks of the prophecy that he will triumph through a woman and thus gain the throne; at this time he thinks that it will be through Agnes. During this conversation La Hire comes with bad news and tells of Queen Isabel's joining with the English; Queen Isabel, Charles' mother, evidently is supposed to be actually fighting with the English since her sword and armor are later mentioned.

At this point La Hire, a powerful French officer, dramatically enters to tell Charles, who has not previously heard of the Maid, of a victory won by Johanna. The French, La Hire relates, were surrounded and were being beaten when Johanna suddenly stepped from the thicket (her first appearance upon the battlefield); the English ran, terrified.

A maiden, on her head a polish'd helm, Like a war-goddess, issued; terrible Yet lovely was her aspect, and her hair In dusky ringlets round her shoulders fell.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 347.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 357.

When Johanna enters the castle a short time later and recognizes the king immediately, all are astonished; she says that God and she saw the king in prayer the night before, and she tells him for what he prayed. Describing her vision, Joan says:

Heaven's wide expanse was fill'd with angel-boys, Who bore white lilies in their hands, while tones Of sweetest music floated through the air.

The Holy One cried that Johanna was appointed to a certain task; and in so doing gives the thematic idea of this drama:

Obedience, woman's duty here on earth; Severe-endurance is her heavy doom; She must be purified through discipline; Who serveth here, is glorified above.

And she receives a blessing from the Archbishop of Rheims.

In the second act, a part of the English army is seen upon a landscape bounded by rocks. The English Talbot and the French Burgundy are quarrelling about whose fault the defeat was when Queen Isabel enters to join in the argument. It

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 361.

¹⁷ Ibid.

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is in this act also that Johanna comes upon Montgomery and kills him and that she comes upon Burgundy and converts him, having refused to kill him because he is French by birth, though English in sympathy. As Burgundy weeps after his conversion, he is embraced by the French.

residence at Chalons on the Marne. A knight interrupts La Hire and Dunois's discussion of their unrequited love for Joan to say that the army, under Johanna, is forming for battle. At some time during this battle Johanna is warned by a Black Knight not to go to Rheims, but she regards this mysterious personage as "a base delusion, an instrument of Hell" when he sinks into the earth. Lionel, an English officer, appears and wrestles with Johanna; she manages to open his helmet and gazing upon his face she feels love and will not kill him. Afterwards she feels remorse as a traiter and a betrayer of God's trust.

A festively adorned hall is the scene upon which the fourth act opens. Periodically throughout

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 400.

Johanna's long soliloquy flutes are to be heard playing in the background. It is Charles' coronation day. Johanna is filled with melancholy as she thinks about her womanly frailty in regard to her love for Lionel, which she feels is wrong:

Yet I, the author of this wide delight,
The joy, myself created, cannot share;
My heart is chang'd, in sad and dreary plight
It flies the festive pageant in despair;
Still to the British camp it taketh flight,
Against my will my gaze still wanders there,
And from the throng I steal, with grief oppressed
To hide the guilt which weighs upon my breast.

She does not want to bear the banner in the coronation parade, but she finally acquiesces; her friends and relatives notice that she walks waveringly with down-cast head, and they cannot rejoice. Thibaut is also there, clad in black; Raimond tried to hold him back from finding his "wretched child." 20

Thibaut. Didst mark her tottering and uncertain steps,
Her countenance, so pallid and disturb'd?
She feels her dreadful state: the hour is come to save my child, and I will not neglect it.

Raimond. What would you do?

Thibaut. Surprise her, hurl her down From her vain happiness, and forcibly

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 404.

An interesting similarity is to be noted in the characterization of Joan's father in Schiller's play and in Henry VI. In both plays the father accuses her of being a sorceress.

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Restore her to the God whom she denies.

Raimond. O do not work the ruin of your child!

Thibaut. If her soul lives, her mortal part may die.

/Johanna rushes from the church/

She comes! 'tis she! She rushes from the church. Her troubled conscience drives her from the fane! Tis visibly the judgment of her God! 21

Johanna's sister begins speaking to her:

Margot, Thou wilt abandon this magnificence!

Johanna. I will throw off the hated ornaments, Which were a barrier 'twixt my heart and yours. And I will be a shepherdess again, And, like a humbler maiden, I will serve you, And will with bitter penitence atons That I above you vainly raised myself! 22

Upon coming near her, Thibaut accuses Johanna of being inspired by Hell, of being a sorceress. Johanna, overcome and confused by her love which seems sinful to her, does not deny or answer repeated questions; the thunder claps and is regarded as a sign of her guilt by the Archbishop and King, who have joined in the questioning. Johanna is therefore banished, no longer being regarded as God's chosen Maid.

^{21 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 413-414.

²² Ibid., p. 417.

In the fifth act Raimond and Johanna have wandered in a wild wood to a charcoal-burner's hut, where they desire to take refuge on this stormy night. A boy identifies Johanna as "the witch of Orleans" so that it is necessary for them to hurry away. Johanna urges Raimond to fly from her and save himself.

Raimond. I leave thee now! Alas who then would bear thee company?

Johanna. I am not unaccompanied. Thou hast Heard the loud thunder rolling o'er my head. My destiny conducts me. Do not fear; 23 Without my seeking I shall reach the goal.

Even Raimond believed that Johanna had renounced God, but he now believes her when she says that she is not a screeress. Asked why she did not speak against her father's charges, she answers that she submitted to the doom God ordained—she thought the condemnation came from God, through her father.

--I'm a fugitive,-But in the waste I learn'd to know myself.
When honour's dazzling radiance round me shone,
There was a painful struggle in my breast;
I was most wretched, when to all I seem'd
Most worthy to be envied.--Now my mind
Is heal'd once more, and this fierce storm
in nature,

²³ Ibid., p. 424.

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Which threaten'd your destruction, was my friend; It purified alike the world and me! I feel an inward peace -- and, come what may, Of no more weakness am I conscious now.

Shortly thereafter Johanna is taken captured prisoner by Queen Isabel and the English soldiers, who take her to Lionel, the Englishman whom she spared and for a time loved. Lionel now returns her love and will shield her if she will be his; but with her new-found strength she tells him that he is her enemy and that she cannot cherish affection for him. Since she says that she will escape if possible, she is bound in chains. In the distance fighting is seen in which Charles VII is taken prisoner; inspired with superhuman strength. Johanna breaks her chains and rushes off to fight, "saving the day" for the French. But in this battle, Johanna is mortally wounded. She revives and stands to speak before she dies:

See you the rainbow yonder in the air?
Its golden portals Heaven doth wide unfold,
Amid the angel choir she radiant stands,
The eternal Son she claspeth to her breast,
Her arms she stretched forth to me in love.
How is it with me? Light clouds bear me up--

²⁴ Ibid., p. 425.

My ponderous mail becomes a winged robe; I mount--I fly--back rolls the dwindling earth--Brief is the sorrow--endless the joy!

(Her banner falls, and she sinks lifeless on the ground. All remain for some time in speechless sorrow. Upon a signal from the King, all the banners are gently placed over her, so that she is entirely concealed by them.)

Johanna is characterized as a "maid severe"26 in contrast to the soft, languishing, but likable, Agnes Sorel. Also a foil for Johanna is Queen Isabel, a militant woman who filled her soldiers with fear rather than enthusiasm—a woman of passion and warm blood, a woman concerned with her own enjoyment of life. Boldness is at once noted to be one of Johanna's outstanding characteristics. First she seizes the helmet from Bertrand's hand. Soon after she meets the Dauphin, she interrupts him (politely, it is true) in order to speak to his messenger. Yet she was "a maiden pure and chaste," for it is such a maiden, the Virgin Mary tells her, who "achieves whate'er on earth is glorious." Johanna early described herself

²⁵ Ibid., p. 427.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 392.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 360.

as "a weak and trembling creature,"28 attributing to divine inspiration and aid the fact that she was not moved by the tears of her enemies. Duncis idealises her, presenting the attitude to be held by all upon her death:

Would clothe herself in a corporeal form,
She needs must choose the features of the Meiden.
If purity of heart, faith, innocence,
Dwell anywhere on earth, upon her lips
And in her eyes' clear depths they find their home. 29

Thus a Franch peasant girl becomes the inspired ambassadress of heaven, remaining through all the ruthless slaughtering of the enemy a lovable maiden such as the highest French officers desire to marry. This is Schiller's romantic idealization of Joan of Arc; Schiller himself terms Johanna a creation of the heart, "Dich fohuf das Herz." 30

Lovely, majestically noble, half-celestial, the Maid of Orleans is seen by Schiller as the heroic deliverer of her country from a hated foreign invader. This is a drama of patriotism in which

²⁸ Ibid., p. 338.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 428.

³⁰ Friedrich Schiller, "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," Selections from Schiller's Ballads and Lyrics, ed. by Lewis Addison Rhoues (New York: American Book Company, 1908), p. 134.

Schiller desired to present the spirit of the age as representing the birth of French patriotism. According to Lewis E. Gates, the Middle Ages was a time when "life was lived passionately and imaginatively under haunted heavens"; 31 this also represents the picture produced by the romantic, miracle-filled Maid of Orleans. Inspired, Johanna encourages her French companions:

Despair not! Fly not! for ere yonder corn
Assumes its golden hue, or ere the moon
Displays her perfect orb, no English horse
Shall drink the rolling waters of the Loire. . .

This realm shall fall! This ancient land of fame,
The fairest that in his majestic ocurse,
Th' eternal sun surveys—this paradise,
Which, as the apple of his eye, God loves—
Endure the fetters of a foreign yoke?
—Here where the heathen scatter'd, and the cross
And holy image first were planted here;
Here rest Saint Louis' ashes, and from hence
The troops went forth, who set Jerusalem free. 32

A chauvinistic patriotism is seen in lines spoken by Dumois:

It is the law of destiny that nations Should for their monarchs immedate themselves. We Frenchmen recognise this secred law, Nor would annul it. Base, indeed, the nation, That for its honour ventures not its all.

³¹ Calvin Thomas, The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1906), p. 380, citing Lewis E. Gates, "Studies and Appreciations."

³² Schiller, "The Maid of Orleans," p. 338.

³³ Ibia., p. 353.

THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE Johanna fights actively, with "flashing eye" and "glowing cheek." 34 Speaking of herself, she says:

. . .war's triumphant glory shall be thine; Thy martial fame all women's shall outshine.35 She loves battle:

Battle and tumult: Now my soul is free.
Arm, warriors, arm: while I prepare the troops. 36
Schiller's Johanna is a divinely blood-thirsty fighter;
we have seen that in fighting she has no pity or
humanity. She invariably wins in combat, inspired
by God and aided by her apparently miraculous
helmet and sword. She killed Montgomery without
mercy when he entreated her to spare his life. She
would not kill Burgundy because of his nationality.

Schiller's characterization does not follow history when Johanna is made to kill. It is true that the complete records of the trial and the Rehabilitation were not available in their entirety to Schiller. However, Joan's death as a martyr and the basic story of her achievements were common knowledge; one of Schiller's intentions in writing The Maid of Orleans was, by picturing Joan in a true light, to counteract the burlesque written by Voltaire.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 338.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 395.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 341.

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The first stanza of Schiller's poem "The Maid of Orleans" (1801) is directed against Voltaire's travesty upon the career of John of Arc: 37

Humanity's bright image to impair,
Scorn laid thee prostrate in the deepest dust;
Wit wages ceaseless war on all that's fair,-In Angel and in God it puts no trust;
The bosom's treasures it would make its prey 38Besieges Faney,--dims e'en Faith's pure ray.

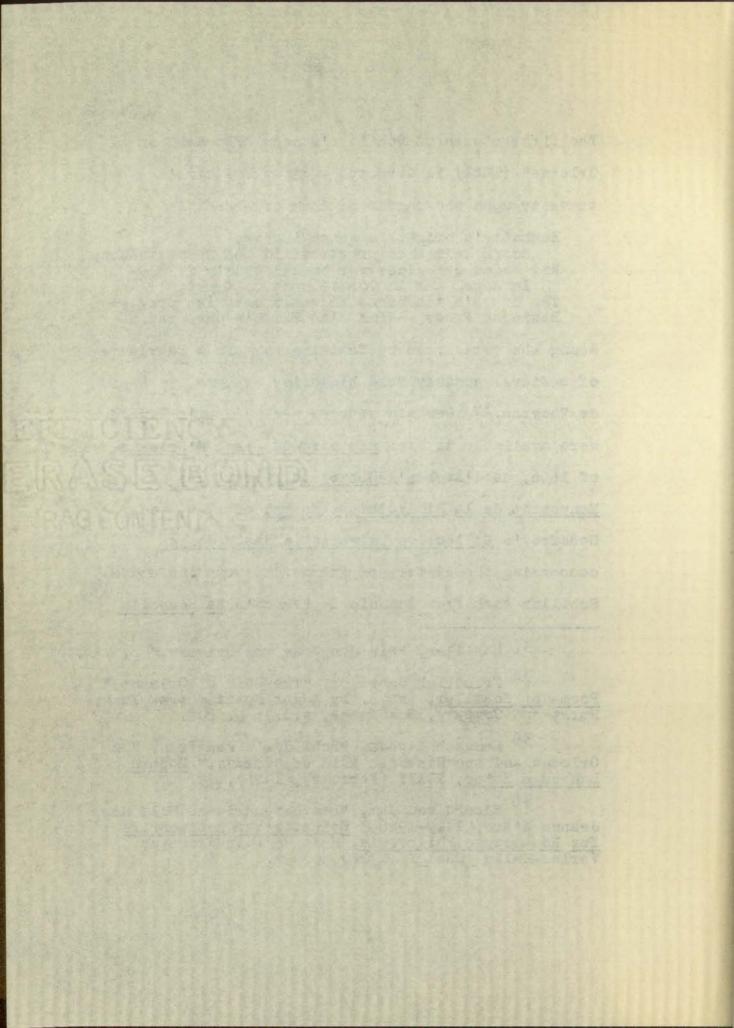
Among the works read by Schiller to gain a knowledge of medieval society were histories by Hume and Rapin de Thoyras. 39 Certain sources giving Joen's legend were available to him: Histoire du Siege d'Orleans of 1606, de l'Averdy's Notice et Extrait des Manuscrit de la Bibliothe que du Roi of 1790, and Godefroy's Collection Universelle des Memoires concerning the history of France. 40 Some incidents Schiller took from Antonio de Zamora's La Poncella

³⁷ Schiller, "Bie Jungfrau von Orleane," p. 134.

Poems of Schiller, trans. by Edgar Bowring (New York: Hurst and Company, Published, n.d.), p. 228.

³⁹ Kenneth Hayens, "Schiller's Jungfrau, Von Orleans and the Historic Maid of Orleans," Modern Language Notes, XXXVI (February, 1921), 79.

Jeanne d'Arc, 1429-1926, Beihefte zur Zetischrift für Romanische Philologie, Heft 76 (Max Niemeyer Verlaz-Halle /Baale/, 1926), p. 94.



de Orleans, as he did, for example, the episods
of Johanna's strength and courage as a young shepherdess in killing a wolf single-handed. The
Black Knight, seemingly the ghost of Talbot who
attempts to frighten Johanna, and Johanna's
killing of Montgomery are, however, neither in
poetical nor historical tradition.

Perhaps the most important historical deviation is Johanna's glorious death on the battlefield instead of her more horrible death as a martyr
at the stake. This was done deliberately in order
that Schiller might use Johanna as a vehicle for his
moral idealism. It might have been these changes
which inspired Percy Bysche Shelley's great admiration for The Maid of Orleans; Shelley felt
that in this drama Schiller had boldly treated
Ohristianity as a myth. It is true that Schiller
is the first great dramatist to treat Joan with
a liberality of spirit, being neither a prejudiced

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 96.

⁽New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945), p. 380.

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especially of blending pagen mythology with Christian religion in The Bride of Messina, Schiller wrote:

Religion itself, the idea of a Divine Power, lies under the weil of all religions; and it must be permitted to the post to represent it in the form which appears the most appropriate to his subject.

Thus, in the romantic medieval spirit Schiller even creates miraculous happenings (the ghost of Talbot, the magic sword, the breaking of chains) for his work concerning Jean of Arc. Being a poet, Schiller felt the sublimity of great and passionate devotion, although he himself held dogmatic beliefs only as a youth; later, Schiller worked out an aesthetic religion, which satisfied him completely, his ethical ideal being an ideal of harmony, of counterbalance. 44

If Schiller had followed history in allowing Johanna to die at the stake, it would have been impossible for him to illustrate the necessity of acquiescence in the wise ordering of the world; her

⁴³ Frederick Schiller, "On the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy," trans. by A. Lodge, Historical Dramas, Etc., III, The Works of Frederick Schiller, 4 vols., Bohn's Standard Library (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 444.

⁴⁴ Thomas, The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller, p. 364.

life and death would have been, instead, simply a mad destiny. Her death on the battlefield allowed the bringing of her fate into harmony with the central rightness of things. Johanna was made to fall in love contrary to the divine command she had received; with her accompanying suffering, the result of both love and sense of guilt, came a growth toward a higher unity. Harmony between thinking and feeling, Schiller thought, must be striven for since it exists only in an idealistic way. By nature man is at one with himself; a rift caused by art and culture necessitates a return through the ideal. 45 The thematic idea of The Maid of Orleans is embodied in the figure of the heroine, who must pass from the unity of nature to the dualism of idealism in the world, and thereby to a state of reflection in order to find unity again by way of the ideal. In his Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man Schiller writes:

It may be urged that every individual man carries, within himself, at least in his adaptation and destination, a purely ideal

⁴⁵ von Jan, Das Literarische Bild der Jeanne D'Aro, p. 101.

man. The great problem of his existence is to bring all the incessant changes of his outer life into conformity with the unchanging unity of this ideal. 46

It is one means of attaining this moral idealism that Schiller is attempting to illustrate in his Maid of Orleans.

There seemed to Schiller to be little in his society to perpetuate this ideal of inner harmony, a harmony between the sensual and the rational. The German state of the eighteenth century was despotic, narrow, and bureaucratic and lacking in energy; therefore, it seemed to Schiller to be depraved and out of joint, the enemy of all higher strivings for unity. To Schiller the need of his time was a sense of the great, thrilling, over-powering emotions and an escape from the insipidness of conventional ideals; he revolted against the self-complacent rationalism of his century. In a letter written on July 26, 1800, to a Professor Suvern, Schiller said:

Our tragedy. . . has to wrestle with time's impotence, laziness and lack of character, and with a vulgar mental habit. It must there-

⁴⁶ Friedrich Schiller, "Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man," Literary and Philosophical Essays, XXXII, Charles W. Eliot, ed., The Harvard Classics, 50 vols. (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1910), p. 228.

Kuno Francke, "Schiller's Message to Modern Life,"
Atlantic Monthly, XCV (May, 1905), 612.

fore exhibit force and character. It must endeavor to stir and uplight the feelings, but not to resolve them into calm. Beauty is for a happy race; an unhappy race one must seek to move by sublimity.

Schiller was trying to reawaken the national soul, through a deepening and intensifying of the inner life, and through this to reawaken the national body. Johanna's struggles and growth shows one aspect of this striving for inner oneness with self and the world, her conflict being specifically one between a divinely-inspired task and human love; from her struggles she rises ennobled and glorified even if outwardly defeated.

As Carlyle wrote, "Schiller's life is emphatically a literary one; that of a man existing only for contemplation; guided forward by the pursuit of ideal things, and seeking and finding his true welfare therein." Schiller was an apostle of the perfect life, feeling that in all he did or wrote he was the bearer of a sacred message to

⁴⁸ Calvin Thomas, The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1906), p. 380.

Thomas Carlyle, The Life of Friedrich
Schiller (New York: Charles Schiner's Sons, 1901), p. 3.

humanity. Giving his interpretation of the object of art in the essay "On the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy," Schiller writes:

Schiller, along with Lessing and Goethe, was one of the great romantic dramatists of Germany.

His message of the ideal oneness for which individuals and nations should strive was presented in a romantic drama very pleasing to his romantically minded German audiences.

Johanna's miraculous qualities and her absurd

⁵⁰ Friedrich Schiller, "On the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy," pp. 439-441.

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love affair make it difficult for the modern reader to sympathize wholly with Schiller's Maid. We sympathize with her almost solely on the basis of her patrictism; therefore, The Maid of Orleans is not the highest type of poetic creation.

Tschaikowsky used extracts from this drama in his opera, and this treatment of Joan of Arc might well be the basis for a stirring opera.

No such ridiculous love affair is found in Mark Twain's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, and the miracles contained therein are for the most part simply the prophecies which are commonly associated with the Joan of Arc legend. On these bases, therefore, we can more readily respond to Twain's Joan than to Schiller's Johanna. The main difficulty one finds in completely sympathizing with Twain's characterization of the Maid is his sentimentalism; 51 however, his novel is a romance written to touch the childlike hearts which most readers have to some extent.

of the sentimentalism he derided in many of his works. Another example of sentimentalism in his writings is "In Defense of Harriet Shelley," written in the same decade.

Mark Twain has presented his historical romance in the form of a biography, covering a period extending from Joan's childhood through the Rehabilitation; it was putatively written by a companion of Joan, Sieur Louis de Conte, who tells us that he was her playmate in their native village and later her secretary in the French campaigns. In de Conte's dedication to his great-great-grand nephews and nieces, the reader is given ample warning of the sentimental tone of the book itself:

Now that we perceive how great she was, now that her name fills the whole world, it seems strange that what I am saying is true; for it is as if a perishable paltry candle should speak of the eternal sun riding in the heavens and say, "He was gossip and housemate to me when we were candles together. . . . I was her playmate; and I fought at her side in the wars; to this day I carry in my mind, fine and clear, the picture of that dear little figure, with breast lent to the flying horse's neck, charging at the head of the armies of France, her hair streaming back, her silver mail plowing steadily deeper and deeper into the thick of the battle, sometimes nearly drowned from sight by tossing heads of horses, uplifted sword-arms, windolown plumes, and intercepting shields. De

⁵² Mark Twain, <u>Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc</u>, I (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1899), xvii-xviii.

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In the "translator's preface" is found the author's attitude toward Joan of Arc; in it he writes that the character of Joan is unique in that

It can be measured by the standards of all times without misgiving or apprehension as to the result. Judged by any of them, judged by all of them, it is still flawless, it is still ideally perfect; it still occupies the loftiest place possible to human attainment, a loftier one than has been reached by any other mere mortal.

Despite this rather forbiddingly gushy approach,
the novel has many refreshing depictions of Joan as
she appeared to the supposed writer; the enjoyment
of these counteract the distaste resulting from
Twain's over-idealization.

The first appealing episode, presenting a portrayal of Joan as a child, is concerned with the legendary fairies associated with the famous Domremy oak tree. De Conte presents the legend of the fairies as if it were factual in the same manner that he later presents Joan's prophecies, reality being no concern to Mark Twain in this respect. A hundred years previous to this particular time, a priest had held a religious function under the fairies' tree and had charged them with being blood-kin of Satan; he

⁵³ Ibid., p. xi.

warned them that if they ever showed themselves again they would be forever banished from the parish. The children, who pleaded for the fairies, were told by the priest that it was a sin to have such friends. The mourning children hung, and continued to hang, flower-wreaths upon the tree in memory of their beloved fairies, whom they were no longer to see. But a great misfortune happened when late one night the fairies were seen joyfully dancing; the thoughtless woman who accidentally happened upon the fairies told her neighbors, who in turn told the priest. The priest followed the earlier decree and banished the fairies.

At that time Joan was ill with a fever so
that she was unable to understand the children's
pleadings for her to save the fairies, a thing
they felt only she could do. When Joan was
sufficiently recuperated, she went, to the village
priest responsible for the banishment of the fairies,
protesting:

^{. . .} the fairies committed no sin, for there was no intention to commit one, they not knowing that any one was by; and because they were

little creatures and could not speak for themselves and say the law was against the intention,
not against the innocent act, and because they
had no friend to think that simple thing for
them and say it, they have been sent away from
their home forever, and it was wrong, wrong
to do it!54

Agreeing that she was right in condemning his action as unjust, the priest said that he wished it were possible for him to bring the fairies back. Joan felt that he should do penance; therefore, the priest declared he would put on sackcloth and ashes. As Joan watched with deep interest, he got on his knees before the fireplace and then asked Joan to help him by putting the ashes on his head. This, of course, struck her as a great profanation, and she tearfully urged him to get up.

The Pere would not stir, for all Joan's pleadings. She was about to cry again; then she had an idea and seized the shovel and deluged her own head with the ashes, stammering out through her chokings and suffocations:

"There--now it is done. Oh, please get

up father."

The old man, both touched and amused, gathered her to his breast and said:

"Oh you incomparable child! It's a humble martyrdom, and not of a sort presentable in a picture, but the right and true spirit is in it. . . . "55

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

Thus we see Joan as a child: regarded as unusual by her playmates, she has spirit and a fine reasoning power; she is unselfish and is capable of being filled with a righteous anger. Even at this early age she is able to influence others, for after she left, the priest, with new insight, murmured sorrowfully: "Ah, me, poor children, poor friends they have rights, and she said true--I never thought of that. God forgive me, I am to blame." 56

The second major incident is concerned with a hungry stranger whom Joan wishes to feed--and whom she does feed. To her father, who has declared that rascals are not entitled to help from honest people, she says:

would see that it is not right to punish one part of him for what the other part has done; for it is that poor stranger's head that does the evil things, but it is not his head that is hungry, it is his stomach, and it has done no harm to anybody, but is without blame, and innocent, not having any way to do a wrong, even if it was minded to it. 57

Eventually Joan's reasoning was agreed to, and she was told that she might give the man her porridge.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

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She was embarrassed, and did not seem to know what to say, and so didn't say anything. It was because she had given the man the porridge long ago, and he had already eaten it all up. When she was asked why she had not waited until a decision was arrived at, she said that the man's stomach was very hungry, and it would not have been wise to wait, since she could not tell what the decision would be. Now that was a good end thoughtful idea for a child. 50

Several nicknames were given to Joan by her playmates. First of all, she was called the Bashful because she became extremely embarrassed in the presence of strangers. The Patriot was another nickname "because," writes de Conte, "our warmest feeling for our country was cold beside hers." The third name was the Beautiful, "not merely because of the extraordinary beauty of her face and form, but because of the loveliness of her character." One other nickname was the Brave: once when a maniac threateningly approached the children with an ax, Joan went to him and with firm persuasion took his hand and, holding his ax in her other hand, walked with him to the village authorities. Entirely forgetful of herself, she acted because the man was

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁰ Loc. cit.

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dangerous: might have killed some one and come to harm himself.

As Joan grew older, she was very thoughtful and serious. One day de Conte happened to observe her as she was alone in the woods; he was startled to see a strange, white shadow of grand proportions—a winged shadow—come upon her. He heard her speak:

But I am so young! oh, so young to leave my mother and my home and go out into the strange world to undertake a thing so great! Oh, how can I talk with men, be comrade with men?—soldiers! I would give me over to insult and contempt. How can I go to the great wars, and lead armies?—I a girl, and ignorant of such things, knowing nothing of arms, nor how to mount a horse, per ride it. . . Yet—if it is commanded—.

Once her decision to obey her Voices was made, her former energy and fire came back and an exaltation filled her. De Conte had been allowed to see one of her visions so that he would have a basis for belief in what she said; now she began giving him commands and making arrangements for the trip to Vancouleurs to see de Baudricourt, a French captain. A new light was in her eye and a new decision was in her bearing, these being

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 69.

born of the authority and leadership which had this day been vested in her by the decree of God, and they asserted that authority as plainly as speech could have done it, yet without ostentation or bravado. This calm consciousness of command, and calm unconscious outward expression of it, remained with her thenceforth until her mission was accomplished."62

Joan was filled with a humility as well for she said that God had chosen "the meanest of His creatures for his work." 63

Perfectly self-possessed, "this marvelous child" 64 (a phrase often repeated in describing her) went with her uncle to see de Baudricourt. Although her first visit was unsuccessful, upon her second trip to Vaucouleurs, de Baudricourt was so affected by her earnestness that she was soon sent to the Dauphin.

Her good sense and sagacity are illustrated by the fact that she thoroughly learned the political and physical geography by diligently questioning the crowds of strangers she met. A further example of

⁶² Ibid., p. 76.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

this unusual ability to absorb knowledge quickly is the way in which she learned to ride horseback: horsemanship drill was necessary for the novices in her army, but merely watching this drill for a short while was sufficient training for Joan.

During the five night march to Chinon, Joan was alert, vigorous and confident while the strongest men in her company were worn out and irritable.

"A great soul, with a great purpose, can make a weak body strong and keep it so."65

Desiring to be simply clothed, as befitted a servant of God, she refused the gorgeous clothes offered her as she went to interview the Dauphin; yet in the simplest dress "she was a poem, she was a dream, she was a spirit." 66 Despite "the holy fox of Rheims" 67 and others who worked against her, Joan managed to convince the king of her mission.

The King was learning to prize her company and value her conversation; and that might well be, for, like other kings, he was used to getting nothing out of people's talk but guarded phrases,

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 110.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 138.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

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colorless and non-committal, or carefully tinted to tally with the color of what he said himself; and so this kind of conversation only vexes and bores, and is wearisome; but Joan's talk was fresh and free, sincere and honest, and unmarred by timorous self-watching and constraint. She said the very thing that was in her mind, and said it in a plain, straightforward way.

Soon Joan of Arc was appointed General of the Armies of France.

An intuitive ability for appraising men enabled Joan to choose her men well. La Hire, one of
the French officers, immediately perceived her
abilities and became her closest friend. One of
the extremely enjoyable parts of this novel is
that which tells about the first meeting of Joan
and La Hire.

The visit of ceremony was soon over, and the others went away; but La Hire stayed, and he and Joan sat there, and he sipped her wine, and they talked and laughed together like old friends. And presently she gave him some instructions, in his quality as master of the camp, which made his breath stand still. For, to begin with, she said that all those loose women must peck out of the place at once, she wouldn't allow one of them to remain.

Next, the rough carcusing must stop; drinking must be brought within proper and strictly defined limits, and disipline must take the place of disorder. And finally she

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 158.

climaxed the list of surprises with this-which nearly lifted him out of his armor:

"Every man who joins my standard must confess before the priest and absolve himself from sin; and all accepted recruits must be present at divine service twice a day."

La Hire could not say a word for a good part of a minute, then he said, in deep

dejection:

"Oh, aweet child, they were littered in hell, these poor darlings of mine! Attend mass? Why, dear heart, they'll see us both dammed first!"

And he went on, pouring out a most pathetic stream of arguments and blasphemy, which broke Joan all up, and made her laugh as she had not laughed since she played in the Domremy pastures.

Eventually, however, La Hire yielded and her instructions were carried out. La Hire was a man "sinful by nature and habit, but full of superstitious respect for holy places." The enthusiasm of the reformed army, the hot desire aroused in them to go against the enemy, and the devotion to Joan surpassed anything of this sort which La Hire had ever seen before.

The French generals' first attitude toward Joan was that she would be of great use to them by inspiring the army but that she would be of no

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 186-187.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 189.

help in the matter of military strategy. These hardheaded, practical men soon discovered their mistake:
Joan of Are was a thoroughly capable military strategist, who took full responsibility in her position
as Commander-in-Chief. Commenting upon her military
genius, La Hire said to the war-council:

She is a child, and that is all ye seem to see. Keep to that superstition if you must, but you perceive that this child understands this complex game of war as well as any of you; and if you want my opinion without asking for it, here you have it without ruffles or embroidery—by God, I think she can't teach the best of you how to play it!

The supposed writer of <u>Personal Recollections of Joan</u>
of <u>Arc</u> asks, "Who taught the shepherd-girl to do these
marvels-she who could not read, and had had no
opportunity to study the complex arts of war?" He
explains that he thinks "these vast powers and capacities were born in her, and that she applied them by
an intuition which would not err."

At times the English, overcome by the sight of a beautiful girl who seemed immortal, the child of

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 249.

^{72 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 304.

⁷³ Loc. cit. Further discussion of Mark Twain's theories of inborn qualities in mankind may be found in his "What is Man?"

Satan, simply fled. At other times battles were fought in which Joan showed great courage in leading her men in the most dangerous movements. Joan's heart overflowed with the joys and enthusiasms of war; yet this aspect of her character is not stressed. At her trial she said in answer to a question:

I love my banner best-oh, forty times more than the sword! Sometimes I carried it myself when I charged the enemy, to avoid killing.74 anyone. . . I have never killed anyone.74

Another time Joan said to her Uncle Laxart:

I was not ever fond of wounds and suffering, nor fitted by my nature to inflict them; and quarrelings did always distress me, and noise and tumult were against my liking, my disposition being toward peace and quietness and love for all things that have life.

When Orleans was freed, a great welcome was accorded Joan.

No other girl in all history has ever reached such a summit of glory as Joan of Arc reached that day. And do you think it turned her head, and that she sat up to enjoy that delicious music of homage and applause? No; another girl would have done that, but not this one. That was the greatest heart and simplest that ever beat. She went straight to bed and to

⁷⁴ Mark Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, II (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899), 156.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

THE REPORT OF THE PARTY. THE WALL OF THE SECOND sleep, like any tired child. 76

This "ignorant country-maid" 77 in seven weeks

hopelessly cripped that gigantic war that was ninety-one years old. At Orleans she struck it a staggering blow; on the field of Patay she broke its back. . . None will ever be able to comprehend that stupefying marvel.

Now Joan of Arc was called "Savior of France" 79 by her countrymen.

The Coronation of the King of France followed shortly. "The fantastic dream, the incredible dream, the impossible dream of the peasant-child stood fulfilled," for the English power was broken and the Heir of France was crowned.

"She was like one transfigured, so divine was the joy that shone in her face as she sank to her knees at the King's feet and looked up at him through her tears." In the preface Joan is

Arc, v. I, p. 270. Recollections of Josn of

Arc, v. II, p. 21. Recollections of Josn of

⁷⁸ Loc. cit.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 48.

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spoken of as "perhaps the only entirely unselfish person whose name has a place in profane history." 82 Immediately after the Coronation Joan's unselfishness is shown by the fact that her only desire is the freedom from taxes for her village.

upon Paris, she did have the opportunity to fight
less important battles, and it was during one of these
that she was captured by the English—as her Voices
had told her that she would be. Joan was the only
power in France that the English considered formidable.
"If the Church could be brought to take her life, or
to proclaim her an idolater, a heretic, a witch,
sent from Satan, not from heaven, it was believed
that the English supremacy could be at once reinstated."

53

De Conte managed to go to Rouen, and there he became a secretary at the trial so that he was able to follow it in detail, often reporting her exact words. Her Voices, her male attire, her sword, the number of Popes, and the dead child brought to life were among

⁸² Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, v. I, p. xii.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 104.

the subjects upon which she was questioned in detail. After illness and long confinement Joan became a "frail little creature with. . .sad face and drooping form." But she did not yield to her judges.

Joan of Arc was not made as others are made. Fidelity to principle, fidelity to truth, fidelity to her word, all these were in her bone and in her flesh—they were all parts of her. She could not change, she could not cast them out. She was the very genius of Fidelity, she was Steadfastness incarnated. 5

really doing, Joan eventually submits to the Church, only to regain her courage and recent. Just before her death at the stake, the Church abandons her and she kneels in prayer for the king.

With Joan of Arc love of country was more than a sentiment -- it was a passion. She was the Genius of Patriotism -- she was Patriotism embodied, concreted, made flesh, and palpable to, touch and visible to the eye.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 212.

Twain's conception in this respect is a comment found in his essay "The Turning-Point of My Life": "What I cannot help wishing is, that Adam and Eve had been postponed, and Martin Luther and Joan of Are put in their place-that splendid pair equipped with temperaments not made of butter, but asbestos. By neither sugar persuasions nor by hell fire could Satan have beguiled them to eat the apple." [Mark Twain, "The Turning-Point of My Life," What Is Man? and other Essays (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1917), pp. 139-140.]

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 287.

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The second volume of this novel is based to a very large extent upon Quicherat's records of the trials. Direct quotations are often given, the material being augmented when necessary; the tenor of the trial is closely followed. Concerning his writing of Personal Recollections of Jean of Are, Mark Twain once wrote in a letter to Henry Rogers:

The first two-thirds of the book were easy; for I only needed to keep my historical road straight; therefore I used for reference only one French history and one English one--and shoveled in as much fancy work and invention on both sides of the historical road as I pleased. But on this last third I have constantly used five French sources and five English ones and I think no telling historical nugget in any of them has escaped me.

The scenes presenting Joan as a child are the most outstanding of Mark Twain's fictional additions.

Mark Twain's treatment of Josm of Arc is affected by his conception of life. Joan's playmates

Recollections of Joan of Arc: J. E. J. Quicherat's

Condamnation et Rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc, J.

Fabre's Proces de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc, H. A.

Wallon's Jeanne d'Arc, M. Sepet's Jeanne d'Arc, J.

Michelet's Jeanne d'Arc, Berriat de Saint-Prix's

La Famille de Jeanne d'Arc, La Comtesso A. de

Chabannes' La Vierge Lorraine, Monseigneur Ricard's

Jeanne d'Arc la Venerable, Lord Ronald Gower's

Joan of Arc, John O'Hagan's Joan of Arc, and Janet

Tuckey's Joan of Arc the Maid.

⁵⁵ De Lancey Ferguson, Mark Twain: Man and Legend (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1943), p. 260.

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are described in a manner typical of Twain:

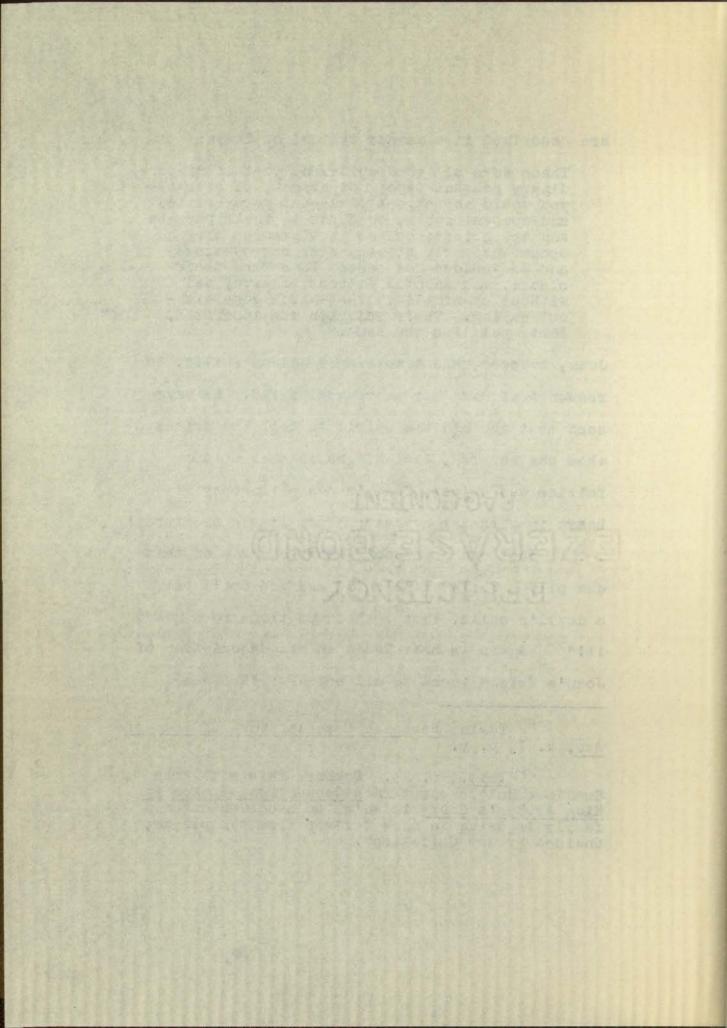
These were all good children, just of the ordinary peasant type; not bright, of courseyou would not expect that-but good-hearted
and companionable, obedient to their parents
and the priest; and as they grew up they
became properly stocked with narrownesses
and prejudices got second hand from their
elders, and adopted without reserve; and
without examination also-which goes without saying. Their religion was inherited,
their politics the same.

Joan, however, had a tolerance and an ability to reason that made her an unusual child. We have seen that she had the spirit to tell the priest, whom she revered, that his banishment of the fairies was unjust; Twain's own philosophy is heard in a remark by Joan: "Poor little creatures:

... What can a person's heart be made of that can pity a Christian's child and yet can't pity a devil's child, that a thousand times more needs it!" Again we hear Twain in his description of Joan's friendliness to all animals: "She was

⁸⁹ Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, v. I, p. 6.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 23. Compare this with "The Smallpox Hut" chapter in & Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court in which an excommunicated family is dying in slow torture from the plague, unaided by any Christians.



hospitable to them all, for an animal was an animal to her, and dear by mere reason of being an animal, no matter about its sort or social station. . .)⁹¹
In depicting her as a beautiful sixteen-year old girl, he says:

There was in her face a sweetness and serenity and purity that justly reflected her spiritual nature. She was deeply religious, and this is a thing which sometimes gives a melancholy cast to a person's countenance, but it was not so in her case. Her religion made her inwardly content and joyous; and if she was troubled at times, and showed the pain of it in her face and beauty, it came of distress for her country; no part of it was chargeable to her religion.

To Twain Joan was admirable not because she was a saint of God⁹³ but because she was, to him, an example of ideal womanhood. In her life's story, religious and political evils are reflected. Mark Twain commented in his notebook:

Ecclesiastical and military courts--made up of cowards, hypocrites and time-servers--can be bred at the rate of a million a year and

⁹² Ibid., pp. 51-52.

Twain that Twain was a Christian as a very young man, but after he renounced his faith in Christian theology, he never went back to it nor to the belief in life after death and a conscious divinity. (William Dean Howells, My Mark Twain (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1910), p. 32.)

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have material left over; but it takes five centuries to breed a Joan of Arc and a Zola. In this same notebook he records a conversation with a princess whom he met in Austria. This princess spoke of Joan's fate saying: "Poor child, but for the priests it would not have happened but whenever they meddle, harm must come to somebody." Twain's reply was: "Particularly when they and politics join teams and meddle together. #95 Henry Thomas save that Anatole France tells us that seven words summarize the entire history of the world: "Men are born, they suffer, they die. "96 He suggests that Mark Twain would have amended these words to read: "Men are born, they compel one another to suffer, they die. "97 Twain's contempt for "the dammed human race" is, to a degree, found even in his historical romance of Joan's story.

⁹⁴ Albert Bigelow Paine, ed., Mark Twain's Notebook (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935), p. 342.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 340.

⁽New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1938), p. 310.

⁹⁷ Loc. cit.

Despite her heroic warfare against the falseness and treachery of a sordid age, envy, superstition and hate in time succeeded in destroying Joan's life. She was the "Deliverer of France"; nevertheless,

"the French Kirg, shom she had crowned, stood supine and indifferent, while the French priests took the noble child, the most innocent, the most lovely, the most adorable the ages have produced, and burned her alive at the stake."

To Twain, Joan is the personification of human ideals so lacking in mankind as a whole.

Real worth always impressed Mark Twain. His intense humanity and latently chivalrous nature were awakened by purity, beauty, and tenderness while his scathing sarcasm was aroused when he encountered sham, stupidity, and cruelty. Thus it is that Joan of Arc was Mark Twain's favorite character. 99

Forty years before writing Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, Twain found a paper flying down

⁹⁸ Twain, Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, v. I, p. xiv.

⁹⁹ Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain, II (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1912), 1038.

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the street. Having then a professional interest in any printed page, he picked it up. It happened to be a page from a history of Joan of Arc, describing her in the prison at Rouen where she was being mistreated by two soldiers. Albert Bigelow Paine tells us that Mark Twein then acquired an abiding interest in both Joan of Arc and history. 100 As Mark Twain grew older and became more disillusioned and bitter, Joan became a greater and greater fascination for him. Twain always tended to idealize women, especially his wife Livy and his daughter, Susy. Perhaps his association with the genteel tradition, through such people as William Dean Howells, Joseph Twichell, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and Jervis Langdon, augmented this tendency. Joan's courage, simplicity, and faith made her seem one of the few people of the past justifying the existence of humanity. 101

Too often describing Joan simply by explanatory comment, Twain has not succeeded in making her

¹⁰⁰ Paine, Mark Twain, v. I, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Ferguson, Mark Twain: Man and Legend, p. 256.

a convincing human being. He revered her too highly to make her human and alive -- she is too good. In The Gilded Age a remark made concerning Laura ought to have been applied by Twain to Joan: "We are sorry," the authors write, "we cannot make her a faultless heroine; but we cannot, for the reason that she was human."102 Joan's occasional anger is righteous anger. The "only harsh speech Joan ever uttered in her life"103 was in condemnation of a Frenchman who was praising Henry as king of both England and France. She said to him: " I would I might see thy head struck from thy body! '-- Then, after a pause, and crossing herself -- 'if it were the will of God. "104 Joan of Arc was to him almost superhuman, an extraordinary personality who should be studied and revered but who would never be understood.

Romance never dies even in an age of official

Gilded Age, II (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1901), 36.

Arc, v. I, p. 51. Personal Recollections of Joan of

¹⁰⁴ Loo. cit.

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realism. The sentimentalism of much of the nineteenth century continued to be reflected in Mark Twain's works as well as in those of other writers. Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc was written during a brief romantic flare-up in the American literature of the 1890's, a time during which many historical romances were written by other authors. 105 Joan's story served as a romantic escape for Mark Twain in this decade of his deepest pessimism. The lofty, beautiful qualities of the human race were completely realized in Joan of Arc: pure, intelligent, steadfast in her lofty mission, compassionate, unselfish, lovable, winsome, Joan commanded Mark Twain's devotion. As Vernon Louis Parrington commented, Mark Twain saw in Joan of Arc the Domnei of James Branch Cabell. 106

Letters (Boston: American Book Company, 1947), p. 273.

Vermon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, III (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927), p. 91.

CHAPTER III

TREATMENTS ATTACKING THE CLERICAL CONCEPTION OF JOAN OF ARC

The purpose of this chapter is to present examples of treatments of Joan of Arc which attempt to take her off the pedestal upon which the clerical conception places her. The first work to be discussed is The Maid of Orleans (La Pucelle d'Orleans), a two volume mock-heroic epic in twenty-one cantos by Voltaire (Francois Marie Arouet), and the second is The Life of Joan of Arc (La Vie de Jeanne D'Arc), a two volume history, presented in narrative prose, by Anatole France (Jacques Anatole Francois Thibault). Both of these works are written by Frenchmen who are interested in freeing the minds of their fellow countrymen from Catholic thought; both feel that one means of proceeding upon this liberation is to break down the spiritual regard for the French national heroine, Joan of Arc. Despite their personal similarities in intellectuality and skepticism and despite the literary similarities of their most notable works, Candide and Penguin Island, their

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works concerning Joan of Arc are entirely different. The one is a satire, which completely disregards the historical Joan, while the other is a rational explanation, which attempts to portray the actual Joan as opposed to the legendary Joan. France's attack is not so much directed upon Joan herself as upon clericalism. Both Voltairs and France are motivated by what they feel to be the needs of their periods, and use similar literary forms common in French literature—satire and tradition—destroying rationalism.

In beginning The Maid of Orleans, Voltaire writes:

The praise of saints my lyre shall not rehearse, Feeble my voice, and too profane my verse; Yet shall my Muse to laud our Joan incline, Who wrought, 'tis said, such prodigies divine; Whose virgin hand revived the drooping flower, And gave to Gallia's lily tenfold power.

However, Joan of Arc is not landed in this gay and

Of Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XL, The Works of Voltaire, 42 vols. /A modern version, by various hands, based on the translation (1761-1774) of Tobias George Smollett. See bibliography. 7 (New York: E. R. DuMont, 1901), 33.

bawdy mock-heroic poem. To understand why Voltaire treated Joan as he did, several things must be known. First of all, it is to be noted that the historical conception of Joan in Voltaire's period is not the historical conception of Joan today. Second, the standards of morals and decency in literature differed from those which we more or less uphold today. Third, Voltaire, an outstanding figure in the Age of Enlightenment, was satirizing the Joan of Arc legend, rather than the historic Joan, in an attempt to make humanity more civilized and tolerant. Finally, the poem was written for the amusement of his friends. Let us discuss each of these facts in more detail.

Voltaire's The Maid of Orleans presents Joan as a twenty-seven year old girl, a former barmaid.

These were accepted as historical facts in Voltaire's period. For example, David Hume, the Scottish philosopher and historian belonging to the eighteenth century, says in The History of England:

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of twenty-seven years of age, called Joan d'Aro, who was a servant in a

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small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which, in well frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men servants.

Voltaire did not know that Josh had never been a tavern-maid and that she was only nineteen years old when she died. This aspect of Voltaire's presentation of Joan is, therefore, to be expected. In the period following Josh's death clerical propaganda had been made by the fenatical and superstitious clergy of France, who promoted her as a miracle-girl; it was this conception of Joan rather than the historic Joan that Voltaire writes in Essai sur les Mosurs:

en droit de la juger, puisqu'elle était prisonnière de guerre, la déclarèrent hérétique relapse, et firent mourir par le feu celle qui, ayant sauve son roi, aurait eu

Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, n.d.) p. 388.

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des autels dans les temps héroiques, où les hommes en élevaient à leurs libérateurs. It is further apparent in this essay that Voltaire believed Joan feigned miracles but was, nevertheless, worthy of these miracles.

"A considerable time ago (at far too early an age, in fact)," G. K. Chesterton writes, "I read Voltaire's La Pucelle, a savage sarcasm on the traditional purity of Joan of Arc, very dirty and very funny." As has been briefly indicated, morality is only one aspect of The Maid of Orleans, the dominant one being the satire of superstition; the ridicule of Joan's virginity is of special importance in this satire since her contemporaries felt that maidenhood had a special power. In the poem a stupid monk Lourdis roared "as loud as he could bawl": "She is a maid, so tramble England's

Prose, ed. by Adolphe Cohm and B. D. Woodward (Boston D. C. Heath and Company, Publishers, 1897), p. 26. Compare Voltaire's statement to that of Hume: "This admirable heroine, to whom the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars, was, on pretence of heresy and magic, delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated, by that dreadful punishment, the signal service which she had rendered to her prince and to her native country." Hume, The History of England, II, 401

⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵ G. K. Chesterton, "The Maid of Orleans,"
All Things Considered (London: Methuen and Company,
Limited, 1928), p. 199.

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The Maid of Orleans was deemed the fit subject of a poem, the wittiest and most profligate for which literature has to blush. Our illustrious Don Juan hides his head when contrasted with Voltaire's Pucelle: Juan's biographer, with all his zeal is but an innocent and a novice by the side of this archsoorner.

Today parts of The Maid of Orleans are now regarded as repulsive rather than amusing and definitely un-

⁶ Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XL, 136-137.

⁷ Thomas Carlyle, The Life of Friedrich Schiller (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), pp. 154-155.

poetic; our tastes concerning the rude horseplay and coarse mirth have changed somewhat. The Maid of Orleans represents the humor of eighteenth-century France.

"Incredulity, let us remember, according to Aristotle, is the foundation of all knowledge," wrote Voltaire in his "Observations on History." "This maxim should be attended to by all those who read history." In this same essay he says: "I do not believe even eye-witnesses, when they report things inconsistent with common sense."9 These ideas are a partial expression of the view of his age-the Age of Enlightenment, of Reason, of Voltaire. In this age there was a definite revolution in the history of thought; the leaders of this movement were called "encyclopedists," Voltaire being the most powerful. The dominant thought of the Age of Enlightenment included an ardent belief in the idea of progress, in experimental science and in reason; reason, regardless of its limitations, was thought to be the best guide available for the conduct of life. Voltaire

⁸ Voltaire, "Observations on History," Essays, XXXVII The Works of Voltaire, 42 vols. /See bibliography. / (New York: E. R. DuMont, 1901), 269.

⁹ Ibid., p. 272.

enment (New York: F. S. Grofts and Company, 1931), p. 1.

was convinced that human misery is the result of human stupidity, that the eradication of that stupidity would make life much more endurable. Among the evils which Voltaire attempted to overcome were the narrowness, cruelty, and distortion of religion in the hands of meddlesome intruding, ignorant priests and the superstitious laymen. He believed in a god, a creator of the universe, but he completely rejected the Bible and Christianity; he was firmly convinced that the churchmen were imposters, 11 fattening themselves through the exploitation of a false religion. 12 France was an extremely intolerant nation, the Edict of Nantes having been formally repealed and the Protestents greatly persecuted; Louis XIV had encouraged his

well in Candide, as Candide questions a man in the land of Eldorado: "Candide was curious to see the priests; and asked where they were. The good old man smiled. 'My friends,' said he, 'we are all priests; the King and all the heads of families solemnly sing praises every morning, accompanied by five or six thousand musicians.! 'What! Have you no monks to teach, to dispute, to govern, to intrigue and to burn people who do not agree with them?' 'For that, we should have to become fools,' said the old man."

/Voltaire, Candide (New York: The Modern Library, n.d.), p. 75.

¹² Ben Ray Redman, ed., "Editor's Introduction,"
The Portable Voltaire (New York: The Viking Press,
1949), p. 24.

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soldiers in every excess of cruelty upon those who would not embrace the king's Catholicism. 13

In Voltaire's general campaign against superstition, empty fears, and idols, some good things
and some good people were unjustly hit as a result
of his intensity, tremendous ardor, and his enormous power of raillery. His treatment of the Maid
of Orleans was simply an additional, humorous excursion in his campaign against the evils of the
clergy and of the pretense of divine intervention.
Voltaire surely was not born to celebrate saints,
as he tells us in the very first line of this burlesque which ludicrously characterizes Joan and the
other saints and monks in an attempt to make them
descend from a high level to a low level and thus
show their incongruity.

This poem was not written for the public but rather for the amusement of the friends of Voltaire. His contemporaries enjoyed this more than any other of his works; 14 where as posterity has

¹³ Oliver H. G. Leigh, "Introduction," <u>Introduction</u>, I, The Works of Voltaire, 42 vols. (See bibliography/. (New York: E. R. DuMont, 1901), 42.

¹⁴ George Brandes, Voltaire, I (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1930), 330.

been most scandalized by it. It was admired by his freethinking friends because of its importance to them in their struggles to free themselves from the grossest superstition. The poem was Voltaire's greatest source of worry since he was in constant dread of its surreptitious publication, which would result in an accusation of sacrilege. Voltaire has made several interesting comments concerning this "folly" in letter to various friends. In one to Father d'Olivet, a Jesuit who had been one of his teachers at Louis-le-grand, he wrote:

What you call my Ariosto /The Maid of Orleans/
is a folly by no means as long as his; non ho
pigliato tante coglionerie. I should have been
ashamed to have devoted thirty cantos to these
whimsies and to these debauches of imagination.
I have but ten cantos in my Maid Joan. /Eventually however, he wrote twenty-one can tos
for the published edition. So that I'm at
least two-thirds wiser than Ariosto. These
diversions are the interlude of my work. . . 15

The idea for the poem originated at a dinner given in 1730 by Richelieu. A discussion of an admittedly poor epic about Joan by Jean Chapelaine (1656) brought about a challenge to Voltaire to write

¹⁵ C. E. Vulliamy, Voltaire (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1930), p. 94.

THE PERENCE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PERENCE OF THE P TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF a better one. He began his mock-heroic epic about

Joan at that time, gradually adding to his original

lines. About four years later a letter to his friend

Formont tells of his objection to the application of

the term "epic" to his poem:

I have worked rather in the vein of Ariosto than in that of Tasso. I wanted to see what my imagination would produce when I gave it free reign, and when fear of that narrow critical spirit now reigning in France did not restrain me. I am ashamed of having progressed so far on such a frivolous work, which is not designated for publication; but after all, time might be employed to worse advantage. I want this work to give my friends amusement from time to time: but I do not want my enemies to know a thing about it. 10

His enemies did learn about the mock-epic, however, and his fears were realized when in 1755 it was first published, filled with errors and additions by those who wished to hurt Voltaire.

The Pope prohibited the book; Paris burned it. A Parisian printer was sentenced to nine years in the galleys for printing it. It sold very well and was read with enthusiasm. 17 The first authorised

¹⁶ Norman L. Torrey, The Spirit of Voltaire (New York: Morningside Heights, 1938), p. 28.

⁽New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, /1910/), p. 312.

The same state have I would be seen a supply and the same The way of the Court of the Court of the Court of THE RESERVED TO SELECT A STREET OF STREET, SAN STREET, The Pool or old bath of the state that the season of the edition was printed in 1762: at that time Voltaire published his version, omitting original lines that would offend various persons. 18

In introducing Joan to us, Voltaire writes:

For Joan possessed a Roland's dauntless heart:
For me, much better should I love by night
A lamb-like beauty, to inspire delight;
But soon you'll find thro' every glowing page,
That Joan of Arc could boast the lion's rage;
You'll tremble at those feats she dared essay
How dauntlessly she braved the bloody fray;
But greatest of these rare exploits you'll hear,
Was, that she kept virginity—a year. 19

Saint Denis (he is "a saint by trade"20) is scandalized to see his godson Charles upon a strumpet's
breast while his country is in flames and his
subjects quake with fear of the English invaders.

So, if the monarch for an harlot fain Will lose his kingdom and his honor stain, I have resolved to save the king and land, And work my purpose by a maiden hand. 21

This maiden was born in Domremy; her father was a

Maid of Orleans, XL. The Works of Voltaire, 42 vols.

/See bibliography/ (New York: E. R. Dumont, 1901), 20.

¹⁹ Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XL, 34.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

^{21 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 46.

Two large black eyes stood even in her head;
To grace her vermeil mouth, of lily hue
Were ranged her teeth, in number thirty-two,
Whose even rows, stretched wide from left to right,
Were edged with gums like coral purely bright;
Firm was her bosom, though of celor brown,
Tempting the cowl, the helmet and the gown;
Both active, vigorous, and full of blood,
Her large plump hands for every work were good.
She'd carry burdens, empty cans of wine,
Serve peasant, noble, citizen, divine,
And walking, sturdy blows would often deal
On giddy youths, whose meddling hands would feel
Her well turned limb and heaving bosom bright;
Cheerful she was, though working day and night,
Nor ever would her dauntless spirits flag.24

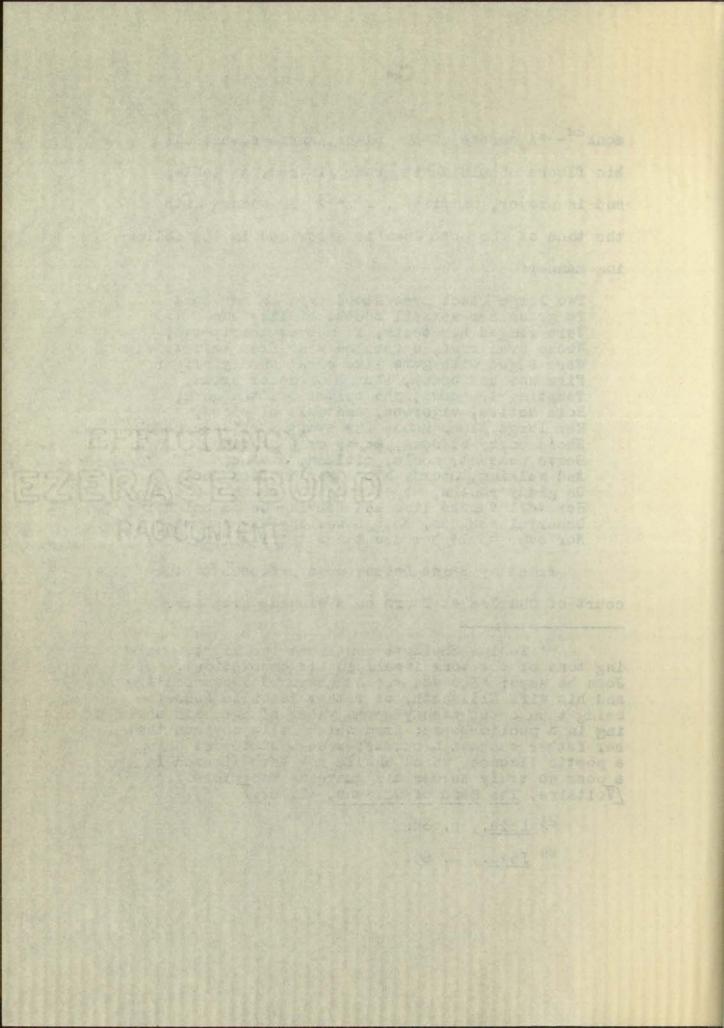
Armed by Saint Denis, Joan proceeds to the court of Charles at Tours on a winged, gray ass.

Tobias Smollett continued the light, mocking tone of the work itself in his annotations. Of Joan he says: "She was the daughter of Jacques d'Arc and his wife Elizabeth, or rather Isabella Romee; being then about twenty-seven years of age, and serving in a public-house; from which it is obvious that her father was not a curate; such a statement being a poetic licence, which should not have figured in a poem so truly heroic and grave as the present."

[Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XL, 87.]

²³ Ibid., p. 68.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 69.



When she arrives before the King, she is called upon to prove herself trustworthy of the King's task. The King says: "Joan hear me: Joan, if thou'rt a maid, avow."25 She answers that the doctors may be called to see.

By this sage enswer Charles knew she must be Inspired and blessed with sweet virginity. "Good," said the king, "since this you know so well, Daughter of heaven, I prithee, instant tell. What with my fair one passed last night in bed? Speak free." "Why nothing happened," Joan them said; Surprised, the king knelt down and cried aloud—"A miracle!" Then crossed himself and bowed.26

Joan vows by her courage, by her sword, and by her virgin power that Charles shall soon be anointed with holy oil at Rheims. The courtiers press around her amazed, feeling "the glow divine," the thirst of fame, and the desire to ravish her.

Voltaire's Joan is not quite faultless. She at times rebels at Saint Denis's plans and sometimes is a bit jealous. Once she is aggrieved at not having killed a man she desired to kill:

Some jealous germs Joan stifled in her breast, Her heart upbraiding destiny's behest.27

²⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁶ Loo. oit.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

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We are told that her air was fierce, "but gentle all she said." The Maid has the war-like qualities of Pallas, and she is described as having a masculine voice capable of a martial tone.

extent with the loves and trials of Charles VII and Agnes Sorel, his mistress. For instance, Agnes disguises herself in the armor of Joan in order to go in pursuit of her lover; she is taken prisoner by the English. Later Agnes falls in love with a youth named Morose and further entanglements result. Later Agnes falls in love with a youth named Morose and further entanglements result. Another part of the poem is concerned with a girl named Dorothy, who is rescued just as she is about to be burned at the stake as an unwed mother.

On one occasion a convent is sacked by the English, the nuns being violated by the soldiers.

A battle ensues between Saint George of England and Saint Denis of France. Joan appears "en cuerpo"

²⁸ Ibid., p. 69.

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to join the battle; she fights a man who lusts for her.

Trampling his corpse with crimson current dyed, Joan to this wicked people forthwith cried: "Cease, cruel troop, leave innocence alone, 29 Base violators; fear just Heaven--fear Joan.

Another incident in the poem is concerned with Hermaphrodix. It occurs the day after a fierce combat with the English at which men fought divested of fear ("Their bosoms glowed with superstitious pride,/For each believed the Lord was on his side.")³⁰ Hermaphrodix had been allowed to wish anything he desired, this one wish to be granted by his supernatural father. He wished to be male by day and female by night in order to enjoy sex more completely, but thereafter he found himself repulsive to all, including Joan and Dunois. Joan hit Hermaphrodix, and for this she was to be empaled upon a stake; however, Saint Denis saved her.

In another canto, Monk Grisbourdon, who is in hell, wishes to wreck vengeance upon Joan. With

of Voltaire, 42 vols. /See bibliography. (New York: E. R. DuMont, 1901), 44.

³⁰ Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XL, 136.

ne join the battle; she figure o war who weeks for him

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Beelzebub's help he inspires her ass to make love to her and to respond, but Joan manages to control her sudden passion until Dunois and a sunbeam come to her rescue. The last canto ends:

Joan fierce and tender, having sent away
That selfsame night to Heaven her donkey gray,
Of sacred oath accomplishing the law,
Kept promise made to well beloved Dunois,
As Lourdis midst the faithful cohort strayed
Bawling out still: "Ye Britons, she's a maid."31

pictures Joan as having much the same traits credited to her in Schiller's and Mark Twain's idealizations; these traits of beauty, virginity, and military genius are, however, satirized by Voltaire's presentation.

Voltaire's treatment of Joan is completely in accord with the usual spirit of French literature and in accord with the spirit of the Age of Enlightenment in its jocularly indecent satire upon superstition and hypocrisy resulting from Ultramontanism as well as upon the other frailities of mankind.

Anatole France is also in accord with the literary spirit of his age, which is realism; among

³¹ Voltaire, The Maid of Orleans, XLI, 246.

his realistic, anti-clerical literary predecessors we find Voltaire, Stendhal, Zola, and Flaubert. The Life of Joan of Arc is France's attempt to present as nearly as possible the real Joan as she is sean when "the radiant clouds of myth," 32 whose billows make an imposing Maid, are removed.

"Joan is made of nothing but poetry," Anatole
France once wrote.

She stepped out of the popular poetry of Christienity, the litanies of the Virgin and the Golden Legend, the marvellous stories of those brides of Jesus Christ who put on the white robe of virginity and the red robe of martyrdom. She emerged from the pleasing sermons in which the sons of Saint Francis exalted poverty, candour, and innocence; she came forth from the eternal fairyland of the woods and the fountains, from those artless tales of our ancestors, from those narratives, as obscure and as fresh as the nature that inspires them, in which girls of the fields receive supernatural gifts; she was born of the songs of the land of oaks in which Vivien, Merlin, Arthur and his knights live a mysterious life; she was the breath of that great thought which made a rose of fire bloom above the doors of the churches; she was the fulfillment of the prophecies by which the poor people of the realm of France foretold a better future; she was the offspring of the ecstacy and tears of a whole people who, like Mary of Avignon in days of misery, beheld arms in the sky and thereafter trusted only in her weakness.

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She is moulded out of poetry, like the lily out of dew; she is the living poetry of that gentle France which she loved with a miraculous love.

Having long been dissatisfied with the literary works giving Joan's story, France dreamed of "a chronicle in dialogue, accompanied by music; for the ideal must be joined to the real." This piece, to be written in simple and artless verse, should not be a work of art but a work of faith, the faith and view of the fifteenth century. Such a work was Anatole France's ideal of the portrayal of Joan. He loved the patristic legends and knew them well; the "sacred fairy-tale" history of Joan he thought incomparably beautiful.

Then why did France write a life of Joan of Arc which has been furiously attacked as a denigration of Joan? He once expressed his opinion that "all the historians from Herodotus to Michelet are narrators of fable." But to him their deceit was

Anatole France, "Joan of Arc and Poetry," On Life and Letters, Second Series, trans. by A. W. Evans and ed. by Frederic Chapman (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1914), p. 338.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 333.

On Life and Letters, Third Series, trans. by D. B.
Stewart and ed. by J. Lewis May and Bernard Miall
(London: John Lane, The Bodley Head Limited, 1922), p. 239.

On Life and Letters, Second Series, p. 113.

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agreeable; he wrote:

I would even regret it if history were exact. I willingly say with Voltaire: reduce it to truth and you ruin it: it is Alcinous robbed of his enchantment. It is only a succession of images. That is why I love it; that is why it suits men. Humanity is still in its childhood.

Yet his own history of Joan attempted to give the realistic, tradition-destroying truth concerning her life and her age. To determine why France did this we must note the active part the Church was taking in a campaign against socialism in France during the early part of the twentieth century. Anatole France was a progressive favoring socialism. As progressive thought gained followers in France, the Church lost followers. The Church needed some forceful gesture to gain the attention and interest of its people in France. Thus, it seemed to Anatole France, the Church saw in the beatification and canonization of Joan of Arc, the national beroine of France, the necessary attention-arresting force. 38 It was to combat this force that he suddenly began

^{37 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 113-114.

Jacob Axelrad, Anatole France: A Life Without Illusions (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1944), pp. 314-315.

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to write the history of Joan of Arc, thereby fulfilling an ambition which he had long held. Now the special need was to present the truth of the legendary Joan, not to present the beauty of this Maid. France thought that the rational explanation of Joan would not destroy the beauty of the legend, 39 but that it might help to free the minds of Frenchmen by destroying a blind faith in the active, reactionary institution of the Catholic Church. Therefore, he devoted his time to writing the life of Joan of Are in order to present the facts before her canonization. He declined a chair at the College de France, and he hired Jean-Jacques Brousson as his secretary, for much annotating, checking, and research was needed upon the voluminous notes which he had acquired during his twenty years' interest in Joan of Aro's history. 40

Anatole France does not laugh at Joan, but through her he does laugh at modern clericalism.

³⁹ France, "Concerning Joan of Arc," pp. 246-247.

⁴⁰ Axelrad, Anatole France, p. 315.

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He was a remanticist as well as a rationalist and a skeptic. Although he had beautifully pictured Christian characters and faith in such works as "Our Lady's Juggler," he had also depicted Christians and Christian institutions satirically in Penguin Island. His treatment of Joan of Arc in the biography is a result of his rationalism and his anti-clericalism rather than his remanticism, for its intended purpose is to show that religious legends are without foundation in historical fact.

noted in Penguin Island, a tragically comic mock-history of France. In chapters filled with comments concerning "celestial perfume," which is suppose to surround saints, is the story of the patron saint of Penguinia, Orberosia. Orberosia is a woman who pretends to be a virgin (for virgins have unusual powers) and pretends to subdue a dragon which has been ravaging the country of This miracle is explainable: the man whose Penguinia. mistress she was and with whom she lived in a cave had been pillaging the country, and the dragon she subdued was a paper one, which she had made. The Penguinians believed, however, in what they seemed to see; legends grew up, and Orberosia became the national religious and patrictic heroine. The years passed; a religious reformation resulted in the massacre of Protestants by Catholics and the massacre of Catholics by Protestants -- all a result of varying, false religious legends and beliefs. A Penguinian historian wrote: "Nothing is more uncertain than the history, or even the existence, of St. Orbercaia. An ancient anonymous annalist, a monk of Dombes, relates that a woman called Orberosia was possessed by the devil in a cavern where, even down to his own days, the little boys and girls of the village used to play at a sort of game representing the devil and the fair Orberosia. He adds that this woman became the concubine of a horrible dragon, who ravaged the

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An ignorant, superstitious peasant, a ingenuous child, passionate, filled with hallucinations, is presented to the reader of The Life of Joan of Arc. This girl is, to Anatole France, the real Joan of Arc. She was wholly sincere, truly believing in her voices. She was a saint, a saint having all the attributes of fifteenth century sanctity. But to Anatole France sainthood is not a very admirable characteristic. Jeanne's father was worried about her behavior:

He knew not that she heard Voices. He had no idea that all day Paradise came down into his garden, that from Heaven to his house a ladder was let down, on which there came and went without ceasing more angels than had ever trodden the ladder of the Patriarch Jacob; neither did he imagine that for Jeannette alone, without any one else perceiving it, a mystery was being

country. Such a statement is hardly credible, but the history of Orberosia, as it has been related, seems hardly more worthy of belief. The life of that saint by the Abbot Simplicissimus is three hundred years later than the pretended events which it relates and that author shows himself excessively credulous and devoid of all critical faculty." (Anatole France, Penguin Island (New York: The Modern Library, 1933), pp. 117-118.) The credulity of people is similar in regard to the legends of St. Orberosia and Joan of Arc, and the reaction to Anatole France's history of Joan is similar to the reaction of Abbot Simplicissimus's history of St. Oberosia. Both The Life of Joan of Arc and Penguin Island were first published in 1908.

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played, a thousand times richer and finer than those which on feast days were acted on platforms, in towns like Toul and Nancy. . . . But what he did see was that his daughter was losing her senses, that her mind was wandering, and that she was giving utterance to wild words. 50

This rather hysterical, very suggestible and impressionable little girl was steeped in the mysticism of the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century being a time in which people frequently heard voices and saw visions and a time in which vivid legends and colorful religious services stimulated the imagination easily. Jeanne's miraculous mission can be explained, France felt, by the influence of a clergyman who wished to use her as a tool; stating this priestly direction in the introduction as only a probable, not proved, possibility, he makes it a fact in the body of his work. The national misfortunes in war imposed great sufferings upon the priests. One of these priests saw Joan as an exceptionally pious girl, who was able to see things invisible to the majority of Christians; he realized that Joan could, with direction, become the angelic deliverer foretold

⁵⁰ France, The Life of Joan of Arc, I, 68.

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by legend. Jeanne lived a life of illusion, "knowing nothing of the influences she was under, incapable of recognising in her Voices the echo of a human voice or the promptings of her own heart." Like those who walk in their sleep she was calm in the face of obstacles and yet quietly persistent." 52

Because of her mystical nature, because of her confidence in her mission to lead the king to his coronation and the army to victory, and because of her fame through forged miracles told about her, she was accepted by the French people as a Maid of God.

Joan's farcical examination by the doctors at Politiers was advantageous since it allowed Joan's reputation to spread. In France's comments concerning this questioning, we are able to see clearly his attitude toward Joan and her age. He writes:

With men-at-arms she felt at her ease. But the doctors she could not tolerate, and she suffered torture when they came to argue with her. Although these theologians showed her great consideration, their sternal questions wearied her; their slowness and their heaviness exasperated her. She bore them a grudge for not believing in her straightway, without proof, and for ask-

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵² Ibid., p. 67.

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ing her for a sign, which she could not give them, since neither Saint Michael nor Saint Catherine nor Saint Margaret appeared during the examination. In retirement, in the oratory, and in the lonely fields the heavenly visitents came to her in crowds; angels and saints, descending from heaven flocked around her. But when the doctors came, immediately the Jacob's ladder was drawn up. Besides, the clerks were theologians, and she was a saint. Relations are always strained between the heads of the Church Militant and those devout women who communicate directly with the Church Triumphant. 53

This ironic style is characteristic of Anatole France; yet it is found less frequently in <u>The Life of Joan of Arc</u> than one might expect. It is always present in the rather sarcastic comments concerning Jeanne's sainthood.

The judges accepted Jeanne as honest, simple, devout, a person who might be expected to work miracles. Her apparent vanquishing of the doctors in argument made her seem like another Saint Catherine. But people were eager for marvels so that a few weeks after the inquiry a wonderful story was being related:

. . . when, at Poitiers she was preparing to receive the communion, the priest had one wafer that was consecrated and another that was not. He wanted to give her the uncon-

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 194-195.

ing her for a sign, which who sould not give to use the content of the content of

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secrated wafer. She took it in her hand and told the priest that it was not the body of Christ her Reedeemer, but that the body was in the wafer which the priest had covered with corporal. After that there could be no doubt that Jeanne was a great saint.

France feels that Jeanne is not important in regard to the French victories at Orleans and elsewhere. Her arrival may have accelerated the English fall, but that fall was inevitable. The English armies were becoming weak and desirous of going home. All that was necessary for the French to win battles was a little confidence, and that confidence happened to be supplied by Jeanne's sanctity. France writes that the state of the English army may be judged by the battle of Patay where it was immediately destroyed. Jeanne was not a military genius and did not give orders to men-at-arms; "she did not lead the men-at-arms, rather the men-at-arms led her. They regarded her, not as captain of war but as a bringer of good luck." 55 France says:

The Maid arrived before the slaughter was ended. She saw a Frenchman, who was leading some prisoners, strike one of them such

⁵⁴ Ibid., I, 216.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 372-373.

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a blow on the head that he fell down as if dead. She dismounted and procured the Englishmen a confessor. She held his head and comforted him as far as she could. Such was the part she played in the Battle of Patay. It was the part of a saintly maid. 56

And that, according to France, was her usual part in battle.

An interesting notation is made by France when he explains that Jeanne was not the only one who attributed the defeats of the French to their riding forth accompanied by bad women and to their taking God's name in vain. Several times between the years 1420 and 1425 cursing and blaspheming the names of divinity had been forbidden in decrees by the Dauphin. There were penalties of fines and of corporal punishment in certain cases. These decrees also asserted that wars, pestilence, and famine were caused by blasphemy. 57

After the coronation of Charles VII, Jeanne wrote a letter to the people of Rheims reassuring them that she would bring the king's army to their

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 376.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 253.

aid if necessary.

She had then attained to the very highest degree of heroic saintliness. Here in this letter, she takes to herself a supernatural power, to which the King, his Councillors and his Captains must submit. She ascribes to herself slone the right of recognising or denouncing treaties; she disposes entirely of the army. And, because she commands in the name of the King of Heaven, her commands are absolute. There is happening to her what necessarily happens to all those who believe themselves entrusted with a divine mission; they constitute themselves a spiritual and temporal power superior to the established powers and inevitably hostile to them. A dangerous illusion and productive of shocks in which the illuminated are generally the worst sufferers! Every day of her life living and holding converse with saints and angels, moving in the splendour of the Church Triumphant, this young peasant girl came to believe that in her resided all strength, all prudence, all wisdom and all counsel.58

Josn had a temper. She refused to eat food that she knew had been atolen.

In reality, she, like the others, lived on pillage, but she did not know it. One day when a Scotsman gave her to wit that she had just partaken of some stolen yeal, she flew into a fury and would have beaten him: saintly women are subject to such fits of passion.

Another French woman, Catherine de la Rochelle, was

⁵⁸ Anatole France, The Life of Joan of Arc, II, trans. by Winifred Stephens and ed. by Frederic Chapman (New York: John Lane Company, 1909), 6.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

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was on friendly terms with her until she began to suspect her of geing a rival, whereupon she assumed an attitude of distrust. "Possibly," France writes, "she was right. At any moment either Cahterine or the Breton women might be made use of as she had been. "60 "Disputes between saints are usually bitter. In her rival's missions Jeanne refused to see anything but folly and futility, "61 although she attempted to determine whether or not Catherine was really visited by an angel each night; Jeanne did not see the angel.

Jeanne's simplicity and ignorance are stressed by France. He states that when she was taken to Poitiers, she thought that she was being taken to Orleans. "Her faith was like that of the ignorant but believing folk, who, having taken the cross, went forth and thought every town they approached was Jerusalem." 62 As we have seen, France did not

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 87.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 89.

⁶² France, The Life of Joan of Arc, I, 186.

regard Jeanne as a military genius; once he comments that she was a child, "as ignorant of war as of life."63 He regards as a fact that some of her judges in 1431 visited her disguised as monks and that her confessor was a spy; she saw Maitre Nicolas Loiseleur dressed as a monk, as a shoemaker, and as a canon and did not perceive that he was the same person. "Wherefore we must believe her to have been incredible simple in certain respects; and these great theologians must have realised that it was not difficult to deceive her. "64 Yet Jeanne did have a straightforward intelligence that enabled her to see that the only true peace possible with England was a peace in which the English left France—a truce was not sufficient. 65

Jeanne in all her virtuous simplicity and lack of genius was the sort of person who would best show God's greatness. The simpler and more ignorant the person, the greater the miracle seems.

Among the miracles ascribed to Jeanne is the

⁶³ Ibid., p. 278.

⁶⁴ France, The Life of Joan of Arc, II, 216.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

knowledge of a sword at the Church of St. Catherine at Fierbois. Of this France writes:

Saint Catherine could not refuse a sword to the damsel, whom she loved so dearly that every day and every hour she came down from Paradise to see and talk with her on earth, -- a meiden who in return had shown her devotion by travelling to Fierbois to do the Saint reverence. . . . The Voices indicated one sword among the multitude of those in the Chapel at Fierbois. . . . Jeanne in a letter caused them /the custodians of the chapel to be asked for the sword, which had been revealed to her. In the letter she said that it would be found underground, not very deep down, and behind the altar. At least these were all the directions she was able to give afterwards, and then she could not quite remember whether it was behind the altar or in front.
Was she able to give the custodians of the chapel
any signs by which to recognise the sword? She never explained this point, and her letter is lost The custodians of the chapel gave him /an armourer appointed to carry the letter to Fierbois a sword marked with five crosses, or with five little swords on the blade not far from the hilt. In what part of the chapel had they found it? No one knows.

Another miracle often related is the resurrection of a dead child long enough to baptize it. To explain this miracle France relates a similar miracle previously performed and shows how legends are associated with other saints and are therefore passed on to them. France laments with mock serious-

⁶⁶ France, The Life of Joan of Arc, I, 224-225.

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ness the death of an unbaptized baby, who for the lack of a few drops of water died the enemy of his Creator and either seethed in hell or was banished from God's sight forever in limbo. 67

Eventually, of course, Jeanne was captured by the English at Compiegne. France says that at this time she did not have the remotest idea of what was to be done. "With her head full of dreams, she imagined she was setting forth for some great and noble emprise /enterprise7." Even when her comrades and captains saw their danger and defeat in the battle at Compiegne, Jeanne was confident.

After her capture, she remained in the custody of Jean de Luxemberg until the University of Paris required him to give her up; if he had not done so he would have been excommunicated. "In the Maid's case it was not the Bishop only who was prompting the Holy Inquisition, but the Daughter of Kings, the Mother of Learning, the Bright and Shining Sum of France and of Christendom, the

⁶⁷ France, The Life of Joan of Arc, II, 134.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 190.

University of Paris." The doctors at the University were Burgundians and English by necessity and by inclination, observing the Treaty of Troyes faithfully and believing that Charles had forfeited his rights to France.

Wherefore they inclined to believe that the Maid of the Armagnacs, the woman knight of the Damphin Charles, was inspired by a company of loathsoms demons. These scholars of the University were human; they believed what it was in their interest to believe; they were priests and they beheld the Devil everywhere, but especially in a woman. Without having devoted themselves to any profound examination of the deeds and sayings of this damsel, they knew enough to cause them to demand an immediate inquiry. She called herself the emissary of God, the daughter of God; and she appeared loquacious, vain, orafty, gorgeous in her attire. She had threatened the English that if they did not quit France she would have them all slain. She commanded armies, wherefore she was a slayer of her fellow-oreatures and foolhardy. She was seditious, for are not all those seditious who support the opposite party?

Pierre Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais, became violently excited about Jeanne's case, which was subject to his jurisdiction. "A Maiden to be denounced, a heretic and an Armagnac to boot, what a feast for the

^{70 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 157.

^{71 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 258-259.

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prelate, the Councillor of King Henry!"72 Cauchon definitely suspected her of witchcraft, and besides, he realized that since she had conducted the Dauphin to his coronation, the trial of Jeanne would be the trial of Charles and her condemnation would be his. 73

Jeanne was not kept in an ecclesiastical prison even though she was being prosecuted by the Church; France says, however, that she would have endured sufferings far more horrible in an ecclesiastical prison than in her military tower, 74 despite the fact that her guards "were not the flower of chivalry." 75

Jeanne hated her juiges as bitterly as they hated her.

It was natural for unlettered saints, for the fair inspired, frank of mind, capricious, and enthusiastic to feel an antipathy towards doctors all inflated with knowledge and stiffened with scholasticism. Such an antipathy Jeanne had recently felt towards clerks, even when as at Poitiers they had been on the French side, and had not wished her evil and had not greatly troubled her.

⁷² Ibid., pp. 171-172.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 178.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 205.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 200.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 223.

But Jeanne was unafraid, for her Voices had told her to fear nothing. "Fearless simplicity; whence came her confidence in her Voices if not from her ewn heart?" 77

France explains that her aversion to putting off her man's dress was not simply the result of the need of protection from the guards. She said that she had not received permission from her Voices to do so,

And we may easily divine why not. Was she not a chieftain of war? How humiliating for such an one to wear petticoats like a townsman's wife! And above all things just now, when at any moment the French might come and deliver her by some great feat of arms. Ought they not to find their Maid in man's attire, ready to put on her armour and fight with them?

However, the Maid's confidence did not continue steadfast. France regards the second recentation (recorded in the trial records but not sworn to and therefore not known to be factual) as historical truth. When her final death sentence was announced, she wept and sighed for a half hour "to give expression to the sentiments of humiliation and contrition with which the clerics had inspired her. "79

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 223.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 277.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 338.

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In defending his own skepticism and skeptics in general, Anatole France once said:

Remember also that, if the judges of Jeanne d'Arc had been skeptical philosophers, instead of pious fanatics, they would certainly never have burned her. The conclusion is that skepticism prompts the most humane sentiments, and that, in any case, it prevents crimes.

onfute religious superstition in his Life of Joan of

Arc so that before her canonization the historical
truth about her would be known. His conception of

Joan is entirely different from the usual one,
especially in regard to the influence of some priest
upon her. This history of Joan of Arc is a work of
art61—the tale is simply yet beautifully told for
the most part, and some of his descriptions are outstanding. This work should, perhaps, be called pseudohistory, for although France's theory concerning Joan

Paul Gsell and trans. by Ernest Boyd, Nation, CXIV (May 10, 1922), 566.

that history is not a science; it is an art, and a man succeeds in it only by imagination. (Anatole France, The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard, trans. by Lafcadio Hearn, The Six Greatest Novels of Anatole France (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1914), p. 333.

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is tenable and his reasoning contains the essence of truth, it is not based entirely upon facts. Imagination is used to a large extent. Andrew Lang, 82 M. Achille Luchaire, 83 and other historians have pointed out errors in this work (the errors are often the result simply of hasty scholarship or the use of doubtful sources), and many of these errors have been corrected by France. These historians have also pointed out a number of instances in which sources are cited which have no bearing whatsoever upon the annotated fact.

The Life of Joan of Arc does not inspire the reader with much sympathy for Joan, but it is very thought-provoking despite its historical errors.

Through his calm, rational explanation of Joan and her legend and related religious legends, Anatole France attempted to refute the clerical conception of Joan and thus the clericalism of France. It is obvious that he has adapted and molded material to suit an extraneous purpose, which grow out of his thinking and his times.

⁵² Throughout The Maid of France Andrew Lang points out errors made by Anatole France in The Life of Joan of Arc.

⁶³ Laurence M. Larson, "Josn of Are: An Anti-Clerical View," Dial, XLVII (March 16, 1910), 197.

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CHAPTER IV

TREATMENTS ANALYZING JOAN FROM THE MODERN STANDPOINT

In the twentieth century two of the most significant treatments of the Joan of Arc legend are George Bernard Shaw's Saint Joan; a Chronicle Play in Six Scenes and an Epilogue and Maxwell Anderson's Joan of Lorraine, a two act prose play. Both authors show a tendency to present the character of Joan analytically for the modern reader and to interpret in terms of modern social attitudes. Both authors also attempt, in varying degrees, to show that Joan of Arc is an historical personage who can be both admired and accepted upon a logical basis as a human being, but neither over-idealizes Joan. It must be kept in mind, however, that idealizations of Joan continue to be written when she is viewed entirely from the religious standpoint as a saint directly inspired by God; examples of this sort of interpretation have been mentioned, including such works as Percy MacKaye's Jeanne D'Arc and Henry Van Dyke's "The Broken Soldier and the Maid of France." The

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first of the plays to be treated in this chapter, that
by George Bernard Shaw, uses Saint Joan and the particular historical situation to which she is related to
convey one more picture of human stupidity and conflict
obstructing progress and unnecessarily crucifying the
few who have genius and faith enough to promote such
human progress. Maxwell Anderson presents his message
of the necessity of faith by using the Maid of Lorraine's
story, although it will be seen that Mr. Anderson's
primary purpose in writing his drama is entertainment
of his audience as opposed to Mr. Shaw's primary
purpose of instruction.

Very characteristically Bernard Shaw begins his great, serious drama Saint Joan with a humorous situation: Captain Robert de Baudricourt, described as a handsome and physically energetic squire with no will, is in a castle hall storming at his steward, "a trodden worm, scanty of flesh, scanty of hair, who might be any age from eighteen to fifty-five, being the sort of man whom age cannot wither because he never bloomed."

Robert. No eggs! No eggs! Thousand thunders, man, what do you mean by no eggs?

¹ Bernard Shaw, Saint Joan (New York: Brentanc's, 1924), p. 1.

the of the plays to be transat in this property that of the property of press. Other historical alteration to which shall alterated at the total and the related to other historical alteration to which shall by one and an allow one of the standard of the shall be compared to transactive or other the manufacture of the compared to transactive or other of the money of the money of the transactive or the title of the second of the money of the standard of the title of the title of the second of the standard o

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holoro. No eggal Ho eggal Thomasa thunders;

Bernard Share, Same Jose (Ad. Sorke Dienvanden)

Steward. Sir: it is not my fault. It is the act of God.

Robert. Blasphemy. You tell me there are no eggs; and you blame your Maker for it.

Steward. Sir: what can I do? I cannot lay

The Steward places the blame for this unfortunate egg deficiency upon the fact that the Maid, the girl from Domremy, has been left waiting at the gate for an interview with deBaudricourt. And the Steward gives us the first intimation of Bernard Shaw's characterization of Joan in replying to de Baudricourt's question as to why this Maid had not been thrown out: "She is so positive, sir." De Baudricourt accuses the servants of being afraid of her, but the Steward answers: "No sir: we are afraid of you; but she puts courage into us. She really doesn't seem to be afraid of anything. Perhaps you could frighten her, sir." Therefore, de Baudricourt decides to speak to Joan.

Upon Joan's first appearance we see, in accordance

² Ibid., p. 2.

³ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

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with stage directions,

en ablebodied country girl of seventeen or eighteen, respectably dressed in red, with an uncommon face: eyes very wide apart and bulging as they often do in very imaginative people, a long well-shaped nose with wide nostrils, a short upper lip, resolute but full-lipped mouth, and handsome fighting chin.

As she eagerly and hopefully views de Baudricourt's scowling face, she speaks in her normally hearty, coaxing voice - an appealing voice, one hard to resist. With the help of de Poulengey, a young French gentleman-at-arms who regards Joan as "a bit of a miracle" and also as the "last card" left to be played, de Baudricourt decides to send Joan to the Dauphin. Just after Joan excitedly dashes out, the Steward runs in: "The hens are laying like mad, sir. Five dozen eggs!" This is the miracle which Shaw substituted for the battle of Herrings (a legendary miracle which Shaw

⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

Ibid., p. 21.

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mistakenly thought true), as he explains in the preface, in order to compress time on the stage.

The second scene opens in the throne room of Chinon Castle into which Gilles de Rais, "Bluebeard," enters exclaiming to the Archbishop of Rheims and the Lord Chamberlain, de Tremouille, that the brave La Hire is very much frightened:

Foul Mouthed Frank, the only man in Touraine who could beat him at swearing, was told by a soldier that he shouldn't use such language when he was at the point of death. . . He had just fallen into a well and been drowned.

La Hire amends the account by saying that it was not a soldier but an angel dressed as a soldier.

The Dauphin, whose face has an "expression of a young dog accustomed to be kicked, yet incorrigible and irrepressible," excitedly enters to say that de Baudricourt is sending him a saint. During the ensuing argument, Bluebeard suggests that an easy way to learn whether she is an angel or not is to let him pretend to be the Dauphin and then

⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

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Joan joins the spirit of joking fun when she recognizes Bluebeard on the throne and then hunts for the Dauphin. Charles says that he does not want the courage Joan declares she will give him, but at last acquiesces and announces to his court that the command of the army has been given to the Maid.

All kneel to receive the Archbishop's blessing.

Dunois and his page are found upon the bank of the river Loire in the third scene. There he is joined by Joan who is eager to get her army to Orleans. Upon learning that the wind must change before her men can come upstream, Joan consents to pray for a west wind. Immediately the wind changes.

The next scene is set in an English tent
where Warwick and a Chaplain are discussing the
Orleans defeat and Joan's part in it. It is in
this scene that Cauchon first appears; Cauchon
fiercely maintains that Joan is not a witch, but
a witch, but a heretic, and it is here that Cauchon
states his duty to seek her salvation if she is
captured:

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The Pope himself at his proudest dare not presume as this woman presumes. She acts as if she herself were the Church. She brings the message of God to Charles; and the Church must stand aside. She will crown him in the cathedral of Rheims: she, not the Church!

Joan, in the fifth scene, is kneeling before a station of the cross in the ambulatory in the cathedral of Rheims just after the coronation of Charles VII.

Here again Shaw's realistic humor appears when Charles comes in and is asked by Dunois how he likes being anointed king:

I would not go through it again to be emperor of the sun and moon. The weight of those robes! I thought I should have dropped when they loaded that crown on me. And the famous holy oil they talked so much about was rancid: phew!ll

Joan comes forward, kneels, and tells the king that her work is finished, that she is going back to her father's farm. She is very discouraged when Charles' surprised but relieved answer is: "Oh, are you? Well, that will be very nice." But she suddenly states her desire to take Paris before going home; therefore, despite protests, she stays on.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 69.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 62.

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The sixth scene, perhaps the most impressive, is laid in a castle hall, which is arranged for a trial-at-law. Cauchen, Canon D'Estivet (Prosecutor) and Lemaitre (Deputy for the Inquisition) protest their desire for a fair trial for Joan, who elicits their sympathy. In speaking to Warwick, D'Estivet says;

It has been my painful duty to present the case against the girl; but believe me, I would throw up my case today and hasten to her defence if I did not know that men far my superiors in learning and piety, in eloquence and persuasiveness, have been sent to reason with her, to explain to her the danger she is running, and the case with which she may avoid it.

Warwick states that the English certainly did not share the pious desire to save the Maid because her death to them is a political necessity.

Cauchon /with fierce and menacing pride/. If the Church lets her go, wee to the man, were he the Emperor himself, who dares lay a finger on her! The Church is not subject to political necessity, my lord!

The Inquisitor /interposing smoothly. You need have no anxiety about the result, my lord. You have an invincible ally in the matter: one who is far more determined than you that she shall burn.

Warwick. And who is this very convenient partisan,

¹² Ibid., p. 100.

may I ask?

The Inquisitor. The Maid herself. Unless you put a gag in her mouth you cannot prevent her from convicting herself ten times over every time she opens it. 12

That Joan does indeed convict herself is made clear.

D'Estivet. You tried to escape.

Joan. Of course I did; and not for the first time either. If you leave the door of the cage open the bird will fly out.

D'Estivet. That is a confession of heresy. I call the attention of the court to it.

Joan. Heresy, he calls it! Am I a heretic because I try to escape from prison?

D'Estivet. Assuredly, if you are in the hands of the Church, and you wilfully take yourself out of its hands, you are deserting the Church; and that is heresy.

Joan. It is a great nonsense 14 Nobedy could be such a fool as to think that.

When she first learns that she is to be burned,
Joan recents because she feels her voices have deceived her since they promised her she would not be
burned. But when Joan learns that life imprisonment
is to take the place of death, the shocked Joan tears
to fragments the paper that she has just signed,

¹³ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

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orying that death is preferable and that her voices were right. After her burning the Chaplain staggers in as if demented and tells of her innocent death.

And Ladvenu, too, gravely says that she called to Jesus as she died: "This is not the end of her, but the beginning." 15

The scene of the epilogue is in the bedroom of Charles VII upon "a restless fitfully windy night in June 1456, full of summer lightning after many days of heat." As Charles reads in bed, a distant clock softly strikes; he snatches up a large rattle which makes a deafening clatter as it is energetically whirled. Ladvenu, who has aged twenty-five years since the previous scene, enters unexpected by the king. Holding the cross which he held before the Maid as she perished in the fire, he compares the first trial of 1431 with that of the Rehabilitation:

At the trial which sent a saint to the stake as a heretic and a sorceress, the truth was told; the law was upheld; mercy was shown beyond all custom; no wrong was done but the final and dreadful wrong of the lying sentence and pitiless fire. At this inquiry from which I have just come, there was the

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 140.

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shameless perjury, courtly corruption, calumny of the dead who did their duty according to their lights, cowardly evasion of the issue, testimony of idle tales that could not impose upon a ploughboy. Yet out of this orgy of lying and foolishness, the truth is set in the noonday sun on the hilltop; the white robe of innocence is cleansed from the smirch of burning faggots; the holy life is sanctified; the true heart that lived through the flame is consecrated; a great lie is silenced for ever; and a great wrong is set right before all mon.

The spirit of Joan, too, appears and learns that Charles became a man after all and is now Charles the Victorious. Charles tells her that the sentence which burned her has now been annulled.

Joan. I was burnt all the same. Can they unburn me?

Charles. If they could, they would think twice before they did it. But they have decreed that a beautiful cross be placed where the stake stood 16 for your perpetual memory and for your salvation.

Warwick, the soldier who made the rough cross of two sticks for Joan, the Chaplain de Stogumber, the Executioner, Dunois, and the Archbishop appear to express their views concerning the burning of Joan.

"A clerical-looking gentleman in black frock coat and transers, and tall hat, in the fashion of the

¹⁷ Toid., p. 144.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 147.

served as certain, assert any account of the college of the deal and their day according to their living as their living as their living and footisingers, the truth is set in the living and footisingers, the truth is set in the consider and consider their living and their livin

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year 1920, suddenly appears before them," and they stare and laugh at his "extraordinarily comic dress." He has some to announce the canonization of Joan.

All praise her, each in turn.

Joan. Woe unto me when all men praise me! I bid you remember that I am a saint, and that saints can work miracles. And now tell me: shall I rise from the dead, and come back to you a living woman?20

All are filled with consternation and all revert to their former views, her resurrection not having been contemplated. And Joan is left alone:

O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long? I

This epilogue, although perhaps too long and too insistent, does emphasize the theme of the play in a thrilling manner. Having the effect of a Greek chorus, though differently placed in relation to the whole, the epilogue solves the problem of presenting Joan's historical future and its significance. To Shaw, Joan is a symbol of superior intellect and of superior moral character, the incarnation of the desirable possibilities of manking. The tragic theme

²⁰ Ibid., p. 160.

²¹ Ibid., p. 163.

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of Saint Joan is stated by Cauchon: "Must then a Christ perish in terment in every age to save those who have no imagination?" In Saint Joan we have Shaw's conviction that human progress will be a long and painful process because of human limitations and rejection of the imaginative few upon whom this progress depends. 23

Joan of Arc is, of course, considered one of these imaginative few by Shaw. Depicted as sensible and robust, Joan is simple and great, yet ethereal. Shaw sees Joan as a genius and a saint rather than as a melodramatic hereine, a genius being

a person who, seeing farther and probing deeper than other people, has a different set of athical valuations from theirs, and has energy enough to give effect to this extra vision and its valuations in whatever manner best suits his or her specific talents. . . .

and a saint being

one who having practised heroic virtues, and enjoyed revelations or powers of the order which the Church classes technically as supernatural, is eligible for canonization.

^{22 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 154.

²³ This same conviction is exemplified in Back to Methuselah and Heartbreak House.

²⁴ Shaw, Saint Joan, p. xiii.

²⁵ Loc. cit.

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Joan is a rebel.

The Chaplain. . . But this woman denies to England her legitimate conquests, given her by God because of her peculiar fitness to rule over less civilized races for their own good. I do not understand what your lordships mean by Protestant and Nationalist: you are too learned and subtle for a poor clerk like myself. But I know as a matter of plain commonsense that the woman is a rebel; and that is enough for me. She rabels against Nature by wearing man's clothes and fighting. She rabels against the Church by usurping the divine authority of the Pope. 20

She is regarded by Shaw as the first great Protestant, insisting upon the individual right of conscience in matters of faith and conduct. A conflict that Shaw apparently wishes to show is that of authority versus nonconformity: authority be finds indispensable for order and permanence, although at the same time non-conformity is a requisite for all human progress. Therefore, Joan is shown as a nonconformist and the Inquisitors are shown as an authoritarians. Shaw's impartiality leads one to wonder whether a happy world will ever develop out of this conflict. The solution to the conflict of genius versus social order

²⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

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is not given, the play ending on a questioning note as we have seen. In talking to his official biographer, Archibald Henderson, Shaw once observed that the story of Joan of Arc contained material for a tragedy as great as that of Prometheus:

All the forces that bring about the catastrophe / the Catholic Church, the Inquisition, the Holy Roman Empire, Feudalism, Nationalism, Protestantism, and Ecclesiasticism are on the grandest scale; and the individual soul on which they press is of the most indomitable force and temper.

Shaw has not accepted Joan as a supernatural figure but as a woman who can be logically understood and admired. When Shaw was asked if there were religious implications in Saint Joan, he stated flatly that there were none; he declared Joan to be a girl greatly misunderstood because of a series of coincidences. Miracles are explained as coincidences in both Saint Joan and Androcles and the Lion, the latter play also containing a spiritually alive heroine. In Saint Joan the Archbishop explains to La Tremouille

²⁷ Archibald Henderson, Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1932), p. 543.

²⁸ William D. Dunkel, "George Bernard Shaw," Sewance Review L (April, 1942), 259-260.

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[&]quot;, made from the common of the

that miracles are a part of his profession:

A miracle, my friend, is an event which creates faith. That is the purpose and nature of miracles. They may seem very wonderful to the people who witness them, and very simple to those who perform them; that does not matter; if they confirm or create faith they are true miracles.

La Tremouille compares miracles to frauds, but says:

"Well, I suppose as you are an archbishop you must be

right. It seems a bit fishy to me."

The Archbishop

gives Shaw's explanation for Joan's first recognition

of the Dauphin:

Miracles are not frauds because they are oftenI do not say always-very simple and innocent
contrivances by which the priest fortifies
the faith of his flock. When this girl picks
out the Dauphin among his courtiers, it will
not be a miracle for me, because I shall know
how it has been done /she, as everyone in
Chinon, knows that the Dauphin is the meanestlooking and worst-dressed figure in the Court
and that the men with the blue beard is Gilles
de Rais/, and my faith will not be increased.
But as for others, if they feel the thrill of
the supernatural, and forget their sinful clay
in a sudden sense of the glory of God, it will
be a miracle and a blessed one. And you will
find that the girl herself will be more affected
than anyone else. She will forget how she
really picked him out.

²⁹ Shaw, Saint Josn, p. 33.

³⁰ Loc. 01+.

³¹ Ibid., p. 34.

In the preface of <u>Back to Methuselah</u> Shaw further expressed his opinions concerning the belief in miracles:

It is the adulteration of religion by the romance of miracles and paradises and torture chambers that makes it rest at the impact of every advance in science, instead of being clarified by it. 22

Of Joan's voices Shaw states in his preface:

Joan's voices and visions have played many tricks with her reputation. They have been held to prove that she was mad, that she was a liar and imposter, that she was a sorceress (she was burnt for this), and finally that she was a saint. They do not prove any of these things.

He explains that there are some people who have such vivid imaginations that when they have an idea it comes to them as an audible voice and is sometimes spoken by a visible figure. Socrates, Luther, Blake and Swenderborg are listed as seeing visions just as Saint Francis and Saint Joan did. Andrew Lang adds in his biography of Joan that Thackeray, Nelson, and Catherine de Medici were also credited with

³² Bernard Shaw, Back to Methuselah (New York: Brentano's, 1921),p. lxxxiii.

³³ Shaw, Saint Joan, p. xvii.

³⁴ Ibid., p. xviii.

"second sight" and telepathy. 35 Shelley, Mohammed, Pascal, and Cromwell were also visionaries. 36

The test of sanity is not the normality of the method but the reasonableness of the discovery. . . . Joan must be judged as a sane woman in spite of her voices because they never gave her any advice that might not have come to her from her mother wit exactly as gravitation came to Newton. ?

In the play itself Joan is questioned by Robert de Baudricourt concerning her voices; she says that her voices, which came from God, tell her what to do. When de Baudricourt declares, "They come from your imagination," Joan replies: "Of course. That is how the messages of God come to us." Joan says: in speaking of the Archbishop of Rheims, Joan says:

I never said you lied. It was you that as good as said my voices lied. When have they ever lied? If you will not believe in them: even if they are only the echoes of my own common sense, are they not always right? And are not your earthly counsels always wrong?

Jo Andrew Lang, The Maid of France (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), p. 13.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁷ Shaw, Saint Joan, pp. xviii-xix.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 92.

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Dunois tells Joan:

You make me uneasy when you talk about your voices: I should think you were a bit cracked if I hadn't noticed that you do give me very sensible reasons for what you do, though I hear you telling others you are only obeying Madame Saint Catherine.

The power of faith, of any strongly held belief or desire, is granted by Shaw. 41

Saint Joan is seen to be a nonconformist and a person with a strong creative imagination and faith.

She is also a weman who makes war rather than wifehood her business:

Joan. I will never take a husband. A man in Toul took an action against me for breach of promise; but I never promised him. I am a soldier: I do not want to be thought of as a woman. I will not dress as a woman. I do not care for the things women care for. They dream of lovers, and of money. I dream of leading a charge, and of placing the big guns.

She is a woman of manliness and militarism. Her military insight makes her fiercely desire to go and take Paris, but Charles VII, Dunois, and the others delay. As has

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁴¹ Further showing Shaw's emphasis upon the creative power of faith, the Serpent in Back to Methuselah tells Eve: ". . .imagination is the beginning of creation. You imagine what you desire; you will what you imagine; and at last you oreate what you will." (Shaw, Back to Methuselah, p. 9.)

⁴² Shaw, Saint Joan, pp. 51-52.

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been pointed out, Shaw has characterized Joan as positive and unafraid. Shaw's Joan loves danger:

The Archbishop. Child: you are in love with religion.

Joan. /startled: looking up at him/ Am I? I never thought of that. Is there any harm in it?

The Archbishop. There is no harm in it, my child. But there is danger.

Joan. /rising, with a sunflush of reckless happiness irradiating her face/. There is always danger except in heaven. Oh, my lord, you have given me such strength, such courage.

And again we see this love of excitement as she converses with Dunois after the coronation:

Joan. Oh, dear Dunois, how I wish it were the bridge at Orleans again! We lived at that bridge.

Dunois. Yes, faith, and died too: some of us.

Joan. Isn't it strange, Jack? I am such a coward: I am frightened beyond words before a battle; but it is so dull afterwards, when there is no danger: oh, so dull! dull!

Joan's lack of sexual attractiveness to her followers is credited to her spirituality and unusual personality, while these same qualities were the secret of her apparently great power over the French soldiers.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 79.

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When Robert de Baudricourt instructs Poulengey to keep his hands off Joan, Poulengey answers with deliberate impressiveness:

I should as soon think of the Blessed Virgin herself in that way, as of this girl. . . . There is something about her. They are pretty foul-mouthed and foulminded down there in the guardroom, some of them. But there hasn't been a word that has anything to do with her being a woman. They have stopped swearing before her. There is something. Something.

In her innocence Joan wonders why the courtiers, knights, and churchmen later hate her:

What have I done to them? I have asked nothing for myself except that my village shall not be taxed; for we cannot afford war taxes. I have brought them luck and victory: I have set them right when they were doing all sorts of stupid things: I have crowned Charles and made him a real king; and all the honors he is handing out have gone to them. Then why do they not love me?

Dumois answers:

Sim-ple-ton! Do you expect stupid people to love you for shewing them up? Do blundering old military dug-outs love the successful young captains who supersede them? Do ambitious politiciams love the climbers who take front seats from them?

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 79.

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She is young; she is flattered by the high ransom which might possibly be offered for her if she were captured; 47 she is impatient and quick in responding with pert answers. And she is feminine in being fascinated by the beautiful dresses of court women. 48 Shaw concludes that "This combination of inept youth and academic ignorance with great natural capacity, push, courage, devotion, originality and oddity, fully accounts for all the facts in Joan's career, and makes her a creditable historical and human phenomenon. 49

To me the greatest fault of Shaw's Joan is her stale and slangy dialect (she tells Courcelles, "Thou are a rare noodle," 50 and she frequently calls the king "Charlie"), which Shaw used in an attempt to make the characters more intelligible to a modern audience. A more simple and biting diction is needed. Sometimes also her prose-poetry is stilted, but then

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 90.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. xxxv.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 116.

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again it is superb as in the following passage:

Bread has no sorrow for me, and water no affliction. But to shut me from the light of the sky and the sight of the fields and flowers; to chain my feet so that I can never again ride with the soldiers nor climb the hills; to make me breathe foul damp darkness, and keep me from everything that brings me back to the love of God when your wickedness and foolishness tempt me to hate Him: all this is worse than the furnace of the Bible that was heated seven times. I could do without my warhorse; I could drag about in a skirt; I could let the banners and the trumpets and the soldiers pass me and leave me behind as they leave the other women, if only I could still hear the wind in the trees, the larks in the sunshine, the young lambs crying through the healthy frost, and the blessed blessed church bells that send my angel voices floating to me on the wind. But without these things I cannot live; and by your wanting to take them away from me, or from any human creature, I know that your counsel is of the devil, and that mine is of God. 21

The historical discrepancies encountered in Saint Joan are of little importance. Shaw retains his right to absurdity in anything but psychology, for he understands that our comprehension of an historical character is an extremely subjective matter. Shaw's confessed shortcoming is a very general one:

⁵l <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 130-131.

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As a dramatist I have no clue to any historical or other personage save that part of him which is also myself, and which may be nine-tenths of him or ninety-nine hundreths, as the case may be (if, indeed, I do not transcend the creative), but which, anyhow, is all that can ever come within my knowledge of his soul.

However, a whole book has been irately written concerning Shaw's Saint Joan, its main point of dissension being the historical discrepancies. Shaw explains most of these variances either in his preface or in a note which was a part of the program at the first productions of Saint Joan. One of the most outstanding inventions on Shaw's part was his creation of a motive for Joan's ultimate decision: she would rather die than be perpetually imprisoned. Until after his play was written, Shaw avoided reading all the literature concerning her with the exception of Quicherat's record of the trials; thus, based for the most part upon this record, the story was told in Saint Joan is fundamentally correct.

Shaw feels that if Joan's judges were cheap politiciams, hers would be a cheap story not worth dramatizing. He writes in the preface that it is what

⁵² Bernard Shaw, Sanity of Art (New York: Boni and Liveright, /1919/), p. 5.

⁵⁵ John M. Robertson, Mr. Shaw and "The Maid" (London: Richard Cobden-Sanderson, 1926), 115 pp.

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normally innocent people do that is of concern to us;

"If Joan had not been burnt by normally innocent people
in the energy of their righteousness her death would
have no more significance than the Tokyo earthquakes,
which burnt a great many maidens."

Therefore, Shaw
interprets history a bit to suit his own purposes:

This explanation and this reason are perfectly justified, but it is amusing to compare the above comment with that of the Abbot of Aubignac, Francois Hedelin whose Advertissement at the beginning of his tragedy La Pucelle d'Orleans (1641) gives this warning:

⁵⁴ Shaw, Saint Joan, p. lxxvi.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. lxxvii.

In order to make a plot which can be acted, I have supposed that the Count of Warwick is enamoured of Jeanne, and his wife jealous; for though history says nothing at all like this, it relates nothing to the contrary. French writers may not have known about it, and the English would not wish to mention it.56

points out, is the remarks of the thinkers: the Archbishop of Rheims, Peter Cauchon of Beauvais, and the Inquisitor, all of whom are full of intellectual force and vigor. These men know that Joan is both right and wrong; they show us what an ironic tragedy life is at such a crisis, for although it is personally unjust to Joan, they know that a visionary such as she must be regulated, wisdom for some part of society not necessarily being wisdom for all society. Shaw, a reformer and teacher of scintillating and pervesive wit, believes that in order to teach one must say things in a shocking and irritating way, for nobody will trouble himself about anything that does not trouble him. Therefore, Shaw states that the Inquisitor, Cauchon, was bad, but that

⁵⁶ Ruth Kedzie Wood, "The Literary Annals of Jeanne d'Arc," Bookman, XXXIX (May, 1914), 294-295.

⁵⁷ Stark Young, Review of "Saint Joan," The New Republic, XXXVII (January 16, 1924), 205.

⁵⁸ Archibald Henderson, "The Real Bernard Shaw,"
The Virginia Quarterly Review, III (April, 1927), 186-187.

he was "far more self-disciplined and conscientious both as priest and lawyer than any English judge ever dreams of being in a political case in which his party and class prejudices are involved." 59

When asked why he chose Joan of Arc as the subject of a play, Shaw replied that he was a creature of circumstance. Before beginning Saint Joan he was overcome by the desire to write something, but he did not have a subject until his wife suggested that he write a play about Joan of Arc. 60 His interest in a subject of this type, a militant saint, goes deeper than this, however. He had often mentioned the desire to write a play about Mahomet, but the possibility of a protest from the Turkish Ambaesador and the refusal of the Lord Chamberlain to license such a play caused him eventually to choose Joan of Arc, a subject of similar interest. 61

Shaw's Saint Joan is girlish, innocent, and fresh, yet vitally alive with a fighting, crusading

⁵⁹ Shaw, Saint Joan, p. 1.

Portrait (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1942), p. 340.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 339.

no was "for more soil-dissiplined and openpianotous both as priced num increase that is alless tought over dreams of being in a political lones in which was also prejudices and involved."

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spirit. It is through the story of her martyrdom that Shaw depicts the tragedy of the conflict between the individual of genius and the false forces of society which deter progress by backward social systems. Only one example of a higher prophet not accepted by society, Joan found obstacles in her path in the fifteenth century just as she would in the twentieth century: therein lies the thought-provoking tragedy of Shaw's Joan of Arc. In Saint Joan Shaw presented his vision of the Life Force, that force embodied in the genius-saint represented by Joan, a force necessary for the eventual triumph of humanity but one obstructed by repudiation by that same humanity.

"A play," Maxwell Anderson writes, "is almost always, probably, an attempt to recapture a vision for the stage. "62 An expression of his faith in man's upward tendencies, in certain respects similar to Shaw's although Anderson does not have faith in the ultimate complete triumph of man through evolution is found together with

Toward a Liberal Education, I, ed. by Locks, Gibson and Arms (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1948), 269.

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his statements expressing his religion in "The Basis of Artistic Creation in Literature":

In brief, I have found my religion in the theatre, where I least expected to find it, and where few will credit that it exists. But it is there, and any man among you who tries to write plays will find himself serving it, if only because he can succeed in no other way. The theatre is the central artistic symbol of the struggle of good and evil within man. Its teaching is that the struggle is eternal and unremitting, that the forces which tend to drag men down are always present, always ready to attack, that the forces which make for good can not sleep through a night without danger. It denies that good and evil are obverse and reverse of the same coin, denies that good can win by waiting. It denies that wars are useless and that honor is without meaning. It denies that we can life by the laboratory and without virtue. It affirms that the good and evil and man are the good and evil of evolution, that men have within themselves the beasts from which they descend and the god toward which they climb. It affirms that evil is what takes men back toward the beast, that good is what urges him up toward the god. It affirms that these struggles of the spirit are enacted in the historical struggle of men -- some representing evil, some good. It offers us a criteria for deciding what is good and what is evil. Set a man on the stage and you know instantly where he stands morally with the race.

Therefore, because of Mr. Anderson's own statements,

⁶³ Maxwell Anderson, "The Basis of Artistic Creation," The Bases of Artistic Creation (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), pp. 16-17.

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we should definitely expect to find a vision or a meaning of some sort in his plays, including Joan of Lorraine.

The great plays of the world, "those accepted by civilization as part of a great heritage and played for centuries," are

. . . almost all concerned with the conduct of exceptional men or women in positions of great responsibility, men with tragic faults and weaknesses but with mind and strength enough to overcome in the struggle with evil forces, 64 both those within themselves and those without.

And upon this theory Anderson chooses his historical protagonists, among whom we find Elizabeth and Essex, Mary of Scotland, Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, George Washington, and Joan of Arc. Treating history in the romantic method of Shakespears, he has adapted or created all the scenes to fit the plot design.

Often the conflict of political, social, and religious groups is made a simple conflict of opposing personalities, as in Anne of the Thousand Days (1948), for example, in which Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome is simple field and sidestepped, and in Mary

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

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of Scotland, in which Mary's refusal to sign the abdication papers is simplified to terms of character, will, and legends, while the Catholio issue is omitted. His characterizations are shaped more upon his dramatic objectives than upon documentary evidence. Too often also his royal persons, noblemen, thugs and adolescents are almost familiar stock figures. Although on the whole his work is unevenly successful, his romantic plots and his heart too often cloud his themes and his mind, for his plays to be wholly effective.

In thinking of Anderson's apt choice of Joan of Are as a dramatic subject, one should refer to his words:

The theater is a religious institution devoted entirely to the exaltation of the spirit of man. It is an attempt to justify, not the ways of God to man, but the ways of man to himself. It is an attempt to prove that man has a dignity and a destiny, that his life is worth living, that he is not purely animal and without purpose.

What historical figure would better serve this purpose than the inspirational Maid of Lorraine?

⁽New York: Random House, 1947), p. 195, citing Maxwell Anderson.

Again, it would be the sort of subject which plays the longest in the theater and pleases the most, according to Anderson, for it is "representative of human loyalty, ocurage, love that purges the soul, grief that ennobles." Actually adding nothing new to the portrait of Joan, Anderson pictures her as a courageous, able, forthright, and devoted visionary.

Success, Anderson says, is dependent upon the following rules, which, it is to be noted, Joan of Lorraine closely follows:

1. The story of a play must be the story of what happens within the mind or heart of a man or woman. I cannot deal primarily with external events are only symbolic of what goes on within.

2. The story of a play must be a conflict—and specifically, a conflict between forces of good and evil within a single person. The good and evil to be defined, of course, as the audience wants to see them.

3. The protagonist of a play must represent the forces of good and must win, or, if he has been evil, must yield to the forces of the good, and know himself defeated.

4. The protagonist of a play cannot be a perfect person. If he were he could not improve, and he must come out at the end of a play a more admirable person than he went in. . . .

⁶⁶ Anderson, "The Basis of Artistic Creation in Literature," p. 12.

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5. The protagonist of a play must be an exceptional person. He or she cannot be runof-the-mill person. The man in the street simply will not do as the hero of a play. If a man be picked from the street to occupy the center of your stage, he must be so presented as to epitomize qualities which the audience can admire. Or he must indicate how admirable qualities can be wasted or perverted -- must define an ideal by falling short of it, or become symbolic of a whole class of men who are blocked by circumstances from achieving excellence in their lives. 6. Excellence on the stage is always moral excellence. A struggle on the part of a hero to better his material circumstances is of no interest in a play unless his character is somehow tried in the fire, and unless he comes out of his trial a better man. 7. The moral atmosphere of a play must be healthy. The audience will not endure the triumph of evil on the stage. S. There are human qualities for which the race has a special liking on the stage: in a man, positive character, strength of conviction not shaken by opposition: in a woman, an in-clination toward the Cressid. 67

Anderson's emphasis upon what the audience desires to see should be especially noticed. In <u>Joan of</u>

<u>Lorraine</u> the popular, more or less legendary, conception of the Maid if presented. 68

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 8-10.

Anderson justifies, to a large extent, the presentation of this conception through statements made by some of his characters. Elizabeth is made to say to Mary of Scotland:

[&]quot;It's not what happens
That matters, no, not even what
happens that's true
But what men believe to have happened."

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A rather ingenious method of a play-withina-play, the inducted play concerning Joan of Arc being of paramount importance, is used by Mr. Anderson to relate Joan of Lorraine's atory and to provide a sounding board for the theme and opinions he wishes to convey. A certain boldness is shown in his abandoning of the usual paraphernalia thought necessary for theatrical glamor and the illusion of reality, but, on the other hand, this allows a freedom from the often overbearing richness of pageantry and gives a simplicity in keeping with Joan's story. During a rehearsal, the basic scene of the entire play, the miracle of creative inspiration occurs, as sometimes happens to actors upon a bare stage under the harshness of work-lights. The power of Joan of Arc's story itself is shown by the fact that is is fascinating and compelling despite interruptions and isolation of scenes, lack of full scenery and costume effects, and familiarity with

⁽Maxwell Anderson, "Mary of Scotland," Chief Patterns of World Drama ed. by William Smith Clark II /Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 1136.) And again,

[&]quot;We live in a world of shadows, my lord; we are not what we are, but what is said of us. . . . "

⁽Manuell Antergon, "Many of Scotland," Oder Pasternie of Feerla Desens ed. by William Smath Clark II (Mostern) Backhton Miffilm Co., 1547, p. 1156.) And again.

ay lord; we are not what we are

the story.

The stage is being readied with minimum properties as the curtain rises upon Joan of Lorraine. The dramatic narration of the latter part of Joan's life (the script of the inducted play) is given in six parts, the continuity of scenes being broken by ordinary rehearsal interruptions; some of the comments in the rehearsal scenes are trivial and unnecessary, as, for instance, Masters' pointed and lengthy dissertation upon the beneficial qualities of his razzing in his direction of the play concerning Joan of Arc. The first scene of the play-within-theplay is entitled "She Finds a Way to Speak." In its Laxart, the brother of Jom's father, comes requesting Joan's presence in his home, thus unwittingly providing a way for Joan to see Robert de Baudricourt. Joan's brothers speak with her, telling how they would act if they were to talk to important

⁽Ibid., p. 1094.) Anne, too, says:

[&]quot;Writing's like that. You never write down what happened. But what you write comes closer to what's true than what did happen, or was said."

⁽Maxwell Anderson, Anne of the Thousand Days /New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946/, p. 74.)

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personages. After Saint Margaret speaks to her, Joan is at last convinced that she must go to save France and crown her Dauphin. "A Poet at the Court" is the second scene. Chartier, the poet, is sent as an ambassador to meet Joan and her followers on their way to the Dauphin at Chinco. He questions her visions and her virginity but is subsequently converted by her answers. The third scene is one in which the telescoping of historical events, obviously necessary for dramatic reasons, is most noticeable; in this scene Joan is now at Orleans after a number of successes. Before Joan's entrance we behold Tremoille talking to the Dauphin, who is still in bed with his mistress Aurore, arguing against Joan and saying that her "luck" cannot continue long. Joan and La Hire enter upon this scene, and Aurore is emphatically ordered out by Joan -- Aurore leaves, hugging her clothes against her naked body (such incidents as this illustrate Anderson's ever-present desire in all of his plays to satisfy his modern audience's taste for sex.) Soon after this we move to the battlefield, where Jean is weeping over the men who have been killed in the battle.

Dunois. Why are you crying?

Joan. Because they're dead. Horribly dead. In the flaming Tourelles. In the midst of evil. And it was I that killed them.

Dunois. Killed who?

Joan. The English. Oh, Dunois, death by fire is a horrible thing.

The Dauphin bustles in and immediately says:

Joan-Joan-What a stroke, what a blow! You shall be one of my great generals-I shall never cease to be grateful. I shall exempt 70 your village from taxation-Why is she crying?

The fourth scene of this play-within-a-play,
"The Coronation at Rheims," first depicts Tremoille
and the Dauphin with Tremoille again presenting his
arguments against Joan, this time with more effect
upon the Dauphin. The vanity of the Dauphin is
shown in his concern over his kneeling position as
the crowd sees him, and his utter weakness and
dependence upon others is particularly outstanding
in this scene. After the coronation Joan and La Hire
learn that Charles has betrayed their plans by a
truce with Burgundy and that they cannot now march

⁶⁹ Maxwell Anderson, Joan of Lorraine (Washington, D.C.: Anderson House, 1947), p. 61.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

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on to Paris with the King's sanction. The fifth scene, "She Dedicates Her White Armor," is worth quoting in its entirety:

Joan /wearing the boy's clothes and carrying white armor/. King of Heaven, I come to fulfill a vow. The truce with Burgundy is signed, we are at peace, I shall wear this white armor no more. I leave it here on your altar. We are at peace, my King, but not such a peace as we dreamed; no, horribly, evilly in armistice, with much of the war to be fought and our enemies preparing while we dwindle here from town to town, holding court, receiving embassies, and dismissing soldiers. From town to town, from city to city, I have attended, doing the King's bidding, for he asks me to stay beside him -- and this is the king of Your choosing. Your regent in France. We have feasted in Campiegne, Senlis and Beauvais, and we must feast in many more, if the plans hold. -- But, O King of Heaven, the food is bitter. It is bought with money the King has accepted in payment for provinces and cities. I would rather sleep on the ground again, and chew my handful of beans, and rise to face the rank of English spears. For this way we shall lose all we have said nothing. -- If my Voices would speak again -- if they would tell me what I should do -- then I could eleep at night and accept what comes to me. But they have not spoken, they are silent. And I ask again and again -- may I gc into battle, or must I remain with the King and his household, busy with the nothings that fill these days? If my Voices do not answer, if no injunction is laid on me, then I cannot stay here. I must arm again, and find the enemy, and fight as before. -- Let my Voices speak to me if this is wrong! Let them speak now! I wait here alone, in the darkness and silence. -- There is no answer. Have I been abandoned? Have I made an error that is

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not forgiven? -- No answer still .-- Then I must go into battle, King of Heaven. I shall find another armor, not this shining one in which I rode as Your messenger, but another, dark and humble, fitting to a common soldier. Whether I win or lose, it will be better than in these chattering rooms, trying to say something that means nothing. I think I have courage to die, but not to die thus, in small, sick ways, daily. Is there a voice then? Will St. Michael speak to me, or St. Catherine, or Saint Margaret? There is no answer.7 Then I go to find Alencon and La Hire and Dunois. And an armor of iron-and the axe and sword of a soldier. Long ago my Voices told me that I would be taken prisoner. Well, when it comes I shall at least have arms in my hands. And she rises to go as the curtain is lowered.//1

Cauchon's attitude in "The Trial--The Question" is the one usually ascribed to him.

Cauchon. It would be very easy to condemn her to death at this moment and turn her over to the soldiers to be burned. But first we must discredit her. She has given the people of France a rallying cry and a cause. We must blacken her fame and destroy her name. If we do not she will have beaten us.

Inquisitor. I warn you then that I can take no part in such an endeavor. For myself, I am not yet satisfied of her guilt. And I shall not allow any temporal influence, whether French, English or Burgundian, to touch my judgment.

Cauchon. Why, sir, I would not myself judge a case in opposition to my belief. But when it

^{71 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 101-103.

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happens, as it happens now, that the just thing is the politic thing-when it happens that the laws of the church require of us the same verdict which is demanded of us by the heads of the state-is there any reason why we should not render that verdict? (2)

Much of the dialogue of this and the following scene is taken directly from the records of the trial as is this oft-repeated question and answer:

Courcelles. Do you believe yourself to be in a state of grace?

Joan. If I am, may He keep me, there. If I am not, may God put me there.

And in this scene we find Joan, unsure of her voices, signing the abjuration. The final scene of the entire play Saint Michael, Saint Catherine, and Saint Margaret speak to Joan; she regains full faith in her voices and rejects the abjuration. In her cell Joan reflects upon her life and upon her coming death, the play enting

⁷² Ibid., p. 105.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 109.

⁷⁴ One is reminded of this and the subsequent scene in reading the later Anne of the Thousand Days; Anne's trial by prejudiced judges is faintly reminiscent of Joan of Arc's trial.

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on a strong note, the underlying theme of the play:

And if it were to do over, I would do it again. I, would follow my faith, even to the fire.

Again, we should refer to Anderson's theories concerning dramas:

A play is not required to make ethical discoveries. It is only required to have a meaning, and a sound one -- one, that is, which is accepted as sound by its audience.

of Lorraine: the one, of course, is Joan, an immortal figure of simple heroism and faith, and the other is the actress taking the part of Joan, an ambitious young star with a gentle spirit. The script of the play concerning the Maid is being rewritten by the author, and this young actress, Mary, is unhappy about the results.

Mary. I have always wanted to play Joan. I have studied her and read about her all my life. She has a meaning for me. She means that the great things in this world are brought about by faith—that all the leaders who count are dreamers and people who see visions. The realists and commonsense people can never begin anything. They can only do what the visionaries

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

⁷⁶ Anderson, "The Basis of Artistic Creation in Literature," p. 15.

plan for them. The scientists can never lead unless they happen to be dreamers, too.

Masters. I go right along in that, Mary. Everybody lives by faith and dreams. Everybody follows a gleam of some sort, and nobody can prove that his dream isn't an ignis fatuous.

Mary. But the way the play's being rewritten it seems to say that nobody can be sure he's right about anything. And it says that we have to tolerate dishonesty in high places in order to get things done.

Mary feels that Joan could not have tolerated dishonesty, could not have deliberately given her
blessing to corruption. Mary is satisfied when
Joan too wonders whether her voices are condoning
evil but is assured by St. Michael's explanation
that although the King is not good, "A King is
not for long. Good will come of his crowning.
The French will have his kingdom." Joan would
compromise in little things, but she would not
compromise her belief—her own soul; instead she
was burned at the stake.

We find that this message of faith in Joan of Lorraine is Anderson's usual message of faith. 79

⁷⁷ Anderson, Joan of Lorraine, pp. 70-71. Italics are mine.

^{78 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 119.

⁷⁹ Similar messages of faith occur in Mary

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Joan tells the Dauphin: "What you need is only faith in God. When you have that you will have faith in yourself." Mary sums it all up: "If we would be as the high gode, we must live from within outward." The tragedy of Joan of Arc is that voices heard in one's heart go counter to all the other voices of one's time—the Church, tradition, and whatever order man has attempted to invent.

Anderson's version of Joan emphasizes her youthful girlishness. To her voices' first urgings she replied: "I am only a girl. I know nothing of arms or horsemanship or the speech of kings and high places. How can I find my way to these things alone?" And when she weeps for the English dead and wishes she might go home, Duncis says, "Why,

of Scotland (Act I, Scone 3, Lines 183-4), Anne of the Thousand Days (Act II, Scene 2, 11. 271-287), and Key Largo (Act II, 11. 383-387 and 1166-1170).

⁸⁰ Anderson, Joan of Lorraine, p. 66.

⁸¹ Anderson, Mary of Scotland, p. 1098.

⁸² Anderson, Joan of Lorrsine, p. 16.

When she first spoke to de Baudricourt, she said that she blushed; she was hesitant and unsure of herself.

Opposing these traits of girlhood is her complete boldness in her insistence that awearing and the keeping of loose women be not countenanced; her treatment of Aurore, Anderson's own idea, seems out of character to me. Although she supposedly has succeeded in climinating swearing, damm is a word frequently used in her presence in Anderson's dialogue.

Maxwell Anderson's Joan nevertheless remains the Joan who never compromises with her faith, her conviction of her call to save France, her belief in her voices.

The message of Joan of Lorraine's story ("Great things in this world are brought about by faith"55) is essentially a modern one. The story itself is presented so that one may accept it by faith or explain it as most modern thinkers desire to do. Anderson

⁸³ Ibia., p. 62.

⁸⁴ One is reminded of Voltaire's treatment of Joan.

⁸⁵ Anderson, Joan of Lorraine, p. 70.

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is not profound, and this play, although a very satisfactory and enjoyable dramatization of the logend of Joan of Arc, has no real depth; this interpretation does not have the intellectual insight of Shaw's treatment (Krutch, with only slight accuracy in my opinion, describes Joan of Lorraine as "Shaw and water," 66 although one might more accurately term it "Shaw and legend"). Of Joan, Masters, the director of the play-within-a-play, says:

You see, she's always been shown on the stage as a sort of Tom Paine in petticoats, a rough, mannish hoyden, but it doesn't seem to be historically accurate. As far as the evidence goes she was a modest and unassuming village girl who never would have raised her voice anywhere if she hadn't been convinced she was carrying out God's orders. And if she was this kind of girl, and completely feminine, then her problem was how to make herself heard, how to get her message out to the world. 87

Anderson suggests that she consciously imitated her brothers' mock-heroic style in showing how they would talk if they were called to save France; Joan realizes she must act a part to fulfill her visions. She says once, "If only I were a msn! If only I could

⁸⁶ Jeseph Wood Krutch, "Drama," The Nation, CLXIII (December 7, 1946), 672.

⁸⁷ Anderson, Joan of Lorraine, p. 25.

is not professed, and this play, although a year such functions of and sujectable communication of the logard of four of Arc, her he read depict, this interprets of the form of Arc, her he latellies and finding of the 'entry stages and stages and the communication of the 'entry of

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shout like a man! But that wouldn't help either, for it wouldn't fit the prophecy. "88 The validity of the prophecies seems to be questioned too in the following dialogue:

Rheims. She goes further. She prophesies Clasdale's death. Prophecy among the laity is certainly heretical.

Joan. It's not prophecy. It's only that -- we shall take the bastion -- and in the taking of it he will be killed.

Rheims. I say it's prophecy -- and you've prophesied other things, too. You foretold the change in the wind.

Dunois. That's true, Joan. And the wind changed. Not that I hold it against you.

Joan. I said the wind would change -- and, of course, it did. The wind always changes. 59

Masters interprets the usual modern position in regard to Josn:

We moderns have a way of feeling very smug about poor Joan of Lorraine back there in the dark ages, believing in her Voices and doing what they told her. But not one of us believes anything more solid. . . We live by illusions and assumptions and concepts, every one of them as questionable as the Voices Joan heard in the garden. We take our religions the way we fall in love, and we can't defend one any more than the other. 90

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 21. Italica are mine.

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 55-56.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

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Tremoille, who does of course have an antipathy toward Joan, gives an acceptable explanation, the one presented by Shaw:

Joan has won three forts without the slightest attention to tactics, relying entirely on her personal prestige, the fanatic enthusiasm of her followers, and the fear she inspired in our opponents. Now, if she had stopped there and played the game cannily, watching for opportunities, she might have lasted for years. But this way she's certain to lose sometime—and that's the end of her. . . Her luck has held about as long as it can hold. I think she will fail to take the Tourelles. She will be discredited as a seer and as a general. The men will begin to grumble. They have not been paid. They have been sent to confession like children. Their women are taken from them. They'll quit. One defeat and they'll quit.

Then, too, the very fact that the story is presented as a play-within-a-play is the concession of one who regards the story of Saint Joen as a legend, a legend with a message of faith applicable to the modern world.

passionately defending his convictions and his conception of the religious mission of drama to affirm human ideals, Maxwell Anderson's crusading spirit, as shown in his dramatic presentation of Joan as well as in his other historical characterizations, is of peculiar significance in American drama. This crusading spirit, however, is not equal to George Bernard Shaw's attempts

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 59.

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to present his ideals and visions, for Mr. Anderson is much more concerned with sudience approval than Mr. Shaw.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It is evident that Joan of Arc has an irresistible fascination for writers of all types of literature in all periods since her day but that the varying interest and biases of the author and his age result in diversified characterizations and treatments. A detailed study has been made of six of the literary works presenting this French national heroine. She has been idealized, disparaged, and admiringly analyzed.

Friedrich Schiller, one of the most outstanding writers in the German romantic movement, idealized Joan, depicting her as a celestial amazon. He uses his poetic imagination freely in presenting Joan, a character who would naturally appeal to Schiller's predilection as a romantic for the unusual and miraculcus. He idealized Joan partially because of his reaction against Voltaire's satirical burlesque of the Maid. Through Joan, Schiller also presented his thesis of moral idealism, showing how, through her inner struggles,

Joan's patriotism to present to his disunified Germany of the eighteenth century the necessity for each individual to be manly and brave, to stand for principles and strive for an inner unity between the rational and the sensual. In the romantic tragedy, The Maid of Orleans, the patriotism, the fighting ability, the noble yet modest dignity, and the ultimate spiritual unity of Joan are presented.

Mark Twain's historical romance, Personal
Recollections of Joan of Arc, reflects the sentimentality of nineteenth century America and its genteel
idealization of womanhood. The author presents Joan
according to his very high standard of humane ideals
so that she emerges as the perfect woman: appealingly
winsome, she is unselfish, kind, courageous, intelligent, and faithful to her lofty purpose. Simply
because she is without faults, she is not wholly
human. The Maid of France served as a romantic release for Twain in his years of bitter disillusionment in humanity as a whole.

The ribald satirical poem by Voltaire, The

Maid of Orleans, is in keeping with the obscene and
coarse literature enjoyed by the French readers of

abs strained spiritual victory and imiter. He used Josen's parriation to present to his dismified Strang of the sighteenth of the nedeship for each limitidual to be manly and prave, to stand for principles and estima for an insert unity between the rational mid the strain for the the Country of the first ordinal. In the Country of Strainty, and the make patricular, the country of Crainty, and the mobile yet modern dishifty, and the country of Country of Country, and the

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the eighteenth century. In it Voltaire has pictured all the excesses of his time and has also ridiculed the spiritual conception of Joan of Arc. This bitterly cynical mock-heroic epic derides the clerical superstition and religious tyranny of Louis XIV's France by satirizing Joan's purity, beauty, military prowess, and tenacity of purpose. Voltaire was completely in accord with the Zeitgeist of the Age of Enlightenment, developing along with its ideas and communicating those ideas through all his works.

Anatole France, too, is a definite part of his own age as is shown by his rationalism and his skepticism. As an early twentieth century progressive, he opposed the Catholic Church, a reactionary force in France and a shackle upon the minds of Frenchmen. He felt that the proposed canonization of Joan of Arc was a dramatic attempt by the Church to regain the wholehearted spiritual fervor of the French people and thereby keep a controlling power in France. In opposition to this force, Anatole France presented the actual Joan of Arc as he saw her through his historical, and somewhat faulty, research. He attempts to show that Saint Joan is simply a beautiful legendary figure. The actual Joan is a mystical

child, filled with hallucinations, who has been directed in her mission of leading the Dauphin to his coronation and the French army to victory by her own desires to be a saintly warrior and especially by some clergyman, who saw a possibility of alleviating his sufferings by making her the angelic-victor prophesied in legend.

On the whole, The Life of Joan of Arc is an unsympathetic treatment of Joan, the Maid being depicted by France as a simple, ignorant peasant with no military genius and with a relatively unimportant mission. By manipulation of his material Anatole France has attacked clericalism through Joan.

George Gernard Shaw's Saint Jean appeared shortly after her canonization in 1920. This play expounds the author's thesis of Creative Evolution, Joan illustrating the Life Force. He characterizes Joan as practical, vigorous, somewhat mannish, confident in her common sense, and actively opposed to established practice and opinion. Her visions he attributes to her dramatic imagination. Shaw's treatment shows not only his ideal, creatively-energetic woman of personal initiative and judgment but also the twentieth-century concept of the ideal woman. Shaw further presents a conflict between nonconformists, as represented by Joan, and authoritarians,

obild, filled with heliconneligns, who had been of colored to her steeten of leading the Daupule to his percention and the French wasy to vision; by her own desires to no a salutly warrior and especially by sens pirtyress, who san a possibility of alleviating his colfresson with and the coloring had been the single-live of alleviating had the inferior of the single-live vicket proceeds to lead to the short the short of desire of desire of desire the short depletes of france as a single, ignorest passent tith as alleviate construction of his anterial desired them the situated of antipolitation of his anterial desired them the structed of claricalism through form.

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as represented by her judges. Until this conflict is resolved and until people will accept the guidance of the few creative genius-saints, human progress will be very slow. Shaw's presentation of Joan of Arc is a rationalistic treatment of a romantic theme, with the intention of teaching his theory concerning the Life Force and progress.

The most recent treatment of Joan is Maxwell Anderson's play, Joan of Lorraine, which is written primarily to please the American audiences of the twentieth century. Anderson evolves an interesting dramatic pattern in telling Joan's story. A theatrical stock company is shown presenting a play about Joan, so that there is a play-within-a-play; the actors belonging to this company serve as a means of giving Anderson's religion of faith in oneself as well as analytical comments concerning the success of Joan of Arc in relationship to modern beliefs. Joan is characterized as a spiritual and patriotic heroine, who with faith in her mission achieved her goal through confidence in herself and in her God. The spirituality of Joan can easily be interpreted in whatever way the audience wishes to interpret it.

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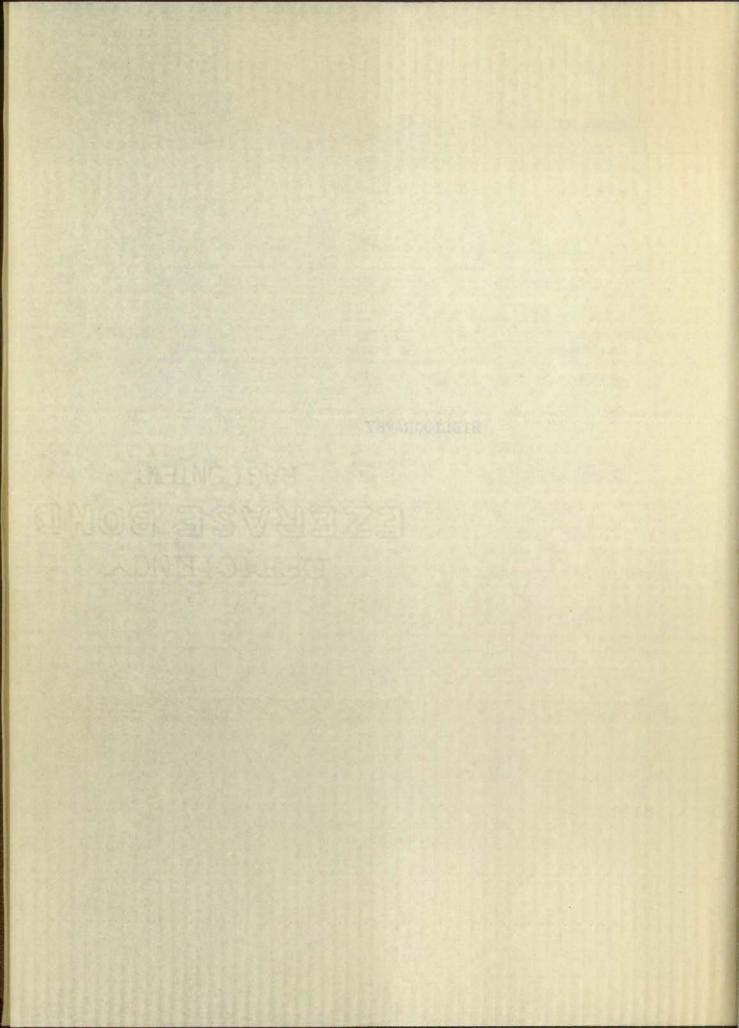
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mystery, since the historical problems of research concerning her are plentiful. An individual's conception of Joan is a result of his beliefs and his concerns and purposes in life as well as the intellectual and spiritual environment of his age; in all probality further studies similar to this thesis would show this to be true in regard to all historical characters. Without exception the suthors studied reflect in their literary works concerning Joan of Arc their own beliefs, interests, and reactions to the influences of their historical and literary periods.

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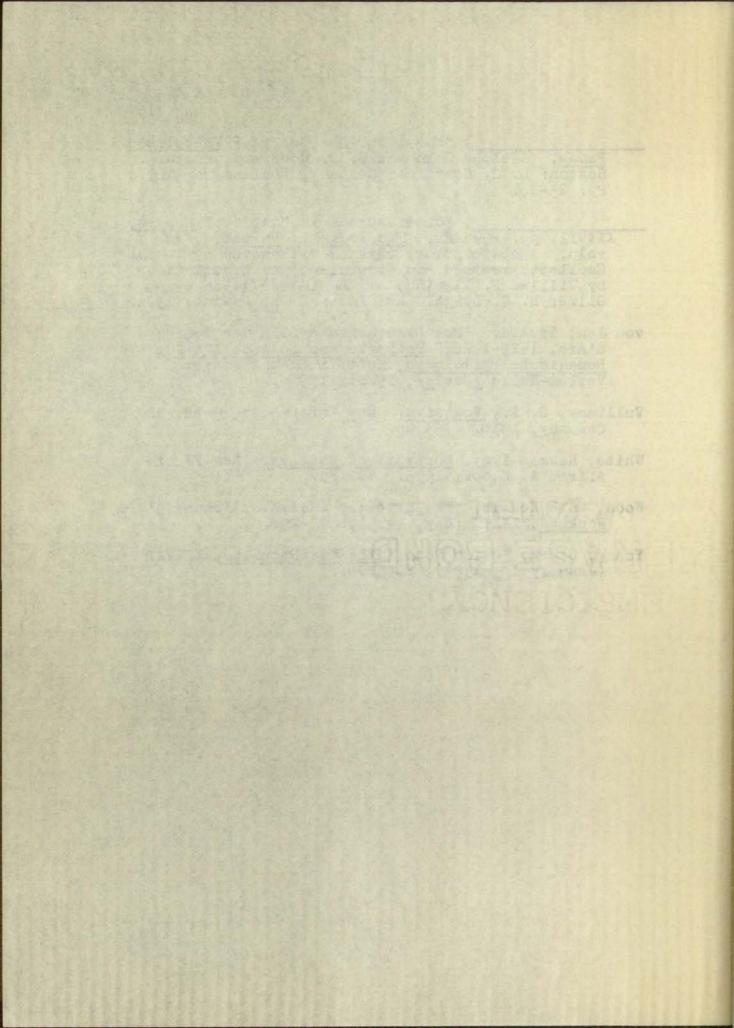
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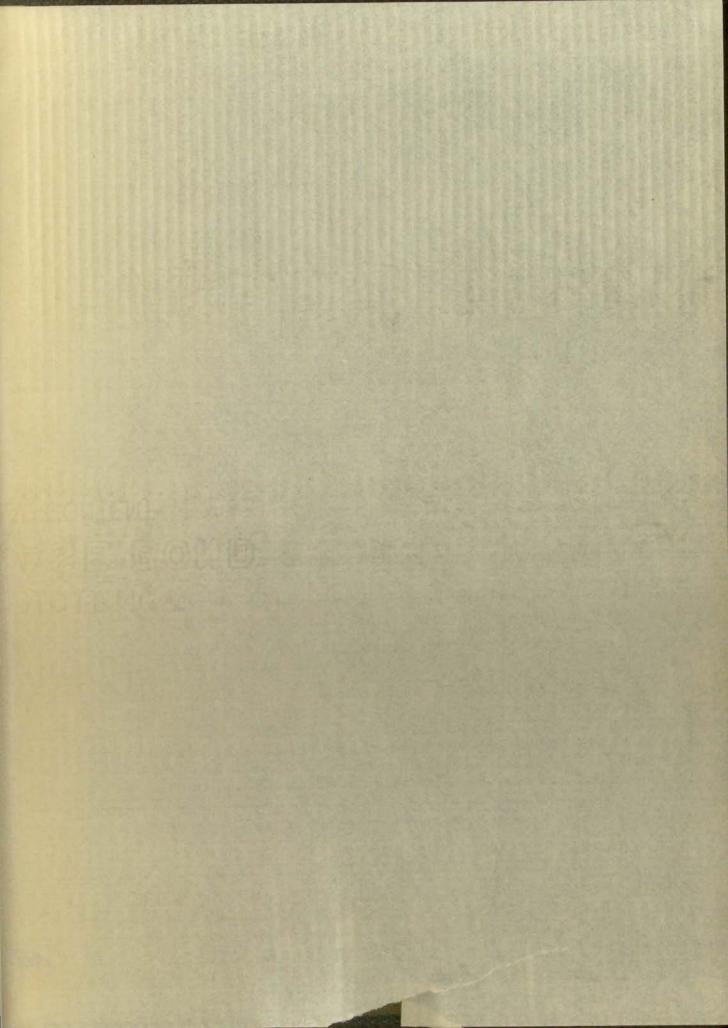
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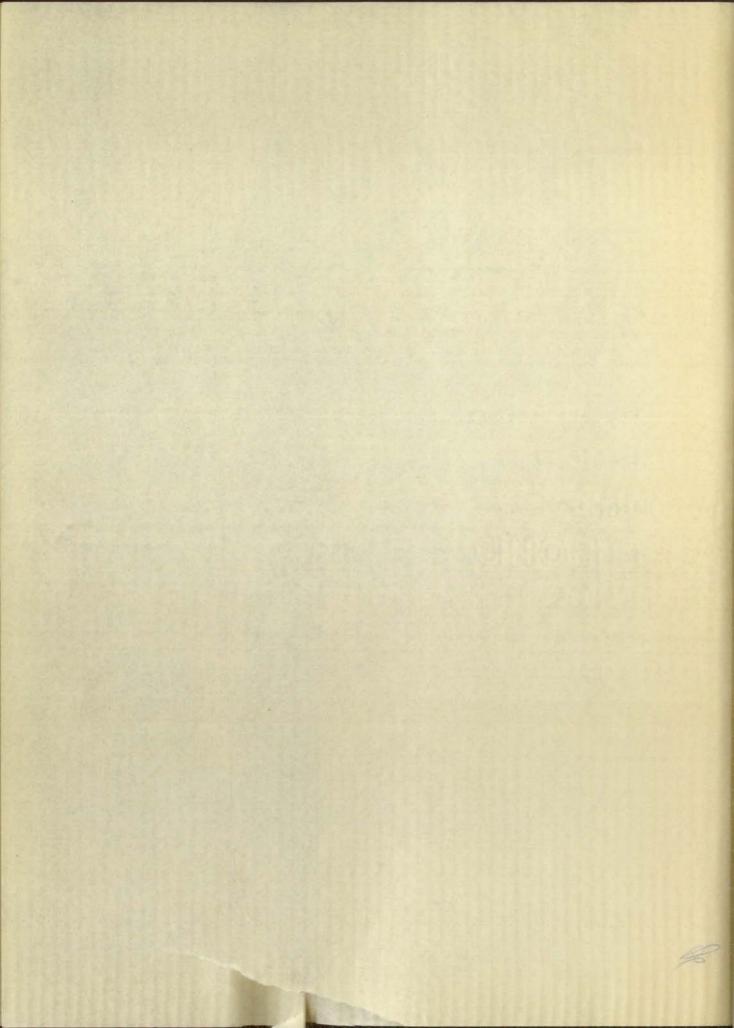
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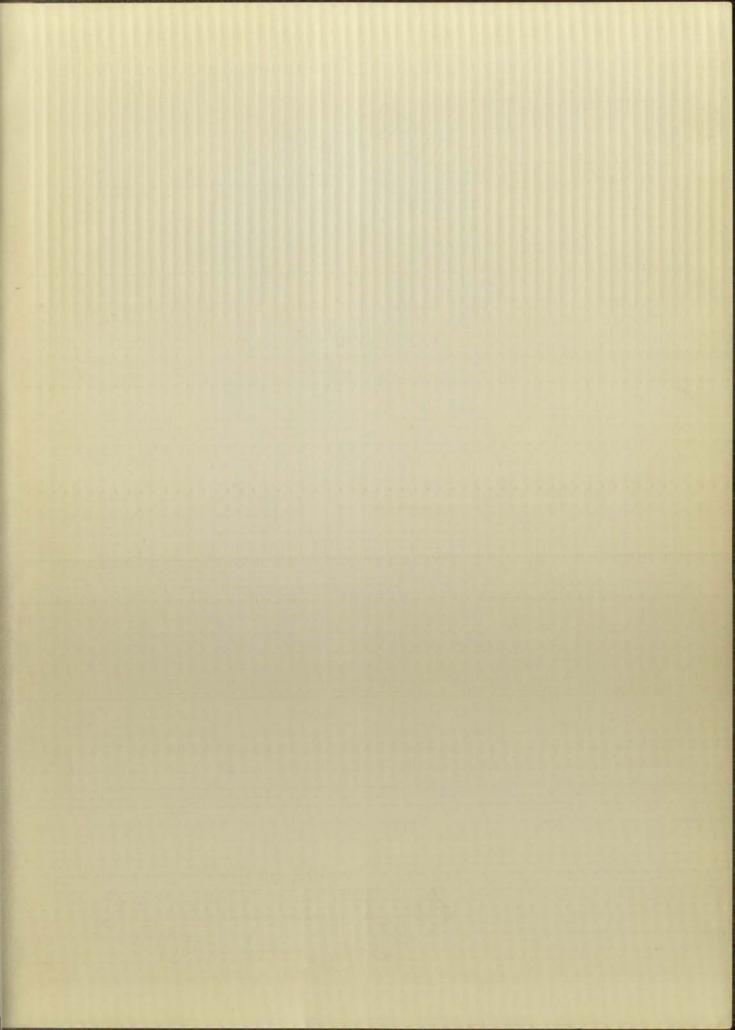
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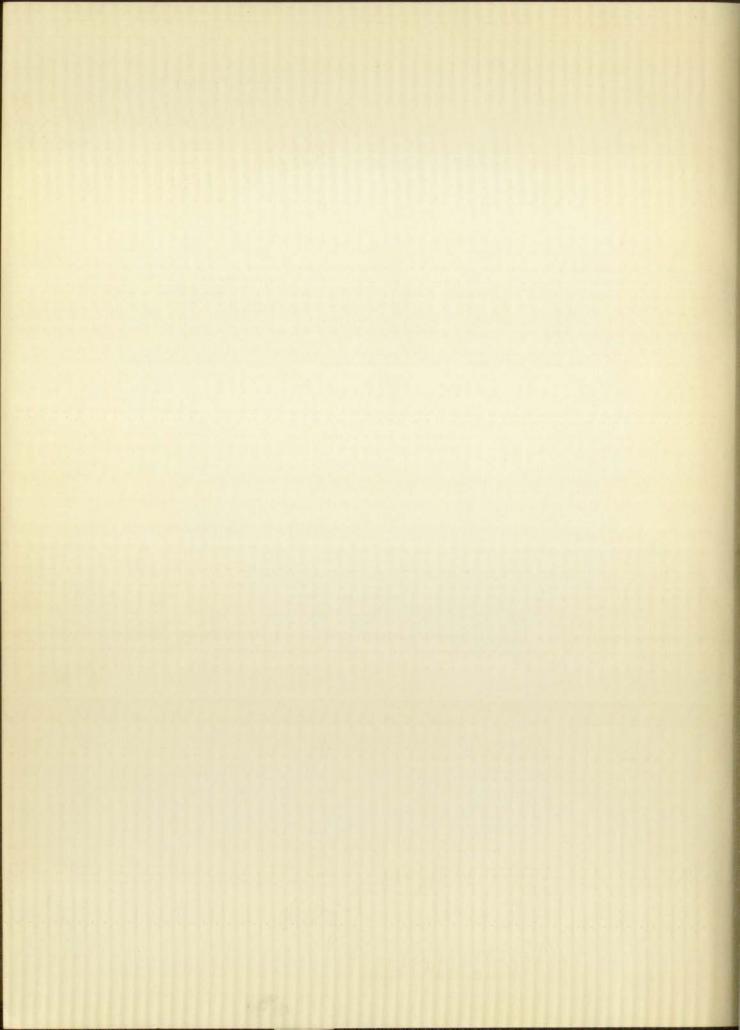
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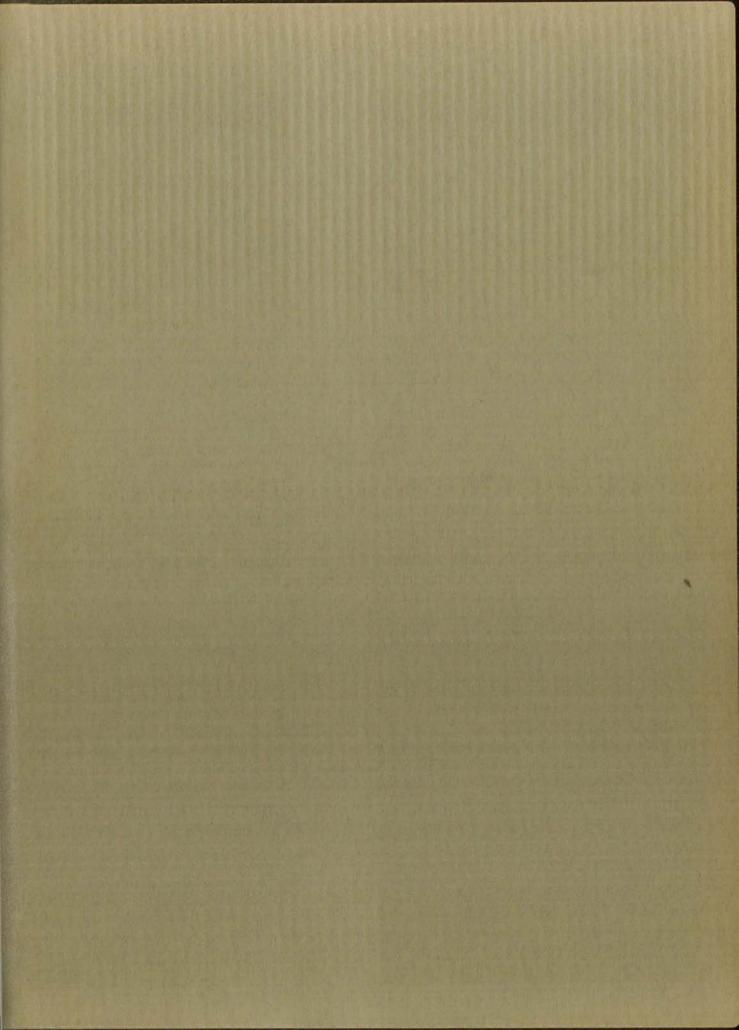












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