

Univerzita Pardubice
Fakulta humanitních studií
Katedra anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Diplomová práce

2005

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**A Comparison of Conceptions of Joan of Arc by Mark
Twain and George Bernard Shaw**

Thesis

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**Pojetí Jany z Arku v díle Marka Twaina a George
Bernarda Shawa**

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THE INTRODUCTION

Creating heroes is an inseparable part of the process of establishing some tradition, which also provides the criteria for proclaiming someone a hero. Heroes thus can have several faces and different names; sometimes they are called gods, warriors, prophets or saints, they might be real or fictional, but their purpose is the same. They serve as models for other people who desire to free themselves from their daily lives. Literature is one of the means of communion of a writer or a reader with a hero. The 15th century provided a motif for heroic literature by giving rise to the exceptional personality of a young girl, who is the only person of either sex to ever become a commander-in-chief of the royal army at the age of seventeen.

Joan of Arc, also often called the Maid, belongs to the most frequently recreated characters of world literature among such names as Don Juan, Prometheus or Faust. The mystery of her youth, capabilities and courage have inspired and fascinated all kinds of writers since her death- historians, biographers, playwrights, poets and philosophers. And the approaches have been infinitely diverse. "She has been variously described as a genius, a saint, a virago, an impostor, a trafficker in witchcraft, a devil, a puppet of designing men" (Roy 54). In the history of literature, her name belongs among the most piously exalted or degraded and debunked afterwards. The problem is that even though a lot is known about the real Joan, the fiction and facts, the Wahrheit and the Dichtung, have never stopped mingling with this controversial person. Writing about Joan is like writing about Christ: the purpose is to reveal as much about Joan as about the writer's beliefs, one's conceptions of the possibilities and limits of the human life itself, one's view on sainthood and heroism, on womanhood and on political and historical forces that shape society.

Each historical era has recreated Joan in its own image and each writer to his own philosophy. This thesis deals with two authors, Mark Twain and G. B. Shaw, who despite living in the same time and using the same historical sources for the study of her life, perceived her career and fall, humanity and sanctity in different ways. One of these authors rejected the Christian God, the other one substituted him for the Life Force. The paper is going to trace the divergences in the Dichtung, which lies mainly in their own beliefs, and show how successfully they made Joan's rise and fall, her martyrdom and metaphysical origin understandable to the modern audience and readers.

THE MAID IN LITERATURE

THE LEGENDARY MAID

The French country in the 15th century was divided between two political parties: Armagnacs and Burgundians. The Armagnacs were the followers of Charles VII, debarred from succession for various reasons, and the Burgundians were the followers of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, who was in alliance with England. Both these political sides kept chronicles of the first literary records about Joan, but even the medieval materials about Joan written by her contemporaries fall into two groups of antagonistic material. The

Burgundians' understandable hatred of Joan caused them look at her as a witch or a child of the Devil, while the Armagnac chronicles created the other pole and praised Joan.

Some poems celebrating her deeds appeared even while Joan was still alive. But these were soon forgotten and the subject of Joan of Arc fell into oblivion for almost one and a half centuries, from which it was saved in 1595 by no less a person than William Shakespeare. The first part of his trilogy *Henry VI*, which was very much influenced by the Burgundian chronicles, goes far beyond the hatred expressed in them. The social context, when English troops were in France again to support the British royal claim to the French crown, led Shakespeare to the blackening of the reputation of Joan in order to emphasize the great English warriors like Talbot. He went so far in defaming her name that he lets her in the Act 5 admit her contact with demonic forces. She pointlessly offers them her blood and sexual favours in exchange for French victory- "No hope to haue redresse? My body shall / pay recompence, if you will graunt my suite" (*Henry VI* 496).

Not only her sanctity, but also her virginity is mocked. She defends herself at the stake:

Will nothing turn your unrelenting hearts?
Then, Joan, discover thine infirmity
That warranteth by law to be thy privilege:
I am with child, ye bloody homicides;
Murder not then the fruit within my womb,
Although ye hale me to a violent death. (*Henry VI* 498)

Her inability to identify the father of her child and naming three potential candidates only presents her as a lascivious liar. As Leslie A. Fiedler mentions "everything about her is a lie, an illusion" (48).

Shakespeare's drama was influenced by the political situation of his own day. The renewed conflict between France and England lead him to mock everything that represented French nationalism. The symbol of freedom of France personified by the Maid became the most sensitive object of his ridicule. Fiedler also points out that Shakespeare had at the same time a chance to express his negative opinions about women, who at first look like a miracle until they turn up "a swarthy hag in disguise", as he himself calls Joan (49).

After Shakespeare the subject disappeared from English literature again. Abroad, Voltaire continued in the mockery of the Maid already started by Shakespeare. He reacted against the cult of Joan established by the Church at that time and his *La Pucelle*, published in 1730, ridicules everything concerning her piety and virginity.

In contrast, during the era of romanticism, Robert Southey honoured her in a twelve book epic poem, *Joan of Arc*, written in blank verse in 1796. He was discouraged by

Voltaire's representation of the Maid, although he admitted he had never read it: "I have never been guilty of reading the *Pucelle* of Voltaire" (qtd. in Haller 15). Southey was interested only in the political Joan, in Joan acting, not in Joan as a human figure, who was also suffering. His Joan is a fighter for popular liberty and his inspiration and model according to William Haller cannot be found in any book about the Maid, but in *Leonidas* and Lucan's *Pharsalia* (15). Southey's Maid bears some features of her times, among them her close relationship with nature and her growing up in the freedom of it, which unfortunately lead him to some weaknesses identified by William Haller.

The poet makes Joan owe all her power to the fact that she has been educated by nature to be natural, or in other words, good, and that good is naturally omnipotent; consequently she has but to confront the wicked, unnatural English in order to drive them pell-mell into annihilation. The weakness of this faith was, of course, the weakness of the poem; there can be no struggle, because one party is invincible, the other unhuman, and neither is interesting (16).

The book was not very warmly accepted even by Coleridge, who after reading it called it "Tom Paine in Petticoats" and questioned Southey's mental health (Coleridge 6).

The similar development of the Maid's myth can be found at the same time in German literature. Friedrich Schiller in his *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, published in 1801, used Joan as an expression of his romantic ideas. Johanna is presented as a beautiful woman who "has not a single point of contact with the real Joan, nor with any mortal woman that ever walked this earth" ('Preface' 32). Schiller uses the classical motif of an individual burdened by guilt, which in this case dwells in her love to her enemy:

My heart is changed, 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! (Schiller, Scene 1)

When she is accused by her father of witchcraft, she utters no word, for her heart is burdened with this trespass. But then the topic of unfulfilled love shifts to nationalism, Johanna manages to overcome the temptation and sacrifices herself for the country not by being burned, but by dying in the battlefield with every honour that belongs to a heroine.

With Shiller, the glorification of the Maid reached its peak. The era of Joan of Arc being an exalted symbol of nationalism and bravery, or, as it was in Shakespeare's case, the exaggerated mockery of her, was over and Joan became more realistic. The shift of her perception was caused by the publication of the records of the trial. The topic of her nationalism and the origin of her inspiration appearing in the literature before the publication still remained, but Joan finally started to be perceived as a human being.

THE MAID AFTER QUICHERAT

The publication of the reports of the trial by Jules Etienne Joseph Quicherat in 1841 in French and its English translation in 1902 by T.Douglas Murray revealed a lot about the real Joan. Until then the writers did not adhere to historical facts and the strings for the puppet of Joan were completely in their hands. After the publications the books stopped being so legendary and Wahrheit and Dichtung became balanced again, the hands of the artists became tied by the facts. It is also the time of a great development of the art of biography. *Jeanne d'Arc* by the French historian Jules Michelet is an immediate reaction to the records of the trial. It is written in a lively style with vivid description, but historically accurate. Michelet together with Quicherat became the most reliable sources for the study of life of Joan of Arc.

Among the first writers to work with the trial records belong Mark Twain as a representative of American Literature, Andrew Lang and George Bernard Shaw in British Literature, and the influential Anatole France in French Literature. The common feature of all these works is the realization and respect for historicity of their subject, and the desire to explain the myths still surrounding her despite the historical base. As the nineteenth century was a time of great change in philosophy, the time of Darwin, of the rejection of the concept of God the creator, and the baffling figure of Joan of Arc provided a great space for subjective interpretation. Each of these books were reactions to the preceding ones.

Mark Twain published his fictional biography of Joan of Arc as a book in the year 1896 under the title *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc by the Sieur Louis de Conte (Her Page and Secretary) Freely Translated out of the Ancient French into Modern English From the Original Unpublished Manuscript in the National Archives of France by Jean François Alden as Told by Mark Twain* and it is the first American presentation of this topic. He

continues in the tradition of the worshipping authors, such as the writers of the Armagnac chronicles, Quicherat himself, and Schiller or Lang, describing Joan as a puzzling and romantic wonder. Twain in the Translator's Preface makes the reader aware of the uniqueness of his biography among others because it is "*the only story of a human life which comes to us under oath*, the only one which comes to us from the witness stand...The Sieur Louis de Conte is faithful to her official history in his Personal Recollections, and thus far his trustworthiness is unimpeachable" ('Translator's Preface', italics Twain's). And he supported the veracity of his work by naming these sources: J. E. J. Quicherat, *Condamnation et Rehabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, J. Fabre, *Proces de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, H. A. Wallon, *Jeanne d'Arc*, M. Sepet, *Jeanne d'Arc*, J. Michelet, *Jeanne d'Arc*, Berriat de Saint-Prix, *La Famille de Jeanne d'Arc*, La Comtesse A. De Chabannes, *La Vierge Lorraine*, Monseigneur Ricard, *Jeanne d'Arc la Venerable*, Lord Ronald Gower, F.S.A., *Joan of Arc*. John O'Hagan, *Joan of Arc*, Janet Tuckey, *Joan of Arc the Maid. (Recollections, intro)*

Twain's book was very much praised by the Scottish writer Andrew Lang, who had dealt with the subject three times himself; in 1906 he worked on his *The Story of Joan of Arc*, in 1908 *The Maid of France* and in 1909 he published his enraged reaction to France in his *La vie de Jeanne d'Arc de M. Anatole France*. He continues in the same manner as Mark Twain, praising Joan's abilities, but unlike Twain, he accepted them as a fact, not as a miracle.

The very influential and controversial book, which does not belong to English Literature, but creates a contrast with it, was written by, at that time, sixty year old writer Anatole France, whose *Le vie de Jeanne d'Arc* appeared in 1908. It clearly expressed the opinion that everything Joan did does not need any supernatural reason, since its roots were mostly in Joan's mental illness. He refused her exceptionality by her diabolical or divine inspiration as it was treated by the literature before him, and instead saw her as a case for a psychiatrist. Her visions were caused by long periods of fasting; her feeling of being chosen by God to save France comes from thinking too much about fictional Merlin's prophecy that France would be saved by a virgin. "Joan lived in an illusion. Not realizing even the least she was a subject of different forces, and unable to recognize that her Voices were just an echo of the voice of her own heart, she answered the saints..." (France 34, my translation)¹. Every miracle has an explanation, every fulfilled prophecy is just one of thousand prophecies uttered by her, which by coincidence happened to come true and because of that was worth noting down. She also helped her clairvoyance in the case of predicting her injury; she did everything to be injured on that day she pointed out. Her power rested in her virginity, as the Middle Ages attributed special powers to virgins. Her recognition of the king was not very

surprising as he was a man famous for his unattractiveness and even the witnesses were not surprised at her recognising him. Her trial is a fight against the hatred of useless wisdom on her side, and the hatred caused by loss of property and good position on the side of her judges. Her ability to give rude answers to her judges stemmed from her fondness for provoking people and her unshakable belief in her saints rescuing her no matter what the circumstances. *Le vie de Jeanne d'Arc* is a work from the pen of a sceptic, who managed to portray Joan without a throb of emotion and with a huge dose of reason.

Only some later, in 1924 did the book *Saint Joan*, the play of six scenes and the epilogue by George Bernard Shaw, appear on counters. He scoffed at Twain's worship and France's scepticism, and set Joan within the frame of his own religion of the Life Force. As typical for the writer, he chose drama as the genre of his book and this restricted his narration only to Joan's military career, the trial and her death.

Shaw listed the documents he consulted in an interview with Archibald Henderson in the autumn of 1923. He claimed to have read all the chief sources, among them *Jeanne d'Arc* by Michelet, by Wallon, by Martin, and many more. Besides that he read all the reliable accounts in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Tyson 19). His Preface also showed familiarity with Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, J. von Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, Voltaire's *La Pucelle*, Mark Twain's *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, Andrew Lang's *The Story of Joan of Arc* and Anatole de France's *Le vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (31-35).

After World War II the history of Joan became very popular again. Her story enabled writers to come back to the theme of nationalism and fight against the invaders. They also experimented with dramatic forms, as Bertold Brecht did already before the World War II. One of the first to do so was Maxwell Anderson's *Joan of Lorraine*, where the actors are simultaneously themselves and characters from Joan's drama. It serves as a reflection of the evil which happened during the war, Joan's life inspires them to think about the importance of faith in every step of a human being, but they cannot agree on the criteria for distinguishing if faith is good or bad. Other writers dealing with Joan were Jean Anouilh, Thomas Keneally, Jenny Nowak and Jacques Audiberti.

During the twentieth century one more aspect became discussed mainly by female writers, which is Joan's gender and her sexuality. Among these belong Vita Sackville-West and contemporary British playwright Carolyn Gage, who both represent Joan as a woman of homosexual orientation.

This paper is dealing with just two of these named works: Mark Twain's *Personal Recollections* and with G. B. Shaw's *Saint Joan*. Although these two authors were

contemporaries and used almost the identical sources, their concept of Joan of Arc differs according to their life experience and philosophy. It is clear that a writer working with the subject of such a controversial person as Joan of Arc reveals as much about Joan as about himself. This paper will show the similar and different features of their books and trace the philosophy behind their books, which led them to different interpretations of the same historical personality.

THE ORIGIN AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO WORKS

The idea to write a book about a certain topic may come all of a sudden or it might be a result of a long search. However, it is just a drop in the sea of all the factors which influence the way the story unfolds. The writer then projects his own self, his failures, victories, disappointments, illusions and disillusion, his own life onto his subject. The writer may encounter an event giving him a topic for a book, but he may start working on it much later. Such was the way of one of these authors.

Mark Twain's pilgrimage towards writing *Personal Recollections* was very long and extremely influenced by his disillusion. The topic of Joan occurred to him already when he was a young man working as a printer's apprentice in Hannibal. Paine describes this moment as a turning point in Twain's life.

There came into his life just at this period one of those seemingly trifling incidents which, viewed in retrospect, assume pivotal proportions. He was on his way from the office to his home one afternoon when he saw flying along the pavement a square of paper, a leaf from a book. At an earlier time he would not have bothered with it at all, but any printed page had acquired a professional interest for him now. He caught the flying scrap and examined it. It was a leaf from some history of Joan of Arc. (Paine, ch.16)

It was a page from Janet Tuckey's *Joan of Arc*, which was also the first work about Joan he studied and the copy of which is still preserved with Twain's marginal notes. From this time Twain began to be fascinated by the character of Joan of Arc. He mentions her already in a speech in the year 1868 as one of the greatest female "treasures to the world" and in 1873 he praises her bravery and her sacrificial devotion ("The Ladies").

Nevertheless, he started working on the book much later than that. Supposedly he began as early as the eighties when a list of works concerning the subject of Joan of Arc was found. In a note which he made many years later Mark Twain declared that he was fourteen years at work on *Joan of Arc*; twelve years spent by studying materials and two years writing it (Paine, ch.183).

Like every writer he experienced the disappointment of wrong starts. He says "you may try a dozen wrong forms but you in each case you will not get very far before you discover that you have not found the right one- then the story will always stop and decline to go any further" (*Autobiography* 267). He admits he made six false starts, which were responded to by his wife with the same reaction- silence (267). Unfortunately none of these starts is still preserved today. Finally, he complained about people being disappointed when reading a book by Mark Twain and not finding a joke in it. He decided, since his name was too closely linked with humour, that he must let someone else take the pen from his hand and narrate the story. Thus the character of de Conte was invented (Paine, ch.183).

Not only did Twain invent this first person narrator in order to hide his own ideas behind him and stay unrecognised, but he even intended not to let the public know about his authorship at all. One day, when he

was sitting in the garden with his wife and daughter Susy, he remarked: "This is to be a serious book. It means more to me than anything I have ever undertaken. I shall write it anonymously." (Paine, ch. 183)

Once he got the idea of Louis de Conte, his work continued very quickly. Every day he read the new parts to his family. Paine remarks that he had written one hundred thousand words in a period of approximately six weeks (ch. 183), which seems incredible considering that he was writing history for which he had to consult many different sources. The book seemed to write itself.

Twain subconsciously drew Joan's physical portrait from his favourite daughter Susy. Susy was one of Twain's most influential critics and she often disagreed with his works. She wanted him to be a moral philosopher, she disliked his use of humour. She wanted him to be a writer of not *Huck Finn*, but of *Prince and Pauper* and especially of *Joan of Arc*, because it fulfilled the criteria of a female audience: purity, gentility and high sentiment. One of Shaw's contemporaries remarked that she acted like "the iron Madonna who strangles in her fond embrace the American novelist" (Kaplan 308).

The great part of Twain's *Personal Recollections* came into being under pressing circumstances right before his voyage around the world, made in order to give lectures and earn some money. Shortly before he found himself in a bad financial situation due to the failure of his invention, the typesetting machine. Despite all the promises and bright future Twain saw in his vision, in the end he had to face his debts. He was asked to pay more and more money and the banks demanded payment. Twain was told that bankruptcy was the only rational solution, if he wanted to get rid of the burden and come back to literature. At that time he wanted to finish the book about Joan of Arc as soon as possible, so on April 18, 1894, he entered into voluntary bankruptcy proceedings (Kaplan 331).

He finished his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* at the end of January 1895 and was sceptical of its success, but proud to have done as much as he could: "possibly the book may not sell, but that is nothing- it was written for love" (*Letters*). Before he started his voyage in July, some volumes of the book were already anonymously published in *Harper & Brothers* magazine. No sooner had he given consent to acknowledge his authorship, than Twain's name had been recognised after the publication of the second or third issue (Paine, ch. 191).

Critics did not agree in their opinions of the book. Twain considered it the best work he had ever written and Paine agreed: "She is a saint, she is rare, she is exquisite, she is all that is lovely, and she is a human being besides. Considered from every point of view, *Joan of Arc* is Mark Twain's supreme literary expression, the loftiest, the most delicate, the most luminous example of his work" (Paine, ch.195). But not all critics shared his enthusiasm. Harry Thurston Peck expressed his opinions quite roughly: "We know of one gentleman who succeeded in reading *Joan of Arc* to the end, but he was a book reviewer and had to do it because he was a conscientious man. We tried it several times, and then gave it up because of its egregious dullness" (Peck). It is certain that Twain confused his critics when, as an author of satirical and humorous books, he took a pen to write a serious book and claimed it to be his best.

George Bernard Shaw's interest in Joan started much later in his life and did not last as long as in Twain's case. The author published his pentateuch *Back to Methuselah* at the age of sixty-five and felt that he was finished with his literary career (Ervin 496). He did not consider writing another book, until some events from his personal life made him reconsider his decision. One of them was a letter from his personal friend, William Archer, where he indicated that Shaw's influence was less than it had been twenty years before and that

the public declined to take Shaw seriously (Tyson 4).

The second impulse was his friendship with Father J. Leonard, C. M, who did scholastic work at St. Vincent's, Castleknock in Dublin, and St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith, London, where Shaw corresponded with him in 1922 and 1923. Later on, when Shaw was already writing *Saint Joan*, he worked as a technical adviser, providing him with material, and as an opponent, who did not agree with Shaw's presentation of Joan as a Protestant against the Catholic Church. Unfortunately the correspondence was not preserved until today, so it is impossible to reconstruct their conversation about this subject (Tyson 4). What is known from these letters is that Shaw was considering choosing a Catholic Saint as a hero for his next play and they discussed Dominic Plater and Joan of Arc. Father Leonard recommended that Shaw read Quicherat and approved of choosing Joan of Arc.

This all happened after the canonization of Joan in 1920. Many critics and biographers have afterwards emphasized that the idea of writing Joan was triggered by her canonization, although Shaw was interested in her no sooner than in the year 1922 (Tyson 4). Other theories talk about Mrs. Shaw, deeply impressed by the canonization, decided to read Quicherat and found it very dramatic (Roy 44). Then she deliberately left books about the Maid and her trial around the house in places where he was certain to see and read them. When he periodically picked them up and read them, he came to Charlotte with his new idea to write a story about Joan (Ervin 496). This theory was then used by many of his biographers, among them F. S. Boas, Heketh Pearson, Blanche Patch, Lawrence Lagner and J. W. Miller. The high number of them might be attributed to the entertaining quality of the story, which may awaken interest in the reader. No matter how much Charlotte may have believed that it was her doing that caused her husband to select Joan of Arc as the subject of his drama, this story eliminates Shaw's own philosophical development and his spiritual pilgrimage towards Joan too much and makes it thus more a comical anecdote about the importance of a wife in the life of a writer than reality.

According to Shaw, the drama was begun in the summer of 1923, but as had already happened in the case of one of his first plays, *Widowers' Houses*, he was mistaken when dating his work. In one of his letters to a friend from April, 29 he mentions he had started on a new historical play and, according to the manuscript, in the first scene the date given is 4 April 1923 (Tyson 7). Although Tyson presumes the date was written afterwards and it should be 4 May, it shows that Shaw started his work in the spring of that year on his trip to Ayot St. Lawrence and Stradford-on-Avon. On 27 August Shaw wrote to his friend Molly Tompkins, „Saint Joan is finished (except for the polishing): a magnificent play; and I thought I should never write another after *Methuselah!*“ (qtd. in Tyson 8).

There are several candidates among the models for his saint, but Mary Hankinson, about whom not very much is known, is the most probable one. The authority for saying this was given by Shaw himself, when he devoted to her a copy of his book with a dedication: “To Mary Hankinson, the only woman I know who does not believe that she was the model for Joan, and also the only woman who actually was“ (qtd. in Tyson 17). Unfortunately, very little is known about this person. She was an important member of the Fabian Society, a fine gymnast and a strict disciplinarian. At the time when Shaw was working on his Joan, she was already fifty-five years old. When she died in November 1952, an appreciation of her was published in the *Fabian News* containing the description which confirms that she could indeed, in her youth, have physically resembled Shaw's saint (Tyson 18).

Shaw realised very well the restrictions of his genre- “as it is for a stage use I have had to condense into three and half hours a series of events which in their historical happening were spread over four times as many months“ (‘Preface’ 60). Even though he states that the play “contains all that need to be known about her“ (60), he did not control his passion for giving information and provided the play with a detailed Preface explaining his views on Joan. This, however, resulted in the omission of some important parts, one of them being, for example, seeing Joan as a leader of men or the psychological effect of the repeated questions at different sessions of the trial.

His drama consists of six scenes, depicting Joan from the beginning of her military career to her death, and and the Epilogue, seeing Joan coming back in the year 1456. There are impressive changes of structure throughout the play. It starts in the light, on a spring morning, yet as the play proceeds the stage gets darker, and the epilogue is set into the night. Tyson also notices that there are three scenes of rising action in which Joan is seen victorious, one scene where her fate is decided upon in her absence, and three scenes of a falling action where Joan is seen first abandoned by her friends, then by her enemies and finally by the world (38).

Bernard Shaw’s *Saint Joan* was produced for the first time by the Theatre Guild of New York at the Garrick Theatre, on the evening of Friday, 28 December 1923. A brilliant American actress, Winifred Liniham, played the main role in the drama. The play was not very well accepted by press, but because of the excited reception of the audience it soon had to be moved to a bigger theatre.

The critics differed in their opinions. Mr Percy Hammond wrote for *Tribune*: “Mr Shaw’s chronicle of Joan of Arc makes the life and works of that sainted maiden duller though more probable than legends we have taught us to believe“. He did not even wait to see the Epilogue, but his informants told him it was tiresome (qtd. in Ervine 502). There were also positive comments on the play, among them from Luigi Pirandello, who happened to be in New York at the time of the production. He was asked afterwards to record his feelings about the play in *New York Times*.

Had an act as powerful as the fourth act of *Saint Joan* been produced on any one of the numerous Italian stages, all the people present would have jumped to their feet, even before the curtain fell, to start a frenzied applause that would have called the actors, and possibly the author, to the footlights, not once, but many times, to receive the gratitude of the audience for the anguish it has suffered, and its joy for having witnessed such a triumph of art. (Pirandello 446)

No matter what negative things the American critics said, the play has been highly successful everywhere it has been performed. It had 244 performances in London, which is three times more than in New York.

The route to Joan with these two authors was not similar in any aspect. Twain’s idea of writing Joan

was developing decades, while Shaw spent just a few years working on it. But it is not time which is the most important factor, but their spiritual quest for transcendence from which Joan crystallized and which will be discussed later on.

JOAN AS A TRANSCENDENT FIGURE

When comparing Joan's unshakable faith in God as the reason for her success to the beliefs of Twain and Shaw, it is notable that her reliance on the omnipotent Creator was not sustainable for these nineteenth and twentieth century writers. They both express their different opinions about her religion and their religion and the reasons for her political success.

They both agree that the main reason of people following Joan is not the intervention of Providence, but her enthusiastic attitude. Shaw's first scene, when Robert de Baudricourt and Bertrand de Poulengy argue about her skills, Robert scoffs at Poulengy's credulity of the Maid's working miracles, Poulengy retorts: "I think the girl herself is a bit of a miracle ... Her words and her ardent faith in God have put fire into me" (*St Joan* 80). Poulengy realizes that her main strength is in her commitment, her enthusiasm and perseverance, not in her communion with God, which at the end also helps Robert's decision to give her an escort. She succeeds in persuading the Dauphin for the same reason without any need for miracle. But no matter how excited Joan is about her task, not everybody lets themselves be influenced by her. Dunois, portrayed as a strong personality, opposes to her:

JOAN. ...Listen to me; I will deliver you from fear. I-

DUNOIS. No, no, my girl; if you deliver me from fear I should be a good knight for a story book, but a very bad commander of the army. Come! let me begin to make a soldier of you. (*St Joan* 107)

Later on he praises her having "the makings of a soldier in her" (108), but this young though experienced commander-in-chief is persuaded only by the change of the wind at Loire. In the cathedral scene he realizes that no matter how much the Maid's abilities were supported by God, if they were at all, they might be used as a propaganda, "for the people will run after The Maid and her miracles and not after the Bastard's hard work finding troops for her and feeding them" (134).

Also Twain admits that her main strength was in her commitment and ability to encourage others. It emerges throughout the book and is best described by the Queen Yolande in conversation with Bertrand de Poulengy, where the Queen reacts to the Bertrand's praise.

And whether she comes of God or no, there is that in her heart that raises her above men- high above all men that breathe in France today-for in her is that mysterious something that puts heart into soldiers, and turns mobs of cowards into armies of fighters that forget what fear is when they are in that presence -fighters who go into battle with joy in their eyes and songs on their lips, and sweep over the field like a storm -that is the spirit that can save France, and that alone, come it whence it may! (*Recollections* 95)

As Twain calls it, the "mysterious something" became the subject of different interpretations and the key to the discovery of her success. He makes de Conte remark: "It is a riddle which will never be guessed. I think these vast powers and capacities were born in her, and that she

applied them by an intuition which could not err“ (*Recollections* 222). While Joan herself was sure where her “vast powers and capacities“ have their origin, not all writers could share her certainty.

Twain opposed the explanations of the Catholic sources about the Maid being followed because of her being recognized as a messenger of God. When studying Chabannes, he came across an opinion that common people were attracted by her because they were more susceptible to recognizing her as an instrument of God- “Where He chooses His instruments, he also provides witnesses“ (qtd. in Solomon 174). He scribbled in the margin his immediate reaction: “It seems so great and wonderful that he should choose his instruments by preference among the dull and ignorant that I marvel he does not choose cats- His glory would be the greater and the argument is the same“ (174).

Despite his mockery of the Catholic resources praising the attractiveness of Joan being caused by her union with God, he tends to describe the crowds following her as if he was describing Christ. When Joan is waiting for acceptance by Robert de Baudricourt, she lodges in one of the households in the town of Vaucouleurs and helps with the work there. She speaks freely about her task, does not conceal anything and consequently her fame spreads into all the villages in the surroundings.

. . . and from these villages came people who wanted to see for themselves, hear for themselves; and they did see and hear, and believe. They filled the town; they more than filled it; inns and lodgings were packed, and yet half of the inflow had to go without shelter. And still they came, winter as it was, for when a man's soul is starving, what does he care for meat and roof so he can but get that nobler hunger fed? Day after day, and still day after day the great tide rose. Domremy was dazed, amazed, stupefied, and said to itself, "Was this world-wonder in our familiar midst all these years and we too dull to see it?" (*Recollections* 65)

Were the name Domremy replaced by Nazareth, there would be no doubt that the writer is intending to make an introduction to the story of Jesus Christ feeding the hungry crowds with bread and fish. The story line is practically the same- people blindly following somebody who promised to them to set them free due to their starving souls, not considering the circumstances in which they will find themselves after some time- hungry and without any shelter. But it is visible that Twain himself lands on the same platform as his Catholic sources which he scoffs so much at, but which had a religious support behind their narration.

He also goes far in his admiration of the Maid regarding her physical appearance. When commenting on her portraits, Twain perceives as natural that an extraordinary spirit should be pictured in a beautiful body no matter what the real appearance is, since “the supremely great souls never lodge in gross bodies“ (Saint Joan of Arc). The deeds of the spirit should be authoritative for the physical features of the personality.

The artist should paint her *spirit* - then he could not fail to paint her body aright. She would rise before us then, a vision to win us, not repel: a lithe young slender figure, instinct with "the unbought grace of youth," dear and bonny and lovable, the face beautiful, and transfigured with the light of that lustrous intellect and the fires of that unquenchable spirit. (Saint Joan of Arc)

He strictly keeps his credo when depicting Joan. As if it is Twain talking through his narrator de Conte, when

representing Joan in her teens.

She was sixteen now, shapely and graceful, and of a beauty so extraordinary that I might allow myself any extravagance of language in describing it and yet have no fear of going beyond the truth. 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 bearing, it came of distress for her country; no part of it was chargeable to her religion (*Recollections* 38)

Joan's physical beauty in combination with her spiritual greatness and purity attracts all people around her, who then follow her as an idol, and causes many of her comrades-in-arms to fall in love with her.

Despite many vivid descriptions of her beauty, any reasonable reader cannot believe that Twain finds the explanation for her success lies in her good looks. G. B. Shaw opposed strongly even the idea of furnishing Joan with beauty, emphasizing that none of the descriptions of her utter anything about her physical beauty, not even the ones by those who tried to please the king by praising her, and he classifies all the books talking about Joan as an attractive woman as romances ('Preface' 13). He disagreed with Twain's portrayal of Joan: "Andrew Lang and Mark Twain are equally determined to make Joan a beautiful and most ladylike Victorian" (35). Shaw's Joan is "not a soft woman who melts men's hearts, but a bossy one who stirs them" (Crompton 38). The writer himself describes Joan as an "able-bodied country girl of 17 or 18, respectably dressed in red". What her uncommon face concerns, she has "eyes 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" (*St Joan* 74). But if "the mysterious something" in Twain's and Shaw's case was not even her beauty, the question of her astounding ability for leadership still remains.

Shaw's evolutionary philosophy of a Life Force helped him to establish reasons for Joan's commitment and catching enthusiasm. His philosophy was a reaction to Darwin's natural selection without any God behind it. Shaw refuses the origin of the world and the life on the planet being a matter of coincidence without an element to control the development. "What you have got to understand is that somehow there is at the back of the universe a will, a life-force. You cannot think of him as a person, you have to think of him as a purpose, a great will, and, furthermore, you have to think of him as engaged in a continual struggle to produce something higher and higher ..." (*Speeches* 18). This Life Force is completely helpless without people, it has no hands and brain, but uses the hands and brain of people who identify themselves with it. Unlike the omnipotent Christian God who is able to change the course of things without anybody's help, Shaw's Life Force resembles the concept of Satan, whose possibilities are limited to people.

In this sense Shaw's concept differed a lot from Joan's own. The Life Force does not perform any miracles, does not interfere into the natural processes, does not strike anyone dead or change stick into a snake, but uses people to achieve progress, implies its will into their minds and presses them towards becoming a Superman. Shaw does well without the God Father and the God Son, as the Life Force is "the only surviving member of the Trinity" (*Speeches* 7).

A Superman is a man who identifies himself with the Life Force and is aware of being its instrument and realizes that: "My business is to do your will, my hands are your hands, my tongue is your tongue, my brain

is your brain, I am here to do thy work, and I will do it“ (7). Joan expresses her awareness in a dialogue with the Dauphin.

Minding your own business is like minding your own body: it is the shortest way how to make yourself sick. What is my business? Helping mother at home. What is thine? Petting lapdogs and sucking sugarsticks. I call that muck. I tell thee it is God’s business we are here to do: not our own. I have a message to thee from God; and thou must listen to it, though thy heart break with the terror of it. (*St Joan* 102)

Joan’s knowledge of her mission in the world, her refusal to let anyone interfere with her and the Life Force, and her unmistakable instinct for situation brings her to her doom. “As her actual condition was pure upstart, there were only two opinions about her. One was that she was miraculous: the other that she was unbearable“ (‘Preface’ 8). G. B. Shaw chose the latter way for his Joan.

He had an untraditional view on Joan’s youth, seemingly paying no respect to it. Not only did he choose as a model for his Saint Joan fifty-five year old Mary Hankinson, but also the first performances in Britain were played by Sybil Thorndike, a forty-two year old actress. He does not consider the youth and sex a miraculous element in her career. On the contrary, he perceives them as an obstacle to her long life and as one of the reasons for her destruction, because her youth and unexperience prevented her from seeing the effect she produces.

JOAN. Why do all these courtiers and knights and churchmen hate me? What have I done to them? I have asked nothing for myself except that my village should 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 honours he is handing out have gone to them. Then why do they not love me?

DUNOIS. Sim-ple-ton! Do you expect stupid people to love you for showing them up? Do blundering old military dug-outs love the successful young captains who supersede them? Do ambitious politicians love the climbers who take the front seats from them? Do archbishops enjoy being played off their own altars, even by saints? ... (*St Joan* 128)

The obedience to the Life Force does not depend on age, but Joan’s career might have taken a different way were she older. “If she had been old enough to know the effect she was producing on the men whom she humiliated by being right when they were wrong, and had learned to flatter and manage them, she might have lived as long as Queen Elisabeth“ (‘Preface’ 8). But Joan’s youth let her rely too much on her own judgement and did not hide her scorn the counsel of the others. “It always comes to the same thing. She is right; and everyone else is wrong“ (137), the king remarks. It is then understandable that such a person ignoring medieval institutions like the Church and proclaiming herself in direct contact with God was perceived as unbearable, and was destroyed.

Mark Twain felt more inclined to the opinion that Joan was miraculous. To support his theory he overemphasizes her youth and her talent, which did not have a chance to be supported. Napoleon’s or Shakespeare’s genius can be explained by years of study, by their training before they reached the peak of their career, but Joan did not follow this beaten track of proceeding in the career.

we can comprehend how she could be born with these great qualities [needed for becoming a military genius], but we cannot comprehend how they became immediately usable and effective without the developing forces of a sympathetic atmosphere and the training which comes of teaching, study, practice - years of practice, - and the crowning and perfecting help of a thousand mistakes. (*Saint Joan of Arc*)

Lightbody notes that there exists a good deal of evidence that Joan was trained both in horsemanship and arms (Solomon 171). But Twain seems not to notice it when describing the training of her army.

She did not take any instruction herself or go through the evolutions and manoeuvres, but merely sat her horse like a martial little statue and looked on. That was sufficient for her, you see. She would not miss or forget a detail of the lesson, she would take it all in with her eye and her mind, and apply it afterward with as much certainty and confidence as if she had already practised it. (*Recollections* 79)

It is quite impossible to imagine Twain's sweet bashful Maid to be suddenly transformed into the strong Joan defeating the English. But Twain goes on in his quest for transcendence through Joan.

Not only was she gifted with a genius extraordinary beauty without comparison in history and, but she is described as without "blemish in that rounded and beautiful character" (*Saint Joan of Arc*) and "the only entirely unselfish person whose name has a place in profane history" ("Translator's Preface" xi). In addition to her mental purity he praises her virginity.

John Cooley finds the reasons for portraying Joan in such a way in his relationship to his three daughters, especially with his favourite one, Susy (229). He considered childhood a happy and innocent part of life and adulthood a dreadful time, which was better to be avoided. "Cling to your blessed youth- the valuable time of life- don't part with it till you must" (234), he remarks in his congratulation letter to one of the members of his Aquarium girls club celebrating her sixteenth birthday. William Searle further develops Twain's desire for transcendence through the youth of Joan. He mentions Twain's irrational lifelong feeling of guilt, which leads to his rejection of God and to the feeling that hell was certain for him, and as a result of that he was looking for gaining satisfaction through financial means. When the writer's dream of earning fortune from his typesetting machine failed, and with it the hope for might through wealth, he turned to looking for lost innocence. Searle compares his obsession to regain it to the Faustian desire, who also longs for transcendence which equals to the lost childhood (Searle 20-21). *Personal Recollections* stem from his own feelings of unworthiness, which is why he pictures her as an innocent creature, as a saint in the true Christian sense of the word.

Twain's admiration for Joan goes far beyond his admiration for any other personality, high above Jesus. Her strength to deceive to achieve a certain goal or to oppose her judges and risk condemnation and hell raises her higher than Christ who had his position on the Great White throne was assured (Searle 51). She was "true to her faith and her ideals; defying torture, defying the stake, and answering threats of eternal death and the pains of hell with a simple 'Let come what may, here I take my stand and will abide'" (*Recollections* 393).

Later on in life Twain not only cursed God, but completely gave up his desire for transcendence. The final rupture was caused by the loss of his daughter Susy, who died of cerebral meningitis in 1896. Kaplan describes the change in Twain.

...Now he had no desire to put Susy out of his thoughts- he wanted to think about her death all the time. "I have always *hated* life before- from the time I was 18- but I was not indifferent to it", and his indifference and catatonic grief were only punctuated by a sudden, self-preserving need to vomit up rage and blasphemy. After a lifetime of hunting for a crime which he could say he had committed, his guilt had finally crystallized so massively around this real event that his grief at Livy's death eight years later hardly compared to this intensity. (337)

Twain suffered the same feelings as his narrator de Conte, who mourns over the death of Joan. "Yes, she was gone from us: JOAN OF ARC! What little words they are, to tell of a rich world made empty and poor!" (*Recollections* 431). De Conte recognises her strong belief, but he himself does not find the same solace in God- nothing can justify her death, on the contrary he realises the vanity of everything, and adopts "attitude of pessimism and bitterness towards all creation"(Paine, ch.193), as his author did, even towards the human race itself. "I believed these [news about ransoming Joan], for I was young and had not yet found out the littleness and meanness of our poor human race, which brags about itself so much, and thinks it is better and higher than the other animals" (*Recollections* 303).

Twain's quest for transcendence through Joan thus ended in despair. The result was that he left a historical personality with a halo, which was given to her not by any God, but the writer himself. Instead of that he contrasts the vanity and despicableness of the human race with her recreated image, who according to him "is beyond us. All the rules fail in this girl's case. In the world's history she stands alone - quite alone" (*Saint Joan of Arc*). His tendency to worship her landed him on the same platform as his Catholic resources, but his deep-rooted dislike of Catholicism and his rationalism hindered him from any Christian interpretation of her character. As Solomon notices, he "ridiculed miraculous explanation to certain problems he had himself defined as miraculous" (Solomon 175). And thus Mark Twain did not contribute to the explanation of the riddle of Joan's genius.

It can be said that both writers, Shaw as well as Twain, perceive Joan as a saint. Twain wanted Joan to represent all characteristics man would like to possess, but his misunderstanding of her personality and ignorance of the basic facts about the historical Joan lead him to write a "historical novel whose protagonist was historically meaningless because outside the web of historical causality" (Solomon 174). But even his idea that the age she lived in was the rottenest of all ages enabling him to stand Joan in contrast with her environment, did not do for making Joan a saint in the true sense of the word. The religion needed for her canonization, the childlike faith which supported Joan in her mission, showed itself to be valid just for her, not for the other

characters and neither for the author himself. Thus he leaves her alone to her faith drawing no conclusion from her death but despising the human race.

Shaw on the contrary by changing the concept of God could use Joan to demonstrate what could be achieved and was achieved in history many times. His Joan is a mortal woman, not at all perceived as a saint through the eyes of other characters, but becoming a Superman during her life and a saint after her death though because of her executing a will of the Life Force and the evolutionary appetite, not her own, and her suicidal desire for better development of matters. She is not brought to her doom by staying unrecognised as a saint destroyed by evil, but rather by her conflict with the established institutions and with the social order. Changing the status quo always bears the risk of being destroyed and fear from new things and Joan in the Epilogue is abandoned by the whole world not ready to receive her back. "The heretic is always better dead. And mortal eyes cannot distinguish the saint from the heretic. Spare them." (*St Joan* 188)

JOAN AND HER VOICES

Not many things have confused historians and psychologists as much as Joan's voices and visions. They are an inseparable part of her personality and the most perplexing task for the writers was to state where these visions and voices come from. The origin of them is searched for in their own philosophy or religion. When they believed in God, their choice was diminished to either God or in the worse case they claimed Joan was in association with Satan, as Shakespeare did. But when they cast away the Christian belief, like Mark Twain and G. B. Shaw, they had to find a new explanation.

The psychologist Kurt Schneider developed a list of 11 first-rank symptoms of schizophrenia, among which belong delusional perception, perception of audible thoughts and voices commenting on one's action (*Psychology*). In the eyes of modern science this qualifies Joan as mentally ill. However, the accuracy of the predictions her saints told her cannot be explained by any psychological definition.

Both writers refused to question her mental health as for example France did, and instead treated the voices as if of metaphysical origin. Twain's narrator remarks "there was nothing the matter with her mind... There was a secret somewhere, but madness was not the key to it" (*Recollections* 49). Similarly Shaw thinks the message he wants to convey to the world would not match with her mental disorder. As a Protestant, he spurned the Catholic explanations- "I cannot believe, nor, if I could, could I expect my readers to believe, as Joan did, that three ocularly visible well dressed persons, named respectively Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret, and Saint Michael, came down from heaven and gave her certain instructions with which they were charged by God for her" ('Preface' 19). Even though Joan believed her voices and visions were these three saints with the same tenacity as Shaw refused them, he does not consider that a sufficient reason for considering Joan insane. "Let us then once for all drop all nonsense about Joan being cracked ... " ('Preface' 23), he suggests.

He supported this opinion with the scientific experiments of Sir Francis Galton, who considered visions a symptom of an evolved imagination, which does not automatically mean the person having them is insane, but just gifted with high visualizing faculty. He regards the environment very important for these visions, because they "are almost incredible to the vast majority of mankind, who would set them down as fantastic nonsense", but if they are positively accepted, they might even develop into hallucinations (Galton 112). As Searle points out, Joan was born in a time when the visions were supported and evolved through the frequent use of the iconography (103). "If Joan was mad, all Christendom was mad too; for people who believe devoutly in the existence of celestial personages are every whit as mad in that sense as the people who think they see them" (*St Joan* 20).

Shaw demonstrated the support of the environment by not making an exception of Joan and her voices. Even Charles' family was influenced by the iconography of the age, as the Dauphin confirms: "My grandfather had a saint who used to flow in the air when she was praying, and told him everything he wanted to know. My poor father had two saints, Marie de Maillé and the Gasque of Avignon. It is in our family; and I don't care what you say: I will have my saint too" (*St Joan* 91).

Besides the support of the environment on the individual fantasy, Shaw gave in his Preface one more reason why Joan under no circumstance could be considered insane. No matter how she came to the knowledge she had, it showed itself very practical. If Newton came to his gravitation theory through the ghost of

Pythagoras, it would not matter as long as the theory made sense. But if the ghost of Pythagoras was informing him about the moon being made of blue cheese, then Newton's sanity might have been doubted. "The test of sanity is not the normality of the method but the reasonableness of the discovery" (17). And so Joan defended her voices when they were accused of lying to her: "When have they lied? If you will not believe in them: even if they are not only the echoes of my commonsense, are they not always right?" (*St Joan* 137).

But not everyone around her had such trust in her voices. Shaw's Joan herself did not doubt the soundness of the advice given to her through her voices, but she had to persuade the other disbelievers.

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

JOAN. Well, I have to find reasons for you, because you do not believe in my voices. But the voices come first; and I find the reasons after: whatever you may choose to believe. (*St Joan* 129)

Similarly Twain's characters needed proof of her voices being right. When Joan foretold the fate of her friends, de Conte did not believe, until he saw she was right: "I felt a great upheal in my heart, and said to myself, now I am at rest and glad; I will never doubt her prophecies again" (*Recollections* 75). The same change in attitude can be seen in the writer himself.

When Twain was studying the materials concerning Joan, he wrote notes in the margins of the books which inspired him. These marginals became one of the main sources for the study of the changes of his opinions. While reading Mme. De Chabannes, who pictured King Charles's deep impression by the success of one of Joan's predictions, Twain remarked, "Slush! The simple King was thus convinced she could read the future" (qtd. in Searle 28). On another occasion, when he was going through Monsignor Richard's description of an incident when Joan's voices made her put on the men's garment, he scribbled marginally: "These saints are mere idiots. They remind her of nothing that is valuable" (qtd. in Solomon 174).

This strong scepticism is expressed already in earlier works. Probably in the early eighties he wrote down his conclusions about God and Christianity. It says: "I believe in God the Almighty. I do not believe he has ever sent a message to man by anybody, or delivered one to him by word of mouth, or made himself visible to mortal eyes at any time in any place" (Paine, ch. 295). And his *Connecticut Yankee*, despising everything connected with the Christian prophets and mocking Merlin, remarks: "When the spirit of prophecy comes upon you, you merely cake your intellect and lay it off in a cool place for a rest, and unship your jaw and leave it alone; it will work itself: the result is prophecy" (*Yankee* 163).

With all these opinions in mind, nothing seems less perplexing than Twain's insistence on Joan's ability of clairvoyance. He probably let himself be influenced when reading her prophesies which became fulfilled many years afterwards, although the situation at the time of their utterance did not indicate at all they could come true. He was impressed by her predictions, which were set down in the trial records, such as when Joan was asked on May 1 to explain one of her letters depicting the fate of the English in France: "Before seven years are passed, the English will lose a greater wager than they have already done at Orleans; they will lose

everything in France“ (Murray, 5th public exam.). And the English really lost Paris in 1436. She foretold her the part of her body, which was to be injured and the time and it really happened. She prophesied the end of her military career, which also came true. At the court she predicted the happy future of France, although nothing seemed more impossible than the events she mentioned, but it again really happened. “There have been many uninspired prophets, but she was the only one who ever ventured the daring detail of naming, along with a foretold event, the event's precise nature, the special time-limit within which it would occur, and the place - *and scored fulfilmen.*“ (*St Joan of Arc*, italics Twain's).

Twain expresses his admiration for her prophesies also through his narrator. When Joan is interrogated, she gets upset and starts to prophesize the fate of France, which arouses general interest. De Conte then writes down:

Now and then, in this world, somebody's prophecy turns up correct, but when you come to look into it there is sure to be considerable room for suspicion that the prophecy was made after the fact. But here the matter is different. There in that court Joan's prophecy was set down in the official record at the hour and moment of its utterance, years before the fulfilment, and there you may read it to this day. (*Recollections* 343)

Twain as well as Shaw, being persuaded by the truthfulness of her prophesies and by the soundness of the voices' advice, had the same starting point for the use of them and for identifying their metaphysical origin.

Twain uses Joan's clairvoyance superfluously. From the first time she starts seeing her saints she has a special insight into the fate of the rest of her family (*Recollections* 43). Nobody anticipates where her knowledge comes from until de Conte himself as the first and last person in the book encounters her visions. One day he walks in the forest and suddenly comes across “a most strange thing“, because he

saw a white shadow come slowly gliding along the grass toward the Tree. It was of grand proportions- a robed form, with wings- and the whiteness of this shadow was not like any other whiteness that we know of, except it be the whiteness of lightnings, but even the lightnings are not so intense as it was, for one can look at them without hurt, whereas this brilliancy was so blinding that it pained my eyes and brought the water into them. I uncovered my head, perceiving that I was in the presence of something not of this world. (*Recollections* 50)

De Conte remarks that in the presence of the mysterious person all the birds instead of being silent suddenly started to sing a song of praise. Then he noticed Joan who casts herself on the ground in a humble attitude. He was astound, but he did not forget to observe Joan carefully. He sees her talking with the shadow, disputing and then breaking into sobs. “Then I came to myself. I reflected that I had been intruding upon a mystery of God“, takes fright de Conte (50). After the disappearance of the vision he is imploring about the particularities, devoting attention also to her visions being seen by other people, Joan admits his exceptionality. “It has fallen upon me before when you and others were present, but none could see it. To-day it has been otherwise, and I was told why; but it will not be visible again to any“ (54).

As Roger Solomon points out, this scene illustrates Twain's effort to show the medieval way of view and at the same time mocking its naiveté by the pomposity (Solomon 180). He also shows that the same effect is achieved by the story of de Conte sharing his knowledge about a dragon living in the forest. Nobody has ever

seen it, but de Conte can describe it with every terrible detail of its body (180).

It was as long as a tree, and had a body as big around as a tierce, and scales like overlapping great tiles, and deep ruby eyes as large as a cavalier's hat, and an anchor-fluke on its tail as big as I don't know what, but very big, even unusually so for a dragon, as everybody said who knew about dragons. It was thought that this dragon was of a brilliant blue color, with gold mottlings, but no one had ever seen it, therefore this was not known to be so, it was only an opinion. It was not my opinion; I think there is no sense in forming an opinion when there is no evidence to form it on (*Recollections* 5).

No matter how hard Twain tried to narrate from the medieval point of view, he did not manage to maintain the same opinions neither in the dragon description nor throughout the whole book. As well as it is not only de Conte who needs an empirical evidence to support his belief, he served to Twain as a spokesperson for his opinions also what concerns the writer's own scepticism about Joan's voices and visions.

The Twain's "mere idiots" are also idiots for de Conte and his friends. When she is at the court and sees that her insistence on her communication with saints might condemn her, he remarks: "They counsel her to speak boldly- a thing which she would do without any suggestion from them or anybody else- but when it comes to telling her any useful thing, such as how these conspirators manage to guess their way so skilfully into her affairs, they are always off attending to some other business" (*Recollections* 347). The same irony and despair appears in the third part of the book, the trial part, when Joan hopes for being saved. "She was to be set free in three months. That was what she meant; we saw it. The Voices had told her so, and told her true- true to the very day- May 30th. But we know now that they had mercifully hidden from her how she was to be set free, but left her in ignorance. Home again!" (348).

So while in *Connecticut Yankee* Twain preserves just one point of view of the narrator, the detached ironic attitude of a modern person looking at the Middle Ages, in *Joan of Arc* Twain fails to maintain the same perspective and mingles the medieval point of view with his own modern scepticism (Solomon 181). It is very unlikely to imagine one person being a direct witness of her visions and standing in awe and shortly afterwards the same person indicating the unusefulness of her visions. As a result of this perplexity the reader loses all sense of perspective.

Not only Twain's attitude towards the usefulness of the voices, but also the source of them remains unclear. He included her voices into what he called "the mysterious something", into the persuasiveness with which she was able to draw the attention of the common people as well as the Court, but his disbelief in God's being able to communicate with a man and his rejection of Him excluded the God from being a source of Joan's wisdom.

DeVoto considered Twain's lifelong interest in dreams and developed a theory that her voices might have come from a dream (Searle 31). De Conte, when seeing the vision, actually makes a hint that Joan's appearance changed and looked like one of the "sun-clothes children of God as we see them thronging the terraces of the Throne in our dreams and imaginings." (*Recollections* 51). Twain really perceived dreams as a source of wisdom, as an extra experience to the reality, as a new and better dimension of life (Searle 32).

However, there are certain differences concerning the distinction of reality and dream of the dreaming person. In 1898 Twain wrote a story *My Platonic Sweetheart*, where he analyses one motif of his dream appearing every two years. The story serves him as a background for his thoughts about the dream-artist, for

whom nothing is impossible. "He can paint with all the colors and the shades, and do it with delicacy and truth" (*Sweetheart* 8). Despite the vividness of the colours and experiences, the author realizes it is only a dream. "For everything in a dream is more deep and strong and sharp and real..." (10). But as Paine notices, Twain, while analysing the world of his subconsciousness, realized very well that the facts "were to assume the new and altogether different relations from those they had borne in the physical occurrence" (Paine, ch. 293). And that is the main difference to Joan. If her visions really came from dream, Twain could not explain their accuracy if applied to the world of reality.

What he realized in the case of Joan was the bipolarity of the voices. Although they were for her a constant source of power, courage and consolation, they served to her judges as a means how to destroy her.

Of course no one doubted that she had seen supernatural beings and been spoken to and advised by them [...] And of course no one doubted that by supernatural help miracles had been done by Joan [...] It would have been foolish to doubt these things, for we all know that the air is full of devils and angels that are visible to traffickers in magic on the one hand and to the stainlessly holy on the other; but what many and perhaps most did doubt was, that Joan's visions, Voices, and miracles came from God. It was hoped that in time they could be proven to have been of satanic origin. (*Recollections* 339-340)

And through de Conte Twain expresses his doubts of gaining any universal salvation in dreams or in any other escape from reality.

If all these sources of Joan's voices fail, then it is inevitable that all the critics trying to analyze Twain's belief and its influence on Joan's voices end up confused, commenting that Joan is a saint "denatured and divorced from teleological ends" (Solomon 180) and her voices are without any meaning when there is no religious purpose (Searle 34).

G. B. Shaw, on the contrary, had at the time of writing Joan very well developed philosophy, where he included also Joan's voices. Galton enabled him to make the first step to justifying her voices as sane and exclude any mental illness, but did not provide the metaphysical cause of her visions. He agreed with Galton that the imagination is an important feature, but he went further in searching for the origin of the visions. Since he believed that behind every movement of the world is the God or how Shaw calls it, the Life Force, and he determined it as the cause of these visions. "... the figure Joan recognized as St Catherine was not really St Catherine, but the dramatization by Joan's imagination of that pressure upon her of the driving force that is behind evolution" ('Preface' 20). Unlike Christian God Almighty the Life Force is completely powerless. "I do not believe that God has any hands or brain of our kind. What I know he has, or rather is, is will. But will is useless without hands and brain" (*Speeches* 6). And through imagination this God uses hands and brains of the people, who identify themselves with him. That is what Joan says to Robert de Baudricourt:

JOAN. I hear voices telling me what to do. They come from God.
ROBERT. They come from your imagination.
JOAN. Of course. That is how the messages of God come to us.
(*St Joan* 81)

Compared to the Christian Satan, Shaw's God has the same means of making a person aware of him. He puts an idea into someone's head and the person makes it reality. However, for Shaw there is no difference between inspiration and temptation in the sense of their meanings; the only distinction is that temptation is used in a negative context.

According to Shaw, at the beginning of all creation, or the new phase contributing to evolution, there is an idea inspired by the Life Force. He presented this theory in his mythological pentateuch *Back to Methuselah*. In the first part, the Eden myth, he makes his serpent explain the principles to Eve:

EVE. Then I will do it. But how? How did Lilith work this miracle?
THE SERPENT. She imagined it.
EVE. What is imagined?
THE SERPENT. She told it to me as a marvellous story of something that never happened to a Lilith that never was. She did not know then that imagination is the beginning of creation. You imagine what you desire; you will what you imagine; and at last you create what you will.
(*Methuselah* 9)

Shaw was often mocked for attributing to Joan the same powers he saw behind his own creative process of writing and because of that many critics refused to call *Saint Joan* a pure historical drama (Tyson 77). Even Eva Le Gallienne, an actress of French origin asked to represent Joan on the American stage, in her later writings remembered refusing Shaw with words: "I had been brought up in France and my ideas of 'Jeanne d'Arc' were not those of Bernard Shaw. I remember saying to Mr. Lagner [the production supervisor of the Theatre Guild in New York] that the play should have been called 'St. Bernard Shaw' - since I felt it was Shaw speaking rather than Joan" (qtd. in Tyson 85).

Despite these approaches, the idea of creative evolution through imagination gave him a frame for the whole work and for the depiction of the other characters. As Tyson notices, his characters symbolize different degrees of creative imagination (Tyson 78). Joan, the most imaginative person of the play, is pictured as a country girl having her "eyes wide apart and bulging as they often do in very imaginative people" (*St Joan* 74). Dauphin is on the contrary described as having "little narrow eyes, near together,..." (89) Bertolini notices the irony when the Dauphin says he has his eyes open (101), and meantime he sees only what lies in front of him instead of having some visions about France as Joan does (Bertolini 193). The audience can see Charles's unimaginative character very clearly, but Shaw put it into words again in the Epilogue.

Look at me! I'm not Charles the Good, nor Charles the Wise, nor Charles the Bold... But I have done less harm than any of you. You people with your heads in the sky spend all your time trying to turn the world upside down; but I take the world as it is, and say that top-side-up is right-side-up; and I keep my nose pretty close to the ground. (*St Joan* 179)

The young Dunois is at the opening of Scene III seen observing the kingfishers with his page. When the page suggests to catch one of them, Dunois promptly objects: "Let me catch you trying to trap them, and I will put you into the iron cage for a month to teach you what a cage feels like" (*St Joan* 106). As Tyson suggests, he is at least to some extent able to see the suffering of torture and prison (79).

The biggest contrast of an imaginative person with an ignorant one is depicted in the conflict between

Joan and de Stogumber. Unlike Dunois, he cannot imagine suffering at all. He claims he would burn Joan with his own hands (*St Joan* 126), but after the execution and he recognizes his guilt for her death he cries that he “did not know what it would be like“ (169). Morgan emphasizes the blessing “Sancta simplicitas“, which Cauchon gives to him, is a principle full of cruelty (67). And Shaw confirms it in the Epilogue through Cauchon’s rhetorical question: “Must then Christ perish in torment in every age to save those who have no imagination?“ (*St Joan* 183).

As visible from the analysis of Joan’s voices, it is necessary for Twain and Shaw to already have formulated personal religion to include the voices as a part of Joan’s personality. Twain, unwilling to point out God as a source of Joan’s wisdom, had to look for another cause. But by refusing to call her voices mental illness or by only hinting at dreams, he left his narrator and readers perplexed. Shaw managed to include Joan’s voices into his personal religion, and by indicating their origin in her imagination he avoided the ontological confusion into which Twain got himself and his critics.

THE MAID AND THE MIRACLES

With the disappearing credulity of the nineteenth century, with the development of the theory of evolution, the belief in the omnipotent universal creator was reduced and as a consequence also the belief in miracles, or better, in miracles in the generally accepted sense of the word as “ wonders performed by supernatural power as signs of some special mission or gift and explicitly ascribed to God.” (*Catholic enc.*) They were widespread in Middle Ages, but not any more sustainable in the age of technical revolution. However, the writers dealing with the subject of Middle Ages had to respect its beliefs and at least indicate them in their works if they intended to claim their work veracious. But when choosing the subject of Joan of Arc, they were confronted with a bulk of situations where they had to decide if they should keep the miracles as an illustration of the thinking of that time, or if they were sceptics, involve the reason. And the number of various interpretations only added to the mystery by which the life of Joan is surrounded.

The incredible story of Joan of Arc is accompanied by many miraculous situations vividly pictured in the sources about her. Among the most frequently mentioned belong Joan’s clairvoyance, which preceded almost every move of hers, the recognition of the King and persuading him with some secret message about her mission, finding an ancient sword behind the altar in the chapel of Ste-Catherine-de-Fierbois, the change of the wind at Loire and her heart which would not burn.

The recognition of the king became one of the most often retold stories from her life. The event is treated in every book about Joan of Arc and it talks about her arrival into the castle of Chinon and being welcome by the curious court, which had prepared a surprise for her. The Dauphin hid himself in disguise and some other person sat on the throne pretended to be the king. Joan’s clairvoyance or genius warned her before she could fail, helped her discover the real Dauphin and by this she gained some authority and respect.

Many writers have dramatized the story, but its origin is unknown. Tyson thinks it is very probable that this test was set upon Joan (41). There are certain utterances which depict her visit to the King. Joan’s testimony from 27th February mentions she wrote a letter to him saying she would be able to recognize him among the others (Barret 61). She had already proven this ability before, when she recognized Robert de Baudricourt, although she had never seen him before- “and she knew through her voice, for the voice had told her it was he“ (Barret 44). Later on she was interviewed concerning the subject of the king:

"Was there an angel over the head of your King when you saw him for the first time?"

"By Our Lady! if there were, I know nothing of it; I did not see it."

"Was there a light?"

"There were more than three hundred Knights and more than fifty torches, without counting the spiritual light." (Murray, 4th Public exam.)

Despite its vague origin and lack of particularities in the sources, all these pieces of the puzzle were compiled into the described plot and used in almost every book concerning the Maid, even Shaw's and Twain's.

Twain's de Conte describes the long preparations of Joan for meeting the King and after such a long delay she is finally admitted to him. She enters the great audience hall full of shining armour and polished halberds and the trumpets accompany her steps with rich tones. "She was received with all the honours granted to only the greatest personages" (*Recollections* 102), de Conte remarks. The eyes of all people are fixed upon Joan in a way which Twain describes as "a gaze of wonder which was half worship, and which seemed to say, 'How sweet-how lovely-how divine!'. They had the look of people who are under the enchantment of a vision" (103). Only after a while they broke the spell and concentrated on the trick they played upon her. But she did not let them win, she

turned her head slowly, and her eye wandered along the lines of standing courtiers till it fell upon a young man who was very quietly dressed; then her face lighted joyously, and she ran and threw herself at his feet, and clasped his knees, exclaiming in that soft melodious voice which was her birthright and was now charged with deep and tender feeling: "God of his grace give you long life, O dear and gentle Dauphin!" (103)

All her companions were proud of her, but the King still tried to confuse her by refusing to admit he was the real King, but Joan saw through it. That evoked in the present people the feeling expressed by De Metz: "Verily, she was not guessing, she knew. Now, how could she know? It is a miracle. I am content, and will meddle no more, for I perceive that she is equal to her occasions, having that in her head that cannot profitably be helped by the vacancy that is in mine" (*Recollections* 104).

Unlike Twain's pompous setting and introduction to this miracle, Shaw starts this story amusingly with bringing frightened La Hire into the stage immediately after he had heard a prophecy of the Maid about his comrade Foul Mouthed Frank foreseeable death and seen him drown very soon afterwards. All the other characters laugh at La Hire's panic and are sceptical to labelling this event as something supernatural, but on the contrary it serves them as a good topic for making fun of him. Then the Dauphin comes. He is described in a way very similar to France's as "a poor creature physically; and the current fashion of shaving closely, and hiding every scrap of hair under the headcovering or headdress, both by women and men, makes the worst of his appearance ... [He has] the expression of a young dog accustomed to be kicked, yet incorrigible and irrepressible" (*St Joan* 89). Although he is the

king, he is bullied by his counsellors, commanders-in-chief and the Archbishop as well. He is an overgrown baby without his own will. "Some men are born kings; and some are born statesmen. The two are seldom the same" (124), mentions Cauchon in discussion with Warwick, hinting on the qualities of Charles the Seventh.

It is Bluebeard who suggests swaping with the King and testing Joan. The King accepts that as a good practical joke and at the same time, the recognition of himself would be understood as the confirmation of his royal origin, not at all of Joan supernatural capacities- "If she cannot find the blood royal, I will have nothing to do with her" (92). That is a great difference to Twain, who centers the whole scene on Joan and perceives it as a test of her ability to perform miracles and be worth the king's trust. La Trémouille wonders if she will pick him out and Archbishop does not doubt in her success. He justifies his opinion by: "She will know what everybody in Chinon knows: that the Dauphin is the meanest looking and worst dressed figure in the Court, and that the man with the blue beard is Gilles de Rais" (*St Joan* 94).

As it is visible from these two ways of narrating the same story, both writers involved their image of Joan into it and treated the story accordingly. Twain's Joan, being a beautiful creature making an impression on everyone she met just with her amazing appearance and great soul, did not need that much to draw the court to her side. The success in seeing the trick only helped her gain authority and attention, which was anyway already hers immediately after she entered. Shaw's Joan on the contrary is not welcome seriously, but with curiosity, the idea of Bluebeard to pretend to be the king arouses general glee and her discovering the joke changes the whole society into a group of children finding a new toy in the playground.

JOAN: Coom, Bluebeard! Thou canst not foul me. Where be Dauphin?
A roar of laughter breaks out as Gilles, with a gesture of surrender, joins in the laugh, and jumps down from the dais beside La Trémouille... (*St Joan* 97)

Although there are these dissimilarities between the setting of this scene, between the lines there is an unifying feature of this scene of underlying scepticism. Although in many sources this event is usually considered a miracle, both these writers present it as a natural thing. Joan picked the King, but even though it is not explicitly mentioned in Twain as it is in Shaw, she already might have been to some extend informed about his appearance de Conte on some other seemingly miraculous occasion of seeing Joan's genius remarked:

I was astonished, but thought her Voices must have taught her. But upon reflection I saw that this was not so. By her references to what this and that and the other person had told her, I perceived that she had been diligently questioning those crowds of visiting strangers, and that out of them she had patiently dug all this mass of invaluable knowledge. (*Recollections* 70)

The same thing might have happened at the Court. Her insight into the situation does not necessarily have to be considered an inexplicable accident, but applying her the natural capacity for business, which none the less takes away her authority and the belief in miracles. No matter what the setting and the impact of the recognition was, the result was the same; for people, who did not know about her previous knowledge, the recognition was a prove of Joan's divine inspiration. Shaw expresses this opinion through his Archbishop.

THE ARCHBISHOP: A miracle, my friend, is an event which creates faith. That is the purpose and nature of miracles. They may seem 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 TRÉMOUILLE: Even when they are frauds, do you mean?

THE ARCHBISHOP: Frauds deceive. An event which creates faith does not deceive: therefore it is not a fraud, but a miracle. (*St Joan* 95)

By expressing this opinion Shaw seems to be deeply impressed by an event which happened in his childhood. He overheard a dispute between three men, one of whom was his maternal uncle, about the raising of Lazarus. One of them was defending the Christian view, that means the raising occurred exactly how it is described in Bible. Other one took the sceptical view, he did not believe anything like that could happen. But Shaw's uncle supposed that "the miracle was what would be called in these days a put-up job, by which he meant that Jesus had made confederate of Lazarus- had made it worth his while, or had asked him for a friendship's sake, to pretend he was dead and at the proper moment to pretend to come to life" (*Speeches* 22), which is exactly the attitude he ascribed to his progressive Archbishop.

A Catholic critic, Christopher Hollis, reproaches Shaw for omitting in his play any miracles which are not amenable to a natural explanation. "My complaint against Mr. Shaw is not that he treats history as a sceptic would treat it. Anatole France treated it as sceptics would treat it, but Shaw does not treat it at all. He merely leaves it out..." (qtd. in Tyson 23). To prove him wrong it is necessary to get more into the analysis of the use of miracles by both writers.

In his play Shaw incorporated several other miracles besides the recognition of the king. Roy named six of them- the hens laying again, Joan's recognition of the Dauphin among the others, the change of wind at the Loire, the drowning of Glasdale who had blasphemously insulted her, her jump from the tower sixty feet high, the fire that did not consume her heart (59). There is practically one miracle per each scene, besides scene IV, where Joan does not appear on the stage and not even from the other characters does the audience get to hear about any supernatural deeds of her. But scene II contains two of them.

At the beginning of Scene I, the audience meets physically strong and loud Robert de Baudricourt in the conversation his servant from which he gets to know there the cows are holding back the milk and hens the eggs. The humble and submissive steward, who serves as a scapegoat for angry Robert, suggests that the lack might be caused by the presence of Joan. Robert decides to talk to her about her mission and later on Bertrand de Poulengey, already persuaded by the Maid, comes in and disputes with Robert.

POULENGEY: ...And I tell you that nothing can save our side now but a miracle.

ROBERT: Miracles are right, Polly, the only problem is that they don't happen nowadays. (*St Joan* 79)

This dialogue builds a platform for another story, which is already happening at the moment of their speaking, but which they still do not realize. Robert asks Bertrand, if he believes the girl can work miracles. "I think the girl herself is a bit of a miracle" (79), is the reply he gets. Finally, he is persuaded and decides, more under the pressure of his friends than from his own will, to trust her and provides her with what she needs. After her departure the steward comes in with the announcement: "The hens are laying like mad, sir. Five dozen eggs!", which confirms the belief in Robert that Joan came from God (85).

Shaw decided to make up this event as a substitution of Joan's prediction of the result of the so called Battle of Herrings, with which she persuaded Robert de Baudricourt about her mission. He thought using the real event might confuse his audience and would require a long-winded explanation (Tyson 23).

Twain on the contrary chose the historical way of Joan to persuade Robert. She came to his castle and asked him twice to give her what she needed. He resisted her and when she came for the third time, she showed impatience:

"In God's name, Robert de Baudricourt, you are too slow about sending me, and have caused damage thereby, for this day the Dauphin's cause has lost a battle near Orleans, and will suffer yet greater injury if you do not send me to him soon."

The governor was perplexed by this speech, and said:

"To-day, child, to-day? How can you know what has happened in that region to-day? It would take eight or ten days for the word to come." (69)

Within several days Joan was proved to be right when prophesizing the result of the battle and Robert was fulfilled his promise to give her man at arms.

The treatment of these two miracles differs. While in Twain's case Joan used her gifts intentionally to achieve her goal, Shaw's Joan does not even know the miracle of eggs is happening or at least she does not mention it. She uses her reason and speaking skills to achieve her goal and only after she leaves, the miracle is accomplished. It is depicted in an entertaining way for the audience, but it does not try to conceal the fact that this event does not have a reasonable explanation, while in Twain's case the reason for her achievement is not the interence of Providence, but her voices.

Changing the wind at Loire, appearing in Shaw in the Scene III, happens completely without Joan's contribution. The wind changed even before Joan could go to church and pray for it. She herself did not suspect it to happen. The page called her and Dunois back from their way to the Church.

DUNOIS. What is it? The kingfisher?

JOAN. Oh, a kingfisher. Where?

PAGE. No: the wind, the wind, the wind: that is what made me sneeze.

DUNOIS. The wind has changed. God has spoken... (*St Joan* 110)

Generally it might be said that Shaw chose to picture some miracles not demonstrate Joan's supernatural abilities, but the strengths or weaknesses of other characters. Dunois is a strong personality, not easily influenced even by someone like Joan of Arc and it will need something unexpected to start to trust. Only after the wind is changed he hands his baton to Joan and submits, although he is not completely certain about her being a good soldier. Similarly in the Scene II the king after being picked is half persuaded about Joan's mission and willing to give her what she requires, but as Tyson mentions, the audience must realize there is another much more demanding miracle needed for the accomplishment of her mission; making a man from the childish, weak-willed and always bullied Dauphin (32-33).

This cannot be applied to Twain. The change of the wind at Loire is only a minor event influencing her authority. When she meets Dunois for the first time, she is already well known and respected, although she still did not have a chance to prove anything, and she

rebukes him for deceiving her and leading her to the other bank of the river. He hesitates for a while and then admits a blunder had been made. The harshness with which she spoke impressed the witnesses: "Some of these people began to perceive that with all her technical ignorance she had practical good sense, and that with all her native sweetness and charm she was not the right kind of a person to play with" (*Recollections* 145). Only after this the wind changes and the mention about it is very brief: "Presently God did take the blunder in hand, and by His grace the wind did change" (*Recollections* 145).

The last miracle but not least treated by Shaw is in Scene V. It is the Executioner's reply to Warwick's question, if there is anything left from the Maid, that gives a shudder: "Her heart would not burn, my lord; but everything that was left is at the bottom of the river. You have heard the last of her" (*St Joan* 172). As if the heart refusing to burn was a harbinger of Joan's case not being completely closed. There is no reference about the same incident in Twain.

Although in Shaw's case the miracles may be sugar-coated, Twain seems not to be at ease with using them at all, as if he made already a concession by admitting the existence of her voices. Understandingly, the man who mocks the belief in people in his previous book *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* could not allow himself to believe in Joan's ability to perform a miracle no matter what the chronicles said. For him Joan was such an innocent creature, that he could not imagine her deceiving people as the Yankee did, when the eclipse started and he pretended to be the cause of it: "I knew that this gaze would be turned upon me, next. When it was, I was ready. I was in one of the most grand attitudes I ever struck, with my arm stretched up pointing to the sun. It was a noble effect. You could *see* the shudder sweep the mass like a wave" (*Yankee* 29, italics Twain's). And being unwilling to admit any supernatural explanation for her skills, Twain decided carefully what to mention or better what not to mention.

Coming back to the previously mentioned Hollis's reproach to Shaw and extending it on both writers one must admit the miracles of the Maid are such a controversial issue that there cannot be a description of them without any attitude or purpose. Even her contemporaries must have had a certain point of view from which they evaluated her deeds and certain goal which they wanted to achieve by their description. And the way they are accepted and interpreted by the artist interested in her life depends on their own criteria. Which point of view Hollis would accept is probably dependent on the similarity with his own one. Even his own objection stems from his Catholic pre-understanding through which he sees history.

What concerns these two writers, they both had to make certain changes in order to present their Maid to the nineteenth and twentieth century audience and readers in an understandable way. As Roger Solomon remarks, "to study Joan was, at least part, to renounce the rule of reason, to admit exceptions to the laws of strict causality" (169). And how far the writers are willing to go depends not only on the understanding of the present, but also on the understanding of the past. Shaw showed much more aware of the credulity of her time and included the two inexplicable miracles- eggs and her heart in order to illustrate it, but at the same time left some space for his own opinions expressed through his Archbishop. On the contrary Mark Twain, who managed to show this polarity of his own attitude and of medieval attitude in what concerns her voices, failed while dealing about her miracles. He desperately needed to believe in the irrationality of her life caused by incredible capacities and innocence and miracles did not match this philosophy. Unfortunately, he did not realize that the

authority of such an extraordinary person like Jesus, Mohammed, or Joan of Arc is partly based on their ability to perform miracles, even if it was just the miracles in the Shavian sense of the word. In this aspect Twain kept only his nineteenth century point of view, which did not leave space for irrationality, without any respect to the fifteenth century, where miracles were part of people's lives. In this aspect it is more likely to reproach Twain for not treating the history properly and merely leaving it out, because he does not admit the existence of miracles not just for himself, but also for the witnesses of Joan.

THE TRIAL

THE RECORDS AS A KEY

Generally, the trial is the most important source for the study of Joan of Arc's personality and for the study of the history in general. In his translation of the records, W. P. Barret labels the trial of "second in importance only to the Trial of Christ" (Intro). And actually, at first sight not only are the process and the outcome similar, but the characters are also comparably described. This conflict, between a seemingly innocent person and her judges, leads writers to show first the victory of evil, and second the triumph of the saint. Pierre Cauchon, the main person in this process, has through the centuries become a synonym for Pontius Pilat. Very few people in history were so mocked and despised as him, the Bishop of Beauvais.

No matter if one is an artist or not, it is very difficult to look at the trial from today's perspective, when the punishment of burning someone alive is not acceptable anymore regardless the seriousness of the crime. The processes of the Inquisition itself and its concept of justice also seems out of comprehension to a modern person, but it is necessary to realize that in the Middle Ages they were held as just. When the trial of Jesus is left aside, Joan was „tried under a system which is now universally held to be barbaric and unjust, but which was in her time, and for that matter, for centuries afterward, in full operation in every ecclesiastical court“ (qtd. in Roy 62). And Christ was just one of many villains hanged on the cross just as Joan was not the only person sentenced to death by burning.

Shaw and Twain studied the records carefully and neither of them took a great liberty in rearranging or skipping the events happening during the trial, but some minor changes were required. Twain as a novelist had much more space for the description of the process, and devoted one third of his book to this topic. Shaw tried to adhere to the historical facts as much as the genre enabled to him and dedicated Scene V to it. One of the changes Shaw had to make to adjust the play to the stage was the setting. Although the sessions were held at different places, he sets it in one room. Another major difference of Shaw's work compared to Twain's is the timing. Despite the fact that Joan's recantation, her relapse and her execution lasted several months, they occupy only forty minutes on the stage and are described on ten pages; Shaw chose the last day of the trial and of Joan's life for it. The trial scene starts with the words "Rouen, 30th May 1431. A great stone hall in the castle, arranged for a trial-at-law, but not a trial-by-jury..." (*St Joan* 141). But any reasonable reader cannot think that Joan was examined for forty minutes, found to be a heretic and within five minutes burnt at a stake. Shaw chose the most important dialogues from the trial records to demonstrate the subjects of the whole process in a very little time.

Shaw did not evade criticism because of the losses caused by the genre. Firstly, he was reproached for not sufficiently showing the cumulative effect of the same questions asked repeatedly (Tyson 49), which the author realized and tried to avoid as much as he could. Joan indicates she was forced to answer the same questions over and over again. When she is told about the necessity of swearing she retorts: "You say this to me every time. I have said *again and again* I will tell you all that concerns this trial" (*St Joan* 154, my emphasis). When she is asked about the reason for her survival of the leap from the tower, reputedly sixty

feet high, without any injury, she replied: "I suppose because the tower was not so high then. It has grown higher every day since you began asking me questions about it" (153). The periodicity of their questions is indicated, but the psychic terror is nevertheless to some degree lost.

Secondly, he was criticized for not portraying the carefully chosen setting for the sessions, which was supposed to scare Joan (Tyson 49). Although he places his scenes neither in the chapel nor in the torture chamber, the reader at least gets to know that she had been exposed to the sight of the torture instruments.

THE INQUISITOR. ... Has she been shown the instruments?

THE EXECUTIONER. They are ready, my lord. She has seen them.

(*St Joan* 154)

As demonstrated, it can be seen that Shaw realized the weaknesses his trial scene might have and tried to face them as much as he could.

Not only is the historicity of the events kept, but both these writers also studied the records, and respected and used Joan's authentic answers. The opportunities when they used them differ, but more or less they are comparable. When Joan was asked if she could do her woman's role, according to Quicherat in translation by Murray she replied: "Yes, I learnt to spin and to sew; in sewing and spinning I fear no woman in Rouen. For dread of the Burgundians, I left my father's house and went to the town of Neufchateau..." (2nd exam.). G. B. Shaw first changed it into: "I will do ladies work in the house- spin or weave- against any woman in Lorraine"(Tyson 56), which he later modified into "any woman in Rouen"(*St Joan* 157). Twain also lets his Cauchon ask her if she knew any trade at home and her reply is: "Yes, to sew and to spin... And when it comes to that, I am not afraid to be matched against any woman in Rouen!" (323).

When she complained about being chained to a log, she was reminded of her attempted to escape from the English prison:

"You have before, and many times, sought, we are told, to get out of the prison, where you are detained; and it is to keep you, more surely that it has been ordered to put you in irons."

"It is true I wished to escape; and so I wish still; is not this lawful for all prisoners?" (Murray, 1st examination)

Twain uses this reply as well. When his Joan complains of the burden of the chains and makes her judges aware of their pointlessness, she is reminded of her two attempts to flee. She retorts: "It is true, I have wanted to escape, and I do want to escape... It is the right of every prisoner" (320).

Shaw lets his D'Estivet ask whether her leap from the tower, after which Joan was found unconscious lying in the moat, was an attempt to escape from the prison. He is replied

to in a poetic way: “If you leave the door of the cage open, the bird will fly out“, which is a paraphrase of the record “Asked whether she would go now, if she saw her opportunity, she answered that if she saw the door open she would go“ (Barret 119). Shaw added her ironical remark: “Are you afraid I will fly away?“ (*St Joan* 153), which was originally uttered in a different context, when one of the priests sprinkled holy water in her cell just in case she was not sent from God. Joan encourages him to “Come boldly; I shall not fly away“ (Barret 80).

Every proceeding had to be formally opened by Joan of Arc swearing on Gospel to tell the whole truth. Every time she equivocated, most of the time pointing out she would not discuss anything concerning her private revelations. Shaw indicates her annoyance over being asked the same questions over and over again by her words:

You say this [that I must swear] to me every time. I have said again and again I will tell you all that concerns this trial. But I cannot tell you the whole truth: God does not allow to tell the whole truth to be told [...] It is an old saying that he who tells too much truth will be hanged. I am weary of this argument: we have been over it nine times already. I have sworn as much as I will swear; and I will swear no more (*St Joan* 154)

Twain has more space for dealing with her refusal to swear, though he chooses to let her decline just three times and all her answers are recorded in Murray. Her „I have made oath yesterday, my lord; let that suffice.“ (*Recollections* 322) is a paraphrase of her actual reply “I swore yesterday: that should be enough“ (Murray, 2nd Public Session), and her reason for not swearing “for I do not know what you are going to ask me; you might ask of me things which I would not tell you“, can be found in the record of the 1st public session: “I know not upon what you wish to question me; perhaps you may ask me of things which I ought not to tell you“ (Murray, 1st Session).

Even her humorous remarks were not left unnoticed. The Inquisitor inquired about St. Michael and his appearance. He was wondering if Joan’s apparition was naked. She answered ironically: "Do you think God has not wherewithal to clothe him?" (Murray 5th examination). Shaw modified this reply into: “Do you think God cannot afford clothes for him?“ (*St Joan* 159)

The atmosphere captured in the part about Joan’s recantation is identical in both works. Joan is threatened with the stake, in Shaw due to the theatre setting only orally, but in Twain also visually. Joan surrenders and listlessly signs the form of resignation. After that Twain lets her be praised by Loyseleur for having done a „good days work“ (409) and Shaw puts the words of approval into Ladvenu’s mouth (164). In both works Joan is absent-minded after her recantation. Twain describes her as „dreamy, she hardly heard [Leyseleur’s praise]“ (409) and Shaw’s Joan is „tormented by the rebellion of her soul against her mind and body“(164). This atmosphere functions for both writers as a perfect background for Cauchon’s speech, which

comes next. The Inquisitor's declaration that she is now "set free" from the threat of excommunication is an ironic beginning for what he is about to impose, which both writers took directly from Murray:

We declare thee set free [...] from the bonds of excommunication which held thee enchained, [...] But because you have sinned rashly against God and Holy Church, We condemn thee, finally, definitely and for salutary penance, saving Our grace and moderation, to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, in order that you may bewail your faults, and that you may no more commit [these acts] which you shalt have to bewail hereafter. (Murray, Recantation)

Practically the bulk of the replies and questions of the judges these two writers used are authentic. They chose different opportunities for their realization and creatively inserted them into the plot where they needed them to best make their desired impressions on the readers and audience. Both authors also respected Joan's being tried not for her ideas of nationalism unknown to a medieval person and perceived as too revolutionary, but for her getting into the hands of the ecclesiastical courts combined with the courts of the Inquisition, and was consequently accused of heresy, blasphemy and idolatry.

Yet not even the usage of the same sources and replies hindered Shaw and Twain from perceiving the trial in different ways. Their transcendent Joans are not similar characters; they both represent a different principle, and the trial scene was adjusted to create a space for its demonstration, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CAUCHON AS A REINCARNATION OF A PRINCIPLE

Over the centuries the effort to purify the reputation of Joan and to prove that the verdict was not based on true evidence crystalized in the polarisation of the characters, mostly achieved by throwing mud at her judges. The melodramatic writers such as Twain or Lang continued in emphasizing the obvious unfairness of the whole process, made up to destroy an innocent victim captured in the web of the Catholic Church. “Give yourself no uneasiness, my lord; we shall soon have her again“ (*Recollections* 411), is the credo of her judges whispered into the ear of the Earl of Warwick to comfort him. The whole process according to them was constructed to catch Joan into a trap.

G. B. Shaw considers it unnecessary to continue defending Joan’s innocence by blackening the reputation of her judges. He also strongly opposes this idea of the trial’s overwhelming unfairness, based upon the notion that understanding Joan’s history is insufficient for an understanding of her character, if there is no understanding of the environment as well (‘Preface’ 35).

If you confuse the Middle Ages with the Dark Ages, ..., and are quite convinced that the world has progressed enormously, both morally and mechanically, since Joan’s time, then you will never understand why Joan was burnt, much less feel that you might have voted for burning her yourself if you had been the member of the court that tried her. (35)

If Twain insisted on unfairness, he failed to comprehend the time and the role of the Catholic Church, and might be called “out of court from the beginning“(36). Shaw despises Twain’s polarization of the characters, the melodramatic tone and Joan being an innocent victim, calling his Cauchon and Inquisitor “as dull as pickpockets“ and his Joan “even less interesting person whose pocket is picked“ (‘Preface’ 63).

But Shaw’s revolutionary attitude to the trial of Joan is not limited to the claim that her burning was necessary and understandable; he is persuaded that Joan’s trial was impartial. “Joan got a fairer trial from the Church and the Inquisition than any prisoner of her type and in her situation gets nowadays in any official secular court; and the decision was strictly according to law“ (‘Preface’ 12). And unlike Twain, who concentrated on whitewashing Joan, Shaw turns his energy towards whitewashing her judges.

This estimation enraged many critics; Searle even called his claim “outrageously anti-historical“ (Searle 136). W. P. Barret, the author of the *The Trial of Jeanne d’Arc*, in

which he published the first full translation of the documents of the trial, draws from the sessions the following conclusions quite contrary to Shaw's.

But at this time the machinery of the Inquisition was at the height of its perfection: every security of justice was removed, and no person in the situation in which Jeanne found herself, accused of witchcraft and heresy in a hostile ecclesiastical court, had the faintest chance of a fair trial.

By the time of the preparation of the articles of accusation was complete, Jeanne had been in prison, heavily ironed, for nine months. This, in itself, is enough to weaken her spirit, was the least of her sufferings.

The account gives little idea of the tempestuous nature of the trial. A session would last from three to four hours, during which she was subjected to the continual and agonizing strain of a pitiless and unfriendly cross-examination. Many of the questions were purposefully confusing, designed with cunning ambiguity to entrap her, however she answered. (qtd. in Ervin 500)

The subject of the fairness of the trial might be left to historians, but the literary expression of the incarnation of an idea behind the portrayal of the judges is of utmost importance for the analysis of both writers' understanding of the trial. And when standing side by side, the two images of the Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, the first and foremost person involved in the process, appear as different as day and night.

Mark Twain, a strict enemy of oppression represented by an institution, uses the Church to show the purity of the innocent victim in the hands of an evil. His dislike of the power of the Roman Catholic Church and its destructive impact on people is manifested already in *Connecticut Yankee*: "There you see the hand of that awful power, the Roman Catholic Church. In two or three little centuries it had converted a nation of men to a nation of worms. Before the day of the Church's supremacy in the world, men were men, and held their heads up, and had a man's pride and spirit and independence, ..." (39). Joan, nevertheless, as an inhabitant of medieval life, respects the institution and does not doubt the authority of confession. For Twain, she is the transcendent innocent, selfless person, and he blames the Church, represented by Cauchon, for purposefully destroying her.

To Mark Twain, Cauchon's character made a perfect target for the expression of his anticlerical sentiments. He was of the opinion that Joan's judges under the leadership of Cauchon were corrupt villains who usually did everything to destroy their victims, but who did even more to destroy her. Their bad thoughts and intentions are reflected in their physiognomy, which confirms Twain's theory about physical and mental beauty being in agreement. De Conte is already discouraged by Cauchon's appearance and notes down:

When I looked again at that obese president, puffing and wheezing there, his great belly distending and receding with each breath, and noted his three chins, fold above fold, and his knobby and knotty face, and his purple and splotchy complexion, and his repulsive cauliflower nose, and his cold and malignant eyes- a brute, every detail of him- my heart sank lower still. (*Recollections* 314)

Joan bears opposite features in her physical looks, whose face after half a year in the dark dungeon is still “smooth and pure and girlish, beautiful beyond belief, infinitely sad and sweet“ (316). She was wearing black men’s attire, „intensely black, funerially black“ and when she was passing the window, a wide shaft of light fell upon her face, which was „colourless, white as snow“ (316). Here Twain stands contrastive descriptions in order to create a bipolar principle of the whole process. The black attire, the prisoners attire, indicates the suffering in the dungeon prepared for her by her enemies, and her white face shows how intact and pure she managed to be despite the circumstances. The contrast of beauty and ugliness goes deeper than just aesthetic value; for Twain it is the outward expression of her inner characteristics. Joan as a person with great spirit must be placed in a beautiful body and Cauchon, one of the biggest rascalls in history, requires physical repulsiveness.

Not only is the appearance of Joan’s judges contrasted with hers, but also their inner qualities are as well. De Conte sees Joan at the time of the trial as “noble, pure, truthful, brave, compassionate, generous, pious, unselfish, modest, blameless as the very flowers in the fields- a nature fine and beautiful, a character supremely great“ (371), all the attributes, for which people have been longing for ages and which Twain sees as perfect characteristics for his transcendent Joan. On the other hand, Cauchon “emerges in the novel as a caricature of absolute evil“ (Solomon 176): he is wicked, cursed, incorrigible brute, „the cruelest man and the most shameless that has lived in this world“ (*Recollections* 320). Only such a person could accuse Joan of being “sorceress, a false prophet, an invoker and companion of evil spirits, a dealer in magic, a person ignorant of the Catholic faith, a schismatic; she is sacrilegious, an idolater, an apostate, a blasphemer of God and His saints, scandalous, seditious, a disturber of the peace“ (371).

To ridicule Cauchon even more, Twain uses his name as a pun. The phonetic similarity between his name and the name of the dirtiest of all animals is worked into an entertaining story, how an unknown painter shows his antipathies to Cauchon every night by painting hogs at the Bishopric palace “in all attitudes except flattering ones“ (387). Although it serves as a good demonstration of other people’s opinions of the fairness of the trial and about the judge, it is highly improbable that someone would dare ridicule a ‘servant of God’ and risk punishment at the hands of the Inquisition.

Twain also did not avoid falling into the traps which the modern understanding of the past set for him. One of them can be seen in the story when Joan is taken to the torture chamber and threatened with various instruments. Twain uses her authentic reply taken from Murray: "I will tell you nothing more than I have told you; no, not even if you tear the limbs from my body. And even if in my pain I did say something otherwise, I would always say afterward that it was the torture that spoke and not I" (*Recollections* 388), after her speech he perplexes her judges, considering the reply and thinking: "Verily it is a wonderful creature. She has laid her hand upon an accepted truth that is as old as the world, and it has crumbled to dust and rubbish under her touch. Now whence got she that marvelous insight?" (388). This "marvelous reply" immediately persuaded them not to torture her, as there was no need to discuss it any further. But the intention to torture her could not again be ascribed by de Conte to any other person than Cauchon himself. No one else could be so cruel as to decide to submit such an innocent creature to suffering like that. De Conte thus utters a remark that in his nature "there was no such thing as pity. One wonders if he ever knew his mother or ever had a sister" (388). Twain failed to understand that torturing at that time belonged among the most common practises used to make criminals confess their crimes. But Twain's presentation of a self-willed cruel Cauchon serves better for his contrast with the innocence of the Maid.

The principle of Shaw's Cauchon differs diametrically from the Twain's. "Shaw from the beginning grasped the fact that every human being, whether scoundrel or saint, has a point of view which makes it possible for him to justify himself to himself...The scoundrel is a man of principle in his own eyes, and society cannot go far towards uprooting scoundrelism until it sees the scoundrel as he sees himself" (Ward 31). And Shaw even denies that her judges could be called scoundrels, mentioning in his Preface that there "are no villains in the piece" (62). His judges are not personified evil, but normally innocent people with good intentions, which unfortunately turned out to be wrong. It cannot be understood as a defence of her judges, agreeing with their action, when Shaw himself "pointedly declared that a historian who would defend Joan's burning would defend anything" (Crompton 46). Shaw only saw that "the tragedy of such murders is that they are not committed by murderers" ('Preface' 63). Thus some of his characters may be menacing, wicked and tragic, while at the same time as people they are kind, mild-mannered, or even comic.

Cauchon can be seen together in two scenes; in Scene IV, where he meets with Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and the Chaplain John de Stogumber, and then in Scene VI., also called "the Trial Scene". Compared with Twain's detailed physical description of him, Shaw is thrifty with words. He introduces him with "Cauchon, aged about 60, comes

in“ (*St Joan* 113). He is a learnt man capable of calling a problem by the correct name: “She is not a witch, she is a heretic“ (*St Joan* 117) and irritated by Joan’s main transgression—setting the country and personal religion above the holy Catholic Church: “She acts as if herself were the Church. She brings the message of God to Charles; and the Church must stand aside [...] Has she ever in her utterances said one word of the Church? Never. It is always God and herself“ (*St Joan* 120). He is also seen as an educated man, but intolerant of other religions and opinions. “The followers of Mahomet [...] are more ready to forgive St Peter for being a fisherman than your lordship is to forgive Mahomet for being a camel driver“ (*St Joan* 122), he is reproached by Warwick. But his main credo is his fatherly “I will not imperil my soul. I will uphold the justice of the Church. I will strive to the utmost for this woman’s salvation“ (126).

The trial atmosphere created by the choice of Joan’s replies in Twain’s work is serious, but Shaw treats her real answers taken from Murray in a comical way. By choosing the most logical and witty answers of Joan’s and standing them in contrast with ridiculous questions he creates humorous situations. When Cauchon asks if she considers herself to be in a state of grace, he gets the same reply as can be found in Murray: “If I am not, may God bring me to it: if I am, may God keep me in it!“ (*St Joan* 158). Ladvenu remarks that it was a very good reply. Yet immediately after this serious answer Courcelles implores: “Were you in a state of grace when you stole the Bishop’s horse?“ (*St Joan* 158), which reveals the triviality of their questioning. These judges lose too much authority, but at the same time Shaw constantly reminds the audience that these judges had the power to condemn Joan and send her to death.

Even though most of the judges are mocked by her clever answers, the Inquisitor and Cauchon are presented as serious men of certain conviction, who are exempt from the ridicule. Shaw says in the Preface: “I have represented both of them as capable and eloquent exponents of The Church Militant and The Church Litigant“ (‘Preface’ 63) and really, unlike in Twain, they preserve their authority during the trial. It is actually Cauchon, who shows the correct direction in the process when it moves a different way. After the incident with the horse he rises in fury and curses: “Oh, devil take the Bishop’s horse and you too! We are here to try a case of heresy; and no sooner we come to the root of the matter than we are thrown back by idiots who understand nothing but horses“ (*St Joan* 158).

Shaw’s Inquisitor is a meek-mannered man with excellent oratorical abilities, “well-meaning but ironically cruel persecuter of saintly simpletons, while personally he is a type of kindly old uncle“ (Berst 88). He is presented as a “mild elderly gentlemen, but has evident

reserves of authority and firmness“ (*St Joan* 142). Unlike Cauchon, he never curses or raises his voice. He invites Joan kindly to sit down and he defends his refusal to use torture. His rhetorical skills are presented in the opening of the session, where he gives an eloquent speech about heresy. He is a man educated in religion and, as well as Cauchon, the Maid’s death does not belong among his priorities. However, Shaw’s Inquisitor changes throughout the trial and in the end of the scene he is pictured in a different way, as he pronounces the death sentence and Joan is taken to the stake. He is suddenly seen as cold-hearted and without conscience. In his dialogue with Cauchon he says:

THE INQUISITOR. One gets used to it [to seeing the burning]. Habit is everything. I am accustomed to the fire: It is soon over. But it is a terrible thing to see a young and innocent creature crushed between these mighty forces, the Church and the Law.

CAUCHON. You call her innocent!

THE INQUISITOR. Oh, quite innocent. What does she know of the Church and the Law? She did not understand a word we were saying. It is the ignorant who suffer... (*St Joan* 168)

The judges in both books differ diametrically, contributing to the illustration of the forces working in the process. But it is not just the authors’ attitudes which stand in stark contrast; it is also their sense of the Maid’s martyrdom that they do not comprehend identically and which will be dealt with in the following chapter.

JOAN TO THE STAKE

Though the theme of nationalism, a revolutionary idea for a feudal society, more or less emerges in both books, much more emphasized by Shaw than by Twain, the real as well as their fictional Joan was not tried for this idea. The twelve points of accusation embraced, for example, her refusal to submit to the Church, her adherence to men's garments and the Satanic origin of her voices. Despite the facts, the struggle of the Maid against her judges has in both books different faces.

Twain, following his theory about a her being the "Wonder of Ages" and "the most extraordinary person the human race has ever produced" and her judges creating the other extreme, reduces the historical fight to one of controversial forces, of evil and good, innocence and rottenness, in order to impress the reader and draw a distinct line between good and bad.

The minor note is heard mostly through de Conte's story of the trial and martyrdom of Joan, which is studied faithfully from the histories, and which I think is the best part of the book. It is extremely pathetic at moments, and as one reads the heart swells with pity for the victim of one of the cruelest wrongs ever done, as if the suffering from it were not over four hundred years ago. (Howells)

That is exactly the impact Twain wanted to achieve. De Conte and the others know what her judges ignore. And the reader gets to know as well that Joan was a completely innocent tender female victim of the self-willed Cauchon. "One wonders how they could treat that poor child so. She had not done them any harm" (*Recollections* 312), remarks De Conte, when the sacrament of confession was used against her.

The accusations against Joan presented by Twain are weak. In the end he restricts them only to the refusal of her female role. Ballorain notices that

Finally when she is brought to the stake, it seems that her fundamental heresy is not her refusal to accept the law of the Established Church, [...], but her refusal to keep the role assigned to her by her society, by men and religion. She is burnt because she is a woman. (67)

The refusal of the role attributed to her by her gender is not just her living and sleeping among soldiers and leaving sewing and spinning to other women, but her stubborn insistence on wearing men's clothes, which is in the trial records presented as her protection against a "half

a dozen brutal common soldiers keeping guard night and day in the room where her cage was“ (*Recollections* 309), and who were encouraged in their assaults.

Did Cauchon hint to the English guards that thenceforth if they chose to make their prisoner's captivity crueler and bitterer than ever, no official notice would be taken of it? Perhaps so; since the guards did begin that policy at once, and no official notice was taken of it. Yes, from that moment Joan's life in that dungeon was made almost unendurable. Do not ask me to enlarge upon it. I will not do it. (413)

Many critics were trying to find the justification for her death and among other theories they mention the reason for her immediate acceptance of her death was her desire to preserve the virginity (Searle 46). It might be supported by Twain's understanding of sexual purity being an inseparable part of innocence, but Searle points out that she already had to face the risk of sexual abuse (48). When she encounters her revelations and gets to know her mission, she is aware of the risk she is taking: “Ah, how can I talk with men, be comrade with men?- soldiers! It would give me over to insult, and rude usage, and contempt. How can I go to the great wars, and lead armies?” (*Recollections* 51).

Searle sees the reason for her submission to the death penalty as her own faithfulness to her principles (49). It is not the principle of self- sacrifice for the cause of others, which is a possibility Twain denied in his philosophical work *What Is Man*:

Men pretend to self-sacrifices, but this is a thing which, in the ordinary value of the phrase, DOES NOT EXIST AND HAS NOT EXISTED. A man often honestly THINKS he is sacrificing himself merely and solely for some one else, but he is deceived; his bottom impulse is to content a requirement of his nature and training, and thus acquire peace for his soul. (12, emphasis Twain's)

Joan goes to the stake because she needs as every man to“content the spirit that is in him, though it cost him his life“ (23). And so Joan as well might be justified for her recantation by de Conte's observation that many times “she would sacrifice herself- and her best self; that is, her truthfulness- to save her cause; but only that; she would not buy her life at that cost“ (*Recollections* 86). And Joan is able to face the vision of hell without leaving her principles. “She was the very genius of Fidelity; she was Steadfastness incarnated. Where she had taken her stand and planted her foot, there she would abide; hell itself could not move her from that place“ (382).

But her heroism provided a consolation neither for de Conte and Joan's childhood companions, nor for the author himself. After it he bursts into pathetic praise of her deeds, but as Solomon remarks, the Conclusion “suggests his [Twain's] painful awareness that for him

Joan's life and death promised neither the Redemption of man nor even the enduring reality of love and goodness but simply the rise of the hated French nation" (188). That is why Solomon calls *Personal Recollections* a "deeply pessimistic book. If it is an affirmation of the existence and power of innocence, it is also a scathing record of its betrayal" (187).

The quest for his lost innocence failed and after the loss of his daughter Twain's pessimism about the human race turned into resignation, leaving the author with even a stronger feeling of guilt. He realized that neither the individual nor the human race could be saved by from outside. As the resignation developed into despair, he reproached himself for being still alive: "And we? What was our sin that we are still here, we who have also earned our place with the happy dead?" (304).

As an underlying gloom is typical for the trial scene of Mark Twain, G. B. Shaw's condemnation of Joan is perceived much more positively in the sense of its necessity. The conflict between Joan and her judges is a conflict of two principles, of established institutions versus an individual not respecting them. "We may prate of toleration as we will; but society must always draw a line somewhere between allowable conduct and insanity or crime, in spite of the risk of mistaking sages for lunatics and saviors for blasphemers. We must persecute, even to death..." (*St Joan* 51). The Inquisitor is well aware of this fact when giving his eloquent speech

Heresy begins with people who are to all appearance better than their neighbors [...] Mark what I say: The woman, who quarrels with her clothes, and puts on the dress of a man, is like the man who throws off his fur gown a dresses like John the Baptist: They are followed, as surely as the night follows the day, by bands of wild women and men who refuse to wear any clothes at all [...] Heresy at first seems innocent and even laudable; but it ends in such a monstrous horror of a unnatural wickedness that the most tender-hearted among you, if you saw it at work as I have seen it, would clamor against the mercy of the Church in dealing with it. (*St Joan* 149)

Carl van Doren calls the struggle between Joan and her judges a struggle between "initiative and inertia" (28). Joan with her opinions threatened the authority of the Church without realizing it. "But when the Church was not offering her favorite luxuries, [...] she flatly refused, made it clear that her notion of a Catholic Church was one in which the Pope was Pope Joan" (*St Joan* 39). She was called a heretic in Scene IV because of her nationalistic ideas, with which she denied the authority of the Catholic Church. "Divide that [Christ's] kingdom into nations and you will dethrone Christ" (*St Joan* 125). As a result of that she, like Hus and many others, had to go to the stake in order to preserve what had been built for centuries.

Shaw presents the trial this light, that ignorant and non-submissive Joan herself does not really comprehend till the end what she is being punished for, but the audience perceives the reasons. Joan's disrespect of others' opinions is a reflection of Shaw's own attitude mentioned in his *Religious Speeches*. "I like and respect kings and judges and bishops as men, but they might just as well give up the robes and aprons as far as I am concerned. I do not value their opinions on politics or law or religion any more than if they were plain Mr. Smith" (32). The unavoidable defensive reaction is best expressed by words of Cauchon himself:

What will the world be like when the Church's accumulated wisdom and knowledge and experience, its councils of learned, venerable pious men, are thrust into the kennel by every ignorant laborer or dairy-maid whom the devil can puff up with the monstrous self-conceit of being directly inspired from heaven? (*St Joan* 121)

It is not her death that puts an end to her fame, on the contrary, her death starts it. Joan knows it herself, claiming: "If I go through the fire I shall go through it to their [common people's] hearts for ever and ever" (*St Joan* 139). And when the Executioner comes back and announces that her heart is not burning and that they have heard the last of her, Warwick sighs: "The last of her? Hm, I wonder!" (*St Joan* 172). The heart is a symbol of Joan spiritual transcendence, of her becoming a martyr for the Life Force, which is with this miracle thrown into the faces of her judges.

Her death does not leave them the same. The Inquisitor, until then a mild gentleman, turns into a cruel persecutor of innocent victims in order to preserve the established order, but the change of de Stogumber takes the opposite direction. This representative of the uneducated lower class, realizes his own guilt. He is the one who before her capture promises to burn her with his own hands (*St Joan* 126), who wants to accuse her of every trifle and who is concerned with her being allowed to escape the Inquisition and who is many times brought into comical situations because of his witlessness. His behaviour radically changes after the execution, when he "staggers in from the courtyard like a demented creature, his face streaming with tears..." and blubbering "I meant no harm, I did not know what it would be like [...] If I had known, I would have torn her from their hands" (*St Joan* 169).

Shaw could have left the drama with Trial Scene as the last one, but because of his perception of her death being just a milestone in her career, he chose to continue the play with the Epilogue. Tyson remarks that "in the Epilogue, Shaw is able to reveal the Life Force making use of suffering and death to further its positive purposes" (71). And even though

Joan in Charles's life stands in the shade of a mortal woman, Agnes Sorel, her death was not useless. All the characters praise her for what she achieved and the style becomes biblical: "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?" (*St Joan* 187). But their refusal makes her realize the human race is not ready yet for the comeback of the saints: "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?" (*St Joan* 189).

CONCLUSION

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc and *Saint Joan*- two different writers and two diametrically opposed conceptions of the same historical personality. The available facts about her life tied Twain's and Shaw's hands, but still left enough space for expression of their opinions about God and human race, which was so important in their times. It is caused by the controversy of Joan, by her exceptional rise, by her mental defectness or excessiveness, which many writers have attempted to explain will probably never completely reveal the secret of her genius.

Mark Twain sees Joan as a pure transcendent creature bearing all qualities of a Christian saint. But her idealized glamour did not stem from his religious feelings, but from his longing to get rid of his lifelong feeling of guilt, from his Faustian desire to find lost innocence through a pre-sexual young woman and from his dissatisfaction with the nineteenth century's values. But he did not realise that dealing with a subject of Joan of Arc requires an elaborated system of religion, which would support the metaphysical features of her personality. Thus when dealing with her voices, he cannot state their origin neither identify their role in Joan's life. He sees her fall caused by the clash between her innocence of her youth and rottenness of her age and of the Christian Church and cannot draw any conclusion from her fall.

G. B. Shaw used Joan as an example of his Superman, of a man, who is aware of his goal on the planet and executes a will not of his own, but implanted into his mind by the Life Force. "Shaw is not only one of the keenest minds in the world to-day; he is one of the most religious men [...] *Saint Joan* is the work of a religious soul" (qtd. in Ervine 502), Walter Prichard Eaton notices after seeing the play. And even though Shaw's religion differs from Joan's, he managed to set her life without any complication within his own frame. His Life Force provided him a justification for her voices, their role and origin, and her death does not represent a final stage of her "life".

"The validity of the story is not the same as the occurrence of the fact" (*Methuselah* 9), Shaw remarks in his work. And it is definitely true in the case of writing about Joan of Arc. The facts are not sufficient; it is the coherent religion which makes the personality of Joan truthful.

Resumé

Kontroverzní postava Jany z Arku byla nesčetněkrát literárně zpracována v různých pojetích. První autoři vnímali Janu jako zcela legendární hrdinku, vyzdvihovali nebo naopak zesměšňovali její nacionalismus a nedrželi se historických faktů. Mezi tyto autory patří například William Shakespeare, Robert Southey, nebo v německé literatuře Friedrich Schiller.

Obrat v jejich postoji nastal roku 1841 publikací Quicheratových záznamů ze soudního procesu s Pannou Orleánskou, které ukázaly Janu jako lidskou bytost. Opouští se od představy, že byla spolčena s Dáblem, a hledá se jiné opodstatnění metafyzických aspektů její osobnosti. Devatenácté století bylo dobou obrovských převratů ve filosofii, je to doba Nietzscheho a Darwina, a proto není divu, že se interpretace Jany z Arku dílo od díla liší podle autorovy filosofie. Tato diplomová práce má za cíl přiblížit rozdílné přístupy dvou spisovatelů, kteří navzdory tomu, že čerpali z totožných zdrojů, vidí osud Jany, její hlasy a smysl její mučednické smrti diametrálně odlišným způsobem. Historická věrohodnost jejich zobrazení Jany zůstává klíčovou otázkou celé práce.

*Panna Orleánská*¹ od Marka Twaina vyšla knižně v roce 1896 a setkala se s kontroverzními názory jeho přátel a kritiků. Twain zvolil pro své vyprávění formu romance a popisuje život Jany z Arku od jejího útlého dětství až po její popravu. Hra *Svatá Jana*² od britského dramatika G. B. Shawa se poprvá hrála v New Yorku v roce 1923, kde nebyla přijata s velkým nadšením, přesto však kdekoli jinde na světě hra dosáhla vysokých počtů představení. Shaw líčí Janu od počátku její vojenské kariéry k jejímu konci, avšak přidává epilog zachycující Janu i po její smrti. Oba tyto autory vedly k napsání rozdílné motivy, které udaly celkovou atmosféru jejich děl.

Twainova Jana je pro autora posledním prostředkem k dosažení duchovního a duševního klidu. Jeho celoživotní pocit viny, přestože nespáchal žádný zločin, ho vedl k pocitu, že byl Bohem zavržen a že spása není pro něj, a proto hledal jiné způsoby naplnění. Toužil po bohatství, avšak jeho vize získání finančních prostředků z vynálezu sázecího stroje se před dokončením *Panny Orleánské* rozplynula jako dým. Proto se obrátil k faustovské touze získat zpátky své štěstí znovunabytím své nevinnosti, která byla ztracena přechodem z dětství do dospělosti. Tak se osoba Jany z Arku stala duchovním vůdcem spisovatele na cestě za jeho vykoupením.

Autor se však nevyhnul střetu víry jeho vlastní s vírou Jany z Arku. Narozdíl od ní Boha jako krutovládce, který mu neposkytne spásu, a nevěřil v možnost komunikace mezi člověkem a Ním, což v celkovém důsledku vedlo k neschopnosti odůvodnit tak důležité aspekty Janina života, jako jsou třeba její hlasy. Vyloučil duševní nemoc a poslední možnost příčiny jejích hlasů, kterou byl sen, se ukázala také neaplikovatelná na Janin případ.

Nejenže jejich původ není jasně identifikován, ale ani postoj vypravěče Louise de Conte nezůstává v celém díle jednotný. Přestože ho Twain nechává být svědkem Janiny vize svatého Michaela a užasnout nad posvátností celého okamžiku, ke konci knihy se de Conte stává prostředníkem autorovy vlastní skepse o užitečnosti jejích zjevení a dokonce je částečně viní z její smrti. Toto prolínání moderního a středověkého úhlu

¹ V originále *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc by the Sieur Louis de Conte (Her Page and Secretary) Freely Translated out of the Ancient French into Modern English From the Original Unpublished Manuscript in the National Archives of France by Jean François Alden as Told by Mark Twain*

² v originále *Saint Joan*

pohledu mate kritiky i čtenáře a bylo často Twainovi vyčítáno.

Twain odmítá jakýkoli zásah Prozřetelnosti do přirozeného běhu událostí, což ovlivnilo jeho pohled na zázraky doprovázející život světice. Vysvětluje je částečně jejím šarmem a neuvěřitelnou schopností vykonávat své poslání a neshledává nic nadpřirozeného v jejím rozpoznání krále či telepatickém objevení meče za oltářem kostela svaté Kateřiny. V tom je vidět autorovo selhání v chápání středověkého člověka, který byl typický svou touhou po zázracích, díky níž se Jana dostala ve své kariéře tak vysoko. Proto se mu její kariéra jeví jako záhadná, neustále zdůrazňuje její pohlaví, mladistvý věk a přeskočení dlouhého vývoje, který je potřebný k dosažení jejího vrcholu, a tvrdí, že Jana zůstává mystériem všech století.

Twain se při psaní *Panny Orleánské* stále více a více ponořoval do své skepse a pocitu viny, který pociťuje i jeho vypravěč. Jeho de Conte je svědkem celého procesu s Janou a vnímá ho zjednodušeně jako střet dobra ztělesněného Pannou a zla zpodoběného jejími soudci. Předseda soudu Cauchon je vyličen v nejhorších barvách, a to nejen co se týče jeho duševních kvalit, ale i jeho fyziognomie, a často bývá terčem autorových vtipů. Přes všechny humor a zesměšňování je Cauchon zobrazen jako stvůra mající za cíl Janinu zhoubu. Později je boj ještě více zredukován na osobní konflikt Cauchona a Panny, což reflektuje Twainovo nepochopení dobové důležitosti procesu s Janou jako kacířkou pro své názory.

Janina smrt je jen dalším krokem k autorovu definitivnímu rozchodu s Bohem. Nechápe, jak mohlo něco tak nevinného a čistého, jako je jeho Panna, padnout za oběť kolosální instituci katolické církve, zástupci Boha na zemi. Twainova touha dosáhnout vykoupení bez Boha znovunalezením nevinnosti je v knize potlačena samotným božím nástrojem a nechává jak vypravěče, tak autora neschopného učinit z její smrti jiné závěry než pohrdání lidským rodem. Proto je Jana z Arku od Marka Twaina velmi pesimistickou knihou.

G. B. Shaw, irský protestant a zastánce filosofie vitalizmu, si záměrně vybral katolickou svatou pro demonstraci své filosofie životní síly, síly vysvětlující princip života. Jeho pochopení Boha se také rozchází s Janiným, vnímá ho ne jako trojjediný princip, jak tomu je v křesťanství, nýbrž jako jediný přežívající princip Sváté Trojice - Duch Svátý. I tento princip není schopen intervenovat do světa a měnit přirozený koloběh událostí, což je stejný názor jako u Twaina. Shaw však jde ve svém metafyzicku dál. Tvrdí, že stejně jako Satan v křesťanském pojetí, životní síla je schopna implantovat svou vůli do myslí jedinců, kteří se s ní chtějí ztotožnit. Tak se Shawovi podařilo ospravedlnit Janiny hlasy, které byly kamenem úrazu pro Twaina. Jana sama si je vědoma, že jediný způsob, jak s ní Bůh může mluvit, je skrze její představivost.

Jana je v díle identifikována jako světice, protože si je vědoma svého údělu na zemi a naslouchá životní síle. Její mládí není narozdíl od Twainova pojetí vnímáno jako zázračný prvek, ale jako překážka k dlouhému životu, zabraňuje jí vidět efekt, který má její chování na muže. Jana v jeho pojetí neumí lichořit, je přímá, své názory netají, a proto se dostává do konfliktu.

Shaw stejně jako Twain neuznává existenci zázraků, ale uvědomuje si, že středověk je vyžadoval, ať už byly skutečné či ne. Proto se nevyhýbá použití nevysvětlitelných událostí, ovšem ne za účelem dokázání nadpřirozených schopností Panny, ale demonstruje na nich středověkou důvěřivost. Vždyť i sám arcibiskup nazývá zázraky součástí své profese, aby si udržel víru lidí. Tím se Shaw dostal mnohem blíže k pochopení středověkého myšlení než Twain.

G. B. Shaw oponuje Twainovu pochopení soudu jako osobního konfliktu, vysmívá se jeho hanobení soudců a vyzdvihování Panny a naopak své úsilí soustřeďuje na jejich ospravedlnění. Tvrdí, že tragédie takových vražd spočívá v tom, že jsou spáchány nevinnými lidmi. Jeho Inkvizitor i Cauchon jsou vyličení spíše jako hodní

strýčkové usilující o návrat neposlušné dcery do náruče milující církve, přijímají její drzé odpovědi s trpělivostí a shovívavostí a několikrát ji varují před osudem, který ji čeká, jestliže neodvolá.

Shaw vycházel při zobrazení soudu z premisy, že celý proces nebyl vykonstruovaný, nýbrž spravedlivý, což rozzuřilo spoustu historiků. Viděl její smrt jako nutnost pro zachování statu quo, jako vítězství stanoveného pořádku nad revolučními myšlenkami. Podle Shawa je Jana protestantka, neuznává církev jako prostředníka mezi ní a Bohem a tvrdí, že sama je inspirována Duchem Svätým. Církev, která v té době upálila Husa a potýkala se se stoupenci Wycliffa, nemohla nechat Janu z Arku ujít jejímu osudu.

Navíc její smrt není konečným stádiem v její kariéře, ale pouze milníkem. Není zbytečná, docílila vyhnání Angličanů z Francie, protože naučila vojevůdce bojovat a z Karla udělala krále ne korunovací, ale tím, že v něm vyvolala vnitřní změnu. Obecně tedy tón celého díla na rozdíl od Twaina vyznívá pozitivně.

Správný poměr fakt a fikce je směrodatný pro dobrou biografii. Ovšem život Jany z Arku je natolik kontroverzní, že nejspíše nikdy nebude zcela odhaleno tajemství jejího úspěchu. Co však je stěžejním předpokladem pro autory pracující s jejím životem, je ucelený světonázor. Twain, pro kterého *Panna Orleánská* byla pokusem o znovusplynutí s Bohem, nechává Janě všechny atributy křesťanské světice, ale selhává v identifikaci příčin její kariéry a významu jejího mučednictví. Celkově tím zkrusluje své pochopení středověku a staví postavu Jany mimo kauzalitu historických událostí. Shaw naopak díky své vypracované filosofii životní síly uspěl ve stanovení příčin jejího úspěchu i pádu a čerpá poučení z její smrti. Proto zůstává, i když možná trochu paradoxně, *Svatá Jana* z pera protestantského myslitele nejvěrohodnějším dílem o této středověké mučednici.

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Endnotes

“Jana však žila v úplné iluzi. Neuvědomujíc si ani seabeměnně, že podléhá nějakým vlivům, nejsouc schopna poznati ve svých Hlasech ozvěnu hlasu lidského nebo hlas vlastního srdce, ustrašeně odpovéděla svéticím...”
(France 34, original in Czech)

Appendix I

Joan's Biography

Joan of Arc was born during the so called Hundred Year War, the war between France and England, which started in 1337 and in which France was losing one fortress after another. One of the most tragic failures was the Battle of Crécy in 1346, followed Calais in 1347. After a short pause caused by the exhaustion of both armies, the English defeated the French again at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. Then there was a long time of minor skirmishes, when the French succeeded in reducing the English influence mainly because of domestic problems of Britain. At the time when Joan was born, the English king Henry V had started to build his army and proceed further into the French area. In 1415 he won at Anzincourt, signed a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy and ruled over the whole north part of France.

This military victory was supported by a diplomatic gesture. In 1420, the Treaty of Troyes was signed, which guaranteed the English dynasty the succession to the French throne. The Dauphin Charles was disinherited as the legitimate successor. The English proceeded further into France and the only important fortress left in the hand of French was Orléans. The situation seemed hopeless until the young visionary girl appeared.

She was probably born on January 6, 1412, to Jacques Darc (or "d'Arc") and his wife, Isabelle, in the village of Domrémy. She seems to have been the youngest out of five children. She was skilled in sewing and spinning, but she never learned to read or write, but the romantic idea that her days were spent alone with sheep and cattle in the pastures is not based on evidence. The days of her childhood were quite peaceful despite of the long lasting war between France and England.

Around 1424 Joan began to have her visions of three Saints- Michael the Archangel, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret- ordering her to drive the English out of France and coronate the Dauphin in Rheims. At the trial she was very reluctant to talk about her visions, so the information about them is very vague. She heard voices which were probably accompanied by a flash of light, and later according to her own words she was able to distinguish the individual saints (Barret 61).

In 1428, the voices became insistent so she asked her relative Durand Lassois to bring her to the garrison commander, Lord Robert de Baudricourt, where she demanded an escort to bring her to the Dauphin's court at Chinon. She was twice rejected, but she came for the third time in January 1429 and her request was granted when she predicted the result of the Battle of Herrings. She was accompanied by Bertrand de Poulengy and Jean de Metz, who according to his testimony gave her man's dress and the equipment of one of his men (Murray, Vaucouleurs).

She reached Chinon on 6 March, and two days later was admitted into the presence of the Dauphin Charles. Though legend says that she persuaded him to trust her by telling him his own secret, which he had revealed only in prayer, she actually was given final acceptance of her mission only after three weeks' examination at Poitiers. When she returned to Chinon, she made preparations for her campaign. She refused the sword offered to her by the Dauphin and telepathically discovered an old one buried behind the altar in the Chapel of Ste-Catherine-de-Fierbois. Then she was brought to the succession of the city of Orléans, which had been conquered by the English troops more than a year earlier. Her two brothers, Jean and Pierre, joined her there.

She arrived at the city of Orléans on April 29, 1429, and that day according to some legends God

changed the wind so that the French boat could get to the fortress, and on May 8 she raised the siege. She herself was wounded by a shaft, which she had already predicted before the battle. Her next objective was to regain the strongholds on Loire. Jargeau was taken on June 12, the bridge at Meung-sur-Loire on June 15 and Beaugency surrendered on the 17th. On June 18 the Maid's great campaign on Loire ended with a victory at Patay, after which the way to Rheims was open. The cities surrendered and Rheims opened its gates to the army when it arrived there on July 16. The Dauphin was crowned the next morning, on Sunday, 17 July, 1429.

Then she demanded either to return home after her fulfilled mission, which she was refused, or to proceed with driving the English out as fast as possible, as they were surprised and it would have taken them some time to regain their strength. She was in a hurry because she had a vision she would last only a year from that time. But she met with resistance from the side of king's advisors, especially the Archbishop and La Tremouille, who were too much under the dictatorship of the Duke of Burgundy. In August she attempted to conquer Paris, but did not have a strong army. She was injured in her leg and removed by the Duc d'Alençon from the battlefield almost by force. With this event her prestige was impaired and after the king's signing a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, she laid down her arms upon the altar of St-Denis.

Her inactivity lasted until the following March, when she threw herself into Compiègne to defend the town against Burgundian attack. By mistake the drawbridge was lifted before all the French troops were inside, and those who stayed outside were killed, except for Joan, who was taken a prisoner. Instead of being ransomed back to her side, she was exchanged for a high sum of money to the English.

A trial was established for her with Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais, presiding over it. During the process she was found guilty and on 30 May 1431 she was burnt at the stake. Her ashes were thrown into the Seine.

Twenty four years later a revision of her trial, the *procès de réhabilitation*, was opened in Paris. It was a reaction to an opinion expressed during the first trial by preacher Erard, who "denounced her as a heretic, and, for being assisted by her to the throne, he declared Charles heretical also" (qtd. in Roy 70). By 1450, Charles VII had taken Rouen and in November of 1455 the formal appeal was initiated and authorized by Pope Callixtus III. After examining 115 witnesses, the Rouen's verdict was reversed in June 1456; Joan was pronounced a martyr and her judges heretics.

Joan was designated venerable in 1904, declared blessed in 1908 and finally canonized in 1920.

Appendix II

The trial of Joan of Arc

Joan of Arc was captured on 23 June 1430. She was pulled off her horse by a Burgundian archer and agreed to surrender to Lionel of Wandomme, who was a noble serving under John of Luxembourg. She was suspected of witchcraft and heresy and after four months in prison was sold to the English and surrendered to the spiritual jurisdiction of Pierre Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais, who had the authorisation of the University of Paris. From 9 January to 25 March he and his assistants were engaged in a Preparatory Process. The Preparatory Trial was followed by an Ordinary Trial which drew up seventy Articles of Accusation. These were reduced to the form of twelve propositions and submitted to the biggest theological and juridical capacities of that time. The trial mostly took place in the seat of Bedford's government in France, in Rouen Castle, although the setting was frequently changed, and officially began in February 1431 by public sessions. These were soon cancelled and from 4 March superseded by private sessions led by "many venerable doctors and masters" (Barret 86). On 9 May she was taken to torture chamber, threatened with torture, but she replied „if they were to tear me limb from limb and separate my soul from my body, I would not tell you anything more: and if I did say anything, I should afterwards declare that you had compelled me to say it by force“ (Barret 303). On May 12, the judges decided it was not necessary to submit her to torture (Barret 304). Then they invoked the decisions of the University of Paris, which found her guilty, but asked the Rouen Tribunal to rebuke her once more. If the result was the same, they requested the Tribunal to hand her over to the secular arm for due punishment. The Church did not have the right to burn a person; their privilege was just to interrogate the suspect and eventually apply the "ultimate penalty" where it is called for- excommunication. So where punishment, beyond excommunication was concerned the Church could not act.

On 23 May, Pierre Maurice, Canon of Rouen and a celebrated doctor of theology, read and explained to Joan the twelve articles and begged her to come to Church, but she would not. The day after, 24 May, Joan was led to a Cemetery of the Abbey of Saint-Ouen, at Rouen, where her sentence was read. In the middle of the reading Joan interrupted and said "I will hold all that the Church ordains, all that you, the Judges, wish to say and decree - in all I will refer myself to your orders!" (Murray Recantation). Then she had to pronounce a formula, which was read aloud, and signed it Jehanne +. This saved her from the threat of excommunication; however Cauchon continued pronouncing the sentence and condemned her "to perpetual imprisonment, with the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction, in order that you may bewail your faults, and that you may no more commit [these acts] which you shalt have to bewail hereafter." (Murray Abjuration) A woman garment was offered to her and she accepted it. Yet four days later she relapsed and when her judges visited her in prison and found her again in a man's attire. She reproached her judges for not keeping their promises and holding her in chains. She also said she recanted only out of the fear of fire and that her voices told her she had done a great wrong (Murray The Relapse). The judges met the same day and decided to proceed against her and on 30 May the final sentence was pronounced at the Old Market of Rouen and immediately after that she was burnt.

The trial and the whole process became a subject of many critiques. One of them was that it was manipulated by English pressure. This is based on the assumption that the English were bitter enemies of Joan, and wanted to take revenge for being driven out of their conquered territory. Another reproach to the trial

frequently mentioned in literature is that the judges were corrupted men seeking their own profit. Cauchon was labelled as an enemy, who hated Joan for driving him out of his diocese a year before the procedure. His anger then became for Joan a lethal instrument in the hands of English. From this predisposition stem all the theories about Cauchon being a villain and Joan an innocent creature in the hands of this monster.

ÚDAJE PRO KNIHOVNICKOU DATABÁZI

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Rok obhajoby	2005
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Klíčová slova	Jana z Arku Mark Twain George Bernard Shaw

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V Pardubicích dne 30. 6. 2005

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Abstract

The thesis deals with the reflection of the personality of Joan of Arc in literature from her death until the present period. It analyses her different conceptions and their changes during the centuries, tracing the political or spiritual reasons for various interpretations of her controversial personality. The writers of the nineteenth and twentieth century frequently selected Joan as a subject of their books, among them belonged such authors as Mark Twain with his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* and G. B. Shaw with *Saint Joan* and who, although contemporaries, understand Joan's fate and capacities in a different way. The work finds out these diversities, searches for their origin in the religion of the authors and depicts its impact on the coherence and veracity of the two works.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá projekcí historické postavy Jany z Arku do literatury od její smrti až do současnosti. Analyzuje různé pojetí její kontroverzní osobnosti, jejich proměny v průběhu staletí a sleduje politické a duchovní důvody rozdílné interpretace. V devatenáctém a dvacátém století byla Jana z Arku častým námětem mnoha spisovatelů, mezi něž patří i jména jako Mark Twain s dílem *Panna ve zbroji* a G. B. Shaw se *Svatou Janou*, kteří přesto, že byli současníci, chápali její osud a schopnosti rozdílným způsobem. Tato práce vyhledává tyto odlišnosti, zjišťuje jejich původ v různém pojetí náboženství těchto spisovatelů a ukazuje jejich dopad na celkovou provázanost a pravdivost děl.