

CHAPTER 5

THE PERFECT PEASANT

*Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*¹, a work which was eventually acknowledged by Mark Twain as his own, was completed about five years before the end of the nineteenth-century, and it adds certain different features to the already discussed literary perceptions of the life of the Maid. The invention of a contemporary of Joan of Arc, who is an authorial voice, gives an aura of truth and intimacy to the chronologically told events. According to the author, it was his most researched book, the one which he thought was his best, and which took him twelve years of preparation, and then two years to write² A legend exists of Twain while he was still a very young printer; a wayward wind swept a scrap of a page from an old book on Joan of Arc into his hand, and this chance event remained in his memory until at last he began her story.³

Joan of Arc was not canonised until 1920, but, as early as 1869, an appeal for her beatification was made to the Holy See. Although the decree was not published until 1909,⁴ the intervening years had yielded some literature of varying quality which portrayed her in a favourable manner. On the other hand, this news in the secular press perhaps merely stimulated the public memory, in the same way that Mark Twain was himself intrigued by a windblown scrap of paper.

The invented contemporary writer, Sieur de Conte, - Sieur de Coutes in Joan's actual history - is shown as an early childhood friend, who, in his old age, relates his youthful experiences to his great-great-grand nieces and

¹ Sieur Louis de Conte. *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* freely translated out of the Ancient French into Modern English from the original unpublished manuscript by Jean Francois Alden, New York and London, Harper & Brothers, 1896.(Page numbers in the text refer to this edition.)

² Gladys Carmen Bellamy, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist*. Norman: University of Oklohama Press, 1950, (pp.347-8).

³ E. Hudson Long, *Mark Twain Handbook*, New York, Hendricks House, 1957, p.103.

⁴ Herbert Thurston, 'Joan of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc), Blessed, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, First edition Vol. VIII, 1910, N.Y. (1907- 1914), pp.347-8.

nephews. Because of the alleged personal nature of the 'memoir', much fiction is introduced into that shadowy period of Joan's life before her recorded actions took place. The narrator, together with her two brothers and other young friends, including invented characters, Noel and the Paladin, accompany Joan on her journey, from Vaucouleurs to Chinon, proceeding thence to Orleans, and on to the crowning at Rheims. Because of the device of the fictive personal relationship, the narrator is able to make statements which sound more real than history's more orthodox truth, as when he occasionally challenges the accepted history. 'But I did hear something that the histories didn't mention and don't know about' (p.259).

The narrator introduces himself as being with Joan throughout her short life, but he realises that, because her name now lives on in fame, it may be difficult for others to believe that he speaks the truth:

for it is as a perishable paltry candle should speak of the eternal sun riding in the heavens and say, 'He was gossip and housemate to me when we were candles together'. (p.1)

The fictitious characters who are woven into the story never diminish in any way from Joan's courage, integrity and fineness. On the contrary, they appear to actually enhance her moral and spiritual superiority. Her singular greatness, according to Twain, belongs to the outstanding individual who, occasionally throughout history, rises from the masses to guide and succour the ordinary people. Prophecy and prediction are voiced by Joan, but the famous divine inspiration seems now to be replaced by considerable sensitivity. This also underscores the role of the exceptional child who becomes the superior leader. The Trial is still faithfully recounted, as the narrator promises; some incidents are emphasised, however, for the purpose of displaying the intense fortitude, courage and single-mindedness of the Maid, or conversely to expose the

unfairness and venality of her judges.

The apparent distortions of history are in most cases a means of portraying Joan in the most favourable light possible, as, for instance, when she causes Richemont to be reconciled with Charles, which action is described as a veritable feat of court diplomacy (pp.231; 244). Mark Twain's portrayal of Joan, in the naive voice of De Conte, is of a person who succeeds in transcending the usual boundaries of the human condition.

Their close companionship enables the writer to present Joan as the object of the boys' hero-worship. She is physically beautiful, her courage surpasses that of all her peers, she is loyal, kind and pious, and as she journeys through her short life she becomes the most able war leader, and wise and knowledgeable in her counsel. She is the figure of perfection in all her accomplishments.

How did she do it? It is simple: she was a peasant. That tells the whole story. She was one of the people and knew the people; those others moved in a loftier sphere and knew nothing much about them....(p.37)

'The people', according to Twain, support the throne, at the bottom of the hierarchy, by sheer strength of their numbers. Their friend and adviser, the parish priest, who is God's anointed, is instrumental to this order's social and political operation and is also necessary to the King. Twain's narrator adds to this the information that because Charles is still uncrowned, he is synonymous with a man, destined for holy orders, but who is still unanointed. Until he is crowned, he is but a doubtful or possible king. Joan's mission is to bring God's order into the reigning chaos by causing the king to be crowned, and so make him worthy of the support of the people and of their parish priests. Mark Twain's treatment of Charles, which is similar to that of most other authors, makes him shallow, ungrateful and

totally undeserving of Joan's help.⁵

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Because Twain thought that his reading public would expect a humorous work, and because he himself was determined that the subject should be treated, in the main, seriously, his *Recollections* is shrouded in anonymity. It was first published without an author's name, and serialised in *Harper's Magazine* in 1895, then later published complete as translated by 'Jean Francois Alden'. Samuel Clemens may also have thought that the use of his then well-known pseudonym, Mark Twain, which was part of the rivercraft nomenclature,⁶ would provoke expectations of a story filled with boyish adventure.

When the author mentions the sources for his *Recollections*, he minimises them into one French and one English history for the first two thirds of the book, and then five each of French and English sources for the remainder 'and much fancy work and invention on both sides of the historical road'⁷ The invention is very apparent in the first part of the work, and in the battle sections there are several obvious distortions of history. When Joan is making preparations for leaving for Vaucouleurs, she confides in her brothers and her companions, and prophesies about the part which each will play in the rescue of France and in the crowning of the Dauphin. All the twists of history are made to enhance Joan as a figure of perfection and as bearer of the innocent visionary imagination.

Because of the personal relationship given to Joan and the narrator, Twain's work then becomes some historical truth interspersed with a series of boyish adventures. Joan's actual story, in the episodes of travel, lends

⁵ M. G. A. Vale. *Charles VII*, University of California Press, 1974.(pp.195-6). He claims that Charles is subtle, one of the attributes of kingship, and cunning. Joan had enabled him to become 'an icon' by his solemn coronation and his anointing. His later neglect of Joan was therefore part of his strategic reasoning.

⁶ The mark of two fathoms; twelve feet of safe navigable water, which is a warning when leaving, and an assurance when entering the area.

⁷ Long, *op. cit.*, p.283.

itself to the moral importance which Twain attaches to the 'journey of life' concept.

Anecdotes and encounters strung together on the thread of a journey are utilised by Twain in *The Innocents Abroad*, *Following the Equator*, *Huckleberry Finn* and other works. In addition he wrote travel books, such as *Travels with Mr. Brown*. This accustomed framework lends itself naturally to the development of youthful individuality. Adventure, battles against nature and the introduction of various characters propel the stories towards the climax, just as the protagonists (usually boys), by their experiences, grow in adolescence.⁸

In the early part of the American's Joan of Arc story, the stages of the journey are historically present. In introducing diverse adventures along the way, Mark Twain's narrator injects humour, and highlights the development of Joan from a pious child with a ready tongue and agile wit, to an able, assertive and firmly opinionated war leader.

The digressions succeed in leavening the journey with happy and pathetic incidents, and with providing late nineteenth-century readers with an intimate story of a most wonderful person in the remote past. Although Mark Twain is reputed to have disliked maudlin sentimentality towards the past,⁹ many of his works display his nostalgia for his, and all, boyhood. This may well account for his admiration for Joan of Arc: for in the perfect blending of courage, piety, compassion and understanding which she represents, so she becomes the ideal companion and inspirer of *Sieur de Conte* and his friends. The historical virginity of Joan is the personification of one also locked in her pre-adult state of sexuality; this to Twain meant affinity with her fictitious, boyish companions. Much of Mark Twain's literary talent lies in his ability to understand the mind of a boy and how he

⁸ Long, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-317.

⁹ Long, *op. cit.*, p.34.

responds to various situations. B. De Voto and V.W. Brooks, two of his critics, agree that Mark Twain was 'imprisoned' in his own boyhood, yet their reasons are different; one says that he was locked in frustration, while the other contends that he was imprisoned by his so stimulated imaginative faculty.¹⁰ However, this frequent use of (young) boy characters, may have become a literary device to which he returned with pleasure, and in which his readers found delight.¹¹

The Fairy Tree image is here given great significance (pp.8-10). It is used as symbolic of the links between life and death, between childhood fantasy and adult reality, and as an extra dimension in Joan's powers of prophecy. According to the legend enshrined in Twain's *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* all who have known and loved the Tree in childhood will see it again, no matter how far they may be from Domremy, when the certainty of death is upon them. When Joan predicts to her companions that in a short space of time she will die a cruel death, they know that she has seen a vision of the Fairy Tree (pp.228-229).

There is an interesting incident in Joan's early childhood, where the parish priest exorcises the fairies. The childish rage of Joan, and her unchildish wisdom in defending them as part of God's creation, reveal the priest in his unfortunate duality. The learning bestowed by his office and its experience is disclosed, together with the stupidity of his adult state. In Joan's recounted rage it is possible to feel the actual rage of Mark Twain reflected through the anger of De Conte; especially his intolerance concerning the disparity between the laws and precepts of organised religion, and its actual practice.

¹⁰ Cited by Gladys Carmen Bellamy, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, p.32.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.371. c.f. Albert E. Stone, Jr. *The Innocent Eye*. Archon Books, 1970. This author, in his Preface, deals with the development of the changing image of childhood and its formative years in the work of Wordsworth, Hawthorne and others in the early part of the nineteenth century. This new genre attracted major novelists in America, including Mark Twain, in the period following the Civil War.

Then she finished with a blast of that idea that fairy kinsmen of the Fiend ought to be shunned and denied human sympathy and friendship because salvation is barred against them. She said that for that very reason people ought to pity them and do every humane and loving thing they could to make them forget the hard fate that had been put upon them by accident of birth and no fault of their own (p.18).

The modern author's presence in the voice of De Conte is felt in the many additions to, and variations on history, in the stages before the trial of Joan. One addition concerns the necessary obedience and respect of children for their parents. Joan's brothers overtake her on the way to Chinon, their purpose to be part of her campaign, but more specifically to relay to her the message of forgiveness and goodwill from their parents (p.66). This belated goodwill is strengthened as a motive of admitted guilt at the time of the coronation, when Jacques tearfully asks Joan's forgiveness for his presumption in judging that she, 'the Divinely appointed Savior of France', should be chastised for not obeying her earthly father. Although Mark Twain had at one time proclaimed his disbelief in heavenly messages,¹² yet he was essentially a family man, full of care and concern for his children, and he would, no doubt, according to the customs of his own place and time in history, expect a measure of obedience from them.¹³

The interpolated figure of the madman, (p.32) escaped from his cage and brandishing an axe, has a twofold purpose. It illustrates, according to Twain's telling, one of the customs of Europeans of the Middle Ages: their use of caged, helpless, mad persons as a source of entertainment. The fact that most of the population regularly faced death, starvation and disease, and contrarily could show immense pity for the unfortunate, does not

¹² A. B. Paine, *Biography*, p.1583, in Frank Baldanza, *Mark Twain, An Introduction and Interpretation*. Paine quotes Mark Twain: '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.'

¹³ Bellamy, *op. cit.* pp. 14-15; c.f. Long, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10.

hinder them from laughing at the plight of one who had no freedom to laugh. The sight of the madman at large shows the ephemeral bravery of the boys - they ran away and hid - juxtaposed with the sight of Joan, whom they saw from a safe distance, unafraid and wonderful in her inaudible, but visible, reasoning with the escaped madman. The sight of her, with the madman's axe in hand, leading him back to captivity for his own safety, removes the boys' fear, and loosens their tongues with tales of their own would-be valour.

He threatened her with his axe, as if to warn her not to come further, but she paid no heed, but went steadily on, until she was right in front of him - right under his axe. ...It made me sick, yes, giddy, and everything swam around me, and I could not see anything for a time - ...When this passed and I looked again, Joan was walking by the man's side towards the village, holding him by his hand. The axe was in her other hand. (pp.32-33)

This incident shows the way the heroic individual is exceptional and isolated, and Christ-like, capable of transcending social mores.

One of the coterie of friends who follows Joan is the Paladin, a boyish coward, who hastily climbs trees at the approach of the enemy, as occurs during the journey to Chinon. Mark Twain, in the voice of De Conte, makes the Paladin the one who has brought the breach of promise suit against Joan. Joan has freely forgiven him for his temerity in this incident. He is loquacious about his pretended bravery, and either does not comprehend, or is unimpressed, by his companions' laughter and derision. But he is devoted to Joan; he understands that she has the 'seeing eye', and because of her praise and trust he grows into a person of valour. By giving him the prestigious position of Standard Bearer, Twain gives Joan the means of using some child psychology woven into her innate compassion. By her actions she conveys to the Paladin that she considers that he is a

worthy person, and his self-image noticeably changes.¹⁴ He becomes worthwhile and extremely loyal, although he is still self-conscious of his importance. The incident discloses Twain's belief that man can improve if he is given the chance, and it is another instance of Joan's growing wisdom and spritely insightful capability.

Catherine Boucher, in whose parents' home Joan and her household were lodged in Orleans, is older in Mark Twain's story than she was historically.¹⁵ She is given prominence as the object of the admiration of the narrator, De Conte, and of others. The account of the ghost in the Boucher home is another digression in which the youthful members of the staff of Joan take part, with a determination to lay the ghost in a fashion which is perhaps Gothic rather than medieval. This incident suits the huge size and strength of the Dwarf, an invented character, whom Joan in her charity has had released into her care. She has saved him from death which is the penalty for desertion. This tremendously strong man, who is now completely devoted to Joan, wields his axe to shatter the walled enclosure and release the moaning occupants - or their ghosts. The space is empty except for a rusty sword and a disintegrating fan. The incident and its climax are more in keeping with some of Mark Twain's earlier American adventure stories but his digression engineers a drift away from Joan of Arc and the time of tension in Orleans. The author/narrator uses this viewpoint to laugh away the superstitious tradition of chivalry. The rusty sword and the threadbare fan reflect a forgotten age.

Noel, another of Joan's Domremy companions, is an eloquent speaker and is gifted in the art of mimicry. During a day between battles Noel entertains the whole company by his mimicry of the self-important, strutting Paladin. Noel and De Conte are almost childlike in their envy of

¹⁴ The Paladin and the Dwarf both die fighting at Compiègne (p.298).

¹⁵ *Proces*, Vol. IV, p.219, *Chronique de la Pucelle*, in V. Sackville West, *St. Joan of Arc*, 1973, (1936), p.157.

the Standard Bearer who appears to attract more than his share of attention, including that of the desirable Catherine Boucher. The uproarious laughter which greets the mimicry of the Paladin's pompous manner dissolves into tears of unmitigated glee. This provides the right degree of contrast for the reception of De Conte's own poem, *The Rose of Orleans*, which eulogises the 'pure and dainty white rose which blushes for the sinful nature of man, and turns red in a single night' (p.239). The pride of the narrator in his achievement of creating such a colourful metaphor is apparent in his account of the acclamation and tears of joy of the audience. This boyish performance, which seems akin to an interlude between battles, may indicate a reluctance on the part of the narrator/author to speak of the main issue - the war. It also isolates Joan from the companions who shared her early adventures, and it reveals the difference between Catherine Boucher, who is desired, and Joan, who is still more beautiful, but who is remote, and too spiritually superior to be desirable. The rose imagery also alludes to Joan; perfectly white in her virginity, but soon to receive the scarlet mantle of martyrdom.

I think she might have been as beautiful as Joan herself, if she had had Joan's eyes. But that could never be. There was never but one pair, there will never be another. Joan's eyes were deep and rich and wonderful beyond anything merely earthly. They spoke all the languages - they had no need for words.
(p.151)

Joan's brothers, the Paladin and the personal staff 'were in fairy-land' during the wait at Orleans (p.150).

This air of unreality is sharpened by the reactions of Noel and the narrator on the day following the mimicry and the recitation. The entrance of Joan of Arc, who also laughs quite heartily, appears to be an anticlimax and the whole incident resembles a form of a schoolboy romp - a lull in preparation for the adult world of war. Joan is idealised and now has the

remoteness of perfection. Therefore the boys seem to be made ill-at-ease by the fact that she witnesses their fun.

This episode disagreed with me and I was not able to leave my bed the next day. The others were in the same condition. But for this, one or another of us might have had the good luck that fell to the Paladin's share that day; but it is observable that God in his compassion sends the good luck to such as are ill-equipped with gifts, as compensation for their defect, but requires such as are more fortunately endowed to get by labor and talent what those others get by chance. (p.159)

This speech depicts the sense of fun and boyish pique which Twain/the narrator has contrived to weave into this mid-battle oasis where horror and reality are temporarily forgotten. The humour also has a deflating effect aimed at mankind generally, but which sets Joan apart. She alone is completely innocent and childlike. All else around her is part of the fallen world.

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The wry humour of the author is injected even into enemy confrontations. One such event occurs when Joan and her company are making steady silent progress into besieged Orleans, watched by the English from the battlements. Suddenly the narrator, startled by a braying jackass, slips from his saddle. The kindly hand of Sir Bertrand saves him before his armoured body flounders on the ground in complete shame. De Conte makes boyish excuses in which he deplores the English laughter: they 'had forgotten that everyone must begin' (p.258). He thinks that silence is 'the awfulest thing', a tense silence broken only by the screeching of the leather, saddles, the muffled tramping, and the sneezes of the horses. De Conte was afraid to sneeze, he says, 'because to do so would be to suffer an even bitterer torture, to attract attention to himself' (p.257). A similar incident is described by Mark Twain in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.¹⁶ Huck

¹⁶ Mark Twain. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, New American Library, 1959,

and Tom Sawyer are in hiding on each side of Jim when Huck's ankle, and finally his nose, started to itch. Not daring to break the silence for fear of detection, Huck endures the itch and before they can get away safely, he itches in eleven spots.

During the march I caught up on my devotions, which were in arrears; so it was not all loss and no profit for me after all. (p.258)

This humorously implies a boy's natural fear in such a situation. Fear initiates the prayer for safety. Although Mark Twain wished his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* to be serious; nevertheless the work surrenders to his natural preference for humour at various points.

When Joan is met by her father in Rheims he asks her how she felt when she was actually part of the battle. His questions are gory and graphic, and they measure the horror which the author experiences at the thought of physical slaughter. He questions her about how she felt:

when the blood gushed on her from the cloven ghastly face and broken teeth of the neighbour at her elbow...and men tumble limp and groaning out of saddles all around, and battle flags falling from dead hands wipe across one's face and hide the tossing turmoil a moment...'. (p.275)

Joan satisfies her father's curiosity by giving him a lesson in battle strategy and this reveals her superiority in yet another mental sphere. Joan is so dexterous intellectually, foot-sure and spiritually powerful, while her father is consistently slow, clumsy and maladroit.

The narrator uses a Grendel-like metaphor as he explains the French/English war struggle:

It was an ogre that war. An ogre that went about for a hundred years crunching men and dripping blood from its jaws. (p.14)

There is an obvious instance of Mark Twain's opinions about all war and

the excitement (American) of the 'holy fire of patriotism' in another work.¹⁷ The impassioned plea of the pastor to 'God the all-terrible' to grant them victory and to crush the foe parallels the situation in France when English victory meant devastation to the French peasants. A strange old man enters the church and bids leave to speak, saying that he bears a message from Almighty God. He asks the congregation to think carefully on the prayer just uttered. It is really two prayers, he says, one spoken and one unspoken. When they pray for victory they pray also for many of the incidental results which follow victory - the death and suffering and desolation of the enemy. And his final plea then concerns whether or not they wish to pray for this. The War Prayer ends with the belief that the man was a lunatic, as there was no sense in his words.¹⁸ The duality which Twain exposes in his thoughts of war, are equalled in his opinions of the baseness of mankind as a whole, as a contrast to the peerless worth of the outstanding individual.

But will they ever heed the message? These thoughts are made clear by his rage at the officials of the established Church and the State - as seen through the eyes of De Conte in his *Recollections* and by his pity for Joan, that unique maiden, who rises from obscurity to be a sacrifice for the masses.

* * *

One of the five chief acts of Joan of Arc which succeeded in changing the history of France - (no one of these could be called the 'chiefest', according to Twain), - was the reconciliation of the Constable, Richemont, with Charles. Historically La Tremouille was to remain to shape the affairs of court to further confusion for almost five years after Joan was sacrificed¹⁹,

¹⁷ Bernard de Voto, Editor, 'The War Prayer' *The Portable Mark Twain*, N.Y. The Viking Press, 1949 (pp 579-583).

¹⁸ B. de Voto, Editor, *op. cit.*, (p. 582-83).

¹⁹ Regine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc*, (translated by Edward Hyams, London, pp. 141, 256-257).

until Richemont finally removed him forcibly. However, these pre-empted events are arranged in the novel so as to emphasise Joan's superiority, even in war strategy.

The Trial is the most historically faithful part of the novel. 'I give you my honor now that I am not going to distort or discolor the facts of this miserable trial' (p.144), and the Translator reiterates this in a note that relates that the details of the Great Trial are in accordance with the sworn facts of history. De Conte now shares with Manchon the duties of recording questions and answers. The narrator elaborates on Joan's appearance, her stark, black male clothing, her heavy chains, her colorless face caught in a shaft of sunlight. He goes on to state that, even in her solitude, Joan is unconquered, and to tell how the wise simplicity of her answers softened the attitude of some of the judges, until Cauchon, fearful, is losing ground.(p.356)

Something must be done, and it was done. Cauchon was not distinguished for compassion but he now gave proof that he had it in his character. He thought it pity to subject so many judges to the prostrating fatigues of this trial when it could be conducted well enough by a handful of them. O gentle judge! But he did not remember to modify the fatigues for the little captive. (p.357)

The manner in which De Conte describes the trial again discloses the author's rage at the discrepancy between the professed creeds of religion and the ways in which they are practised.²⁰ The wiles of Cauchon are discussed. He selects a handful of judges because the other judges - not the captive - are fatigued.

He chose tigers. If a lamb or two got in, it was by oversight, not by intention; and he knew what to do with lambs when discovered. (p.203)

Mark Twain, in *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* confirmed his

²⁰ Bellamy, *op. cit.* p.324.

personal belief that although the human race, in its selfish, bungling, stupidity, was a sick joke played by the Almighty, yet Joan is one of those rare and noble souls who offer their lives in atonement for the follies of the masses. In his work he said nothing disparaging about her Voices, but he was deeply sceptical about the monarchy and the clergy; yet he believed passionately in the utter integrity of Joan, the worthy individual.

During an afternoon before Joan and her friends leave Domremy, De Conte is surprised to see her, sitting under the Fairy Tree, lost in thought. He stays concealed.

And now I saw a most strange thing, for I saw a white shadow come slowly gliding along the grass towards 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 the lightnings; but even the lightnings are not so intense as it was, for one can look on 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. (p.50)

This description of an event which the narrator claims to be unworldly is not irreverent and indeed seems imbued with mysticism. Yet William Searle claims that because Mark Twain was burdened with real or imaginary guilt from an early age he was like Faust, estranged from God. Moreover, Searle contends that angels, who have supernatural powers, including prophecy, appear in some of Twain's later work.²¹ The power of these angels appears to spring from demonic, not divine sources. This Faustian viewpoint would not necessarily clash with the embodiment of Joan as a supreme being, one able to transcend the normal limits of human existence. There would be conflict however, between such an opinion of Joan, and various of her answers at the trial.

²¹ William Searle. *The Saint and the Sceptics*. Detroit. Wayne State University Press, 1976. p.16 & p.145.

'Without the Grace of God I could do nothing'. (p.332) 'If I be not in a state of Grace, I pray God place me in it'; if I be in it, I pray God keep me so'. (p.333) 'I did well to do whatsoever thing God commanded me to do'. (p.336)

Mark Twain, in the voice of De Conte, embodied the character of Joan of Arc with humanity at its most desirable state. Might it not be possible, given his own inner conflicts, that he endowed the narrator with more idealistic opinions than he himself had conveyed in his earlier works? Mark Twain was not a believer, but according to a biographer²², he, like T.S. Eliot, must have believed, in later life, that in Christianity lies the hope for the future of nations.

At the time when Mark Twain, because of his financial position, needed a bestseller to clear his debts, he finished his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc*, written, he declared, for love.²³ He claimed that it was his best work²⁴ yet critics were not so impressed, because it was a departure from his usual style. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is his most popular work and Ernest Hemingway is quoted as saying that *Huckleberry Finn* is the start of all modern American literature²⁵ Although *Joan of Arc* falls short of the objectivity of *Huckleberry Finn*, the character of this noble female becomes, with Nigger Jim and Pudd'nhead Wilson, one of Twain's three great heroic figures.²⁶ Because of the differing opinions of the author and the reader concerning these two works, a brief comparison of them may prove interesting.

The style of colourful prose, as of *Huckleberry Finn*, with its many dialects and various shadings between them,²⁷ has no place in the Joan of Arc story. This latter work, however, shows the inimitable art of Mark

22 Long, *op.cit.*, p.264

23 Long, *op.cit.*, p.223

24 Bellamy, *op.cit.*, p.348.

25 Bellamy, *op.cit.*, p.347, note 7.

26 Bellamy, *op.cit.*, p.349.

27 Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Explanatory Note of the Author.

Twain in some of its descriptions. The court is 'a tinsel show' with 'butterfly dukelets' (p.101) and Charles is the head butterfly' (p.202). Joan calls the war council 'disguised ladies' maids' (p.189), and de Metz describes the court as 'painted infidels when they try to deceive Joan. Joan is like 'the sun' (p.199), 'a poem, a dream' (p.101). La Hire is called a 'godless swashbuckler and a Vesuvius of profanity' (p.132). Tremouille is 'a reptile' (p.8) and Joan's judges are 'holy assassins'. When Joan, the King's 'matchless general' (p.200) is imprisoned she is:

sold to a French priest by a French prince, with the French King and the French nation standing thankless by and saying nothing. (p.302)

In his choice of description Mark Twain's narrator emphasises Joan's unique goodness, courage, endurance and charity, while stressing the spiritually evil characters of all those who contrive to harm her.

Huckleberry Finn's only family is a brutal, drunken father from whom he eventually escapes by faking his own death. Joan has loving, caring parents and happy companionable brothers. Huckleberry becomes resourceful and inventive and an accomplished liar in his effort to survive. Among the many qualities which Joan possesses are truth and honesty. Yet she too, disobeys and deceives her parents 'because her mission requires it' (p.86). She goes on to say that because the reason was right she would do it again. The narrator adds to this by saying that Joan's position is on a higher plane than that of her companions.

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; whereas our war-ethics permitted the purchase of our lives, or any mere military advantage, small or great, by deception. (p.86)

Another early incident in which Joan deceives by telling the truth, occurs when she and her soldiers are accosted by horsemen led by an enemy

captain. He assumes she is Captain Raymond, one of his own officers, whom he expects to meet about this time. She replies with ingenuity, assures the captain that she has seen the Virgin, and had been in her camp more than a league away (p.82-84). Her ready answers and her cool cleverness earn the thanks of the enemy captain and the admiration of her scared companions.

Similar inventiveness and ready wit are the tools of Huckleberry when he successfully disentangles himself from two men who are nigger-hunting. Huck had previously left Jim on the raft, secretly intending to turn him over to the authorities. When faced with the men, he changes his mind. They ask if he has a black man on board, and there is a struggle between his heart and his conscience. To follow the law seems quite wrong. Finally he says that the man is white, that he is his father and implies that he is sick with smallpox (p.94). Nigger Jim unconsciously helps Huck to become a worthwhile person, just as Joan, in a more positive way, influences the Paladin and her other French soldiers.

One of the differences between Joan of Arc and Huckleberry is the manner in which each reacts to others who are more literate than themselves. Joan ignores the war captains and often persuades La Hire and Dunois to act against the policy of the waiting game of the war council. When Tom Sawyer finally comes into Huckleberry's life again, because he has read many things in books, Tom is again the leader, Huckleberry loses the initiative and both revert to boys' play.

Huckleberry Finn again decides not to break the entire code of social, religious, right/wrong behaviour and therefore writes to Miss Watson informing her that her slave Jim is being kept by Mr. Phelps. By doing so he knows that he is betraying the one person whom he loves and who is most worthy of love. At this time Huck has some profound thoughts; of how he felt good and washed clean of sin and how close he came to being

damned for aiding Jim. Next he thought of what a good friend Jim had been to him, and decides against sending the letter. He says he will go to hell instead. His good sense and loyalty compel him to sin against the law. This decision of putting his friend, the negro, before the law is brave and noble and is a mark of Huck's growing integrity. It portrays the extent to which he has improved under the influence of Jim. Love, in its deeper sense, is of paramount importance in both novels.

Similarly, Joan abjures her vision because she is afraid of the fiery death but not of hellfire, and so she lied against her true self. When she relapses she becomes true to herself and her Voices again. Mark Twain's narrator suggests that Cauchon hinted to the guards that if they were to torment the prisoner even more cruelly, they would not be reprimanded. (p.413). It is said that by this suggestion Twain implies that Joan became a martyr, not for God or the King but to save her virginity, which is a personal reason. It can be seen that hellfire is not part of Joan's fear if it is observed that on the day she was to die she asks Pierre Maurice where she would be that same night. He replies:

'Have you not good hope in God?' to which Joan answers:
'Yes - and by his Grace I shall be in Paradise'. (p.424)

Neither Joan of Arc nor Huckleberry Finn reaches adulthood. While Mark Twain was working on Tom Sawyer he wrote to Howells, his friend, telling him of his decision not to allow Tom to become an adult because then he would be just like other literary figures, and readers would regard him contemptuously.²⁸ Presumably he had the same thoughts about Huckleberry. Joan, like his daughter Susy, died before the onset of the difficult years. He plainly regarded the years before full adulthood as the ones which are uncorrupted by the evil world. After the death of two of his

²⁸ Bellamy, *op. cit.* p.349.

daughters and his wife, with the consequent embitterment and desolation which the personal tragedies left in their wake, the establishment of the Angel Fish Club is an event which discloses the psychological depths of his interest, not only in youth, but in the youthful beauty of girlhood.²⁹

Mark Twain's wish that Adam and Eve could have been passed over and that Martin Luther and Joan of Arc had been the first humans³⁰, stems from his belief that these two would have resisted all temptation, that the apple would have remained intact and that the story of humanity would have been very different. If we see the Fairy Tree of Bourlemont as the unifying motif of Mark Twain's novel,³¹ this whimsical comment in itself has an inner meaning. The Fairy Tree is the symbol of Paradise existing eternally in the past, and it signifies Joan's affinity with nature; its vision, as she approaches death, gives her as much help as do her Holy Voices.³² As a sign of primordial innocence, the Tree image itself becomes an extension and a replacement for the other two Trees: the Tree of Knowledge, which symbolises man's fall from innocence, and the Tree of Redemption, the Cross, which is symbolic of the means by which fallen man may regain his former innocence. To Mark Twain, the aging sceptic, the Fairy Tree may well be the picture of Joan's link with pre-Christian values of piety. Yet he does project dual views; that of the young *Sieur de Conte*, forever paying homage to Joan, the ideal companion and one who also had laughed and cried in the sheltering love of the Fairy Tree; and that of the cynical embittered old man, who reproves and excuses the callow state of youth. Twain believed in the spiritual perfection of Joan of Arc and in her great personal magnitude which she used for the good of the common people.

²⁹ Stone, *op. cit.* p.208, Note 10.

³⁰ Mark Twain: 'The Turning Point of my Life' *What is Man* p.140 in Long, *op. cit.* , p.389.

³¹ Stone, *op. cit.*, p.222-23.

³² Stone, *op. cit.*, p.224.

Although she was a peasant, her greatness disregarded the power structures of the church and of the secular authorities. She was a peasant and the Spirit of France and he saw in her the parallel of Liberty, the Spirit of democrat America. She was the symbol of sacrifice, and the message of hope to others as sinned against as she had been. Thus Twain's story, however surprising it may seem to the general reader, shows how Clemens found it a fine analogue to American experience in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Joan's strength is a moral paradigm of what might have been in her time, had the world but listened and turned away from its nationally destructive wars.

X

CHAPTER 6

A SHAVIAN MAID

When Shaw in his Preface to *Saint Joan*¹ claimed that his play was written in full view of the Middle Ages, his assertion stemmed from a wish to discredit both the eulogisers of Joan and the melodrama writers, and to rationalise his own promise to tell the story as it had really happened. His further statement concerning the 'inexact nature of accidental facts' (Preface p.43) is justified by his intention of making both the fifteenth-century and some of its events more intelligible to readers and audiences of the twentieth-century. This is made manifest by the emergence of characters who appear as much Shavian as medieval. The method adopted by Shaw in the portrayal of the main characters has raised some controversy, but it has stimulated recurring interest and helped to popularise the play and its theme during the ensuing sixty and more years.

Throughout the ages dramatists have employed their skills to readjust and manipulate history. This reshaping of the historical character of Joan bears the imprint of Shaw's particular views of modern woman, of his Irish nationalism, and of his own Victorian Protestant upbringing. This last influence is far more evident than that of the medieval saintly figure. To Shaw she is an egoist whose accomplishments are the result of her own endeavour and wit. By the elimination of the supernatural and because of Joan's lack of miraculous wonder, when her natural attributes fail to produce the desired results, her friends and followers have no recourse but to forsake her and to forget her.

When they are compared with the translations of the trial and the documents of rehabilitation,² the words used by Joan are almost an echo of the transcript. But the manner of the accusers and the questions and

¹ B. Shaw, *Saint Joan*, Penguin, 1946 (1924).

² Regine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc by herself and her Witnesses* London, 1964, pp. 165-227.

remarks of the court assessors change the image of all concerned. Perhaps the chief effect of the manipulation of the dramatist is the picture of the perfectly just and valid trial; George Bernard Shaw also proclaims in the 'Preface' (p.26) that Joan got a far fairer trial than many transgressors receive in the twentieth-century. The rehabilitation was procured, according to the play, and reiterated in the Epilogue, solely to prove that Charles VII had been legally crowned and that the ceremony was not a trick of witchcraft and sorcery. This reshaping and manipulating of the personalities produces: a kind, understanding Cauchon; an eloquent and well-informed inquisitor; a Dauphin, childish, petulant and ridiculed by his subordinates; and a Dunois, who is sensitive and well-disposed towards Joan, but is primarily a soldier, as is La Hire. The warlike English statesman, Warwick, is faithful to his original quest of first branding the enemy with the taint of sorcery, and then of eliminating the cause of the sorcery, in order to prove that the English had not been beaten in battle by fair means.

The male characters, except the Dauphin, speak with a mixture of good sense and good intention according to their positions, and this is reinforced with sound economic reasoning. Conflict occurs when the good intentions of all do not run a parallel course. The minor characters appear to be shrewd and witty and their retorts, although deflated by their superiors, provide a cathartic release from the forthcoming tragedy.

The language now used by the main figures provides some measure of the changed appearance of their personalities. Joan speaks with a Northern dialect and this presents her as unlearned, if shrewd, in the manner that Chaucer adopted in 'The Reeve's Tale',³ while Robert de Baudricourt and the steward use language suited to a nineteenth century East Anglian farmer and his servant. At the trial the Inquisitor, Cauchon, and others prosecuting, except La Courcelles, speak sombrely and correctly

³ A.C. Cawley, (Editor) Chaucer. *Canterbury Tales*, 1958, p.109.

as might have been the custom in a solemn Victorian court. An extra dart of humour is provided when Joan criticises the language of de Courcelles. According to British stage tradition, regional accents, like these, were adopted for lower-class characters.⁴

The language used in the Epilogue, that much-maligned, often misunderstood addition to Joan's story, emphasises Shaw's last words on his notions about the trial, rehabilitation and sanctification of the Maid.

It was necessary by hook or crook to shew the canonized Joan as well as the incinerated one; for many a woman has got herself burnt by carelessly whisking a muslin skirt into the drawing-room fireplace, but getting canonized is a different matter, and a more important one. (Preface, p.45).

The author here defends his Epilogue against the suggestions of critics and wellwishers concerning its superfluity. The extra time involved in the performance, the irrelevancy and irreverence of the details of the Epilogue have, in turn, been put forward as reasons for its omission. (Preface Pp.44-46) Further, it discloses another aspect to the events; in showing Joan sanctified and surprised, it gives a glimpse of how she affected some of her contemporaries and caused them to reveal their fallibility. And in bringing together various details of the Rehabilitation as well as the Trial, in the brilliant flashbacks and in the comic modernity of the presentation, Shaw reveals his dramatic genius.

* * *

When the Dauphin is encountered by Joan at Chinon, his actual youthful state is caricatured, so that he appears childish, undignified and petulant - an entirely unlikely, ill-equipped person for the Maid to seek out and to crown. He is bullied, as well he knows, by the Lord Chamberlain, who is bursting with insolent self-esteem. Charles' replies to his taunts suggest that he is treated without care or respect, in spite of his royal blood,

⁴ S. Weintrub, *The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, Volume six, p. 139.

because he owes the Lord Chamberlain money. But the Dauphin's thrust, 'I will read it for you if you like' as La Tremouille falters and stumbles over a few written words, shows that Charles, in spite of his shortcomings, is aware that the other is inferior in some respects. He demonstrates some good sense in his answers to his ministers as they deride Joan, and in his insistence that she be admitted to the royal presence because 'De Baudricourt says she will raise the seige of Orleans and beat the English for us' (Scene II, p.68).

Confidentially, Charles tells Joan of his inability to hold weapons and warns her to stop preaching to him, mimicking her commoner's dialect:

you may spare your breath to cool your porridge; for I cannot do it. I am not built that way; and there is an end to it. (Scene II, p.75).

He cringes when Joan admonishes him to have courage, inviting her to look well at himself as 'the poor devil' (Scene II, p.76) His ridiculously shabby figure is an inversion of what a king, particularly a medieval one, should look like, and this together with his preoccupation with the lack of money, are indicative of the high price of war waged by mercenaries. Charles seems ordinary in a modern way; a man forced by circumstances to borrow from one source to pay for a more urgent need. He appears to lack the initiative to realise his position and so his life is one of pretence. He wants help but cannot pay for it; he cares not what he wears since his ugliness is not improved by adornment, and the Queen, who is more forceful, needs money to clothe herself. He confides that he is better at thinking than fighting and knows that the English are better fighters than thinkers. This remark is an omen of things to come and reveals his self-awareness and his selfish and defeatist pragmatism. After forbidding Joan from meddling in his affairs, he questions her about her supernatural skills:

I don't want a message; but can you tell me any secrets? Can you do any cures? Can you turn lead into gold, anything of that sort?

Joan's reply of:

I can turn thee into a king, in Rheims Cathedral; and that is a miracle which will take some doing, it seems. (Scene II, p.77).

implies a modern rebuff, in familiar playful Shavian fashion, to a medieval style question and discloses some disappointment because of Charles' negative attitude to his kingship. The Shavian Maid is clearly portrayed, in Joan's mocking dismissal to Charles' suggestions. The expense of the coronation deters him and because he owes money to Bluebeard, the Archbishop and La Tremouille, it is a really daring gesture which makes him announce, in a mixed response, that Joan will be the new leader of the army.

After the coronation, Charles appears with his courage already dissipated, weakened under the weight of the as yet never-tested kingly crown. His replies to Joan when she observes that she will go home now that her work is done are trivial, and suggest that her usefulness has already worn thin, and that Charles wants only a truce without fighting. He is appalled as she wavers; first she hopes to be able to clear all the 'Goddams' from France. Charles' intentions may be wise considering that he is impoverished, but they are peevish and ungrateful, as is revealed by his scathing words:

I tell you I have no money; and this coronation, which is all your fault, has cost me the last farthing I can borrow. (Scene V, p.109)

When the dignitaries dwell on the possibility of the army disowning Joan because of their military self-conceit the Archbishop reminds her that the King has not the means of ransoming her, and the confirmation of Charles' 'Not a penny' is economically final. His later remark that he wishes that she would either keep quiet or go home sounds petulant, but

could be analysed as good sense, as this would save Joan. Yet it is doubtful that Charles had any thought for Joan's interest. Rather it encapsulates his indifference to others.

Shaw's Dunois is probably as true to life as other characters in *Saint Joan*, but his portrayal denotes him as possessing imagination, capability and love for his fellow men.

... His broad brow and pointed chin give him an equilaterally triangular face, already marked by active service and responsibility, with the expression of a good-natured man who has no affectations and no foolish illusions (Scene III, Headnote, p.80)

His qualified imagination is emphasised by his flight of fancy as he sees the west wind as 'an English harlot' and at the same time glimpses the darting brilliance of the sacred kingfisher. Both are associated with his confrontation with the Maid, a meeting woven into Shaw's fiction, which encapsulates Dunois' feelings at the plight of Orleans, and of his imaginative notions of the events of the future. Dunois' half-conscious prayer to the Virgin as he pleads for a change in the wind is initiated by the fleeting glance of the blue-hooded bird and mingles with the cries of his page who wishes to catch and cage the kingfisher. As Joan appears, 'in a blazing rage, clad in splendid armor' (p.81), there is already an image of her subsequent death and saintly glory. Dunois' reminder to Joan that the English are on both sides depicts the Captain's understanding of the complete political position in its selfish duplicity: the English are on both sides of the Loire, and also that there are some of the French, - notably some members of the Church and of the University of Paris, as well as the Burgundian supporters, - who are quite happy to be English.

Dunois' conversation reveals his friendliness but he is still patronising to Joan about her battle tactics, which he probably considers are non-existent. When the wind suddenly changes, after his unsuccessful

prayers, his gifts and his payments to priests, he is then convinced that Joan is sent from God. He is willing to accept help from an unlikely, even heaven-sent source.

The wind has changed. (He crosses himself). God has spoken.
(Kneeling and handing his baton to Joan) You command the
King's army. I am your soldier. (Scene III p.84)

When later he advises Joan to be temperate in war as she is in her appetites, he sympathetically admonishes his 'little saint' for her high-handed manner in exposing too dismissively the stupid mistakes of experienced war captains and politicians. As a logical man he cannot rely on Joan's voices, but concedes that their reasons are usually good.

His alleged change of tactics, from the defeatist world of ransom markets to fearless attack, shows the benefit of Joan's influence, but his acknowledgment of God's help is really an elaboration of the saying - that God helps those who help themselves.

But I tell you as a soldier that God is no man's daily drudge, and no maid's either. If you are worthy of it He will snatch you out of the jaws of death and set you on your feet again; but that is all: once on your feet you must fight with all your might and all your craft. For He has to be fair to your enemy too: don't forget that. (Scene V,p.107)

He expounds on what God has done through the Maid, and how much He still expects Dunois to do. He warns that the time of miracles is over and reminds Joan of the impartiality of God. More pointedly, he counts the cost of lives lost in war, and predicts that one day Joan will not count the cost and she will be captured; 'she goes ahead and trusts to God: she thinks she has God in her pocket' (p.109). Dunois predicts that a large purchase price will be offered by Warwick. As the play progresses, the question of war's power and financial economics becomes even more apparent, and it paves the way for the betrayal and complete isolation of Joan, even from 'good' men and their prudence. How can Divine help be equated with the evil of

medieval cupidity?

The other warlords of note, La Hire and Gilles de Rais, are treated with less emphasis than Dunois. La Hire is portrayed as a fierce and worthy leader, who, in spite of an inherent urge to swear and blaspheme, realises the value of Joan in battle. 'Fighting is not what it was, and those who know least about it often make the best job of it', he says. (Scene V. p.109) Although he, too, deflates Joan, because she is untrained in fighting, he concedes that her insight is uncommonly superior to theirs. And while Dunois would rescue her from accidental harm he would disown her, should she be caught while acting against his advice. La Hire, violent in loyalty as in action, declares that he will 'follow her to Hell' (Scene V, p.113).

The character of de Rais is not highlighted in any way by Shaw. By emphasising at all such a devious character as he later became, he would have spoiled the effect of the dramatist's impartiality. Crime, like disease, as Shaw avers in his Preface (p.43), is uninteresting. De Rais is treated with a certain kind of ridicule because of his peacock-like sense of superiority. When he accuses Joan of acting in the capacity of Pope and Emperor, she makes fun of his (unhistorical) billygoat beard and haughty habits. And when Joan tells Charles that, now that her work is done, she will return to her family, de Rais replies that the petticoat that she has abandoned for so long may now trip her up. This remark has an ironical twist. It is the lack of petticoats which will actually help to trip Joan, and so send her to the fire. Joan's three famous companions have a certain similarity. The Bastard of Orleans has nobility, ability and integrity and a genuine liking for Joan. De Rais has superficial polish, and does not dislike the Maid, but perhaps fears her. La Hire has courage and ability equal to that of the others, is roughly spoken, but has allowed Joan to clean up his language; he admires her and accepts her unquestioningly. Yet none of the three understands her faith and so they cannot accept it. Her faith is her whole life, while theirs is an

empty symbol only; to be spoken of and admired, but not to be confused with life and its scheming.

The day after she has been dragged from her horse by a goddam or a Burgundian, and he is not struck dead: the day after she is locked in a dungeon, and the bars and bolts do not fly open at the touch of St Peter's angel: the day when the enemy finds out that she is as vulnerable as I am and not a bit more invincible, she will not be worth the life of a single soldier to us; and I will not risk that life, much as I cherish her as a companion-in-arms. (Scene V, p.109).

These words of Dunois foretell, in condensed fashion, what will happen ultimately to the Maid, and why her companions will not raise a hand to help her. Their faith and trust in Joan will last just as long as her voices and her inspiration do not interfere with their truces and their economy.

Balancing the three fighting men who come into contact with Joan are the power figures who are her opponents at the trial. It is noticeable in Shaw's play, as in her actual history, that the characters prominent in Joan's pre-Compiegne days, and who all, to some degree, were sympathetic to her cause, have disappeared. The need and greed for money separates these worthies from the divinely inspired.

The most important of the trial protagonists and the most altered by Shaw is Cauchon. The Earl of Warwick's admonishment to his page not to address Cauchon as 'pious Peter' alerts the audience to the outward holiness of the Bishop of Beauvais. Overt piety often proves to be less than genuine. His scrupulous fairness is in question when he reminds Warwick that the judgement of the Church is no mockery. This remark is provoked by Warwick's assurance to Cauchon that his anti-Maid English soldiers have friendly intentions towards him! He is convinced that Cauchon will not fail the English. In contradiction to Warwick's blunt insistence that Joan must die, Cauchon reiterates that the Church is not subject to political necessity. This reinforces Shaw's attitude of non-committal neutrality. There can be

neither villains nor heroes.

It goes almost without saying that the old Jeanne d'Arc melodramas, reducing everything to a conflict of villain and hero, or in Joan's case, villain and heroine, not only miss the point entirely, but falsify the characters, making Cauchon a scoundrel, Joan a prima donna, and Dunois a lover. (Preface, p.44).

Various independent sources exist, with supporting historical evidence, which are quite contrary to Shaw's impartial picture of Cauchon.⁵ A strange pun on his name, making it 'cochon' has been used by members of the French public for years. When Cauchon is told by Warwick that he approves of him doing all possible for Joan, providing that he ensures that it will be useless, it is one of the humorous gems thrown into impending tragedy to dispel the gloom. Cauchon's rejoinder to the Inquisitor's anti-heresy speech regarding the heresy of Protestantism is sheer Shavian invention and had no place in history at that time.

Heresy begins with people who are to all appearance better than their neighbours. A gentle and pious girl, or a young man who has obeyed the command of our Lord by giving all his riches to the poor, and putting on the garb of poverty, the life of austerity, and the rule of humility and charity, may be the founder of a heresy that will wreck both Church and Empire if not ruthlessly stamped out in time. The records of the Holy Inquisition are full of histories we dare not give to the world, because they are beyond the belief of honest men and innocent women; yet they all began with saintly simpletons. (Scene VI, p.121).

There is much comic irony in Shaw's treatment, particularly in his benign treatment of Cauchon, and in his allusions to St Francis. Cauchon's intolerance towards Courcelles' obsession with trivialities, when he rises in a fury and then sits, still trembling with blinding rage, is a contradiction of the pious, composed elder of the Church earlier presented. His concern for the impropriety of the English who hasten Joan to death immediately she is excommunicated is ironical; he mentions this possible departure from the

⁵ R. Pernoud, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167. c.f. M.A. Cohen, 'The Shavianisation of Cauchon' *Shaw Review*, (20) 1977, pp. 63-70

law and is reminded by Warwick of his own doubtful authority. Cauchon's dismissal of this in the reminder that they must both answer to God, is an acknowledgement of the ending of a mutual agreement of a sinister nature.

Earlier as Cauchon is conferring with Warwick, the Inquisitor and d'Estivet, Warwick's 'I should be sorry to act without the blessing of the Church' (Scene IV. p.117) leaves no loophole for the possibility that Joan might not be eliminated. The price that Warwick paid to John of Burgundy was not to ensure that she would be tried for heresy, but that she would surely burn. Cauchon's reply to the above remark is full of surprise, wonder and fear of the consequences. He considers Warwick's power - a power more far-reaching than his own:

Cauchon: (with a mixture of cynical admiration and contempt)
And yet they say Englishmen are hypocrites! You play for your side, my lord, even at the peril of your soul. I cannot but admire such devotion; but I dare not go so far myself. I fear damnation.

The Inquisitor, John Lemaitre is zealous and conscious of his power; skilled in the trapping of the heretic, supposed or actual. His opening statement, regarding his early idea that Joan's was a political case and that she was a prisoner-of-war, suggests that coercion and probably bribery have allowed his mind to admit the charge of heresy. His smooth assurance to Cauchon that Joan will surely burn, that she herself is her accusers' strongest ally, impinges sharply on the ears as an admission of his subtlety. Heresy is his business and he knows his subject thoroughly. This whole scene is sparked with irony as it refutes the allegation of Shaw in the 'Preface' that Joan got a completely fair trial. It suits the dramatist's purpose to follow historical records and shrewdly allow the witchcraft charge to be swept away by this graver one of heresy. Heresy trials were common in the fifteenth-century but the truth about the number of witchcraft trials at that time is debateable.⁶

⁶ R. Pernoud, *The Glory of the Medieval World*, London, 1950, p.266.

When the Inquisitor reduces the number of charges against Joan to twelve, he cleverly dismisses the other fifty-two as trumpery charges. He deplores the heresy of her male dress and in his long speech he stresses justice without compassion, and like Achilles, he destroys pity. Nevertheless, he cites the Maid's piety and chastity and emphasises that her excesses are of religion and charity only. After her excommunication he laments the tragedy of the young, innocent creature, crushed between the two greatest forces of the world.

Gentlemen: I am compassionate by nature as well as by profession; and though the work I have to do may seem cruel to those who do not know how much more cruel it would be to leave it undone, I would go to the stake myself sooner than do it if I did not know its righteousness, its necessity, its essential mercy. I ask you to address yourself to this trial in that conviction. Anger is a bad counsellor: cast out anger. Pity is sometimes worse: cast out pity. But do not cast out mercy. Remember only that justice comes first...(Scene VI, p.123).

His dual-edged speech strongly hints at a lack of truth in the justice meted out, a point which Shaw, however, strongly negates in his 'Preface' (p.26). When the English forcibly rush Joan to the fire without the formality of first handing her over to the secular arm, Cauchon wishes to stop them. The Inquisitor quiets him with the advice that, '...A flaw in the procedure may be useful later on: one never knows'... (p.139). Such a flaw, an error, would enable the Church, as it did, to blame the English. This is probably a brilliant flash of hindsight which Shaw has ironically placed in the words of the Inquisitor.

The English chaplain John de Stogumber is first presented in the play as fanatically religious, stupid in his anti-French remarks and frantically vicious towards Joan as woman. Like Warwick he suffers from Englishness. He is trivialised by his secular and religious superiors, so that his religious calling and his birthplace are both ridiculed. His complete breakdown after witnessing the cruelty of Joan's death is as violent as his previous vengeful

hatred.

... [Falling on his knees] O God, take away this sight from me! O Christ, deliver me from this fire that is consuming me! She cried to Thee in the midst of it: Jesus! Jesus! Jesus! She is in Thy bosom and I am in hell for evermore. (Scene VI, p.141)

The Archbishop of Reims appears with Joan, Dunois and the King, and the former unhistorically predicts her betrayal and burning. He deplores her pride and disobedience and his attitude has changed since their first meeting, when Joan, full of humility, had paid homage to his dignity. He then accused her of being in love with religion; now he gives her advice and cautions her about her worldliness.

...and all the voices that come to you are echoes of your own wickedness...(p.110) ...if you perish through setting your private judgement above the judgement of the spiritual directors, the Church disowns you... ... But you will be none the less alone; they cannot save you... ...I see I am speaking in vain to a hardened heart...in future then fend for yourself... (Scene V, p.111).

At this time, long before trial, Joan's fate seems to be etched in detail. So accurate are the details, that it appears that the Archbishop may have been influenced perhaps by pro- English members of the Church. Mention of her hardened heart savours of the sin against the Holy Ghost which Cauchon equates with Joan's refusal to submit to the Church authority. (Scene IV,p.96).⁷ In putting God before the Church and the King before the feudal lords, she becomes the common enemy of both institutions, who jealously guard their power and wealth.

Warwick's impatience at the time lapse of four months since he bought Joan from the Burgundians at Compiegne displays both his need for value for money and his urgent desire for Joan's death. His arrival immediately after the burning suggests that, although eager for her demise,

⁷ Charles G. Herbermann, and others eds. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. p.414. These are mentioned in various gospels and although interpreted with slight differences they are considered to be unpardonable and include final impenitence.

he had no wish to share the distress which had unmanned the English chaplain. 'If you have not the nerve to see these things why do you not do as I do and stay away?' he bluntly advises the demented chaplain. (Scene VI, p 141). Because of this linking, he, as well as the English chaplain, appears to lack the courage to witness the result of his plan. When he reassures the executioner that he will lose nothing by having no relics to sell, the mercenary nature of the verdict is confirmed and his English superiority is revealed as one deriving from greater funds.

In the character of Ladvenu, Shaw probably merged that of Isambart de la Pierre, who historically brought the cross from the chapel. Ladvenu, a minorite, appears at the trial as a less money-hungry member of the Church. He is at first puzzled by the charge of heresy and suggests that it is rather Joan's simplicity. During the course of the trial he is impressed by Joan's shrewd answers to the learned assessors and he particularly applauds the clarity and wisdom of her reply when she is questioned about her state of grace. He is, however, affected by the weight of the authority of Cauchon and the Inquisitor. Finally, after the abjuration, when Joan calls them fools and proclaims, '... I know your counsel is of the devil and mine is of God', Ladvenu replies 'You wicked girl: if your counsel were of God would He not deliver you?' (Scene VI, p.138) Joan's reply: 'His ways are not your ways' is worthy of note.

The executioner is full of professional zeal when, after the burning, he hastens to assure Warwick that his orders have been carried out, that relics are non-existent as Joan's organs which the fire would not consume are at the bottom of the river. He is subtly reassured for his diligence and is given the promise of recompense.

The way in which Shaw has presented the characters of Joan's contemporaries is a reflection of her characterisation.

She was a thorough daughter of the soil in her peasantlike matter-of-factness and doggedness, and her acceptance of great lords and kings and prelates as such without idolatry or snobbery, seeing at a glance how much they were individually good for. (Preface, p.21).

She is brash and impertinent at times and her language suggests that she is unused to addressing her superiors. Such a skill would be contrary to her station. She has earthy intuition and self-confidence. History confirms that, although she was unlettered, she was not a peasant. In Regine Pernoud's *Joan of Arc* when Jean de Metz asks Joan her business in Vaucouleurs she replies:

I am come here to a King's Chamber to talk with Robert de Baudricourt that he may be willing to send me to the King⁸

This does not imply the gauche familiarity found in Shaw's reference to 'Polly' and 'Jack'. But Shaw's Maid is a creature of his own invention, at this stage neither pious nor wonderful, and imagined amidst gurgles of laughter.

Because of her upbringing she was no doubt strong and virile as portrayed by Shaw. She has powers of persuasion which have influenced all from Poulengy to Charles. The language Joan uses to La Tremouille 'Thou'rt answered old Gruff-and-Glum', sounds impudent for the first encounter of a young country girl with a head of state, and comically demolishes Joan's sacred mission. The accent is on comedy in the first part of the play. The various actresses who have played Joan each found her own particular angle to emphasise, so that it would, at times, be difficult to distinguish the character and the actress. Dame Wendy Hiller crystallised the question of dialect: she settled on a North Country accent because that was her native area, but most chose an accent with a country flavour.⁹

⁸ R. Pernoud, *op. cit.*

⁹ S. Weintraub, *The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies*, Vol. Six, p.139.

In her warm conversation with Dunois Joan asserts unhistorically:
 ... I am a soldier: I do not want to be thought of as a woman ... I
 do not care for the things women care for ... they dream of lovers
 and of money. (Scene III, p.83).

The words reinforce Shaw's deliberate characterisation: that she wanted to be a soldier and to live, asexually, as a man. Joan begins to dig the pit which the Inquisitor says she is preparing and he highlights one of the abnormalities which Shaw states in the Preface (p.20) drew Joan irrevocably to the stake. She said that she wore them for convenience and for modesty but Shaw and others imply that she enjoyed the clothing as a sign of her chosen way of life. J. Middleton Murry considers the reason which Miss Sackville West gave for Joan's male clothes, that of preventing sexual violence, to be 'grossly inadequate'. He suggests that her male attire might be closely connected with her religious mission, perhaps as a symbol of her state of refraining from marriage.¹⁰ Saint Euphrosyne and others wore men's clothing as disguise in order to preserve their virginity.¹¹ Shaw's Joan is a virgin because she is socially awkward and without feminine appeal.

Her impulsiveness, the tears which follow a 'blaze' of courage, her self-confessed cowardice before a battle are probably part of her actual nature, as they are characteristic of the violent contrasts of medieval life. This contrast is apparent in her answer to Dunois' assertion that she is a trifle womanly.

I am a soldier and nothing else. Soldiers always nurse children
 when they get a chance.(p.102)

Shaw stresses her courage, love of battle and her wish to live as a man; but she did not wish to marry one. (The courage and bravery of woman Shaw emphasises in other works). Hers is that strange blend of male and female

¹⁰ J. Middleton Murry, 'The Maid' *Fortnightly*, Vol. CXL, New Series, July to December 1936, p.114.

¹¹ Pere H. Delehaye, S.J. . *Legends of the Saints*, USA, 1974, p.203.

qualities for which Shaw has admiration. His Major Barbara also has a kind of religious mission, and is reluctant to abandon her distinctive uniform.¹² Joan is a rational, vital freethinker, perhaps the most active, liberated female in the long line of dominant women Shaw created.

She admonishes La Hire to kill the English wolves until the rest go back to their own country but she abhors unnecessary cruelty. She cannot come to terms with ransom, and cries that the common people cannot afford the accoutrements of war. This intrusion of money markets into the inspired enthusiasm of Joan progresses until she is alienated from her companions.

Appalled at the Archbishop's jibe concerning the chastisement of hubris, she protests her lack of pride: 'I never speak unless I know I am right' (p.106). Joan considers this to be commonsense but her reply reflects Shavian humour. Yet her true humility and her self worth shine through her words to Dunois:

Jack, you are right...I am not worth one soldier's life if God lets me be beaten; but France may think me worth my ransom after what God has done for me. (Scene V, p.109).

Joan's contempt when her witch's witchery is mentioned emphasises her rationality and indicates that the superstition existed in the minds of the accusers. 'And why must I be chained to a log of wood? Are you afraid I will fly away? (Scene VI, p.125) Joan's words are a reminder of the flight of the kingfisher and of the page who wished to cage it, although they may seem to mock the suggestion of her witchcraft. Her answers are shrewd and unafraid, but her language is not now demeaning; the solemnity of the Inquisition and the legal procedures has a sobering effect.

My voices do not tell me to disobey the Church; but God must be served first... But my voices tell me I must dress as a soldier. (Scene VI, p.130; p.132).

¹² G. B. Shaw, *Major Barbara*, Penquin, p.19

Both affirmations helped to convict Joan. She repeated them many times, offending both authority and convention, and her insistence increased the ire of the accusers. The first encompassed the idea that she was a protester against the established Church. The second seemed equally important to the Inquisition if ridiculous to twentieth-century clergy and laity alike.

The Epilogue which provides a link between us and the tragedy in the Rouen market place is an invention of Shaw's stagecraft. The painted candles with the red and yellow curtains fluttering in the breeze, the illustrations with which Charles VII is amusing himself, are images which serve several purposes. The coloured flicker as the curtains move in the candlelight is a reminder of the burning, and the air of artificiality has a backward glance to the hypocritical and false nature of the rehabilitation. The obvious devices used in the stage setting are indicative of Shaw's opinion that the Rehabilitation was as contrived as the Trial was just.

The pictures in Fouquet's *Boccaccio*, which Charles is enjoying, echo an encounter in Scene II; on that occasion Charles used his ability to read as a means of belittling La Tremouille. La Tremouille taunts Charles by telling him that 'reading is about all you are fit for' (Scene II, p.67). But Charles is not now reading; his pleasure is derived from the probable sensual nature of the illustrations. His preoccupation and the nearness of the statue of the Virgin, provide another symbol of the contrast between the ideals of religion and the falseness of its observance. The whole atmosphere of colour and light changes, the music of the soldier's nonsense shanty and the hymn of praise, the antithetic pattern of the exits and entrances all bear the stamp of Shaw. By the mingling of so many unmistakably engineered devices he distances the possibility of the supernatural or the miraculous.

Ladvenu is the first to appear, still carrying the cross as he had done at Joan's dying. The King is glad to hear that he has been crowned neither by a witch nor a heretic and cares nothing for the lies and corruption which

Ladvenu retells accompanied the re-trial. Charles reply to Ladvenu's 'The ways of God are very strange' (p.145) reflects the last words of Joan to Ladvenu:

His ways are not your ways. He wills that I go through the fire to His bosom; for I am His child, and you are not fit that I should live among you. That is my last word to you.(Scene VI,p.138)

The spirit then visits the sleepy King; the lapse of time and the intervening canonisation have not changed the familiar colloquialism at their early meetings. 'Did I make a man of you after all, Charlie?' Her language still has the sound of one child to another. Her question throws a backward glance to her kingmaking, and is a reminder of her still burning influence on him. Back in his throne-like bed, he remarks in an artful way that he has done less harm than the good men and dwells on his superiority as a king and as a man.

When Cauchon appears, Joan casually asks him of his present luck, since he burned her. His reply that he used the justice of man, and not of God hints at his collusion, and confirms Joan's pleas at the Trial, that she was faithful to the Church, but that God must come first. His last words to Joan, 'I was faithful according to my light' (p.149) is an attitude expounded by other characters. They had good intentions but the extent of their goodness differed according to their motives. This is the opinion of Shaw when he said in the Preface (p.43) that Joan was burnt by typically innocent people firm in the power of their righteousness.

Dunois is asked if his victories were won in the Maid's way or by bargaining and by the selling of prisoners. His assurance is weakened, nevertheless, by his evasiveness about her burning:

Perhaps I should never have let the priest burn you; but I was busy fighting; and it was the Church's business, not mine. (p.150).

His good intention resulted only in a fine letter for the records at the new

trial. The chaplain de Stogumber is still in his body, but his pathetic, shortsighted self is a reversal of the cruel, arrogant figure at the Trial and condemnation.

In his Epilogue appearance Warwick is polite and superior but regretful of his 'political howler'. In an attempt at recompense he tells Joan that she will 'owe' her halo to him. The English soldier who improvised a cross for Joan to hold as she was dying tells of his unsolicited reward. He is free to escape from Hell for one day each year. His appearance provokes laughter as he sings his nonsense Cockney rhyme. His joke about the conditions in Hell being better than those in the French army strikes a note of truth, concerning medieval war horrors.

The entry of a clerical gentleman dressed in twentieth-century formal attire is the climax of the time fantasy. After this comical and pompous figure has solemnly declared Joan to be a saint, all present combine in a proper hymn of praise.

Cauchon is the first to kneel, which action counter-balances his final voice in the condemnation. His praise is on behalf of girls who work in the fields; through Joan's intercession, for them, Heaven will be possible. Dunois' tribute represents the dying soldier to whom Joan will be a shield of glory. The Archbishop, on behalf of the princes of the Church, praises Joan because she has rescued their faith by cleansing them of their previous worldliness. His words of praise echo embarrassingly his earlier words to Joan, when he warns her of her own worldliness and her pride. Warwick intones the gratitude of the cunning counsellors, whose souls are now severed from their former craftiness. The chaplain's praise is on behalf of foolish old men whose sins have turned into blessedness. The Inquisitor utters praises on behalf of the earlier administrators of blind justice, because their unscaled eyes may now see sainted goodness. The soldier's strange praise comes from the sinners from Hell; the fire which forever burns is

now a holy and cleansing fire. On behalf of all his colleagues the executioner praises Joan because they know that their killing does not include the soul. As a frame for the litany, Charles adds his praise because she carries the burden of those who admit that they cannot bear the weight. The excuses and the denials of guilt, and the preoccupation with other matters, add another note of comedy. The exposure of the accusers and the accused in such a farcical situation deflates the condign evil of the Inquisition and the burning because it suited Shaw's purpose not to consider them as evil. The praises of those who were each guilty of some part of the crime against innocence, strikes a final ironically comical note.

Of the various claims made for it in the 'Preface', the play reveals an apparently just trial, with the accusers interested in justice when it is accompanied by monetary return. The Epilogue, with its backcloth of artificiality and unreality, portrays convincingly the contrived falseness of the modern rehabilitation, but it does not prove the justice (or injustice) of the trial. On the contrary, Shaw laughs with the audience throughout the Epilogue, because the Epilogue turns topsy-turvy many statements which he had made in the 'Preface'.

* * *

The Epilogue is a fitting end for Shaw's chronicle. There are many mentions of time: hour, midnight, dates, anniversary, year, clock, memory and other related time words. Shaw's version of the story of Joan of Arc is finally comic because he refuses to take evil seriously. The writer's words in the 'Preface' (p.44) throw an interesting light on this situation.

But the writer of high tragedy and comedy, aiming at the innermost attainable truth, must needs flatter Cauchon nearly as much as the melodramatist vilifies him.

Luigi Pirandello, after seeing the play in New York, gave a glowing

report, particularly concerning Scene IV, to the *New York Times*.¹³ Perhaps he was equally enthusiastic about the Epilogue. The Italian dramatist was also a great exponent of literary flights of fancy between fantasy and reality and from past to present. His own *Enrico IV*, first performed in 1922, was a drama based on an earlier event in actual history, now enriched by masquerade and time switches.¹⁴

Except by implication, particularly after the burning and in the Epilogue, little is said about the extremes of behaviour of that period. The cruel manner of Joan's imprisonment in a secular gaol is not emphasised, although it is documented. The violent extremes of cruelty and of pity are prevalent in the manners and customs of life in the late Middle Ages. This contrast is apparent in the pity shown for the sick and poor and in the harsh mockery with which these unfortunates might be treated.¹⁵ The ready tears and the passionate outbursts of speech featured in *Saint Joan* are typical of the extremes of behaviour of the times. Hierarchic pride became mingled with the growing sin of cupidity, and this union gives to this age a quality of unrestrained passion which did not reappear.¹⁶ According to medieval doctrine, pride and cupidity provided the root of evil. For several centuries the more wordly sin of cupidity grew in danger.¹⁷ Shaw has elsewhere denounced all violence as barbaric; and he often expounded on the importance of money, and the difference between the need of it and the greed for it.¹⁸ The acquiring of wealth is certainly a dominant feature of *Saint Joan*. Pride of the priestly leaders and the feudal lords is also present. Joan, too, is accused of overweening pride because she preferred God's word, by way of her Voices, instead of that of the Church. That was part of her

13 W. S. Smith, *Bernard Shaw's Plays*, New York, (1970), p.447.

14 L. Pirandello, *Enrico IV*, in *Six Plays*, Manchester University Press, 1969.

15 J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. Harmondsworth, 1955, p.25.

16 Huizinga, *op.cit.*, p.28.

17 Huizinga, *op.cit.*, p.27.

18 J. I. M. Stewart, *Eight Modern Authors, IV, Shaw*, Oxford, 1963, p.162.

heresy! But hers is not the heretical pride of Lucifer, who thought he was equal, or superior to God. Joan, like Ferrovius, is proud of her pride.¹⁹ She is proud because of the importance of her 'mission'. Shaw underplayed the violence in Joan's story because of his own particular opinions, and for the same reason, stressed the importance of money and the secular pride which most of the characters displayed in a different manner.

In the sense that all history is present history, Shaw in *Saint Joan* brought medieval events to an understandable level for twentieth-century audiences, particularly by his use of meaningful language. The introduction of such a variety of contemporary regional dialects brings the play to the people. The limitations set by the theatre and those set by Shaw's own opinions, however, temper the credibility. Shaw was expert in many fields but he was not an historian; therefore he did not tell the story as it probably happened. To see Joan as she really was needed an understanding of the 'Catholic Church and Christendom, the Holy Empire and the Feudal System as they existed and were understood in the Middle Ages'. (Preface, p.25). Various alterations were made to the original manuscript which one or more of his knowledgeable Catholic friends thought were necessary.²⁰

The play has been hailed variously by critics; it is the work of a profoundly religious soul;²¹ '*Saint Joan* is chiefly a religious play'. It is also called 'anti Catholic' and again, 'anti French'²². Eva la Gallienne, who was offered the part of Saint Joan in 1923, declined it because, she said, 'I had been brought up in France and my ideas of 'Jeanne d'Arc' were not those of Bernard Shaw'.²³

¹⁹ B. Shaw, *Androcles and the Lion*, London, 1957, p.135.

²⁰ W. S. Smith, *Bishop of Everywhere: Bernard Shaw and the Life Force*, Pennsylvania, 1982, p. and Brian Tyson, 'The Story of Shaw's Saint Joan' Rev. by D. Leary, *Modern Drama*, Vol. XXVI, 1983. pp. 400-401.

²¹ W. S. Smith, *Bernard Shaw's Plays*, N.Y., 1970, p.453.

²² S. Weintrub, *Saint Joan Fifty Years Later*, N.Y. p.14.

²³ Brian Tyson, *op. cit.* p.401.

His understanding of the Catholic Church is questioned by G.K. Chesterton who thought that Shaw could not understand Catholicism in general and Christianity in particular because he failed to understand its contradictions.²⁴ His impartiality to the Catholic Church in *Saint Joan* is deflated by his attack on Catholic Action in letters to the *New York Times*, and the *London Mercury*, in September and October 1936. In ordinary circumstances his abuse of that organisation may have been justified. The letters were in response to a censorship placed on the play by Catholic Action which called for seemingly irrelevant words : God, St. Denis, Heaven, infernal and others, to be removed. The ban appears to be stupid at the present time but the primary objection was that Shaw was 'a mocking Irishman'²⁵. The Inquisition was necessary in 1431. Although Shaw treated the Inquisition with such benign tolerance, he failed to consider that Catholic Action might too have been deemed a necessary institution in the nineteen thirties.

It can fairly be assumed, therefore, that Shaw's tolerance and impartiality are tools to enable his portrayal of Joan to be credible to his audience. To accomplish this he had to make her adversaries believable also. Although he has the Inquisitor say that Joan 'was crushed between those two mighty forces, the Church and the Law,' her greatness of soul must shine through. He does not wish to make her the tragic victim . Both Joan and her adversaries are right; they are also wrong.

Joan's courage and bravery are emphasised because that is a part of Shaw's general opinion of women. The Lion in *Androcles and the Lion*,²⁶ cries 'A woman has to be braver than a soldier'. Shaw believed in Joan as a natural genius; but he did not believe in her miraculous voices. The voices

²⁴ H. J. Donaghy, 'Chesterton on Shaw's views of Catholicism.' *The Annual of Bernard Shaw Studies, Shaw Review*, Vol. X. 1967, pp. 108-106. p.158).

²⁵ E. J. West, *Shaw on Theatre.*, USA, 1958, pp. 243-252.

²⁶ B. Shaw, *op. cit.* p.115.

are a product of her own imagination and her interpretation of them is the outcome of her energetic free spirit. She rebels against organised religion and against authority, which behaviour parallels Shaw's own sentiments. Her outspokenness and her commonsense, which he applauds in the play, are traits which seem part of Shaw also. Although one of his friends was sorry that he did not possess the simple piety of the Irish peasant, he proclaimed that Shaw has a quality 'which suggests that in a sweeter and more solid civilisation he would have been a great saint.'²⁷ In a general tone of wit and irony, Shaw has cast Joan in his own image.

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²⁷ G. K. Chesterton, *George Bernard Shaw*, 1909, p.22.