JEANNE D'ARC IN LITERATURE

by

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Approved

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JOAN OF ARC

By Chapu, in the Luxembourg, Paris
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PREFACE

This study in the various literary treatments and interpretations of a single historical character, Jeanne d'Arc, is an attempt to discover by a survey of the whole field of literature and by an intensive study of representative works of each type and each period, in how far Jeanne d'Arc is a character suited to literary treatment; an attempt to discover in just what type of literature Jeanne d'Arc may be most truly portrayed— in the epic, or the lyric, the drama, or the essay.

Because of the difficulties of obtaining material, research has been confined for the most part to French, English and American works. The appendix contains a list of titles, which though by no means complete, contains the better known works relating to Jeanne d'Arc.
INTRODUCTION

Before discussing Jeanne d'Arc in literature, it is well to consider briefly the facts that are known about her life, on which this literature is built. For, legendary as she may seem, Jeanne d'Arc lived and accomplished the awakening and deliverance of France, in a century that was not a wholly credulous one, but was on the eve of a great renaissance. So in order to determine what is fiction and what is fact in this vast collection of works treating of Jeanne d'Arc, something must first be known of her life and career, and the conditions of France at the time in which she lived. And to understand the deplorable state into which France had fallen, one must go back a little into the history.

In the fifteenth century, the kingdom of France was still a large feudal state, the real power belonging to the great lords, and not to the king. This condition in France, which made it easy for the

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1- See introduction to: A. Marius Sepet, "Jeanne d'Arc."
king of England, who believed himself to be the legal heir to the French throne, to gain a province here and a city there, had led to the outbreak of the Hundred Year's War. The first period of this war had been disastrous for France. A series of defeats, from Crécy (1346) to Poitiers (1356), had led to the treaty of Brétigny, (1360), which gave the English direct sovereignty over Aquitaine, Poitou, Aunis, Normandy, a few separate cities and the important port of Calais.

During the rule of Charles V (1364-1380), much of this territory was won back. He also did more than had any previous ruler toward organizing France and systematizing its finances. However, his son Charles VI was as weak as his father was strong. After a long minority, he ruled only four years, when he became insane, thus leaving the kingdom to the

1- At the death of Philippe le Bel, his three sons died without heirs, and Edward III of England, whose mother was Isabelle of France, daughter of Philippe, claimed the throne of France through her. It was then that France, not wishing the rule of a foreigner, interpreted the old Salic law to mean that the throne of France might not be inherited through any but a male heir. The attempt of England to enforce the claims of its king, and the resistance of France, resulted in the Hundred Years' War. cf. Sepet, p. 12-16

2- Sepet, p. 16.

disposal of the great nobles, who began an immediate struggle for supremacy. This struggle finally centered about the two strongest, Louis, Duke of Orleans, the king's younger brother, and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, at whose death in 1404, his son John, surnamed the Fearless, took up the fight. In 1407, the two, Louis and John met, and made a peace, swearing eternal love and fealty. The following week, the hirelings of Duke John, murdered the Duke of Orleans in the streets of Paris.

Thus it was that France was torn by civil war, each side calling upon the English to help them against the other side, a dangerous undertaking, when the English king still had his eye on the throne of France. In 1410, the young Duke of Orleans married the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and thereafter the count led the opposition to the Duke of Burgundy. He was a rude and violent Gascon, and he drove the Duke of Burgundy out of Paris, and seized the city, and the person of the king. Thus the power was for the time, in the hands of the Armagnacs.

2. Lowell, p. 4.
3. Lowell, p. 4.
During the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV of England, internal troubles prevented an invasion of France. But Henry V, a successful and popular king, saw in the quarrels of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians an opportunity to gain his end. With the Armagnacs still in power, the Duke of Burgundy was very willing to make a bargain with Henry. The result was the fatal battle of Agincourt, October 25, 1415, where the rash nobility of France suffered a crushing defeat by the English. Henry did not pursue his success, until 1417, when he entered Paris, seizing the person of the old king, and massacring the Armagnacs. However, the dauphin Charles, the king's only surviving son, was stolen away by one of the Armagnac captains.

As Henry advanced, taking city after city, the patriotism of the people was stirred, and they demanded some sort of pact between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. So the Duke and the Dauphin met at the Bridge of Montereau, but despite all precautions, one of the Dauphin's followers brutally murdered the Duke of Burgundy. It has been a much dis-

puted question, whether or not this was a premedi-
tated plan.\(^1\) At any rate, the enraged Burgundians
made such favorable terms with Henry that he accept-
ed. In 1420, a treaty was signed at Troyes, in which
Henry, married to the daughter of Charles VI, was de-
clared the heir of the mad king. Thus the English
and the Burgundians, aided by the treacherous queen,
Isabel of Bavaria, the wife of Charles VI, conquered
the Armagnacs at every turn. But in 1422, Henry V
died, and shortly after him, Charles VI.

By the treaty of Troyes, Henry VI of England,
an infant of nine months, was now proclaimed King
of France.\(^2\) His uncle, the Duke of Bedford, declar-
ed regent, took up the difficult task of subduing
France in the name of a foreign king. Charles VII,
the uncrowned king, had not the strength nor the
ambition to rise to the defense of his throne, but
remained in the interior of the country, almost a
pauper, and dependent upon the few nobles who re-
mained under his standard. They were intriguing,
and untrustworthy, and made of the king a puppet
for their own personal or political needs.

\(^1\)Beaucourt, "Jeanne d'Arc et la mission", 1867,
ii, 651; also Sepet, p. 25.
\(^2\)Basin, "Histoire de Charles VII", i, 54, 116,
and appendix A.
So that in 1428 France was come to this condition. Normandy, Paris and the country about it, most of Maine, Champagne, Brittany, and Anjou were in the hands of the English. Picardy and Flanders and Burgundy were favorable to the invaders, though willing to intrigue with the followers of Charles. There remained loyal to the Dauphin only Dauphiny and a small district around Orleans, and the English had come to besiege this last stronghold the French held on the Loire, the city of Orleans.

And it was at this time, that a Maid of Domremy was about to fulfill the old prophecy of Merlin,1 which the people had recalled and fitted to the times. The prophecy, as it was coming to be understood, was that France would be ruined by a woman, and saved by a maid from the borders of Lorraine. The woman, it was agreed, was Isabeau de Baviere, who had betrayed her country to the English. The maid from Lorraine, they were to discover in the savior of Orleans, Jeanne d’Arc.2

1- Martin, VI, p. 137.
2- The name of Jeanne d’Arc has caused no little dispute among scholars. While it is generally agreed that the name "Arc" is derived from some ancestral village, so that "d’Arc" would literally mean "from Arc", there is a divergence of opinion as to the
KING CHARLES VI, OF FRANCE
Engraving from the da Val collection

QUEEN ISABELLA OF FRANCE
From an old engraving
While a detailed account of the life of Jeanne d'Arc does not pertain to this study, the facts on orthography of the name. The following use the form "d'Arc": Quicherat, Sepet, Beaucourt, Georges, Wallon, Boucher de Molandon, Sorel, A. Renard, Leopold Delisle, Fabre, Ayroles, and many others; contra Vallet de Virville, Villiaume, Lepage, Lesure, who spell it "Darc". The authorities who insist on "Darc" base their contentions on certain old documents, and a painting in the Hôtel de Ville at Rouen, which bears the title "Jeanne Darc". However the fact that one finds in the facsimile of the original document, the title of "Le Mystère du Siège d'Orléans", written: "Le Mystere Du Siège D'Orleans" would indicate that no conclusion could be drawn from the capitalization and spelling of the fifteenth century. The spelling of the first name scarcely ever varies in French, though in the old manuscripts one finds "Jehanne (De Maléissye, "Les Lettres de Jehanne d'Arc"), or "Johanne" (Christine de Pisan, poem; Quicherat, V, p.10) or "Jhennne" ("Le Champion des Dames", Quicherat, V, p. 45). But in other languages, the name Jeanne is invariably given the form common to that tongue. Certainly, Joan is more common in English than Jeanne d'Arc. In Spanish, one sees "Juana d'Arc" (Sinues de Marco, "Juana d'Arc, la Doncella de Orleans"), or "Huana de Arco" (Moreno: Sil- verio "Juana de Arco"). In Italian, one finds "Gianna d'Arc" (Muscat-Azzorpardi, "Gianna d'Arc"), or even "Giovanna d'Arco, drama lirico in tre atti, di Temistocle Söera). Although Schiller, in his "Jungfrau von Orleans" uses the German form, Johanna, as a general thing the German works treating of the French heroine, retain the name Jeanne d'Arc.

The reason that the name Jeanne d'Arc has been denationalized in so many cases is possibly owing to the fact that it passed so early into foreign countries, when people got a word or a name by the ear rather than by the eye.

It is not rare in history that a common term applied to an heroic figure of the age, should become a part of his name, as for instance, the "Cid", or Richard "Coeur de lion", or the name of Charlemagne." But it is perhaps unique in the history of the world, that a young girl should be distinguished from all others, by the mere words, "The Maid" or "La Pucelle". So much a
which the literary treatment is based, are found in
the following chronology:

1
Jeanne d'Arc was born at Domremy........ Jan. 1412.

Jeanne heard the voices at recurring
intervals (3).............................. 1425-1431.

part of the name of Jeanne d'Arc, was "La Pucelle",
that she used it of herself, and that it has persisted
in reference to her, although becoming obsolete in any
other connection.

1- The feudal allegiance of the town of Domremy, has
causd endless controversy. The fact that only some
of the title deeds remain today to settle the dis-
pute, leaves it even today more or less of a puzzle.
"Is Jeanne d'Arc Champenoise or Lorraine?" has been
the subject for many articles, but whatever the
direct affiliation of Domremy, the important fact that
the peasants of that vicinity were loyal to the daup-
in, Charles. See: Georges, "Jeanne d'Arc, est-elle Cham-
penoise?"; Lepage, "Jeanne d'Arc, est-elle Lorraine?";
Chapelier, "Étude hist. et géog. sur Domrémy"; Luse, A.S.,
"Jeanne d'Arc à Domrémy; recherches critiques sur les
origines de la mission de la Pucelle"; De Pange, "Pa-
triotisme français en Lorraine"; Misset, E., "Jeanne
d'Arc champenoise. Réponse à M. Ch. Petit-Dutaillis."

2- The date of the birth of Jeanne d'Arc is not
certain, but it is generally conceded to be 1412.
See: Quicherat, "Procès de Condamnation et de Réhabi-
liation de Jeanne d'Arc, dite la Pucelle", vol. I,
46; Lowell, p. 30, note 3.

3- Andrew Lang. "The voices of Jeanne d'Arc" (In his
"Valet's Tragedy, and Other Studies").
JOAN OF ARC'S HOME IN DOMREMY

From a modern photograph
During the siege of Vaucouleurs, the people of Domremy leave their homes and flee to Neuville-aux-Bois, a walled town, for protection. ...1425.

Jeanne d’Arc goes to Burrey, to her cousin, Durand Laxart, to urge him to take her to Baudricourt. ...Jan., 1425.

Laxart accompanies her to Vaucouleurs, to engage the assistance of Baudricourt in reaching the Dauphin. Baudricourt curtly refuses. (1) ...Jan., 1429.

Jeanne remains in Vaucouleurs, at the house of Catherine le Royer, and during this time gains the support of Jean de Metz, and Bertrand de Poulengy, who are ready to conduct her to Charles. (2) Feb., 1429.

Jeanne appeals again to Baudricourt, and this time gains his aid. ...Feb., 1429.

Jeanne leaves Vaucouleurs under the escort of Metz, Poulengy, and Colet de Vienne. (3) ...Feb. 12, 1429.

Battle of Rouvray, or of the Herrings, takes place, an overwhelming defeat for the French. (4) ...Feb. 12, 1429.

1- Martin, Tome VI, p. 146.
2- Ibid., p. 147.
3- Lowell, p. 48.
4- That Jeanne announced this defeat to Baudricourt before he heard the news officially, was afterwards taken as a miracle. According to Lowell, the evidence is insufficient to prove that she did so. See: Lowell, p. 48, note 2. Quicherat, IV, p. 125, 128, 206.
ROOM IN WHICH JOAN OF ARC WAS BORN
From a modern photograph
Jeanne reaches Chinon, and is given an interview with the Dauphin. Feb. 23, 1429.

She remains at Chinon, answering her inquisitors, and gaining friends. The examination here only a preliminary to the one that is to be held at Poitiers. Mar. 10, 1429.

Jeanne is sent to Poitiers, and undergoes the examination of the committee of churchmen. Mar. 10-22, 1429.

Jeanne sends the letter to the English, commanding them to leave the soil of France. Mar. 22, 1429.

She sends for the sword in the Church of St. Catherine de Fierbois. Mar. 27, 1429.

Jeanne d'Arc starts with an army of 3000 to reach Orleans. April 28, 1429.

And arrives at Orleans. April 29, 1429.


1- Lowell, p. 65; Raguenaude St. Albin, "Les Juges de Jeanne d'Arc à Poitiers."
2- Lowell believes that Jeanne had heard of the sword, when she worshipped at the Church of Saint Catherine de Fierbois, on her way to Chinon. (Lowell, p. 742). Quicherat holds the opinion that she really had not seen it, but learned of it through her voices. (Quicherat, Ap. Nouv., 69).
St. Loup, a fort on the North bank of the Loire is taken by the French....May 4, 1429.

The French are successful in defeating the English before Orleans. Here, the Maid is wounded by an arrow, between the neck and shoulder. She had prophesied this wound. After having it dressed, she went back into the fight.(1)......................May 7, 1429.

The English retreat..................Sun., May 8, 1429.

The campaign of the Loire begins.....May 8, 1429.

The French take Jargeau.................June 12, 1429.

They take Beaugency, the Talbot stronghold........................June 17, 1429.

The battle of Patay ends in a crushing defeat for the English...........June 18, 1429.

Jeanne and the French advance on the city of Troyes, and surround it......July 2-8, 1429.

They enter Troyes triumphantly........July 10, 1429.

Charles is annointed and consecrated in the Cathedral of Reims............July 17, 1429.

Charles enters Soissons.................July 23, 1429.

1- Quicherat, I, 79: Jeanne's testimony, IV, 426.
The attack on Paris continues from Aug. 28, to Sep. 7, 1429.

The attack ends in the retreat of the French army, against the will of Jeanne. Sep. 9-21, 1429.


An expedition marches against La Charité. Nov. 10, 1429.

Jeanne is forced to raise the siege of La Charité. Dec., 1429.

Charles makes a truce with the Duke of Burgundy, which extends to Easter, or Mar. 20, 1430.

Jeanne d'Arc, her family and their descendants are ennobled by Charles. Feb., 1430.

Jeanne comes to the relief of Compiègne on the east bank of the Oise. May, 1430.

Here, she is wounded and taken prisoner. May 24, 1430.

1- Quicherat, V, p. 150.
Jeanne, put in the charge of Jean de Luxembourg, commander of the corps, which captured her, is taken to his castle, Beaulieu, 20 miles northeast of Compiègne.................May and June, 1430.

The Burgundians send her to Arras....Oct., 1430.

The French effect the deliverance of Compiègne, and the promise of Jeanne's voices is fulfilled.(1).....Oct. 24, 1430.

Jeanne is delivered to the English by Jean, duc de Luxembourg, who received a payment of 10,000 francs from Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, their intermediary. She is taken to Rouen.(2)....................Nov., 1430.

The English deliver Jeanne to the church for trial as a witch..........Jan. 3, 1431.

Cauchon opens his court in the royal council chamber at Rouen, for the trial of Jeanne.....................Jan. 9, 1431.

He holds the first public session in the royal chapel.....................Feb. 21, 1431.

The twelve articles of indictment are read against Jeanne d'Arc.(3).....Mar. 27-28, 1431.

Jeanne makes her submission to the church, is pardoned for heresy, but condemned to life imprisonment........May 24, 1431.

Jeanne revokes her abjuration, and is condemned as a relapsed heretic by Cauchon and the court of forty assessors.....................May 29, 1431.

Jeanne d'Arc is burned at the stake at "La place du Vieux Marché" in Rouen.........................May 30, 1431.

The Rehabilitation.

Charles VII issues a commission to Guillaume Bouillé, a doctor of theology, to make inquiry concerning the trial of Jeanne.................Feb., 1450.


The sentence is pronounced at Rouen, declaring null and void the former indictment of 1431.......................July 7, 1461.

An appeal is addressed to the Holy See for the beatification of Jeanne d'Arc, by Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans.......................1867.

1- Lowell, p. 351; Quicherat, II, p. 95; Beaucourt, V, p. 368.
Jeanne d'Arc is declared Venerable by Pope Pius X, on the Feast of the Epiphany. Jan. 6, 1904.

The decree of beatification is promulgated by Pope Pius X. April 11, 1909.

Jeanne d'Arc is formally declared a saint by Pope Benedict XV. April 6, 1919.
Chapter I.

JEANNE D'ARC IN THE EARLY CHRONICLES

The most noteworthy and accurate witnesses of the spirit of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in regard to Jeanne d'Arc, are its chronicles. Aside from their historical value, they portray very well the attitude of the nation and of the age. As might be expected, the Maid of France receives a very different treatment from the English chroniclers than from the French, for the latter reflect the spirit of a grateful people, rescued by a heaven-sent Maid; the former, the spirit of an enemy country, defeated by a girl impostor and witch.

A. French.

The French chronicler, Perceval de Cagny, is the most important, not only because he preceded the others, writing in 1436, just five years after Jeanne's execution at Rouen, but also because he was in a position to know accurately about her actions, and because his work is written in a manner worthy to be passed down to posterity.

Notes: 1- Quicherat IV, p.3.
forty-six years, he was in the service of the Duc d'Alençon in the office of pennetier, in the service of the man who was most constantly at the side of Jeanne, and who must have known her as well as any. While Perceval de Cagny composed this work for the glorification of his master, as he frankly admits, he does not hesitate to criticize him, or to give him second place when a person more worthy of attention is presented. And he awards to Jeanne d'Arc, her full share of praise. He begins with her appearance before the king, "une pucelle de l'eage de xviii ans ou environ, des marches de Lorraine et de Barroiz, vint devers le roy à Chinon. Laquelle estoit de gens de simple estat et de labour; laquelle disoit de moult merveilleuses choses toujours en parlant de Dieu et de ses Sains, et disoit que Dieu l'avoit envoyée à l'aide du gentil roy Charles ou fait de sa guerre."¹

The points on which Perceval de Cagny merits most consideration are his accounts of the preliminaries of the trip to Reims and the siege of Paris. After raising the siege of Orleans, the Maid said:

Notes: ¹ Quicherat IV, p. 3.
"Par mon martin,¹ je conduiray le gentil roy Charles et sa compaignie jusques audit lieu de Rains seurement et sans destourbier, et là le verré couronner."² But before accomplishing this she must capture Gergueau (sic), Baugency, and fight the famous battle of Patay. These battles and the consecration at Reims, the author describes in some detail, giving to the Maid an extremely keen insight into military affairs and a gift for leadership.

The style of this work is unadorned. The author adopts a very sensible attitude toward the historical events which he describes, avoiding excessive praises, or unworthy accusations. He seems to be impressed by her simplicity, and does not stress the supernatural elements in her life.

¹- It is interesting to note that this is the only author who attributes this phrase to Jeanne d'Arc. Quicherat explains it as referring to her "bâton", which made a part of her equipment, and by which she supposed to have allowed La Hire to swear. Quicherat thinks this a more likely explanation than that she should have meant "mons", the phrase then standing for "Monsieur Saint Martin", as some authorities would believe. (Quicherat IV, p. 1, note.)

²- Ibid, p. ll.
THE VICTORY AT PATAY, JUNE 18, 1429

After the painting by P. Carrier-Belleuse
Another chronicler, of an unknown name, who was likewise attached to the Duc d'Alençon, has left an interesting account of Jeanne d'Arc. He did not write until 1473, and his work, which is very brief, has never been printed. The only important data which he leaves us are certain predictions which Jeanne made to d'Alençon, which were later realized.

Le Hérault Berri 2 was attributed to Alain Chartier, until Denys Godefroy in his "Recueils des historiens de Charles VII" restored it to the right author. Le Hérault Berri tells us that, when he was sixteen years old, in the year 1402, he conceived the idea of following closely the events of the kingdom and witnessing some of the great deeds of his contemporaries in order later to be able to write about them. When quite old, he published his annals of the years 1402 to 1455. Still later, he continued these records to the year 1458. His work is full of interest, and although

1- A transcription made in the 16th century can be found in the Bibliothèque royale (no. 9574-3 Fonds français). Quicherat IV, p. 38.
his chronology is not always accurate, he has left some valuable information on Jeanne d'Arc, especially on the period after the consecration at Reims, up to the capture of Jeanne at Compiègne, a period about which many historians are rather vague.

From the pen of another chronicler of the fifteenth century, we have a more detailed account of the coming of the Maid to the court of Charles VII. Jean Chartier, brother of the poet Alain Chartier, and of the bishop, Guillaume Chartier, who figured as judge in the trial of rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc, has left us this account. He is a poor writer, little appreciating the events which he chronicles, and very inexact and incomplete as to facts and dates. However, he gives us a good picture of Jeanne's reception at court. He is one of the first to tell of the deception by which the king tested the powers of the peasant maid. According to him this was an unpremeditated plan, when the king said to Jeanne in greeting: "Ce ne suys je pas qui suys roy, Jehanne," and pointing to one of the

Notes: 1- Quicherat, IV, p. 51.
GRAND HALL OF THE PALACE AT CHINON

After the painting by P. Carrier-Belleuse
courtiers, said "Vélezà le roy." To which Jeanne responded "A! non! gentil prince, c'estes vous, et non autres." 1

Two of the most important French works of the period are anonymous, the "Journal du Siège d'Orléans", and the "Chronique de la Pucelle." The dates even of these works are not definitely fixed. The "Journal du Siège", M. Quicherat places somewhere along the middle of the fifteenth century. As the records show, the city of Orleans paid in 1467, a certain Maître Pierre Sousdan or Soudan, to write on parchment the "manière du siège d'Orléans, tenu par les Anglois devant ladicte ville." 2 But this manuscript could very easily have been a transcription of an earlier work, or a compilation of registers kept during the event. 3

2- Quicherat, IV, p. 94-95.
3- The correct title is: "Petit traictie par manière de croniques, contenant en brief le siège mis par les Angloys devant la cité d'Orléans, et les sallyes, assaulx et escarmouches qui durant le siège y furent faictes de jour en jour; la venue et vaillans faictz de Jehanne la Pucelle, et comment elle en feist partir les Angloys et en l'eva le siège par grâce divine et force d'armes. 1428." (Quicherat, IV, p. 96.)
The chronicle begins with the arrival of the English and gives the events of the siege in chronological order. It is very interesting to note the way in which different chroniclers introduce the Maid. The "Journal du Siège" first makes mention of her as proving her mission to Baudricourt, by announcing to him at the very time when it was taking place, the defeat of the French in the "bataille des Harans", (sic) which news was confirmed to him some time later. The author of this work seems to stress the supernatural powers of Jeanne more than do most of the other chroniclers.

The "Chronique de la Pucelle" was published for the first time by Denys Godefroy in his history of Charles VII, 1661. He does not tell where he found this manuscript and nothing further has been discovered about it. The chronicle begins with the accession of Charles VII in 1422, and stops abruptly in 1429, hence one is interested to note that it is called "Chronique de la Pucelle" when so little of it treats of Jeanne d'Arc. In fact, the first part, up to the departure of the king for Reims, is almost identical with an old work, bearing the title, "Les
Gestes des nobles francoys descendez de la royalle lignée du noble roy Priam de Troye jusques au noble Charles filz du roy Charles le Sixiesme, qui tant fut amé des nobles et de touz autres." It is a chronicle which starts at the beginning of the world, and comes down to the year 1429, with the arrival of Charles at Troyes. 1

The "Chronique de la Pucelle" describes in more detail the early life of Jeanne. The author tells how she slipped away to see Baudricourt without asking leave of her parents, not because she did not hold them in reverence and fear, but because they might prevent her going. Throughout this work the author gives the little human touches to the character of Jeanne which only a contemporary could do.

An interesting and very rare manuscript was discovered by M. Silvestre in 1840, which he has printed in his collection of rare Gothic books, "Le Miroir des femmes vertueuses." 2 This book was

Notes: 1- Quicherat, IV, p. 203-204. 2- Ibid. p. 267. The full title is "Miroier des femmes vertueuses, ensemble la patience Grisell-dis par laquelle est démonstrée l'obédience des fem-
JOAN OF ARC

From engraving by N. Le Mire, after painting in Hotel de Ville, Orleans
very popular at the time of Louis XII. It is full of errors, and very inaccurate, a proof of how quickly the history of Jeanne d'Arc turned to legend.

For instance, here, the story of Jeanne's coming to court, is somewhat different from the generally accepted account. Her parents come with her and testify to her character. The work is full of Jeanne's visions and her conversations with the saints.

In his "Annales d'Aquitaine", part IV, Jean Bouchet makes a digression on Jeanne d'Arc. Though, for the most part, he copies from "Le Miroir des femmes vertueuses", a reminiscence of his, interests, us. To quote his words: "J'ay ouy dire en ma Jeunesse; de l'an mil quatre cents quatre vingtz et quinze, à feu Christolfe du Peirat, lors demourant à Poictiers près ma maison qui avoyt près de cent ans, qu'en ma dicte maison y avoyt en hostellerie où pendoit l'enseigne de la Roze, où ladite Jehanne mes vertueuses; l'histoire admirable de Jehanne la Pucelle, native de Vaucouleur, laquelle par revelation divine et par grant miracle fut cause de expulser les Angloys tant de France, Normandie, que aultres lieux circonvoysins, ainsi que vous verrez par ladite histoire extraict de plusieurs chroniques de ce faisant mention; nouvellement imprime à Paris." (In-8 gothique). Notes: 1- Quicherat, IV. p. 537.
estoit logée; et qu'il la veit monter à cheval toute armée à blanc pour aller audit lieu d'Orléans. Et me monstra une petite pierre qui est ou coing de la rue Saint Estienne, où elle print avantage pour monter sur son cheval."

There are many other chroniclers of lesser importance, that may be cited in this period: Pierre Sala, who discusses Jeanne d'Arc in his "Hardiesses des grands Rois et Empereurs," Guillaume Girault, in his "Histoire du Siège", and Mathieu Thomassin, in his "Registre delphinal."

Of the Burgundian chroniclers, two are of special note, Enguerran de Monstrelet, and Georges Chastellain. The former compiled a register of the exploits of his protector Jean de Luxembourg. Although he is wholly occupied in writing a panegy-

Notes: 1-Quicherat, IV. p. 537-note. This stone or one which is supposed to be that one, is deposited today in the Museum of Poitiers. 2- For a complete list of chroniclers of this period, see Quicherat IV. 3- Quicherat IV, p. 277-281. 4- Ibid. p. 282-283. 5- Ibid. p. 303-312. 6- Ibid. p. 360-404. 7- Ibid. p. 440-404.
ric of his master, he introduced the story of Jeanne d'Arc. He seems to welcome the digression as a means of passing lightly over the part which Jean de Luxembourg had in her capture. Promising to speak later of this episode, he arrives at the chapter on her martyrdom without having said a word of the imprisonment. He includes in his work the apologetic manifesto circulated throughout Europe by the English, justifying their actions in regard to Jeanne d'Arc. The chronicles of Monstrelet have been much employed as source material, especially by English writers, possibly because his point of view more nearly corresponds to theirs.

Georges Chastellain, a most prolific writer, has left little that is original on Jeanne d'Arc. Although he fought in the wars, and had occasion to see the Maid several times, he was content to obtain his information second hand. He copies from Monstrelet considerably, and he, too, includes the English manifesto, as he finds it in that author's work.

Notes: 1- Quicherat IV, p. 440.
There is little mention of Jeanne d'Arc in the early English chronicles. One finds just a single line concerning the Maid, written during her lifetime. It is in the chronicles of William of Gloucester, "1430. On the 23d of May of this year, the English captured near the fort of Compeigne, a woman called the Maid of God."¹

Not until fifty years later, does one discover any further allusion to Jeanne d'Arc. William Caxton, the famous English printer, born in the same year as the Maid, published in 1480, a page about her. He seems to admire her courage, and gives her credit for valiant undertakings. But it is interesting to note how he attributes the aggression to the Dauphin, instead of to his own countrymen.

"Aboute this tyme and afore the reame beyngs in grete myserye and trybulacion, the Dolphyn with his partye began to make warre and gate certayne places, and made detrusses upon Englysshe men, by the meane of his capytaynes. That is to wyte la Heer and Poton ¹- Darmesteter, "Joan of Arc in England", p. 11-12.
JOAN OF ARC CAPTURED AT COMPIEGNE

After the painting by P. Carrier-Belleuse
Robert Fabyan, an alderman of London, starts the attack in his "Newe Chronicles of England and France." He tells of the war in France, saying "And greatly the Frenche menne prevailed, by the helpe of a woman, which thei named the Maiden of God." After recounting her story after the French chroniclers, he offers thanks that God, "though permitting for a season the triumph of magic and miracle-mongers, yet showeth always his power in the end, and unveils the unholy mysteries of darkness." And he concludes that, so it was in this

1- Caxton's Chronicles: Liber ultimus, capitulum xviii, fol. cccxxxv, Darmesteter, p. 12.
3- Ibid. p. 15-16.
case, for Jeanne d'Arc was captured and sent to Rouen, where she was burned.

A little later, Edward Hall, in spite of his promise to write only a little, indulges in some detail about Jeanne d'Arc; "While he (the Dauphin) was studying and compassyng this matter (the relief of Orleans), there happened to hym a straunge chaunce, of the which I will write a little, because some of the Frenche aucthours and especially Ithon Boucher of it writeth to muche." He goes on to describe her as a common girl "of suche boldnesse, that she would course horses and ride them to water, and do thynges other yong maidens bothe abhorred and wer ashamed to do." Then he marvels at the fact that the king was so blinded and deceived by the hypocritical maid, who received her just reward later. What a disgrace, he exclaims, to so renowned a nation, that it should be victorious not through the efforts of its king, or its nobility, or even its common people, but only through those of a beggar shepherd girl.

Added to the political enmity, came, about this time, the religious hatred of the Reformation. A

1- Darmesteter, p. 16. The title of this work of Edward Hall's is: "The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancastre and Yorke." First edition, 1548.
certain Bishop Bale declares that the French are deeply injured by those chroniclers who vaunt "as the savior of her country- not without a signal slight to the princes thereof- a certain Joan of Domrémy who herded swine first of all and Frenchmen afterwards." ¹

Holinshed, one of the most popular chroniclers, whose work not only was good in itself, but has been used by Shakespeare in many of his historical plays, has written about Jeanne d'Arc in a more kindly manner. As opposed to Hall, who said of her appearance, "Some say, whether it were because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either she had made a vowe to live chaste, she kept her maydenhed," ² Holinshed says: "Of favour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withal, and undertaker of counsells, though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of body and behaviour, the name of Jesus in her mouth about all her business, humble, obedient, and fasting diverse daies in the weeke." ³

¹- Darmesteter, p. 20.
²- Ibid, p. 17.
³- Holinshed, fol. 600-625. Darmesteter, p. 22.
He continues his account, quoting from different authorities and ends in the characteristic fashion, deeply grieved that she was really inspired by wicked spirits, who, she declared, were our Lady, Saint Katherine and Saint Agnes. He adds that this is not surprising, "sith satan (after S. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deep-lier to deceiue."

2-Scottish:

Two Scottish chroniclers of this period have written of Jeanne d'Arc. Walter Bower,² abbot of Saint-Colm, a graduate in canon law of the University of Paris, and later in the service of James I, in the administering of finances. In 1441, he undertook to complete a work started by another Scot in the 14th century, under the title, Scotichronicon,³ a history or general chronicle of his country. In his fifth book, he speaks of Jeanne d'Arc, obtaining his material from an eye witness. The friendly relations of France and Scotland at that time and

1- Holinshed, p. 29.

Notes: 2- Quicherat, IV, p. 478.

the author's knowledge of France, make the work of some value, although it contains many errors.

The other Scottish monk, who writes about the Maid, does so at the request of his superior, the abbot of Dunfermling. His work should be of much value, since it is that of a contemporary of Jeanne d'Arc, who spent much time in France, and who claims to have attended her in her last moments. But, unfortunately, the translation, which we have, the very chapters concerning Jeanne d'Arc are missing. By the dedication, we learn that this translation was made by a certain Gremond Domat in 1519. A note written in modern hand, at the beginning of the work, informs us that the original Latin text exists among the manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

One German chronicler stands out in this period, Eberhard de Windecken, treasurer of the Emperor Sigismund, who wrote a history of his master. In his

1- Translation is found in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, (no. 1492, clm. O.F. 2).
2- Quicherat IV, p. 482.
Notes: 3-Quicherat, IV, p. 485.
chapter on Jeanne d'Arc, he treats of certain details not mentioned by other chroniclers of the time. He tells of an embassy sent to Jeanne d'Arc by the duc de Bretagne, in which figure the names of dom Lobinean, and dom Morice, two names mentioned by chance in a document in the "Chambre des comptes" of Nantes. His account ends abruptly with the coronation of Charles VII. Even M. Guido Goerres who, in his works on Jeanne d'Arc, quotes this old German chronicle, makes no attempt to explain why Eberhard de Windecken has omitted any account of the trial or the execution.

4-Italian:

According to M. Quicherat, the most appreciative and best written work done by any foreigner in this period, is that of Pope Pius II, printed under the name of his secretary, Jean Gobelin, but later discovered to be the work of the Pope himself. In the sixth book of these memoirs, which form a general history of the fifteenth century, the author treats the story of Jeanne d'Arc. He

1- M. Goerres is the first to include this chronicle in a work on Jeanne d'Arc. See Appendix, p. 2- Ibid. p. 507.
is well informed on the events, and treats them from an impartial point of view. Denys Godefroy is the only historian of Jeanne d'Arc, who has included the account of Pope Pius in his collection. The rest have been content to quote from this author, one phrase, found in his "Etat de l'Europe sous Frédéric III," which he published in 1458, when he was still cardinal Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Here is the phrase, illustrating the opinion of the pontiff: "Regnum Franciae nostra aetate Joanna, virgo Lotharingensis, divinitus, ut credunt, admonita, virilibus indumentis et armis induta, Gallicas ducens acies, ex Anglicorum manibus magna ex parte mirabile dictu, prima inter primos pugnans, eripuit."  

5-Greek: 

Laonic Chalcondyle  As an instance of how widespread was the story of Jeanne d'Arc even in her own day, one can cite the work of the Athenian Laonic Chalcondyle, a refugee in the city of Naples. In his history of the conquests of the Greeks from the year 1208 to the fall of the Greek empire, wishing to treat also the

Notes: 1- Quicherat, IV, p. 508.
affairs of the Occident, he incorporates into his work, a brief treatment of the wars between England and France, in which he makes mention of Jeanne d'Arc. ¹

An interesting passage, not by a Greek, but showing the interest felt in Greece, is found in a work by Bertrandon de la Broquiére, an écuyer of the Duke of Burgundy, who wrote the following in regard to a journey which he took in the Orient, in 1433. ²

"Le marchant cathelan chiez cui j'estoye logie, dist a ung des gens de l'empereur que j'estoye à monseigneur de Bourgoingne. Lequel me fist demander s'il estoit vray que le duc de Bourgongne eust prins la Pucelle, car il samblloit aux Grecz que c' estoit une chose impossible. Je leur en dis la vérité, tout ainsi que la chose avoit esté; de quoy ils furent bien esmerveilliez." ³

Notes: 1 - Quicherat, IV, p. 529.  
2 - "Jean Paleologue II, avant-dernier empereur d'Orient." Note of M. Quicherat, IV, p. 537.  
3 - "Tiré du manuscrit no. 10025-2 de la Bibliothèque royale, fol. 210." Note of M. Quicherat, ibid.
To continue with the development of these chronicles in the following centuries would be to pass from chronicles to historical works, and thus treat of the historical conception of Jeanne d'Arc, which this paper does not attempt to do, except in so far as it is revealed in literature.
Chapter II.

JEANNE D'ARC IN POETRY.

The life of Jeanne d'Arc has inspired the poets of all ages, and has been interpreted by them in many ways. Some poets, especially those of her own century, were content to tell her story in a sort of rhymed chronicle. Now she is the heroine for an epic poem. Again she is only the shepherd girl, heeding a voice which she hears in the woods, a subject for a pastoral lyric. Still many other poets have used the story of her marvellous deeds in dramatic poetry. Some sing of her glory, some of her martyrdom, and some make of her a symbol of liberty and of freedom.

A- Narrative Poetry.

This type of poetry belongs to the fifteenth century, when chronicles were often versified. During the lifetime of Jeanne d'Arc, in 1430, one finds a mediocre Latin writer, Antoine Astezan, or d'Asti, putting into verse a letter relative

1- Dramatic poetry will be treated later in the chapter on drama.
to Jeanne d'Arc. As this author is little known today, we shall quote from the comment of M. Quicherat on his works.¹

"Le plus glorieux titre de ce versificateur est d'avoir tourné en hexamètres les chansons de notre Charles d'Orléans. Il a fait aussi des épigrammes, un poème historique sur son pays et des épîtres héroïques. L'une de celles-ci, la plus ancienne en date, renferme un long épisode sur la Pucelle. Elle fut composée en 1430 pour le duc d'Orléans, seigneur d'Asti, et bienfaiteur de la famille du poète. On sait qu'à cette époque le duc était prisonnier en Angleterre; Astezan encore écolier à l'Université de Pavie, ne le connaissait que pour avoir été élevé dans le respect de son nom, et l'amour de sa personne... Le passage relatif à Jeanne d'Arc n'est que la mise en vers d'une lettre écrite au duc de Milan par Perceval de Boullainvillers.² Seulement, comme cette lettre au duc de Milan est du 21 juin, 1429, et que l'épître au duc d'Orléans est de 1430, pour la convenance chronolo-

¹- Quicherat, V, p. 22.
gique, Astezan a complété l'histoire de la Pucelle...
Vivant encore lorsque mourut Charles VII, il écrivit
à la gloire de ce roi plusieurs épitaphes, dont une
où il revient sur la Pucelle:

"Septimus hic tegitur, Francorum Karolus Ille
Rex, qui magnanimus magnificusque fuit;
Qui, licet ipse puer regno omni pene careret,
Cum gens Angla ferox id rapuisset ei,
Post mirabiliter tamen, auxiliante Johanna
Quae credebatur nuntia virgo Dei,
Expulit et cunctos rejicit fortiter hostes," etc.

An anonymous Latin poem, placed vaguely about
the middle of the fifteenth century, treats of many
particulars of the life of Jeanne d'Arc, which are
generally omitted. The work indicates that the
author must have been a contemporary of Jeanne
d'Arc's, and perhaps have seen her, for he is dis-
tinctly original and tells some details which no
other writer mentions. This is especially true of
the period after the arrival of Jeanne at court
until her departure for Orleans.

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V. p. 23. (From the original
manuscripts in in Bibliothèque de Grenoble.)
2-Quicherat, V, p. 24, Poem found in the
Bibliothèque royale, manuscrit 5970.
One of the quaintest and most interesting poetical contributions of this period, is a dialogue written by Martin le Franc, under the title "Le Champion des Dames." It is a contre-partie to the "Roman de la Rose", and contains a curious discussion or argument on Jeanne d'Arc. Since it was written some sixteen years before the trial of rehabilitation, it is interesting to notice that it presents a defense of Jeanne d'Arc. Public opinion must have been turning in favor of the Maid, since a work dedicated as this one was, to the Duke of Burgundy, contained a vindication of her.

In this poem, the characters who speak in defense of Jeanne d'Arc are: "Le Champion", "Court-Entendement" and "Franc-Vouloir". The arguments of "l'Adversaire" only make the defense stronger. The Champion ends a long speech in praise of the Maid, with the words:

"Par sa vertu, par sa vaillance,
En despit de tout adversaire
Couronné fut le roy de France."

To which the Adversaire replies:
"Je tieng frivole ce langage
Car oncques Dieu ne l'envoia
Dist l'adversaire au faulx visage
Qui de Jhene grant ennoy a.
Raison aussy le convoia
Ardre à Rouen en Normendye."

The Champion answers as curtly:
"C'est mal entendu, grosse teste
............
De quants saints faisons nous la feste
Qui moururent honteusement."

............... 
"Et droit est que chacun consente
A lui donner honneur et gloire
Pour sa vertu très excellente,
Pour sa force et pour sa victoire."  

Another versifier, whose poetry charms us because of its naïve simplicity and pleasing rhythm, is Martial d'Auvergne, who has put into verse Jean Chartier's Chronicle, under the title of "Vigiles du roi Charles VII". To quote again from M. Quicherat, "Martial dit d'Auvergne, né à Paris en 1440, Notes: 1- Quicherat, V, p. 49.
KING CHARLES VII, OF FRANCE

From engraving in an old history
mort en 1508, était procureur au Parlement et notaire du Châtelet... Cet ouvrage fut terminé en 1484 et offert au roi Charles VIII."

The first lines about the Maid are a good example of the style:

"En ceste saison de douleur
Vint au roy une bergerelle
Du village dit Vaucoulleur,
Qu'on nommoit Jehanne la Pucelle.
C'estoit une povre bergièreme
Qui gardoit les brebis ès champs
D'une doulce et humble manière,
De l'aage de dix huit ans.
Devant le roy on la mena
Ung ou deux de sa connoissance,
Et alors elle s'enclina
En luy faisant la reverence.

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V, p. 51. "Le manuscrit qui servit à la dédicace se trouve à la Bibliothèque royale (no. 9677). On lit à la fin la souscription suivante tracée au vermillon. 'Expliciunt les Vigilles de la mort du feu Charles Septieme à neuf pseaulmes et à neuf lecons, achevées à Challiau pres Paris, la vigille saint Michel (iiijc) quatre vingtz quatre. Excusez l'acteur qui est nouveau. Marcial de Paris'."
Le roy par jeu si alla dire:

'Ha! ma mye, ce ne sui-je pas.'

A quoy elle respondit: 'Sire,
C'estes vous, ne je ne faulx pas.'

'Ou nom de Dieu, si disoit elle,
Gentil roy, je vous meneray
Couronner à Rains, qui que veille
Et siège d'Orleans leveray.'

Then follow, in logical sequence, the events
in the life of Jeanne d'Arc, that are related in
prose by Chartier. At times, however, the author
inserts interesting reflections of his own, such as:

"Notons icy, comment Fortune,
Gouvernée par le veil de Dieu,
Après grant mal et desfortune
Si donne grant joye en ce lieu." 2

Much credit is due the Maid for her behavior
when taken captive, according to Martial d'Auvergne.

"Elle estoit très doulce, amyable,
Moutonne, sans orgueil n'envie,
Gracieuse, moult serviable,
Et qui menoit bien belle vie." 3

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V, p. 52.
2- Ibid. p. 65.
3- Ibid. p. 75.
But the English took no pity on her, and because of their hatred to the French, treated her very harshly and finally condemned her to be burned.

"Ainsi velà le jugement
Et la sentence bien cruelle
Qui fut donnée trop asprement
Contre icelle povere Pucelle."\(^1\)

This poem is the only one in the fifteenth century which contains an account of the trial of rehabilitation.\(^2\) According to this author, it was at the request of the family of Jeanne d'Arc, that it was undertaken.

"Longtemps après ce jugement
La mère, aussi les frères d'elle
Requisdrent au roy vengement
De la mort et sentence telle.

Le bon seigneur, considérant
Qu'avoit esté en son service,
Et fait beaucoup en l'onnorant,
Si remist le cas en justice."\(^3\)

Finally this judgment was reached:

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V, p. 76.
2- Ibid. p. 51.
3- Ibid. p. 76-77.
"Et le tout veu finablement,
Fut dit, par sentence autentique,
Le procès et le jugement
Fait contre la Pucelle, inique

Estre abusif, defectueux
Et qu'à tort si fut condamnée
Par non juges, suspectueux,
Disant leur sentence erronée.

Ou procès de son innocence
Y a des choses singulières;
Et une grande plaisance
De veoir toutes les deux matières

Ledit procès est enchensé
En la libraire Nostre-Dame
De Paris, et fut là donné
Par l'évesque, dont Dieu ait l'âme."

The most historically accurate poem of this period is one written in Latin by Valeran Varanius, under the title: "De Gestis Joannae virginis Francae, egregiae bellatricis, libri IV.", which appeared in 1507. According to M. Quicherat, "Valeran Varanius".

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V, p. 78. This Bishop is Guillaume Chartier; the manuscript is the one in the Bibl. royale (Notre-Dame H10).
2- Quicherat V, p. 83.
nius était natif d'Abbeville et théologien de la Faculté de Paris. Son nom français n'est pas connu. Il le composa, de son aveu, avec les pièces de l'un et de l'autre procès qu'il avait connus par le manuscrit de Saint-Victor...

"Très-frappés de voir un poète s'attacher ainsi aux documents, les modernes... ont... attribué à Varanius la valeur d'un historien. De là vient que diverses circonstances mises dans ses vers passent pour des faits prouvés, quoiqu'on ne les trouve que là. Ainsi c'est d'après son témoignage qu'on fait mourir Jacques d'Arc de chagrin par suite du supplice de sa fille. Isabelle d'Arc dit cela dans le quatrième chant du poème:

"'Vir meus audito dilectae funere prolis

Oppetit, mortis causam exsecratus et ignes'\(^2\).

To this poet we owe the account of the brief discussion which took place at Rouen on receiving the information of the capture of the Maid, which in brief is as follows: Some of the lords wished to kill Jeanne d'Arc outright, or to drown her without any form of trial. But Warwick urged that

1- "À la Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève (no. 1643). Le titre- "Libri quatuor de gestis Joannae Puellae Lotharingae'".
Notes: 2- Quicherat, V, p. 83.
she be tried for sorcery, thus not only finding a just means of making way with her, but also bringing dishonor on the French king, Charles VII. His advice was taken, and the word was spread about among the people that she was a witch.

Varanius has reviewed the principal incidents of the trial of rehabilitation, at the end of his poem. In connection with this, he paraphrases or invents a letter written by Charles VII to Pope Calixtus III, to obtain the bull which served as the basis for the trial.¹

We do not find these versified chronicles later than the fifteenth century, since history, after that time, does not lend itself to poetry. Although they have the charm of simplicity and naïveté, they are not of lasting value either from the point of view of history or of poetry, and are interesting only in tracing the literary history of Jeanne d'Arc.

B- Epic Poetry.

Jeanne d'Arc has furnished the theme for three epic poems, two of them French and one English. Each was written in a different period, with a different

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V. p. 84.
aim, and from a totally different point of view. And each for different reasons, is a pitiful failure.

The first is that of Jean Chapelain, published in 1655, under the title, "La Pucelle ou la France Délivrée." The author commenced this poem in 1625, and in his desire for historical accuracy, spent five years, writing it in prose. In 1630, he began the laborious task of versification, according to all the precepts for writing epic poems. And in 1635, he complains "d'estre encore en vue du port," and promises to "desployer enfin ses ailes," which he was not able to do however until twenty years later.

Because of the renown of some of his odes, this poem was awaited in a fever of expectation as the author modestly suggests in the first lines of his preface. "Je fais si peu de fondement pour le bon succès de mon poème sur l'impatience qu'on a témoignée de sa publication, que je considère un si grand honneur comme son plus grand désavantage."  

1- Georges Collas, "Jean Chapelain" IIe partie, p.206.
2- Préface to "La Pucelle" of Chapelain, p. XXXIX.
Received with such enthusiasm, this work which passed through six editions in eighteen months, was popular but a short time when it became the object of innumerable satires and universal ridicule.

The dedication, to Monseigneur Henri d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville, the descendant of the hero of this poem, the Comte de Dunois, is written in the customary laudatory style.

"Cette Pucelle magnanime, ou, pour mieux dire, ce Phénix, dont le vol belliqueux redonna la franchise à nos pères, ayant trouvé en V.A. un soleil propre à ranimer ses cendres, quitte le bûcher, où la dépouille fut consumée, pour venir rendre hommage de la nouvelle vie à la vertu, qui la lui a fait recouvrer. Comme cette sainte seconda autrefois, par ses miracles, ceux de l'ancien COMTE DE DUNOIS, elle vient aujourd'hui les proposer en exemple à celui de nos temps, pour les grandes choses à quoi l'appellent ses destinées." 2

But despite the fact that all of the machinery of epic poetry is here: invocations, descriptions,

2- Chapelain, "La Pucelle", préface p. xxxiii.
predictions, combats, apparitions, dreams; despite the fact that the plan is well made with symmetry and accuracy, the poem, which he intends for the national epic of France, does not betray a spark of genius. Chapelain was methodical and reasonable, and knew the theory and the method, but he lacked the fundamental requisite, inspiration, and thus justified the statement of M. Gautier in regard to his Pucelle: "La Pucelle, cette figure, si rayonnante, si céleste, si poétique, n'est plus qu'un spectre de pierre, vêtu d'une armure de pierre, et disant des paroles de pierre."¹

In the preface of this poem, Chapelain explains in detail his reason for choosing Jeanne d'Arc as the heroine. For, writing in the seventeenth century, that period of classicism, when any subject of the Middle Ages was scorned, he had need to defend his choice. "Aussi, n'ai-je employé la Pucelle pour héroïne, dans mon poème, que parce que c'était une personne vraie, et d'une vérité si connue, qu'elle ne le serait pas davantage si les merveilles de sa vie avaient eu nos yeux pour témoins. Je ne

¹- Gautier, Théophile, "Les Grotesques". p. 266.
l'y ai introduite comme animée de l'Esprit de Dieu, que sur l'exemple de la vaillante Débora, qui ne faisait pas seulement la fonction de juge entre les Israélites, mais qui les menait encore à la guerre contre le tyran de leur liberté, et qui les rendait victorieux de leurs ennemis par son courage et par sa conduite. Je dis plus, bien que, dans le fait particulier de la Pucelle, j'eusse le témoignage de l'histoire, l'évidence de sa mission, et les effets de ses miracles pour fondement de cet emploi, voulant conserver néanmoins dans ses actions le plus de cette vraisemblance que l'on désire, pour ne satisfaire pas moins Aristote que Platon, lorsque je dressai mon plan et que je donnai la forme poétique à ce véritable événement, j'eus un soin particulier de le conduire de telle sorte, que tout ce que j'y fais faire, par la puissance divine, s'y puisse croire fait par la seule force humaine élevée au plus haut point où la nature est capable de monter."

The subtitle suggests Tasso and indicates the nature of the poem. We are to have a series of pictures in which is portrayed the deliverance of

1- Preface to "La Pucelle" of Chapelain, p.LVI-LVII.
France through the deeds and martyrdom of the Maid.
After the opening lines of the epic,

"Je chante la Pucelle et la sainte vaillance,
Qui dans le point fatal, ou périsseit la France,
Ranimant de son roi la mourante vertu,
Releva son État sous l'Anglais abattu."

comes a description of stricken France, and then
the prayer of the dauphin for the salvation of his
country. The next lines remind us of the "Mystère
du Siège d'Orléans", in which an analogous prayer
is the occasion of a celestial conference. Here
also there is a scene in Heaven, in which at the
intervention of the Virgin, the Almighty places in
her hands the safety of France. An angel is sent
to announce to Jeanne her mission. She accepts it
without much hesitation, and sets out at once with
her brothers. The poem lacks the touching and hu-
man details of her fear, the anger of her parents,
the refusals of Baudricourt, the dangers of the
trip to Chinon, all of which are so well known,
and so commonly treated in a work of this kind.
She arrives at the court, just when the king, hav-
ing received the false news of the fall of Orleans,
is preparing to flee. She reassures him:
- "Ta prière, dit-elle, est enfin exaucée, Charles, Dieu prend pitié de ta gloire abaissée, Sa sainte volonté se tourne en ta faveur; Je serai sa guerrière, il sera ton sauvet."¹

To which the king responds:

- "O guerrière, dit-il, o merveille adorable, Mon sceptre désormais dépendra de ta loi, Je veux dans mon royaume être sujet pour toi. Use de tout le droit que ma noble couronne Me donne sur mon camp, sur mes peuples me donne, Guide et pousse mon bras contre mes ennemis, Toujours à ton vouloir le mien sera soumis."²

This concludes the first Book. The second Book tells of the letter Jeanne sends to the English, of her receiving the sword of Fierbois, and of her arrival before Orleans. The Maid prophesies that France "sera libre de forts, sera libre 'd'Anglois'." Dunois, the warrior who is most constantly at her side, realizes his love for her,

¹- Chapelain, p. 34.
²- Ibid, p. 36-37.
"La Sainte désormais est toute sa pensée,
De tout son souvenir Marie est effacée,
Il change sa princesse, et ne saurait juger
Quel violent destin le force à changer."^2

Book III is filled with the account of the deliverance of Orleans. Here, Chapelain uses the pagan machinery of the epic but makes it Christian. As Heaven is defending the French, so England is the agent of the infernal powers. The demon sends his forces to the aid of Bedford, and the Maid is wounded. But in the "Jardins étoilés", grow some marvellous plants, and:

1- Note of the editor of Chapelain—"La Pucelle" on the identity of this princess. "Ce personnage, éminemment sympathique, de la princesse Marie ne peut être qu'imaginaire, du moins, suivant, la conduite dont il est présenté. On ne le retrouve nulle part dans les généalogies. À cette époque, d'ailleurs, Dunois était déjà marié, depuis quatre ans, avec Marie Louvet, la fille d'un favori de Charles VII. Il ne pouvait donc pas avoir échangé, depuis, des serments tendant au mariage. Il ne pouvait pas non plus songer encore à Marie d'Harcourt, sa seconde femme, puisqu'il ne l'épousa que dix ans après le siège, en 1439. Chapelain, aurait-il voulu idealiser tout autre inclination chez un héros dont la galanterie est restée légendaire? On a souvent chuchoté le nom d'une reine, à l'occasion des amours de Dunois. Serait-ce cette reine, -Marie d'Anjou- qui aurait inspiré au poète le portrait de la princesse Marie? Cela n'est pas non plus vraisemblable. Le mieux est donc de conclure que ce gracieux personnage est fait de toutes les Maries dont le souvenir est resté attaché à la bannière du héros."
p. 122-123, note (1).
2- Chapelain, p. 84.
"- Par le pouvoir divin, un des anges la cueille; Il presse entre les doigts sa verdoiante feuille, Et pour remède unique au mal qu'a fait le trait, En tire un lait plus doux que le terrestre lait. L'ange avec la liqueur, d'une chute soudaine, Vient où la fille souffre une cuisante peine, Et dans son coup mortel, sans paraître à ses yeux, Verse insensiblement ce baume précieux." 1

Then Heaven sends aid to the French, and Bedford must retreat. Thus Orleans is saved.

In Book IV, one hears much of the loves of Marie, of her sorrows, and her jealousy, which she recounts to Yolante. Then the siege of Jargean is described in much detail. Book V deals with the schemes of Amauri, a favorite of Charles VII, to undermine the influence of Jeanne d'Arc, and to restore that of Agnes; and with the final treason of Amauri at Auxerre. Book VI takes us through the remaining battles, the fall of Troyes, and the arrival at Reims. Book VII contains much that is pure fiction: the love of the Duke of Burgundy for Agnes Sorel, the pilgrimage of the Duke to the tomb

1- Chapelain, p. 109.
2- Gautier, p. 257.
of his father, and the apparition of Jean sans Peur. Book VIII contains the description of the consecration of Charles, and the prediction of the voices in the grotto of Marculphe, where the Maid is warned of her coming death. The four remaining books treat of the battles near Paris, and of the final capture of the Maid near Compiègne, whence she is conducted to Rouen.

The first part does not deal with the trial, or the martyrdom of Jeanne d'Arc. The second part, which is not edited and is little known, treats of these events and the deliverance of France up to the point where Charles takes Paris, and the whole country is again free.

This attempted epic, dull and prosaic, fully deserved the criticism of that famous lady, la Duchesse de Longueville, the wife of Chapelain's patron, who after hearing it read, said "Cela est parfaitement beau, mais parfaitement ennuyeux."¹

While much of the literature of Jeanne d'Arc is not great, the most of it is inspired by sincere emotion and pure thoughts. The one blot is the

¹- Gautier, p. 275
shameful poem of Voltaire, "La Pucelle d'Orléans," written about 1730. For a long time, he disclaimed the work, but in 1755, in a letter to a friend, he jestingly alluded to it as "une vieille plaisanterie de trente ans."  

Voltaire  

Voltaire attempting by his most powerful weapon, ridicule, to crush the false superstitions as to the divine mission of the Maid, not only makes her an Amazonian figure, but scoffs at her maidenhood, and attributes to her the most scurrilous and dishonorable actions. The first lines of the poem, mild in comparison to those that follow, show very well the irreverent, mocking style of this *poème héroï-comique*.

"Je ne suis né pour célébrer les saints:  
Ma voix est faible, et même un peu profane.  
Il faut pourtant vous chanter cette Jeanne  
Qui fit, dit-on, des prodiges divins.  
Elle affermit, de ses pucelles mains  
Des fleurs de lis la tige gallicane,  
Sauva son roi de la rage anglicane,  
Et le fit oindre au maître-autel de Reims.  
Jeanne montra sous féminin visage,  
Sous le corset et sous le cotillon,  
D'un vrai Roland le vigoureux courage."  

2- "La Pucelle d'Orléans* *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, p. 25.
To discuss the plot of these twenty-one cantos, would be only to desecrate further the name of that glorious Maid to whom France owed her salvation. Most critics agree that Voltaire's is an abominable work. Some do the author the credit to add that is full of wit and vivid imagination, but even the most indulgent blame Voltaire for having made the subject of his licentious récits, the purest of historical figures, the Maiden of Domremy.

Despite the fact that D'Aubignac, in his "Préface de la Tragédie de la Pucelle", in 1642, declared that "L'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc était aussi admirable pour l'épopée que difficile à mettre au théâtre", decidedly French epic poetry on Jeanne d'Arc has failed lamentably and the words of M. Gautier seem very applicable here, "Et bien, avec un si magnifique sujet, une héroïne véritable qui laisse de bien loin derrière elle la Camille de Virgile, les Bradamante, les Marphise, les Clorinde et toutes les belles guerrières des épopées italiennes, Chapelain n'a pu faire qu'une longue gazette rimée, ennuyeuse comme la vie; Voltaire, qu'une infâme priapée, abominable comme intention et d'une médiocrité singulière, même dans ce misérable genre."
The author of the English epic poem is Robert Southey, who composed his "Joan of Arc" in the year 1793, at the age of nineteen years. This youthful author believes "the story of Joan of Arc peculiarly fit for poetry", and promises to avoid what seems useless and wearisome in other poems, and at the same time to be as historically accurate as possible. Some forty years later, revising this epic, he realizes its many faults, and admits that "the poem thus crudely conceived, rashly prefaced, and prematurely hurried into the world, was nevertheless favorably received, owing chiefly to adventitious circumstances". These "adventitious circumstances" were the political stir that it made. Revolutionary in tone, this epic called forth many polemics for and against it.

The poem did mark an epoch in the history of Jeanne d'Arc in England. For when an English poet could choose the Maid of France for the heroine of an epic poem, (for as he says in the preface:

"It has been established as a necessary rule for the epic, that the subject should be national. To this rule I have acted in direct opposition, and chosen for the subject of my poem the defeat of the English. If there be any readers who can wish success to an unjust cause because their country was engaged in it, I desire not their approbation," the tide had turned in England, and one is not likely to hear more of the sorceress and charlatan.

However the English poem was no less unfortunate than the French ones, in its rank in literature. What William Hazlitt says of Southey's epic poems, applies particularly, it would seem, to the "Joan of Arc": "Of Mr. Southey's larger epics, I have but a faint recollection at this distance of time, but all that I remember of them is mechanical and extravagant, heavy and superficial." The Maid of this poem is no more inspired than is la Pucelle of Chapelain. The poetry is no more poetry than is that of the French writer.

Even the description of Joan, while it might make poetical prose, is very prosaic poetry:

"............... She appeared
Of eighteen years. There was no bloom of youth
Upon her cheek; yet had the loveliest hues
Of health with lesser fascination fixed
The gazer's eye; for wan the Maiden was,
Of saintly paleness, and there seemed to dwell
In the strong beauties of her countenance
Something that was not earthly."

Southey does not give us a simple Maid, but an eloquent Maid, who speaks in this wise:

"I come, the appointed Minister of Heaven,
To wield a sword before whose fated edge
Far, far from Orleans shall the English wolves
Speed their disastrous flight. Monarch of France.
Send thou tidings over all the realm,-
Great tidings of deliverance and of joy:
The Maid is come, the missioned Maid, whose hand
Shall in the consecrated walls of Rheims
Crown thee, anointed king."

According to DeQuincey, Southey's Joan exposes three centuries in advance of her time, Tindal's
doctrine of rational Christianity. She "appals the Doctors" and tells them, "amongst other secrets, that she never in her life attended - 1st Mass, nor 2d, the Sacramental table; nor 3d, Confession. In the meantime, all this deistical confession of Joanna's, besides being suicidal for the interest of her cause, is opposed to the depositions upon both trials."

The epic ends with the fulfilment of Jeanne's mission and the crowning of Charles at Reims, where she utters a long tirade on righteousness and the duty of a sovereign:

..... "King of France,"
She cried, 'at Chinon, when my gifted eye
Knew thee disguised, what inwardly the spirit
Prompted, I promised, with the sword of God,
To drive from Orleans far from the English wolves,
And crown thee in the rescued walls of Rheims.
All is accomplished. I have here this day
Fulfilled my mission, and anointed thee
King over this great nation. Of this charge,
Or well performed or carelessly, that God
Of whom thou holdest thine authority
CORONATION OF CHARLES VII, AT RHEIMS

From engraving by Joh. Demare after the painting by Vinchon
Will take account: from him all power derives.
Thy duty is to fear the lord and rule,
According to his word and to the laws,
The people thus committed to thy charge:
Thiers is to fear him and to honor thee,
And with that fear and honor to obey
In all things lawful; both thus being alike
By duty bound, alike restricted both
From willful license......

Choose thou the better part, and rule the land
In righteousness. In righteousness, not by
foreign foes
Shaken, nor by domestic enemies,
But guarded then by loyalty and love,
True hearts, good angels, and all-seeing Heaven." Thus spoke the Maid of Orleans, solemnly, accomplishing her marvellous mission here."

Southey possibly is justified in closing his poem here. To quote De Quincey: "This limitation of the interest grew, no doubt, from the constraint

1- Southey, p. 223-225.
inseparably attached to the law of epic unity. Joanna's history bisects into the two opposite hemispheres, and both could not have been presented to the eye in one poem, unless sacrificing all unity of theme."

Considering the part that his countrymen played in the martyrdom of the Maid, and the fact that pathos and suffering had little place in an epic poem, it is only natural that Southey should choose the first part of her life for his poem. Is not, then, the usually accepted convention that an epic poem should close triumphantly, proof of the unsuitability of Jeanne d'Arc as the them of an epic poem? We are not satisfied to stop with her triumph, because we know that this was only the first step, and that the crowning glory was at Rouen.
C- Lyric Poetry:

A character, at once so national and so world-famed, so beautiful and so pathetic as Jeanne d'Arc, one would expect to find many times in poetry. And yet few of the famous poets, even French, have sung her praises. There are, however, some famous poems dedicated to her.

1- French:

Among French poets, the earliest to write in eulogy of Jeanne, is Christine de Pisan, who composed her poem during the lifetime of the Maid. Christine, the first woman author in France, was born in Venice in 1363, and at the age of five years came to France with her father, astrologer and physician to Charles V. She was married to Étienne Castel, who became secretary to the king, and died in 1389. To his memory, her early poetry was devoted. Later, she wrote for the pleasure of the court. After the Armagnacs were driven from Paris in 1418, Christine lived cloistered in an abbey, as she tells us in the poem concerned with Jeanne d'Arc, the last that she wrote before her death:

"Je, Christine, qui ay ploure
Unze ans en abbaye close."\(^1\)

This poem is in sixty-one stanzas, in a light, rhythmic meter. It is the last poem written by Christine, and was completed in July of the year 1429, at the time when Charles VII, master of Château-Thierry, was but a three days' march from Paris, and to all appearances, could have entered it with little resistance.

It is a poem of rejoicing and thanksgiving that in the end right conquers:

"Oyez par tout l'univers monde
Chose sur toute merveillable,
Notez se Dieu, en qui habonde
Toute grace, est point secourable
Au droit enfin..."\(^2\)

What an honor to France, the author continues, that it should be saved by divine power, manifested through a Maid. The prophecy in which Charles was designated the "cert-volant"\(^3\) will be fulfilled.

2- Ibid. p. 6.
3- Quicherat, in a note wonders whether it was because of this prophecy, which is mentioned in the poem, that Charles VII and Louis IX "étaient pour support de leurs armes deux cerfs ailes?", p. 8note.
JOAN OF ARC

By Princess Marie of Orleans, in the Versailles Museum
"Prophéciez l'ont surnommé
Le cert-volant; et consommé
Sera par celui conquérant
Maint fait; Dieu l'a à ce somme
Et enfin doit estre empereur."

Then commences the apostrophe to Jeanne d'Arc:
"Et toy, Pucelle beneurée,
N'y dois-tu (mie) estre obligée,
Puisque Dieu t'a tant honnourée,
Qui as la corde deslissée
Qui tenoit France estroit liée."

The author marvels that a young girl should have the power to bring about the salvation of France, and then recalls that to God nothing is impossible. She compares the deeds of Jeanne to those of Moses and Joshua and Gideon, the more to her glory, for they were mighty men, and she was but a simple shepherd girl. Even Hester, and Judith and Delbora (sic), noble women, through whom God saved his people, cannot compare in prowess with the Maid, sent to the king by the Angel of the Lord, and foretold in the prophecies of Merlin.

2. Ibid.
"Car Merlin, et Sebile et Bede,
Plus de cinq cens a la veirent,
En esperit, et pour remede
A France en leurs escripz la mirent."

Her courage is equal to the heroes of old:
"Tel force n'ot Hector, ne Achilles;
Mais tout ce fait Dieu qui la menne."

The poem contains delightful little human touches. Christine de Pisan today would doubtless be a staunch supporter of "Women's rights", so much pride does she show in the accomplishment of one of her sex.

"Hée, quel honneur au feminin
Sexe! que (Dieu) l'ayme, il appart
Quant tout ce grant peuple chenin
Par qui tout le regne ert desert,
Par femme est sous et recouvert,
Ce que pas hommes fait n'eussent,
Et les traittres mis a desert;
A peine devant ne le crussent.

.................................

Une fillette de seize ans
(N'est-ce pas chose fors nature?)"

Notes: 1-Quicherat, V, p. 12. For this prophecy, see introduction.
Christine de Pisan defies the English in this fashion:

"Si rabaissez, Anglois, vos cornes,
Car jamais n'aurez beau gibier
En France, ne menez vos sornes;
Matez estes en l'eschiquier."¹

She prophesies that Charles and Jeanne d'Arc will not only free France from the English but will also conquer the Holy Land and drive out the Saracens. She then upbraids the rebel cities, and especially Paris, but foresees that they will all be subdued. She concludes with a prayer that God shall give such courage to the French, that their wars may soon be over.

"Si pry Dieu qu'il mecte an courage
A vous tous qu'ainsi le faciez,
Afin que le conseil o rage
De ces guerres soit effaciez,
Et que vostre vie passiez
En paix soubz vostre chief greigneur,
Si que jamais ne l'effaciez
Et que vers vous soit bien seigneur.

Amen."²

Notes: ¹ Quicherat, V. p. 15.
² Ibid. p. 22.
Still in the fifteenth century, we have fragments of several other lyrical poems, which treat of the Maid. From the poem of Georges Chastellain, "Recollection des Merveilles advenues de nostre temps", we have the following lines:

"En France la très belle
Fleur de creysienté
Je veis une Pucelle
Sourdre en auctorité,
Qui fit lever le siege
D'Orléans en ses mains,
Puis le roy par prodige
Mena sacrer à Reins.

Saincte fut aorée
Par les oeuvres que fit;
Mais puis fut rencontrée
Et prise sans prouffit;
Arse à Rouen en cendres
Au grand dur desFrançois,
Donnans depuis entendre
Son revivre aultre fois."

Notes: 1- V. p. 90. This last line refers to the appearance of the false Jeanne d'Arc.
The lines which follow are probably the most famous ever written about the Maid of France. They are from "Les Dames du temps jadis" of François Villon, written in 1461.

"La royne blanche comme ung lys
Qui chantoit à voix de sereine,
Berthe au grant pié, Bietris, Allys,
Harembourges qui tint le Mayne,
Et Jehanne la bonne Lorraine
Qu’Angloys bruslèrent à Rouen,
Où sont-ilz, Vierge souveraine?
Mais où sont les neiges d’antan."

From an allegorical poem, the "Séjour d’honneur", composed in 1489, by Octavien de Saint-Gelais, bishop of Angoulême, we have this vision of the warrior Maid:

"Tantost après en champ d’honneur pare
Et siege d’or tapissé de louenge,
Je vy ung roy glorieux, préparé
Fulcy de paix, begnin, doulx comme ung ange,
Vaincu par mort; mais son bon bruyt ne change.
C’estoit Charles septiesme de ce nom,

Notes: 1- V. p. 90-91.
Qui tant voulut acroistre son renom
Qu'a luy reduyt Guyenne et Normandye
Quelque chose qu'Angloys ou Normant dye.

Près luy je vy, sur cheval fier marchant
Femme qui fut d'harnoys luysant armée.
Pas ne sembloit escolier ou marchant;
Mais robuste par prouesse affermée.
Dont m'esbahis de veoir femme fermée
De si grant cœur, qui les gens incitoit
Donner dedans et ung chacun citoyt
A guerroyer, comme si tous jours elle
Tuit en seurté les soouldars soubz son aeule.

Pas n'eut quenoille atachée àu costé,
Mais espée poignante et defensible;
Fuyant repos et longue oysiveté,
Où voulentiers cœur de femme est duysible.
A autre affaire elle n'est entendible
Qu'ordonner gens, pour batailles mouvoir.
Dont je congneu que c'estoit, pour tout voir,
Selon sa geste et manière approuvée,
La Pucelle, par miracle trouvée.\(^1\)

Notes: 1- Quicherat, V. p. 91-92.
We must pass from the Middle Ages to the dawn of romanticism before finding again Jeanne d'Arc in lyric poetry, for we would not expect any medieval character to furnish inspiration for Renaissance writers, nor to find much lyric poetry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Casimir Delavigne includes in his "Poesies Messéniennes", a poem "La Mort de Jeanne d'Arc", of which the first lines are especially famous:

"Silence au camp! la vierge est prisonnière; Par un injuste arrêt Bedford croit la flétrir; Jeune encore, elle touche à son dernière... Silence au camp! la vierge va périr."

His bitterness toward the English is apparent throughout:

apprêts
"A qui réserve-t-on ces meurtriers? Pour qui ces torches qu'on excite? L'airain sacré tremble et s'agite... D'où vient ce bruit lugubre? Où courent ces guerriers Donc la foule à longs flots roule et se précipite?"

1- Delavigne, "Poesies Messéniennes" p.27.
BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC AT ROUEN

After the painting by P. Carrier-Belleuse
La joie éclate sur leurs traits,
Sans doute l'honneur les enflamme;
Ils vont pour un assault former leurs rangs épais?
Non, ces guerriers sont des Anglais
Qui vont voir mourir une femme."
The meter changes, when the author apostrophizes the Maid:
"Ah, pleure, fille infortunée!
Ta jeunesse va se flétrir,
Dans sa fleur trop tôt moissonnée.
Adieu, beau ciel, il faut mourir.
Ainsi qu'une source affaiblie,
Près du lieu même où naît son cours,
Meurt en prodiguant ses secours
Au berger qui passe et l'oublie;
Ainsi dans l'âge des amours,
Finit ta chaste destinée,
Et tu péris abandonnée
Par ceux dont tu sauvas les jours."
In the last stanza, the author pays homage to France:

1- Delavigne, p. 28-29
"Notre armée au cercueil eut mon premier hommage; 
Mon luth chante aujourd'hui les vertus d'un autre âge; 
Ai-je trop présumé de ses faibles accents? 

Pour célébrer tant de vaillance, 
Sans doute il n'a rendu que des sons impuissants, 
Mais, poète et Français, j'aime à vanter la France. 
Qu'elle accepte en tribut de périssables fleurs. 
Malheureux de ses maux et fier de ses victoires, 
Je dépose à ses pieds majoie et mes douleurs. 
J'ai des chants pour toutes ses gloires, 
Des larmes pour tous ses malheurs."

Another lyric poem by Musset, the date of which is uncertain, is quoted here in full:

Jeanne d'Arc.

Récitatif.

Je cherche en vain le repos qui me fuit. 
Mon cœur est plein des douleurs de la France. 
Jusqu'en ces lieux déserts, dans l'ombre et le silence, 
De la patrie en deuil le malheur me poursuit. 

Chant.

Sombre forêt, retraite solitaire, 
Muets témoins de mes secrets ennuis, 
A mes regards, de mon pauvre pays
Cachez du moins la honte et la misère.
Tristes rameaux, si nous sommes vaincus,
Cachez le toit de mon vieux père;
Peut-être, hélas, je ne le verrai plus.

Récitatif.
Tout repose dans la vallée.
Le rossignol chante sous la feuillée
La mélancolie et l’amour.
Déjà l’aurore éveille la nature;
Déjà brille sur la verdure
La douce clarté d’un beau jour.
Quel est ce bruit dans la campagne?
Le clairon sonne au pied de nos remparts
De l’étranger je vois les étendards
Flotter au loin sur la montagne.

Chant.
Nous avez-vous abandonnés,
Anges gardiens de la patrie?
Plaignez-nous si Dieu nous oublie;
S’il se souvient de nous, venez.
J’ai cru sentir trembler la terre.
J’ai cru que le ciel répondait,
Et dans un rayon de lumière,
Du fond des bois une voix m’appelait.
Ce n'est pas une voix humaine;
Il m'a semblé qu'elle venait des cieux.
Mère du Christ, est-ce la tienne?
As-tu pitié des pleurs qui coulent de mes yeux?
Oui, l'Esprit-Saint m'éclaire.
Je sens d'un Dieu vengeur
La force et la colère
Descendre dans mon coeur.
-En guerre!

In the year, 1909, one is not surprised to see the name of Jeanne d'Arc frequently. It is the year of her beatification. One of the French poems inspired by the bienheureuse Jeanne is by Jean Aicard, of the Académie Française. He expresses his sincere admiration for the Maid in the opening stanza.

"Si l'on pouvait, parmi les siècles de l'Histoire,
Choisir un siècle, un jour, pour y vivre en héros,
On voudrait, chevalier, forcer la prison noire
Où Jeanne d'Arc souffrait pour un roi sans mémoire,
Et regardait la France à travers des barreaux."

Jeanne d'Arc is in prison: "La prisonnière songe, - et son passé l'entoure." First:
"C'est le soir; ses agneaux pleurent dans le berceau; Elle sait que la France attend qu'on la secourir; Elle entre dans l'église; et là, l'humble pastoure Illumine son âme aux lueurs d'un vitrail."

Then comes the encounter with the Dauphin, when the Maid, gently rebuking him, says:

"...Pourquoi, gentil Dauphin, pourquoi Vous cacher derrière vos pages? Dans les plus simples échappes Vous aurez toujours l'air d'un roi."

Then arrives the triumph at Orléans, where Jeanne, though wounded, bears her banner high and carries it on to victory, and:

"Le pont croule; Dieu l'a permis.
Mais Jeanne, la bonne Pucelle,
Pleure sur les Anglais que le ciel a punis!"

At Reims, her mission is fulfilled, and one hears the trumpets "sonner l'allégresse." Then in two lines, poignant and full of meaning, is summed up the catastrophe of her life.

"Charles VII est sacré; c'est par elle qu'il règne,
Mais, vaincue à Paris, elle est prise à Compiègne."

In prison, she is alone, abandoned by the country that she rescued and the king that she crowned. That
JOAN OF ARC AT THE BATTLE OF ORLEANS
After the painting by P. Carrier-Belleuse
the Maid is accused, and condemned, is a blot on the conscience of the world:

"Justice!... Éveille-toi, conscience du monde!
Et toi, terre des preux, coeur du monde chrétien,
Pousse le cri vengeur avant que ce feu gronde,
France, ou l'oppresse anglais va devenir le tien."

The well-known touching episode is related in the closing stanzas. The priest raises high the cross, that Jeanne may look on it. Then when the fire mounts closer,

"Mon père, descendez! dit-elle avec douceur.
C'est du péril d'un autrui qu'elle était alarmée,
Dans l'étrange moment de mourir par le feu."

The peasant Maid of Domremy has had no modern champion equal to Charles Péguy, who, in glorifying her, may have been thinking, too, of his old peasant grandmother, who, as he said,

"...ne savait pas lire,
et qui première m'enseigna
le langage français."

In his "Tapisserie de sainte Geneviève et de Jeanne d'Arc", written for the "neuvaine" of the patron

1- Charles Péguy- "Tapisserie de Sainte Geneviève et de Jeanne d'Arc." Quatrième cahier de la Qua-térième Série, P. 23-123.
saint of Paris, in 1913, he connects the lives of these two shepherdesses, who so many centuries apart came to the rescue of France. According to Edmund Gosse, in this poem of Charles Péguy's, "the temper of his mysticism is seen at its best."

The poem is divided into "neuf jours", some of which are in sonnet form. The first three are about the earlier shepherdess who guarded her flocks at Nanterre. In the "quatrième jour", written for the sixth of January of the five-hundred-and-first anniversary of the birth of Jeanne d'Arc, Péguy conceives of saint Geneviève as looking forward with joy toward the future of "la fille la plus sainte après la sainte Vierge."

"Comme la vieille aînée au plus fort de son âge
Se réjouit de voir le tendre nourrisson,
L'enfant à la mamelle et le dernier besson
Recommencer la vie ainsi qu'un héritage;

Elle en fait par avance un très grand personnage,
Le plus hardi faucheur au temps de la moisson,
Le plus hardi chanteur au temps de la chanson
Qu'on aura jamais vu dans cet humble village."
Telle la vieille sainte éternellement sage
Connut ce que serait l'honneur de sa maison
Quand elle vit venir, habillée en garçon,

Bien prise en sa cuirasse et droite sur l’arçon,
Priant sur le pommeau de son estramçon,
Après neuf cent vingt ans la fille au dur corsage;

Et qu’elle vit monter de dessus l’horizon,
Souple sur le cheval et le caparaçon,
La plus grande beauté de tout son parentage."

The "cinquième jour" and the "sixième jour"
elaborate this idea of the marvel which sainte-
Geneviève witnessed,

"Après neuf cent vingt ans de prière et de veille
Quand elle vit venir vers l’antique cité,
Gardant son cœur intact en pleine adversité,
Masquant sous sa visière une efficacité;
Tenant tout un royaume en sa ténacité,
Vivant en plein mystère avec sagacité,
Mourant en plein martyr avec vivacité,
La fille de Lorraine à nulle autre pareille."

In the "septième jour" and the "huitième jour", Péguy
is doubtless thinking of his peasant ancestors, hard-
working and long-suffering, for the underlying thought is expressed in the first line of each "jour":

"Comme Dieu ne fait rien que par simple bergère

...........

"Comme Dieu ne fait rien que par pauvre misère."

In the last "jour", he continues the idea of the necessity of poverty and hardship in the accomplishment of great deeds:

"Comme Dieu ne fait rien que par compagnonnage,
Il fallut qu'elle (sainte Geneviève) vît ces mauvais compagnons,
Les Anglais, (les Français), les traîtres Bourguignons
Dépecer le royaume ainsi qu'un apanage;

Il fallut qu'elle vît ce monstrueux ménage,
Et les gibets poussant comme des champignons,
Et le mur et le toit et l'angle des pignons
Tout dégouttants du meurtre et du sang du carnage;

...............................

"Pour qu'elle vît venir du fond de la campagne,
Au milieu de ses clercs, au milieu de ses pages,
Vers l'arène romaine et la roide montagne,
JOAN OF ARC

Statue before the Church St. Denis, Paris
Traînant les trois Vertus au train des équipages,
Sa plus fine et plus ferme et plus douce compagne
Et la plus belle enfant de ses longs patronages."

2. English:

In England, too, while poems dedicated to Jeanne d'Arc are rare, one finds some beautiful lines, inspired by the Maid of France. John Stirling, whose life was written by Carlyle, had a sincere appreciation of the Maid, though he lacked the genius to put his emotions into a great and lasting poem. To quote Darmesteter, Stirling's poem "such as it is, with all of its faults upon its head, contains more true poetry than the whole of Southey's epic; and better than the lengthy Poet-Laureate, Stirling conceives that the noble heart in which, even in the stress of battle, there dwells no bitterness nor hate." In Stirling, the Maid has a tranquil faith and a sublime courage, inspired by her guardian saints:

"High amid the dead that give
Better life to those that live,

1- Darmesteter, P. 62."
See where shines the Peasant Maid,
In her hallowed mail arrayed,
Whom the Lord of Peace and War
Sent as on a flaming car
From her father's fold afar.
Hers the calm, supernal faith,
Braving ghastliest looks of death;
For, O loveliest woodland flower
Ever bruised in stormiest hour!
Guardian saints have nerved thy soul
Battling nations to control...
Awful hands have marked thy brow,
And in lovely hours of prayer
'Mid the leafy forest air,
Boundless powers, eternal eyes,
Looks that made old prophets wise,
Have inspired thy solitude...
Race and country, daily speech,
That makes each man dear to each,
Friends and home and love of mother,
Grandsire's grave and slaughtered brother,
Fields familiar, native sky--
Voices these that on thee cry!
Winds pursue with vocal might,
Stars will not be dumb at night,
Loud from God commanding thee:
'Go and set thy people free!'

Ne'er so smooth a brow before
Battle's darkening ensign wore;
And 'twas still the gentle eye
Wont when evening veiled the sky,
In the whispering shades to see
Angels haunt the lonely tree."

At Rheims, when she has fulfilled her mission,
she wishes that she might have followed her angels
back to Domremy.

"And returned to green Lorraine,
Be a shepherd child again.
Now the crown of Charles is won!
Now the work of God is done!
Angels' wings, away, away!
Lift her home by close of day,
And upon her mother's breast
Give her weary spirit rest."
The poet laureate of England, Alfred Austin, composed in 1904, an exquisite sonnet, "Jeanne d'Arc". That part of his poem seemed almost prophetic in which he asserts that should France be called again to hurl back the stranger from her gates, "pure heart and patriotic prayer once more would prove her rescue and defense." The poem is quoted here:

"Goddess of battles, with the maiden sword
And blameless banner, when to France availed
Not all her gallant manhood, helmed and mailed,
To drive from off her soil the alien horde
That over pasture, hamlet, vineyard poured,
You with your unarmed innocence scaled
The walls of war, and where man's might had failed,
Crowning, enthroned the Anointed of the Lord.
And should France yet again be called to scare
The stranger from her gates, and hurl back thence
Feet that would violate her frontiers fair,
Not meretricious sycophants of sense,
But the pure heart and patriotic prayer
Would prove her rescue and defense."¹

¹ Independent; May 5, 1904. p.
JOAN OF ARC

By E. Frémiet, shown at Paris Salon, 1889
3. American:

America, to whom France has always been especially dear, does not fail to do honor to the Maid, though most of the poems are recent. In the Atlantic Monthly for October, 1902, one finds some verses by Henry Walcott Boynton, "Domremy and Rouen". In this poem, the author binds the two extremes in the life of the Maid, her girlhood and her martyrdom, into the one idea of sacrifice, which for him is not her fall from glory, nor her physical sufferings, but her denial of the rights of womanhood,

"This young Maid,"

So will the women say, "this gentle maid
Became the champion of France and God,
She might have been a mother and a wife?"

As at Domremy, when she dreams of motherhood, a "far-off voice in some faint other-world", would say,

"Nay, little one, not thou
Not thou - far other blessedness for thee",
so at Rouen, in the final moment, is her plaint:

"Not wasted, and not grudged, the thing I gave
Only I know not how to turn me from
This world unloved, unprattled for... Wert thou
Minded to yield some little token to
A foolish woman who has served thee, God
It should not be a crown of gold, the praise
Of saintly throngs, a seat at the right hand,-
But only this... One hour to feel myself
At last fulfilled of womanhood; to weep
And smile as other women do, with here
A broad breast for my comfort human-wise,
And there a little babble of soft lips,
And tender palms uplifted just to me...
That were a glory."

The beatification of Jeanne d'Arc also brings response from American bards. One of the most stirring poems, of which this event was the occasion, is by Theodore Roberts, published in "Current Literature", in 1909. The comment preceding the poem indicates that it has been taken from the "Pall Mall Magazine", and suggests that should Canada claim the poet, at least we can fall back on the larger meaning of the word American. Martial in tone, the poem shows true inspiration and poetic genius.

"Thunder of riotous hoofs over the quaking sod;
Clash of reeking squadrons, steel-capped, iron-shod;

The White Maid and the white horse of the flapping banner of God.

Black hearts riding for money; red hearts riding for fame,
The Maid who rides for France, and the King who rides for shame-
Gentlemen, fools, and a saint riding in Christ's high name.

"Dust to dust." it is written. Wind-scattered are lance and bow.
Dust the Cross of Saint-George; dust the banner of snow.
The bones of the King are crumbled, and rotted the shafts of the foe.

Forgotten the young knight's valor; forgotten the captain's skill;
Forgotten the fear and the hate and the mailed hands raised to kill;
Forgotten the shields that clashed and the arrows that cried so shrill.
JOAN OF ARC

Equestrian Statue by Anna V. Hyatt
Like a story from some old book, that battle of long ago:
Shadows the poor French king and the might of his English foe;
Shadows the charging nobles and the archers kneeling a-row,-
But a flame in my heart and my eyes, the Maid with her banner of snow!"

Another poem, "Joan Beatified", is by Frederic Welty, and while apparently not as inspired as the other poem, at least it shows the interest of the American poets at this time:

"Domremy! oh Domremy! the Maid is coming home!
A-riding up thru Haute-Saône, sent by the Pope of Rome!
They've crowned her at the Vatican and named her Queen of France,
And bade her rule from Vosges and recall each errant lance;
For the Dauphin, oh the Dauphin! he is dead this yesteryear,
And the Maid forsook at Rouen stands incarnate by his bier!
Domremy, oh Domremy, how the haunted woodland sighs
For the falling of her footstep, for the laughing of her eyes!
How the clover-fields have mist her, and the sparrows and the wrens,
Ah! the days how slow they wandered since what hour she left the glens
For the winning of a kingdom, and the making of a King,
For the blazing of the faggots and the coarse herd's bellowing!

Domremy, oh Domremy! across the meadow dews
She is coming, she is coming, by the turning of the Meuse.
And her voices, oh her voices! they are calling as of old
In the happy greening pastures. Turn her sheep out from the fold,
Bring the wine-bags from the closets, heap the blossoms on her grot,
To show that you remembered when the Lords of France forgot!
Domremy, oh Domremy! the Maid is coming home!
A-riding up thru Haute-Saône, sent by the Pope of Rome!
St. Catherine rides before her and St. Margaret rides behind,
And the tramping of her legions is the roaring of the wind.
She is coming, she is coming, in the rising of the sun,
To rule, to rule in Vosges 'till the years of God be run!"

It is only natural that in the poetry inspired by the recent war, there should be some mention of Jeanne d'Arc, the Maid of France, who stands for the Ideal of Patriotism. Raymond Weeks in his "Ode to France", written during the tragic months of August and September, 1914, in speaking of the heroes of France, writes the following lines:

"Forever glorious shall remain
The image of the good Lorraine,—
That Jeanne through whom the people stood
One in her own white hardihood.

When she was sold
For foreign gold,
When pitiless English lances gleamed,
When prayers were said, when rang her knell,
The burning of her body seemed
The burning of her soul as well.
Her ashes to the river cast,
The country's foes could sleep at last;
Glad bells were rung and masses said:
The Maid and Liberty were dead!
Of all the heroines of time
That came to comfort and to save,
The rarest one, the most sublime,
Has never had a grave.
Stars were not bright enough to light her,
Flowers were not sweet enough to dite her,
Lips were not pure enough to name her,
Nor seraphim among their host to claim her!
When from the fury of this hideous earth
The poor child vanisht, none could understand
That from a doom like hers should come new birth,
Yet this land is her land,
A gift exceeding fair.
We walk her fields, we see her sun, we breath her air!"�

4. German: 

We have only German poem to mention, and that only in an English translation, which appeared in Blackwood's Magazine in 1818, under the title "Verses written in 1793, on seeing the place where the Maid of Orleans suffered." Neither author's name nor the translator's is given. The poem is distinctly romantic, and treats of the martyrdom of Jeanne d'Arc. In this bitter tirade, one can almost see a national hatred in the author's scorn for the land which betrayed Jeanne, as well as for the country that destroyed her.

"Here naked they exposed thee,
Here martyr flames enclosed thee,
Thou holy heroine!

It was no fabling story,
That strengthening glimpse of glory,
'Twas Hob's sacred spark!

Christ did thy banner brighten,
And Christ thy pangs will lighten,
Joanne, thou Maid of Arc!"
To the author of these verses, Jeanne is sublime in her forgiveness of those who betrayed her:

"I see thou dost not ban
The ingratitude of Man:
No curses come from thee;
Thy face is mild, fair maid,
Though they have thee betrayed,
Whom thou didst oft set free.
Thy countrymen betrayed thee;
Thy friends a victim made thee
And thine ungenerous foes
Heap lies and insults o'er thee,—
- They quailed of old before thee,
When high thy white plume rose."

The author sums up in the last stanzas his scorn for the people, the land and the age, as well as for those authors of the preceding century, who desecrated the Maid with their pens.

"The winds disperse her ashes;
No tear the dark spot washes,
Where martyr blood hath been;
From thenceforth pride and honour
Shone never more upon her
That land of curse and sin!"
But aye her soil is teeming
   With scoffing and blaspheming;
And oh! what heart of man
Can bear her bards, who jeer
At thee, thou virgin seer,
   Thou holy meek Joanne?

O heartless generation!
False, grinning, faithless nation!
   With thee truth's star is dark,
And chivalry a stranger!
   - God send thee an avenger
   Joanne, thou Maid of Arc!"¹

Lyric poetry comes nearer than any other type of poetry to glorifying the Maid, and picturing her as a true heroine, because the lyric poet seeks out the beautiful in her life, whichever of its episodes he may sing. No poet can improve upon the beauty and simplicity of the utterances of the Maid, but he can set them in a frame worthy of their grace.

Chapter III

JEANNE D'ARC IN DRAMA

Perhaps there is no more dramatic character in history than Jeanne d'Arc. Her short life embraces every element of drama: the romantic at Domremy, the spectacular in her triumph at Orleans and the coronation at Reims, and the tragic in her martyrdom at Rouen. So it is not surprising that from the earliest period down to the present day, she should have been the cause of a constant out-pouring of dramatic literature, both French and foreign, and yet it is curious to note that there is not a single masterpiece.

A. French:

"Mistère du Siège d'Orléans." The first dramatic work of which we have any trace is the "Mistère du Siège d'Orléans." \(^1\)

\(^1\) The full title is: "Le Mistère du Siège d'Orléans, d'après le manuscrit à la Bibliothèque du Vatican, par F. Guessard et E. de Certain." The original preserved at the Vatican forms a large volume, in-4, of 509 pages. This manuscript belonged to Alexandre Petau, and bears his signature on the first page: "A Petavius Sen. Par. 1636."
Both the author and the date of composition are unknown, though the poem is believed to belong to the fifteenth century. It is known that a fête was held at Orleans on the eighth of May in 1435 and in 1439, where a mystère representing the siege was presented. Although it cannot be definitely proved, it is thought that these and the "Mistère du Siège d'Orléans" are the same.

It is also held that the author was an Orléanais, not only because he shows the spirit of

1- This opinion is disputed by M. Quicherat, who considers it a "cursive gothique du XVIe siècle."
2- Preface to "Mistère du Siège d'Orléans, p. ix.
The one argument against the contention that the mystère was written in 1435, the fact that there is mention of the "Conte de Dunois", a title not conferred upon the Bastard of Orleans until 1439, is answered as follows by the editors. The name "Dunois" appears only in the first 207 pages, and then only twelve times, whereas in the remaining pages, he is mentioned forty-eight times, and always under the name "Bastard d'Orléans". It is difficult to believe that such a noticeable change should be merely accidental; the editors rather conclude that the second part was written and produced before 1439, and that the authors added a long prologue later, treating of the events prior to the siege itself.
a loyal Frenchman, but also because he betrays an extraordinary devotion and fidelity to the Duke of Orleans, and withal a sort of local patriotism. His familiarity with the minutest details of the events which took place would lead one to think that he had been present at the siege which he describes.

Although a work of this type, which is so evidently meant to be presented, for it contains careful stage directions, and pauses for musical interludes, is not generally to be depended upon for accuracy, the "Mistère" appears to set before the spectators in chronological order the events which preceded the famous defense of Orleans, and the deliverance of that city by the Maid. Curiously enough it is for this reason that M. Quicherat decries it: "La valeur historique de cet ouvrage est nulle, mon parce que l'auteur s'est éloigné de l'histoire, mais, au contraire, parce qu'il l'a suivie de trop près. Sa pièce n'est autre chose que le Journal du siège dialogué et mis en vers, avec une exposition dont l'idée est empruntée à la Chronique de la Pucelle." However, he admits that he knows the "Mistère" only by certain fragments, and has never compared it page by page with the "Journal", for there are, in

1- Préf. Misté p. ix.
2- Quicherat, vol. V, p. 79.
fact, sufficiently noticeable differences between the two works to lead to the belief that one did not serve as a sole source for the other. Rather it may be held, that if the works resemble each other it is because the authors were both from Orleans, and necessarily consulted the same notes and registers.

That which makes this work a truly original one from the point of view of an historical document is that it was written near to the time when the events took place, and by a participant or a close observer, of them all. However the "Mistère" has no literary value. It represents the infancy of dramatic art, is enlivened by little imagination, and is but a simple exposition in verse of an historical episode—a process which can scarcely be termed dramatic.

Nevertheless the author showed originality, and as the editors observe: "Son premier et son plus grand mérite â nos yeux, est dans le choix du sujet." For the subjects of the mystères of that period were confined to Biblical topics or the lives of the Saints, and

---Préf. Mist. xxi.
to choose an episode in the history of the times, to cling to the facts, without completely breaking with the ideas of dramatic art, as they were then understood, was a step in a new path.

The scene of the Mistere opens in England, with a discourse by Salisbury to the lords and captains under his command, in which he announces his intention to achieve the conquest of France, by taking Orleans, the last important stronghold of the French. At this time the Duke of Orleans is a prisoner in England, and frightened at this new undertaking, he goes to the English lords and begs them to spare his domain, which they promise to do. After the arrival of the English troops in France, and a council of war is held, the two generals, Salisbury and Glasdale, disguised, go to consult a celebrated astrologer, Maître Jean des Boillons. He foretells their future in vague terms, but suggests a tragedy, that is soon to take place.

The scene then shifts to Orleans, where a council of war is being held by the French,
to decide on measures for defense. Then come skirmishes before Les Tourelles. At first
the English are repulsed, but later they take the boulevard. The English congratulate them-
selves, but are soon to lament, for Salisbury, who has gone to the heights of Les Tourelles to
look down upon Orleans, is struck in the head by a cannon ball, and instantly killed. The
English attempt to keep this secret, but the French hear of it, and also discover that the
ball that killed the general, was shot off without the aid of human hands from the tower of
Notre-Dame. It is a miracle, they cry out, the punishment of Salisbury for his felony towards
the Duke of Orleans, and his pillaging of some churches near Orleans.

The French are encouraged by the announce-
ment that they have a new Bombarde, which they
give the name of "La Bergiere" or "Bergère". But Talbot, who has been in another part of
France, hears of the death of Salisbury, swears
to avenge him, and brings his troops up to Or-
leans. Then comes the retreat of the French,
and the recurring victories of the English.
About this time, Charles, being urged to send help, prays to God that France may be saved. Here the imagination of the author conceives a scene in heaven, in which Notre-Dame intercedes for the king of France, saying that he has a right to his own kingdom. Saint Euverte and Saint Aignan, former bishops of Orleans, also join their petitions to those of Notre-Dame. Finally the Lord promises to send aid to France, but since the French have incurred His displeasure, theirs will not be the honor of saving France; the glory shall be given to a young girl. It is interesting to note this difference in point of view between our author and Christine de Pisan, who considers it the greatest honor to the French to be so favored by God, that He should send a maiden to deliver them.

Saint Michel is sent to announce to Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl of Domremy, that she is the chosen of heaven. Her doubts and naïve as-
tonishment are shown in her reply to the Angel.

"Mon bon seigneur, que dictes vous?
Vous me faictes trop esbaye:
Cecy ne vîent point à propoux,
En ce je ne scay que je die.
Moy, povre pucelle, ravye
Des nouvelles que vous me dictes,
Sachez, je ne les entend mie,
Que y me sont trop auxentiques
Je ne vous pourroye resondre
Ainsi, moy, povre bergerete
Vous qui cy me venez semondre.
Comme une simple pucelete,
Cardant es champs dessus l'erbet
Les povres bestes de mon pere,
Une jeûne simple fillete
Vous dis sont à mon bien contraire."

Michel Ange.

"Jehanne, ne vous en esmayez;
Que Dieu l'a ainsi ordonné,
Et veut que l'onneur vous ayez
Du royaulme, present fortuné,
Qui a esté habandonné
Par pechîé commis des Françoïs;

1--Mistere du Siège d'Orléans—p. 274. lines (7091—706)
Par vous sera roy couronné
Et remis en ses nobles droits."

Finally Jeanne is convinced, and submits to the commands of Saint Michel.

"Mon bon seigneur, vostre nouvelle
De par moy sera reclamée
Au seigneur de ceste contrée
Par la voye que dinctes telle."

Michel Ange:

"A Dieu, Jehanne, vraye pucelle
Qui est d'icelui bien aymée;
Ayez toujours ferme pensée
De Dieu estre sa pastorelle."

followed by the stage direction; "Puis s'en part, il y a pause."

Presently we find the Maid talking with Baudricourt, who places no faith in her words. In the mean time the French meet with another serious defeat, and the scene is again in

1—Mistère du Siège d'Orléans—p. 274 lines (7107—7115)
2—Ibid.—p. 276 lines (7155—7160)
3—Ibid.—p. 276 lines (7160—7164)
4—Ibid.—p. 277
heaven, where Saint Michel is ordered to return to the Maid. He appears to her again, saying:

"Dieu vous sault, Jehanne, doulce amie!

Devers vous, fille, me renvoye
Que la chose soit acomplie,
Ainsi que Dieu le vous octroye,
Si est que vous preignez la voye
Pour aller droit au Roy parler,
Et que Baudricourt vous convoye
Ou qu'i vous fasse convoyer.
Les Frangois ont eu tres grant perte
Aujourd'uy en ceste journée,
Laquelle eust esté recouverte
Se plus toust y fussiez allée."

La Pucelle;

"Seigneur, je suis acertainée
Que Baudricourt n'en fera riens,
Et le tient à folle pensée,
Ainsi que une chose de neant."

Saint Michel;

"Allez y tout incontinent,
Que plus ne vous refusera,
Et ne vous desdira de riens; Vostre voloir acomplira."

La Pucelle:

"En nom de Dieu qui tout crea,
Je m'y en revoyos prestement."

Michel Ange:

"Jehanne, avec nous Dieu sera,
Et alles par tout seurement."

The second visit of Jeanne to Baudricourt meets with success, and he provides as escort, Jean de Mes (sic), Bertrand de Plongy (sic), and her two brothers. Arrived at Chinon, it is her guides who speak first to the king. They explain why they have brought her, and declare her to be a marvelous person, with whom they have passed through the most dangerous country without coming to any harm.

Bertrand de Plongy:

"Certes on ne croiroit jamais
Les dangiers que sommes passez."

The king promises to receive her the next day.

But on the advice of his counsellors, he puts

1--Mistère du Siège d’Orléans--lines (9084--9088).
2--Ibid.--lines (9088--9090)
3--Ibid.--lines (9090--9092)
4--Ibid.--lines (9092--9093)
one of them in his place to test the powers of this Maid. At the entrance of Jeanne d'Arc, the "IIe Conseiller" says.

"Jehanne, bien soyez vous venue
Et toute vostre compagnie.
Du Roy humblement serez receue
A grant joie et a chiere lye."

Lors la Pucelle le regarde, et tout à l'entour d'elle, puis dit:

"A nom Dieu, qu'i ne vous desplaise
Se n'est il pas, je le scay bien
Cestui qui est assis en chaise;
Il ne luy ressemble de rien.
Le vray Roy et bon chrestien
Le congnoistray mès que le voye;
Et non pourtant vostre maintien
Mon esperit ne se desvoye."

Le Roy:

"Plus dissimuler n'en pourroye
Fille, comment vous portez vous?"

La Pucelle:

"Vous estes cil que je querroye;
Vray roy de France par sus tous!..."
After thanking her for coming, the king calls a counsel to discuss what treatment shall be given her. It is decided to send her to Poitiers to be interrogated before the "Parlement". Before the Inquisitors of the Faith, she answers simply and truthfully all that is asked her. When questioned as to her home, she says:

"Quant est de l'ostel de mon pere,
Il est en pays de Barois,
Gentilhomme et de noble afaire,
Honneste et loyal Francois."

After the favorable decision of the council of Poitiers, Charles no longer doubts Jeanne, and on her advice, sends

"Derriere l'autel et eglise
Sainte Katherine Nerbos!"

for a sword "qui a cinq croix en la croisée."

Also at her order a standard is made after the following fashion:

"Un estandart avoir je vueil
Tout blanc, sans nulle autre couleur,
Où dedans sera ung souleil
Reluisant ainsi qu'en chaleur.

1--Mistère--(10,199--10,202)
JOAN OF ARC RECEIVING ST. CATHERINE'S SWORD
Et ou millieu, en grant honneur,
En lectre d'or escript sera
Ces deux mots de digne valleur,
Qui sont cest: Ave Maria.
Et audessus notablement
Sera une majesté
Pourtraite bien et jolyment,
Faicte de grant auctorité.
Aux deux couetez seront assis
Deux anges, que chacun tiendra
En leur main une fleur de liz;
L'autre le soueil soueindra."

When the sword is brought to Jeanne d'Arc from Fierbois, where it was discovered in an old coffre behind the maître-autel, she wishes to depart immediately for Orleans. The king then equips her with spurs of gold, the sword, and gives her as écuyer, Jean d'Aulon, and as page, Louis de Contes. To conduct

1- Mistère- Lines (10,539-10,554). The description

given by Quicherat of the standard varies from the one here. (t. I, 98, 131; t.III, 103). "D'après les témoignages de Johanne et de son chapelain, Dieu, tenant le monde, y était figuré assis sur l'arc-en-ciel, les pieds sur les nuées; devant lui deux anges agenouillés l'un desquels présentait une fleur de lis, l'autre se tenait en prière, à côté, les mots Jhesus Maria."
BLESSING JOAN OF ARC'S STANDARD

After the painting by Michel
the men of arms, he sends Gilles de Rais and Ambroise de Loré. On reaching Blois, the Maid sends a herald with her letter for the English. Talbot is much surprised and angered. The general attitude of the English, on hearing that a Maid had come, is that of scorn. As an English nobleman expresses it, they thought France had come to a low state indeed:

"C'est leur fin, leur destruction,
Chacun le voit évidemment;
Qu'i n'ont plus autre affection
Qu'en une fille seulement."

Orleans is delighted at the news of the arrival of the Maid. Her first plan is to attack Saint-Loup, a bastille just outside of the city, and from there to reach Les Tourelles. Twice, the English are repulsed, and decide that this is not a Maid, but a devil. In the assault on Les Tourelles, the Maid is wounded, but goes right on, and the Boulevard is taken. After this victory, the English withdraw, and the people of Orleans express their gratitude:

"Tres haute dame de haut pris;
A vous en est louengue et gloire."

1- Mistère- Lines (11, 351-11,355 ).
To this the Maid answers:

"Mes amis, ce n'est pas à moy,
C'est à Dieu, qui a cecy fait:
Pitié a eu de vostre exploit."

The remainder of the "Mistère" is taken up with the succeeding battles and triumphs of the Maid, until the final triumph at Patay where the English hero, Talbot, is taken. The play ends with the reception accorded the Maid and the generals at Orleans, after the battle. They are greeted with shouts of "Noel, Noel", from the people, and the receveur of the city addresses Jeanne d'Arc:

"Ha! noble dame, nous vous remercions
Quant vous a pâeu de nous sauver la vie.

La Pucelle:

"Si vous encharge faire processions
Et louer Dieu et la vierge Marie.

1- Mistère, lines (14366-14371)
Ier Bourgeois:

"Très haulte dame, tous noz intentions
Est louer Dieu de pensée infinie,
Et vous aussi, dame de Dieu amye,
Qui par vous sommes en consolacions.

La Pucelle:

"Si vous encharge faire processions
Et louer Dieu et la vierge Marie,
Dont par Anglois n'a point esté ravie
Vostre cite ne voz possessions."

Explicit. Amen."

1- Mistère. Lines (20518-20529). The end of the work.
JOAN OF ARC'S ENTRANCE INTO ORLEANS
After the painting by Bartolini
The first tragedy concerning Jeanne d'Arc was written by le P. Fronton du Duc, in 1580. The author was born at Bordeaux and in 1578 was sent to Pont-à-Mousson to teach rhetoric and theology. He spent several years there, during which time, he wrote a number of books.

The purpose of the author in writing this tragedy is best explained by the announcement of the work made by the historian of "l'Université de Pont-à-Mousson," le P. Abram.


2--A complete list of his works may be found in the Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, par les P. P. Auguste et Alois de Backer. 4e série; Liége 1858, p. 189-196. From the note of M. Durand de Langon. Appendice to Mistère. p. 786.
"Henry III, de France, et la Reine Louise, son épouse, ayant résolu de venir au mois de Mai 1580 prendre les eaux de Plombières, le P. Fronton du Duc prépara une pièce française, pour être représentée à leur passage par Pont-à-Mousson. Il avait pris pour sujet Jeanne d'Arc, fille Lorraine, délivrante le Royaume de France de l'oppression des Anglois; mais la peste s'étant manifestée dans beaucoup d'endroits de la Lorraine, rompit le projet. C'est pour-quoi on en remit la représentation au 7 septembre suivant, auquel jour elle fut représentée devant les princes de la maison de Lorraine et plusieurs seigneurs et généraux de l'armée de France. Elle plut si fort au grand duc Charles, qui avait assisté à la représentation, qu'il ordonna qu'on délivreroit à l'auteur de cette tragédie, qui lui parut couvert d'une robe qui représentoit la pauvreté évangélique, cent écus d'or, somme pour lors très-considerable, et il ordonna que pareille somme nous seroit délivrée tous les ans, pour rhabiller trois de nos pères. Cette pièce fut à la suite imprimée sans nom d'auteur."

1—Appendice to mistère. p. 786.
The author opens the prologue of this tragedy with this sensible reasoning:

"Or on n'a point choisy ung argument estrange,
Scachant que cil est fol, lequel ayant sa grange
Plaine de grains cueilliz, emprunte à son voisin
Laissant pourrir chez soy son propre magasin.
On a trouvé chez nous suffisante matiere
Pour d'un poëme tel fournir la charge entière:
Prenant de ce pays ceux les gestes desquelz sont dignes d'esgaler aux los des immortelz.
On a donques choisy les faicts d'une Pucelle Qu'en France plus souvent d'Orleans on appelle:
De Dom-Remy plustost nous la dirons icy:
(Aux terres de Lorraine elle naquist aussi)...
Affin qu'on (n)'oye ceux qui ont osé escrire,
Dentelant son honneur, et d'icelle mesdire Contre la vérité: Non ce n'est de ce temps Que l'estat des François, Lorraine, tu defendz."

1—Appendice to Mistère. p. 786.
This early tragedy is considered superior to the many mystery and miracle plays that were common at the time, and is a step forward in dramatic form from the "Mistère du Siège d'Orléans".

A few lines from the speech of La Pucelle (Acte Ier, scene III), will illustrate the style:

"Je ne viens point vers vous pour suyvre par justice
Les droictz de mes parentz, ou bien par avarice
La ruine avancer de mes povres debteurs,
Ou d'un pupil destruict accuser les tuteurs:

...................................................

1—Comment of the editor Durand de Lançon. See Appendice to Mistère. P. 787.

Eight months after it was presented this work was edited by Jean Barnet, who seems to have taken advantage of the modesty and indifference of the author, for in his preface, which he dedicates to Monseigneur, le comte de Salm, Mareschall de Lorraine, Gouverneur de Nancy, May 26, 1581, he says:

"Ceste vostre subjecte (La Pucelle), qui vous vient faire hommage, Monseigneur, m'a voulu choisir comme tres-humble et tres-affectionné Serviteur de vostre maison, pour la vous presenter en ceste forme tragique qui m'est tombée en main, sans que je congoissee l'Aucteur."
Je ne suis envoyée
Par quelque Roy ou Duc pour la paix octroyée,
Ou pour quelque alliance, ou pour des prisonniers
Moyenner la rançon et apporter deniers.

Je n'ay point seulement ouy une ou deux foys
D'un ange bien heureux la menassante voix,
M'incitant d'accomplir la volonté divine,
Mais encore j'ay veu et Sainte Catherine
Et Sainte Marguerite à moy se presenter,
(De ce digne,ne suis dont il me fault vanter)
Et la Royne du ciel m'a dit, tout assurée,
Que son cher Filz m'avoir à ce fait consacrée,
A venir des Anglois l'ost mettre en desarroy,
Et puis mener à Rheims à son sacre le Roy."

and permits a friend to congratulate him that
he "l'a trop mieulx agencé que son premier au-
teur." (Mistère. Appendice, p. 787.)

M. de Haldat, a descendant of the family
of Jeanne d'Arc, has published an analysis of
this composition in 1847, at Nancy; also in
"Les Mémoires de l'Académie de Nancy, 1847."
M. Beaupré has a very extensive notice on the
work of Fronton du Duc, published in his "Nou-
velles recherches sur l'imprimerie en Lorraine."
p. 22 à 50.

1—Appendice to Mistère. p. 788—789.
An anonymous tragedy in five acts and in verse, with a prologue and chorus, presented for the first time in 1600 at Rouen, is attributed by certain authorities to A. Virey, sieur du Gravier. It was played at the théâtre du Marais, at Paris, in 1603, and at the théâtre de l'hôtel de Bourgogne, in 1611. Judging from the avertissement to the reader, the author thought himself the first to "faire monter sur le théâtre des muses le tres ample sujet que nous en avoit donné par sa valeur—... ceste amazone masquée non d'un cache-nez, mais d'un heaume."

1—The full title is: "Tragédie de Jeanne d'Arques, dite la Pucelle, native du village d'Emprenne, pres Voucouleurs, (sic) en Lorraine. A Rouen, de l'imprimerie de Raphael du Petit Val, libraire et imprimeur du Roy. 1600, pet. in 12, de 48 pages. (Bibl. imp. Y. 5631, reserve)."


3—Perhaps Jean de Virey, sieur du Gravier, auteur dramatique et gentilhomme normand, who died about 1610.

This work shows the influence of the Renaissance, since it is full of mythological allusions. To have Jeanne d'Arc, the epitome of christianity, invoking Diana and Mars, is indeed ludicrous.

"Et sus il faut quitter les belles Oreades,
Les Nymphes, le plaisir de ces ondes jasardes:
Le carquois de Diane et son arc, et ses dards
Et toute me sacrer à l'homicide Mars,
Sauter dans les combats vestue de poussiere,
Accabler l'ennemy de ma dextre guerriere:
Peindre le fer de sang, declorre les conduits:
Chasser la peste loin, pour guarir mon pays."

The author makes of the Maid a true Amazon.

She says:

"Ce casque martial pressant ma chevelure
Ne convient il pas mieux qu'une riche coiffure?
Ce harnois endossé oeuvre Vulcanien
N'est-il pas plus plaisant que du froid Serien
Les robes peintes d'or, ou de Tyr empourprées."

The next dramatic work in which Jeanne d'Arc appears, is a pastourelle by Nicholas Chrestien. The arguments of the Intermèdes are drawn from the history of France, and include the following subjects:

1--La Conversion du Roy Clovis.
2--La Prise de Compostelle par Charlemagne.
3--La Prise de Hierusalem par Godefroy de Bouillon.
4--La Prise de Damiette par S. Loys Roy de France.
5--La Pucelle d'Orleans.

To illustrate the style of this last intermède, a part of the dialogue between Charles Roy de France, and Baudrincourt (sic) is quoted:

Charles:

"Qu'une fille ait l'honneur de ce que tant d'heros Effectuer n'ont peu? Cela n'est à propos.

Baudrincourt:

Que Dieu ne puisse bien luy donner la puissance

1-- The full title is: "Les Amants, ou la grande pastourelle par Nicholas Chrestien sieur des Croix Argentenois, en 5 actes et en vers, avec un prologue, enrichie de plusieurs belles et rares inventions, et relevée d'intermèdes héroyques à l'honneur des Françoys. A Rouen, chez Raphaël du Petit Val, 1613. in-12."
De parfaire ce fait? Ce n'est hors de créance.

Charles:

Pourquoi nous ferait-il un si étrange bien?

Baudrincourt:

Pour montrer qu'il peut tout, et les monarques rien.

Charles:

Un fait contre nature est toujours rejetable.

Baudrincourt:

Un fait contre nature est plustost admirable.

Charles:

Qui vous en fait juger?

Baudrincourt:

Le propos, la fierté,

De la fille inspirée, et sa simplicité.

Charles:

Un démon seroit bien auteur de cette ruse.

Baudrincourt:

Il n'est point de démon qui ne trompe ou abuse.
Charles:

Une fille auroit donc plus que nous de vaillance?

Baudrincourt:

Dieu exerce où il veut sa divine puissance.

.........

Ce n'est pas une fille, mais c'est Dieu qui combat.

Charles:

Ce fait aussi n'est-il à son sexe contraire?

Baudrincourt:

En tout sexe, en tout âge, et en tout 

Dieu opere."  

A tragedy in prose was written in 1624 by François Hedelin, abbé d'Aubignac, a work which was probably inspired by the stir that was made over the poem of Chapelain. For in the play, "la verbeuse héroïne, en une tirade pleine de rhétorique y prophétise Longueville et le poème de Chapelain." A little later it was

1- Append. Mist., p. 794-796.
put into verse and presented, the versification being attributed either to Benserade or to Mesnardière.

The author complains in his avertissement, that the players do not do justice to his work. "Ils ne sa-vent lire qu'à grande peine les rolles manuscrites... La plus grande part n'ayant aucune connoissance des bonnes lettres, a fait souvent des exclamations pour des interrogans, ou des ironies et criailé, quand il falloit moderer sa voix..." He also reproanhes them, as "ignorant l'art des machines et refusant par avarice d'en faire la despence." For example: "Au lieu de faire paroistre un ange dans un grand ciel dont l'ouverture eut fait celle du théâtre, ils l'ont fait venir quelques fois à pied, et quelques fois dans une machine impertinamment faite et impertinemment conduite: au lieu defaire voir dans le renfondrement et en perspective, l'image de la Pucelle au milieu d'un feu allumé et environné d'un grand peuple, comme on leur en avoit enseigné le moyen, ils firent peindre un méchant

1- G. Collas, p. 212.
tableau sans art, sans raison et tout contraire au sub-
jet..."

An interesting contemporary comment on this play
is found in the "Tablettes dramatiques" of le Châevalier
de Mouhy, which reads:

"La Pucelle de l'Aubignac. Selon la vérité de
l'histoire et les règles les plus exactes du théâtre:
mais elle n'en est pas meilleure."

In the preface, the author justifies the liberties
which he has taken with the story of Jeanne d'Arc:

"Pour y mettre une intrigue qui donnast le moyen
de faire jouer le théâtre, j'ay supposé que le comte de
Warwick en estoit amoureux (de Jeanne), et sa femme ja-
louse: car bien que l'histoire n'en parle point, elle ne
dit rien au contraire; de sorte que cela vraysemblable-
ment a peu estre, les histpriens français l'ayant ig-
noré, et les Anglois ne l'ayant pas voulu dire..."

and again: "Pour donner de la grace et de la
force au cinquième acte, je faitcs que le baron de
Talbot qui n'avoir point esté d'advis de sa
mort en vient faire le récit au comte de
Warvick extremement affligé et à la comtesse, que le remords de la conscience rend insensée. Puis pour jeter sur le théâtre la terreur qui doit clorer cette pièce, j'ay avancé le chastiment de trois de ses juges, dont l'un est chassé, l'autre meurt subitement, et le troisieme frappé de lepre comme elle leur a voit prédit."

The play then opens, as follows:
(Le ciel s'ouvre par un grand esclair, et l'Ange paroist sur une machine eslevée.)

L'Ange:

Fille du ciel, incomparable Pucelle, puisant et miraculeux secours de ton prince, voy tes prisons qui s'ouvrent, et tes chaînes qui se brisent, sors, sors, à la faveur des divines lumieres qui t'environnent, et viens apprendre icy quel doit estre le dernier acte de ta générosité et le comble de ta gloire.

La Pucelle:

The author, according to the avertissement, makes the Comte de Warvick, interested personally in the Maid, for which the Duc de Somerset reproaches him.

Le Duc:

Enfin, Comte, votre faveur envers cette sorcière esclatée à mon avis un peu trop.

Le Comte:

On ne sauroit trop faire pour protéger l'innocence.

Le Duc:

Je crain bien qu'un autre sentiment vous y oblige; il arrive souvent que nous agissons par une passion qui nous est inconnue et nous attribuons à Justice ce que nous faisons par une inclination desordonnée. Les visites que vous luy avez rendues m'ont toujours esté suspectes, elles n'ont jamais avancé la connaissance de ses crimes comme vous nous promettiez, vous estes toujours sorty d'autres d'elle plus passionné pour sa justification que pour le service de l'Angleterre et le contentement de Bethfort.
The author of this tragedy believes in prompt justice for the wicked, and again seems not loath to overlook the facts in order to make effective the ending of his play. We discover Canchon (sic) bemoaning his fate:

"Canchon:

Mon Dieu, je suis mort, un traict invisible me vient de percer le coeur." Il tombe.

Le Comte de Warwick:

Prompts et merveilleux effects des predictions de la Pucelle.

Le Duc de Somerset:

Il a sans doute perdu la vie."

To compare the work of François Hedelin with that of the versificator of the tragedy, the corresponding passages are quoted.

L'Ange:

Sainte fille du ciel, Pucelle incomparable,
De ton prince affligé le secours adorable,
Quitte pour un moment la charge de tes fers,
Et sors par ma faveur de tes cachos ouvers,
Vien apprendre de moy ma dernière assistance
Et de ton sort heureux la plus belle ordonnance.
Dans les tristes horreurs de cette épaisse nuit
Voy ce long trait de feu qui vers moy te conduit,
Marche, marche et beny l'éclair que je t'envoye
Pour tracer à tes pieds une agréable voye.

La Pucelle:
Quels nouveaux sentimens d'un celeste bon-heur
M'ouvrant l'amé et les sens à la voix du Seigneur?
Ha, j'entens et je voy son divin interprete Qui me va declarer sa volonté secrete.

Le Duc:
Comte, vous faites trop pour cette miserable.

Le Comte:
Faire pour l'innocence est une oeuvre louable.

Le Duc:
Un autre sentiment vous fait-il point agir?
N'en faites pas le fin, et gardez de rougir.
On dit qu'elle n'est pas l'objet de vostre haine,
Et qu'à l'interroger vous prenez trop de peine.
Vous la presser beaucoup, et nous promettez bien
De nous découvrir tout, mais vous n'en faites rien.
Et vous nous apprêlez dans une impatience
De la justifier qui tire à conséquence.
Prenez-y garde, Comte, oubliez ce transport
Qui ne vous met pas bien dans l'esprit de Bethfort."

1- Act I, scene vi.
In drama as well as in poetry the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries yield little concerning Jeanne d'Arc, an interval of 154 years must elapse before the Maid is again the heroine of a dramatic work. In 1778, we find a piece by R. C. Ballard, "Programme du fameux siège d'Orléans", and learn that it was presented in Rouen in 1786, under the title "La Pucelle d'Orléans, ou le fameux siège, pantomine héroïque en trois actes: le programme en vaudeville par Regnard de Plinchenes."

A drama by Mercier, a melodrama by Plancher-Valoure, and a musical comedy by Choudard and Kreutzer complete the contributions of the eighteenth century.

In the nineteenth century there is a wealth of dramatic material treating of Jeanne d'Arc: tragedies, dramas, vaudeville sketches, pantomimes, parodies, melodramas and musical comedies. One of the most noteworthy productions of this period is the tragedy of Alexandre Soumet, presented at the "Théâtre de l'Odeon", at Paris, in 1825. This presentation was parodied under the title "La Tuèpîne à Jeanne d'Arc, pot-pourri en cinq actes, précédé d'un prologue" par M.A. Ricard.

Charles Péguy, who said that should he live to be a hundred he would go on writing about Jeanne d'Arc,
has made her the central figure not only of many of his poems, but as well of several dramatic pieces, mystères. He published in 1897, his first "Jeanne d'Arc" under the pseudonym, Pierre Baudouin (a name which he was to use subsequently in brilliant dialogues with himself), in his own printing shop, and at first sold but a single copy of it. He professed to be a socialist, and had established this bookshop to further the cause of socialism, but this book, which glorified a national character, was considered by his brother socialists as proof of heresy to the Internationale, and his shop was boycotted.

The book contains "trois pièces"; the first "A Domremy", the second "Les Batailles" and the third, "Rouen". The first part of the "première pièce", represents Jeannette, thirteen years of age at the period in her life when the burdens of the time were beginning to weigh upon her, and when she was commencing to feel a burning desire to alleviate the suffering about her. Peguy skilfully avoids the introduction of the supernatural, by giving to Jeannette a soliloquy, in which she invokes her saints:

"Vous m'avez dit de votre voix inoubliable
'Jeanne, voici que Dieu t'a choisie à présent.
Va chasser les Anglais du royaume qu'il aime.'

Mes saintes, vous l'avez nommé, le chef de guerre,
Mais je ne peux pas, moi, conduire les soldats:
O mon Dieu je ne suis qu'une simple bergère;
Je ne peux pas me battre, ô mon Dieu je ne peux pas.

Mais vous connaissez bien que les soldats sont bruts
Et que je ne peux pas m'en aller avec eux.

Et je ne peux pas vaincre avec les soldats bruts:
Il faut leur envoyer un chef plus brutal qu'eux,
Pour les dompter dans la bataille et les avoir
Dans sa main qui les serre et les lance à l'assaut.

Envoyez-nous le chef plus brutal qu'eux.

O mon Dieu, donnez-nous un meilleur chef de guerre."

This attitude of Jeanne's gradually changes, until three years later (première partie, deuxième acte) after hearing from Hauviette the news that the English had taken Orleans, she speaks thus:

"Mon Dieu,

Pardonnez-moi d'avoir attendu si longtemps
Avant de décider; mais puisque les Anglais
Ont décidé d'aller à l'assaut d'Orléans,
Je sens qu'il est grand temps que je décide aussi:
Moi, Jeanne, je décide que je vous obéirai.

................................. .................
Vous m'avez commandé d'aller dans la bataille: j'irai.
Vous m'avez commandé de sauver la France pour monsieur le dauphin: j'y tâcherai.
Quoi qu'il m'arrive à présent, je vous promets que je vais commencer et que je vous obéirai jusqu'au bout: je l'ai voulu. Je sais ce que j'ai fait.

.................
A présent ô mon Dieu, que je vais commencer,
Si les Anglais ne veulent pas s'en aller bien,
Donnez-moi la douceur et la force qu'il faut
Pour calmer les soldats et pour les apaiser
Dans leur pleine victoire, ayant fini l'assaut."

The next scene presents to us Durand Lassois, Jeannette's uncle, and her parents, simple, kind-hearted peasants as Péguy knew many of them. Lassois, whom Jeannette tells of her mission, is incredulous at first:

"Voyons Jeannette, tu n'es pas tant pas folle?"

To which Jeannette replies earnestly:
"Folle; mon oncle: c'est à présent que mon âme est saine, à présent que je suis à peu près sûre de ne jamais le devenir, folle."

Lassois is finally won over, and promising to help her, departs, saying, "A tout à l'heure, alors, ma pauvre enfant. A tout à l'heure et que Dieu nous pardonne."

Recalling all of the elaborate farewell speeches put into the mouth of the Maid, one is charmed with the simplicity and tenderness of the words given to her by Péguy. In contrast to the short nervous sentences, with which his work is punctuated, this speech has a lyric beauty:

"Adieu, Meuse endormeuse et douce à mon enfance, Qui demeures aux prés, où tu coules tout bas. Meuse, adieu: j'ai déjà commencé ma partance En des pays nouveaux où tu ne coules pas. ......................... ............... Meuse qui ne sais rien de la souffrance humaine, O Meuse inaltérable et douce à mon enfance, O toi qui ne sais pas l'émoi de la partance, Toi qui passas toujours et qui ne pars jamais, O toi qui ne sais rien de nos mensonges faux, ......................... ............... Quand reviendrai-je ici filer encore la laine?
Quand verrai-je tes flots qui passent par chez nous?

Ô maison de mon père où je filais la laine,
Maison de pierre forte, ô ma douce maison,
Je m'en vais pour de bon dans la bataille humaine,
Ô voici que je vais m'en aller pour de bon.

Vous tous que j'aimais tant quand j'étais avec vous,
Ô vous que j'aimais tant quand je m'en fus en France,
À présent je vous aime encore plus, loin de vous:
Mon âme a commencé l'étrange amour d'absence."

The first part of the "deuxième pièce" or "Les Bataillées," takes Jeanne d'Arc at Orléans. In the home of Jacques Boucher, "argentier de Charles, duc d'Orléans, et trésorier de la ville," Jeanne dictates the letter to the English, and prays that they may accept her terms:

"Que ne ferait-on pas pour ces braves gens là?
Que ne ferai-je pas? Mon Dieu, si vous voulez
M'envoyer mon conseil infaillible et doux aux désolés;

Le conseil de mes voix par qui je vais aller
Porter à ces Anglais mon message de paix:
Ô mon Dieu! s'ils voulaient cette fois nous laisser
En paix dans notre France et partir à jamais!"
The second part which takes place "Devant Paris" and the third, in a château of La Trémouille, at Sully-sur-Loire. In these scenes, her mission accomplished, Jeanne is crushed with a feeling of helplessness and approaching disaster. The "troisième pièce", "Rouen", is in two parts, the first being for the most part a striking and forcible paraphrase of the trial, as found in the original documents. Condemned as a sorceress, for a time Jeanne despairs of her own soul.

"Oh, j'irais dans l'enfer avec les morts damnés, Avec les condamnés et les abandonnés, Faut-il que je m'envaille avec les morts damnés; Faudra-t-il que je mène en la bataille en bas Tous ceux que j'ai tués, tous ceux que j'ai damnés, Tous ceux que j'ai menés aux batailles passées. Tous ceux que je menais en la bataille humaine; Faudra-t-il que je sois menteuse et trahisseeuse, Enseignée au mensonge, aux gauches trahisons, Par les maîtres à mentir, par Judas le menteur? The next lines are almost a repetition of the farewell speech in the first "pièce", only this time they are more tragic. "Ô comme il me souvient de l'enfance passée, De l'enfance lointaine où j'ai tant mal aimé,
Menteuse en mon enfance, ô menteuse déjā,
Meuse endormeuse et douce et que j'ai mal aimée
Je ne te verrai plus t'en aller par chez nous,
Ne reverrai jamais la vallée embaumée,
O Meuse inépuisable, inaltérable et calme,
Et qui ne peux aimer et que j'ai mésaimée.
Vous que j'ai délaissés, ô mon père, ô ma mère,
Faut-il donc que je sois sans vous revoir jamais,
Que dans l'enfer je sois sans savoir où j'ai vous êtes.

................. Je voudrais bien savoir
Ô mon Dieu s'il est vrai que je me sois damnée."

The second part is in one act, shows Jeanne in prison, just before the execution is to take place. She has taken heart, and believes again in her voices. The conclusion is her beautiful prayer:

"Ô mon Dieu,
Puisqu'il faut qu'à présent Rouen soit ma maison,
écoutez bien ma prière;
Je vous prie de vouloir bien accepter cette
prière comme étant vraiment ma prière de moi, parce que
tout-à-l'heure je ne suis pas tout-à-fait sûre de ce que
je ferai quand je serai dans la rue... et sur la place,
et de ce que je dirai.
JOAN OF ARC IN PRISON AT ROUEN
Bas-relief by Vital-Dubray, at Orleans
Pardonnez-moi, pardonnez-nous à tous le mal que j'ai fait en vous servant.

Mais je sais bien que j'ai bien fait de vous servir.

Nous avons bien fait de vous servir ainsi.

Mes voix ne m'avaient pas trompée.

Pourant, mon Dieu, tâchez donc de nous sauver tous, mon Dieu,

Jésus, sauvéz-vous tous à la vie éternelle.

Elaborating on the first part of the "première pièce" of his "Jeanne d'Arc", Péguy has published in 1910 "Le mystère de la charité de Jeanne d'Arc", which is the first of a series which he planned to write. Like the other work, it is written part in prose and part in libre. The scene is the same as in the corresponding part of the larger work; in the summer of 1425, on the bank of the Meuse. Three characters enter the scene; Jeannette, her little friend Hauviette, and madame Gervaise, a nun. But in this play, the author has gone into much greater detail, and the characters are all skilfully and intimately drawn. Jeannette is the type, who is affected by the sufferings of others, who is crushed by the overwhelming injustice and cruelty in the world. Hauviette, though but a child of ten years, represents
the matter-of-fact person, who takes things as they are, who realizes the griefs of mankind, but does not have the insatiable desire to lighten them. Nevertheless she understands Jeannette, whom she says is "petrie de tristesse", and adds, "La tristesse, la peur, la détresse. C'est une grande famille et il y en a beaucoup. On dirait que tu as consommé toute la tristesse de la terre." Madame Gervaise, too, constantly murmurs to her, "Mon enfant, mon enfant, comme tu parles, tu ne parles pas comme une petite fille."

Madame Gervaise represents to Jeannette the consolation of the church. It is she whom the child seeks, to answer her questions, to tell her "pourquoi le bon Dieu permet qu'il y ait tant de souffrance. Tant de souffrance et tant de perdition."

Jeannette is a sad character, because she seems to see so clearly, and understand so well the sorrows of her country-men. She is untiring in her questioning of Madame Gervaise, and recalling to her all of the grief and outrage that were being caused by war, demands why "il y a tant de souffrance perdue", why even the great Sacrifice was lost. Madame Gervaise, attempting to show her that no suffering has been in vain, reaches the point in the story of the Christ, where all of his
disciples abandoned him, Jeanne murmurs, "Je crois, que si j'aurais été là, je ne l'aurais pas abandonné." These words are the keynote of the whole mystère, "Je ne l'aurais pas abandonné... jamais les Français ne l'auraient abandonné." For Charles Péguy believed not only in the divine mission of Jeanne d'Arc to save France, but in the divine mission of France to save the world.

To Charles Péguy, the glory and the mystery of Jeanne d'Arc is in her humble peasant origin. To quote his own words:

"Cette grande histoire éternelle, cette histoire d'éternelle sainteté est venue dans notre pays, cette grande histoire de chez nous. Le temporel est la terre et le temps, la matière, le terroir, le terreau de l'éternel. Mais cette grande sainte était une fille de chez nous; une fille de France, une fille de paysans... n'est-il pas effrayant de penser que son père sa mère son oncle Durand Lassois, ses trois frères, sa grande soeur, ses amies, Mengette, Haüviette, madame Gervaie étaient des gens comme nous en avons tant connus étant petits, comme nous eussions été nous-mêmes, comme nous allions être nous-mêmes....... étaient exactement, étaient identiquement des gens comme tous ceux où
nous avons vécu étant petits. Et que toute cette grande histoire est sortie de là."

To Péguy, then, Jeanne d'Arc stands as a symbol of the ideals for which he lived and died: for heroism, for virtue and for freedom. She represents to him the voice of the people and through it the soul of France.

The present century, and especially the year 1909 has called forth numerous dramatic works concerning the Maid, the majority of which are tragedies or patriotic dramas.

1- See appendix, p.
As early as 1430, Jeanne d'Arc had a rôle in a play presented in Ratisbonne. However she figured only in her connection with the Hussites, the reference being probably to the letter which she addressed to them, urging them to return to the church. Since that time, the Maid has served as the theme for many German dramas, but the one famous play, that of Schiller, so far out-ranks any other attempt, that today it is practically the only one that is known.

Written with the distinct purpose of offsetting the infamous poem of Voltaire's, the poet shows a deep devotion to his heroine. He composed it also as an answer to Shakespeare's play, as is shown by certain passages in which he has paraphrased in the opposite spirit such parts of "Henry VI" as are unfavorable to her. In this "romantic tragedy", as Schiller termed it, her has made extensive use of the supernatural. Not only does he include Joanna's visions and the appearances of the Virgin Mary and the Maid's miraculous recognition of the King at Chinon,
but he invents other celestial manifestations, such as in the fourth act the thunder, which comes as a divine warning, and finally, the superhuman act of the Maid, bursting the iron bonds which hold her prisoner.

In some passages the author reaches a high point of lyric beauty, as for instance in the passage, where Johanna bids farewell to her native valley:

"Lebt wohl, ihr Berge, ihr geliebten Täler, lebet wohl!
Ihr traulich stillen Täler, lebet wohl!
Johanna wird nun nicht mehr auf euch wandeln,
Johanna sagt euch mehr ewig Lebewohl!
Ihr Weisen, die ich wässerte! Ihr Bäume,
Die ich gepflanzt, grünet fröhlich fort!
Lebt wohl, ihr Grotten und ihr kühlen Brunnen!
Du Echo, holde Stimme dieses Tals,
Die oft mir Antwort gab auf meine Lieder,
Johanna geht, und nimmer kehrt sie wieder!

Ein Zeichen hat der Himmel mir verheissen,
Er sendet mir den Helm, er kommt von ihm,
Mit Götterkraft berühret mich sein Eisen,
Und mich durchflammt der Mut der Cherubim; 
Ins Kriegsgewühl hinein will es mich reissen, 
Es treibt, mich fort mit Sturmes Ungestüm; 
Den Feldruf hör' ich mächtig zu mir dringen, 
Das Schlachtross steigt, und die Tromteten klingen.\(^1\)

But Schiller, although he pictures a pure and tender maiden, in contrast to the Jeanne of Voltaire and Shakespeare, yet he is not content to give us an inspired single-minded Maid, who comes to the rescue of her country; but makes her succumb to love, thus departing from the reality of her life, and showing us not the heroic Maid as she was, but a creature of his own imagination.

Again, we can scarcely connect the inspired and noble Maid\(^1\) that we know, with Schiller's romantic heroine, who wanders three days and nights in wild places, fighting with the weakness of her heart, and finding relief in the thunder of the tempests. Schiller carries his inventions to the point of changing entirely the story of her death,

\(^1\) Schiller, "Jungfrau von Orleans" - Ginn & Company, 1900, p. 19.
for triumphing over her heart, and rewarded by Heaven's grace, wherein she is allowed to burst the bonds which imprison her, she returns to her friends who no longer doubt her, and dies surrounded by glory.

It must be said, however, that in spite of the many faults, this play did much to offset the attack of Voltaire, and has served as an inspiration for the romantic revival of interest in the story of the Maid of France. It is interesting to note that the Schiller drama was the one chosen to be presented at Harvard in 1909, in honor of the beatification of Jeanne d'Arc. The part of the Maid excellently interpreted by Maude Adams, and the scenery and pageantry on an elaborate scale, this was one of the greatest dramatic events America has ever witnessed.
In England, the first dramatic production in which the Maid is represented is Shakespeare's "Henry VI", Part 1, the date of which is about 1592. Hardly any critic now contends, however, that Shakespeare was the author of the whole of Henry VI, though parts of it show unmistakable evidence of his hand. The first part which deals with the war in France, and is connected very loosely with the second and third parts, contains only two scenes which are thought to have been written by Shakespeare. And it is interesting to note that these two scenes do not contain a single allusion to the Maid.

Since Shakespeare obtained most of his historical material from Holinshed, it is not surprising to find that this tragedy follows rather closely that historian's account, with the exception of one gross error, on the part of the author of Henry VI. Here, the Dauphin is crowned Charles VII before the appearance of Jeanne d'Arc.
KING HENRY VI., OF ENGLAND

From engraving by P. Vanderbank
Act I, scene 1:

Messengers:

"Lords, view these letters full of bad mischance. France is revolted from the English quite, Except some petty towns of no import; The Dauphin Charles is crowned king of Rheims; The Bastard of Orleans is with him join'd; Reignier, Duke of Anjou, doth take his part; The Duke of Alencon flieth to his side."

Jeanne d'Arc in *Henry VI* represents the English conception of her in the sixteenth century. She is a sorceress and an Amazon, who proves her powers to Charles by overcoming him in single combat.

Act I, scene 2.

Dolphin:

"Thou hast astonisht me with thy high termes; Onely this proofe Ile of thy Valour make, In single combat thou shalt buckle me; And if thou vanquishest, thy words are true, Otherwise I renounce all confidence.

Puzel.

I am prepar'd; here is my keene-edg'd sword,
Deckt with fine Flower-de-Luces on each side,
The which at Touraine, in S. Katherine's Church-yard,
Out of a great deale of old Iron, I choose forth.

Dolph. Then come a Gods name, I feare no woman.
Puzel. And while I live, Ile ne're flye from a man.
(Here they fight, and Joane de Puzel overcomes.)

Jeanne is later made a despicable character, who denies her father, and who admits disgrace to herself to gain a short respite from death. The play is full of anachronisms and inconsistencies, but contains one prophecy which showed unexpected appreciation for that time. It is when Charles, after the taking of Orleans, exclaimed:

"No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
But Jone de Puzel shall be France's saint."

As in French literature, one finds little concerning Jeanne d'Arc in the three centuries that follow. But, in 1795, the failure of a pantomine, presented at Covent-Garden Theatre, in which Jeanne was pictured as carried off by the fiends, marks an epoch in the dramatic history of the Maid in England. For, at the second presentation of this same piece, the devils replaced by,
Angels, and the infernal regions by the celestial, the climax was heartily applauded.

In 1822, Edward Fitz-Ball composed a play "Joan of Arc; or the Maid of Orleans, a melodrama." It is pure farce, and, owing either to gross ignorance or to total indifference on the part of the author, the situations are wholly unhistorical and inconsistent. Joan of Arc is a half-mad, melodramatic creature, who speaks in this wise, the first time she appears on the scene:

"Dark spirits float upon the blast. Soon the pale moon will rise in yon camp, and all seem hush'd to peace! false, deceitful calm! O, my poor injur-ed land! When, when shall thy mangled, lacerated bosom be at rest? When again shall the peasant, unmolested, plant his olives on your flow'ry mar-gins- ye blue waters of France? Oh, When?"

There are several comedy parts, a coward and a braggart, both in love with Joan's sister, Lucelle, and Joan's old father, who believes her to have a "disordered intellect". In the last scene at the Market Place at Rouen, the Maid, still bold and dauntless, defies her executioners, thus:
"Behold, proud and vindictive lords, how tranquilly I come to die." But in the end, she is rescued by Charles and his soldiers, and the captors are taken captive amidst great tumult and rejoicing. This play has served as a basis for many of the burlesques that followed, and was almost duplicated in 1880 by a play of William Brough's, "Joan of Arc, a new and original burlesque."

A play of a somewhat higher order is found in Tom Taylor's "Joan of Arc", first presented in 1871. It is a romantic drama in prose, probably influenced by Schiller's tragedy. The first act takes place at the village of Domremy, where are presented the peasants of the village and the Maid herself, who "wears a dreamy, pallid aspect, with an expression in her eyes of not noticing the persons and objects beside her." In this act, La Hire and Baudricourt pass through the village, and Joan obtains from the former a promise of aid, should she ever reach Chinon. This encounter is wholly imaginary, as it does not occur in any of the historical accounts.
The second act takes place at the palace of Chinon, where the extreme penury of the king is portrayed by the humorous scene, in which the cordwainer and the cook demand their wages. At the arrival of Joan, the queen, who is seldom mentioned in any other works, acts as her intercessor before the king. Act III presents the victory at Orleans and the fourth act takes place at Rouen, where the king and queen are crowned. Her mission fulfilled, Joan wishes to go back to Domremy, but is urged on by La Hire:

"La Hire: Unsquired, unhelmed, unsworded, with lifeless eyes and hanging hands, and in tears—of all things.

Joan: In my home there is no need of helm and sword. Friend, with whom I've stormed the rampart and manned the yawning breach, farewell. (rises and offers her hand).

La Hire: Joan blanches, and would say farewell, when there is so much yet to do. You go to your quiet home, while France is torn to shreds by the invader. Shall I go to my men— to your comrades,
and tell them now you leave them alone in face of the foe.

Joan: (suddenly) No. Once more I hear my voices.
And they bid me arm.

La Hire: Yes, and we are ready.

Joan: This time I shall go on unto the end, till there shall rise o'er France the single cry- of English there are no more."

This is not only the turning-point in the play-it is the turning point in her life: should she stop or should she go on?

The fifth act pictures Joan's imprisonment and martyrdom. The character delineation in the drama is fairly good, and the action not ill-sustained, but the play is tedious and lacks the inspiration of genius, and of sympathy with the heroine.

D': American.

Percy Mackaye America, too, has some dramas to offer to the store of Jeanne d'Arc literature. Percy Mackaye, one of the foremost American dramatists of the present day, has given us a "Jeanne d'Arc", which was presented for the first time in 1906 by E. H. Sothern and Julia Marlowe. Although this play lacks a
definite and unified dramatic action, it is not without effectiveness for the stage, and the characterization is excellent. The author has obtained his historical material from the original documents edited by T. Douglas Murray, and on the whole he has followed the facts rather closely.

He has made effective use of the supernatural in scenes, which however are taken from legend or from his own imagination rather than from historical evidence. In the first act, which takes place under the "Ladies' Tree" near Domremy, as twilight approaches and Jeanne remains alone, the Fairies of the Trees, the "Ladies of Lorraine" emerge from the darkness, singing a ballad in French dialect, and lay a spell upon the Maid, who soliloquizes:

"Thou little darling town of Domremy,
Good night. Thou winkest with thy lids of vines,
And layest down within the golden stream
Thy yellow thatches and thy poplars pale;
And thou, too, art up gathered in home-fields;
But thy Jeannette must pass away from thee.
For He who once disdained not to stay
His wandering star o'er tiny Bethlehem
Hath, in his love of France, sent unto thee
His shining messenger to fetch thy Maid.
O little town, hush still thy breath and hark.
Amid thy narrow streets are angels arming,
And o'er thy stepping-stones immortal feet
Are bearing light the undying fleur-de-lis;
And from thy roofs clear horns-of-Paradise
Are blowing wide unto the zenith; Hearken—
Who shall withstand the Lord of Hosts, or who
Defy His power? The horses of the Lord
Are neighing terrible; His chariots
Of thunder crash in darkness, and the voice
Calleth of His Archangel from the battle:
'Vive la France. Victoire. La France sauve.'"

Again when Jeanne speaks alone with the King,
the form of the Emperor Charlemagne in the stained
glass window turns in answer to the king's prayer,
and holds aloft to him the glowing crown of fleur-
de-lis, speaking thus:
".......................... Charles the Seventh.
Inheritor of France, legitimate
By birth.............
...Behold the crown-
The crown of Charlemagne- which thou shalt wear
At Rheims. This is the Maid, whom God hath sent
To bring thy land and thee deliverance."

And Charles, convinced, cries out:
"Charlemagne, Charlemagne, thy blood is vindicated.
My lords, this is the Maid of God."

A slight thread of plot is interwoven in connection with the intrigues of Cauchon, and La Tremouille, who employed Catherine de la Rochelle\(^1\) to have other visions corresponding to their wishes and to supplant the Maid in the favor of the king. The introduction of this false visionary, is unique in drama, but affords a striking manner in which to portray, by contrast, the true Maid. For at the first meeting of the two, Catherine was conquered by a look from Jeanne, as she admits to La Tremouille:

"I know not what she did,

But what she is shown through her as a lamp

\(^1\) Catherine de la Rochelle is an historical character, who did have visions at that time, though Mackaye has made her here a tool of La Tremouille.
Into my wretched heart, and made me weep
To know myself..........

The Jeanne of this play is a very human person, but none the less noble and exquisite. D'Alengon, the one who best understood her, struck the keynote of Mackaye's conception of her, when he said, on seeing her physically weary, "Why, 'tis a child", and again on seeing her sleeping,

"This Maid is holy by simplicity
And not a miracle. She is a brave
And gentle girl, no more."

Will Hutchins

Another American dramatist, in his play believing as does Southey and De Quincey that the life of Jeanne d'Arc presents two distinct appeals, that of her life at Domremy, and that of her triumph and martyrdom, and contending that both phases cannot with any semblance of unity be contained in the same drama, has chosen "Jeanne d'Arc at Vaucouleurs". To quote his words: "If we would avoid, then, the apocalyptic Jeanne, we must focus on her at some other point. We must remember that she must still be regarded as quite human, even if she typifies, as she does, the race of supermen. Above all, she
JOAN OF ARC PRAYING IN THE VAUCOULEURS CHURCH

From a fanciful engraving
must be personal, and her personality must be so set that the setting shall not obscure the gem. At Vaucouleurs Jeanne was still the peasant girl. Her home ties were still real. Her career was still before her. And yet, in her conquest of Robert de Baudricourt and Jean de Metz, she not only gave promise of the conquest of Charles VII and the French army, - she achieved an equal victory. The difference is hardly one of degree, even. But, considering Vaucouleurs as the epitome of France, we are acting in harmony with a sound principle of dramatic art. For the drama is the epitome of life and history, not emphatically not- its mirror."

Another aspect of the Maid's story as dramatic material that must be taken into consideration, is that it has no love motive. Her mind and heart were centered about one ideal, France, and she gladly sacrificed everything else for it. The author wonders if a play can be written sympathetically today, according to the principles of the old Greek drama, and lacking the fundamental requisite of the Renaissance and modern drama, the love element.
The play, accordingly, as he conceives it, takes Jeanne d'Arc at the turning point in her life, at Vaucouleurs. The scene is the same throughout, an interior in the house of Catherine le Royer, and the time, February 23, 1429. In the first scene, Jeanne d'Arc and her uncle return defeated from their first interview with Baudricourt. In the second scene, Jeanne wins to her aid Jean de Metz and Bertrand de Poulengy, hardened soldiers who are transformed by her simple sincerity. In the last scene, Baudricourt angered at the loss of his two ablest men, comes himself with a priest to the cottage, where Jeanne is staying, thinking to prove her a witch and send her away. But Jeanne passes the test of exorcism, and then miraculously tells Baudricourt of the defeat of Rouvray, which news a messenger rushes in to tell them a few minutes later. So Baudricourt, too, is won over, and Jeanne donning masculine attire, sets off with Metz and Poulengy. The play closes with the farewells at Vaucouleurs:
JOAN OF ARC LEAVING VAUCOULEURS

From the painting by J. J. Scherrer
"Jeanne: My two strong men. God has been good to me.
Baudricourt: I know them. You can trust them.
Jeanne: That I can.
Baud: Go, Go, And come what may."

The play has exemplified another theory of Hutchins, which is that since the story of Jeanne d'Arc contains no love motive, the dramatist has no right to invent one. He believes that a play can be written sympathetically today according to the principles of the old Greek drama, and lacking the fundamental requisites of the Renaissance and modern drama, the love element.

Had the execution of this drama been equal to the idea which inspired it, it should have been one of the best works in which the Maid of Domremy has figured. But the characterization is not strong, the dialogue is artificial, and in order to maintain the unity of place, some of the situations are forced.

A pretentious tragedy in blank verse, written by Charles James in 1899 is scarcely worthy of much consideration. One can hardly recognize as the simple peasant Maid a Joan who speaks thus:
"How quiet 'tis. Grief's clamors are hung up-
Fear's weary watch has cozened the spent night,
And makes a drowsy world.

........... Oh Domremy, Domremy.
How I am tethered by thy cords of love.
Night-speeding memory be still awhile
Till I undo these fetters from my heart,
And, like the dove that homeless left the Ark,
Seek for the olive branch in War's wild storm.
How can I leave this fireside?
O maiden weakness. I am all too weak.

........

But hark. I hear my voices once again-
'Haste Joan, Haste.' is ringing in my ears.
Away these jailors, then; not all of these
A hundred times enforced can stay me now.
Quick, then, Oblivion, bring the tenderest robe
That ever duty fashioned in her loom,
Dyed in a halo caught from angel's smiles,
And wrap these jewels from poor Joan's sight
Till France shall have a King."
In drama more than in any other type of literature, the story of Jeanne d'Arc has been twisted and distorted to make it suited to presentation. Shakespeare has made Jeanne d'Arc an Amazon; Schiller has given to her story a love element, and has changed the manner of her death; Fitzball has had Charles rescue her from the flames. Péguy alone has given us a true picture of the Maid. His simple language with its peasant tone, his utter disregard of conventional literary forms, and the inspiration of genius in his work, set it above all others in the field of Jeanne d'Arc literature.
Chapter IV.

JEANNE D’ARC IN ESSAY AND FICTION.

A· Essay:

To define the word "essay" is not easy. The fact that it has been applied to any type of short composition, not having a definite enough literary form to be termed poetry, drama or romance, nor a grave enough subject to be dignified as science, history or psychology, has given it a rather wide range. But for our consideration, in order to distinguish it from the vast number of articles written on one phase and another of the life of Jeanne d’Arc, the definition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica may be adopted: "As a form of literature the essay is a composition of moderate length, usually in prose, which deals in an easy cursory way with the external conditions of a subject and, in strictness, with that subject only as it affects the writer."
1. French:

The most illuminating works, especially French, concerning Jeanne d'Arc, are in the form of essays. Many of the histories of her life, are written in the essay style, possibly because the story of Jeanne d'Arc has such a personal appeal. Perhaps no historian has written so delightfully and so personally about Jeanne d'Arc as Michelet in his "Histoire de France," which, to quote Dournic, "est un cadre où il fait revivre les personnages, les sentiments, les moeurs." The theme of his dissertation on Jeanne d'Arc is that the secret of her success was not her supernatural power, but her good sense.

The famous critic Sainte-Beuve, in his "Causeries du Lundi" has a review of the volumes published by M. Quicherat, in which he discourses at length on the Maid. In concluding, he says: "A lire attentivement les pièces, et même en tenant compte des difficultés constatées par M. Quicherat,
Perhaps the greatest masterpiece written in any language about Jeanne d'Arc, is the essay of Lamartine. The Maid in Lamartine is an exquisite sublime creature, who acts naturally, speaks simply, and yet exposes the noblest thoughts and purpose. The theme of the essay is revealed in the first paragraph:

"L'amour de la patrie est aux peuples ce que l'amour de la vie est aux hommes isolés, car la patrie est la vie des nations. Aussi cet amour de la patrie a-t-il enfanté, dans tous les temps et dans tous les pays, des miracles d'inspiration, de dévouement et d'héroïsme. Comment en serait-il autrement?" 

Not even in his poetry, does Lamartine exalt, in more beautiful and eloquent words, the heroism of women.

"Et puis (nos pères le savaient) la femme, inférieure par ses sens, est supérieure par son âme. Les Gaulois attribuaient un sens de plus, le sens divin. Ils avaient raison. La nature leur a donné deux sens douloureux, mais célestes, qui les distinguent et qui les élèvent souvent au-dessus de la condition humaine: la pitié et l'enthousiasme. Par la pitié elles se dévouent, par l'enthousiasme elles s'exaltent. Exaltation et dévouement, n'est-ce pas là tout l'héroïsme? Elles ont plus de cœur et plus d'imagination que l'homme: c'est dans l'imagination qu'est l'enthousiasme, c'est dans le cœur qu'est le dévouement. Les femmes sont donc plus naturellement héroïques que les héros. Et quand cet héroïsme doit aller jusqu'au merveilleux, c'est d'une femme qu'il faut attendre le miracle. Les hommes s'arrêteraient à la vertu."

In every nation, there has been at some time a woman, who accomplished miracles of patriotism, such as Judith, la Cava, Vittoria Colonna and Charles Lamartine, p. 9.
lotte Corday. But although their inspiration was heroic, they employed "le poignard du meurtrier, au lieu de saisir le glaive du héros." Whereas "Jeanne d'Arc ne s'arma que de l'épée de son pays; aussi fut-elle pour son temps, non pas seulement l'inspirée du patriotisme, mais l'inspirée de Dieu."¹ France, at the time of the Maid, was, alas, in a sad condition. "Le roi cherchant en vain ses sujets dans son peuple, le peuple cherchant en vain son roi dans le monarquie, le Français cherchant en vain une patrie dans la France; tel était l'état de la nation, quand la Providence lui révéla son salut dans une enfant."² In the description of the Maid, one can see the hand of the romanticist. "Pendant que sa beauté charmait les yeux, le recueillement de sa physionomie, la méditation de ses traits, la solitude et le silence de sa vie étonnaient son père, sa mère et ses frères... Elle ressemblait en cela aux sibylles antiques, marquées dès l'enfance d'un sceau fatal de tristesse, de beauté et de solitude parmi les filles des hommes; instruments d'inspiration réservés pour les oracles et à qui tout autre emploi de leur âme était interdit."

¹– Lamartine, p. 12.
²– Ibid, p. 28.
The simple beauty of the words spoken by the angels and Jeanne, recall the annunciation to Mary. "Jeanne, lève-toi; va au secours du Dauphin, rends-lui son royaume de France."

And the Maid replies:

"Comment le ferais-je, puisque je ne suis qu'une pauvre fille, et que je ne saurais ni chevaucher ni conduire des hommes d'armes?"

And when the messengers of Heaven have retired, Jeanne murmurs:

"Ah, que j'aurais voulu que ces anges m'eussent emportée avec eux..."

What a significant phrase with which Lamartine then sums up the effect of the rumor which spread about concerning the visions of the Maid:

"La rumeur en courait dans la contrée: sujet de merveille pour les simples, de doute pour les sages, de sarcasme pour les méchants."

Lamartine paints a simple and human picture of Jeanne's visit to Baudricourt and of her stay in Vaucouleurs. In the interviews with the Dauphin, he almost paraphrases Jean Chartier. The main epi-
JOAN OF ARC LISTENING TO THE VOICES
After the painting by Bartolini
sodes of Jeanne’s life, the author pictures to us. But whether we see her before the judges at Poitiers, or in battle at Orleans, always she is a woman, for when wounded, "elle était femme, et faible pourtant, car elle pleura en voyant son sang couler."

After she had led the Dauphin to Reims, and he was crowned, Lamartine stresses the idea that her divine mission was ended. This accounts for her failure in every undertaking after that - henceforth she lacked divine inspiration.

The closing paragraph of this essay, is especially beautiful, and expresses the underlying thought of the whole work:

"Tout semble miracle dans cette vie, et cepen-
dant le miracle, ce n’est ni sa voix, ni sa vision, ni son signe, ni son étendard, ni son épée, c’est elle-même. La force de son sentiment national est sa plus sûre révélation. Son triomphe atteste l’éne
régie de cette vertu en elle. Sa mission n’est que l’explosion de cette foi patriotique dans sa vie; elle en vit et elle en meurt, et elle s’élève à la victoire et au ciel sur la double flamme de son enthousiasme et de son bûcher. Ange, femme, peuple,
vierge, soldat, martyre, elle est l'âmoirie du drame des camps, l'image de la France popularisée par la beauté, sauvée par l'épée, survivant au martyre, et divinisée par la sainte superstition de la patrie."

2. English:

De Quincey The most famous English essayist who has written of the Maid is De Quincey, who uses as a basis for his essay Michelet's "Histoire de France." A romanticist, too, by nature, his interest in her subject was manifold: she was medieval, French, mystical.

In a delightfully informal style, De Quincey discusses Jeanne d'Arc, and allows his fantasy to play about the story of the Maid. He apostrophises her, thus:

"Pure, innocent, noble-hearted girl, whom, from earliest youth, ever I believed in, as full of truth and self-sacrifice, this was amongst the strongest pledges for the truth, that never once-no, not for a moment of weakness—didst thou revel in the vision of coronets and honor from man. Coronets for thee! O no! Honors, if they come when all is over, are for those that share thy blood. Daughter of Domrémy,

1- Lamartine, p. 244-245.
when the gratitude of thy king shall awaken, thou wilt be sleeping the sleep of the dead... when the thunders of universal France, as even yet may happen, shall proclaim the grandeur of the poor shepherd girl that gave up all for her country, thy ear, young shepherd/girl, will have been deaf for five centuries... Gorgeous were the lilies of France, and for centuries had the privilege to spread over land and sea, until, in another century, the wrath of God and man combined to wither them; but well Joanna knew, early at Domrémy, she had read that bitter truth, that the lilies of France would decorate no garland for her. Flower nor bud, bell nor blossom, would ever bloom for her."

According to De Quincey, it is the environment of the Maid, that affected her life, that made her the dreamer that she was, and full of enthusiasm and love for her native land. The little duchy of Lorraine was a sort of buffer state, that was like to see attacks at any time. "The situation, therefore, locally, of Joanna was full of profound suggestions to a heart that listened for the stealthy steps of change and fear that too surely were in motion. But if the place
were grand, the time, the burden of the time, were more so. The air overhead in its upper chambers was hurtling with the obscure sound; was dark with sullen fermenting of storms that had been gathering for a hundred and thirty years." At Agincourt, and later at Crécy and Poitiers, the chivalry of France had been crushed and was tottering. There were famines, and insurrections, and religious schisms.

He is corroborated in his point of view, that of the influence of the age upon a character like Jeanne d'Arc, by John Mecklin, who discusses, in a recent scientific article in the "American Journal of Sociology", "The Passing of the Saint". This author insists that the Middle Ages were most favorable to the life of the Saint, because of the simplicity of their social structure. He contends that "the emotional intensity, the mystical absorption, the unshaken spiritual loyalty, the singleness of purpose, so characteristic of the Saint, are difficult or even impossible of attainment where the complexities and contrarieties of life are constantly pressing in upon the soul."
De Quincey's obvious desire to criticize Michelet leads him into details. For instance, the following: "M. Michelet, indeed, says that La Pucelle was not a shepherdess. I beg his pardon: she was. What he rests upon, I guess pretty well: it is the evidence of a woman called Haumette, the most confidential friend of Joanna. Now she is a good witness, and a good girl, and I like her; for she makes a natural and affectionate report of Joanna's ordinary life. But still, however good she may be as a witness, Joanna is better; and she, when speaking to the Dauphin, calls herself in the Latin report, Bergereta."

Just as he apostrophizes, in the introduction to his essay, the noble Maid, so in the conclusion, he accosts the shameful Cauchon: "Bishop of Beauvais! because the guilt-burdened man is in dreams, haunted and waylaid by the most frightful of his crimes, and because upon that fluctuating mirror from the fens of death - most of all are reflected the sweet countenances which the man has laid in ruins; therefore I know, bishop, that you also entering your final dream, saw Domrémy... Who is this
that cometh from Domrémy? Who is she in bloody coronation robes from Rheims? Who is she that cometh with blackened flesh from walking the furnaces of Rouen? This is she, the shepherd girl, counsellor that had none for herself, whom I choose, bishop, for yours. She, it is, bishop, that would plead for you: yes, bishop, SHE—when heaven and earth are silent."

Many English authors have at some time made mention of Jeanne d'Arc, some even claiming to appreciate her better than do the French. Carlyle said of the Maid:

"Jeanne d'Arc must have been a creature of shadowy, yet far-glancing dreams, of unutterable feelings, of thoughts that wandered through Eternity'. Who can tell the trials and triumphs, the splendours and the terrors, of which her simple spirit was the scene. 'Heartless, sneering, god-forgetting French' as old Suwarow called them,—they are not worthy of this noble maiden'."

An English author who has made an extensive study of Jeanne d'Arc, is Andrew Lang. Besides publishing a history of her life, that is con-
sidered today a very complete and comprehensive work, he has written two essays on distinct phases of her life. In one of these, he discusses the "Voices of Jeanne d'Arc", in which he maintains, lay the essence of her marvels. "Brave, pure, wise, and probably beautiful as she was, the King of France would not have trusted a peasant lass, and men disheartened by frequent disaster would not have followed her, but for her voices."

The author discusses the various explanations given at different times to these experiences, or visions of the Maid. In her own time, they were explained in three ways: either, the Maid was actually inspired by Michael, Margaret and Catherine; or these monitions came from 'fiends'; or these voices were mere illusions of a girl who fasted too much, for it is known that "she would construe natural sounds, as of church bells or perhaps of the wind among woods, into audible words."

The psychology of the last half-century has proved that all persons who have hallucinations are not insane, and there is proof that Jeanne d'Arc was healthy and could endure many hardships.
So Lang, as a non-scientific student, submits three causes for her visions:

"1- The period of Jeanne’s life when they began.
2- Her habits of fasting and prayer.
3- Her intense patriotic enthusiasm, which may, for all we know, have been her mood before the voices announced to her the mission."

Quicherat, the greatest historian of the Maid, accepts as genuine, the "coincidence between facts not normally knowable, and the monitions of the Voices", though he admits them inexplicable.

So, Andrew Lang concludes that to the mind of the Maid was communicated knowledge, not so much in the conscious everyday intelligence, as it was presented in the shape of hallucinations of eye and ear. "We are not encouraged to suppose that saints or angels made themselves audible or visible. But, by the mechanism of such appearances to the senses, that which is divine in the Maid, in all of us if we follow St. Paul, - that 'in which we live and move and have our being', made itself intelligible to her ordinary consciousness, her workaday self, and led her to the fulfilment
of a task which seemed impossible to men."¹

In another study, Andrew Lang discusses "The False Jeanne d'Arc." "Who that ever saw Jeanne d'Arc could mistake her for another woman?" he writes, "No portrait of the Maid was painted from life, but we know the light perfect figure, the black hair cut short like a soldier's, and we can imagine the face of her, who, says young Laval, writing to his mother after this first meeting with the deliverer of France, 'seemed a thing all divine.'

Yet even two of her own brothers certainly recognized another girl as the Maid, five years after her death by fire. It is equally certain that eight years after the martyrdom of Jeanne, an impostor dwelt for several days in Orleans, and was there publicly regarded as the heroine who raised the siege in 1429. Her family accepted the impostor for sixteen years. These facts rest on undoubted evidence."

It is the old case of the people refusing to believe that their hero is dead, and being confident that he will return. A manuscript in the

¹- Lang, p. 200.
British Museum chronicles this feeling, that must have been current at the time: "At last they burned her, or another woman like her, on which point many persons are, and have been, of different opinions."

Lang traces the false Jeanne through all of her adventures, and offers no explanation for the success of her deception. Indeed, he considers it "the most surprising and baffling of historical mysteries." He concludes that "while the nature of the arts of the False Pucelle is inscrutable, the evidence as to the heroic death of the True Maid is copious and deeply moving. There is absolutely no room for doubt that she won the martyr's crown at Rouen."

As a worthy setting for the character of Jeanne d'Arc, the essay is, in prose, what the lyric is in poetry, for both stress the personal element, and choose for theme some appealing phase of her story.
B. Fiction:

1. English.

According to M. Darmesteter "a literature of novels, unparalleled in France, clusters in England about the fame of Joan of Arc. It does not wear a high rank in the realm of letters, but it shows a generous feeling." One can cite the romantic chronicle of Mr. J. Robinson, "The Maid of Orleans", a "sentimental caricature of history", Miss Manning's novel, "A Noble Aim", and Mrs. Charles' "Joan of Arc, Deliverer of France and England."

This last book, M. Darmesteter considers worthy of some mention. "Were the merit of a novel co-equal with the fineness of its inspiration and the character of its setting, this would be a remarkable book. The framework is that of Aeschylus' 'Persae'. Joan is described as seen from the English camp. 'Tis an enemy, Perceval the Welshman, who relates the Maid's tragedy, as he sees it, from her apparition with floating white banners under the walls of Orleans, to her last cry of agony from the blazing stake at Rouen;
and there he falls upon his knees conscience-stricken. The idea which inspires this picturesque setting is that of Joan's signal service to the English - to an England exhausted by a century of foreign warfare - in preventing their absorption by the continent which they had conquered. Had Joan never lived, had Henry VI reigned as King of France and England, then the mother-isle had speedily become a mere province of the larger inheritance.

"Unfortunately, in this novel, all is excellent except the execution. The inspiration is ill-sustained. At every step some modern anachronism breaks the charm. The author has not penetrated far enough into the heart of her creations; their pulses do not beat. The novel is for ever straying into the barren region of abstract ideas. It is vague and 'viewy', and, as is ever the case, where the author has insufficiently reflected, the characters reflect too much."

Among American authors, who have treated Jeanne d'Arc in fiction, we have Mark Twain, Mrs. Catherwood, Mrs. Oliphant and others. Mark Twain has made accessible for us the "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc" by the Sieur Louis de Conte, "freely translated" (Darmesteter pp. 63.)
out of the ancient French into modern English from the original unpublished manuscript in the national archives of France."

Although he undertakes to write the biography, unique among the world's biographies, which as he says, "is the only one of a human life which comes to us under oath, the only one which comes to us from the witness stand", he interweaves imaginary situations, thus making it more fiction than fact, as his very title would indicate. The style is artificial and at times laborious. The setting and the language are a curious mixture of the medieval and the modern. He has made Joan of Arc human to the point of making her commonplace, and lacking in that mystical quality which sets her apart from others.

Although the author is not malicious, and at times, seems to appreciate her mission, as in such a phrase: "Over her and about her, English and French fought with desperation— for she stood for France to both sides— whichever won her won France and could keep it forever. Right there in that small spot, and in ten minutes by the clock, the
fate of France, for all time, was to be decided, and was decided." We must take the grotesque with the sublime, for he continues: "A nationality and a kingdom was at stake there, and no more time to decide it in than it takes to hard-boil an egg."

The last paragraph reaches as high a point of eloquence as any where. "Love, Mercy, Charity, Fortitude, War, Peace, Poetry, Music—these may be symbolized as any shall prefer; by figure of either sex and of any age; but a slender girl in her first young bloom, with the martyr's crown upon her head, and in her hand the sword that severed her country's bonds—shall not this, and no other, stand for Patriotism through all the ages until time shall end?"

Mrs. Oliphant's "Jeanne d'Arc" is rather a literary history than a historical novel, well written, which constitutes a sympathetic biography of the Maid, but not of much literary significance.

Mrs. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, in her biography of the Maid, "The Days of Jeanne d'Arc", has furnished us a sort of novel without a plot.
The story is gracefully told, in rather simple language, and well adapted for youthful reading. In it, history is reduced to a minimum, many of the episodes are imagined, and enhanced by the introduction of the homely details of the life of the Maid.

C. Juvenile Literature:

Perhaps no character in history can be presented to make more of an appeal to children than the Maid of France. A child herself, when she went to the rescue of France, Jeanne's whole life is so simple, her speeches so sincere and unaffected, and her actions so fraught with noble intent, that she is an ideal example of heroism and virtue to set before youth.

Boutet de Monvel's copiously illustrated "Jeanne d'Arc" which has been translated and published in America, furnishes a delightful book for children. There are many others of this type that one can cite: "The White Standard", by E. F. Pollard, "The Story of a Brave Child, a Child's Life of Joan of Arc", by A. Matheson, "Life Lessons from Blessed Joan of Arc", by Bernard Vaughn, and Everybody's Birthright, by Clara Laughlin.
JOAN OF ARC
Statue by Paul Dubois erected in Paris
This literature of Romance of which Jeanne d'Arc has been made the heroine, can scarcely be said to add her fame. A character whose life is a romance in itself loses in reality when put into fiction.
CONCLUSION

In the literary history of Jeanne d'Arc, the spirit of a nation and of an age has revealed itself. In France, acclaimed in her own century, forgotten or ignored during the Renaissance, scoffed at in the period of scientific enlightenment, Jeanne d'Arc came again into her own in the age of romanticism; and in our own century is made the symbol of patriotism and liberty by the famous author, Charles Péguy.

In England, Jeanne d'Arc the sorceress and charlatan of the early works, became in Southey's poem and De Quincey's essay, the gentle and inspired heroine, that she was henceforth to be considered in that country.

In a consideration of types of literature in which Jeanne d'Arc has been best portrayed, it has been seen that the essay ranks first, with such names as Lamartine, Michelet and Sainte-Beuve in France, and De Quincey and Andrew Lang in England.

Lyric poetry comes next as a type, with the names of Péguy, called the "poète de Jeanne d'Arc",
and Musset and Delavigne in France, and Stirling and Alfred Austin in England.

In the field of drama there are no great works, for the mystères of Péguy's were not written for presentation. Epic poetry has been a complete failure, and fiction has added no works of any note to the collection of Jeanne d'Arc literature.

Jeanne d'Arc may be out of the reach of human art, and yet, in the words of her great historian, M. Hanotaux, "Jeanne continuera à émouvoir l'art, la littérature, la science, sans que ni l'art, ni la littérature, ni la science puissent l'atteindre et l'embrasser définitivement... Nous ne sommes qu'à l'aube des jours qui verront se développer, indéfiniment, sa 'mission'".
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